

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: PROMOTING CITIZENSHIP IN A POSTCOLONIAL SPACE: A STUDY OF TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN JAMAICA

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Evidence suggests that the values, attitudes and skills teachers emphasize in preparing students to participate as adult citizens in wider society are informed by the meanings teachers ascribe to citizenship and these meanings can in turn be traced to the contexts of teachers' lives. Given that teachers' practices are informed by their beliefs, these beliefs must first be understood. However, few studies have examined teachers' beliefs about citizenship or the underlying factors that inform those beliefs. This research examined the beliefs about citizenship espoused by a group of secondary teachers in the nation-state of Jamaica and the factors informing those beliefs. This qualitative case study utilized an analytic framework incorporating literature on conceptions of citizenship; and literature on teacher beliefs, including belief formation. The findings of the study highlight the ways in which the postcolonial context of Jamaica problematizes these teachers' understandings of citizenship and this in turn has implications for research and practice in the field of citizenship studies. The study illuminates the connections among: (i) teachers' beliefs about citizenship and about their students' needs, abilities, and life trajectories; (ii) teachers' lived experiences; and (iii) traditional race and class hierarchy in postcolonial Jamaican society.

PROMOTING CITIZENSHIP IN A POSTCOLONIAL SPACE: A STUDY OF
TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN JAMAICA

By

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DEDICATION

To those Caribbean educators who see their role as powerful agents of change tasked
with making a difference in their students' lives

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO STUDY	1
Background to Study	1
Setting the Context	6
Jamaica Country Context.....	7
Country overview	7
Social and Political Context.....	11
Stratification of Education in Jamaica	16
The Evolution of Citizenship Education in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean	19
Overview of Jamaica’s Citizenship Education Program	21
Overview of Study.....	24
Purpose of the Study.....	24
Research Questions:	25
Significance of Study.....	25
Framework for the Study.....	27
Limitations of the Study	28
Organization of the Study.....	29
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	31
Introduction	31
Review of Literature on Conceptions of Citizenship	34
A Framework for Understanding Citizenship: Three Categories of Citizenship	36
Citizenship as Identity	37
Citizenship as Active Service	40
Citizenship as Global.....	43
Belief Formation and Factors Informing Teachers’ Beliefs About Citizenship.....	47
Research on Teacher Beliefs	48
Factors Influencing Teachers’ Belief Formation.....	50
Relating General Research on Teacher Beliefs to Teachers’ Beliefs About Citizenship	52
Conclusion.....	55
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS.....	57
Introduction	57
Rationale for use of Qualitative Research Methodology.....	57
Defining the Case	59
Research Design: Selection of Sites and Participants	63
Site Selection	65
Study Participants.....	71
Research Process: Data Collection and Analysis	74
Data Sources and Collection.....	74
Data Analysis.....	77
Addressing Research Concerns	80
Positionality	81
Trustworthiness and Credibility	82

CHAPTER FOUR: TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT CITIZENSHIP	85
Introduction	85
Meanings Ascribed to Citizenship.....	86
Citizenship as Knowing.....	87
Knowledge of Rights and Responsibilities	87
Knowledge of History.....	91
Knowledge of social norms and/or behaviors consistent with mainstream society.....	94
Citizenship as Being	98
Citizenship as the Embrace of Common Values.....	99
Citizenship as Being . . . in the Community, in the Nation and in the World	115
Citizenship as Doing.....	120
Helping and Volunteering.....	121
Caring for the Environment	126
Obeying the Rule of Law	129
Participating in Decision-making	131
Order and Orderliness	134
Conclusion	135
 CHAPTER FIVE: FACTORS INFORMING TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT CITIZENSHIP	 138
Introduction	138
Grounding views in Teachers' Life Experiences	139
Influence of key personalities	139
The influence of familial ties	139
The influence of professional relationships	141
Engagement in Private Spheres	143
The role of politics.....	143
Role of Community	146
Role of belief systems.....	150
Experience with personal violence	153
Experience with Formal Knowledge	155
Teachers' Perceptions of Students' Needs	158
Larger Societal Factors Informing Teachers' Views of Students' Needs	160
Students at Risk: Understanding and Assessing Risk Factors.....	162
Absence of one or both parents.....	162
Different spaces, Different behaviors	166
The role of the don.....	168
Skin bleaching as a manifestation of color and class issues	170
Feeding the children: the challenge of hunger.....	170
The Centrality of Violence in the Lives of Students	171
Violence as normed in daily life	172
Vulnerability of boys	174
The Dons and Violence.....	175
Role of music and popular culture.....	176
Role of the police in perpetuating violence in society	177
Violence within the school	178
Conclusion.....	181

CHAPTER SIX: TEACHERS' PRACTICES IN PROMOTING CITIZENSHIP	183
Introduction	183
Practices Within the Classroom.....	183
Practices relating to formal coursework	185
Practices during informal class discussions.....	187
Practices in Relation to Extra-curricular Activities.....	190
Field trips.....	190
Clubs and Societies.....	192
Volunteerism	193
Student Council	195
Practices Shaped by Social Dynamics Outside of the School.....	196
Kathy – Building Bridges	198
Kathy's School Context.....	199
Kathy's Citizenship Actions	201
Gregory – Paying it Forward	203
Gregory's School Context	204
Gregory's Citizenship Actions.....	206
Edgar - Interrogating Identity	208
Edgar's School Context	209
Edgar's Citizenship Actions	210
Conclusion.....	212
 CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION	 214
Introduction	214
The Significance of Postcolonialism.....	216
Application of Postcolonial Theory.....	218
Comparing Factors Informing Teachers' Beliefs with Literature	222
Comparing Teachers' Views with the Ministry of Education Citizenship Education Pilot Program	225
Extent to which views were informed by citizenship education pilot program.....	226
Comparing Teachers' Beliefs About Citizenship with Literature	228
Views consistent with but less exhaustive than academic literature	229
Views focused more on the local than the global context	232
Views less focused on Citizenship as Participation.....	234
Interpreting Teachers' Views in Context	235
Citizenship as embrace of traditional values	237
Citizenship as adherence to social norms	239
Implications for Theory and Practice	241
Conclusion.....	246
 REFERENCES	 248

List of Tables

Table 1: Distribution of Pubic Secondary Educational Institutions by Region and Parish 2008/2009.....	67
Table 2: Profile of Teacher-participants.....	73

List of Figures

Figure 1: Regions of the Ministry of Education, Jamaica.....	65
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

Background to Study

Virtually all conceptions of citizenship include a sense of the knowledge, skills, values and dispositions that ideally, citizens should possess (Cogan & Derricott, 2000: 2). However, beyond this basic starting point, there exists great divergence in the specific attributes of citizenship across contexts. The diversity of meanings ascribed to ‘citizenship’ has made it difficult to define the term and much of the scholarship on this topic has been aimed at clarifying the definitions of the term (see Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) or redefining the term to take account of salient issues e.g. global forces¹. The scope of difficulty of the task of unpacking the meaning of this term is underscored when one considers the “various shades of meaning the term acquires in different contexts and in different countries” (Lawton, 1998). Lee and Fouts (2005) point out that not only is the term citizenship variable across geographic location but that its interpretation can also vary across time. Accordingly, “what citizenship education meant during World War II is something different from its meaning during an era of global interdependence” (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992: 845).

The lack of precise definition and the multiple meanings ascribed to the term ‘citizenship’ have led researchers to develop a wide range of references, including but not limited to ‘democratic citizenship,’ ‘civic engagement,’ ‘global citizenship,’ ‘cosmopolitan citizenship,’ ‘justice-oriented citizenship,’ ‘participatory citizenship,’ and

¹ See for example, Stromquist (2009) who draws on four clusters of discourses (World Culture, New Era Realism, Corporate Citizenship, Planetary Vessel) to provide alternative explanations for the emergence of the notion of global citizenship. See also Brodie (2004) who examines the consequences of globalization for citizenship within and beyond the national state.

‘socially-responsible citizenship.’ Osler and Starkey (2005) note that the concept of citizenship is changing and that educators, politicians and the media are using the concept in new contexts and giving it new meanings. This diversity of meanings ascribed to the term ‘citizenship’ is in turn reflected in the diversity of the content and foci of citizenship education programs (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Despite the multiple associated references and meanings of the term citizenship, the significance of the concept is indisputable. This significance lies in the perceived importance and relevance of a focus on citizenship to today’s social and political problems (Faulks, 2000). Sears and Hyslop-Margison (2006) echo this view when they propose that much current interest in citizenship is largely propelled by the sense of crisis associated with rising tensions between different races and ethnic groups, the sense of exclusion among youth, women, cultural minorities and persons with disabilities. Accordingly, they note that this discourse of crisis and reform in democratic citizenship is revealed in the policies and curricula of national jurisdictions as diverse as Australia, Russia, Columbia, and Singapore (p. 15). The perceived relevance of citizenship as a means of effecting change in the social and political fabric of society is therefore clearly evident in this explosion of international interest and activity in citizenship education across countries as manifested in the implementation or reform of national curriculum in citizenship or civic education.²

² For instance, the UK implemented a national citizenship education curriculum in 2000 following the recommendations of the Crick Report (QCA, 1998), Indonesia implemented a National Education Curriculum in 1997 and reviewed it in 2007, and Denmark officially incorporated the concept of citizenship into teacher education in 2007 (Haas, 2008).

Studies examining the issue of citizenship education have focused broadly on curriculum and policy on one hand or on actors, including policy makers, educators and students on the other. Among the issues explored by writings focused on curriculum and policy is the adequacy of citizenship programs to meet future challenges such as globalization, rapidly expanding technologies, and the need for greater inclusiveness of marginalized populations (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Ichilow, 1998; Kiwan, 2008). Other research has focused on the philosophical underpinnings of citizenship education programs by interrogating the assumptions underlying citizenship education curricula (Haas, 2008; Richardson & Blades, 2006), exploring the ways in which citizenship education agendas impact national, cultural and individual identities (Banks, 2004; Bénéï, 2005) or the expectations for citizenship education in liberal-democratic societies (McDonough & Feinberg, 2005).

With respect to the focus on actors, much research has examined the issue of citizenship as it relates to policymakers and students. For example, Karsten et al. (2000) focused on investigating the views of policy makers regarding the challenges facing the 21st century citizen, while Torney-Purta et al. (2001) focused on the views of 90,000 14-year old students in twenty-eight countries on topics ranging from their knowledge of democratic values and principles to their views on the role of government. However, significantly fewer studies have focused on educators and specifically on the manner in which they conceptualize citizenship (see DeJaeghere, 2008). It is to this area of the discourses relating to citizenship that this study seeks to contribute. This study examines teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform these beliefs.

The following two observations highlight the rationale for the focus of this current study. The first is that few studies have examined teachers' beliefs about citizenship. Moreover, the majority of these studies do not aim primarily to examine the types of contextual factors that can inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship. My study builds on previous research by incorporating, as a central feature of the study, an exploration of the ways in which teachers' life contexts inform their beliefs about citizenship. Schoeman (2006), for instance examined African teacher's perceptions of good citizenship and concluded that they had "a very specific, community-oriented understanding of citizenship." However, despite acknowledging that "generations of South Africans (including teachers) passed through school with little or no exposure to democratic citizenship education," Schoeman failed to consider the possible influence of these community and historical factors on teachers' perceptions of citizenship. Myers (2007) focused on the practices of politically active teachers in Porto Alegre, Brazil and Toronto, Canada. In examining teachers' classroom practice, Myers paid regard to their understandings of citizenship and did so by reference to the single specific factor of local political context. Assuming that teachers' practices are informed by their beliefs, these beliefs must first be understood. Further, it is equally important to account for the factors that inform those beliefs. This study aims to contribute to the existing body of research by focusing on teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the range of contextual factors (social, political and historical, among others) that may inform those beliefs.

The second observation deals with the context-specific nature of earlier works in this area. Previous studies on teachers' beliefs about citizenship have been territory-specific. Country cases have focused on Australia (DeJaeghere, 2008; Prior, 2005),

China, England, the USA and Russia (Lee & Fouts, 2005), South Africa (Schoeman, 2006) or Brazil and Canada (Myers, 2007). Schoeman (2006) examined African teachers' perceptions of the characteristics of a 'good citizen' within the context of South Africa's new-found democracy, for instance. Karsten et al. (2002) conducted research on the views of future teachers of social studies about the significant global trends, required citizen characteristics and necessary educational strategies to develop these characteristics. They included educators from Thailand, Taiwan, Japan, China, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, and the USA. Other studies focusing on citizenship and teachers' beliefs have explored how educators in Australia perceive their lived experiences as citizens (DeJaeghere, 2008) or the manner in which politically active teachers in Porto Alegre, Brazil and Toronto, Canada practice citizenship education (Myers, 2007). However, to date no studies have focused on the Caribbean region. This study seeks to add to the body of research on educators and citizenship by examining teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs within the context of the Anglophone Caribbean, focusing on the island of Jamaica.

The choice of the Anglophone Caribbean region as the context for the focus of this study is driven primarily by the limited focus of research on teachers' beliefs about citizenship in the Caribbean. Further, as a native of the Caribbean island of Trinidad and Tobago, it is my deep desire for my research and scholarship to contribute to my native Caribbean region. In Chapter 3, I revisit this latter rationale for my context of focus and describe the potential biases that arise from my simultaneously being circumstanced as researcher and Caribbean citizen while identifying the mechanisms I built into my research to address these potential biases. The selection of Jamaica as the focal

Caribbean territory has been motivated by an initiative introduced by the Jamaican Ministry of Education in 2008 to pilot a citizenship education program in 120 primary and secondary schools across the country. At the time of this research, no other countries in the Anglophone Caribbean had enacted specific citizenship education programs or curricula. Within other territories of the Anglophone Caribbean, aspects of citizenship education are diffused across a number of subject areas, including Social Studies, Health and Family Life Education and Peace Education. Other countries are however expected to follow the lead of Jamaica and to implement specific citizenship education programs in the near future. St. Lucia and Grenada are among the countries that are in the process of developing citizenship education curricula.

Setting the Context

Hahn (1999) acknowledges that political culture and context shape teaching and learning about citizenship education. This acknowledgement of the role of context in shaping teaching practice warrants an examination of the Jamaican context, generally and as it relates to citizenship education specifically. This section will therefore provide a brief overview of the Jamaica country context to provide a fuller picture of the backdrop against which teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the factors informing those beliefs are shaped. I will also situate the current initiatives toward implementing citizenship education programs within the broader Caribbean and Jamaican context, beginning with the movement in schools' curriculum from Civics to Social Studies and more recently to Citizenship Education.

Jamaica Country Context

Country overview

Jamaica is the third largest island of the Greater Antilles³ chain and is located in the Caribbean Sea just south of Cuba. The total land area is 10,991 sq. km. (4,244 sq. mi.) with Kingston, the capital and commercial centre of Jamaica, situated on the southeast coast of the island. This island nation has an estimated population of approximately 2.7 million⁴ comprised of four main ethnic groups broken down as follows: African 90.9%, East Indian 1.3%, Chinese 0.2%, White 0.2%, mixed 7.3%, other 0.1%. Jamaica is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and a Commonwealth realm with Queen Elizabeth II as head of state. The country's government is organized as a parliamentary democracy and since the introduction of adult suffrage in 1944 the country's political apparatus has been dominated by two main political parties – the social–democratic People's National Party (PNP) and the conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP).

During 2010, Jamaica's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), measured in 2003 prices, decreased by 0.012 % moving from J\$490,594 million in 2009 to J\$484,624 million.⁵ This decrease represented a continuation of declining GDP from 2007 onward and an overall low growth trend that has been evident since 1991. Clarke and Howard (2006) write that a series of shocks starting in 1972 contributed to this slowdown of the Jamaican economy in the early 1990s. Among these shocks they list three successive years of price-hikes for crude oil by the Oil Producers and Exporters Cartel (OPEC)

³ An island group in the northern Caribbean, including Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico.

⁴ Statistical Institute of Jamaica based on 2009 estimates. A new census was commenced in April 2011.

⁵ Statistical Institute of Jamaica.

between 1972 and 1974 at a time when Jamaica was heavily dependent on oil imports for electricity generation. Clarke and Howard also attribute US alienation of Jamaica during the latter's period of democratic socialism from 1972 to 1980, citing the US' objections to "the personal friendship between [Michael] Manley and Fidel Castro, and subsequent hostility both to Cuba's communism and to Jamaica's socialism" (p.108). Edie (1990) notes that the movement of Jamaica's PNP government toward democratic socialism required a restructuring of the existing economic order that had favored the wealthy industrial nations of Western Europe and North America. Accordingly, Western governments, particularly the United States, and international lending agencies and organizations, opposed the PNP's new philosophy. She writes that in response to the PNP's push toward democratic socialism:

the international sector retaliated by withholding its resources [and] the [Jamaican] government was defeated largely through the crisis created by capital being withheld by the United States and international lending agencies (p.88).

This withholding of capital decreased the Jamaican government's capacity to grant patronage leading to the re-election of the JLP as the electorate anticipated this switch of allegiance would bring greater access to resources. The 1980 elections were marred by heavy political violence in which over 800 people (mainly from the Kingston constituencies) died violently during the hustings (Amnesty International, 2008; Edie, 1990). The final shock cited by Clarke and Howard (2006) accounting for the slowdown in the Jamaican economy in the early 1990s was the extensive period of structural adjustment imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) from 1970 through 1990. Six of the seven IMF loans granted to Jamaica during this period were suspended due to

the government's failure to pass a variety of performance tests (Clarke & Howard, 2006). Edie (1990) notes that the harsh austerity measures that accompanied these IMF agreements resulted in a fall in real wages by approximately 35% in 1978, a widening of the balance of payments deficit resulting from increased debt servicing, escalating unemployment, a severe shortage of foreign exchange, and shortages of basic food goods. Recently, in February 2010, the IMF approved yet another standby loan for US\$1.25 billion to support Jamaica's economic reforms and help the country cope with the consequences of the global financial crisis. Jamaica's current high external debt is coupled with high debt servicing costs. United Nations Development Programme (2010) reports that Jamaica's annual debt service costs (principal amortization and interest) over the past 10 years have averaged more than 112% of government revenues and that at the end of 2009, the country's debt to GDP ratio stood at 135%, making Jamaica the world's fourth most severely indebted nation. This high debt and debt servicing have constrained the Jamaican government's ability to engage in public investment and implement poverty reduction programs. The weak Jamaican currency (US\$1≈ J\$85) coupled with these high debt servicing costs significantly constrain the Jamaican government's ability to meet the social needs of its population, particularly those in the poorest and most marginalized communities.

Jamaica's economic distress is reflected in its social indicators such as the levels of unemployment, poverty, and crime and violence. For instance, the youth⁶

⁶ The United Nations and the World Bank define youth in quantitative terms as comprising persons between the age of 15 and 24. This is also the age range applied in many statistics and indicators.

unemployment rate as at October 2010⁷ stood at 79.2% representing 98.4% of female youths unemployed and 64.7% of male youths unemployed. Within this broad category, the percentage of youth aged 20 – 24 who were unemployed was 25.7% (i.e. 21.3% males and 30.9% females). Further, the Planning Institute of Jamaica announced through its Economic and Social Survey Jamaica: 2010 that Jamaica's poverty rate for 2009 had jumped to 16.5% (i.e. approximately ½ million people), the highest since 2004. This figure was up from 12.3% in 2008 and 9.9% in 2007. In 2009, less than half of those living in poverty were benefitting from the Programme for Advancement Through Health and Education (PATH), a conditional cash transfer program funded by the government of Jamaica and the World Bank (Luton, 2010). The country also experiences high levels of crime and violence. Amnesty International (2011)⁸ ranked Jamaica 2nd among countries in the world with the highest intentional homicides per 100,000 population. At a rate of 59.5 per 100,000 population, Jamaica far exceeded the world average homicide rate of 7.6 per 100,000 population. Crime, unemployment and violence disproportionately affect inner-city communities in Kingston. United Nations Country Team and Government of Jamaica (n.d.) cited "higher rates of female poverty, unemployment and implication in crime and violence, but moreso as victims rather than perpetrators, especially in domestic violence" (p. 9).

⁷ The overall unemployment rate as at October 2010 was 12.0%.

⁸ These figures are based on United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Homicide Statistics from 2003-2008.

Social and Political Context

The social and economic indicators highlighted in the previous section occur against the backdrop of the social and political context of Jamaica. In this section I provide an overview of this social and political context.

One of the main features of Jamaican society is its highly stratified nature along the lines of class and race. This characteristic feature can be traced back to the colonial period as Beckford and Witter (1982) observe that the period following the emancipation of slavery in 1838 was characterized by a class formation in which the masses of “black African ex-slaves and their descendants” (p.44) fell at the bottom of the social structure. At the top of this social hierarchy were the White European plantocracy who owned the capitalist plantations. These two groups, write Beckford and Witter (p.46), were buffered in the middle by “a mulatto middle class or petit-bourgeois of professionals, preachers and small proprietors” as well as the English merchants and traders including the Jews, the Lebanese, and later the Chinese.

Caribbean scholars, including, Stuart Hall, Percy Hintzen and Aaron Kamugisha argue that this social structure based on class and race remained largely unchanged following independence in 1962 and that this stratified structure persists even today. Kamugisha (2007) observes that the transition to newly independent nation states ushered in new ways of conceiving selfhood and identity among Caribbean peoples and that on the simplest level this transition resulted in former “subjects of an empire” becoming “citizens of a nation state.” He contends however, that the break from colonial rule following independence cannot be regarded as “radical” since the underlying class and racial structures persisted past the end of formal colonial rule. Though the coalescence of

Caribbean peoples into independence movements was fueled in part by widespread opposition to British imperial rule, it was the elite middle class that established and managed the nationalist parties and later became part of the state apparatus. Percy Hintzen (2004) makes this point as he engages in a historical analysis to challenge the notion of Anglophone postcolonial nation states (specifically Guyana) as forged from a coherent populace. He proposes that in reality heterogeneous claims to the nation state at the end of formal colonial rule were muted as independence movements seeking control of state apparatuses maintained a “naturalized” racial ordering embodied in the ideology of “Creole discourse.”

This Creole discourse, Hintzen proposes, was premised on “the idea of a hybridized and hierarchically organized European-African continuum” that mirrored the stratified color-class pattern of colonial society with the White European colonizer at the apex. A core element of this ideology was the notion of the “savage stateless African” becoming civilized through acquiring or adopting a Euro-centric posture. It is this Creole discourse, Hintzen argues, that underlay nationalist imaginings of a “coherent” postcolonial people clamoring for independence from British colonial domination. Hintzen (2004:113) writes: “Creole nationalism left intact the racial order underpinning colonialism while providing the ideological basis for national “coherence.” It left unchallenged notions of a “natural” racial hierarchy.” In other words, the ideology of Creoleness, and by extension Creole nationalism, was a neat way of simplifying and avoiding confronting the realities of class and race hierarchy inherited during the colonial experience and carried over, without question, to the newly “independent” states.

Stuart Hall (2001) argues that in order for social and political movements in the early 20th century to have truly achieved independence, they must of essence have included questions relating to re-definition of identity. He takes up this issue of the nature of newly “independent” Caribbean states noting that “so-called political independence from the colonial power occurred but the cultural revolution of identity did not” (p.31). Referring to Frantz Fanon’s writing in *Black Skins, White Masks* in which Fanon describes the notion of “internal collusion with an objectification of oneself,” Hall notes that it is in Fanon that one understands the internal traumas of identity arising from colonization and enslavement. As he explores the question of the cultural identity of Caribbean peoples, Hall describes the ranking of postcolonial society as reflective of cultural power based on class, color and racial inscription.

The role of the political apparatus in maintaining this racial and class ordering of Jamaican society is well documented by Caribbean scholars, including Carl Stone (1980) and Obika Gray (2003). Stone (1980) proposes the concept of ‘political clientelism,’ arguing that political power was facilitated by patron-client relations in which material and social inducements were exchanged for political support. Gray (2003) proposes an alternative view of the identity of political power in Jamaica, arguing that state power should be viewed as “predatory rule” in which politicians forge multiple cultural and ideological alliances to maintain “ubiquitous hegemony.” The use of political power to maintain rule through social inducement or predatory rule can be traced back to the time of Jamaica’s independence when politicians instituted a political system that relied on gang leaders to gain electoral support. Following its independence from Britain in 1962, population increases over time in Kingston far outstripped the rate of provision of

housing, resulting in a concentration of population increases in the inner-city areas of West Kingston. Clarke (1975), who undertook a major study of urban development in Jamaica, writes that the emphasis since independence in 1962 has been on middle income housing schemes and that new housing for the poor has been negligible, particularly compared with the numbers in need of housing. He explains that the government of Jamaica established several inner-city communities in the 1960s as part of an urban renewal project to replace former squatter camps. The urban renewal project consisted of replacing the shacks in the squatter camps with single and multi-story housing. These schemes were conceived by the social – democratic People’s National Party (PNP) but they were implemented by the conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) which formed the government in 1962. Clarke (1975: 130) writes, in relation to these urban renewal projects, that the politics of Jamaica (particularly in these areas) came to be governed by the notion of provision of housing and jobs for supporters of the victorious party and these supporters in turn would intimidate their opponents, drive out voters and capture seats at the polls. This exchange of housing and jobs for political patronage marked the advent of the political garrisons which were essentially “political enclaves or fortresses to which the PNP responded by creating several of their own” (Morgan, 2010). Figueroa & Sives (2003: 65), who argue that the growth of garrison communities has been one of the key factors in the development of crime and violence in Jamaica, define a garrison community as follows:

At one level a garrison community can be described as one in which anyone who seeks to oppose, raise opposition to or organize against the dominant party would be in danger of suffering serious damage to their possessions or person thus making continued residence in the area extremely difficult, if not impossible. A garrison, as the name suggests, is

a political stronghold, a veritable fortress completely controlled by a party. Any significant social, political, economic or cultural development within the garrison can only take place with the tacit approval of the leadership (whether local or national) of the dominant party (pp. 64-65).

With the establishment of the garrison community came the rise of the strongman or the ‘don’⁹ (euphemistically called the community leader) as an integral part of the political machinery in garrison communities. The don is essentially the counterpart of his political ally in the formalized system. This individual essentially holds significant power over geographical areas where he serves as “father figure, the role model for manliness, the great provider, judge, jury and strategist” (Hall, 2010). The position of the don is often viewed by younger men in the society as one to aspire to and the don’s activities are often illegal – though they may be buttressed by legitimate government contracts awarded to them in exchange for securing the political patronage of the area. And so developed the scenario in which the don (within his area of geographical domination) could become stronger (more powerful and influential) than his counterpart in the formal political system.

The award of legitimate government contracts to dons and the use of predatory tactics to win elections are just some of the indicators of corruption in Jamaican society. Transparency International’s Global Corruption Reports have designated Jamaica “highly corrupt” every year since 2002 when the country was first included in these surveys. Additionally, in a 2008 survey focused on citizens’ perceptions of the extent of

⁹ For instance, Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke was the don or strongman of the inner-city community of Tivoli Gardens in Kingston. He was the subject of an extradition request by the US to the Government of Jamaica in May 2010. The issue of an arrest warrant for Coke by the Government of Jamaica resulted in riots in Kingston by Coke’s supporters resulting in the Government of Jamaica declaring a state of emergency while the police and military launched an operation aimed at taking Coke into custody. Over 70 persons died before Coke was finally arrested just over a month later.

corruption, Jamaica ranked as the country with the highest level of citizens' lack of confidence in the integrity of elected and other officials (Powell & Lewis, 2009). While much of the violence in these inner-city communities is associated with political violence, a significant portion of the violence is attributable to abusive policing methods that include an inordinate volume of fatal shootings and extra-judicial killings (Amnesty International, 2008).

Stratification of Education in Jamaica

Consistent with reproduction theory,¹⁰ the stratification in wider society along the lines of class and race is reflected in the organization of schooling across Jamaica. As in the case of the racial and class ordering of wider society, this stratification in schooling was established as part of the colonial experience, with elementary education regarded as the purview of the working class children (formerly slaves) while secondary and tertiary education were the exclusive domain of the elite ruling classes. Ruby King (1999) writes that following emancipation, elementary education, which largely comprised moral and religious education and emphasized habits of obedience, order, punctuality and honesty, was viewed as a means of maintaining social control over newly emancipated slaves. King notes that denominational bodies played a central role in establishing secondary schools for the rising middle class to the exclusion of children of the lower class who could not afford to pay school fees. These secondary schools were grammar schools based on the English model offering “classical languages, modern languages, mathematics and in some cases, natural sciences” (p.30) and subject to external

¹⁰ See Bowles (1977) who proposes that the inequalities in education systems originate in the class structure and class subcultures of capitalist societies and that these broader societal inequalities are reproduced and legitimized through schooling.

Cambridge examinations based in England. The wealthiest classes sent their children 'home' to England to attend upper-class schools and university, following which they sometimes returned (though often they did not) to their inheritance in the West Indies (Gordon, 1963).

Errol Miller (1999) writes that a major theme of the post-independence education reform agenda in Jamaica was expanding access to education at all levels, particularly at the level of secondary schooling since "prior to 1953 only about 5% of the population received secondary education" (p.208). In addition to the traditional grammar schools established during the period of formal colonial rule, four additional types of secondary schools were added, including the technical high school, the comprehensive high school, the vocational high school, and the new secondary school. Miller explains that these additional school types, with the exception of the new secondary school, were created as policy experiments involving a relatively small number of schools with limited enrollment. Therefore the main sources of enrollment at the secondary level following independence were the new secondary schools and the traditional grammar schools, with the former surpassing the latter in number of schools and enrollment. Of the new secondary school, Miller (1999:209) writes:

Its entry was non-selective employing the neighborhood school concept, its curriculum was oriented to vocational training, and its graduates were not required to take Cambridge examinations. Accordingly, new secondary schools attracted the lowest social status of the five types of secondary schools although it offered the greatest access to secondary education. Put another way, the greatest access to secondary education was offered through a type of school that attracted persons of lower social status.

Thompson, Warrican and Leacock (in press) note that attendance at traditional grammar schools was limited to students who could afford to pay school fees or who obtained a scholarship. They observe that this factor, along with their British heritage, served to maintain the prestige of traditional grammar schools and by extension the perceived inferiority of all other types of secondary schools. Miller (1999) writes that paradoxically while the lower social classes placed the highest value on gaining entry to traditional grammar schools, expansion of access to the secondary level during the reform period, following independence in Jamaica, was achieved via a type of secondary school that was least demanded. Accordingly, this process of expansion of secondary education perpetuated the stratification of schooling begun during the colonial era and both preserved and reinforced the status quo and class division in wider society.

Stratification of schooling at the secondary level in Jamaica (and indeed the wider Anglophone Caribbean) was also facilitated by a system of examinations ostensibly aimed at promoting entry to secondary schooling based on academic merit rather than ability to pay. These began with the Common Entrance Examination in 1957 which was replaced by the Grade Six Achievement Test in 1999. Though the format of both examinations differs,¹¹ they are essentially high stakes tests that operate to rank and sort students according to school type with the highest scoring students assigned to traditional grammar schools. Contemporary Jamaican schools therefore comprise a highly stratified system (along lines of class and race) that provides the context for how meanings of citizenship are construed and interpreted. In chapter three I present an overview of the

¹¹ The Grade Six Achievement Test aims at ongoing assessment at the grade six level culminating in two days of testing. This test replaced the Common Entrance Examination with its heavy emphasis on a single final examination at the end of the primary level.

structure of the education system, with particular focus on the secondary level as I outline the strategy I adopted for selecting school sites.

The Evolution of Citizenship Education in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean

In order to fully comprehend the context and the rationale for implementing a citizenship education program, it is useful to examine the predecessor subjects, Civics and Social Studies. The introduction of Civics coincided with the movement toward independence in the English-speaking Caribbean and emphasized issues relating to nation-building such as, voting and the structure of government. This description of the central feature of Civics squares with Brown's (2005) observation that civic learning "focuses more specifically on the study of government and the political process" (p. 68). In some territories the teaching of Civics persisted past independence focusing on nation-building issues. In Jamaica, Civics was taught utilizing textbooks such as one titled *New Civics for Young Jamaicans*, first published in 1967. Some of the topics covered in this text included 'The Community and Its Members,' 'Who are We and Where We Came From,' and 'The Development of Government in Jamaica' (Ruddock & Robinson-Glanville, 1994). Civics has now been largely phased out¹² of the curriculum in the Anglophone Caribbean countries.

Following the acquisition of independence, some former colonies began to implement Social Studies curricula. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as the first

¹² Several Jamaica Ministry of Education officers proposed that Civics was phased out under the terms of an IMF Agreement as part of a strategy aimed at rationalizing secondary education. I have been unable to confirm this report despite requests for clarification and a search of the IMF Archives in Washington D.C.

islands in the Commonwealth Caribbean to gain independence in 1962, were the first to introduce Social Studies (Morrissey, 1991). Morrissey observes that Social Studies eventually spread from these two countries to all other countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The introduction of Social Studies was intended to “replace the curricula of the British imperial era” as Caribbean students had been learning about the geography of Britain and its empire as well as British history and British heroes and how the British government works (Morrissey, 1991: 233). Social Studies were deemed crucial as a means of promoting self-determination and therefore served the roles of: (i) empowering youth with knowledge and understanding of their own country; (ii) fostering nationalism through developing national consciousness; (iii) engendering respect for national symbols and honoring national heroes; (iv) developing a positive concept of self compared to textbooks of the past which “helped to promote white racism and the superiority of all things foreign” (p. 234); and (v) promotion of democratic processes following “authoritarian, biased and oppressive” (p. 234) colonial rule (Morrissey, 1991).

The importance of Social Studies as a curriculum priority has changed over time since its initial introduction in the 1960s. Since this time, the implementation of the Social Studies curriculum has been confined to the Junior Secondary and Composite schools where students were tracked into lower levels of education and the teaching of Social Studies was replaced by History and Geography in the more prestigious secondary schools. Howe and Marshall (1999: 2) note this shift in importance of Social Studies in the following terms:

Social Studies has come to be viewed by many teachers, parents and students as being a subject for “weaker” or non-academically

inclined students. Given that in the Caribbean, academic culture is heavily biased in favour of traditional subjects such as mathematics, geography, history, the sciences and English, social studies as a subject has been much neglected and stigmatized.

However, Social Studies has since reappeared within schools as a curriculum priority and has been re-formulated in some contexts to emphasize learning that is “meaningful, challenging, active, integrative and value -based” (Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, 2006: 4) and inclusive of a broader range of issues than previously, including trade, migration, the environment, human rights and cultural and ethnic diversity. Also, at the secondary level, the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), a regional examining body that provides examinations for secondary and post-secondary candidates in Caribbean countries, introduced a Social Studies curriculum in 2007.

There has been a recent shift toward implementing citizenship education programs and Jamaica is the first Anglophone Caribbean country to embark on this initiative. This program has been established alongside the existing Social Studies curriculum with the stated aim of addressing “anti-social and violent behavior” among students (Government of Jamaica, 2004).

Overview of Jamaica’s Citizenship Education Program

In 2004, a Task Force on Educational Reform prepared and presented an action plan promoting a vision for the “creation of a world-class education system which would generate the human capital and produce the skills necessary for Jamaican citizens to compete in the global economy” (Government of Jamaica, 2004). The recommendations of the Task Force fell under four broad headings including: (i) Government and Management of the Education System; (ii) Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Support;

(iii) Full Stakeholder Participation in the Education System; and (iv) Finance. The Citizenship education initiative fell under the second of these four broad headings and the rationale for its introduction was stated in the following terms:

Anti-social and violent behaviour is a social phenomenon, which has permeated all sectors of society, and the school is no exception. To address this serious issue in schools we recommend a citizenship education programme - which will focus on values and attitudes, character education, patriotism and service - greater support at the school level in terms of social workers, parental involvement and co-curricular activities and improvements in the physical environment. (Government of Jamaica, 2004: 13)

The recommendations of the Task Force as they related to the introduction of a citizenship education program were carried out beginning with the establishment of the 'Behaviour Transformation Unit' to oversee, among other things, the citizenship education program initiative. The core principles of the program were settled upon following feedback from the public during a series of town hall meetings across the country aimed at soliciting stakeholder input on the Education Transformation initiative being instituted by the PNP administration (Interview with Ministry of Education officer). Based on this feedback and the work of a steering committee, a list of seven core citizenship themes was developed. The seven core themes embodied in the program included 'National Pride,' 'Respect,' 'Positive Group Interaction and Cohesion,' 'Accomplishments,' 'Order and Orderliness,' 'Celebrations,' and 'Volunteerism.'

The approach adopted was one of fusion intended at integrating content relating to core citizenship principles across different subject areas in the curriculum. This is distinct from the approach of adding citizenship as a stand-alone subject in the curriculum. The former approach was preferred given the crowded nature of the school's curriculum.

Accordingly, there was no formal or separate curriculum for citizenship education and instead the Ministry of Education prepared a resource guide based on the seven key citizenship themes to be promoted. The resource guide highlighted objectives, content, strategies, resources, and outcomes in relation to each of the themes. This resource guide was intended to:

enhance those programs and provide schools that do not have active programs with useful information and materials to help implement a program. The major purpose of this guide is to provide assistance to Jamaican schools, working with parents and community members, as they develop their own citizenship education initiatives.

The program was implemented through training by the Ministry of Education to the full teaching staff or a subset of the teaching staff of the pilot schools for a period ranging from several hours to one full day. The training took place either at the offices of the Ministry of Education or at the pilot schools, after which a specific teacher from the pilot school would serve as the link or liaison to the Ministry of Education on the program. This teacher was typically referred to as a citizenship education program link or CEP link. The expectation was that the CEP link would in turn train other teachers within his or her school. Six officers from the Ministry of Education were assigned to the participating schools to work with the CEP link in implementing the program.

The program pilot tested beginning in 2008 in a total of 120 primary and secondary schools in two out of the six administrative regions¹³ of Jamaica. The participants of this study were all based in schools that were part of the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program. It should be noted that that while the

¹³ Education in Jamaica is administered by the Ministry of Education through its administrative head office in Kingston, the capital and six regional offices.

citizenship education pilot program forms part of the broader context for teachers' understanding of citizenship, the aim of this study is not to evaluate the pilot program or to determine the extent to which teachers implemented the program with fidelity. Rather, this broader policy context was considered as one of the factors that could potentially inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship.

Overview of Study

The previous sections have served to frame the context of this study on teachers' beliefs about citizenship in Jamaica and the factors informing those beliefs. This investigation of a bounded system (or case) over time is consistent with the case study tradition of qualitative research (Creswell, 2007) and accordingly, I utilized this research tradition in conducting this study. In chapter three I justify the selection of this research methodology, define the case and its boundaries, and provide greater detail on the techniques I employed in data collection and data analysis. The current section includes a description of the purpose of the study, a statement of the research questions and a brief outline of the framework that guided the study. Also in this section, I highlight the potential limitations of the study and close by providing a guide to the organization of this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this case study was to describe the beliefs about citizenship espoused by a group of teachers in Jamaica and the factors that inform those beliefs and to describe the practices these teachers engage in to promote their views of citizenship.

Research Questions:

The following research questions guided this study:

1. What beliefs do these teachers espouse about citizenship?
2. What factors inform these teachers' beliefs about citizenship?
3. What practices do these teachers engage in to promote their views of citizenship?

Significance of Study

A study of this nature is important for both the contribution it can make to research on educators and citizenship as well as the implications it holds for policy and practice. The significance of focusing on teachers' beliefs lies in the fact that teachers, by virtue of being most proximal to students, are ultimately the implementers of citizenship education curricula and that the teaching of citizenship education may be mediated by educators' personal constructions of citizenship (DeJaeghere, 2008). Further, the beliefs of actors (educators) involved in an educational innovation have been shown to be critical to the success of that innovation (Fullan, 2001). Therefore, an important factor in the success of citizenship education programs is an enhanced understanding of the (possibly hidden) beliefs and values that may inform teaching practice in the area of citizenship education.

The significance of this study also lies in its contribution to an understanding of the factors that inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship. Few previous studies have looked at teachers' beliefs about citizenship and though their findings have provided guidance on the factors informing those beliefs, this latter focus was typically not a

central feature of those studies. This study addresses that gap in the literature by examining the factors informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship as a focal point of this study. In so doing, this study takes up the call by Woolfolk Hoy, Davis and Pape (2006: 730) for a more holistic approach toward the study of teachers' beliefs that moves away from studying those beliefs in relative isolation and "toward designs and methodologies that enable us to address the "whole" of teachers' mental lives."

This study also has potential implications for educational policy and practice. This study can potentially inform the development of citizenship education curricula in Jamaica and other Anglophone Caribbean countries by illuminating the areas in which curricula might be strengthened and providing insights into how the teaching of citizenship education can potentially play out in classrooms across the Anglophone Caribbean. Deeper understanding of teachers' beliefs about citizenship can also inform the creation of teacher professional development and teacher education programs since the successful implementation of citizenship education programs requires teachers who are not only prepared in its theory but also its practice and will model the attitudes, values and behaviors sought to be engendered in students (Karsten et. al, 2002).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) emphasize the importance of unpacking the meanings ascribed to 'citizenship' when they note that a deeper understanding of the conceptions of citizenship that underlie citizenship education programs has significant implications for the ways in which students understand the strengths and weaknesses of society and the ways that they should act as citizens in a democracy. However, this 'understanding' can only be gained if the meanings and definitions ascribed to the term

‘citizenship’ are effectively translated through curriculum content and curriculum transaction. Lawton (1998) underscores this challenge of translating ‘meanings’ into ‘outcomes’ when he acknowledges that the task of converting definitions of citizenship into programs in school which stand a chance of working in practice is far more challenging than defining the concept of ‘citizenship’. This study urges a closer examination of teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs as a means of amplifying our understanding of the mechanisms through which programs can be more effectively translated into intended outcomes.

Framework for the Study

Two bodies of literature were utilized to create an analytic framework for this study. These include: (i) literature on conceptions of citizenship; and (ii) literature on teacher beliefs (including belief formation). These bodies of literature were used to develop a broad, inclusive framework for considering the factors that inform teachers’ educational beliefs more broadly and their beliefs about citizenship specifically. The framework was also used to determine the range of meanings that can be ascribed to citizenship, including the varied rationales for citizenship education reflective of the different understandings of the democratic ideal both between and within particular contexts (Hahn, 2001). The approach sought to express defining characteristics of a citizen that teachers might espouse having regard to the implications of challenges (local, regional, national and global) for the way in which that citizen is viewed in relation to others, the kinds of skills he or she would possess and the attitudes and values with which he or she will be vested. This framework was constructed by reference to the conceptual meanings ascribed to citizenship, rather than from a historical or comparative perspective

in keeping with the focus of the study. The framework also considered teachers' lived realities as it explored the social, historical and political contexts of their lives that inform their educational beliefs broadly and their beliefs about citizenship specifically.

Limitations of the Study

Marshall and Rossman (1999) note that most qualitative research studies are limited by the design of the study and their conceptual frameworks. This study employs qualitative research methodology and utilizes the case study tradition. The use of this tradition results in the study being bounded by time and space (Creswell, 1998) and accordingly, the study has limited generalizability. While this case study may serve as a guide for policymakers in other Caribbean countries who wish to implement citizenship education curricula in the future, its ability to make precise predictions regarding the impact of teachers' beliefs on their classroom practice will be limited. However, my concern is not with generalizability; rather, it is to begin to explore teachers' beliefs about citizenship with a view to opening up a space for policymakers to gain insights into the ways these beliefs might inform the development of curricula in this area.

Researcher bias is also a potential limitation of this study. This bias arises in part from my simultaneous roles as researcher on the one hand and as a native of the Caribbean region and coordinator of a recently concluded development project on the other hand. My experiences as a student growing up in a classroom in the Caribbean have created certain expectations about what I anticipated I would find during my research. Further, I previously served in the role of coordinator of an education development project administered by the Organization of American States (OAS) titled

“Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Caribbean: A Distance Course for Educators.” In this role, I dealt with a number of stakeholders from across the Caribbean, including teachers, teacher educators and policy makers. The six countries that participated in the project included Jamaica and I had regular contact with the representative assigned by the Jamaica Ministry of Education to the project. My work on this project may have impacted the way I was perceived by the Ministry of Education officers.

Despite these limitations, the study is likely to contribute to research, policy and practice in the manner described under the section above titled “Significance for Research.” I revisit these and other potential limitations in chapter three of this study and describe the strategies I adopted to address their possible effects.

Organization of the Study

My analysis applies theories of citizenship and literature on teacher beliefs, including belief formation to explore the ways in which the teachers in this study think about and understand citizenship and the factors informing their beliefs about citizenship. In chapter three I present the methodology for this study, describing the rationale for utilizing a qualitative approach to this research and detailing the steps and considerations that guided selection of sites and participants. Also in chapter three, I also outline my approach to data analysis and the way in which the analytic framework was used to guide the data analysis process. I close that chapter by elaborating on research concerns, including potential biases and ethical considerations and describe the strategies I adopted to minimize these concerns and promote credibility and trustworthiness of the study.

The next three chapters (chapters four, five, and six) present the findings of this study and address the research questions posed by this study. Chapter four explores teachers' beliefs about citizenship and presents these under the broad headings 'Citizenship as Knowing,' 'Citizenship as Being,' and 'Citizenship as Doing.' Chapter five seeks to account for teachers' beliefs about citizenship by exploring the factors that inform their beliefs. It investigates teachers' life contexts and their lived experiences as well as these educators' perceptions of their students' needs as the backdrop for their beliefs about citizenship. Chapter six builds on the two previous chapters by describing the ways in which teachers enact the meanings of citizenship described. These practices are heavily aligned with what these educators believe their students need in order to participate as adult citizens in wider society. Finally, chapter seven discusses the findings set out in the three previous chapters and explores the ways in which teachers' views and understandings of citizenship are complicated by the context of this Anglophone postcolonial nation-state. Chapter seven therefore highlights the ways in which teachers' understandings play out in the meanings they inscribe on their students' experiences. I close by describing the implications of these findings for research, policy and practice and identify future research agendas that might address the open questions this study raises.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Theorists and researchers have acknowledged that education broadly and citizenship education more specifically have as their central purpose the preparation of students to participate as citizens in the wider society. For instance, Ravitch (2001) in her description of the approaches and philosophies of educational theorists acknowledges the centrality of the principle that education could be consciously employed to shape society. Similarly, Parker (2001) observes that the citizen identity must be nurtured as it does not suddenly emerge fully realized and that educators seek to steer it toward particular purposes that align with the norms and ideals of the overarching political community (p. 6). Indeed, the debates throughout history about the purposes of education and about the desirable form and structure of the curriculum have been premised on the view that citizens can be prepared for the roles they will hold in society through the values and skills they are taught and exposed to during the process of schooling and citizenship education has been regarded as having this central aim.

In order for citizenship education to accomplish this central purpose of preparing students to fill their role as adult citizens in a democracy, it must necessarily promote the democratic experience. The challenge that arises in this regard is that there exists no clear definition of democracy and hence of the ‘democratic experience.’ Therefore different conceptions of citizenship are reflective of the different theories of democracy (Myers, 2007). There is wide support among theorists and researchers for citizenship education to be reflective of more than the notion of representative democracy. Alsayed

(2008) observes this when he proposes that emerging theory in civic education generally supports a notion of democracy that is broadly participatory and highly engaged. He contrasts this with forms of democratization that are “more representative and superficial, focusing on the mechanics of political choice than on fundamental change in political systems” (p. 78). Lund & Carr (2008) also argue that the democratic experience does, and must comprise more than a focus on electoral politics and that it should be concerned with *doing* democracy. And in a similar vein, Gutmann (2001) appeals to the one of the central features of deliberative democracy when she proposes that education should not only promote the development of capacities for criticism, rational argument and decision-making through logical thinking but that it should also promote “the capacity for deliberation to make hard choices in situations where habits and authorities do not supply clear and consistent guidance” (pp. 50-51).

There is no shortage of literature examining the relationship between education and democracy. Levinson (2008) underscores the importance of education as a means to “achieve and consolidate and deepen democracy” noting that “only education can shape the values and cultures that turn governance into a more far-reaching and deeply rooted form of life” (p. ix). Indeed, an educated citizenry has long been viewed as central to the development and propagation of a democratic society (Smith, 2003). Therefore, the role of education in impacting the development of the ‘democratic person’ and in turn shaping the democratic society assumes great significance.

Academic scholars propose that democratic values and practices are not innate and that they must be consciously and purposefully passed on from one generation to the

next (Gutmann, 2001; Held, 2006; Reich, 2002; Smith, 2003). Gutmann (2001) focuses much attention on the ways in which schools develop or fail to develop democratic character. She acknowledges the role of the family in preparing children to participate in democratic society by teaching them democratic virtues and fostering the development of character and moral reasoning (p.50). Schools, she proposes, play a role by building on this foundation provided by parents and the family and assuming shared responsibility together with churches, friendships and civic organizations for the education of children.

This broad view of democratic education as part of the curriculum and school environment has been expressed more specifically through approaches to schooling which address education for citizenship, including citizenship education, civics, and social studies. Anderson et al., (1997) note that citizenship education has long been regarded as one of the fundamental purposes of schooling and cite citizenship education as one of the goals of social studies education¹⁴. Levstik (2001) also highlights one of the purposes of social studies advanced by its proponents as “the development of democratic understanding, civic dispositions, and social participation skills” (p. 2).

Though some authors have acknowledged the tendency to view the concept of citizenship as intrinsically linked to democratic politics (Bellamy, 2008, p. 12), other researchers have acknowledged that citizenship can also be conceptualized within authoritarian states, recognizing however that formulation within such contexts would be fundamentally different than for democratically governed states (Howe & Marshall,

¹⁴ Though this research focuses specifically on citizenship education, the underlying principles of citizenship may be illustrated and discussed by reference to literature and frameworks relating to social studies.

1999, p.2). The concept of citizenship therefore is comprised of different elements and characteristics under the authoritarian regime in Burma compared with the manner in which it is conceptualized in an established liberal democratic society such as the United Kingdom, for instance. The conceptions of citizenship highlighted throughout this study and indeed overwhelmingly throughout the literature are based on Western conceptions. Researchers such as Brodie (2004) alert us to this fact and invite us to question the appropriateness of this approach to viewing citizenship largely through western lens. However, for purposes of this study, the focus of this writing will be on conceptions of citizenship relative to democratic states since this study examines conceptions of citizenship in the context of the nation state of Jamaica which is organized as a parliamentary democracy.

In this chapter I review the following bodies of literature in order to gain a better understanding of teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs: (i) literature on conceptions of citizenship; and (ii) literature on beliefs, including belief formation. These bodies of literature comprise the analytic framework that guided this study.

Review of Literature on Conceptions of Citizenship

Teachers' beliefs about citizenship can be broadly categorized as reflections of their understandings of the nature, purpose and content of citizenship and by extension citizenship education programs. These beliefs have also been expressed in terms of desirable outcomes for students. For instance, studies examining the issue have expressed and/or elicited teachers' understandings about citizenship from a number of

perspectives, including expressions of the desirable characteristics of future citizens (Karsten et al., 2002); the attributes of “good” citizenship (Brown, 2005; Schoeman, 2006); the range of the subject matter that ought to be included or the knowledge that students should acquire (Anderson et al., 1997; Dunkin et al., 1998); and the persons and institutions that should play a role in developing students’ conceptions of citizenship (Brown, 2005).

These understandings can be traced to a wider body of literature from a diverse range of disciplines (including political science, history, sociology and philosophy) on different ways of conceptualizing citizenship. It is with this work of highlighting the range of conceptions of citizenship that this section of writing is concerned. In this section, I review the literature on the various conceptions of citizenship.¹⁵ In so doing, I have tried to include as broad an array of conceptions of citizenship as possible, having regard however to the cautionary note issued by Lee and Fouts (2005) that “summarizing views on citizenship has become a very formidable, if not impossible, task” (p. 34). The rationale for including a greater breadth of conceptions was to avoid imposing my own views (or indeed the views of any specific researchers or scholars) of what citizenship is on the research participants. Anderson et al. (1997) warn against allowing researchers’ views or theoretical preferences to predetermine research outcomes and suggest that the inclusion of a broad range of views and conceptions of citizenship allows teachers’ own unique understanding of citizenship to emerge.

¹⁵ For purposes of this section while I am concerned specifically with conceptions of citizenship, I will draw on literature relating to citizenship education and citizenship education programs since interpretations or conceptions of citizenship are embodied in and inform these citizenship activities and programs.

Almost all current examinations of citizenship commence by acknowledging ‘citizenship’ as a contested term. The sources of this controversy stem primarily from contemporary concerns such as global capitalism, globalization, international migration, the end of the modern era of nation-states and environmental degradation (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Ichilow, 1998; Vandenberg, 2000). Says Vandenberg, this “definitional complexity provides an endless supply of fuel for debate and contest” (p. 3) with the result that multiple terms and definitions have been spawned to capture the ever-increasing range of meanings ascribed to the term ‘citizenship.’ This complexity has been addressed in developing the analytic framework for this study by formulating broad categories that encompass a range of definitions of citizenship. These categories overlap to some extent and are by no means mutually exclusive or exhaustive. Indeed, Heater (2004) notes that it may be neither possible nor desirable to derive a universally applicable meaning of the term ‘citizenship’ in a world of richly diverse political traditions. Accordingly, these categories served to promote organizational clarity and were used to guide the development of data collection tools aimed at examining how teachers think about and understand citizenship.

A Framework for Understanding Citizenship: Three Categories of Citizenship

In what ways might citizenship be conceptualized? An examination of the literature and research on citizenship gave rise to three broad categories of citizenship. In formulating these categories, I paid consideration to the importance of including as many conceptions of citizenship to avoid imposing my own views, understandings and thinking or those of other scholars and researchers. The approach I adopted was primarily

conceptual, rather than historical or comparative in keeping with the focus of the study. I grouped conceptions of citizenship that touched on similar issues recognizing that categorization along singular lines adopted here involves some overlap and is sometimes not as neat as may be desirable. These categorizations are therefore rough approximations intended primarily to promote organizational clarity as I construct an analytic framework for examining how teachers think about and understand citizenship. This approach gave rise to the following three broad categories of citizenship: (i) Citizenship as Identity; (ii) Citizenship as Active Service; and (iii) Citizenship as Global.

Citizenship as Identity

Osler and Starkey (2005) observe that citizenship is perhaps most often understood as *status* based on the organization of the world on the basis of nation states with individuals being citizens of those states. Within this context, a particular set of rights and obligations attach to the individual citizen relative to the state (Faulks, 2000). These rights and obligations align with Heater's (1999) interpretations of the nature of citizenship as a civic republican style tradition (which stresses the duties of the citizen) and as a liberal style tradition (which emphasizes rights). Liberal citizenship stresses the rights of citizens to live as equal members of a political state and be vested with rights such as the right to vote and the right to just treatment by the law, for instance. The civic republican model of citizenship focuses on duty and assumes that citizens are patriotically attached to the state. Osler and Starkey (2005) note that in the relationship between the citizen and the state, the state protects citizens through laws and policing and provides some collective benefits including, security, a system of justice, education,

health care and transport infrastructure. In return, citizens “contribute to the costs of collective benefits through taxation and possibly military service” (p. 10).

T.H. Marshall (1964) in his theory of citizenship regards citizens as possessing civil, political and social rights. Civil rights, he proposed consisted of rights necessary for individual freedom such as liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and the right to justice. Political rights within Marshall’s theory comprised of the right to participate in the exercise of political power, including access to the decision-making process through voting. Marshall associated the social element of citizenship with the educational system and the social services. He regarded this element as including the right to economic welfare and security and “to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society” (p. 72).

Matrai (1998) suggests that one of the important issues arising from Marshall’s (1964) conception of citizenship is whether social rights still have relevance today. A review of the literature suggests that not only are social rights still relevant today but that they have broadened in scope and have been redefined over time. This broadening of conceptions reflects in part, the recognition that “the civic community is neither equal, nor symmetrical” (Richardson and Blades, 2006: 1) and rejects the assumption of a unified society with a broad story that “de-emphasizes racial, ethnic, gender, and class distinctions” (Levstik, 2001, p. 2). Accordingly, struggles for recognition by various groups and movements in society, including women, indigenous peoples, gays and lesbians, youth and the disabled have forced a broader and deeper conception of the ‘social’ in citizenship. Isin et al (2008) refer to this as the ‘recasting of the social in

citizenship' to move beyond the rights and obligations associated with postwar welfare state regimes. They note that these struggles for recognition have resulted in the articulation of different types of citizenship, including multicultural citizenship and environmental citizenship, for instance (p. 5). This view of the broadening of citizenship is endorsed by Faulks (2000) when he observes that the struggles of social movements (which have included women, ethnic minorities, the disabled and sexual minorities) have undoubtedly played an important role in extending citizenship (p. 26).

The focus on rights and obligations of minimal conceptions of citizenship has been regarded by some scholars as narrow and problematic. For instance, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) call for a shift away from the “narrow and often ideologically conservative conception of citizenship” (p. 237) embodied in many citizenship education programs. Similarly, Ichilow (1998: 271) observes the potential danger posed by conceptions of citizenship focused on the individual and his or her rights when she observes:

In many Western democracies there is a trend among citizens to claim their rights and retreat into their own privacy. However, a neglect of the community, of the national public space as well as of the international public space results in a loss of the sense of trust, efficacy, and neighborliness. There are rising levels of crime and violence, homeless people, racism, social inequality, abuse of the environment, violations of human rights etc, which all pose problems nationally, and internationally.

In essence, Ichilow's call is for the re-conceptualization of citizenship so that it takes account of the diversity of issues which have a bearing on the landscape of citizenship and citizenship education. The concept of multicultural citizenship responds to this call by advocating for citizenship education that “will help foster a just and

inclusive pluralistic nation-state that all students and groups will perceive as legitimate” (Banks, 2004: 12). To this end, Banks (2004) proposes that citizenship education should have as its major goals helping students to develop understandings of the interdependence among nations in the modern world, clarified attitudes toward other nations and peoples, and reflective identifications with the world community. Similarly, Kiwan (2008) argues for ethnic and religious diversity to be accommodated as dimensions of citizenship. This broadened construction of “identity” she argues can begin to address the partial and biased representations of current conceptions of citizenship.

The discussion above serves to highlight scholars’ calls for citizenship to involve more than unquestioning compliance and to move beyond conceptions that focus primarily on rights and obligations. Researchers like Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argue that these relatively narrow conceptions of citizenship belie the rich and complex definitions of citizenship that have developed over time. The remaining categorizations of citizenship discussed below seek to illuminate some of these views and arguments.

Citizenship as Active Service

The practice of citizenship education extends beyond transmission of a core of basic knowledge to include focus on citizens’ participation in public life. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) observe this when they recognize that citizenship education programs embody a “spectrum of ideas about what good citizenship *is* and what good citizens *do*” (p. 237). Levstik (2001) echoes this view as she rejects the notion of “curriculum or instruction boxed in by the four walls of a classroom, mired in trivia, or limited to a recounting of decontextualized ideas, people and events” (p. 3). This call for citizenship

to be regarded as more than knowledge and understanding of key concepts brings into focus the concept of ‘active citizenship.’

Though the term has no single agreed definition, the inclusion of the word ‘active’ emphasizes involvement by citizens through individual action in a range of participatory activities, including holding governments accountable, participating in everyday life or voting (Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009). Hoskins and Mascherini note that the term ‘active citizenship’ is used within European policy making to denote particular forms of participation aimed at ensuring the continuation of participatory and representative democracy, enhancing social cohesion and reducing the gap between citizens and governing institutions. For instance, the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) which proposed, among other things, a broad framework for what good citizenship education in schools in the UK might look like, offered a conception of citizenship heavily based on ‘active citizenship’ as it states: “Active citizenship is our aim throughout” (p. 25). The report calls for a culture within schools that allows students to voice their views and exercise responsibility on initiatives relating to their school and community and also calls for the active contribution and involvement from the local community in citizenship learning and activities.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) propose three categories of citizenship that involve action on the part of citizens in public life and that may therefore be regarded as aligned with the broader conception of ‘active citizenship’ outlined above. They found that citizenship education programs are informed by a range of conceptions of citizenship which they describe as: (i) the personally responsible citizen; (ii) the participatory citizen;

and (iii) the justice-oriented citizen. They describe the ‘personally responsible citizen’ as one who “acts responsibly in his or her community by, for example, picking up litter, giving blood, recycling, obeying laws, and staying out of debt” (p. 241). The ‘participatory citizen’ is defined as one who “actively participates in the civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state or national level” (p. 241). Westheimer & Kahne observe that this vision of citizenship shifts emphasis from individual character and behavior toward a focus on addressing community problems through collective action/endeavors. Finally, the term ‘justice-oriented citizen’ is used to describe one who seeks to solve social problems and improve society through questioning, debate and action and who seeks over time to change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time. Westheimer and Kahne emphasize that these categories are not exhaustive, mutually exclusive or cumulative.

While it is clear that a host of actions, including voting, participation in non-profit voluntary associations, signing petitions or community problem-solving, can be classified as participation in public life, many researchers and academic writers argue for a conception of active citizenship grounded in social justice. For example, Wade (2001) advocates for service learning projects that include a goal of social justice to guard against fostering a “paternalistic or charitable orientation among student participants” (p. 27) and she contends that service learning projects too often fail to consider why those needs exist in the first place. She proposes that a social justice orientation involves a strong focus on reflection and critical analysis of the needs and issues being addressed through service learning projects and helps students explore their own role in relation to social problems. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) express a similar view in their critique of

citizenship education programs that, by virtue of their focus on charity and volunteerism as ends in themselves, “[distract] from analysis of the causes of social problems and from systemic solutions” (p. 244). These views align with calls by some researchers for citizenship education to also help students develop a reflective commitment to justice and equality throughout the world (Banks, 2004).

Quite significantly, these researchers balance calls for social justice education as an integral part of active citizenship with the requirement that educators offer students a balanced perspective incorporating a range of views. For instance, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) caution educators against imparting a fixed set of truths or critiques regarding the structure of society and call on educators working to prepare justice-oriented citizens to engage students in informed analysis and discussion about social, economic and political structures and to promote goals as individuals or groups in sometimes contentious political arenas. Wade (2001) also emphasizes that teachers ought not to promote their own agenda but rather should provide students with opportunities to consider a wide range of possible actions that can make a difference in their communities.

Citizenship as Global

One of the aims of citizenship education is to prepare students for the responsibilities, opportunities and experiences they will face as adult citizens. Hahn (2001) argues that in order to adequately prepare students as future citizens, citizenship education must pay greater attention to a wider array of issues than it has traditionally, including globalization. To be sure, the rationale, intent and proposed outcomes of such

preparation are likely to be different for educators than for policymakers (White & Openshaw, 2002) since each of these groups is likely to consider the salience of globalization from different perspectives. Noddings (2005) observes that one response to the concerns arising within the context of globalization is the promotion of global citizenship. The writing within this section is aimed at highlighting some of the main impacts of globalization that demand the rethinking of citizenship's content, extent and depth. These issues will have implications for the knowledge and skills students will need to achieve this new form of citizenship.

The impact of globalization on citizenship has been significant, for globalization has simultaneously affected the nature and composition of nation states' populations (Cogan & Derricott, 2000), the physical and economic environment (Louisy, 2001; Noddings, 2005) and the capacity of national states to exercise sovereignty over territorial boundaries (Brodie, 2004). Though there is no single agreed definition for the term, Giddens (1999: 33) describes globalization as:

a complex range of processes, driven by a mixture of political and economic influences. It is changing everyday life, particularly in the developed countries, at the same time as it is creating new transnational systems and forces...globalization is transforming the institutions of the societies in which we live.

Carnoy (1999) suggests that the essence of globalization is the re-conceptualization of time and space as a result of advances in ordinary technology such as the speed of transportation and the new information and communication technology that allows real time exchange of knowledge even between distant places. These advances in technology have facilitated physical migration of individuals across borders

of nation states, increasingly making countries more multi-ethnic in composition (Cogan, 2000) and have also increased awareness of what happens in the world. This observation of the shift in composition of nation states is echoed by Ichilow (1998) who observes that present-day societies are highly diverse and are becoming “increasingly more ethnically, nationally and racially heterogeneous, more regionally fragmented, more pluralistic culturally and more strongly linked to global affairs” (p. 268). Within this context, citizenship takes on new meaning and of necessity becomes multidimensional as individuals hold multiple identities (Cogan & Derricott, 2000). Complicating this issue is the increased religious diversity within communities and nation-states that calls attention to the importance of religious belief in conceptions of citizenship. Lee and Fouts (2005) observe that the role of religious beliefs (including those beliefs associated with Christianity and the Western tradition as well as other religious traditions) on an individual’s views of citizenship is often overlooked despite its significance for directing individual behavior.

In a similar vein, Brodie (2004) acknowledges the challenge globalization presents for modern conceptions of citizenship understood in terms of rights and obligations available to individuals as members of states. She regards globalization as involving two distinct processes – globality and globalism and defines globality as “the amalgam of forces, many technological and irreversible, that are attributed with progressively breaking down barriers of time, space, and nation and fashioning the planet into a coherent global community” (p. 324). Globalism on the other hand is defined as “a contestable political posture that promotes a transnational world-view, philosophy of governance and institutional structures” (p. 324). In defining these terms, she appears to

be drawing a distinction between the forces that actually promote and effect changes in the way the globe is conceived and the rhetoric aimed at explaining the effects of the changes observed. Brodie proposes that one of the ways in which globality challenges understandings of modern citizenship is by asserting the emergence of new and unique political identities and public spaces beyond the confines of the national state. By contrast, globalism is seen as eroding the national state's competence as governments pay greater attention to global demands at the expense of local and national demands. This squares with Carnoy's (1999) observation that one potential outcome of globalization is that the power of the nation state is diminished through pressure from increasing global economic competition to focus on policies that improve a country's global competitiveness at the expense of policies that stabilize the domestic economy.

Some of the global forces and issues referenced above bring into sharp focus the concept of a world community and it is this awareness of our interdependence that lies at the heart of cosmopolitanism. Osler and Starkey (2005) propose that the cosmopolitan vision is broadly based on "feelings of concern and interest in the situation of other[s]...and includes issues of humanitarian law and human rights as the context for citizenship." Further, it demands that this concern should not stop with local attachments (Nussbaum, 2002). Though there appears to be consensus on these broad issues, thinking is divided on the implications of cosmopolitanism for the individual's connection to the nation state.

Philosophers such as Nussbaum (2002) posit a view of cosmopolitanism that challenges conceptions of citizenship that are purely nationalistic and that emphasize the

dominance of the nation-state. She regards this emphasis on “patriotic pride” as “morally dangerous and ultimately subversive of some of the worthy goals patriotism sets out to serve” (p.4). Instead, she argues for a “world citizenship” that would conceive of the entire world of human beings as a single body” with care taken not to deny the fundamental importance of the separateness of people and of fundamental personal liberties. Some researchers have been critical of this approach and reject the notion of cosmopolitanism as being in opposition to nationalism. For instance, Kendall, Skrbis and Woodward (2008) argue that cosmopolitan sentiments do not necessitate the superseding of the nation-state and instead view the nation-state as “critical in the growth and articulation of the cosmopolitan project.” They regard the suggestion by some researchers of the universalism of cosmopolitanism being averse to local attachments as counterproductive to the usefulness of cosmopolitanism as a tool of social analysis. Further, they criticize Nussbaum’s contributions to debates on cosmopolitanism as a position that “privileges world citizenship over local attachments and emphasizes the moral superiority of cosmopolitan over local” (p. 404). Osler and Starkey (2005) adopt a similar position as they observe that within a liberal democracy cosmopolitan citizenship is neither an alternative to nor in conflict with national citizenship.

Belief Formation and Factors Informing Teachers’ Beliefs About Citizenship

This study seeks to examine teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs. The previous section examined literature on conceptions of citizenship. In this section I explore two sources of literature as part of the process of constructing an analytic framework for this study. First, I explore literature relating to

teachers' beliefs grounded in educational psychology and social psychology. Further, I examine specific studies that provide valuable insights into the factors that inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship.

Research on Teacher Beliefs

Although researchers have largely acknowledged the significance of examining the processes that underlie teachers' behaviors, including teachers' beliefs, the debate on a clear definition of the term 'beliefs' is far from settled. In his seminal piece, Pajares (1992) acknowledges the lack of a clear definition of the term 'beliefs' when he identifies some of the many aliases for the term found in the literature, including 'attitudes,' 'values,' 'judgments,' 'ideology,' 'perceptions,' 'conceptions,' 'practical principles,' 'perspectives,' and 'personal theories.' Part of the challenge in arriving at a consistent definition of the term lies in the interdisciplinary nature of research in this area with different domains having interest in the construct 'teachers' beliefs' for different reasons and in different ways (Woolfolk Hoy, Davis & Pape, 2006).

The debates over defining the term 'belief,' center primarily on distinguishing 'beliefs' from 'knowledge' (Chen, 2008; Pajares, 1992; Richardson, 1996) and academic literature is replete with writings that seek to delineate the distinction between the two terms. Some researchers use the terms 'knowledge' and 'beliefs' interchangeably. Murphy and Mason (2006) note that most educational psychology researchers seem to avoid differentiating between knowledge and beliefs by either using the terms interchangeably or by only referring to knowledge *or* beliefs. For example, Nisbett and Ross (1980) include the term 'knowledge' in the definition of 'beliefs' proposing that

teachers' beliefs "represent a rich store of general knowledge of objects, people, events and the characteristic relationships that teachers have that affect their planning and their interactive thoughts and decision as well as their classroom behavior." Other researchers however, view 'beliefs' and knowledge as separate or overlapping but not interchangeable concepts. In their review of the literature on changing teacher knowledge and beliefs, Murphy and Mason (2006) viewed knowledge and beliefs as "overlapping constructs" with neither term being complete in itself. For purposes of this study, I adopted Murphy and Mason's argument regarding beliefs and knowledge as overlapping constructs in order to communicate the study's aim of treating beliefs as rooted in teachers' knowledge and experience.

Teachers' beliefs are highly context-specific and form part of their larger belief system (Fives & Buehl, 2008). Pajares (1992: 316) explains this when he writes:

Teachers have beliefs about matters beyond their profession, and, though these certainly influence their practice, they should not be confused with the beliefs they hold that are more specific to the educational process. When researchers speak of teachers' beliefs however, they seldom refer to the teachers' broader, general belief system, of which educational beliefs are but a part, but to teachers' educational beliefs. It is important to make the distinction.

This recognition that educational beliefs form part of teachers' larger belief system calls attention to the nature of these educational beliefs. Pajares proposes that beliefs are interconnected to one another and to cognitive/affective structures in intricate and complex ways. Accordingly, he speaks not about the broad category of educational beliefs rather he refers to the subset of teachers' 'educational beliefs *about*' which comprise the greater system of educational beliefs. The subset of teachers' 'educational

beliefs *about* include their beliefs on specific issues, including but not limited to, beliefs *about* self-efficacy, beliefs *about* teaching knowledge, beliefs *about* content or subject matter, and beliefs *about* student performance. Teachers' beliefs *about* citizenship will therefore form part of their greater system of educational beliefs.

Factors Influencing Teachers' Belief Formation

So what factors might inform teachers' beliefs *about* citizenship? Researchers have acknowledged the importance of belief formation in shaping teachers' professional identities and their classroom practice. This section focuses on the factors influencing the formation of teachers' beliefs. Fang (1996) proposes that a teacher's beliefs are shaped by many factors and in practice these beliefs can take many forms (p. 50). He proposes that beliefs can be shaped by the influence of discipline subculture, the quality of pre-service experience in the classroom and the opportunity for reflection on the pre-service experience. He further notes that beliefs may manifest in a teacher's expectations of his/her students' performance or in the teacher's theories about a particular subject area's learning and teaching. This view is consistent with Pajares' proposal of teachers holding beliefs *about* specific issues.

Richardson, (1996) observes that teachers' beliefs and attitudes are shaped by three major sources of life experience: (i) personal experience; (ii) experience with schooling and instruction; and (iii) experience with formal knowledge (both school subjects and pedagogical knowledge) and that these forms of experience begin at different stages of the individual's educational career. She describes personal experience as including "aspects of life that go into the formation of world view; intellectual and virtuous dispositions; beliefs about self in relation to others; understandings of the

relationship of schooling and society; and other forms of personal, familial and cultural understandings” (p. 110). She further identified ethnic and socioeconomic background, gender, geographic location, religious upbringing and life decisions as additional factors that shape personal experiences and hence beliefs. Connelly and Clandinin (1999) in their research on teachers’ personal practical knowledge focus specifically on how teachers’ personal experiences shape their approaches to teaching. They describe their research as dealing with “the links between identity and curriculum making; the ways in which identities are composed, sustained and changed; the links between borders of space, time, and identity; and preliminary notions of the connections between identity and hierarchies of authority” (p. 4).

Richardson (2003) describes experience with schooling as perhaps the most important source for teacher candidates’ beliefs about teaching and learning. The challenge posed by beliefs grounded in experience with schooling is that they are often deep seated and sometimes based on pre-existing beliefs and understandings that may be “somewhat distorted” since they were experienced from the perspective of student and not as teacher (p. 5). Richardson therefore describes these views or beliefs about teaching as potentially “narcissistic, idiosyncratic, and somewhat simplistic” (pp. 5-6). Entering beliefs held by pre-service teachers generally prevail and persist throughout their teaching careers causing them to resist new lessons proposed during their training programs. Pajares (1992) accounts for this by underscoring the familiarity of the classroom to pre-service teachers relative to the work environments of other newly established professionals. He notes that teacher’s prior experiences as students cast them in the role of ‘insiders’ who need not discover the classroom or see it with new eyes since

it is completely familiar territory and that these new teachers “simply return to places of their past, complete with memories and preconceptions of days gone by, preconceptions that often remain largely unaffected by higher education” (p. 46). Richardson (1996) also identifies teachers’ experience with formal knowledge as informing the development of their beliefs. She regards formal knowledge as “understandings that have been agreed on within a community of scholars as worthwhile and valid” (p. 106).

Relating General Research on Teacher Beliefs to Teachers’ Beliefs About Citizenship

The general research on factors that inform teachers’ beliefs has been borne out in studies specifically focusing on teachers and citizenship. These latter studies highlight the importance of academic learning, context, demographic factors and political factors in informing teachers’ conceptions of citizenship. In the majority of these studies, the findings have provided guidance on the types of contextual factors that can inform teachers’ beliefs about citizenship.

Hahn (2001) for instance, acknowledges the importance of context in shaping views of citizenship when she states that the varied rationales for citizenship education are largely reflective of the different understandings of the democratic ideal between and within particular contexts. Utilizing case studies of four teachers of varying levels of experience, Dunkin et al. (1998) investigated the types of knowledge and beliefs teachers required in the teaching of an experimental unit of work in civics and citizenship education. One of their findings included the proposition that teachers’ knowledge of the community context in which they practice sometimes affects their choice of substantive content to include in their lessons and that controversial content is likely to be excluded,

especially if teachers lack confidence in their own mastery of that content. In this scenario described by Dunkin et. al, context shapes not necessarily the beliefs teachers hold but what aspects of these beliefs they decide to share within their classrooms. This finding suggests that teachers are likely to hold beliefs about citizenship which they may not necessarily give expression to in their teaching practice. Hess (2008) provides an example of teachers who alter their instructional practices relative to their beliefs in response to classroom complexities. She notes that though teachers who include controversial issues in their courses do so because it aligns with their conceptions of democracy and the purpose of schooling, there is evidence that many of these teachers will not select certain issues out of concern that those issues may be too upsetting to the community or to students. These issues may relate to gay rights, pornography or creationism, for instance. In other words, context is important not only by virtue of its ability to inform the beliefs teachers hold, but also in terms of teachers' decisions regarding which beliefs gain expression within the classroom.

Teachers' beliefs about citizenship may also be informed by their knowledge acquisition. The teachers engaged in the study conducted by Dunkin et al. (1998) generally lacked content knowledge required to teach the experimental unit and "had to engage in considerable amounts of study to learn the material they were to teach and [to formulate] detailed lesson plans" (p. 145). Accordingly, Dunkin et al. observed that the study teachers undertake of unfamiliar materials that they will teach shortly and the reinforcement of that learning provided by the act of teaching itself, are two powerful determinants of teacher knowledge. This observation reinforces Richardson's (2003) notion of teachers' understandings being derived from 'formal' sources outside of

themselves and emphasizes the role of academic learning and professional development training in informing teachers' beliefs.

A review of the literature revealed that demographic factors may also play a role in informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship. In their study of the views of contemporary social studies teachers on citizenship education, Anderson et al. (1997) considered demographic factors that might lead educators to internalize different perspectives of citizenship education. These factors included age, gender, ethnicity, religion, and community size. In a national sample of over 800 teachers, the researchers found that teachers who wanted citizenship education to encourage serious critical thinking and questioning skills and who express commitment to open-mindedness, cultural understanding, and political, racial and religious tolerance were more likely to profess no religious belief, for instance. The researchers opined that religious doctrine might predispose one against openness to teaching about diverse cultures and values in society. Similarly, exposure to diverse cultures (in one's community, through experience or by virtue of one's ethnicity) may play a role in one's view of whether citizenship education should include teaching about diverse cultures and values.

Political factors may also inform the beliefs teachers hold about citizenship. DeJaghere (2008) observes this when she proposes that "understanding educators' lives as citizens, their political, civic, and social acts, may lead to greater understanding of how they can connect citizenship as a public, engaging experience with the curriculum and classroom" (p. 359). Myers (2007) examined the manner in which politically active teachers practiced citizenship in Brazil and Canada. Study participants were all involved

in teachers' unions, political parties and/or social movements (e.g. feminist, anti-racist or anti-globalization). He found that teachers' preparation of students was very much influenced by the political contexts in which these educators operated. Teachers in social movements for instance, were more likely to tackle highly controversial issues e.g. sexual orientation and feminism, which were not generally accepted in public political discourse. These observations about the influence of political factors on teachers' beliefs are consistent with the views of Ginsburg et al. (1995) who posit that educators act politically in their personal and professional lives.

Conclusion

In this chapter I sought to explore and synthesize the following bodies of literature with a view to developing an analytic framework to guide this study: (i) literature on conceptions of citizenship; and (ii) literature on teachers' beliefs. I opened the chapter by linking the broader purposes of education to the democratic ideal and preparing students for their roles as citizens through teaching them the norms and ideals of the overarching society. I also noted that citizenship education has been widely viewed as serving the purpose of preparing students for their role as citizens in wider society.

I outlined a range of conceptions of citizenship from which teachers' beliefs might be drawn. Conceptions of citizenship include traditional conceptions embodied in T.H. Marshall's (1964) theory of citizenship as well as those embodied in the civic-republican and liberal traditions of citizenship proposed by Heater (1999). These conceptions have been criticized as having narrow focus on rights and obligations of

citizens relative to the nation state and there have been calls for broadened conceptions. Accordingly, educators have argued that these broadened conceptions should make students aware of the public space not only as a physical space but also as a social space in which the actions of all citizens can enhance society as a whole (Ichilow, 1998). Ichilow (p. 272) further suggests that the citizenship education programs which embody these conceptions of citizenship should help to redefine the public space, and to create conscientious, efficacious, interested, caring and active citizens and should promote global awareness and the realization that circumstances that affect our immediate moral and physical well-being are located on the transnational arena as well. I therefore explored literature highlighting conceptions of citizenship based on active participation and global concerns.

I also briefly described the challenges in defining ‘beliefs’ and outlined the range of meanings ascribed to and used interchangeably with the term. Recognition was also paid to Pajares’ (1992) distinction between teachers’ general beliefs and their educational beliefs and it was noted that teachers’ educational beliefs are comprised of beliefs *about* a host of issues including beliefs *about* content, *about* subject matter or *about* student knowledge. Accordingly, teachers’ beliefs *about* citizenship were recognized as a subset of their general educational beliefs. The literature reveals that a wide range of factors, including contextual, political, or demographic factors can inform teachers’ general beliefs, including their educational beliefs. Accordingly, beliefs about citizenship may be viewed as a subset of these general educational beliefs. These bodies of literature form the analytic framework that was utilized to address the research questions in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This qualitative case study examined the beliefs espoused by a group of secondary school teachers in Kingston Jamaica about citizenship and the factors informing those beliefs. The study was conducted within the context of a pilot citizenship education program implemented by the Jamaican Ministry of Education (MOE). To be sure, this study did not focus on the implementation of the MOE pilot citizenship education program. Rather, this study utilized the occasion of the implementation of the MOE citizenship education pilot program as the backdrop for examining teachers' beliefs about citizenship. I will commence this chapter with a justification for the use of qualitative research methodology and more specifically, the use of the case study tradition. I will then outline the research design by describing the approach I adopted in identifying the case and its boundaries, selecting the sites, identifying the participants, and collecting and analyzing the data. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the procedures I built into the study to promote credibility and trustworthiness of the study.

Rationale for use of Qualitative Research Methodology

The decision to utilize qualitative research methodology was also guided by considering its suitability for examining the central issue of this study (Cresswell, 1998). The use of qualitative research methodology is an appropriate model for this study since it allows for more in-depth exploration of the complex ideas that may form part of the perceptions of research participants. Pajares (1992) makes this point as he observes that the use of qualitative methodology in research relating to beliefs allows for the use of open-ended interviews, responses to dilemmas and vignettes and observation of behavior

as a means of achieving “richer and more accurate inferences” of behavior (p. 327). I therefore employed qualitative research methodology, given the focus of this research on teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs. In making the determination to use qualitative research methodology, I was also guided by the characteristics of qualitative research proposed by Marshall and Rossman (1999: 3). Here, the authors state that qualitative research is characterized by the following attributes: (i) it takes place in the natural world; (ii) it uses multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic; (iii) it focuses on context; (iv) it is emergent rather than tightly prefigured; and (v) it is fundamentally interpretive. In the following paragraphs, I explain how the present study satisfied each of these elements.

This study examined a sample of nine secondary school teachers in Jamaica. I interacted with these teachers in the context of their schools and classrooms and therefore captured them in a natural setting rather than a context specifically constructed for purposes of this study. The following research questions, stated in Chapter one, guided this study:

1. What beliefs do these teachers espouse about citizenship?
2. What factors inform these teachers’ beliefs about citizenship?
3. What practices do these teachers engage in to promote their views of citizenship?

One-on-one semi-structured interviews with the teacher-participants of this study were my primary data source. I obtained additional data from interviews with other teaching

and administrative staff, including principals and Ministry of Education officers. Informal conversations with ancillary staff, students, and other teachers also served as additional data sources along with limited classroom and school observations and a review of classroom artifacts, curriculum and policy documents. Reliance on these multiple data sources satisfied the requirement of employing multiple methods that are “interactive and humanistic.” These data sources helped develop my understanding of the context and aided my interpretation of what I observed during my visits to schools and heard in my interviews and informal conversations. Further, the study heavily focused on context since it sought to elicit teachers’ beliefs as they were informed by the social, historical and political contexts surrounding their lives and their work. The use of emerging themes from the data collected shaped, informed and refined the analytic framework for the study, thereby making the study “emergent rather than tightly prefigured.” Finally, the data collected from semi-structured interviews and analysis of documents were interpreted in the light of emergent themes and in the context of the relevant literature and the framework established for the study, thereby satisfying Marshall and Rossman’s (1999) requirement that the research be “fundamentally interpretive.”

Defining the Case

This research utilized a case study approach to examine and describe the beliefs espoused by a group of secondary level teachers in Kingston, Jamaica about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs. The starting point for defining the case for this study and drawing its boundaries, was the following definition, proposed by Creswell (2007: 73), of ‘case study research’ as:

...a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case-based themes.

Here Creswell notes that the system or case is bounded by time and place. However, the process of identifying the boundaries of a case is an ongoing iterative process (Stake, 1995) and accordingly, these boundaries may shift and change over time as data are collected and analyzed relative to the framework employed in the study.

Merriam (1998) underscores the importance of defining the case or unit of analysis to be studied. A case can be defined as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 25). These authors illustrate the case graphically as a ‘heart’ (or focus) located in the center of a circular boundary that is “somewhat indeterminate, [representing] the edge of the case: what will not be studied” (p.25). Patton (2002) states that one of the key issues in deciding on this unit of analysis or case “is to decide what you want to be able to say something about at the end of the study” e.g. individuals, families, groups or some other unit of analysis (p. 229). Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994) offer examples of a case as including an individual, a role, a small group, an organization, a community or settlement, or a nation (among others). These units of analysis must be intrinsically bounded in order to be considered a case.

This study examines the case of a group of nine secondary teachers in Kingston, during the implementation of a Ministry of Education pilot citizenship education program, sharing their beliefs about citizenship and the factors that have informed those

beliefs. At the 'heart' here is the group of nine secondary teachers. The boundary defines Kingston and the concept of citizenship as the context. Therefore, secondary teachers outside of Kingston were not interviewed for this study and the concept of citizenship was the focus of interviews with those teachers who participated in this study. The boundary is also defined by a specific moment in time i.e. teachers were interviewed during the implementation of the MOE pilot citizenship education program. This definition of the case for this study accords with what Miles and Huberman (1994) describe as defining the case based on "the nature and size of the *social unit*" (p.26, emphasis in the original). They observe that the boundaries of a case are further defined in sampling and this further definition will be explored later in this chapter as I describe the process through which I identified the teachers who participated in this study.

Stake (1995) distinguishes among three general types of case study: the intrinsic case study, the instrumental case study and the collective case study. This study includes elements of both intrinsic and instrumental case studies. Stake (1995) recognizes the possibility of this occurrence as he notes that "often we cannot decide" (p. 4) which of the three categories (intrinsic, instrumental or collective) to sort a case study into. He describes an intrinsic case study as one in which the researcher undertakes the study because of an intrinsic interest in that case. Further, an instrumental case study is defined as one which is used to understand something else.

This study was driven by an intrinsic interest in examining the concept of citizenship education in the context of a Caribbean classroom. This interest is two-fold. The first and perhaps more deeply rooted factor indicating my intrinsic interest in this

case relates to reflections on my own classroom experiences growing up in the Caribbean. In hindsight, my desire as a student growing up in a Caribbean classroom was for a less didactic classroom experience – one that provoked my thinking and caused me to be more engaged as a participant in my own learning. I was desirous of classroom instruction that would push me to examine issues from multiple perspectives and to devise creative approaches to problems. I was also hungry for a classroom experience that heavily incorporated ‘real life’ events. Some citizenship education discourses emphasize active participation of youth in their schools and the wider community and advocate giving voice to students’ views within the classroom (see Gutmann, 2001). Beane and Apple (2007), for instance propose that the values and principles promoted by democratic schools should include “the open flow of ideas, regardless of their popularity, that enables people to be as fully informed as possible;...and the use of critical reflection and analysis to evaluate ideas, problems and policies” (p. 7). It is this potential for citizenship education to be given expression in the ‘democratic classroom’ that has been a primary motivating factor for my personal interest in this study.

My intrinsic interest in this study also stems from my identity as a Caribbean native. It is important for me to contextualize my research in this Caribbean ‘space’ of which I am and will always be a part. It is my hope that in some measure, this research would spark discussion and contribute to building the education landscape in the region. This latter rationale, of seeking to contribute to the education landscape, aligns with Stake’s (1995) description of an instrumental case study as one which is used to understand something else. This study can potentially serve as a starting point for examination and analysis of other citizenship education programs in the Caribbean.

Jamaica is the first country in the Anglophone Caribbean to introduce a specific program in citizenship education. Other countries¹⁶ in the region have already commenced efforts to follow suit and it may be useful for policy makers and teacher-educators to understand how these curricula are likely to play out in classrooms across the Anglophone Caribbean.

Research Design: Selection of Sites and Participants

In this sub-section, I further delineate the boundaries of the case for this study by describing the process used to identify the research sites and select the participants.

Stake (1995) observes that our primary obligation in studying a case is not to understand other cases but to “understand this one case” (p. 4) and he goes on to acknowledge that in instrumental case studies some cases do a better job than others of promoting our understanding.

In selecting the sites for this study I was guided by a concern to maximize learning (Stake, 1995) which suggested the selection of a group of school sites that would allow for exploration of a wide range of themes across different contexts. However, I tempered this consideration by being mindful that the relatively small number of participants associated with this qualitative research would render any justifications of selection based on “representativeness” indefensible. I therefore utilized purposeful sampling in selecting sites and participants. Patton (2002) states that purposeful sampling is adopted in qualitative research to permit in-depth inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon. He further notes that this emphasis on in-depth

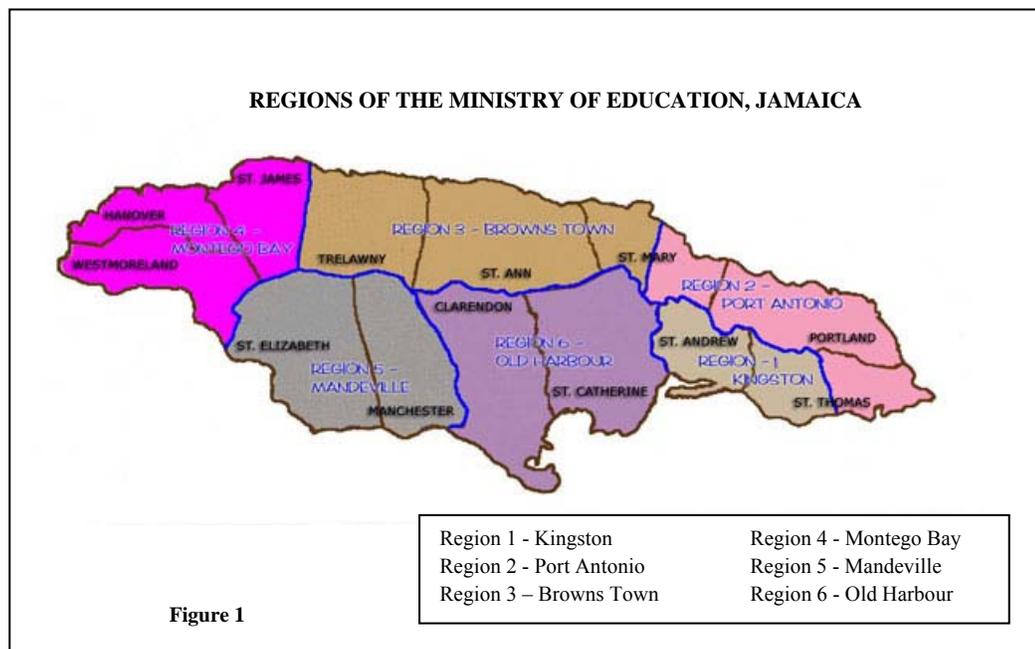
¹⁶ St. Lucia and Grenada are currently developing citizenship education curricula.

understanding leads to the selection of information-rich cases “from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of research, thus the term purposeful sampling” (p.46). In addition to selecting sites and participants based on the primary consideration of maximizing learning through identifying information-rich cases, my purposeful sampling was driven by additional practical considerations. These additional considerations included the fact that the MOE citizenship education pilot program was being implemented in a limited number of schools, the limited resources I had at my disposal for research, and the physical and financial challenges of mobility in a relatively large Caribbean country.

The estimates for numbers of schools and teachers comprising the case were made having regard to two main considerations. The first is Merriam’s (1998) reminder that there is no clear answer to the question of how many people to interview, how many sites to visit, or how many documents to read. The answers to these questions she says depends on “the questions being asked, the data being gathered, the analysis in progress, [and] the resources you have to support the study” (p. 64). The second consideration is one that Marshall and Rossman (2006) describe as the challenge of “do-ability” faced by qualitative researchers. Marshall and Rossman describe this as the challenge to demonstrate the feasibility of the study as dictated by “judgments about resources (time, money), access to the site or population of interest or both, ethical considerations and the researcher’s knowledge and skills” (p.11). Having regard to the objective of achieving rich and thick data from which inferences could be made and the limitations of time and resources, I selected nine teacher-participants from across six public secondary school sites at which the MOE citizenship education pilot program was being implemented.

Site Selection

Merriam (1998) notes that in case studies, sample selection occurs first at the case level, followed by sample selection within the case. I therefore commenced the process of circumscribing the case in my study by selecting a sample at the case level. This process involved first identifying the geographic region within Jamaica followed by the school sites within that area at which I would identify teachers to participate in this research i.e. the sample selection within the case. I delimited the geographic region for this study to Region 1 – the Kingston Region – which is one of six administrative regions of the Ministry of Education of Jamaica (See Figure 1). The Kingston Region includes the capital city Kingston, the Parish of St. Andrew (where the city of Kingston is located) and the western part of the parish of St. Thomas.



Education in Jamaica is administered by the Ministry of Education through its administrative head office in Kingston and six regional offices, established “to enable decentralisation of the Ministry’s functions and ... [enhance] the efficiency of the Ministry’s operations” (Government of Jamaica, 2003). Basing my study in Region 1 placed me in close proximity to the administrative head office of the Ministry of Education – a factor that promoted ease of access to key policy documents and key education officials. This also allowed me access to the Ministry of Education officers who served as gate-keepers to the school sites at which the teacher-participants in this study were located. Not all schools participated in the MOE pilot citizenship education program. One hundred and twenty public primary and secondary schools located in Regions 1 and 6 participated in the pilot program. I focused on selecting schools from this broader sample of those participating in the MOE pilot citizenship education program. I further focused on secondary schools as the sites for this study since concepts of citizenship were likely to be more complex at this level than at the primary level.

There are four levels of the formal education system in Jamaica: early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary, offered through several institutions island-wide. Secondary level education is offered in two phases: (i) three years corresponding to grades 7-9 (or forms 1-3) for students 12-14 years of age; and (ii) two years corresponding to grades 10 and 11 (or forms 4-5) for students aged 15-16 years of age. Some institutions offer two additional years of grades 12 and 13 (lower and upper form 6) in preparation for university matriculation (Government of Jamaica, 2009). The first

phase of three years (i.e. grades 7-9/forms 1-3) is offered through All Age schools¹⁷ and Primary & Junior High schools whilst the full five-year period (i.e. grades 7-9/forms 1-3 and grades 10&11/forms 4&5) is offered through Secondary High schools. Technical High schools and Agricultural High Schools cover portions of the full five-year period. Table 1 provides a breakout of public secondary education institutions for the Region 1.

Table 1: Distribution of Public Secondary Educational Institutions by Region and Parish 2008/2009				
Region	Parish	Secondary High	Technical High	Vocational High
Kingston	Kingston	12	2	-
	St. Andrew	27	1	-
	St. Thomas	1	-	-
	Total	40	3	-

Source: Education Statistics 2008-2009, Ministry of Education, Jamaica

Secondary High schools include traditional grammar schools and new secondary schools.¹⁸ Though this distinction of types of Secondary High schools is not formally acknowledged by the Ministry of Education there is widespread perception of difference in educational quality of these institutions (Miller, 1999; Thompson et al., in press). A few examples of the well-entrenched beliefs in the superiority of traditional grammar schools over new secondary schools include students and their families listing traditional grammar schools as their top choices for placement based on secondary entrance examinations as well as the Ministry of Education’s practice of placing highest scoring

¹⁷ An all-age school incorporates a primary school and lower secondary school and offers instruction to students from grades 1 – 9. Evans (2001) notes that the all-age school is “attended mainly by children of the lowest earning quintiles of the population” (p. 12).

¹⁸ See chapter 1 for a description of the origins of these schools types and their evolution over time.

students on secondary entrance examinations into traditional grammar schools (Miller, 1999; Thompson et al., in press). Accordingly, despite the *de jure* common reference to these schools collectively as “Secondary High schools,” the *de facto* belief in the differences between these two types of schools (traditional grammar and new secondary) persists. For purposes of this study, I therefore utilized the terms “new secondary school” and “traditional grammar school.” The schools selected for this study were a mix of traditional grammar schools and new secondary schools and included an all-age school. The final sample of six schools included one all-age school, two new secondary schools and three traditional grammar schools.

The school sites selected for this research were all located in the Kingston region. While I recognize restricting the geographical area of focus to be a limitation of this study, the decision to restrict the school sites to those in the Kingston region was based on the challenges of mobility to these farther locations, particularly given my limited time in the field and my limited resources. In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants in this study I will provide a general description of the school context for the three types of schools included in this study in lieu of an in-depth description of the specific context of each of the six schools.

The All-Age School

The schools in this study included one all-age school. Evans (2001) contrasts the look and feel of the all-age school from the secondary high school noting the dirty walls in need of paint and the overcrowded classrooms that characterize the all-age school are in stark opposition to the clean, spacious and orderly look and feel of the typical

secondary high school. This was indeed my experience as I visited the different types of secondary schools. The all-age school I visited comprised 3 or 4 small buildings which housed the grades 1 – 9 classes, bathroom facilities and the school’s cafeteria which was more akin to a tuck shop.¹⁹ A large Poinciana tree stood in the centre of the school yard and a mural painted on the wall close-by bore the name of the school and its motto. The school yard was comprised of dirt and stones with little or no greenery or shrubs (except for the Poinciana tree) and a big open field lay beyond the building that housed the tuck shop. The school was severely under-resourced and had vacancies for three teachers for the past two years. This is consistent with a Ministry of Education report (2010) which states that all-age schools showed a 1.8% decline in teachers employed for the 2009/2010 academic year while all other school types showed an increase in numbers of teachers employed. At the time of this research, class sizes at the secondary level (grades 7 – 9) in this school were approximately 50 students, despite official Ministry of Education reports of a pupil-teacher ratio of less than half this size. All students assigned to grade 7 of this school based on their results in the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) gained a scored 25% or less on this exam. Students in this school typically come from a low SES background resulting in a high level of students receiving assistance (including lunches) on the PATH program. Further, student and teacher absentee rates are high.

Fewer than the full complement of teachers at the school meant that teaching was severely disrupted whenever a teacher was absent. Evans (2001) notes that many students who attend all-age schools have limited educational opportunities and are forced

¹⁹ A shop in or near a school, where food such as cakes and sweets are sold

to drop out or leave school at an early age, with little hope of gaining entry to a secondary school. There were high levels of violence within the school as evidenced by daily fights in the courtyard or classrooms and these often resulted in bodily injury to students.

The New Secondary School

Two 'new secondary' schools were included in this research. As is the case generally, the new secondary schools in this study were better resourced than the all-age schools. Their grounds were generally well kept and adorned with large trees and greenery and the exterior of the multi-storey buildings were in good condition. However, the exterior spaces belied the look and feel of the interior, which was often austere with few furnishings, some graffiti on the walls and often poorly lit. Like the all-age schools, a significant number of these students are from a low SES background and rely on the PATH program to receive lunches. The curriculum within the new secondary schools included technical and vocational subjects e.g. Clothing and Textiles and Home Economics. Student and teacher absenteeism were less of an issue than in the all-age school but were still evident in some cases. I witnessed fewer violent incidents at these schools than at the all-age schools though there were some tense verbal and physical exchanges between students at times.

The Traditional Grammar School

The three traditional grammar schools in this study are also relics of the colonial past. They enjoy a long history and tradition within Jamaica and are better resourced than the all-age and new secondary schools on account of their affiliation with the church, their highly academic curriculum and the high SES of the students who attend

and their families relative to other types of schools. The greater availability of resources within these schools is evident in the look and feel of the physical environment which boasts well-manicured lawns, a wider range of extra-curricular activities. Over time a greater number of low SES students have enrolled in these schools giving rise to changing student demographics at these schools. This rise in the proportion of low SES students attending these schools is attributed in part to the decline in prestige of these schools over time. A relatively small number of students from these schools relied on receiving assistance through the PATH program compared with the students in the all-age and new secondary schools. There were significantly lower levels of student and teacher absenteeism at the traditional grammar schools in this study than at the all-age and new secondary schools. Though there were incidents of student violence, these infractions were less frequent than at the all-age and new secondary schools.

Study Participants

The selection of study participants from the school sites selected represented what Merriam (1998) refers to as the subsequent “sample selection within the case” (p. 66). I selected two teachers teaching at the secondary level in the all-age school, two from one of the traditional grammar schools, two from one of the new secondary schools, and one from each of the three remaining secondary schools (two traditional grammar schools and one new secondary school) to yield a total of nine participants. As in the case of site selection, I sought to select a purposeful sample of teachers with the aim of including “information-rich” cases (Patton, 2002). Guiding criteria in the selection of a purposeful sample of teachers took account of gender, teaching experience, teaching qualifications and subject area teaching. Six of the nine teachers were selected based on advice from

the Ministry of Education having regard to the selection criteria just listed. All teachers recommended by the Ministry of Education were currently serving as liaisons (or Citizenship Education Program links i.e. CEP links) to the MOE citizenship education pilot program. Three of the nine participants were identified using a “snowball technique” (Patton, 2002) in which participants recommended by the Ministry of Education were in turn asked to recommend other prospective participants.

The nine participants ultimately selected for this study included seven females and two males, ranging in age from 25 to 52. All educators are Jamaican citizens of African descent. These educators taught a range of subjects including Social Studies, Mathematics, Information Technology, English Literature, Home Economics and History. Participants’ highest level of education ranged from a teaching diploma to a master’s degree with all but one teacher having completed formal teacher training. The length of teaching experience of participants ranged from six to twenty-five years. Table 2 below illustrates the profiles of the nine teacher-participants in this study.

Table 2: Profile of teacher-participants

Name	Age Range	Gender	Race	School Type	Teacher Trained	Length of Teaching	Subject Taught
Denise	41-50	F	Black	New Secondary	Y	>20 yrs	Mathematics
Doreen	31-40	F	Black	Traditional Grammar	Y	5-10 yrs	History, Social Studies
Edgar	>50	M	Black	Traditional Grammar	Y	>20 yrs	English Language, English Literature
Eutille	20-30	F	Black	All Age	Y	5-10 yrs	Mathematics, Social Studies
Francine	31-40	F	Black	New Secondary	Y	11-20 yrs	History, Social Studies
Gillian	31-40	F	Black	Traditional Grammar	Y	11-20 yrs	History, English Language
Gregory	20-30	M	Black	New Secondary	N	5-10 yrs	Mathematics, Information Technology
Kathy	41-50	F	Black	All Age	Y	11-20 yrs	Home Economics, Health and Family Life Ed
Pauline	20-30	F	Black	Traditional Grammar	Y	5-10 yrs	History, Social Studies, Geography

Research Process: Data Collection and Analysis

The following sub-sections will focus on the sources and methods of data collection utilized in the study, the data obtained through the use of these data collection techniques and the approach adopted in analyzing these data.

Data Sources and Collection

In order to conduct this study, I utilized multiple data collection techniques, including semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observations, field notes and memoranda, and analysis of documents, including curriculum and policy documents, classroom handouts and artifacts. Semi-structured interviews with the primary participants of this study were the main source of data, whilst the other sources listed served as additional sources of data. One of the main strengths associated with using semi-structured interviewing is its potential to yield rich, contextual data and to allow for flexibility in exploring interesting lines of research and pursuing emergent issues (Berg, 2008). Berg also notes that semi-structured interviews possess the strength of allowing the interviewer to pursue underlying motivations, themes and issues with the interviewee through building on the interviewee's response and words. In this way, the researcher can access the interviewee without imposing the words and thoughts of the researcher on the data collection process.

I conducted an initial interview with each of the nine educators (primary participants) lasting between 1½ and 2½ hours and a follow-on one-on-one interview of roughly the same duration. The follow-on interviews were conducted within three days to two weeks following the initial interview. Before conducting the follow-on interview,

I reviewed the audio files of the first interview to identify issues or themes that needed clarifying. These interviews were aimed at addressing the research questions for this study by ascertaining: (i) whether and why teachers view citizenship as important; (ii) the kinds of meanings they ascribe to the term citizenship; (iii) the student outcomes they advocate in the teaching of citizenship education; (iv) the ways in which their conceptions of citizenship are enacted in classroom practices; (v) the factors they consider to be conducive or detrimental to their efforts at promoting citizenship; (vi) the manner in which personal contextual factors might have informed the meanings they ascribe to citizenship; and (vii) whether their conception of citizenship has changed over time. Additional data collected through semi-structured interviews related to teachers' understandings about the Ministry of Education pilot program. The aim was to determine the extent to which the views teachers espoused were consistent with or may have been informed by this local policy. To be clear, the aim in ascertaining teachers' understandings about the Ministry of Education pilot program was not to determine the extent to which they were implementing the program with fidelity. Data from these semi-structured interviews helped to uncover the applications and relevance that teachers saw for citizenship in their schools and classrooms. Data gathered through these interviews also provided insights into whether/how teachers conceive of citizenship as having relevance beyond the immediate school setting and extending to the wider community (locally, regionally and globally).

In addition to the interviews with primary participants, I conducted interviews with other educators, including principals and with Ministry of Education officers. I also held informal conversations with students and ancillary staff at the school sites, including

school security personnel. The observations I conducted as part of this research were mainly of the school culture. Additionally, I sat in on class sessions for five of the nine participants. Scheduling conflicts, school events that interrupted teaching, or mid-term examinations prevented me from observing class sessions for the remaining participants. I created reflective memos based on my observations and experiences at the school sites, including these informal conversations with students and ancillary staff. The supplementary data gathered through these additional sources helped to shape my understanding of the context in which these teachers were operating and informed the types of probes and questions I employed during my semi-structured interviews with primary participants.

Data collected for this study were also derived from documents such as the MOE citizenship education pilot program resource guide, textbooks, subject syllabi and any handouts teacher-participants' disseminated to students during classes. The documents helped provide an in-depth look at the broad policy context of the study and gave insights into policymakers' aims of the program. I also used the documents to confirm and inform the data I collected during interviews and observations, and to validate some of the resultant findings that emerged. I supplemented gaps in the policy documentation through interviews with Ministry of Education personnel who were able to give insights into the process through which the policy was shaped and the way it was intended to operate in practice. Textbooks, subject syllabi and class handouts, complemented my understanding of the views teachers shared with me during the semi-structured interviews and also informed some of the threads of questioning I pursued during these interviews.

Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994) underscore the interactive and cyclical nature of qualitative data collection and analysis when they note that “the ideal model for data analysis is one that interweaves [data collection and data analysis] from the beginning” (p. 49). I therefore commenced analysis of data during the process of data collection to allow for “the possibility of collecting new data to fill in gaps, or to test new hypotheses that might emerge during analysis” (p. 49). In the period immediately following each one-on-one interview, I documented, in memo format, my reflections, observations or any questions arising that should be pursued. I also preceded each follow-up interview with a full review of the audio recording of the previous interview, noting the main points that arose as well as identifying lines of questioning that I wished to pursue in the follow-on interview. As I reviewed the audio recording of the initial interview in preparation for the follow-on interview, I prepared a brief summary document on each participant with a view to (i) synthesizing the main themes touched upon by the participant; (ii) determining the extent to which the participant’s responses addressed the relevant research questions; (iii) identifying any new issues that emerged from the interview; and (iv) establishing what follow-up information I should seek from the participant. This approach functioned as a speedy first stab at data reduction and allowed for relatively contemporaneous reflection on the interview (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Following these interviews, I retained the services of a local transcriptionist in Jamaica to convert these audio files to text. The familiarity of a local transcriptionist

with the Jamaican accent and dialect²⁰ served to promote accuracy of the transcripts and reduced editing time. The transcripts were prepared to reflect as accurately as possible what teachers said during these interviews. Accordingly, I maintained the use of Jamaican Patois where teachers used it. The transcripts therefore reflected a mix of standard English and Jamaican Patois. For this study, in presenting quotes that utilized Jamaican Patois, I maintained this dialect and included an italicized standard English translation in parentheses directly following the portions of dialect that might be difficult for a non-native to understand. I tested the accuracy of the transcripts by listening to the audio recordings as I reviewed the transcripts.

Despite commencing data analysis during the process of collecting data, the bulk of data analysis occurred after data collection was complete. The analysis for this study was conducted using paper-based methods, without the aid of data management and analysis computer software. As I reviewed the transcripts for accuracy, I began a process of open coding that allowed for the broadest possible interpretation of data. This round of coding identified broad themes illustrated by supporting quotes. These codes were identified using the comments feature in Microsoft Word and also using color-coded highlighting. I employed a follow-on round of analysis that sought to refine and uncover nuances within the initial open codes. For instance, one broad theme identified in the initial round of coding was “factors affecting teachers’ views of citizenship.” In the follow-on round of coding, this category was broken down to include “influence of family” and “influence of academic training,” for instance.

²⁰ Jamaican dialect, also known as patois (or Jamaican Patois), is an English-based creole language with West-African influences. It exists mainly as a spoken language with standard British English being used for most writing in Jamaica.

I performed several rounds of coding continuing my analysis of the data by reading, first as a whole and then in smaller segments, identifying key words and phrases that characterized teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the rationale they advanced for these beliefs, including the factors that informed them. I continued to assign codes to regularly occurring patterns of key words and phrases as a means of reducing the data and identifying themes and categories (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The codes were informed, in part, by the conceptual framework for this study and in other instances, they emerged from the data. For instance the code of 'citizenship as global' was derived from the framework for the study whilst the code 'citizenship as adhering to social norms' emerged during the coding process. I also looked for themes relating to citizenship as identity, active citizenship and the impact of globalization that could illustrate the ways in which these teachers think about and understand citizenship. Based on the conceptual framework in chapter two, the codes I utilized also related to political, demographic and contextual factors informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship. I adopted a similar approach to analysis of documents focusing on identifying the conceptions of citizenship they embody.

However, this identification of themes and codes was merely a starting point for interpreting and reporting the study findings (Bazeley, 2009). Some of the newly emergent themes prompted me to engage with new literature that informed my understanding of the issues in this study from a different perspective. This engagement with new literature during the process of reviewing the transcripts gave rise to an iterative process of analysis and sense-making through reading and re-reading of the transcripts and related literature. In re-reading the transcripts I identified new themes, reinforced or

amended previous ones, and identified similarities and differences across teachers. This iterative process also enabled me to explore isolated cases and disconfirming data relating to these themes. Following review of each transcript, I created a brief memorandum identifying the main themes that arose in relation to the research questions and identifying the specific quotes relating to the ideas teachers expressed in relation to each theme. This approach served as a follow-on round of data reduction and the resulting memos allowed for more efficient comparison of data across teachers.

Addressing Research Concerns

Research concerns assume special significance in qualitative research because of the centrality of the role of the researcher in the research process. These concerns must therefore be declared and acknowledged and safeguards built into the research design to address them. Patton (2002) acknowledges this constraint of qualitative research when he states that “qualitative inquiry, because the human being is the instrument of data collection, requires that the investigator carefully reflect on, deal with, and report potential sources of biases and error” (p. 51). It is with this requirement to report potential sources of biases and errors that this section deals. Patton proposes that qualitative research should aim for ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘authenticity’ rather than ‘objectivity’ since the ideals of absolute objectivity and value-free science are impossible to attain in practice and are of questionable desirability in the first place as they ignore the intrinsically social nature and human purposes of research (p. 50). This use of the terms ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘authenticity’ indicate researchers’ aim to promote the quality of the study by striving for balance, fairness and completeness. In this section I describe

potential sources of biases and errors as well as describe the safeguards I built into the study to promote credibility and trustworthiness of the study.

Positionality

One potential source of bias in this study stems from my being circumstanced simultaneously as an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider.’ I function as an ‘insider’ by virtue of being a Caribbean native. My position as a Caribbean native appeared to place me above the suspicion that a non-native researcher may have been subjected to and seemed to provide me with a level of acceptance that allowed me to establish contacts and gain access relatively easily. However, my status as insider came with its biases. Here, I refer to my own expectations of what I might have heard from teachers about the ways in which they understand and think about citizenship. These expectations are based on my own experiences growing up in a classroom in the Anglophone Caribbean. My own desire to have been provoked more in my thinking as a student growing up in a Caribbean classroom influences my expectations of what teachers’ views and classroom practices in promoting citizenship might be. These biases informed my approach to data collection and interpretation, including the patterns I looked for and the categories of coding I selected.

My position as an ‘outsider’ stems from two main sources. The first is that while I am a native of the Caribbean region, I am a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago and not Jamaica. It is possible that I may have experienced greater difficulty accessing information as a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago than I would have if I were a citizen of Jamaica. The second factor which casts me as an ‘outsider’ was my role (at the time of

conducting field research) as coordinator of a project administered by the Organization of American States (OAS) titled “*Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Caribbean: An Online Course for Educators.*” The Ministry of Education of Jamaica was one of six Ministries of Education across the region participating in the project. My work on this project placed me in contact with Ministry of Education officials and had the potential to cause me to be viewed by Jamaican Ministry of Education officials as “part of the OAS team.” Ultimately, my outsider status did not appear to negatively affect my access to school sites or study participants’ reaction to me. For this research I worked with a different team of Ministry of Education officers housed in a separate office building from those with whom I had contact in my role as coordinator of the OAS project. Further, none of the teachers who participated in the OAS project were participants in this research.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

One safeguard that I built into this study to promote trustworthiness and credibility was triangulation or the use of multiple sources of evidence. Yin (1994) describes the most important advantage of using multiple sources of evidence as the ability to develop converging lines of inquiry that strengthen the findings and conclusions of research. He also notes that a major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. For this study, triangulation of data occurred through comparisons across the various data sources that I obtained i.e. interviews, informal conversations, observations, field notes, memos, and documents. As a consequence, I cross-referenced the learning from the semi-structured one-on-one interviews with documentary evidence (handouts used during class and the course

syllabi), interviews with other educators from the same schools, and informal conversations with students and staff to validate the findings of this study. This cross-referencing process enabled me to utilize multiple sources of evidence to arrive at conclusions.

I also utilized a peer review system in an attempt to mitigate the effects of my potential biases and to promote trustworthiness and credibility of the study. Through this process of peer review I identified critical friends both within and outside of the field of education and included among these critical friends, persons who were not familiar with the field of citizenship education. These critical friends played a key role in helping me confirm my personal sense-making of the data for this study and in validating the study's findings.

In addressing ethical considerations in this study, I was guided by Shank's (2002: 98-99) admonition to "do no harm, be open, be honest and be careful." These considerations guided me from my point of first contact with participants at the research site throughout my data collection and write-up of results, findings and recommendations. Among the safeguards I built into this research to honor these ethical considerations were securing the consent of participants to include them in this research and informing interviewees about the nature and purpose of the research, including the benefits and the risks involved. Two of the teachers initially identified by the Ministry of Education as prospective participants declined to participate after I provided full disclosure of what the research entailed. In keeping with the requirement to do no harm, I protected the confidentiality of all participants by removing their names from my

transcripts and utilizing pseudonyms to describe them and their schools both in my field notes as well as in the audio files and final transcripts of interviews. I also sought to promote confidentiality by ensuring that my laptop was password-protected to secure audio files and electronic transcripts of interviews and by keeping hard copies of documents that I received for analysis in a locked file. I also observed these ethical standards by allowing member checks in which participants reviewed the final version of transcripts of their interviews to ensure accuracy and correct representation. Finally, in keeping with my overarching desire to have my research impact the Caribbean region, I am in the process of preparing a summary of these research findings to present to the officers with whom I worked at the Ministry of Education in Jamaica so that these findings might serve as a tool to inform the further development of policy in this area.

CHAPTER FOUR: TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

One of the primary questions raised by this research is “What beliefs do these teachers espouse about citizenship?” This chapter is concerned with addressing this question by explaining the ways in which these teachers think about and understand citizenship and the meanings they ascribe to term ‘citizenship.’ This question is fraught with complexity primarily because of the lack of consensus among researchers and practitioners about the precise meaning of the term (Heater, 2004; Howe & Marshall, 1999). In practical terms, from the standpoint of researcher, this complexity manifested mainly in the multiple strands of questions that had to be asked of teachers to get at the meanings they ascribe to this term, citizenship. Accordingly, in addition to posing the question explicitly, teachers were asked about their beliefs about citizenship through questions aimed at exploring their notions of the values, attitudes, behaviors, actions and dispositions of a good citizen. The questions posed to them included: What should a good citizen do or be committed to doing? What values and attitudes do students need to possess if they are to be effective citizens? What does it mean to be a good Jamaican citizen? What type of knowledge should a good citizen possess?

Teachers’ beliefs about citizenship primarily referenced the knowledge they believed their students should possess as good citizens. However, teachers also described the dispositions or attitudes and values a good citizen should hold and they described these dispositions not in abstraction but as ways of being that should be acted upon in order for society to function smoothly and prosper. Teachers therefore viewed the good

citizen as one who is informed and who ascribes to values and ideals that are widely and commonly held by the citizenry and who actively participates in society in ways that foster and promote those common ideals. This is consistent with Halstead and Pike's (2006) observation that those responsible for teaching citizenship want their students, in addition to simply knowing and understanding values and the role they play in society, to "make [those values] their own and to develop a commitment to them in practice" (p.25). The variation across teachers regarding the exact nature of the knowledge, dispositions and actions of a good citizen will be explored more fully below.

This chapter will examine teachers' beliefs about the knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors indicative of good citizenship. These results will inform the next chapter of this work, which examines the factors that inform teachers' views of citizenship.

Meanings Ascribed to Citizenship

The main categories that emerged from the data to describe the meanings teachers ascribe to citizenship were '*Citizenship as Knowing*,' '*Citizenship as Being*,' and '*Citizenship as Doing*.' The first of these categories (*Citizenship as Knowing*) describes the knowledge teachers' view as essential for good citizenship. '*Citizenship as Being*' presents the values, attitudes and dispositions teachers proposed a good citizen should possess. Finally, '*Citizenship as Doing*' explains teachers' views about the ways in which a good citizen would act or participate in society. These categories are not mutually exclusive, indeed they overlap, and teachers emphasized the need for knowledge to become ingrained into attitudes and outlook and subsequently translate into action. The presentation of citizen characteristics using these categories is therefore

primarily intended for organizational clarity. This section will present findings for each of these categories based on data from semi-structured interviews with teacher-participants.

Citizenship as Knowing

Three key themes emerged to describe the types of knowledge teachers felt good citizens should possess. These were knowledge of rights and responsibilities; knowledge of history; and knowledge of social norms and/or behaviors consistent with mainstream society. Each of these themes will be explored in turn in the following sub-sections.

Knowledge of Rights and Responsibilities

In describing the types of knowledge that a good citizen should possess, teachers stressed the importance of citizens knowing their rights and responsibilities. However, teachers placed significantly greater focus on the rights than responsibilities. Among the rights cited by teachers were the right to free speech, the right to religious freedom, the right to vote, the right to equality of treatment, the right to freedom of movement and freedom of assembly and the right to a fair trial. Most of these rights were mentioned by teachers almost in list form without elaboration. However, when describing the overall importance of students' knowing these rights, teachers described these rights as important in promoting a sense of justice and underscored their importance in the context of unequal or differential treatment of specific groups in society as well as lack of equality of opportunities for all citizens in society. For instance, Edgar, a Rastafarian teacher at a traditional high school referenced the tensions between police and citizens in certain inner-city communities as he underscored the importance of students' knowing their rights:

Students should understand what rights they have and the things that affect them. For instance, if you are arrested you should be told why. You should understand that you have a right to peaceful protest. This is important because we have a serious problem with relations between the police and citizens.

Kathy, a senior teacher at an all-age school characterized by high levels of violence, described the potential for citizens (including students) to be taken advantage of by the police when they are unaware of their rights. She spoke of the practice by police of attempting to remove students from school based on complaints filed by other students and their relatives and her refusal to permit the accused students' from being taken away by police without parents being called in first. Kathy regarded this stance as part of her role in educating students about their rights in relations with police and law enforcement. Similarly, Eutille, a 9th grade teacher at the same all-age school described the vulnerability of citizens when they lack awareness of their rights. She further linked vulnerability resulting from this lack of knowledge to citizens' self-worth. In responding to a probe about why an understanding of rights is important for her students, Eutille proposed:

Many of them aren't [better citizens] because they not sure as to what they are entitled to or what their rights are hence they are gullible. Things are being done to them and they just accept it like that. So their self worth is diminished or demoralized. So that's what I believe. Once you know your rights as a citizen, then I believe you will be better able to communicate and better able to see yourself as worthwhile.

Other teachers made similar observations about the impact of lack of knowledge of rights on self worth. Francine, who has been teaching at a new secondary school for over 17 years linked the phenomenon of skin bleaching, which is prevalent in some segments of society, to a fundamental disbelief (by those engaged in the practice) in their right to

equality of treatment and opportunity. She viewed her challenge in response to the practice among students of skin bleaching (also called skin lightening or skin whitening) as one of helping students understand that they are entitled to the same rights as everyone else regardless of the hue of their skin. Francine stated the issue in the following terms:

We ought to teach them that no matter whatever their skin color is, whether they are darker or lighter they have the same rights, the same responsibilities and everybody is seen as equal and they don't have to bleach their skin to be acceptable because they are entitled to the same rights no matter how they look.

Six of the nine teachers described religious freedom as a significant right. This right was referenced both in relation to knowledge and practice and so has relevance for both the category of '*Citizenship as Knowing*' and '*Citizenship as Being*.' Accordingly, this issue will be dealt with further in a later part of this chapter. Teachers started from the premise of Christianity being the main religion in Jamaica and acknowledged the stigma attached to Rastafarians and Muslims, in particular within society. Teachers who referenced religious freedom stressed the importance of citizens acknowledging freedom of religion for these minority groups. As a Rastafarian, Edgar was acutely aware of the tacit messages of lack of religious tolerance sent to him and his students through the practices in his school. He stated:

I find prayers very, pro-Christian. Other religions are not even considered. And this is a church school, so, fine..... Sometimes, I think we could be a bit more flexible by looking at other people's religions.

This view of the importance of citizens understanding the need for religious freedom was echoed by Eutille when she observed:

Most of the schools in Jamaica are Christian based. You have a few Rastas yes. I haven't seen any Muslims thus far, but I believe as citizens, you

should be free, you should have the right to express your religion without being indoctrinated... you should still be able to access your rights. And I think [Jamaica] is a little bit biased where that is concerned.

There were a few outlier responses raised by teachers in their discussion of the types of rights citizens should be aware of. Though teachers primarily spoke of rights in relation to the state, one teacher also referenced rights within the context of the family setting. Kathy stressed the importance of teaching her students their rights in relation to their parents so that they might understand “the parents’ responsibility towards the child.” She saw the rights of the child in relation to his or her parents as including “the right to be fed to, to be sent to school, to have a roof over their head” and described these rights particularly in relation to the practice by some parents of having “children sitting with them selling on the sidewalk till night.” Gillian also suggested parents caring for their children as an important aspect of good citizenship. She proposed that parents’ responsibilities included: “Taking care of [their] children, sending them to school. Making sure that they become the best person that they can be as well.”

Though the focus of responses was primarily on rights, a majority of teachers counterbalanced this emphasis on knowledge of one’s rights by referencing the importance of citizens knowing their responsibilities. These responsibilities were often couched in terms of knowledge of civic duties and responsibilities. A majority of the teachers interviewed lamented the removal of Civics as a subject from the school’s curriculum and attributed the lack of basic knowledge of civic duties and responsibilities to a failure to formally teach these topics. Doreen for instance, proposed that students should obey the laws of the land but noted that “first and foremost, the people need to be informed about laws and the sanctions.” Gillian, who teaches at her alma mater – a

traditional high school, observed that “citizens should be aware of rights and responsibilities and the balance between them.” Five of the nine teachers interviewed described knowledge of civic responsibility as including citizens’ understanding the need for environmental conservation, ranging from picking up trash and not littering to recycling and planting trees, for instance.

Knowledge of History

Knowledge of history was also viewed by teachers as an important aspect of citizenship. In response to the question ‘What should a good citizen know?’ all teachers, without exception, stressed the importance of understanding one’s past and the history of the country. Though they all spoke of the importance of knowledge of history, the ways in which these teachers spoke about what citizens, including students, should know was somewhat nuanced ranging from knowledge of the history of the country to knowledge of the country’s heroes but also included knowledge of history of oneself and one’s family and an understanding of connectedness to one’s Black identity. Gregory, who teaches at the same new secondary school he attended as a teen, regarded knowledge of key figures in Jamaican history as an important aspect of citizenship. He linked lack of knowledge of history to a breakdown in societal values among youth:

[Citizenship] is more important now, because Jamaica, our kids have lost, values and attitudes. And therefore, our kids don’t know a number of things that I think they should know. Special persons in our country, the right values and attitudes, respect for persons.

Pauline who grew up in an inner-city community but now teaches at a traditional high school made a similar observation and proposed that the embrace of North American culture and lack of pride in local culture were the result of citizens not knowing their

history. She saw citizenship education in part, as “aimed toward teaching people about their own country and what is important to their country.” She viewed knowledge of music, language, and the specific history of Jamaica, in the face of globalization as a means of instilling greater pride in young people and citizens in general through helping them to understand those aspects of their culture that make the country and the culture unique:

If we can take those things that make us unique and point it out to the children, I am thinking that they will look and say, “oh, wi nuh affi try an love rap” (“*we don’t have to love rap music*”)...I think that if you take those things, show them that they are unique, show them that that makes us Jamaican, that they will be more accepting of their culture and they will know when you, when you show a picture of these people [Louise Bennett and Merlene Ottey] who helped to influence and build our society, they will know them.

Knowledge of founding fathers, heroes and nation builders was also stressed by other teachers. This was often linked to National Heroes’ Day celebrations which occur annually in October. Teachers felt it important for students to understand the role played by National Heroes such as Alexander Bustamante, a Jamaican politician and labor leader who led anti-colonial efforts, Paul Bogle, a Jamaican Baptist deacon who led the 1865 Morant Bay Emancipation Movement, which fought for the freedom of the people from slavery during British rule, and Nanny of the Maroons, a leader of defiant Jamaican slaves (known as Maroons) who fled the plantations and formed their own communities in the hilly interior of the island. The following quote by Eutille exemplifies teachers’ views about the significance of citizens knowing the history of the country:

They say that if you don’t remember where you are coming from you can’t move on. So, I believe as citizens we should know where we came from in an effort to move on effectively to a better nation... we spoke

about heroes and we did ancestors and we did, culture and heritage and it gives them a sense of appreciation.

A few of the teachers who talked about knowledge of history and heroes tied this discussion to Black history and identity. The data for this study were collected in February during Black History month and so this theme emerged on a number of occasions. Teachers used the opportunity to talk about the importance of Jamaican born Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey and Jamaican reggae musicians Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, for instance. At one new secondary school I visited, morning assembly was focused on the Black History celebrations and the teacher who led morning assembly advised students that the devotions were geared toward recognizing the start of Black History month and that this started through recognizing Jamaica's own history. The school therefore celebrated that day as Reggae Day. The Vice Principal addressed students urging them to reflect on their Black identity as she read the lyrics of a Peter Tosh song that was played earlier as students settled down. She urged: "Black is not the color of your skin; it is your identity." Edgar, one of the educators who talked about the importance of understanding Black history and identity felt that institutions in society and his school in particular did not do enough in passing this knowledge onto citizens and students. He felt that black issues were largely sidelined by the school's administration and linked this to the prevalence of skin-bleaching or skin-whitening among students. As a result, he took on the issue squarely during his class given his strong feelings that knowledge of these issues is important to good citizenship. During my interview with him, Edgar explained:

They need to understand where the black man is coming from and I don't subscribe to the fact that slavery is long gone, and black people must jump

out of it, we don't operate that way. That experience, has put us where we are now. ... Yes the days of slavery and that is shackles slavery is over, but mental slavery is not over. It's not over.

Finally, on the issue of knowledge of history, one new secondary school teacher, Denise, talked about knowledge of identity through family history as an important aspect of citizenship. She regarded this probing of identity as a way of helping students understand their origin or their name thereby building their self-worth and their understanding of the importance of family. Denise described this recognition of identity as important since many students came from single-parent homes and never knew their fathers. Therefore, her understanding of connectedness to the past extended beyond knowledge of local heroes and Black culture and identity to include knowledge of one's ancestors:

What I try to do is to get them to understand where they are from. Whether or not your father died or your mother died or whatever, whoever, you need to have information. Because what I find is that our children will say my father died when I was two but they are not able to give you a name so the connection is not there....your name is important and we talk about their DNA.

Knowledge of social norms and/or behaviors consistent with mainstream society

One aspect of knowledge that surfaced as an unexpected finding in this research is knowledge of social norms and behaviors consistent with mainstream society. A majority of teachers viewed this knowledge as important in preparing their students to function effectively as adults in wider society. This strongly-held view was shared by new secondary and traditional grammar school teachers alike. The importance of students gaining knowledge of social norms and graces was expressed in various ways. Teachers' descriptions of this type of knowledge were often subsumed under the broad

expressions of students acquiring “more than academics” and/or becoming “well-rounded.” Teachers used these expressions to convey the idea of citizenship as including focus on the affective domain of students’ development and to indicate the norms and values students (as citizens) should possess in addition to the cognitive skills acquired through content of the various subjects in the curriculum. The following quotes illustrate teachers’ rationale for emphasizing knowledge of social norms and behaviors and highlight the types of behaviors they seek to address in preparing their students to become good citizens. Gregory, who teaches at a new secondary school emphasized the importance of students knowing “more than just academics” in the following terms:

When I teach, I don’t just teach because I’m teaching from the curriculum. I think whatever I’m teaching is real life cause I want you to go out there in the next five years and you are able to compete or you don’t feel less than those persons who have gone to the traditional high school; you’re not able to fit in. So therefore I teach life stuff... you start to teach them from now, so that when they get out there they are well-rounded already to fit in.

Eutille saw knowledge of social norms and graces as aimed at addressing the following issues:

Indecent language, their deportment, how they carry themselves, how they sit with their legs open. The broad laughter, the loud laughter. The expression “Lord, ahe!” (bangs on the desk) the banging on the, the fingers on the, that’s a way of expressing the excitement

Finally and perhaps most powerfully, Kathy emphasized in the quote below that singular focus on the cognitive is not sufficient because it seems to have come at the expense of teaching and learning how to live harmoniously and how to exhibit good social graces and appropriate social norms:

The outcome would be such that students will be more rounded, although you have a base; a good education and all that but the roundedness, you'd know how to behave, how to sit and eat around a table, you know, the overall deportment of this student would be so high...the personal habits that the students have, the language, the foul language. We would not have any of that if we had adhered to what we learn in citizenship education. Just how they deport themselves on the bus, how they dress... in recent years they have cut out this teaching, the teaching towards being a good citizen... right now the curriculum is just based towards knowledge, knowledge, knowledge on academics.

The knowledge required to fit into mainstream society included appropriate habits of deportment and grooming (for school as well as the future world of work), proper social graces e.g. how to speak and how to use of a knife and fork, personal hygiene, and punctuality. Eutille stressed the importance of teaching students personal hygiene and linked this knowledge to issues of self-esteem and self-worth stating:

In terms of self esteem and self worth, through discussion of personal hygiene, many of them don't really know how to care themselves personally, dental care. Regular flossing and stuff, many of them didn't know about flossing.

Gregory included among his description of the knowledge students needed to enter mainstream society, teaching young ladies how to sit, reminding young men how to keep their shirts properly tucked into their pants, teaching students how to use a knife and fork and how to speak. He reasoned that many students grow up without parents or role models who are able to teach them the importance of these social rules and viewed his job as helping students understand the implications of these behaviors and outlooks for their future professional paths through asking probing questions:

Why do you need to dress a particular way? Why do you wear these things? Why is it that we are telling the girls to wear their uniform at a particular length? Why do you need to come to school at 8 o'clock? Why do you need to follow these things? So therefore, once you start to get them to develop that way, not only that you're teaching the content for

them pass exam but this also plays an important role. Once you get them to be thinking. So that they get the content and whatever, pass the subject but [if] you have a poor development, you're not going in any institution, you're not gonna be in any workplace for long.

Edgar, who teaches at a traditional high school, described the importance of empowering students through helping them express themselves in Standard English with the same level of facility that they are able to express themselves in Jamaican Patois. He regarded students' ability to express themselves confidently in Standard English as an important skill that is required for them to navigate life in the wider society outside of their communities and particularly in their job placements later on in life:

You allow the student to speak and ah find that to be, ahm, difficult for many Jamaican students. Alright, they want to say something but they don't know how to say it. So they say, "Cho Sir, mi, mi did a go ova dey suh" ("*Sir, I was going over there.*") So I will insist that they speak standard English,.... I never give English any more credence than I give any other language. It's a language like any [other] but I'm looking at the use of the English in the world. I didn't build the world we are in and we are in this world and I think that students should be able to adapt. For me that's what education is. I must know my situation, what I'm in and what I need to do.

Here Edgar is underscoring the importance of being sufficiently flexible to cross boundaries within society. He emphasizes this point further as he describes the importance of students' facility with language as a means of successfully navigating challenging encounters that often occur between citizens and the police:

I like to promote intelligence. And you will notice in Jamaica, that our children are really bashful. They don't speak out; they don't know how to communicate and that's why a lot of times they get into trouble, because they don't know the proper communication. "Sir, I was going to my meeting when I found out that it wasn't being held over here. That's why I'm on the campus." [Instead they might say], "Weh yuh say sir?"

In addition to the use of speech and deportment, some participants stressed the importance of dress in preparing students as adult citizens who can navigate into mainstream society. For example, Denise, a teacher at an inner-city school, expressed the teaching of social norms as being important from the perspective of students' ability to successfully enter the world of work. She saw her job as preparing students as adult citizens through helping them understand the requirements of the workplace. The knowledge she helped students acquire therefore involved how to dress appropriately for future careers:

When I have grade 11 career day, I allow them to dress like they're going for a job interview....cause our children, when they go back in [their] communities, interview suit is not a part of their thing. Is jeans and, yuh know the kind of clothes that is wearing in the inner-city. So when you allow them to have it, they are always going to be ready to go for an interview.

Citizenship as Being

The previous section of this writing explored teachers' responses regarding the types of knowledge a good citizen would possess. This section titled '*Citizenship as Being*' is concerned with teachers' views of the dispositions, values and attitudes required for good citizenship. Teachers' descriptions of a good citizen's "way of being" gave rise to the following two main themes: citizenship as 'Embrace of Common Values' and citizenship as 'Being . . . in the Community, in the Nation and in the World.' Each of these themes will be described in turn below.

Citizenship as the Embrace of Common Values

Teachers were extremely familiar with the terms “values” and “attitudes.” These terms had been paired into an expression that was the cornerstone of an initiative launched by the People’s National Party (PNP) under the leadership of Prime Minister P.J. Patterson first in 1994 in conjunction with UNESCO. Then Prime Minister Patterson referred to the *Values and Attitudes Program* as a call to a “commitment to restore a sense of decency, exercise discipline and to conduct our affairs based on Christian principles of loving our neighbour as ourselves” (Patterson, 1994). The campaign never quite took off and was eventually re-launched in 2003 from which time it limped along until it was phased out completely under the new Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) administration in 2007.

The underlying premise of this program of restoring decency and civility to society was echoed in teachers’ descriptions of the types of values and attitudes their students should possess. For instance, Eutille explained that the word citizenship for her related to moral values and standards. She stated:

When I hear citizenship it makes me think of some level of moral values that could be passed on to the students; some form of self worth. There are many aspects of citizenship but it’s all centered around some aspect of moral values or moral standards.

The theme of values and attitudes was common throughout Gregory’s interview and he explicitly connected it to Prime Minister Patterson’s program. He talked about the importance of values and attitudes in bringing balance to students’ academic perspective and helping them become well-rounded persons in society:

“Once you have a good citizenship program whosoever you are sending [out of] this institution [will] leave well-groomed, properly trained, properly nurtured both academically and in their social life.... they leave [as] a well-rounded person, so therefore, they can measure up; they can fit into society because they would have known what the society is all about in terms of values. ‘Cause values, there’s one other thing, I used to hear P.J. Patterson, the former Prime Minister used to talk about values and attitudes. And if you ever get Jamaica to start to adapt to that - the right values and attitudes - we can tell you that in a while, we will have a turnaround in Jamaica.”

The main values and attitudes teachers emphasized as important to citizenship were respect, tolerance, equality, honesty and civic pride. Each of these will be explored in turn below.

Respect and Tolerance

Respect and tolerance were by far the most common values touched upon, with eight of the nine teachers interviewed citing them as important citizenship qualities. So how did teachers describe these values of ‘respect’ and ‘tolerance’? First, they appeared to use these terms interchangeably. Teachers used these values to refer to outlooks that citizens should hold in relation to views or choices toward which they have *negative* affect. Further, teachers described respect and tolerance both in relation to the rights of others as well as in relation to treatment of the physical person. When described in relation to the physical person, teachers talked about these values in relation to others as well as in relation to self. Accordingly, teachers deemed the values of respect and tolerance as important in society’s treatment of disadvantaged groups and women but also in relation to self. Respect or tolerance in relation to others was typically described in terms of respect for others’ rights e.g. freedom of religion, freedom of speech, respect for others’ property or for their sexual orientation.

'Diss'(Respect) as the Antithesis of Respect

The primacy of respect for citizenship in Jamaican society stems from its connectedness to violence and tensions, in relations between citizens as well as between citizens and police, through its counterpart term “disrespect.” The term disrespect is commonly abbreviated “diss” in local Jamaican parlance. Denise expressed the centrality of the concept “diss” in the following terms. She explained that most of the problems she encounters at school whether between students or between students and teachers relate the issue of being “dissed”:

What I find in Jamaica, the word ‘diss’ is a very important word nowadays. ‘Diss’ you know? Once you hear “Miss him diss mi, the teacher diss me.” Most of my problems sometimes even relating to teacher/student problems is ‘diss’

Denise further explained that the common reaction to being dissed is to react or retaliate verbally or physically. Edgar expressed this deep-rooted reaction as he described the confrontational nature of Jamaicans and the commonly held belief that backing down in the face of disagreement as a sign of weakness:

And they are very confrontational. That’s another Jamaican thing. You can’t “back,” (*back down*) because to back, is a sign of weakness for Jamaicans. You never back down from anything. And, it’s in the children too.

Kathy’s feedback supported Edgar’s view about the tendency toward violent reaction as she also referenced the confrontational nature of students:

If somebody just pass and touch you, you can say to the person, “You just stepped on my toe.” Then the person can say, “I’m sorry” and whatever, whatever. You can’t attack...they’re trying to attack each other instead of the situation. You stepped on my toe. That’s the situation I want you to address, not to fight. “You stepped on my toe, I don’t like when you step

on my toe. Why did you do it?” “I didn’t realize. I’m sorry.” And we can solve it, that way instead of everything they fight somebody.

This tendency toward confrontation or excessive and violent reactions is the back story that provides context for the overwhelming response by teachers of the importance of respect for good citizenship. Teachers viewed respect as a way of avoiding violence and confrontation and promoting social cohesion or harmonious living in society. Teachers’ encouraging their students to respect differences and rise above other persons’ behaviors was couched in terms of avoiding or averting violence and its potential negative outcomes (as opposed to embracing a way of living that is more positive and peaceful). For instance, Eutille spoke in anti-violence terms as she explained her rationale for urging students to accept other persons’ values and choices even when they (the students) do not agree with those choices and values:

You may have a homosexual in the class alright. They may not support his practice or her practice; the fact that she’s with a female and the fact that he is with a male. They may not agree with the way they live but for peace sake and to lessen violence they just have to accept it. Cause if they don’t accept it they’re gonna want to verbally abuse them, probably kill them and that leads to imprisonment and that leads to other factors that could influence them. So, they can’t do anything about it they just have to see and accept, that doesn’t mean that they have to be friends with the person but let that person be.

Eutille also talked in broader terms about the importance of citizens’ tolerating the choices of others:

How they criticize, even you’re saying accepting people who are different. Persons who smoke. You might go to a restaurant and a male has earrings in his ear, you can’t scorn him. You might see a Rasta, although Rasta isn’t an issue, but persons who they are not used to. They have to learn to respect them. Learn to mind their own business, conform and move along. You still can live together.

Denise talked about the importance of citizens possessing an outlook that rises above adopting a confrontational posture. During my interview with her she talked about her approach to dealing with situations in which students complain of being “dissed” (disrespected) by teachers. In those situations, she encourages students to resist the urge to engage in confrontation that might have potential negative outcomes:

I have to...get them to understand there is another way. Most times I say, put yourself in the teacher’s position. Tell me, be bigger than the teacher because sometimes although you are a student you can be bigger than the teacher you know. Tell me what other way. Now the teacher diss you but you defended your way and now you are wrong. Tell me what other way you could defend yourself. What could you have done? Give me another way man and they will tell me “You know....” And I said “I know it’s hard but that is what you need to do. It’s about you.”

Respect for Religious Diversity, Political Diversity and Freedom of Speech

Though some teachers focused on the need for tolerance of diversity writ large, others emphasized specific areas that were of greatest relevance to Jamaican society. Several teachers stressed the need for religious tolerance. They linked greater religious tolerance to an embrace of common humanity and to the deepening of one’s faith that should accompany the search for deeper understanding of another’s beliefs. For instance, Edgar who is Rastafarian and does not believe in “religion” talked about the importance of students respecting others despite having a different religious belief by focusing on their common human bond: “I try to make them understand that look, it doesn’t matter what religions people subscribe to or believe in. The whole point is that we need to respect people as human beings.” Gregory echoed the theme of religious tolerance linking it to citizens’ ability to broaden their views and deepen their own faith as they learn about other religions or belief systems. He referenced his own broadened outlook

gained from exploring the Muslim faith and Rastafarianism while he was growing up and compared these with his current Christian faith: “We can have a discussion; you want to broaden your knowledge and therefore, you don’t just, say you’re a Rasta or you’re a Christian ...but you know what you believe.”

In addition to focusing specifically on respect for and tolerance of religious differences, teachers also focused on respect for political differences. This value of respect for political differences is particularly significant in Jamaica where violence is deeply ingrained in national politics. Francine, for example, talked about tolerance for political differences observing its link to crime and violence in inner-city communities:

A citizen should be committed to tolerating different political views. This is another problem that we have in Jamaica. And it has contributed significantly to a lot of crime especially in the inner city areas where people are not tolerant of people with different political views. So a good citizen should be tolerant of people who are of different political views.

In another example, Gillian highlighted the need for citizens to respect the political opinions and views of those they may not agree with rather than resort to violence. Referencing the strong feelings of opposition she felt toward the dominant political party in her neighborhood while growing up, Gillian talked about urging her students to adopt a respectful and deliberative posture toward persons they might perceive as their political rivals:

[T]he students are in the same communities now and doing the same thing; they can’t see any other party besides their party. Based on my experience, I have to say to them “Even if you don’t like the person you have to learn to respect the person’s position.” So, you love this party yes, but still it’s Jamaica. In the long run it is Jamaica.

In addition to the values of respect and tolerance for differences in religion and political views, teachers saw respect for freedom of speech as an important characteristic of good citizenship. They often described this value as relating to the need to adopt a deliberative posture and exercising care in listening to the other person. In other words, teachers spoke of citizenship as deliberation and coming to common understanding without resort to violence. In this way, they stressed the importance of students' listening to perspectives other than their own, allowing others to speak freely, and valuing what others have to say. Denise, for instance, spoke of helping her students understand the importance of talking things through and shifting away from the norm of "fighting" and shouting during exchanges that involved differences of opinion. She connected the challenge regarding freedom of speech to the relations within inner-city communities from which her students come, noting that divisions in views are often based on alignments with popular culture factions of rival deejay groups. Citing the need for a different outlook based on respect for differences of view, Denise stated:

[W]hen we are in school we understand that we are in school. We are friends. Although you have a side, I have a side; nothing is wrong with that because you have to [understand] our culture in terms of their environment. Because they are mainly from the inner-city communities you have to get them to understand they have to listen to each other because they have this way of cowing down (*shouting over*) each other and you have to say "Listen, the person feels this way, you are not going to change that by fighting."

Gregory alluded to this need for students to listen to each others' perspectives rather than engage in physical exchange to resolve the differences in viewpoints. He explained his urging to students to "talk it out" instead of "fight it out":

I teach them to use the word. We don't point fingers but if there's a problem, they could come and say "I would prefer if you would have dealt with the matter this way, more than that way." Therefore they can be able to talk, instead of using the other method of violence to solve their problems.

Respect in Relation to the Person of Self and Others

Though teachers talked about respect and tolerance in relation to others' rights to freedom of religious expression, freedom of political views and freedom of speech, they also talked about these values in relation treatment of self and others. When describing values of respect and tolerance in relation to the treatment of the physical person, teachers stressed the importance of these values in society's treatment of disadvantaged groups and women but also in relation to self. Gregory exemplified this view when he called for citizens to "respect persons no matter who they are." The following quote from Kathy picks up this thread while nicely illustrating teachers' views of respect as including respecting others in society, particularly persons perceived to be different or disadvantaged:

There's a mad man at the bus stop and every time they go down there and he's down there, they beat him. Lick him with stone and run. They don't respect the rights of other citizens. There's another lady that sweep the school yard, she's not mad but sometimes she just sit down by herself and she tear up. They think that she's mad and them lick her and run her down. Grab her hair, grab off her clothes. Respect others' rights, others' privacy!

In addition to this call to respect the person of others, a few teachers specifically highlighted the need for respect of women. The theme respect for women frequently occurred in my interviews with Kathy. She felt that women were marginalized in Jamaican society and not respected and this practice of disrespecting women was learned by students and ultimately made its way into the schools. Kathy therefore connected the

disrespect of girls at school with behaviors students learn and are exposed to in their home and wider society:

I feel that women are being marginalized in terms of respect. That's my personal feeling. As far as respect, it stems from the home. When the boys, sit down and look and see, their father abusing their mom, this transmits culture to them. It's a norm. So they come to school and they do it. There were two little boys in here, one from grade, 9, that came in, right in front of a police officer while we were having devotion, and box down (*slap in the face*) a little girl; say she diss him.

The theme of disrespect for women is also exemplified in the following quote from Edgar. He, like Kathy, made connections between the occurrences of disrespect for girls in school and disrespect for women in wider society:

You will notice in Jamaica how quickly we tell each other about their mothers, and, you know I've had to tell my [students] that what it basically tells me is that Jamaicans don't respect women and they really don't respect their mothers. Because if you respected your mother, you would not tell anyone else about their mother.... So everything you see, that the adults are doing in the society, the crime, the viciousness, the kind of disrespect for life, disrespect for women, it's right here. Even, if you hear them talk to each other, "Hey dutty gyal²¹, come yah." I mean, that's your friend you're talking to.

What these quotes above highlight is the manner in which interactions that indicate disrespect of persons, and women in particular, have become normed in society. Gregory talked about the theme of disrespect of women from the standpoint of the normed behavior of men having multiple relationships with women at the same time and feeling pressured to procreate. He tied this outlook to macho-ism that advocates the need to create a legacy through having children while at the same time "proving" that one is

²¹ "Dutty gyal" is a colloquialism that roughly approximates to "dirty bitch."

not homosexual. He also linked the norm of men having multiple women to popular culture citing songs that advocate this practice as a way of life:

When you look at the culture. There's a paradigm shift ... cause I talk to the guys them on the corner and all that. Most guys or even adult men are pressured to say "Bwoy, yuh know mi must have a soldier" ("*I must have a child.*"). And we talk about a soldier, they must have a youth (*child*). So therefore, he's gonna go by any means necessary to get and then when them get now, the next pressure that come on now say that "Bwoy, yuh caan be one burner" ("*You can't have one woman.*"). So him can't have one woman. So therefore, he would end up with five, six, him start at two and them him end up with three and four and five.

In describing the popular music culture that fosters and promotes the outlook of having multiple women as the norm, Gregory explained:

I'm just telling you, what has led to [this]; not an excuse. That's not how I see it and when you can get them to change, from that thing there then you getting somewhere. Cause you listen the [lyrics of] songs 'man haffi have nuff gyal and gyal inna bungle,' (*a man has to have lots of girls; a bundle of girls*) 'yuh want a trailer load ah gyal' (*you want a trailer load of girls*). And then your community is there shaping you and then when you listen these songs, 'one gyal can't satisfy me' (*one girl can't satisfy me*). So therefore, the one burner business naah work again.

As a complement to the need to hold feelings of tolerance and respect toward things or persons outside oneself, teachers described respect for self as an important attribute of good citizenship. Eutille emphasized this point when she explained that citizenship included: "teaching respect, teaching self worth... so they could be taught how to respect each other, respect themselves, how they value themselves, how they value others." Kathy was the only teacher who spoke of respect for self in more than generalist terms. Her discussion of self respect centered mainly on women respecting themselves in their manner of dress and deportment as well not allowing themselves to

remain in situations of domestic violence. One example of the latter is cited in the following quote:

If females know that this is my right and my responsibility as a female, as a woman, then you would not allow a man to hit you and say you can't do anything about it because him love you. If you know what is love yourself, then you wouldn't be looking for it from somebody else and you can't love somebody else unless you love yourself. And then you wouldn't allow a man to box you and kick you and don't report it or don't tell somebody because [you believe] him love you.

Closely tied with this theme of respect for the person of self and others is the issue of violence in society. This issue is discussed more fully in later parts of this writing since the specific focus of this portion of the study is on teachers' descriptions of the values, attitudes and dispositions that indicate good citizenship.

Though the values of respect and tolerance were overwhelmingly picked up by educators, there were some additional values raised by some or a few teachers. The additional values most discussed by these teachers were equality and honesty and fairness. Less frequently proposed values included civic pride; cooperation and teamwork; and peace. The following sub-sections will describe these values starting with the most frequently occurring ones.

Equality

Six of nine teachers spoke of the significance of equality as a value associated with good citizenship. Overall, the educators who mentioned the value of equality saw its importance for citizenship from the standpoint of equal treatment of all persons in society regardless of their race, class or gender. For instance, Edgar spoke passionately about differential treatment of groups in society based on class and race. By way of

example, he explained that local hero and world class athlete Usain Bolt had an insurance claim processed in 11 days while the average Jamaican would have to wait three months to have a similar claim processed. Edgar cited instances such as these as being at the core of ordinary citizens' understanding of issues of class in society:

If you notice Jamaicans, they want to do anything that is against the system. I don't know that bandoolooism,²² where it came from I can't really say but I know it is rife in the country and it is not just the lower classes. The middle class and upper class probably benefit more from that system because it's always been who you know in Jamaica, and it still is who you know ... Usain Bolt, I love him, he's the greatest. However, why should his insurance claim go through in 11 days, when mine is going to take three months? That's the kind of society we live in, and that is why we can't tell people, well, why we don't try, because they know that they are not going to be treated in the same way.

Doreen also raised the theme of equality of treatment in relation to the acts of public figures and officials as she called for sanctions to be consistently applied, without discrimination, to all persons who attract them. She stressed that the treatment meted out to these public officials should align with that afforded to "the common man" for the same infractions:

When a religious leader commits a crime we are supposed to punish the person, we are not supposed to defend the person. The same with a politician.... we need to hold them responsible when they do not adhere to the rules themselves... And it should be right across the board. It shouldn't just be because you want to be vindictive or because that person is from another party or whatever, it should be right across the board. Just like you would punish the common man, punish those in charge so that we can see them as an example to say okay fine if that person can do it and be punished then anyone can be punished.

²² Based on a Jamaican colloquial term bandooloo meaning to swindle, con or use deception to acquire something.

Two teachers who raised the value of equality spoke of it in relation to the state's treatment of their school. These teachers, Kathy and Eutille are based at the same all-age school and in my interviews with them, each described the practice by the Ministry of Education of tracking students by assigning those who score less than 25% on the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) to their all-age school (and schools like theirs). Additionally, students who are refused entry to other schools because of their scores at the grade six level routinely seek entrance to this school to continue their studies. Eutille raised the importance of equality for citizenship as she called for equality of educational access for citizens regardless of their socio-economic status. She spoke in passionate terms as she urged that a child's background and resulting GSAT score ought not to influence the school he or she is assigned to:

They should be able to access education. They have their rights. Well, it intertwines with rights. So they should have the right to education. Not because of environmental factors or where you're coming from shouldn't determine which school you pass for or which all-age school you went shouldn't determine which high school you pass for after GSAT.

Referencing as unfair the policy of the Ministry of Education in sending all students with less than 25% pass mark on GSAT to schools like hers, Kathy advocates for equal distribution of academically weak and strong students across all schools. She explains what she would do if she were given free reign by the Ministry to make changes in the school:

The policy that the Ministry have in stuffing all the students here who get under 25[%] in GSAT, I wouldn't take them. They will have to be shared. And all the students who get high grades and they send to ... other schools, we have to share, so, like a mixture. All the students that the Ministry, all the other schools, don't take and they go to the Ministry and the Ministry send them up [here], I would not take them either.

Kathy also talked about equality in terms of treatment of citizens within the context of the family. She cited the common practice within Caribbean households of privileging males in distribution of food and benefits within the household and called for equal treatment of all persons within the household:

Some females now when they cook they give the male the biggest part of the meat and the female and the child get nothing. Now if they were rounded to know that hey I am someone too, we are equal in terms of human and in terms of being a person the same right you have, the same right I have.

Honesty and Fairness

A few teachers also spoke about the importance of the value of honesty and fairness to good citizenship. They talked about its relevance in school as well as within the wider society and talked specifically about how this value relates to a broader societal stigma of being branded as an “informer” or snitch. The relevance of these values for educators stems from their role in guiding the conduct of students. Kathy, for instance, discussed the importance of honesty and fairness in relation to the conduct of some of her students refusing to pay the bus fare on the ride home from school:

It’s hard for a bus to stop down there and pick them up, because the, conductress and the driver on the bus, are saying that they are displaying bad behavior. First of all they won’t pay their bus fare. They barge into the bus, push past the conductress and because they are so many when she goes to them to pay their fares, they say them pay already and is not them. Now honesty. That [relates to] honesty, cause they don’t want to pay their fare.

Edgar also stressed the importance of honesty as a trait of good citizenship as he explained that there are a number of thefts on the school campus each day:

I see a society in jeopardy because the number of thefts we have per day at this school. I mean, it’s every day. You’d be in the classroom and you just

leave your bag here and you just go to the door and by the time you come back, it's gone. And there is no willingness. I had to speak to my [students] yesterday. I said, you don't encourage each other to do anything. And, if you come and you say, who did that? Let me tell you something, nobody speaks up.

Gillian also expressed concern about the lack of honesty among some students citing the occurrence of thefts on the school compound. This discussion occurred after a student interrupted our interview to complain that someone had stolen J\$800 from her bag that afternoon. As she encouraged the student to lodge a formal report at the main office, Gillian explained to the student that there was very little she (Gillian) could do since there was no evidence of who the wrongdoer was and any other students who might know were likely to remain silent. What Edgar and Gillian were referring to here, as they described students' refusal to identify the person responsible for the theft, is the backlash and ostracism faced, in wider society as well as within schools, by persons who identify perpetrators of offences. Educators spoke about the challenge of instilling this value in students because of the negative view taken by members of society, particularly inner-city communities, to "the informer." This phenomenon is widely referred to as "informer syndrome." The concept of the informer syndrome was cited by a number of educators as a challenge to citizenship and will be revisited later in this study.

Civic Pride

One of the less commonly cited values of good citizenship was civic pride or patriotism. Two teachers raised this value in response to being asked the types of attitudes and values a good citizen should possess. These educators felt that citizens of Jamaica ought to have a deep love for country grounded in knowledge of the things that made the country unique. Pauline cited civic pride as one of the important attributes of

good citizenship linking it to globalization. She regarded national pride as “just feeling proud about what your country has and not only being proud but being appreciative of all the things that make your country unique.” Pauline felt that globalization placed focus on larger economies of the world making it more important for citizens of smaller economies like Jamaica to understand the important features of their country:

I would think that [citizenship] would also involve, to some extent, people developing national pride for what they have in their country, because with what is happening now in society and globalization and all of that, I think a lot of societies like these small societies like Jamaica, they are being affected by bigger societies like America, and Canada and Europe and so, I think with citizenship education it’s really aimed towards teaching people about their own country and what is important to their own country.

Edgar also spoke passionately about the need for Jamaican citizens to have pride in their country. Accordingly, he explained that for him, citizenship means:

creating a kind of attitude, that makes you love your country, want to protect your country and in so doing, if you want to protect your country and love your country, then whichever environment you are, in your country, you want to do the same....it’s about pride ... it is about being patriotic and it is about being nationalistic.

Edgard viewed patriotism and nationalism as similar terms with the latter replacing the use of the former with the end of colonial rule and the creation of an independent nation state.

Additional Citizenship Values

One of two outlier responses cited by teachers as important values of citizenship included, cooperation and teamwork. Pauline stated “cooperation, working together, team work” as important values of citizenship. No other teachers cited this as an

important attribute of citizenship. Additionally, Francine proposed the need for peace. She cited it as one of the values that motivates her in her teaching of citizenship:

You for yourself living in this society, you want to feel and to be at peace. You want to, to live freer. You would want to see an end to the crime for your own good and for the good of your family. So you want to try to re-teach this so that we can have a better society for yourself and for your family and for everybody in general.

Other teachers who spoke about peace did so through their discussion on the centrality of violence in the lives of their students and the challenge this poses for teaching citizenship. However, none of these educators (apart from Francine) specifically cited peace as an important citizenship value.

Citizenship as Being . . . in the Community, in the Nation and in the World

As a corollary to these values of respect, tolerance, civic pride, equality, and honesty, teachers believed that a significant aspect of ‘Citizenship as Being’ involved students’ understanding of their positionality within their various spheres of existence (i.e. their community, their country and the world). Some teachers linked this sense of place with a concern for the collective and releasing the individualistic tendencies that have crept into Jamaican society over time. Others emphasized the importance of citizens being connected to the global. This latter view was expressed in a variety of ways, including relevance of the values of citizenship for global contexts and connectedness of Jamaicans to persons in contexts outside of Jamaica. Accordingly, this category of ‘Citizenship as Being’ poses possible answers to the broad questions “What is my place?” “What is my role in Jamaican society (or elsewhere)?” “Where do I fit in?”

Connection to Community and the Nation State

All but two of the teachers interviewed stressed the importance of citizens being concerned with issues outside of themselves i.e. one's surroundings or context. This idea of connectedness to something bigger than self was expressed in a variety of ways. First, teachers expressed the idea in relation to a citizen's immediate community, stressing the importance of persons feeling that they have a role to play in their communities. Alternatively, they expressed connectedness to issues outside of oneself as being in opposition to the growing individualistic tendencies in society. Teachers described community as meaning the multiple spaces a citizen might occupy. Francine did so explicitly when she proposed:

Community means your immediate surroundings, if you're at school it can be your school community, your, wherever you live, that's, that's your community, if you attend church, that's your community as well, your church community.

The following quotes illustrate teachers' views that citizens should show concern not just for themselves but for their wider community and the ways in which their actions affect that wider community:

[A] citizen should really be committed to making his community a better place. Alright, for example, I know that when I throw garbage in my surroundings and then in times of heavy rainfall, I am going to be flooded out of my home so that citizen should make it his or her responsibility to desist from throwing the garbage in the drains because in doing so he or she is going to be protecting himself as well as his neighbors in his or her community. (Francine)

It is not just for self fulfillment. With each individual child, I make them understand that, you can't just survive by yourself. You can't just operate by yourself; you have to operate in the interest of the environment that you are in. (Edgar)

If you're all for you and your family alone, I don't think that is good enough, you must extend yourself... So you have to go learn to extend to others beside your immediate.. [for] some people it's just me, myself, my family, just my little cocoon right here and everybody else can stay right there. (Gillian)

What these educators are emphasizing is the importance of students seeing themselves as part of a body politic that is greater than themselves and that must be considered when they are taking action. In this way, educators were urging students to operate in the interest of the environment in which they live.

The other way in which some educators talked about concern for community was by casting it as an important outlook in counteracting a growing individualistic trend in society. These descriptions of the value of community were steeped in nostalgia as teachers reflected on the way in which society and communities were organized in times past. This sense of nostalgia attended even negative or violent aspects of this past period as teachers pointed to "the greater good" arising from alignment of values across different segments of society. Gregory, for instance, saw citizenship as including concern with the collective and compared the current state of affairs with the practice of a village raising a child which was the norm when he was growing up:

It was more, of a community that grow me than just a single individual...in my time, not saying that, I'm really old, but, they used to say that it takes a village to raise a child, not only a one person. Well, I guess that, now, is one person, because if a neighbor beat a child, then the whole family would come pon (*down on*) that one neighbor, not knowing that it was for the child's greater good."

What Gregory is urging is that in order to understand this value of connectedness that was prevalent in society when he was growing up, one must look past the act of corporal punishment to the origin and intent of the tradition. This practice of the community

raising the child was also echoed by Kathy as she recalled the consistency of values among the home, the school and the church while she was growing up. She, like Gregory, called for the outside observer to look beyond the act of physical discipline (or violence) and to focus on the intent behind the action of community members who disciplined the child. She stated:

It was a domino effect from the school, home, church but then the community was involved in rearing a child. It wasn't just [you]; it takes the entire community to raise your child. So while you are at work, you know that your child couldn't slip because the community is going to make sure - the school, the church right back so it's a domino effect. [Now] you go on the street and an adult talk to you, and she slap you, your parents go fight her: "Yuh cyan lick mi pickney" ("*You can't hit my child*"). The Minister of Education himself has said that no teacher should hit a child; the whole corporal punishment is as such that its - but back then it's not the beating that we had followed is just the discipline and the overall caring for your child although it's not your biological child.

Connection to the Rest of the World

In addition to a sense of connectedness to one's immediate community and the wider national community, teachers saw the need for citizens to be connected to a global community. Most teachers who made reference to the global dimension of citizenship were essentially proposing that the concept of citizenship has relevance beyond the realm of the nation-state. Some described this global dimension as implying that the values and attitudes of good citizenship applied equally to places in the rest of the world as they do to Jamaica. Others saw the relevance of the global dimension in terms of connecting Jamaicans to other citizens of the world, as for instance with the recent disaster in Haiti.²³ And still others saw the global dimension of citizenship as representing Jamaican's sense

²³ The interviews for this study were conducted 2-3 weeks following the earthquakes that devastated Haiti on January 12, 2010

of self and place in the world. The following quote illustrates teachers' perceptions of the importance of citizens viewing themselves as connected to the global community:

[If] something happens in the United States, then well more likely they won't need any help from us because they basically are first world and have it already. But I'm saying that just reaching out to anybody in the world, seeing it as a global village rather than just seeing it as just...this is Jamaica, this is Trinidad. (Gillian)

Other educators stressed the need for citizenship education to have a global outlook so that students would be prepared to function effectively in any context. Several educators therefore agreed that citizenship had relevance for contexts beyond Jamaica.

The following quotes are educators' responses to the question whether citizenship principles they described have relevance beyond Jamaica:

It's global, it's global, as I said, if you are gonna do something then if you are teaching or you are preparing then you must prepare for global. In terms of citizenship here we're trying to get the child well rounded to function anywhere at all that that child may go.... So, therefore, this is what we want when we have our children they can just fit into anywhere at all they go in the world, not only Jamaica. (Gregory)

Absolutely! I'm not expecting everybody to stay here; because we have this CARICOM thing now that you can go and work elsewhere, I am sure that pretty soon from now, these students' parents are going to go there to work, some of them are going to go abroad, not even the Caribbean and they are going to be in serious trouble if they don't grasp the concept of who a good citizen. (Kathy)

In a more nuanced approach, some educators described the global dimension of citizenship as representing Jamaican's "sense of self and place in the world." Two of nine educators raised this perspective. In one instance, Pauline cited the impact of globalization and urged that issues be considered in a less nationalistic way and more in terms of Jamaica as part of a bigger whole. She explained:

We can't think of ourselves as just being Jamaican because we're moving away from that now. ...especially with what is happening in the world, we're moving towards widening our scope.

Pauline also described that “sense of self and place in the world” in relation to the success of Jamaican athletes, such as Usain Bolt, worldwide. She described the great sense of pride Jamaicans feel from the world's awareness of Jamaica as a power house in the Olympics despite its small size. Beaming with a sense of pride she stated: “We not even bigger than one of those countries in Micronesia but you hear people talking about us and you feel really good as a Jamaican.” Edgar was another educator who regarded the global dimension of citizenship as reinforcing Jamaican's sense of self and place in the world. He proposed that the uniqueness of being Jamaican gives him a sense of pride in his origin:

I am not intimidated by anyone in this world. I don't care where I'm going ... I think we .. don't have to behave like an American to get information in America or if we go to Germany and that is the kind of child that I would like to build.

Citizenship as Doing

The teachers interviewed for this study unanimously agreed that merely knowing the things a good citizen should know and possessing the values and attitudes that denote good citizenship did not go far enough. Rather, they believed that this knowledge and these values and attitudes should be acted upon. Edgar appropriately summed up this viewpoint up when he stressed the importance of acting on good citizenship values:

We say all these positive things; the way that we should live, but do we really do it? Do we really do it? Are we really that kind of balanced person, that if we go out there and we see someone in problems, that we'll

help? Or will we just, behave like the New York society and step over a dying man?

This third category of ‘Citizenship as Doing’ will describe the actions teachers indicated as important for good citizenship. The descriptions by teachers mirrored Edgar’s notion of citizenship serving to “create a well-balanced student who can make a contribution to society” through investing in tangible and intangible ways that redound to the benefit of the whole society. The citizen actions teachers described fell under the following five broad themes: helping and volunteering, participating in decision-making in one’s community, obeying the rule of law, caring for the environment, and order and orderliness. In the following paragraphs, I will examine each of these actions described by teachers.

Helping and Volunteering

Citizenship as helping and volunteering was by far the most common response by teachers describing the actions a good citizen should engage in. Teachers used these terms interchangeably to describe any action intended to benefit others in society. The types of volunteerism most frequently cited by teachers involved filling a need within the community either through donations of money or foodstuff or through spending time nurturing the spirits of the less fortunate. In a few instances, teachers described volunteerism and helping in terms of students helping each other and also as a form of nation building.

The notion of helping or volunteering as teachers described it was grounded in concern for the collective and movement away from individualistic tendencies discussed under the previous category ‘Citizenship as Being.’ Teachers stressed the importance of

giving in response to a perceived need and not necessarily in reaction to a specific request. In Gillian's words "One should not wait on something to happen to, or when somebody asks them to do something. You see the need, they need to assist." This perspective on giving was grounded in connectedness to one's broader community (or the collective) and premised on the individual being attuned to the needs of others around him/her. In some instances though, discussion about the importance of giving was premised on acting in accordance with biblical principles. Gregory for instance, linked his beliefs about the ways a citizen should act to biblical principles stressing the importance of "extending your hand once you see it fit" and being "the type of citizen" who would "give help in case of emergency; like you'll help your neighbor according to the good book." Several teachers stressed the selfless dimension of the act of helping and volunteering. The following quote exemplifies this perspective:

Helpfulness, helpfulness to[ward] others because most times they are so selfish it's all about me, me, me, me, me, me, it's all about me. They don't think about others, they are not selfless, they just think about "mi waan dis, mi waan dat" ("*I want this, I want that*") and they don't think that although you might want this there's somebody else out there who don't have what you have, so you have to be thankful (Kathy)

Teachers' responses about the importance of helping and volunteering focused primarily on donating foodstuff, personal care items, clothing and money both locally and abroad. Several responses relating to helping and volunteering were specifically tied to the circumstances in Haiti following the earthquakes that struck less than a month prior to the start of interviews for this study leaving thousands of Haitians dead, injured or missing. The airwaves and print media in Jamaica were flooded with appeals for contributions through donations of money, food supplies or clothing. There were also

spirited discussions and debates about Jamaica's preparedness and/or willingness to receive refugees from Haiti, located 99 miles east of Jamaica. Teachers therefore used this current issue as an entry point for discussing concepts of helping and volunteerism and sensitizing students to the importance of giving. Teachers talked about soliciting monetary donations as well as contributions of food and clothing from students to help the Haitian citizens. For instance, Gillian explained volunteering in relation to the recent events in Haiti as an act of shared humanity:

It's volunteering to do things, like what happened in Haiti. You're a citizen of Haiti too. You're a people. You're connected 'cause you're brothers and sisters. Then you rally around them as well. You contribute. We're in Jamaica, we can send text messages to assist them in getting stuff. We can send water to them.

Denise also talked about helping in the context of giving to Haiti as she highlighted how her school utilizes volunteerism as a way of sensitizing students to the importance of giving to others. She expressed frustration with her students' unwillingness to help in general and talked specifically about the reluctance of some students to contribute to the Haiti disaster and compared this reluctance to give with students' enthusiasm around purchasing the latest gear:

Let us say with the Haiti situation and you ask them to contribute. You find that they'll run away and say but "Miss we nuh have no money" and I say but if we going to have a class party or we going to have a fair and you say wear your uniform, PE tops and just a jeans they wouldn't want to do that. They're gonna buy new clothes. So the whole business of where you put things is very important to them.

Though the recency of events in Haiti drove much of the discussion around helping and volunteering, these concepts were also discussed in relation to actions within Jamaica that touched the community surrounding the school or the communities in which

students live. Similar to the focus of actions relating to places outside Jamaica, the actions teachers proposed within Jamaica also included donations of foodstuff, personal care items, clothes and money. However, activities also included after-school projects volunteering in the community. Students were more directly involved in these latter types of activities since donations originated from their parents and the school often made the appeal for donations directly to parents. After-school volunteering activities included visiting state run homes for children or hospices to feed the residents, read to them or spend time in other ways. Some teachers viewed volunteering in the communities of their students as an opportunity to connect with communities from which students come. They emphasized the importance of projects being informed by specific needs within the communities and to being viewed as an opportunity to build trust between the school and these communities. The following quotes exemplify these perspectives offered by teachers on helping and volunteering locally:

[For] Christmas, every class is encouraged to full a box. We can only tell them children's items and some people, like the staff, we do toiletries. So again, it's giving back to the society. So every Christmas when we have our Christmas service and every class takes up their box with their gifts. I really like that and the staff we do toiletries and we give to the old people's homes. (Edgar)

The Kiwanis club is one that will go to a basic school, adopt a basic school, they're in charge of maybe feeding the basic schools or might be a monthly activity in which they have to go a nursing home, help to talk to some of the elderly persons there. (Gregory)

One of the less frequently described forms of volunteerism or helping related to nation-building actions. Teachers described this view of citizenship as active participation aimed at making one's community and country a better place and it included actions such as actively taking care of existing infrastructure or preserving the existence

of key industries. Through these actions ordinary citizens might participate in the growth and stability of the country rather than viewing such actions as solely within the purview of the government. Gillian captured this sentiment as she described the importance of citizens “see[ing] themselves as being actively involved in making Jamaica or the world a better place” and “not just relying on the government ... or anybody else to assist them but helping.” The following quotes offer examples of these perspectives of helping and volunteering as a form of nation-building:

[A good citizen] preserves the infrastructure of the community, helps the community to be a better place, right and the way in which that person helps others in his community to live up to the standards that are expected of the community as well as the society as a whole. (Francine)

[A good citizen would] take part in things that are critical for our country, like Air Jamaica... every time you talk about selling Air Jamaica, I want to cry. I literally want to cry, because that's the pride of Jamaica and you want to sell it. Why? Why don't we own Air Jamaica? That's because we're not patriotic.. that is our national pride and I feel things like Air Jamaica, should stay with Jamaica.. We don't own JPS.²⁴ What do we own in Jamaica anymore? Barbados and Trinidad is buying out Jamaica. (Edgar)

Finally, one outlier response regarding ways in which citizens might help or volunteer was proposed by Gregory in relation to students helping and being accountable for each other. This action he explained was aimed at promoting a sense of inclusiveness and caring between and among students. Student support of each other occurred mainly through: (i) pairing students with weak and strong academic abilities so that they might learn from each other; (ii) more fortunate students sharing lunch with less fortunate ones; and (iii) pairing students throughout the school term so that each one might look out for the other following up when one or the other was absent from school and explaining

²⁴ Jamaica Public Service Company (JPS) is an integrated electric utility firm and the sole distributor of electricity in Jamaica

concepts taught in class during the period of absence. Gregory saw this as one of the most impactful forms of helping since it offered some students a connectedness that they might not experience in their daily lives outside school.

Everybody has at least one person... so you are accounted for one person in your class... if you don't see your peer for a day or two day pass, it is your duty to call that person. It's my duty also but when the peer calls first you feel that push, you feel like somebody really cares for you because sometimes these kids really don't have any person who care for them. When you have your peer caring, if you live near go and look for that person, what is wrong with that person? These are some of the ways that I teach them to help in terms of in the class outside of the class. (Gregory)

Caring for the Environment

Six of nine teachers interviewed discussed the citizen action of caring for the environment. Fewer than half of the teachers who raised this issue did so in the context of keeping clean surroundings and removal of trash while most teachers who discussed this issue did so in broader terms that included questions of environmental conservation or the impact of natural disasters on the environment, for instance. Edgar touched on both these aspects of caring for the environment. He described how he played his part within the school community to ensure that electricity was conserved:

Whatever I can do in the environment I am in; whatever contributions I can make to make it sustainable, conserve. [At the end of the school day] I will walk and lock off (*turn off*) all the lights in this school.

He also talked about insisting that his students practice care for the environment by picking up trash from the classroom floor. In fact, Edgar refuses to teach until the classroom is cleaned:

We are to tidy up our classrooms in the evenings, alright. As a teacher, if I go into a classroom, can I teach in a dirty classroom? Is not my fault why it's dirty but I am not going to teach in it, so it's going to be cleaned.

Edgar viewed part of the challenge in getting citizens to care for their environment, as a tendency on the part of Jamaicans to exercise differential care for public and private spaces. He spoke with bewilderment about this dichotomy:

Jamaicans tend to be very clean people, generally speaking. You know you go in a likkle one room inna Jamaica; man it shine, it criss, but they have no civic pride. They don't see the necessity of keeping outside clean. They wouldn't drop it in their house you know, but if them go on the street, them just throw it through the bus window.

Denise spoke of trying to change her students' mindset regarding care for their personal space and underscored the need to help students understand that they ought not to abdicate this responsibility simply because someone else was being paid to clean:

They are very selfish so you have to get them to share and to be able to accept the fact that nothing is wrong with even picking up the papers on the ground 'cause sometimes they say "Miss the workers them get paid to do it."

Gillian's views on the importance of caring for the environment mirrored this concern expressed by Denise. However, Gillian spoke of the importance of care for the environment both in terms of keeping clean surroundings as well as more broadly. In the first instance, she explained that the focus on the environment motivated by: (i) an attempt to teach students that the mind works better when there is less clutter; and (ii) helping students understand that even though a worker may have primary responsibility for cleaning, this does not remove their responsibility as good citizens to keep their surroundings clean: "they just take it for granted, because the sweepers are there, they don't think that they should be cleaning up. So we're teaching them to be responsible citizens, taking care of, their space." Gillian also spoke of caring for the environment in broader terms than cleanliness of personal space. She described tree-planting and

recycling projects that were currently being planned and/or executed through the school's environmental club in conjunction with the local environmental protection agency. She also explained that environmental monitors had been appointed for each form. The role of these monitors she stated includes: "They make sure that the lights are off, they make sure that the classrooms are kept clean and those persons who are assigned duties will do their duties before the teacher gets there."

Denise spoke about caring for the environment through dedicating a period of time in the school's calendar to having students' focus on this issue and engage in practice around it. She also talked about focus on the environment in terms of the impact of natural disasters such as the recent earthquakes in Haiti:

We teach them to keep the place clean and to actually use garbage bins so if you notice that in our school now we have a number of garbage bins in most areas so that they will use the garbage bins. I might have a month of care of the environment so they have to keep their classroom [clean]. So we go around and check. How do you care for your environment? So you know you go around pick up the papers, clean up the place and of course what we do as well is that the whole business of living in the environment and actually reflecting on what happens if there is a natural disaster.

The two remaining teachers who spoke of caring for the environment referred to this action solely in terms of keeping clean surroundings. Gregory cited among a list of citizenship actions the need for students to "respect space" by keeping it clean and Kathy explained that she engages her students in the practice of caring for the environment through insisting that her students keep a clean classroom. She has developed a practice of having both boys and girls sweep the classroom at lunch and after school. As we sat in her classroom after school she looked around and noted with a sense of pride: "Clean, you see the class? The [cleaning] lady, see she over there sweeping she don't have to

come in here, you understand?” Kathy’s use of the task of sweeping is two-fold. The first is to encourage students in the practice of keeping the space and surroundings clean. The other is as a means of emphasizing the concept of equality of treatment of all students as well as equality of the sexes. She speaks of the reluctance and/or refusal of some boys to sweep because they regard sweeping the floors as “girls’ work.” However, she insists on equal participation in the task by all students:

Although the boys sweep they think that, “Miss we a nuh mama man” (*“Miss, we aren’t mama man”²⁵*). And they have songs about it, ‘bout, she beat him and how man no fi do house work (*how men don’t do housework*) and all that. Boys sweep. Most of my boys sweep. So I’m trying to say to them, we share everything..... Boys are allowed to sweep the classroom most of times some of them who say, “Bwoy mi nah sweep no classroom because ah gyal work dat” (*“I’m not sweeping the classroom because that’s girl’s work”*). They are given the opportunity – a choice to sweep during lunch time, that is a free choice for them and in the afternoon if they are punished they are allowed to sweep whether or not they want to.

Obeying the Rule of Law

Five of the teachers interviewed specifically referred to obeying the rule of law as an essential characteristic of a good citizen. One noteworthy fact is that two of these teachers referred to laws of the land as well as God’s laws as they discussed this issue. Edgar talked about the need for citizens to obey basic laws even when no one is looking and without the need for a policeman to be standing close by:

You will notice how Jamaicans deal with pedestrian crossings. Some will ignore it and especially if it is in certain areas. Little things like these we don’t pay a lot of attention if the police isn’t there because it’s as if we were sort of grown up to go against the system.

²⁵ Mama man is a Jamaican colloquialism that refers to an effeminate, but not necessarily homosexual male; a man who is inordinately concerned with 'women's activities' such as gossip or household work.

Gillian proposed a list of actions indicative of good citizenship that included obeying the laws of the land: “not breaking the rules of the land ... helping, volunteerism, paying your taxes, obeying the laws of the land.” By way of example and in an attempt to be more specific, she continued: “paying your taxes, ... knowing, the rules and regulations of the country. Knowing what you ought to do and what not to do.” Gregory also listed ‘following laws of the land’ as an important citizenship trait: “in a nut shell once you are a law abiding citizens you are gonna be upholding the rules that govern the land.” Doreen viewed following rules and regulations and being as ethical as possible necessary for good citizenship. She proposed that a good citizen would be “law abiding [and would have] some moral and ethical perspective” that would constrain them from engaging in acts e.g. “fraud and killing.” She explained: “I believe that if you are trained to be a good citizen we wouldn’t have so much problems as it relates to violence and stuff like that.”

One interesting feature relating to the discussion of following laws was the tendency by some teachers to conflate the laws of the land with ‘God’s laws.’ Doreen, for instance, highlighted the importance of the ethical and moral perspective and went further to propose that persons of Christian faith tend to be more inclined to possess and practice the attributes of good citizenship she described:

I think in terms of good citizenship for Jamaicans religion has a lot to do with how we behave. Cause most persons who grow up in a “Christian” home, and I put that in quotes, tend to be more obedient, tend to follow the rules more. They are the ones who tend to want to be a law abiding citizen. They are the ones who want to be kind. They are the ones who want to be courteous. They are the ones who want to help. They are the ones who will deter others from getting involved in unlawful activities.

When I pressed her further about the implications of this statement for persons of different belief systems, Doreen explained that her observation was based on the fact that “Jamaica is a Christian country.” Francine also made the connection between obeying God’s law and good citizenship. She explained: “if you’re a good citizen you are going to be obeying the words of the Bible. What God wants us to do; to live right, to love and care for each other.” When I pressed her to reconcile this statement with the existence of other religions and belief systems in Jamaica and asked her whether persons of other religions can be seen as good citizens, she ultimately relented admitting that it is possible for persons of other religions and belief systems to be good citizens because the guiding principles of their faith do not advocate killing or hate: “I don’t really know what are the teachings of Rastafarians or Muslims or other groups but I don’t believe that their teaching is saying that they should go and kill or hate.”

Participating in Decision-making

A number of teachers spoke of the importance of participation in decision-making as a key attribute of good citizenship. Participation was described in various ways, including having voice: (i) in decision-making within one’s community, e.g. through citizen’ associations groups; (ii) at school, e.g. through student councils; and (iii) at the national level, e.g. through voting or participating in other ways. Teachers also talked about the challenges associated with these forms of participation.

Several of the teachers interviewed referenced their membership in local citizens’ associations describing this as a form of participation in decision-making aimed at promoting safety and well-being in their communities. A few of those who talked about

citizens' association expressed the challenges they felt in participating effectively given the long distances between home and work environments. These distances often meant that teachers left their communities early and returned home very late; a factor that limited their engagement in these associations.

Teachers discussed participation at the national level both in terms of voting as well as decision-making more broadly. One important point to note is that very few teachers listed voting as a means of participation. Usually when it was listed, it was in a cursory manner as part of a broad list of actions that citizens could engage in. This absence of mention is particularly significant in light of the violence and corruption that characterize politics in Jamaica. From this view, therefore, political freedom and the voice as a vote appear to have symbolic significance as indicators of citizenship. The question of political violence and exclusion of some citizens from participation in the voting process was explored in chapter one which included a discussion of the Jamaica country context. This discussion will be taken up again in later parts of this writing.

According to these teachers, participation in national life more broadly could be achieved through sharing opinions in public forums and holding politicians and other public officials e.g. religious leaders and teachers, accountable through peaceful protest. Teachers were careful to emphasize that any protest must be peaceful in order for the action to be viewed as a characteristic of good citizenship. The following quotes exemplify these views:

You can have peaceful demonstration, you can draw attention to the situation...if you're going to block the road and light tires in the road and whatever, then you're not being a good citizen. That's not what you're

supposed to do. If you're going to protest, you're supposed to protest peacefully like what the workers of Air Jamaica are doing now. Why is it that you're gonna block the roads so other persons can't get to work, students can't go to school? (Doreen)

I try to point them to different ways in which they can demonstrate other than blocking the road. I try to show them that when you block the road and you damage the road in your community it's gonna affect you because when the roads get damaged you are the ones living there and so you are going to be affected. So I try to tell them how they can, for example get persons to write the petition to their member of parliament, they can protest peacefully by standing by the road and have their placards without burning or destroying the road. (Francine)

This emphasis on peaceful protest attacks head on the common practice within inner-city communities of staging protests by blocking the roads with old tires and other forms of debris that are then set on fire. Teachers spoke angrily about this practice describing it as counterproductive and not characteristic of good citizenship because of the damage to infrastructure and the disruption to daily life of commuters through those areas. Teachers acknowledged that though peaceful protest and speaking out in other public forums are options for participation, the poorest communities in society are the ones that typically protest in the fashion described above and that the wealthier sections of society are hardly seen to protest publicly. Teachers who made these observations acknowledged that protest in inner-city communities usually related to protests of extra-judicial killings or clamoring for improved infrastructure and services; problems absent from life in more affluent communities.

And we in Jamaica, we block the roads for inappropriate things..a man is killed in your neighborhood and you block the roads for that but millions of dollars go missing in a scheme that should have been free and we don't block the road for that. We are, we are mum on that; we don't say anything. So we are protesting for the wrong things. (Doreen)

Teachers also discussed student councils at schools as a means of giving voice to students. Generally, teachers described the set up of student councils as a means of empowering students. The council typically comprised student representatives from across the different class/grade levels with the chair of the council being a member of the school board. One piece of evidence that belied this claim of empowerment was the absence of by-laws or rules regulating the functioning of most of these student councils. Though the majority of educators cited these student councils as evidence of student voice in schools, one educator observed the contradiction of students being empowered in name only. There was also evidence of teachers disqualifying some persons from eligibility to run for posts on the council:

I've had meetings with teachers to say listen it is the students who have the say because sometimes teachers will go and say ok they don't think that one [should be allowed to run] and I say no the person's behavior in your esteem might not be good but when it [comes] to defending the rights and being able to speak up, that child is gonna be good and that can now help to balance him out. So when the students choose their leader teachers don't have no right now to say no you don't want so and so. It's the students' rights that they have to choose among themselves who they want to represent them. (Denise)

Order and Orderliness

Teachers cited “order and orderliness” as behavior indicative of good citizenship. This action was discussed with a great sense of nostalgia, as teachers recounted the practices that obtained when they were growing up. Kathy alludes to this nostalgia as she explains: “we used to have to go to the canteen in line, class by class. Nowadays you ring the bell, everybody run out. We used to go “Grade 1, Grade 2” (imitating announcement over the PA system) and we used to go like that for lunch” The desire for order and orderliness seemed to undergird school’s disciplinary policies and some

schools made this outcome a centerpiece of their school theme or outcome for the academic year. The following quotes exemplify these functions of the action of order and orderliness:

On the students' part [there was] not too much compliance; feeling you could not go to classes as you felt like; you could come whenever you feel like; you could shout across the campus if you feel like; you could talk to a teacher the way [you wanted to], you could wear a tight uniform. You could just do about anything, that came to your mind. Shout expletives across the campus and things like that and we said no. We had to come up with something. So we came up with a disciplinary policy. (Edgar)

This year our theme is order and orderliness, a pathway to success...walking in lines, how they just walk across the corridors like that; doing what is right. ... Just doing what is right at the right time at the right place. Not shouting and screaming out of turn. You don't just get up and take things into your own hands There's a right and wrong way of doing things. Those were, some of the concerns we had at the time, when we looked at that. What is right and what is wrong. (Gillian)

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented teachers' views and understandings of citizenship under the three broad categories of 'Citizenship as Knowing,' 'Citizenship as Being,' and 'Citizenship as Doing.' The majority of teachers stressed knowledge of one's rights more than they did knowledge of one's responsibilities. They saw citizens' knowledge of their rights as closely linked to concepts of freedom and equality. Knowledge of rights and responsibilities was however, only one facet of the knowledge teachers viewed as important to good citizenship. Teachers' also cited knowledge of history as an important aspect of citizenship. What stands out about these various facets of knowledge of history is that they move outward from the locus of self to community to country to the universal. An understanding of history in these multiple senses was viewed by these educators as a means of fostering pride in oneself – one's identity, culture and heritage.

Teachers also saw citizens' possessing this knowledge as an important strategy for stemming the rise of negative values, attitudes and behaviors in society. One unexpected finding relating to the category of 'Citizenship as Knowing' was teachers' view that good citizenship involved knowing social norms and behaviors consistent with mainstream society. Teachers expressed these as important for enabling their students to "fit in" or become "well-rounded" and thereby successfully navigate into wider society.

As they discussed the category of 'Citizenship as Being' educators described the values they viewed as core or common for the good citizenship. These values included respect, tolerance, equality, honesty, civic pride, team work, and peace. Despite the fact that teachers may have rendered different interpretations of the same value e.g. respect for others or respect for self, they shared a common view of the need for these values to be shared by citizens in order to promote greater cohesion in society. Educators also stressed the importance of citizenship as being in relation to multiple spaces, including the community, the nation and the world. Teachers viewed community in multiple senses as describing the different spaces occupied by citizens from time to time, including church, school, neighborhood or nation. The importance of connecting to one's community rested primarily in counteracting the growing individualistic trend in society but was also linked to helping citizens understand the role they played in their communities. Despite this emphasis on the local, teachers also recognized citizenship as including connectedness to the rest of the globe. They spoke of the concept of global citizenship explaining its importance in helping citizens appreciate their connectedness to persons in the rest of the world. They

also discussed the applicability of citizenship principles to spaces outside Jamaica. A few outlier responses highlighted global citizenship as a source of pride, helping Jamaicans understand their place in the world.

The category of ‘Citizenship as Doing’ highlighted actions teachers described as illustrative of good citizenship. These related to care for the environment, following the rule of law and participating in decision-making. Educators talked about caring for the environment in two main senses. First, in relation to removal of trash and keeping a clean scene but also as it relates to broader questions of environmental conservation such as tree planting or energy savings. The majority of teachers discussed care for the environment in both of these senses. Educators also stressed the importance of the rule of law to good citizenship, citing a number of rules including paying taxes and obeying the laws of the land generally. Some educators coupled obedience to the laws of the land with obedience to God’s laws citing their Christian beliefs. Overall, these educators viewed participation in decision-making from the perspectives of student participation in school, citizens’ participation in their communities and at the national level. The issue of citizenship as doing will be taken up again in a later chapter of this writing that seeks to describe teachers’ practices in promoting citizenship.

CHAPTER FIVE: FACTORS INFORMING TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

In chapter one of this study I explained that few studies have examined teachers' beliefs about citizenship and that in the majority of these studies the findings have provided guidance on the types of factors that can inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship. My study seeks to incorporate an exploration of the factors that inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship as a central focus of the study. This chapter therefore seeks to situate teachers' views about citizenship within the socio-historical context of their lives. A deeper understanding of the factors informing teachers' views about citizenship may have implications for teacher practice and teacher professional development. This chapter seeks to answer the research question 'What factors inform these teachers' beliefs about citizenship?' In attempting to answer this question, I asked teachers to describe the main sources of influence that have shaped their beliefs about citizenship.

In presenting these findings I have adopted the approach of subsuming the factors informing teachers' beliefs under two broad themes: 'Teachers' Life Experiences' 'Teachers' Perceptions of their Students' Needs.' I will begin by grounding teachers' beliefs about citizenship in their life experiences by looking at key personalities in their lives; their experience with formal knowledge; and their engagement in private spheres i.e. outside of their teaching personas, looking at the ways in which these three factors have informed the meanings they ascribe to citizenship. The second part of this chapter will explore the ways in which teachers' perceptions of students' needs inform the views

they hold about citizenship. This latter part will examine teachers' accounts of how larger societal factors and their students' lived experiences inform teachers' views about their students' needs. I will also explore teachers' assessment of the risk factors arising in students' communities and close by describing the centrality of violence in the lives of students.

Grounding views in Teachers' Life Experiences

The life experiences that inform the ways these teachers think about and understand citizenship fell into three broad categories: key personalities in teachers' lives; teachers' experience with formal knowledge; and teachers' engagement in private spheres (i.e. outside of their teaching persona). The influence of these experiences began at different stages in teachers' lives.

Influence of key personalities

As teachers described their sources of influence, the key personalities they described included professional and familial ties. Among the family influences, teachers cited were their mother, father, grandmother or great grandmother. Among the influential professional relationships teachers cited were current work colleagues or teachers who taught them while they were growing up.

The influence of familial ties

Without exception, each of the participants in this study cited the influence of a family member in shaping their view of what it means to be a citizen. Teachers' descriptions suggested that the citizen attributes shaped by these family members included a strong sense of justice and the importance of communal values, including a

spirit of caring and compassion for fellow citizens and in particular, less fortunate members of society. Gillian for instance, recalled her grandmother and great grandmother owning a neighborhood grocery store in the village where she grew up and seeing them extend credit to neighbors on multiple occasions. She also recalls their practice of cooking sufficient food to share with the sick or the elderly in the village. For Gillian, these actions on the part of her grandmother and great grandmother engendered in her a sense of empathy and selflessness. Edgar spoke in similar ways about the lessons he learned from his grandmother. He explained: “she taught me the meaning of love and a large part of me is really thankful to my grandmother because I saw her love everyone.” Other values family members helped shape were respect for persons, pride in one’s work and the importance of participating in activities aimed at uplifting society. Gregory, who lived with his mother until he was 12 years old, recalled the values of respect and pride in work, regardless of one’s station in life, that she imparted. Denise spoke about the value of participation in something greater than oneself that was deeply embedded in her family.

While my mother was here and she was working she was never late for work. And she never absent herself from work, unless she had a valid reason. I adopted that from her. ‘Cause she was never late. She always dressed a particular way for work despite her work. She was the person that cleans the place, so you know persons in that in that part of the organization, feel **less** (emphasis in the original interview) so they maybe dress a particular way but my mother was well dressed for work. She respected her job and therefore she instilled these things [in me].
(Gregory)

We had a shop, a little business place. People would come and trust (*take goods on credit*) and they didn’t pay, and they would come again and I would see it as being really stupid because [my grandmother] would trust the same person again. But she felt sorry for them. ... I’m still motivated to give because I’ve seen where I’m blessed. I suppose my grandmother’s

blessing and my mother's too, my mother's blessing 'cause they are always giving to people, they are always helping people and probably I'm too naïve but sometimes even if it kills me to give somebody something and I do without it, I do that sometimes. (Gillian)

In many instances, family members served as the entrée for teachers into some of the private spheres that helped to further inform their views of citizenship. This connection will be explored further below.

The influence of professional relationships

Teachers also described the influence of professional relations on their views about citizenship. These influences included past and present professional relationships. A majority of the teachers interviewed for this study cited the influence of teachers, who they encountered during their schooling while growing up, in shaping their views about citizenship. The influence of these teachers in shaping participants' views about citizenship (during a formative period of their lives) stemmed mainly from the alignment of values taught at home and at school, the position of honor and respect occupied by teachers in society at that time, and the view of teachers as adults within the community standing in loco parentis. This allowed teachers to act in the best interest of students as they saw fit and in ways that reinforced the values being taught at home. The aim was to promote social cohesion and adherence to a common set of values shared throughout society.

The following quotes from Gregory and Kathy illustrate the role teachers played in shaping the views of these participants about what it means to be a citizen. Gregory talked about his teachers who served in loco parentis from age 12 when his mother went abroad to live leaving him and his older brother to care for their three younger siblings.

He spoke of the love, support and encouragement his teachers gave as well as their belief in him when he didn't believe in himself. Gregory cited these as the inspiration for the current approach he takes in working with his students. In explaining the influence of her former headmaster, Kathy described the strict approach he adopted as he sought to teach appropriate behaviors and instill pride in the school and the school uniform. The views of citizenship shared by both these teachers are highly reflective of the experiences they cite below.

I don't know a father... I grew up with my mother until the age of 12. She migrated to see if she could find better in the US... I had at least three teachers who really were behind me a whole lot. Might be they see something I didn't see and they really go the extra for me, they really went out extra. I didn't have to worry about nothing being here not having my mother around, they were the mothers. Homework. I didn't lack anything, whatsoever. I had a special praise; I'll get a pat on my shoulder; So I end up with two mothers [despite] losing one. Praise the Lord. So it was good. And I had a teacher, a male teacher that we worked together. Him never leave mi, no time at all (*He never left my side*). I need to get a haircut.... We trim at the same barber. (Gregory)

[The headmaster] was strict in terms of yes, the school work, but how you behave on the street. He always says once you are in your uniform you are supposed to be a different person out of uniform. So our uniform for us had this pride. You come to [name of school], you can't make anybody see you misbehaving, cause [name of school] children supposed to behave a certain way because this was the school that boasted the whole of East Kingston, the best school in the community so we had to behave as such. (Kathy)

In addition to past relationships, teachers cited current professional relationships that have served to shape their views of what it means to be a citizen. Two of the nine teachers interviewed for this study cited current professional relationships. Pauline described the influence of her colleagues in terms of the different lenses they bring to bear when discussing and analyzing issues because they work in different disciplines.

She sees these multiple perspectives as benefitting her so that her “views don’t become myopic.” Gillian attributes much of the interest she has in promoting citizenship within her school to the efforts of her recently retired vice principal. As she spoke about the influence of this colleague, Gillian described how this leader put all her energy and passion into promoting citizenship:

The way she presented it and the way she made it sound exciting, that is what I caught on to. She gave me the fever... Just for her sake sometimes and the effort that she has made, I try to do something just because she has so much vibes, and so much energy.....I wanted to be like her because she was doing something for humanity.

Gillian also used the work of her former vice principal to illustrate the need for buy-in at the leadership level if initiatives relating to citizenship are to succeed in the school. She compared the progress made by her former vice principal in a leadership role with her current role as a senior teacher noting that she often resorted to suasion to convince her colleagues to adopt initiatives that promote citizenship.

Engagement in Private Spheres

Teachers’ engagement in what I refer to as private spaces also accounted for influences that informed their views of citizenship. I use the term “private spheres” to refer to engagement in any activity outside of their teaching, including church, politics, and community service, for instance. Again, these influences occurred at different points in teachers’ life experiences.

The role of politics

Previous studies have highlighted the influence of teachers’ political engagement on their views of citizenship (DeJaeghere, 2008; Myers, 2006). Teachers talked about the

influence of politics on their views of citizenship both in terms of their affiliation (past or present) with political parties as well as in relation to their experience with political violence. Three of the four teachers who described the role of politics traced the influence back to their childhood and their parents' and grandparents' involvement in politics. They spoke of their parents or grandparents taking them to political meetings and being involved in politics with the result that these participants grew up engaged and involved in political activism and/or discussions about politics both within and outside the household.

Edgar for instance, spoke about the sense of social activism and concern for the equality of treatment he derived from his engagement in politics at the time of Michael Manley's socialist experiments in the 1970s. He referenced Manley's vision of an egalitarian society noting that this call for equality of rights and opportunities and the push for a self-reliant Jamaica coincided with the rise of Black consciousness in a newly independent Jamaica. These attributes resonated with Edgar and led him to become personally involved in politics, volunteering as a youth at a voter registration office and later working at a constituency office. Kathy also described her engagement in politics as a child starting with her parents taking her to political meetings and traced this engagement to her present day involvement in politics in her community where she serves in the leadership structure of two political organizations and advocates on behalf of her community for improvement of the infrastructure of the area (road works, sanitation, reliable water supply). Kathy linked the influence of politics to her sense of caring and providing for members of her community, particularly the less fortunate. Denise grew up among political figures since her grandmother worked directly with

them. She also served in the youth arm of a political party and recalled the impact of this direct involvement in politics as enabling her to discuss issues wherever she would go even up to present time. This outlook manifested in the emphasis she placed on students being able to discuss issues and current events as an important aspect of their development as citizens. Examples of these influences are set out in the following quotes:

I grew up, when I say [in a] political family, my family was involved in politics from they were very young,In the '70s it was a kind of an awakening. Michael Manley came at a time when I guess Jamaica, the colonialism thing was kind a getting [too much] and people were awakening to their Blackness; the African side of them. You had Rasta, you had Black Power; you had all sorts of things and here you had Michael Manley coming in with even a new economical [vision], political system.... I guess that helped to shape that feeling of wanting us to be that egalitarian society - that was one of Michael Manley's favorite terms 'an egalitarian society' and I really believed in it...I was kind of looking forward to a Jamaica like that. The self reliant Jamaica and up until today, I still regret that Jamaica didn't take that turn, cause had we taken that turn we would be far better off now (Edgar)

I grew up in the youth [arm of a political] organization. My grandmother was very politically involved and we grew up having to see all the leaders... a number of the leaders of the party...so whenever they come out she was the big cook. So we always got to dress up and go wherever they were. So we grew up that way and seeing them involved and discussions and everything... and you grow up knowing that, it's like it just became a part of you. Wherever you go you were able to discuss issues (Denise)

Of the three educators who were directly engaged in politics during their childhood or youth, only one (Kathy) remained engaged into adulthood and up to the time of the interviews for this study. The others simply experienced a waning of interest or altogether rejected the new breed of party politics. Edgar, noting the different tone of politics today than in the past, stated: "Now I wouldn't even dream of going anywhere

near a political meeting. I guess politics has just changed and it has become a different kind of animal.”

The fourth educator for whom politics was an influence talked about it from the perspective of the impact of political violence on the inner-city community she grew up in. Gillian’s community was characterized by high levels of political violence which have worsened over time. She explained her experience growing up with political violence and the way in which it affected her outlook on politics and the political party that exhibited aggressive tendencies in her community as she grew up:

They’ll come down and intimidate the other group, like come and intimidate kids in my community, gun violence all of those things...so I was not given the opportunity to objectively sit down and say which party am I going to vote for.

Gillian described the ways in which this experience with political violence ultimately shaped her views of citizenship. She explained how she uses her own self-realization about the potential good in the political party she distrusted as a child as a teaching moment for her students to help them understand the importance of being deliberative and taking time to understand the viewpoint of others. Describing a classroom situation in which students were arguing about political parties, she restated her advice to her students: “even if you don’t like the person you have to learn to respect the person’s position.” She explained that in talking about politics with her students she tries to be objective and to avoid indoctrinating her students.

Role of Community

The role of community featured, in several regards, as an influence on teachers’ beliefs about citizenship. In citing its importance teachers spoke about community from

the perspective of their work or activism within their community. However, they also described the significance of community in terms of the expectations arising from being counted among its members. These expectations not only took the form of norms and values relating to members' attitudes or behaviors, but also involved the role of elders in the community standing in loco parentis in relation to younger members as well as the mutual caring and sharing of members of the community for each other. The following quotes illustrate the ways in which community expectations shaped behaviors:

I'm from a rural community. You must be going somewhere. You can't afford to let down your parents. You know you have to be somebody and therefore that was always within your head space. You have to make certain when you go to church that when Pastor ask you about your grades.... now you find that within the communities it's sort of different. So you find that yes the children come to school but when you go back to the communities nobody is asking you, even about did you do your homework? Did you do so and so? what's your grades like? (Denise)

When I was growing up, I know that I was a citizen of my community and I was to do everything that I could in my power to live up to the expectations of my community. (Francine)

Teachers' discussions about membership in the community particularly centered on elders and the traditions and values they passed along. Francine, for example, traced valuing and respecting elders to both biblical principles and community practice:

Biblically as well as on a community basis, when we were growing up we had to obey our elders in our community. Whenever they spoke to us, it's like our real parents who were the ones who were talking to us, so we had to obey. (Francine)

Gregory also picked up the theme of helping and respecting elders as he described some of the work of his church in the community:

Where I go to church we have this program where we try to help persons. So from time to time I will take my men's ministry and we'll go and look

for some elderly persons, we'll rap (*talk*) with them, give them a little hope of maybe another two to three years of living (Gregory)

Teachers' discussions also centered on the role of children in the community, particularly in relation to adults and the longstanding convention of a clear demarcation between adult and child spaces and roles. Teachers noted that these relationships had changed over time and that the ways in which caring was displayed through adults standing in loco parentis in relation to all the community's children is no longer an accepted norm by all persons in the community:

We grew [knowing] when big people come around, you disappear. That's the era I grow up in. 'Children must be seen and not heard.' I don't subscribe to that but that's how we were grown up. So we kinda know our place. The children today they don't have any line of demarcation. So all of that is gone. (Edgar)

They used to say that it takes a village to raise a child, not only one person. Well, I guess that now is one person, because if a neighbor beat a child, then the whole family would come down on that one neighbor, not knowing that it was for the child greater good. For I remember showing my wife [a lady] a couple days ago and saying, "That lady, used to give me some [good] beatings." If I mess up, I'd get a beating and I can't go home and say anything. I love the lady because I see the areas where she has helped to get me back on track. (Gregory)

Gillian recounted her grandmother's practice of providing meals for persons in the community and described the ways in which that experience has informed her own practice. She explained that her grandmother's kindness to others in the community fostered a spirit of sharing and caring for others in her:

That now, teaches you not to be selfish. And that you need to reach out to other persons as well. And don't live for just yourself. So when you're setting your dinner in the evening, you don't just think about your family. When I cook I always have even one dumpling left or something, behind just in case somebody stops by. But there's this mentality, especially with old people, even if I don't have the time to cook, I would want to contribute in other ways. Cause I don't necessarily like to cook. I'll give

them the money and probably somebody else will boil the soup for them.
(Gillian)

A few teachers spoke about the role of community in informing their views about citizenship from the standpoint of their community activism. This theme was particularly significant for Kathy and Gregory who worked in the same schools they attended as youths. Each of these schools is situated within the communities that both these educators grew up in and that they continue to live in as adults. These community attachments seemed to make a significant difference, particularly when Kathy and Gregory's cases are compared with those of other teachers who now lived in communities other than the ones they grew up in. The teachers in this study who live in different communities from the ones they work in often commute long distances to get to work, describing their communities as "sleeper communities" with very few neighbors present during the daytime and most of them returning at night with sufficient time left to sleep and start the cycle again the following day. This factor was cited by two teachers as the challenge to their engagement in community work. Gregory's work mainly related to his work as a minister of his church and so this will be dealt with in greater detail in the next section.

Kathy identified herself as a community builder and considers the volunteerism she engages in as part of her community building work. Her political activism (discussed in the previous section) overlaps with her community activism to the extent that she addresses common issues in both roles. She serves as part of the leadership of her citizens' association working with community members to improve and upkeep the infrastructure:

I'm a community builder in my community, officially, this is my community we pick out a group of persons who other persons can look up to and I am one of those persons. (Kathy)

Kathy utilizes her advocacy as a community builder to inform projects she engages her students in at school. These projects include a health fair serving the school and the community and a school beautification project that includes painting the classrooms to remove graffiti students have scrawled on the walls.

Role of belief systems

Five of the nine teachers interviewed for this study cited Christianity (or the church) as one of the sources of their beliefs about citizenship while another cited Rastafarianism, as the belief system informing his views about citizenship. Of the teachers who cited the role of Christianity, one of these, Gregory, assumed a leadership role in the church, serving as a minister.

I sit as a minister in the church, so therefore you understand clearly a whole lot is being expected there as it relates to citizenship cause you follow the good book as best as possible. So therefore, that really shapes who I am. (Gregory)

In his role as minister, Gregory engages in multiple initiatives relating to the community such as visiting the sick and the elderly and mentoring young men. He sees this latter initiative as particularly important since he did not grow up with a father.

We take boys and say this is a father to son day. So we maybe take the boys fishing and all of these things and we show them how it is to be a man; some of the things that you'll do in the home; you have to have respect for the ladies. (Gregory)

The other teachers who cited the influence of the church on their outlook filled roles in the choir, bible study group and teaching in after-school programs, for instance. They outlined the principles they acquired in this sphere of their lives describing the ways in

which those principles informed their views about citizenship and their actions and outlooks as citizens themselves. Gillian for instance, described the church as a source of learning and practicing compassion and understanding. She explained that her membership in her church and her reading of the Bible helped inform the values and attitudes she possesses and guides her actions in relation to others:

My learning over the years, like going to church, reading the Bible, not just academically speaking, all of those things combined, have helped me to become a better person [in terms of] decision making and thinking about other persons.

Doreen described the consistency in the strict outlook of home, church and school explaining that there were sanctions for breach of the rules applying to these areas of life. The importance of obeying rules and attracting sanctions for failure to do so was one of the principles of citizenship that Doreen strongly emphasized. She explained: “So those are the things that have shaped my opinion of life and that’s why I believe that if you break the rules you’re going to be punished.” Similarly, Eutille’s experiences in church directly informed the values and attributes of citizenship that she emphasized in our interviews. Among the roles she fills in her church are choir member, teacher in the church’s after-school program, and mentor (by serving as a ‘big sister’). Eutille saw her role in these two latter categories as including mentoring students through educating them on habits of grooming and helping them with their homework.

We had an afterschool program at church. I go to [name of church] that is really now about charity and caring and giving, so we did a lot a community service and we had an afterschool program for inner city kids. They come in after school we are there up to 5:00 in the evening and we assist them. Homework program rather; we had a home work program. So I was involved in that. A little mentorship, we were assigned to a child, and basically a big sister, not a mother or father figure.... mentor them, talk to them, groom them, have them come over sometimes, take them out,

cause they are from the inner city, deep, deep, deep inner city. They don't know even, many of them eat with spoon, they know about spoon and bowl. So you allow them to get more exposed, how to dress as a lady, how to sit as a lady in comparison to a man. Many of them didn't know those simple things or brushing their teeth. (Eutille)

This strong emphasis on habits of grooming and deportment was a consistent theme throughout my interviews with Eutille as she described the values and attitudes she tries to teach students to prepare them to be adult citizens. She believes strongly in biblical principles and the example her parents set as a guide for how she should live her life. She also cited community service within her church as part of the overall mission of caring and giving. However, when asked whether she implemented any similar programs within the school for her students, she cited safety factors and the violence of the community surrounding the school as challenges to any such efforts. This issue of the prevalence of violence will be taken up in greater detail in the latter part of this chapter. The views of all these teachers about the role their Christian beliefs play in their understanding of citizenship are exemplified in the following quote by Francine:

I am a practicing Christian and I try to live by the Bible, which is I should try to be my brother's keeper, I should try to live in peace with others. So this is what influenced me to try to instill in those who I teach to try to live because, good citizenship has its base in the Bible, so that is the other thing that motivates me to do it. (Francine)

One of the teachers who described the influence of belief systems on his view of citizenship cited the influence of Rastafarianism. Edgar has embraced this way of life for the past 20 years and saw Rastafarianism as allowing him to be “a bit more real, than a lot of people” since this way of life is concerned with seeking the truth, focuses on internal traits and attributes, and sees through “all the veneer in society.” I will revisit this issue in the next chapter as I describe teachers' practices in promoting citizenship. In

response to my question about the influences that have shaped his beliefs about citizenship, Edgar stated:

I also think another part of it too, is the fact that I'm a Rastafarian and so I can deal with people. I can deal with the man on the street. I can deal with the aristocrat. I can deal with whoever. So I think I have a little flexibility there. So children might be a little more drawn to me because they might feel that they could say this or that to me but I still don't find them disrespectful. I appreciated, the abstinence from many of the things that Babylon, as we would say, the world out there, that it has taught us. And, what I think really, I love about Rastafarianism, is that, you get to see the truth. Well, for me. You see through all the veneer in society.

Edgar also cited the significance of Rastafarianism as a “rejection of Eurocentrism” and the challenges of being discriminated against as a ‘Rasta’ among the influences that inform the way he views citizenship and the types of values he tries to pass onto his students

Experience with personal violence

A few of the teacher-participants who grew up in inner-city Kingston had personal experiences with violence. These experiences served in part to inform their views of citizenship and the values and attitudes they tried to teach their students. In describing the violence that characterizes inner-city communities, Gregory used the biblical reference to the ‘broad road’²⁶ as he explained: “living in the ghetto you had this mind set; is either you walk the straight or you can take the broad road, and we all know that the broad road lead to destruction.” He spoke about his plans as a teenager to emulate his older brother and form his own gang and his brother’s admonition to him to

²⁶ This reference is found in the book of Matthew chapter 7, verses 13-14 which read: “Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it.” (New International Version)

stay the straight path. Gregory credits his experience of citizenship and his resulting outlook in part to this life experience:

I had a brother who **was** (emphasis in the original interview) on the broad road and any time I try to slip off to follow I will get a nice flogging from my brother. Him say "Look the two of us cannot be on the same road." And I think that's one of the thing that really keep me up till today. 'Cause I remember I start to form my own gang and he will just sit me down and say "Look I want you to become something that I never get the chance to become. I don't want you to choose this because this have a short life span." For him it really had a short life span because he is now dead. So therefore, I think that has really played over and over and over and over. Therefore, my brother really helped me to be the sort of citizen I am and try to give back. (Gregory)

In describing the violence in the inner-city community she grew up in, Gillian noted "it's like a cycle that is being perpetuated." She was referring in particular to the loss of young lives, mainly boys and young men who "fall through the cracks" and turn to violence without anyone coming to their aid. Her own loss through the recent death of several family members in close succession increased her awareness of the need to be "more appreciative of people and to see people as important." She also saw her experience with violence as enlarging her sense of empathy allowing her to connect with the experiences of her students who may have lost a family member through violence. Gillian also described her experience of growing up in the inner-city as enabling her to relate to the circumstances of her students' lives more easily and standing up to those students who try to use tactics to intimidate and frighten those they come in contact with at school. She utilized her experience in the inner-city and her personal understanding of violence to teach her students how to adjust to any circumstance they are in. She further explained:

You have to learn how to, adjust yourself to the situation... You can get better than this. So I say to them, I can live in a poor man's house and I can live in a rich man's palace because I know how to behave in both; both sides of life I've experienced.

One final noteworthy influence of personal violence on teachers' views of citizenship can be found in Kathy's story of domestic abuse between her father and mother. She linked this experience with violence in her household to her passionate stance on the need for citizen attributes to include respect for women. She described coming into the realization, as an adult, that her mother was not to blame for the abuse since she was the victim. Kathy expressed concern about the violence she sees boys in the school display toward girls and viewed these actions as the reproduction of patterns students had learned at home and in wider society. This experience with violence therefore strongly informed Kathy's approach to teaching students the importance of respecting women.

Experience with Formal Knowledge

A majority of teachers' participating in this study cited their experience with school subjects and pedagogical knowledge as informing their views of citizenship. As with their personal experiences, these experiences with formal knowledge occurred at different stages of teachers' educational careers. Some teachers recalled the understandings of citizenship derived from their instruction in Civics as a formal subject in the school's curriculum when they attended secondary school. Others referenced their understandings of citizenship based on formal coursework during their bachelor's or master's degree programs. Importantly however, none of the teachers participating in this study referenced their teachers' college experience or the training offered by the

Ministry of Education as part of the implementation of the citizenship education pilot program as informing their understanding of citizenship concepts.

Of those teachers who indicated that experience with formal knowledge informed their view of citizenship, only two of these referenced learning at the secondary level. The remainder spoke of coming to an understanding about the meaning of citizenship through their tertiary level coursework. For instance, Kathy, an inner-city school teacher spoke strongly in favor of the significance of Civics as a specific subject in the curriculum while she was growing up as she described the impact of this teaching on her view of what it meant to be a citizen. She harkened back to her secondary school days describing in vivid detail the textbook used to teach the subject and cited as well the types of issues taught for that subject. She viewed the current pilot program on citizenship education by the Ministry of Education as “nothing new” but rather a re-introduction of this previously offered subject:

Teachers here also at that time used to teach citizenship because we used to have to get the book ‘Citizenship for Jamaicans,’ something about Jamaican and I remember, I keep forgetting the [exact title but] I keep remembering the color of the book. Red, this red book that we have for Jamaican students...the personal habits that the students have, the language, the, the foul language. We would not have any of that if we had adhered to what we learn in citizenship education. Just how they deport themselves on the bus, how they dress... in recent years they have cut out this teaching, the teaching towards being a good citizen... right now the curriculum is just based towards knowledge, knowledge, knowledge on academics. (Kathy)

Kathy’s view was reinforced by Pauline who at the end of one of our interviews concluded that she didn’t feel confident she completely understood the concept of citizenship since despite acquiring the civics text books and being scheduled to receive

instruction in Civics, the course was never taught during that school term at her secondary school. Despite Pauline's view that she "does not completely understand what it means to be a citizen," she admitted that she had gained some understanding from her current bachelor's degree coursework. She referred to a course that explored perspectives on Jamaican society explaining that topics covered included "issues of politics and what it means to be Jamaican."

Other teachers who referenced the influence of formal coursework described courses from their master's and bachelor's programs. Francine, for instance, spoke about her view of citizenship being informed by her master's program in the field of government and politics. Some of the things she became aware of in her master's program that she was not familiar with before included: "the ways in which you as a citizen can affect your community - build your community - and how the community is supposed to make provision for you as a citizen." Of all the teachers who cited the influence of formal knowledge at the tertiary level, Gillian referenced coursework that most directly related to citizenship concepts. Her program included a course that explored concepts of citizenship. She described the impact of this coursework on her view of citizenship in the following way:

Basically, [citizenship to me means] knowing about the world and how the world operates and how to best fit yourself in a space in the world and doing what you can to make it a better place. Not just for Jamaica. Prior to that [course] citizenship was just "oh I'm a citizen of Jamaica." But my point of view now having been to university and all of that is not just looking at citizenship as being a part of Jamaica, but being a part of the big wide world. (Gillian)

Teachers' Perceptions of Students' Needs

Teachers' beliefs about citizenship were not only affected by their own life experiences (past and present) but also by the realities of their students' lives. Their students' life contexts served to shape educators' beliefs about what was needed to prepare them as citizens to participate in wider society. In this section I take up the issue of teachers' perceptions of students' needs in order to enhance our understanding of how these needs inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship.

Teachers' ideas about students' needs was an emergent theme in the data and was couched against the broader backdrop of societal challenges and deficiencies e.g. race and class divisions in wider Jamaican society and political violence and corruption. I have touched on these broader influences in describing the Jamaican context in chapter one and will revisit them here in brief to provide a full picture of the broader context that frames how teachers' perceive their students' needs. In addition to the broader societal context, teachers' perceptions of students' needs were described as a set of factors directly linked to students' communities that defined or impacted the conditions, norms and values of students' lives in ways that placed the aims of school at odds with the ethos of students' communities. For instance, Pauline described her approach in reminding some students from inner-city communities of the need to adjust their behaviors to conform with those expected in the school environment, advising them "when you come through [the school] gate you should conform to what we do here." Other teachers noted the different and often conflicting norms and behaviors between home and school environments.

There are other reasons too why discipline is not what it should be. Well the home is one, but we are really sort of helpless when it comes to the home. Yes we can bring the parents in here. We can tell them about the behavior of the child but we can't go and run the homes. (Edgar)

I don't know what we are going to do with the inner-city communities cause we need to find some social way of dealing with that because whatever happens it really holds the kids and the whole environment and the sub-cultures....the communities of the children, the sub-culture is our problem, the lack of parental supervision. Those are the problems that we have....they spend just hours here and what happens in the communities, their subculture is so different and there are times when I feel that we expect that their behavior is abnormal but it's normal behavior within their communities. What they do is normal to their communities. (Denise)

Some of these community conditions that defined teachers' views of student needs included absent parents (one or both), the influence of the don, and the deejay or dancehall culture. Teachers viewed the impact of these community factors as being in direct conflict with their efforts and the values and attitudes they were trying to engender in their students to prepare them to participate as adult citizens in wider society. One important point that should be made is that the communities teachers referred to as they described students' needs were essentially inner-city communities. Not only do the overwhelming majority of students attending the new secondary and all-age schools in this study live in inner-city communities but a growing number of students attending the traditional grammar schools in this study also reside in the inner-city. This fact was emphasized by the teachers in this study. Accordingly, the community factors teachers described as being in conflict with their efforts were essentially inner-city community factors.

I will begin this section by revisiting and expanding upon the broader societal context of Jamaica utilizing teachers' voices to describe the ways in which this broader

context informs the lived realities and hence the needs of their students. I will trace these broader societal factors to the community context teachers describe as negatively influencing their students' life circumstances and militating against the values and behaviors they seek to engender in their students. In closing, I will describe the violence that characterizes the broader society, students' communities, and ultimately permeates the life of the schools as it becomes normed in students' daily existence. These contexts and their characteristic features inform teachers' views of their students' needs and in turn define the ways in which these teachers understand and think about citizenship.

Larger Societal Factors Informing Teachers' Views of Students' Needs

In chapter one I described the wider socio-political and historical context in which Jamaica operates. A significant portion of the country's income is used to service external debt, including a recently executed (February 2010) stand-by agreement with the IMF in the amount of US\$1.25 billion. These external debt servicing obligations coupled with a weak currency (US\$1 \approx J\$85) significantly constrain the Jamaican government's ability to meet the internal social needs of its population, particularly those in the poorest and most marginalized communities. The economy faced an overall unemployment rate of 12.0% in October 2010 according to the Statistical Institute of Jamaica. It is against this backdrop of economic and social concerns that teachers described the challenges they perceived in wider society as being at odds with the values and behaviors they were trying to instill in their students.

Teachers described Jamaican society as characterized by race and class divisions in which inner-city communities were marginalized and the poorest students continued to

be tracked and sorted into the most poorly resourced schools. They also cited growing materialistic and individualistic tendencies fueled by political and economic corruption (within the police service and at the highest levels of government) which continued unabated and without consequence. Finally, teachers observed the role of the media in promoting values that were at conflict with the ones they aimed to teach their young charges. The following quotes by teachers exemplify these concerns that were extensively discussed and described by teachers:

People don't think themselves [as] a part of [society]. 'Who cares? That don't concern me. That's Downtown [Kingston].' So they don't care how many people are dead Downtown [Kingston] or as long as they don't pass here. So that is why if you start to have things happening Uptown [Kingston] you're going to find the reaction of the police is going to be different because that cannot happen up here. (Edgar)

They see unfair treatment and they see persons doing bad things and getting away and if you have money sometimes you can do certain things and get away... So it's like, people just get fed up. And, is like they don't care. They reach a point where they don't care anymore. So is like you can't do anything to these people because they don't care anymore.. And so they take the law into their own hands. (Gillian)

[Students] should be able to access education. They have their rights. They should have the rights to education. No child, [just] because of the, environmental factors or where you coming from shouldn't determine which school you pass for or which all age-school you went shouldn't determine which high school you pass for after GSAT and stuff like that. (Eutille)

We have come to accept what is dished out to us. It's just, as I said before it's a part of our society, it's a part of our way of life. If you didn't have "fraud-politicians", it wouldn't be Jamaica. (Doreen)

This wider societal context (as described by these teachers) and the ills it embodies is the backdrop against which the community factors teachers describe in the following paragraphs must be understood. These wider societal factors frame, inform and in some

instances are mirrored by the community factors teachers described as shaping their views about students' needs.

Students at Risk: Understanding and Assessing Risk Factors

Teachers identified a number of factors relating to students' communities, life contexts and daily experiences that helped them (teachers) define the needs to be addressed in students' lives. These needs in turn informed the teachers' understandings about what was needed to prepare their students to participate as citizens in wider society. Teachers' observations about students' communities related to absence of one or both parents, the valuing of different behaviors in the home and community spaces from those behaviors valued at school, the role of the *don*, color and class issues as embodied in the practice of skin bleaching, and the unmet social needs of students, particularly relating to hunger. Each of these factors is interconnected and symptomatic of the broader challenges in Jamaican society described above.

Absence of one or both parents

Teachers noted that a majority of their students lived in inner-city communities with either one or both parents absent. Children living without parents in instances where one or both of these parents have emigrated abroad to seek more lucrative employment and who in the interim receive remittances from that parent in the form of food and clothing are referred to as "barrel children."²⁷ These children often care for themselves or are left in the care of older siblings, neighbors or grandparents.

So we have a difference [between home and school]. The norm is such that you can curse bad words in front of your mother or anybody outside.

²⁷ This term was first coined by Crawford-Brown, (1994).

When you come to [my] class you can't do that and then it goes on and on and on the street you can do that in front of everybody. Nobody cares! I care. Now it is for the parents to say [something]. We need to educate the parents because they're too young, too old because the persons in the middle who have the responsibility to teach their children good citizenship they are abroad trying to raise the almighty dollar, so it's a breakdown.
(Kathy)

Another [factor is] the "barrel child" - parents gone abroad and, therefore, just a send down [goods and] the child living with granny (Gregory)

These situations often result in students being cast in the role of adults with caretaker responsibilities in relation to themselves or their siblings and sometimes having to earn a living. This meant that students sometimes missed school on account of these added caretaker and income earning responsibilities and were more prone to be drawn into dangerous activities in the community e.g. joining gangs. Teachers often interpreted this absence of biological parents, particularly when it resulted in students' being cast in the role of caretakers and adults, as resulting in students not being taught appropriate values and behaviors.

Some teachers noted that neglect of children occurred not just in instances where parents were physically absent but also on account of absentee parents who, though physically present, failed to exercise care or interest in the affairs of their children. This lack of engagement was evident in the challenges teachers faced in getting parents to come into school to attend parent-teacher meetings or to discuss progress or misconduct of their child at school. Teachers described their desperate resort to strategies such as threat of expulsion of students in order to secure parents' attendance to discuss issues relating to their children's schooling.

Sometimes parents are abroad but some parents who are here still have no interest in the children and that is sad. It's sad. No interest, they just come in, a teacher say the child must not come back and they don't show up. You send to call them and you have to find them and even when you go, if you go into the communities they still say "Miss we nuh have no time for you, you know because a five of them me have and me have to a work to take care of them, me don' have no time." (*"Miss we don't have time for you because I have five children and have to work to care for them. I don't have time."*) (Denise)

When they do fight and when you do counsel them so to speak and we send for some of the parents, some of the parents don't come. They may have to be hospitalized or we have to send threats that they will be expelled before we see them. Some of these parents even get violent in front of us towards [the children]. (Eutille)

Another way in which parents' disengagement in their children's lives manifested was through what might be described as verbal and psychological abuse of children by parents. Teachers described a number of interactions in which parents used extremely derogatory language to express their lack of confidence in their own children's ability to succeed, describing those children in disparaging terms e.g. likening boys to their absent fathers and calling children failures. These remarks by parents often took place in the presence their children. Other teachers described students' reports of similar remarks their parents would make directly to them at home or in their communities. Some teachers linked these negative interactions between parents and children to low self-esteem on the part of some students causing them to act out at school. For instance, Kathy described the derogatory remarks by a parent toward her child as reported by the student. The student was part of a group Kathy mentored on account of behavioral issues:

So I said to one [of the students], "Tell me what you want me to do for you." And he said "Miss just give me a hug." That's all he wanted. And I hugged him and he cried and cried and I said "Am I hurting you while I'm

hugging you and he said “No it feel good.” Ah said “Your mommy never hug you before? And he said “All she tell me say “Yuh comin’ like yuh dutty pupa. Yuh nah come out tuh nutten. Yuh wutless dutty john, mi nah sen yuh a school.” (*All she tells me is “You’re becoming like your dirty father. You won’t amount to anything. You worthless, dirty John...I’m not sending you to school.”*) All he wanted was a hug ... If that parent knew something about citizenship or anything, she will know that being a good citizen you don’t tell your children about “dem dutty pupa” (*their dirty father*). You’ll love them and hug them and all of that. (Kathy)

Gregory reported a similar incident in which parents told a child in his (Gregory’s) presence that he had given up on him and had no hope for him succeeding after he failed to receive five or more passes at the regional CXC (Caribbean Examinations Council) ordinary level examinations in high school. He describes his approach in taking that student under his wing:

I remember one time I had a kid here coming to school, the mother burn up all his clothes the father say “Bwoy [Sir], mi done wid him.” (“*Sir, I’m done with him!*”). Mi sey (*I said*) “Alright, just give him to me.” ... I sat him down one day and said “What’s wrong? What’s up?” and he said “Bwoy sir true yuh nuh know, dis and dat...” (“*Sir, you have no idea..*”) and he started to cry and he begin to talk out and mi sey (*I said*) “Alright don’t worry yourself. I want you to play one role for me and the role that I want you to play is to start going to class. ‘Cause I believe in you, that you are gonna leave this school with at least 4 subjects.” And he said “Sir you know sey not even mi madda tink da way dey bout mi?” (“*Sir, do you know not even my mother believes I can do that?*”) Mi sey “Nuh worry yourself, I am gonna become everything ‘cause, the good book says ‘I’ll become all things unto all man as I may win them.’ So I say “I’m gonna become your mother and your father; don’t worry about that, I will deal with them.” I remember talking to his mother and she said “Bwoy ah cruff dat sir” (“*Sir, he’s a cruff*”²⁸) and mi sey “Nuh worry yuh self ah my cruff now mek me tek him on, as far as me is concern ah my own now.” (“*Don’t worry, he’s my cruff now. I’ll deal with him. As far as I’m concerned he’s my own now.*”) And listen me this, this guy make a big such a turn around, everybody was saying, what happened? (Gregory)

²⁸ Jamaican colloquialism for someone who is worthless, has no potential, priority or goal in life.

Different spaces, Different behaviors

Teachers' views about students' needs were also informed by the difference in the behaviors practiced within students' homes and communities compared with the behaviors encouraged at school. One frequently cited example was the use of obscene language as a norm in some students' home situations contrasted with the prohibited use of such language at school. Teachers observed that the differences in the practices and norms that applied in students' homes and communities compared with the school often made it difficult for the values they were attempting to teach to take hold. The following quotes exemplify this observation made by teachers in this study:

You're not going to survive in that community, living the way, we want you to live here. And that is where I find children have a serious problem, because they have to behave one way when they are in their community and when they come here, they are expected to behave in another way. Difficult for children. (Edgar)

In school there's a different culture from your house if you get what I mean, because some students when you say to them "You don't know that you not supposed to do that? Why did you do that?" They say, "But miss afta nutten nuh wrong wid dat, mi si mi fahda do it." (*"Miss, nothing is wrong with that. I see my father doing it."*) (Kathy)

I will use two reported examples of practices within students' home and school communities i.e. proof or assertion of masculinity and mode of interaction between children and adults, to illustrate the ways in which those practices were at odds with the norms and behaviors that schools sought to teach.

Proof or assertion of masculinity was a major theme emerging as teachers described their perceptions of students' needs. Teachers described strategies adopted by boys and young men to assert their masculinity as essentially being strategies aimed at "proving" that they are not gay. The importance of young men asserting their manhood

must be interpreted not only in light of the previous section that described the high rate of absenteeism of fathers but also in light of the general lack of tolerance for gays and the high rates of violence against them in Jamaican society. The strategies adopted by boys and young men to assert their masculinity included conveying a tough persona or “toughing it out,” not only through avoiding displaying certain types of negative emotions e.g. sadness, grief or pain, but also through avoiding speaking articulately or appearing knowledgeable and most importantly by avoiding any type of body language that might be construed as effeminate. In one of my visits to a school site, I had a delightful conversation with an extremely intelligent and articulate 13-year old boy who sat with his legs crossed as he spoke to me. During our exchange a teacher passed by and reprimanded him for “sitting like that.” The teacher later explained to me that the boy’s mother expressed concern that he might have homosexual tendencies because of the way he deports himself. Other strategies adopted to assert masculinity included having multiple relationships with girls and young women simultaneously and having as many children as possible out of wedlock. The following quotes illustrate the descriptions above regarding symbols of masculinity.

Being taught one thing and when you get home in the community you can’t able to display that, because if you display that, you are gonna be seen as soft or as a wimp. Even as a male child here, if you speak a particular way, if you practice the proper English then, you might be seen as not being straight and, therefore, you find that most of these guys will say alright “Sir, me haffi tough it out. Mi haffi tough!” (“*Sir, I have to tough it out. I have to be tough!*”) (Gregory)

I called the boy and say “Did you use a condom?” “Yes Miss” and I am like “Come here where did you take her?” “Ah mi yaad” (“*To my home.*”) “So your mother wasn’t there?” “Yeah” “So your mother nuh sey nutten?” (“*Your mother didn’t disapprove?*”) “No.” Mi say “Why?” “Mi madda

sey mi ah nuh batty man” (“*My mother says I’m not gay.*”)... (Kathy reporting on a conversation she had with a boy from her grade 8 class after learning he had sex with a girl from the same class the day before)

The mode of interaction between children and adults (including parents) in their home communities was also raised by teachers to convey their perceptions of students’ needs. Teachers described common practices of children referring to their parents on a “first name basis” (rather than the more common societal practice of referring to parents as “mommy” or “daddy”) or being out late during a week night partying with their parents. These practices were confirmed in my informal conversations with persons in wider Jamaican society, including the taxi driver who accompanied me to school sites for the duration of my field research and a young man who worked as gate keeper at one of the school sites I visited. Teachers also described instances of students cursing with or engaged in physical fights with their parents during school events. These practices between students and their parents resulted in what some teachers described as a blurring of the lines between parent and child. Students then sought to replicate these types of interactions (mainly the use of obscene language towards adults) within the schools as they exchanged with teachers.

You’ll teach here and then they can’t able to bring it out in the community. You know, Parent and child at dance and all ah those stuff, Parent and child fighting. Basically some ah these stuff that is just the reverse of what we try to do here. (Edgar)

The role of the don

I previously raised the role of the don in the inner city communities in chapter one as I discussed the role of politics and political violence in shaping the Jamaican context. In that section, I described the advent of political enclaves or fortresses in some inner-city

communities (known as political garrisons) which represent strongholds for different political parties and the practice by politicians over time of arming groups within these communities to secure votes in their favor during elections. I described there as well the role of the don as an integral part of the political machinery in inner-city communities, serving as the counterpart of his political ally in the formalized system. For many young men in inner-city communities living in poverty without a father, the don is viewed as an aspirational figure. Teachers expressed the view that the power, wealth and women with which the don is endowed establishes him as a role model and symbol of “overnight success” for boys and young men making it particularly difficult to teach values such as earning reward through hard work. Accordingly, many young men openly expressed the desire to be like the don.

The whole get rich mentality and that’s coming out from the don... seeing the don as the role model, therefore, the don doesn’t uphold certain laws. They will see the don will beat his girlfriend, the don will have 4, 5, 6 girlfriend and therefore, they say, “Sir yuh know mi waa fi bi like X, Y, Z, cause look Sir, mi nah fi work, mi jus have mi gun and then, therefore, somebody just bring a piece ah money come gi mi Sir, ... and mi nah fi work if di man dem a duh work dey suh mi kno sey mi mus get mi money.” (*“Sir, I want to be like X, Y, Z, because I won’t have to work. I’ll just have my gun and then someone would bring me money and I won’t have to work because men would be working for me”*) Therefore this one of the biggest problems that we face. (Gregory)

It is noteworthy that the rationality of these young men’s desire to be like the don is supported by the images around them (e.g. parents of barrel children emigrating to find more lucrative employment and the majority of persons in their community failing to gain sufficient passes after leaving school to secure a job) that clearly confirm the failure of education to serve as a tool for social mobility. The role of the don will be taken up

again later in this section as part of a discussion on the ways in which violence has become a central problem in the lives of students.

Skin bleaching as a manifestation of color and class issues

Some teachers spoke about the practice of skin bleaching among students as manifestations of race and class issues. Indeed during my time in the field, I saw quite a few students (boys and girls alike) who were engaged in the practice. Francine noted that while the practice of bleaching is common across all strata of Jamaican society, the practice is more prevalent among lower socio-economic classes. She saw the phenomenon of bleaching as a product or outcome of racial discrimination:

Bleaching in Jamaica is so prevalent because the lighter complexion people look down on the darker complexion people and that is one of the things that a lot of people would want to stop in Jamaica. At school, we try to instill it in our students to stop the bleaching, but when they go out in the community, this is one of the things that they may be faced with and so they continue to bleach their skin. (Francine)

Edgar also touched on this issue, ascribing the prevalence of the practice to students' views of themselves as not good enough. He described the practice as a reflection of happenings in wider society:

We have quite a lot of students who bleach. I think, we're getting somewhere with it, but we still have people who bleach and of course we have people in prominent public circles who bleach. So, why should [students] not bleach? The women in their community bleach. So as I say, it's just a reflection of what is in the society and whatever you find in that society out there, you're going to find it here [at school]. (Edgar)

Feeding the children: the challenge of hunger

A number of teachers cited the issue of hunger as one of the major risk factors for students. In 2002 the government of Jamaica (in conjunction with the World Bank)

launched a conditional cash transfer program entitled PATH²⁹ or Programme of Advancement Through Health and Education as a means of more precisely targeting welfare benefits to the poor. Receipt of benefits is conditional upon school attendance and health care visits and in order to qualify persons must satisfy a Proxy Means Test. As part of PATH, students are eligible to receive subsidized meals. The sums of money allocated for providing meals is woefully insufficient to the extent that schools are unable to feed all the students who qualify. In some instances schools adopt “creative” measures e.g. alternating the days on which students receive meals rather than giving all students every day of the week. During my interviews with several of the teachers in this study, they received calls from parents or requests from students to add their names to the list of persons to receive meals that day. On one occasion while visiting one of the school sites over 70 students lined up to receive 50 meals. As she observed that students were not properly nurtured, Eutille explained that not all students who need lunches get and that students often do not qualify for food under PATH because their attendance is too low to qualify for the PATH payments.

Not all [students] who should be on the PATH are on the PATH ‘cause school attendances are an important factor for the PATH program. Some students don’t come school and when they do come, they are in need but they hardly come to school. (Eutille)

The Centrality of Violence in the Lives of Students

Throughout my interviews with teachers, the theme of violence was very present and was discussed at both the levels of the nation state, as it manifested in political violence for instance, as well as the local community level. Importantly, violence was

²⁹ Information on PATH may be found at the website of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security: <http://www.mlss.gov.jm/pub/index.php?artid=23>

also very much a part of the school community – a fact which was very much evident both in my interviews with teachers and in my own observations of the school culture. Accordingly, violence was a cross-cutting theme in the lives of citizens and students in particular and teachers cited this violence as primarily relevant to questions of citizenship because of its detrimental effect on the values and attitudes they try to instill in their students. In this section, I explore the pervasiveness of violence in Jamaican society as described in teachers' accounts of their observations and experiences and based on my own observations. The accounts of students' experiences by teachers are based on their firsthand knowledge of those experiences or the reporting of those experiences to them by students or other teachers. The accounts relating to wider society are based on teachers' reports derived from living in the Jamaican context.

Violence as normed in daily life

Teachers expressed the view that violence was so prevalent in society that it had become normed in the sense that students didn't appear to associate any serious gravity or significance with death or the act of killing, particularly through shooting. Based on teachers' accounts as well as my own observations, students are exposed to violence throughout the course of their daily lives either (i) as passive observers; (ii) by being on the receiving end of that violence; or (iii) by being the initiator of the violent acts. As passive observers, students might witness interpersonal violence in their homes between parents, they may rehearse the violent lyrics of popular dancehall songs, or they may see violent images portrayed in the media. In one outlier case, a teacher reported that one of her students earns his living building coffins. Youth may also be directly engaged in the violent acts they experience by being themselves the subject of an attack or the initiator

of the violent act. In the former case, the violent act might be performed by a parent, a rival gang member or another student at school toward that youth. In the latter case, students may mete out violence toward rival gang members or other students or might even serve as guns for hire. The following quote by Kathy captures the array of the types of violence students might experience. Here she is describing an outing that formed part of a mentoring program she engaged in with correctional officers to help boys in grades 7-9 from her school who displayed serious behavioral issues. Kathy described some of the behaviors these boys were displaying as including “stabbing up each other and just overall being bad, throwing chairs.” Kathy talked about some of the stories these young men reported about their experiences with violence:

They tell you experience of how dem si man shoot people...They talk about how man give them gun fi go kill people and they talk about how dem fahda cut dem mother inna dem face.... (Kathy)

They tell you their experience of seeing a man shoot someone else...They talk about how someone gave them a gun to go kill someone else...they talk about how their father cut their mother in her face....

One of the most powerful examples of violence as part of the social norm of students’ environments is illustrated in Kathy’s story about an incident in which gunmen from the community murdered a businessman during the course of a robbery while he was on his way to purchase dry goods. The incident occurred just outside the school compound in plain view of students immediately before the start of the school day. She described in vivid detail her attempts to keep her students safe even as the sound of gunfire pierced the air. Tears came to her eyes as she recounted some of her male students’ reactions to the event; their simulation of gunfire as they re-enacted the event

over the course of the school day and their opinions about whether the gunmen should have left the victim's gun behind:

The whole day they were just talking about it and how they were talking about it, it was in a happy light. As if it was a show or something they were watching live and tears came to my eye. I said "Students, why are you so happy? Somebody is dead and it happened right there." (Kathy)

Similarly, Gillian noted that one of her students was reflecting during a class session on her own reaction to a shooting incident in her community and her failure to initially connect or associate the shooting with the loss of a life.

She thought about her own life and how her mind has been socialized to believe that a gunshot is just a way of life, not realizing that the bottom line or underlying thing is that somebody has died. (Gillian)

Denise also described the casual nature of students' observations about death noting their bewilderment about her shock and fear in response to the incident they described:

Because some time ago one of my children (*students*) said, "Miss, lawd, yuh know seh I see a dead man pon the fence this morning" ("*Miss I saw a dead man on the fence this morning.*").... I said "But, I would be scared." They say "Miss, scared for that? Miss, that a nuh nothing, dead man on the fence Miss" ("*Miss, scared for that? That's nothing big, a dead man on the fence*")... and then I realize, why these children are so cold... it's like nothing. (Denise)

Vulnerability of boys

Young men were regarded as particularly vulnerable to becoming engaged in violence. Some teachers cited the lack of father figures on account of the high numbers of children who grow up without fathers, particularly in inner-city communities. Others cited the influence of the don lifestyle and its underlying message that violence pays.

Gillian, who is particularly passionate about helping boys, expressed the view that many

of the young men who become part of a gang are the product of societal neglect, viewing themselves as outcasts and often don't see themselves as citizens:

They need men. They need role models. But, as it relates to citizenship, they don't see themselves sometimes as a citizen of anywhere. They're just trying to survive every day.... some of them become dropouts, say at thirteen, fourteen...and who tries to reclaim them? The police is at them. The parents are at them. The government...everybody is at them. So it's like they're trying to defend themselves then. There's actually a crew, well Downtown Kingston you can find them. They call themselves the 'Fatherless Crew.' All their fathers were killed and they were murdered by police officers...these are citizens of the society. What went wrong? Who is to be blamed? Who is responsible? (Gillian)

The Dons and Violence

The influence of the don in inner-city communities is also strongly connected to the culture of violence. Not only do they function as an informal arm of the political apparatus but they run communities in their own right and the violence they engage in is central to these functions. In this latter sense, the dons have assumed the role of officers tasked by the state with protecting the community. Several teachers acknowledged the potential for persons living in inner-city communities to lose their lives if they failed to vote in accordance with the ruling political party of the area. The dons maintain order through establishing sophisticated networks within communities to identify "informers" or persons who might oppose their presence and to "take out" those persons. Teachers spoke about the challenge of getting students to break ranks and identify persons responsible for breaking rules because of the socialization to not be an "informer." Denise explained that the retort of one of her students, to her urging that persons who engaged in the practice of stealing electricity should be reported to the authorities, was "Miss you can't be an informer – informer fi dead! (*informers must die!*)"

They've actually taken over the role of the JPs that we're supposed to have in the community, Justice of the Peace or even the police officers. They have replaced the JPs and the police officers. So if you disrespect them they decide. If you diss them then that's it. They are like the godfathers in the community. (Gillian)

You have the different persons placed in different communities to make things run....they have a system and if they know that you're talking against them, they don't think, you're just out. You're just out. Just come and say you are a informer and shoot you. So people are just, hush-hush round there. (Eutille)

Role of music and popular culture

A few teachers spoke about the violent lyrics of dancehall music and the associated rivalry fueled by dancehall artistes and deejays. Teachers linked the music and musicians through their lyrics to the violence among youth against women and homosexuals, for instance. Gillian noted that students look up to deejays who sing destructive lyrics and see them as their idol and often view the music as “just songs” without regard for or belief in the fact that it can and sometimes does impact their psyche or outlook. By way of example, she cited as evidence of the destructive nature of the music, the inclusion of lyrics describing the act of “murdering people in broad daylight.”

The most popular deejays in the country are Movado and Vybz Kartel. These deejays' association with their respective dancehall cliques 'Gully' and 'Gaza' have spawned into clannish divides as fans latch on to their favorite artiste. The nuisance form in which this divide manifests is through graffiti scrawled across neighborhoods and schools (McLean & Flynn, 2009). However, in many instances the divide manifests as violent clashes between rival deejay factions. A few of the schools I visited had the words 'Gaza' and 'Gully' scribbled on the walls and in one instance I witnessed teachers pull a female student out of morning assembly for having the word 'Gaza' cornrowed in her

hair. Teachers confirmed that students align themselves with rival deejay camps and that violence often ensues from these alliances.

Well the musicians, I think that's another big part, especially for males. Here, especially here, there are students who are saying Gaza, there are students who are saying, Gully. And then most times it causes a conflict. 'Cause when they are arguing about who supports Gaza, who supports Gully and then, the whole chaos continues. So the musicians have a lot to do with it. They promote violence, violence against women, violence against other groups and then the students, they perpetuate that. (Doreen)

I ask them to tell me what the artists sing about and they say "Miss, murder and kill people and murder dem" and I say "Is that what you want to become?" They say "No miss, we only sing it." and I say "You are not supposed to sing it, you are not supposed to align yourself with people who demonstrate this kind of behavior." And they say "Miss but is just music.." and I say "But music doing what to you?" (Kathy)

Role of the police in perpetuating violence in society

Teachers noted the particularly tense relations between police and inner-city communities. During my time in the field there was at least one daily news report about alleged violence and brutality by the police against members of inner-city communities. The incident would invariably involve the shooting death of some member of the community by police. Gillian explained that inner-city communities took a view of police as "waiting for the gunshots to end then coming and taking away the bodies." She explained that class discussions sometimes touched on the social divide between uptown and downtown Kingston during which students from inner-city communities in downtown Kingston would describe the negative feelings they harbor toward police "because, of how they are treated in their communities." Gillian notes that having grown up in such a community she can empathize with the sentiments expressed by her students but describes her reaction as motivated by a belief that in her role as teacher she needs to

be objective: “as a teacher, even though it has affected me too personally I have to try and be objective.” As a result her response is to encourage students to not label all police as “bad” because of the treatment afforded to their communities by some officers. Pauline who grew up in an inner-city community and now teaches at a traditional grammar school cited police brutality of poorer, marginalized sections of society as she described the feeling of violation members of those communities feel. She observed that such treatment would never be meted out to persons in wealthy communities in uptown Kingston:

When you watch the news at night time and you hear people say how “the police they come into mi house and they shoot up my son or they drag him out into the streets,” you don’t normally see the police operating that way with the people in the society who are presumed to be the wealthy, the wealthier class. You never see the news station up at Cherry Gardens and the rich people coming out saying that they brutalize my son or something. (Pauline)

Violence within the school

Violence within the school was by far the form of violence most reported by teachers during interviews for this research. In light of the violence students’ encounter in the various spheres of their daily lives outside school, it is no wonder that these violent attitudes and outlooks find their way into the school. Violence within the school not only takes the form of interpersonal violence between students but it also includes, violence by family members coming onto the school compound to accost their relatives or other students, or violence from the surrounding community spilling over into the school, and violence by teachers toward students.

Violence between students usually took the form of physical fights which were fairly commonplace and I observed a number of these during my visits to schools.

However, in many instances the exchanges between students were particularly violent as in the case of a grade 9 boy who slapped a grade 8 girl in her face during morning assembly in the presence of teachers and police officers because “she had dissed him.” In another instance a grade 8 boy fell unconscious and was hospitalized after being hit in the head with a stone by a group of grade 9 boys during a fight. Another student was suspended after he stabbed his classmate with a pen. Students were also particularly violent toward other students who were perceived to be homosexual. And though the practice of corporal punishment was prohibited by the Ministry of Education, teachers still unofficially continued the practice. Accordingly, in some instances, violence was meted out to students at the hands of teachers. One example of these types of incidents is embodied in the following quote:

This morning I eventually had to send [a student] home. He wasn't paying attention through the entire class....And, when I finished the class, and I was about to go, I hear a student cry out and when I looked, he took a pen and tear the student skin all the way down. So I had to send him home. And he came here and all I'm saying to him what's wrong? Him just cry, cry, cry and wouldn't stop. So I said, I told you from this morning, I gave you a chance from this morning to explain to me if you're okay and I asked you several times if you're fine and you said yes. And he wouldn't respond, so I took him to the office and I gave him a letter and I asked him to bring his parents. (Kathy)

Teachers lamented students' instinctive reaction of resorting to violence to address issues as well as their propensity to carry conflicts that begin in the classroom to life outside the class after school. I also noticed the tendency to resort to violence even during problem-solving. In one instance, while sitting in on Kathy's class, she asked students how they would deal with a situation where they are a parent and they discovered that their child had spent some money that was to be used to pay a utility bill.

A few students retorted “Miss mi would a kill him!” (“*Miss I would have killed him!*”). Teachers linked this tendency to violence among students to the violent acts they experience (directly and indirectly) on a daily basis both in their homes or communities and wider society. Some additionally ascribed students’ violent acts to inner pain or turmoil which they are unable or unwilling to articulate and instead resort to acting out violently.

The porous borders of Kathy and Eutille’s school often allowed persons from the surrounding community to enter with relative ease and this added another source of individuals to the violent interactions that occurred within the school. These persons were often relatives of students at the school who came to investigate claims that students had threatened, hurt or harassed their relative in some way. Both Eutille and Kathy reported that in the incident described in the opening paragraphs of this section, the parent of the boy who was knocked unconscious approached the student who was the alleged attacker and the accused student in turn retrieved a machete which he had hidden on the school compound and threatened the parent with it. Because of the openness of the school borders incidents like these often escalated before coming to the notice of the principal, the guidance officer or other teachers. I witnessed a similar event during one of my visits. Two relatives of a student entered the school during lunch and directly approached a student who they alleged had fought with their relative the previous day. An argument ensued between the two adults and the student and eventually the guidance officer intervened, ushering the parties to his office where he mediated the disagreement. The ease at which persons unconnected from the school could enter also resulted in violence from the community spilling over into this school. Two teachers from the

school gave separate and consistent accounts of an incident involving gunmen running through the school while it was in session to escape a conflict that occurred in the community immediately outside the school. Shots were fired during the incident however, no students were hurt.

Conclusion

In this chapter I sought to place the factors that inform teachers' views about citizenship into the broader context of teachers' lived experiences as well as the socio-historical context of Jamaica. I described two broad categories of influences that inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship: teachers' life experiences and teachers' perceptions of their students' needs. The life experiences described occurred at different stages of teachers' lives and included the influence of key personalities such as family members but also included professional relationships. Teachers' experiences in the private sphere outside of their teaching personas also informed their beliefs about citizenship. These influences included politics, the church or other belief systems, community activism or teachers' experience with personal violence. Another influence within the category of teachers' life experiences was their experience with formal knowledge (both school subjects and pedagogical knowledge). A number of teachers cited the influence of their secondary or tertiary level schooling in informing their views of good citizenship. Importantly, no teachers cited the influence of their teacher's college training or the training they received as part of the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program as informing their beliefs about citizenship.

The second main category of factors informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship was teachers' perceptions of their students' needs. These factors helped define what teachers saw as important or requiring emphasis in preparing their students as adult citizens to participate in wider society. Teachers' described these needs against the wider backdrop of the socio-historical and political context of Jamaican society and the position within that society occupied by their students who overwhelmingly come from the inner city. They cited factors such as absence of one or both parents, the existence of different norms, values and behaviors in the different spaces students occupy (including home and school), color-class issues as manifested in the practice of skin bleaching and the challenge of hunger as informing their students' needs. These needs in turn informed the views teachers held about what needed to be emphasized in promoting citizenship. An overarching theme that emerged as teachers described their students' needs was the centrality of violence in the lives of their students. It was evident in interviews with all participants in this study that violence at all levels (home, community, schools, nation) impacted their students' lives. Teachers felt that the violence students were exposed to in these multiple spaces became normed in their lives and accordingly manifested powerfully within the schools. These were the factors informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship and that in turn shaped the practices these educators engaged in to prepare their students as adult citizens. Some of these practices will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: TEACHERS' PRACTICES IN PROMOTING CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

The previous findings chapters of this study sought to describe teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform those beliefs. This chapter describes the practices teachers adopt in promoting citizenship. The accounts of these practices are based on a combination of teachers' self-reports and my own observations of their school culture and climate. These observations as well as interviews with additional teachers and informal conversations with students and school staff provided the verifying basis for the practices teachers described. I also observed teaching sessions for five of the nine study participants and those observations provided further evidence for triangulation. Teachers' practices in promoting citizenship among their students fell into three categories: (i) practices within the classroom; (ii) practices in relation to extra-curricular activities; and (iii) practices shaped by social dynamics outside of the school. These practices must be read in conjunction with the findings of chapter four describing teachers' views and understandings of citizenship since teachers' practices were primarily aimed at promoting the knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors that have been described previously in this study.

Practices Within the Classroom

Teachers' practices in promoting citizenship within the classroom related to *formal coursework* as well as *informal discussions*. A number of teachers stressed the need for practices within the classroom to be connected to students' lived realities. This view was sometimes expressed in terms of specific needs of the student population and/or

the failure of the curriculum to address what some teachers considered to be the most important needs of their students and was often couched against the backdrop of the disconnect between the practices and values of the home and school environments. This view was expressed by a number of teachers as “teaching more than content” and seeking to understand the context of students’ lives as they interacted with them and prepared them for their roles as adult citizens in wider society. The importance of connecting teaching on citizenship to students’ lived realities was expressed by new secondary school and traditional grammar school teachers alike. During an interview with Kathy following a teaching session I observed, I asked her to describe how the lesson related to citizenship. She described the ways in which she had adapted the stated curriculum objectives to match the reality of her students’ lives and dismissed the relevance of some portions of the curriculum:

The family structure part of it; in there they are saying that the ideal family is the Nuclear Family. It’s not. The ideal family is not the Nuclear Family! The extended family is an ideal family, where you have the Grandma, and Grandpa, cousin, uncle... That’s why I tell you I don’t follow this [curriculum] I don’t and I talk to them about their family, so what I would do, I say to them, draw your own family tree. I don’t put the posters on the board that is in here to say family is this and that. I say draw your own family tree. You have a scrap book, I want you to paste who you think should be at the top. Some of them place their mother never their father. That’s their family. I can’t tell them that the man is the head of the house. (Kathy)

Denise also acknowledged the importance of teaching to the context of students’ lives:

At an inner-city school you have to understand the children and their environment, home environment. You have to understand that some of them leave home, they don’t get any breakfast. They just get up and run come. There’s no parent to really wake them up, give them breakfast and say go to school and I feel that the fact that they come here then we should account for them. (Denise)

Practices relating to formal coursework

In chapter one of this writing, I described the citizenship education pilot program being implemented by the Ministry of Education. The approach adopted by the Ministry of Education in introducing the program was for teachers to integrate citizenship education content with those areas that the teachers were already teaching. Accordingly, there was no formal or separate curriculum for citizenship education. Teachers discussed the ways they integrated citizenship education principles into their existing course content. Additionally, two teachers specifically illustrated and described their approach to writing citizenship objectives and activities into their lesson plans. Eutille for instance, described her approach to integrating discussions about heroes, ancestors and the roots of cultural traditions into her teaching of Social Studies. Pauline, who also teaches Social Studies, described her aim in promoting greater understanding of the interconnectedness of the region's peoples through teaching students about the "distribution of physical resources across the Caribbean region and the importance of CARICOM and regional integration efforts geared at combating globalism and dealing with the effects of trade liberalization." Finally, Edgar described his approach to teaching values through getting students to place themselves in the position of the characters they examine in English Literature texts. The following quotes from Eutille and Edgar are illustrative of the ways teachers sought to integrate aspects of citizenship into their teaching:

In terms of Social Studies...we spoke about heroes and we did ancestors and we did culture and heritage and it gives them a sense of appreciation...I showed them the dance moves that were back then, they were quite fascinated; the music, the line of music coming down, that reggae didn't just pop up out of the air just like that. Reggae music was always in existence from then, it's just that it wasn't called reggae. So they

really appreciate it and respect it. I believe now they respect reggae music more than before. (Eutille)

When we are looking at characters for example you would look at some of the qualities of the character and then you would have to do an analysis of the character. How is he operating? And not only how is he operating of his own, but how he's operating within the society that he lives in. (Edgar)

Structured in-class practices aimed at promoting citizenship also include activities e.g. role playing, debates and controversial-issues discussions. Teachers described their use of these activities to teach students citizenship values e.g. tolerance for religious differences, respect for women, order and orderliness and respect for the environment. These activities were usually framed in the context of students' life experiences.

[We discuss] race, gender discrimination, religious discrimination, all of those things...we have lively discussions on all those things about, respecting other people's decisions and what they want, preference and what they want to do. And then, you have another side talking about the Bible. So we try to help them to be objective and to respect other people's [choices] (Gillian)

I try to use cartoons to highlight the behaviors that we would not like to see and cartoons to highlight the behaviors that we would want to see or have the role plays of certain scenarios. For example, a dramatization of a Rastafarian with a group of persons who are Pentecostals. Have a dramatization of how we would want to see these people living together in the same community. << What do they see typically happening, intolerance or tolerance?>> Well intolerance, intolerance and then you will correct it now and say this is what needs to happen... the teacher will lead the approach but the, the students are also involved in correcting the bad behavior. (Francine)

I do teach family planning. Some parents say yes; some parents have a big problem. [The principal] says, he don't want me to give them any condom but he want me to tell them about sex. So I say well those who want the condom I am going to provide it, those who don't want it, don't have to take it, but when I'm doing my lesson I am going to have my display and if they want to take it I am going to have them take it, because they are sexually active at 11 and if I teach 15 year olds, why wouldn't I be teaching contraception. We have four girls in grade 7 who have babies. (Kathy)

Practices during informal class discussions

A number of teachers described experiencing challenges in attempting to integrate citizenship values, behaviors and attitudes into their subject areas and lesson plans. Some teachers felt that their discipline did not readily lend itself to teaching the values, attitudes and behaviors they believed would prepare their students to participate in wider society. For instance, Gregory explained that he would like to teach his students about “personal development [which includes] things like deportment” so that “after 5 years, leaving this institution, [students would] feel that they can go out and compete with others.” He explained that he felt constrained in his ability to do this: “I think as the Maths teacher or the Information Technology teacher, it doesn’t fit into my content. Therefore, I can’t go into it.” Similarly, other teachers felt that certain subject areas e.g. Social Studies and English Literature more easily facilitated the integration of citizenship teaching. Francine who teaches in the Humanities Department explained this position in the following terms:

Because people see it as related to social studies or to history or to the other discipline that falls within the department which is religious education...some teachers, might not readily see the link, cause you have to really think about itwe ought to let them be aware that it’s the whole behavior; citizenship is what we do on a daily basis, because we are living in our communities; our home community, school community and in fact the society and how we interact in these communities, is displaying good or bad citizenship. (Francine)

Given these views expressed by teachers about the challenge of integrating citizenship issues into their course content, the majority of accounts of practices within the classroom were informal in-class discussions. These informal discussions often occurred during structured teaching and involved teachers purposefully taking up discussion of issues raised by students that were not specifically written into the

curriculum or lesson plan. However, teachers' informal engagement with citizenship issues also occurred through spaces they specifically carved out for this purpose. These deliberately carved out spaces included the 15-30 minute periods immediately prior to the start of the teaching day (known as "form time") during which teachers responsible for the administrative matters relating to a grade (or form) would typically perform housekeeping issues e.g. roll call and announcements. Some teachers also carved out the first five minutes of teaching time. Other teachers decided on a more extended period (30-45 minutes) dedicated to focusing on citizenship issues. Eutille, for instance, described her occasional use of a session titled "Drop Everything and Read" to discuss citizenship issues with students. She together with her students had constructed a "Citizenship Education Corner" which included images of local celebrities e.g. Usain Bolt and aimed to "promote self pride or pride for nation and stuff; [there are also] a few poems, some are religious." Teachers used these periods to discuss topical issues or to allow students to share concerns or experiences. The following quotes exemplify the ways in which these informal periods were utilized.

Sometimes when they come in after the weekend they tell me about their weekend [experiences]. I use those same examples and ask other students, how they would respond. So real life experiences. We discuss the news or whatever happens ... those things always come up. (Gillian)

Form time is a time where I plan what I'll do. I'll put like topics in boxes and then we'll have, I'll buy juice and make sandwiches and during, my form time I get my children to talk up. On anything... social issues, anything that was present. Sometimes I would say each person cut out an article that you think you want to talk about. Let us read it, let us discuss. So I have my children cutting out articles. So they come with their articles, you know different days we planned different activities international or national. (Denise)

The quotes above illustrate how teachers used these informal discussions to give voice to students and to allow them to speak out on issues that affect them. This is significant since a number of teachers observed that the cultural practice of children being silent in the presence of adults and/or being silenced by adults was still very prevalent in society and was a practice promoted by some teachers. As a result, many students had difficulty expressing themselves and often conflict arose between teachers and students in instances where students felt they had been “dissed” by teachers who silenced them. Denise acknowledged this need for students to be given voice as she observed:

You have to keep talking with them because they want people to listen to them...Diss is the word that they use most, when they're disrespected. And once you don't listen to them, once they feel that their voice was not heard, they say “Miss, the teacher diss me.” So, you have to give them opportunities. (Denise)

Edgar expressed a similar view as he spoke about his practice of encouraging students to speak and express themselves freely. He contrasted his approach with the practice in some of their homes: “it’s coming from the home, because remember we are allowed not to speak. “Shut up yuh mouth gyal!” (“*Shut up girl!*”)

In addition to allowing space for students to speak and freely express themselves, teachers often used the periods of informal discussions to teach a host of issues, including values of caring and sharing, alternative forms of conflict resolution, social graces, personal hygiene, and life skills. The issues teachers took up during these sessions were often informed by their assessment of students’ needs which, as discussed in the last chapter, go toward shaping the meanings teachers’ ascribe to citizenship. For example,

Gillian, who teaches at her alma mater, talked about using informal discussions to engage in story-telling about her experiences as a former student. She saw this recounting of her experiences as a means of helping students understand the need to be part of the collective and to provide for future generations as those before had provided for them:

I have related cases to them where, when that auditorium was being built over there, it took millions of dollars, years of dedication and service. And I say to them, that when I was in grade seven, right up to fifth form, we used to sell stuff. We had fund raising events and it was a competition amongst us in the classes to see who could give the most to the auditorium. ...If we did not make that sacrifice then, you would not have an auditorium to be sitting in now. So what are you going to do for [name of school] now? And so, it's that you have to tell them these things. You have to tell them stories. (Gillian)

Practices in Relation to Extra-curricular Activities

Teachers' practices in promoting citizenship also extended to include extra-curricular activities i.e. activities performed by students that fall outside the realm of the formal school curriculum e.g. school clubs and societies, field trips, volunteer activities, and student council.

Field trips

Three of the teachers in this study specifically talked about the use of field trips as a way of building citizenship attributes in their students. Each cited the use of this activity for a different purpose. Gregory, for instance, saw this activity as an opportunity for students to experience aspects of their heritage through visiting historic sites e.g. the Bob Marley Museum and Dunns River Falls. Kathy utilized this activity to provide a safe space for students to interact and share in ways they might be reluctant to do in their normal environment. She described a field trip for a group of troubled boys she mentored

together with two probation officers which provided a safe, caring space for the boys to talk about the challenges they face in their daily lives that accounted for the acts of aggression they displayed. She also organized similar outings for female students to create a caring space dedicated to discussing issues relevant to women.

Finally, Eutille, in describing her use of field trips as an activity for promoting citizenship, consistently raised the theme of “exposing students.” She believes that part of what is necessary for their growth and successful integration into wider society as adults is seeing and experiencing the world outside of their communities: “Many of them don’t even go outside of Kingston [or to the] North coast or even to a country area to see. They’re not exposed.” Curiously, Eutille linked these field trips to helping students learn how to deport themselves and behave in a “civilized manner.” In the following quote, she describes the discussion she engages in with students in preparation for the field trip:

I tell them your behavior here, it won’t help you You won’t belong in certain places ‘cause other persons don’t behave like you. Your behavior is abnormal to other people, while their behavior is abnormal to you. Based on the discussion, how to behave, how to carry themselves, how to speak. I try to tell them that this is what I’m aiming for; for them to change, for them to, realize that they can behave in a, in a, in a civilized (said cautiously) manner and that it works and that you’re more worthwhile if you do that, go in that direction.

Eutille went on to describe a scenario on one field trip that confirmed her view that a change of environment is something that will help students make a switch in their attitudes and behaviors. She described her students’ encounter with a group of White tourists on a field trip to Dunns River Falls noting how their language and attitude and behaviors changed and how they became accommodating even without her telling them how to behave in this situation.

Cause when we went to Dunn's River and they even, escorted some of the White people up the falls... and, how they dealt with them, they acted like tour guidesAnd they said, "Miss may I help you?" They even spoke to them properly. "May I help you up the fall?" And they held their hand and they spoke to them gently and, I never tell them this, I never tell them, "Make sure you say may I," or "Make sure you say this or that." Just automatically from the change of environment. So I know a change of environment will help.

Part of what struck me about Eutille's perspective is that she seemed to be using "exposure" as a proxy for adopting a different way of being as opposed to having that exposure serve as providing an alternative view point or a way of being i.e. expanding the menu of choices students have for ways of living or being. I explore the multiple interpretations of this approach and its implications for questions of citizenship in the following chapter.

Clubs and Societies

Teachers spoke about the role of clubs and societies in building skills of participation, leadership and volunteerism among students. Clubs and societies within schools included the Kiwanis Club, the Environmental Club, and the Debating Society, for instance. Though several teachers mentioned the role of clubs and societies in preparing students as adult citizens, only two teachers were specifically engaged in these clubs or societies. Gillian described her role in the environmental society as including facilitating a tree-planting ceremony, to which the National Environment and Planning Agency (NEPA) had been invited, and introducing a recycling program into the school. She also described the role of environmental monitors in the school i.e. students who were responsible for conserving energy and ensuring that the classrooms were kept clean. Denise spoke about her role in creating a debating society within the school and making

connections with other secondary schools to facilitate inter-schools' debating competition.

When I came hereI went and spoke to the head of department and said do you have a debating society. She said she had always tried to actually form one and I said ok I have interest. I started working with [names of other schools]. We linked up and then we'll have the moots... we were doing well and then when [name of the organizer for the debates] came with the inter-schools' competition then we became a part of it and we did well and we had the HIV/AIDS debates and we did well in our region.
(Denise)

Volunteerism

A majority of teachers in this study identified volunteerism as a key activity aimed at promoting citizenship. Though volunteerism was invariably described in relation to activities outside of the school, one teacher, Gillian described volunteerism relating to initiatives within the school. These initiatives were formalized through the granting of an annual award to the student with the "spirit of volunteerism." This award was given to the student judged to have taken "initiative" in being "helpful in the life of the school" and to have "made their mark through service and achievement." Further, students in 6th form (grade 12) were required to perform mandatory community service which might include work in the life of the school. Gillian described the types of activities that qualify:

They could volunteer to come and fix your bookshelf. They can do it in their own community too. They help to mark papers, up in the library. They, sometimes .. volunteer to sit with the class .. even though the teacher is there sometimes. Just to be there, if we're having any function, we need them to come and help to serve. Or to, help out in anyway, help in organizing, so they have what is called the community service sheet. And they have the number of hours and then the side of the hours and you rate them, good, bad, excellent. (Gillian)

With regard to volunteer activities outside of school, teachers described both current and prospective initiatives they were engaged in with their students. Activities took the form of donations (of physical goods and clothing) or giving of time. Teachers viewed these activities as primarily serving the role of displaying feelings of caring and concern for others, particularly the less fortunate, including elderly persons living in hospices, orphaned children and most recently the people of Haiti.³⁰ One outlier perspective regarding the rationale for volunteering came from Denise, who saw her perspective projects as serving to connect the school with the communities of its students in order to build a relationship of trust.³¹ Accordingly, she stressed the importance of volunteer projects being guided by the needs of the community.

[We are trying] to see how we can go out and start doing some work to make ourselves seen because we realize that trust is a very important factor where our parents are concerned I've spoken to the PTA president already so that we could identify [projects], because the needs of [one community] might be helping to repair a basic school while the need of another community might be helping a little old lady or whatever. So it depends on the need within the community. (Denise)

Only one of the teachers who spoke about volunteerism talked about engaging in discussion with students prior to the activity to prepare them to participate. In the following quote, Gillian talks about the discussion she engaged in with her students to prepare them for a donation drive to a shelter for children:

We talk generally about children, and some things that can happen to children and what would you do if you were in that situation. And what would you want somebody to do for you, if you were in that situation. (Gillian)

³⁰ The devastating earthquakes struck Haiti approximately two weeks prior to the interviews for this study.

³¹ Denise's school is physically removed from the communities of the students it served.

Student Council

The student council was cited by several teachers as a means of promoting participation by students in the life of the school. At the time of my field research, the unit of the Ministry of Education that facilitated my visit was engaged in an initiative to promote greater use of student councils within schools and to train students in their leadership roles. The council was generally comprised of student representatives from each form (or grade) with the head or president of the council serving as the student representative to the school board. In this capacity, the president of the student council represents the student body on issues affecting their lives at school. Three of the nine teachers interviewed for this study were directly involved with the student councils in their schools serving as the advisor (or co-advisor) to the council.

All three teachers acknowledged that the councils were in their embryonic stage and therefore had limited impact. During our second interview, Gregory noted that the council members had been undergoing training during that week. Similarly, Eutille acknowledged that the student council members didn't have any real powers since they had not been trained, had not taken the requisite oath of office nor did they have formal by-laws in place to govern their activities.

Myself and the Guidance Counselor mainly – not trained them – but we talked to them, but they should be trained, which didn't take place...[training] would specifically lay out what their responsibilities are and we would be there to ensure that they do their responsibilities; how to deal with different situations. (Eutille)

Eutille further explained that the types of activities the student council was currently involved in were mainly administrative type activities e.g. helping teachers and keeping order among classes and younger students but nothing in the way of advocacy to the

school board on students' behalf: "there are lots more things for them to do but because of the lack of training..."

Denise was less hopeful about the possibility for the student council at her school to function as a voice of change. She saw their power as limited by teachers' disregard for their authority and the relatively weak nature of the Parent Teachers' Association at her school. She described the practice of some teachers stripping student council members of their badges if they (the teachers) believed the student council members breached the school rules in some way. Denise argued against this practice citing the fact that the students had been duly elected by their peers. She therefore questioned the extent to which the student council was truly part of a democratic process within the school and expressed the view that the voice of the council might be stronger in a traditional grammar school:

Sometimes, in schools like these I realize that with the traditional high schools, the children have more of a voice re the student council..... The power of the student council is nothing here...schools like these like teachers decide this is what we want and this is what happens. And, you don't really have the strong PTA where parents are going to demand much. So, if the children not getting anything, there's not much of a voice being heard and hence, it just boils down that, children just go through their everyday life functions in school, follow what the teachers say or do what they want to do. So, getting their voices heard, I don't think it's really effective in that.... I don't think they are given the opportunities to be heard. (Denise)

Practices Shaped by Social Dynamics Outside of the School

A significant part of teachers' practices in promoting citizenship related to practices shaped by social dynamics outside of the school. These practices often straddled teachers' personal and professional lives or were based within the sphere of

their professional lives but extended outside their core roles of teaching and performing administrative functions. These practices were often rooted in teachers' beliefs that their role as teachers required more than simply delivering content to their students. This portion of the chapter aims to highlight these enlarged roles teachers took on in their quest to promote citizenship. This section will proceed by presenting vignettes of three³² teachers highlighting specific examples of their practices that were influenced by the broader environmental dynamics. In other words, these practices constitute teachers' responses to the challenges of the negative social and domestic environments. They acknowledge these environments as inimical to the interests (living and learning outcomes) of their students and act in ways to resist those effects.

The three teachers I will highlight are Kathy a senior teacher with 12 years' experience working at an all-age school teaching Home Economics and Health and Family Life Education; Gregory who has 9 years' teaching experience and teaches Mathematics and Information Technology at a new secondary school and Edgar, a senior teacher at a traditional grammar school with 23 years' experience who teaches English Literature and English Language. I briefly highlighted the context of each of these types of schools in chapter three as I sought to present profiles that illustrate the three types of schools included in this study. All three of these educators teach at their alma mater and the two inner-city schools are located in the heart of their respective communities. Edgar and Kathy underwent teacher training while Gregory has not yet attended teachers' training college. The practices of these educators in promoting citizenship may be

³² The focus on these three teachers should not be read as suggesting that the remaining six teachers did not act in ways that illustrated similar concerns about the harmful effects of students' environments.

characterized as bridge building (Kathy), paying forward (Gregory), and interrogating identity (Edgar). These characteristics are elaborated upon in the vignettes below that illustrate the ways in which these teachers' practices are shaped by the broader environmental dynamics as well as their lived experiences.

Kathy – Building Bridges

Kathy's practices in promoting citizenship are steeped in her role as a community builder. She has been engaged in community work and activism since the age of 19 and currently serves in a leadership role in her community's citizens' association. In this capacity, she advocates for improved conditions in the community, including better infrastructure and work opportunities for residents. Kathy is also engaged in politics and serves in the leadership of two political organizations in the area. As with her community activism, Kathy's engagement in politics dates back to her youth and her political work complements her community activism. She lives and works in the community she grew up in and recalls a time when the school she attended and now teaches at had a hallmark of excellence boasting among its graduates professionals, including doctors, teachers and social workers. This is in contrast to the current climate of the school, informed in part by the profile of its students. These are low-performing students who come from challenging social conditions, often living with one parent, a grandparent, strangers, or on their own.

Kathy sees the main challenge of citizenship as the misalignment of values between the home and school. She recalls a time when "the homes were doing what the schools were doing." She observes that in the new order: "there's not a standard moral

system cause, what is good for you today in school is a different thing when you go home.” She assesses the main challenges of her students as the negative impact of their domestic environments combined with the violence in the community within which the school is located. Accordingly, Kathy’s practices focus on tending to the social needs of her students and bridging the school and community. The following description of Kathy’s school context highlights some of the social and environmental dynamics her practices are aimed at addressing.

Kathy’s School Context

The school is located at the nucleus of a community in inner-city Kingston that is characterized by high levels of crime and pockets of violence. This violence sometimes spills over from the community into the school and on previous occasions the school has been suspended altogether or let out early on account of violence. On occasion gunshots can be heard ringing out in the community and there have been incidents of “bad boys” from the community running through the school compound with guns. Kathy explains:

We have some trouble spots in the community and from now and then they flare up; violence, shooting, you see the gunmen running on the compound, running up and down with their guns.

The principal noted that in addition to the violence that already exists within that space, students also bring violent attitudes from their communities. Violence manifests mainly in the form of physical fights. Sometimes students carry knives. The administration has never found guns in students’ possession but they have received unconfirmed reports of students carrying guns. Searches have turned up empty. Despite having a main gate and a “gate keeper” or “guardsman” the school is relatively “open” with porous borders. It is

a fairly common practice for persons from the community to pass through the school compound to access other parts of the community, even while school is in progress.

The school faces other challenges. Over the years, the Ministry of Education has tracked the lowest achieving students into the school and all students assigned to the school's grade 7 class received less than 25% on the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT). The school is a transition point for students who improve over time and can read sufficiently well to get into other schools. Accordingly, there is a high turnover rate among students. The school therefore serves as a school of last resort – students come here because no one else will take them. The principal's wish is for the school to become “a school of choice rather than a school of last resort.” On the morning of my first visit, the school received seven transfer students, including a 13-year old boy who was reading at pre-primer level. Approximately 30% of the student population is from the surrounding community, with the remainder taking public transportation in from other parts of the country (up to 25 miles away). Twenty five percent (25%) of students at the school are on government assisted lunches through the Program of Advancement Through Health and Education (PATH). The principal observes: “If we don't take them, no one else will.” The school is extremely under-resourced with two teaching positions having remained vacant for the past two years. The principal serves in multiple capacities as administrator, school secretary, accountant, keeper of school supplies (e.g. chalk, paper, toilet paper). The result of these in-school dynamics is that teaching is disrupted on any given day in the absence of one of the current teachers.

Against the backdrop of these social dynamics informing school and community conditions, Kathy engages in actions aimed at offsetting the negative impacts of these social dynamics on the lives of her students. The following section describes examples of these practices.

Kathy's Citizenship Actions

Kathy's citizenship actions respond to the social needs of her students and the disconnect between school and community. She utilizes her links through her community activism and politics to supplement the meals provided through the government's school feeding program since the resources provided by the government are insufficient to meet the needs:

Children don't have lunches; the Ministry don't give us the resources to provide for them so I go to Flour Mills and get two bags of rice per fortnight and two bags of flour and we beg (*ask for donations of*) mackerel and bullbeef and sausage and macaroni and peas... nobody not supposed to come to school to say them hungry or a parent can't call me to say mi child not coming to school cause him don't have no lunch money cause we provide lunch here.

In addition to exhibiting care for her students as a group, Kathy exercises individual acts of caring. I witnessed one such example on the day I first met her. While waiting for her in the principal's office, I observed her call out to a male student who was waiting in a seating area just off the principal's office. The gentleman she approached with was a barber from the community and as she beckoned to the student, I heard her say to the barber: "this is the boy for the haircut." Later during our interview I asked Kathy to explain what had happened. She explained that she saw the student leaving school crying while school was still in session. He explained that his brother had given him a bad haircut the night before and other students had teased him all day so he decided

to leave school early. She brought him to the principal's office and called a barber from the community to give the student a haircut. Kathy's response when I inquired who paid the barber and how much it cost was: "I did. \$200." Another powerful example of her work in addressing students' social circumstances can be seen in Kathy's mentoring of troubled boys. In describing the problems they were presenting, Kathy stated: "they were acting up man, just fighting, puncture the Guidance Counselor's car tire." She works with probation officers from the Corrections Department to meet with the group of boys two times per week and often takes them on field trips to "treat them special" and to provide a safe space away from school to allow the boys to share and open up about their experiences. In the following quote, she describes the field trips:

Sometimes ah take them out. Last term we had some boys who were behaving badly and I got two Probation Officers from Correctional Department and myself and two times per week we have mentorship program with them. Last time we took them to a restaurant, a Chinese restaurant in Harbour View, it was 16 of them and I had to pay for it out of my pocket and I said order whatever you want...when we finish the bill came up to about \$10,000 something and the Probation Officer and myself split the money and pay for them. We show them how to eat with a knife and fork, we give them the practical experience of eating with a knife and, it was Valentine's day, we took them out for Valentine's day. All of them wore a white shirt and a black pants and a little flowers.

In addition to addressing students' social needs, Kathy utilizes her work as a community organizer to coordinate activities aimed at linking the school and community more closely. One such example she described is an annual health fair which she organizes with support from corporate sponsors. She described the roles the students performed in relation to the health fair as including creating signage for the different service stations, painting and arranging the school in preparation for the fair, and escorting the elderly to the various stations or serving them lunch.

The school also has a project that I have started; this is my third year that I have an annual general health fair and all the people in the community plus the school [are invited]. The last time we had four doctors, we didn't have a dentist, we have birth paper place, testing for AIDS, everything was free. The students help because they take the elderly to the booth we had and they register and then they take them to the various,cause here was a doctor's office, over there was a doctor's office. They tell them where to go and get the food and get the drinks for those who can't move around.. The students they did banners and put up like doctor's room, whatever, whatever. We painted, clean up and they fix the chairs and they helped the elderly persons.

As a means of promoting greater interaction between the school and community, Kathy organizes peace marches in the community in response to periods of violence. Students and community members march in solidarity throughout the community carrying placards and singing peace songs:

If there is war in the community the students will go around and walk around and the community will join and we will sing songs like let there be peace and we walk around all the way to the war area. We invite some of the pastors with us and we walk and come back just march and we have some plaques .. that say 'peace' and 'no violence,' 'talk it out instead of warring it out,' 'don't attack the person and the personality' and all of that. We always do that. We march and we join other marches too.

Gregory - Paying it Forward

Like Kathy, Gregory lives and works in the same inner-city community he grew up in. He teaches at the school he attended and feels humbled by his ability to surmount the challenges of life in his inner-city community to become a teacher and a pastor at his church. The average young man in his community is raised by a single mother, grandmother, stranger, or must even raise himself. This lays him exposed to the influence of crime and gang life. Gregory narrowly escaped this fate. His mother emigrated to the US when he was 12 years old leaving him and his older brother to care for their three younger siblings. Gregory's brother, who admonished him (Gregory) to

avoid gang life, was himself a gang member and was in and out of jail leaving Gregory to care for his younger siblings. Gregory also cites the support of a number of individuals during his growing years, including elders in the community as well as teachers at his high school who stood in loco parentis in his home and school spaces looking out for him and maintaining discipline. Today, Gregory views his role as paying forward all the caring that was extended to him. Informed by his experiences and his current roles as a pastor and a teacher, Gregory “rescues” the students in his charge who find themselves at the edge, just as others rescued him before. These life experiences together with Gregory’s school context flow into and help shape his practice of “paying it forward.”

Gregory’s School Context

Gregory’s school is located deep within the community and so in order to access this school, one has to drive through the community. The school is set across from a vacant lot that gives it a somewhat isolated feel despite its location within the community. Upon first approach, the look and feel of the school building is in stark contrast to the community one drives through to get to it. The school is surrounded by relatively new-looking perimeter fencing and the main gate is manned by a guard. The outside of the building is also well-maintained with murals on the walls and a huge shady tree overhanging the entrance. The messages that accompany the mural on the outside of the school are messages of peace. One of them reads “talk it out don’t fight it out.” The school almost seems out of place as it contrasts with the depressed feel of the surrounding community one passes through to get to it. Piles of garbage and debris occupy huge empty lots between small “one-room” houses. The faded murals on the brick walls in parts of the community bear the tired, worn look of the rest of the landscape.

The look and feel of the exterior of the school belies the condition of the inside. Upon entering, it is as if one were in a completely different space. Coats of paint many years old are flaked off in places. The classrooms are dark and dungeon-like and poorly ventilated and some of the walls bore graffiti. There is a notice board highlighting students for outstanding achievements. Some of the students in these pictures had bleached their faces and during my visits to the school I saw a few boys as well who had bleached their faces. During my visits a group of older boys who appeared to be in grades 10 or 11 loitered on the corridors for hours on end. The male students behaved aggressively toward each other in the interactions I observed; slapping or grabbing or tapping on the head or kicking each other. It appeared to be their usual way of engaging, whether they were being friendly or unfriendly, happy or sad, angry or upset. It occurred to me that while I was growing up boys exchanged in a similarly aggressive manner. However, the aggressive interactions I noticed at this school site (and a few others) were much more frequent and there was an 'edge' to the aggression. There also appeared to be a high level of absenteeism among teachers. In one instance, I met a 13-year old boy who appeared a bit sad and lost as if he had nowhere to go. He explained that he had computer science for that class period but his teacher was absent and the computer lab was locked so there was nowhere to go. I chatted with him for a bit and walked with him to the assembly hall. I asked him if he wanted to write anything. He didn't have any text books in his bag and he said he would prefer to draw. So he sat with me and started to draw.

Gregory's Citizenship Actions

The broad theme of 'giving back' characterizes Gregory's actions as he seeks to resist the effects of the social and environmental dynamics on his students' lives. Based on his own experiences and the lives of young men around him in the community, Gregory recognizes the lure of gang life and the aspirations to be like the don as major challenges for young men in his school and community. He juxtaposes this observation with his own experiences of teachers caring for him when he was a student declaring "all I do [for my students is] just extend my arms just as how persons extended their arms to me." Several examples of this outlook are provided in Gregory's interactions with his students. In one of these, he describes his persistence in believing that one of his students could succeed by going into the compound of a don to retrieve the student and get him back into school:

I don't know what they do him another time, and him stop [coming to school] and I went for him over in one of these communities and [everywhere]... was crazy gun and I buck this man at the gate (*met a man at the gate*) and I say "Listen man, mi come fi one ah mi student in here suh yuh nuh. As far as me concern mi nuh want him come back in here yuh nuh and you si you, you need fi start to act as a big man you need to..." (*"Listen man, I came for one of my students and as far as I'm concerned I don't want him coming back here. And I think you need to start acting like a grown man.."*).. And you know later on I found out that it was the don I was talking to!

Gregory picked up on a theme consistently raised by teachers in this study, calling for a return to the tradition of the community caring for its children. He described an initiative aimed at co-opting the support of the community in helping students stay on track by re-routing or reporting students caught skipping classes. He viewed this initiative as a strategy to link the school with the community and to help the community understand the importance of a proper-functioning school to its own survival:

Since we have this new principal come in, what we do on a Wednesday, we call that day our social work day, where we go into the community and we interact with the citizens and we tell them that look, the school belongs to you because you are a part of the community. Therefore, whatever happen to that school is determine upon you so, therefore, you have a role to play. These kids coming to school, you are responsible for them also and, therefore, what we have done is to have what we call community security. That we assign parents or adults to be security for these kids. And security in the sense that you are not going to be bullying them but we don't want a child being sent from a different community and him feel like him could go into X community and stay for the day, no. Once you've been identified with the [school] tie, or you've been asked which school you are from right away, you are gonna receive a call from that person to say that we have a child who is missing his class, missing from school. Therefore we'll pick up that child. So, therefore, what we are doing now is trying to get the community involved.

Another issue Gregory continuously raised as he explored the theme of caring for children is the need for students to feel the love of their parents. He linked students' lack of self-love in some instances to parents' abusive behaviors or failure to affirm them, causing students to "start to associate themselves with the negative elements" as they search for love or affirmation. Gregory spoke about his role in promoting and facilitating parenting workshops to help parents understand the rights of children, identify actions that amount to abuse, and to encourage parents to express their love and support to students through displays of emotion or affection. He described one instance in which following a training session on the rights of a child, he visited the home of one of his students who had stopped attending school. That student had previously communicated to Gregory her desire to "just give up on life" since the only time her father supported her was when things in his personal life were going well. The following quote is a portion of Gregory's account from the visit to the student's home to inquire why she was absent from school:

We actually spoke with the father and I guess the father say bowy, sometime him haffi (*have to*) call her some derogatory names and coming out of the training I was just fresh in the training and I begin to share some things with him and I see that father break down and started to cry. I guess this child now is a different child here, she is very much into learning now because it's as if just she change, turn around, how her father thinks about her

Like Kathy, Gregory takes on the task of providing for basic social needs of students, including helping students buy lunch or responding to a request from a parent to help provide for the student's needs:

I'll come here with say a hundred dollars, for example, and ah sure ah not going home with any and the guys them will stop me on the roads that are there and say "[Interviewee's name] I'm beg you a lunch money." ("*Sir, could you give me some lunch money?*") If I can, If I can I'll extend it, you know, or parents will call and say "[Interviewee's name] I am sending my child to school and I don't have X, Y, Z, can you help?" And I'll try as best as possible to help.

Edgar - Interrogating Identity

Whereas Kathy and Gregory's actions (more directly) indicate responses to social dynamics in the immediate environment surrounding the school, Edgar's actions appear to be primarily motivated by the larger societal context of Jamaica. To be sure, the actions of all three educators' are also directly informed by their students' life contexts. For Edgar, the greatest challenges in teaching citizenship values is the general breakdown of societal values over time and the disconnect between what is taught in school or espoused by public figures and what is practiced by the wider public, including these officials. He sees this disconnectedness between what is espoused and what is practiced as the reason why students resist embracing the values that schools try to teach them. But he also sees the resistance by students as a function of their challenge in navigating

separate environments that are governed by different norms, values, behaviors and cultures. Edgar does not believe in organized religion and practices Rastafarianism. He credits Rastafarianism with helping him develop a sense of detachment from material things, a deeper understanding and acceptance of self, and pride in his identity. His experiences as a Rastafarian have exposed him to discrimination over the course of his adult life and he had developed over time a posture of pushing back against things that militate against him, a strong sense of fairness and a sense of justice. These dynamics flowed into and informed Edgar's citizenship practices.

Edgar's School Context

Despite being a traditional grammar school, the demographics of Edgar's school have changed over time. He recalls the days when he was a student at this school and most of the students came from middle, upper-middle and upper class families. By contrast today, a relatively high proportion (approximately 40%) comes from lower-middle class and low income families that are not nuclear families. Edgar noted that most of the students don't have a father present in the home and some live "with their mother or without parents at all [or with a] grandmother; some are even on their own; like they live in a yard and this one watch them and that one watch them." In this way, despite being better-resourced than Kathy and Gregory's inner-city schools, Edgar's school faces similar challenges arising from the students' social circumstances. The school's long history and tradition with firmly established systems make it well regarded despite not being the *crème de la crème* of traditional grammar schools. Unlike Kathy's and Gregory's schools, this school is not located in close proximity to a community. Rather, it is in close proximity to businesses and government offices in the heart of

Kingston. Accordingly, there is limited interface between the school and community.

The school grounds are well manicured and adorned with flowering plants and fruit trees and the buildings are well-maintained and kept.

Edgar's Citizenship Actions

Edgar had a very strong sense of wanting to help students define themselves through understanding their identity and finding self worth in who they are. He attributed their lack of connectedness to their history to powerful images in wider society which perpetuate race and class stratification inherited from the colonial era. He described the ways he interrogates students' self-views as a way of connecting them with their history and the influence of their social upbringing:

It is what you see ... and that is because of how you have been socialized. Everybody in an advertisement that is not washing are fair skinned people... And why do you think we're having this thing about color in Jamaica? It's because there is a genuine feeling that, "if you brown, stick around. If you black, step back."

what I have found...in my experience with students, is that they really don't like themselves. Deep down. When I say they don't like themselves, it's [about what they see] when they look in the mirror...so we always talk about hair and they [make excuses and] I say, don't give me that. Don't you give me about it being more difficult [to manage your hair]. I'm not buying that. You want your hair straight, because that is how you like to see yourself. Don't tell me anything else.

Edgar describes his use of spaces both in and outside of the classroom to explore with students issues of heritage, examine beliefs about race and foster self-love:

I promote self love, yuh understand. And, so, if I see an opportunity for students to really reflect and look back at themselves and say "Listen man, we are black people, what's happening here?" But then, they say, "Sir, mi a nuh African." ("*Sir, I'm not African.*") I say, "Ok then, what are you?" "I'm a Jamaica." So I say, "But Jamaican is not a race. Jamaican is a nationality. What race [is] name[d] Jamaican, or Trinidadian or Canadian?"

You're either White, Black, Chinese or Indian, that's it." You must fall into one of those. But they hear the adults saying the same thing. So whenever I can inform them, I'm going to inform them. Of course I have to allow them to have their own opinions, but I'm definitely, going to let them understand what took place.

Edgar's actions also extended to addressing students' social needs. For instance, he explained that he purchases lunch on a daily basis for a student he mentors:

I actually pay for a child every day, I pay her lunch money. I am her mentor. Rather, she is my mentee. She was having some difficulties, and I didn't want her to stop coming to school. So her mother had said she didn't have and it has just become a permanent thing now.... I said you know what, I'll struggle through and give her the lunch money just so that she can [come to school]....so I don't want to stop it. So I say you know, I'm sure some good will come out of it but here is it, I wouldn't want a child at school who is hungry, can't learn, you know, so that's my personal little thing.

Edgar also spoke about the importance of citizens seeing their actions in the context of helping wider society and urged that this outlook be adopted even in relation to one's job. For a teacher, Edgar viewed these extra roles as extending beyond simply classroom teaching to include engaging students in extra-curricular activities and helping maintain discipline and order within the school. He categorized these additional duties as being part of a teacher's role in creating a well-rounded student who can contribute to society:

So I'm a teacher, yes and I'm getting paid at the end of the month to [fill certain roles] but, there is something more. You must make a contribution. So you know you are going to do the extra things. When you see a child doing something, you're going to speak to them and say, look man, that kind of behavior is not tolerated. You're going to insist that they stand for the national anthem. You are going to insist that they listen to what is being said on the intercom, because if you don't listen, you will not hear. If you don't listen, you don't learn. Yuh know, little things like that. Getting them involved in extra curricular activities for example. That is another aspect of preparing a child for the outside world, because you never know where your skills lie and it may just be a hobby, but at least,

you know. We have to satisfy all the various aspects of the human being, it's not just academics. So it's to get a person who is well rounded.

Conclusion

In this chapter I described teachers' practices in promoting citizenship among their students. These practices were divided broadly into practices within the classroom which included formal coursework but leaned more heavily toward informal discussions. Teachers accounted for this bias toward informal discussion as the means of teaching citizenship values by citing the challenges they faced in infusing the citizenship principles into their content area. While teachers of Social Studies and English Language expressed greater ease with integrating citizenship values and attributes into their content, teachers of Mathematics or Information Technology, for instance, had a more difficult time achieving this integration and therefore opted to use informal class periods to impart these values. In addition to classroom practices, teachers described extra-curricular activities as another avenue for promoting citizenship. These activities took the form of field trips, volunteer activities both within and outside of school, clubs and societies (which often engaged in volunteer work), and student council. The use of student councils was a relatively new phenomenon and teachers expressed mixed views about their effectiveness in enabling students to have a voice in decision-making within the school.

One final theme that emerged relating to teachers' practices in promoting citizenship related to actions shaped by social dynamics outside of the school. To illustrate these practices, I presented three vignettes of teachers (one from each of the

three types of school in this study) that included a brief overview or profile of the teacher, a short description of the school context and the practices they engaged in to promote citizenship among their students as they resisted the effects of the social settings that negatively impacted their students. I characterize the actions of these three teachers broadly as ‘bridge building,’ ‘paying forward,’ and ‘interrogating identity.’ In the following chapter I will attempt to bring together the findings presented in this chapter and the last two chapters by relating them to the analytic frame proposed in chapter two. I will also discuss the implications of these findings for research, policy and practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

Introduction

Several teachers in this study emphasized that attributes of good citizenship must be specifically taught to students. For instance, as Gillian described the values and knowledge of “good citizenship” she seeks to foster in her students, she lamented “they don’t know – they just don’t know... if you don’t tell them, they will not know.” This perspective on the need for citizenship knowledge to be deliberately passed on through schooling squares with the views of academics who propose that democratic values and practices are not innate and must be consciously passed on from one generation to the next (Gutmann, 2001; Held, 2006; Parker, 2001). For this reason, curriculum, instruction and school climate are regarded as important in promoting, in students, the skills, values, attitudes, and beliefs that predispose them to participate in wider society.

However, in the current climate of increasing focus on accountability and calls by policymakers and the public for greater and better outcomes of students, the importance of clearly defining the starting point and understanding the process through which these outcomes are achieved is frequently overlooked. Parker (2008) alludes to the importance of this latter focus when he suggests that a key question to ask about citizenship education programs is “What kind of citizens do we want schools to cultivate, and how might these organizations go about that work?” (p. 65). The salience of this question is underscored when one considers the role of citizenship education in preparing students to participate as active adults in wider society and the function of the classroom in this regard as a microcosm of society (Ponder, 2009). It therefore becomes both necessary

and essential to address first things first by examining the perceptions of the educators who oversee these “microcosms of society” and who are tasked with delivering citizenship education curriculum. In other words, teachers’ beliefs about citizenship have important implications for cultivating students as active adults in wider society.

The focus on teachers derives from the fact that few studies to date have examined teachers’ beliefs about citizenship. Further, the values, attitudes and skills teachers emphasize in preparing students to participate in wider society are informed by the meanings teachers ascribe to citizenship and these meanings can in turn be traced to the contexts of teachers’ lives (DeJaeghere, 2008; Myers, 2007). Given that teachers’ practices are informed by their beliefs, these beliefs must first be understood. While the findings of the few studies on teachers’ beliefs about citizenship have provided guidance on the types of factors that can inform teachers’ beliefs about citizenship, this focus on the factors informing teachers’ beliefs has not typically been a central concern of these studies. My study builds on previous research by incorporating an exploration of the factors that inform teachers’ beliefs as a central focus of the study.

This study explored teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors informing those beliefs. I utilized an analytic framework comprising two bodies of literature: (i) literature on conceptions of citizenship; and (ii) literature on teachers’ beliefs, including beliefs formation. In this study I found that teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors informing them were fairly consistent with the literature reviewed in chapter two (see chapters four and five of this study for a full presentation of these findings). However, there were some significant points of departure. These points of departure

result primarily from the impact of the postcolonial context on teachers' beliefs; a point I will take up in greater detail below. I will begin by describing the relevance of postcolonial theory to this work and the ways I came into this realization as the study developed. I will then discuss the extent to which teachers' conceptions of citizenship and the factors informing them were consistent with the analytic framework presented in chapter two as well as how these beliefs are informed by the postcolonial context. I will close by presenting implications for theory and practice. Also included in this chapter is a brief consideration of the extent to which the conceptions of citizenship espoused by the teachers in this study were consistent with those conceptions embodied in the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program.

The Significance of Postcolonialism

When I began this study, my primary aim was to determine teachers' beliefs about citizenship and their related practices by reference to academic writings (primarily by Western scholars) on the meanings ascribed to this term citizenship. I documented and described these main conceptions of citizenship contained in academic writings in chapter two of this study. During my field research as well as the process of data analysis, I found that there were significant points of departure between teachers' beliefs about citizenship and the conceptions expressed in academic writings. While teachers cited meanings of citizenship that aligned with the literature, including rights and responsibilities of citizens and participatory engagement through volunteering, for instance, they also regarded citizenship as including the adoption of norms and behaviors consistent with mainstream society which they believed to be important for social

mobility of their majority or growing inner-city student populations. These norms included habits of dress, speech and deportment, for instance.

Some scholars and researchers regard conceptions of citizenship based primarily on rights and responsibilities and values as minimalist. In the analytic framework presented in chapter two, I highlighted some of these critiques. For instance, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argue for a view of citizenship grounded in forms of participation that move beyond the paternalistic or conceptions steeped in social justice concerns. Such a reading of the beliefs of teachers in this study would arguably be simplistic and fail to engage with these teachers' understandings of what makes their reasons for acting and their actions intelligible and meaningful *to them*. In making this claim, I borrow from Mbembe (2001: 7) who expresses a similar concern relating to scholars' and academics' interpretation of African economic and political facts. He criticizes these interpretations and approaches as often being cavalier and reductionist and unconcerned with comprehending the political in Africa or producing knowledge in general. He writes:

The criteria that African agents accept as valid, the reasons they exchange within their own instituted rationalities, are, to many, of no value. What African agents accept as *reasons for acting*, what their claim to *act in light of reason* implies...what makes their action intelligible to themselves: all this is virtually of no account in the eyes of analysts.

Accordingly, I argue that the framework presented in chapter two is insufficient for understanding and making sense of these teachers' beliefs about citizenship and their related practices *within their specific context*. In seeking to make sense of these teachers' notions of citizenship and trace the source and origins of their beliefs, I came to understand that their context mattered in shaping their views and beliefs. The

incorporation into this study of a concern for the factors informing teachers' beliefs about citizenship greatly assisted this process of sense-making. DeJaeghere (2008) refers to the notion of the 'lived reality' of citizenship as a means of drawing attention to the ways in which normative conceptions of citizenship play out in real life contexts. For the teachers in this study, that context is the social, economic and political context of Jamaica as a postcolony and it was through an engagement with postcolonial theory that I was able to sense-make around these teachers' beliefs about citizenship. In other words, these teachers' beliefs and practices relating to questions of citizenship must be conceived as embedded in colonial and postcolonial formations.

Application of Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonialism is primarily concerned with the legacy of European colonialism and its aftermath. Hickling-Hudson et al (2004: 2) propose that postcolonialism is concerned with exploring the "philosophical, political, economic and sociocultural consequences of colonialism." Similarly, Crossley and Tikly (2004: 148) note that postcolonial approaches at their most general level share:

"a common commitment to reconsider the colonial encounter and its continuing impact from the perspective of formerly colonized countries, regions and peoples, but within the context of contemporary globalization."

Though rooted in cultural and literary studies, the use of postcolonial perspectives and postcolonial theory has become more widespread within the arts and social sciences over time. Hickling-Hudson (2006) reminds us that the 'post' in postcolonialism does not mean to suggest that we are "finished with the colonial" but rather that the aftermath is contested and that the concern is with thinking that deconstructs the operations of

Eurocentrism in colonial and neo-colonial states and develops alternative analyses based on different ways of knowing.

Rizvi et al (2006) note that the exact nature of postcolonialism is contested both theoretically and politically. They identify three strands or lines of argument to support this assertion. The first asserts a view of postcolonialism rooted in the definitions above i.e. a view that is concerned with the ways in which global inequities persist and are manifested through distribution of resources as well as colonial modes of representations but that also consider the ways in which colonial power can be resisted to advance a more just world order. Rizvi et al. contrast this perspective with that of conservative critics who regard postcolonial perspectives as the bane of western culture and the existing world order by virtue of their 'unpatriotic' or 'anti-American' stances. Finally, they note that the critics of postcolonial theory include scholars on the neo-Marxist left who assert postcolonialism's complicity in advancing the new power structures of global capitalism through for instance offering no way of critiquing global capitalism. It is with the first of these three views of postcolonialism that this writing is concerned.

The most obvious application of postcolonial theory to the findings of this research is in the continuous impact of the colonial encounter on the education system in Jamaica. A common thread throughout this study is the stratification of secondary schooling and wider society primarily along the lines of social class but also based on race. Indeed, the schools in this study are among the education systems that Crossley and Tikly (2004: 149) describe as still bearing "the hallmarks of the colonial encounter in that they remain elitist, lack relevance to local realities and are often at variance with

indigenous knowledge systems, values and beliefs.” These hallmarks are reflected in some of the ways in which teachers in this study think about and understand citizenship, including the rejection of youth culture and the emphasis on dress, deportment and speech, for instance. These are described in greater detail in the later part of this chapter.

Another way in which postcolonial theory can be applied to the findings of this study is in the impact of this colonial legacy on identity formation of these teachers and the ways in which these identities in turn shape the beliefs and practices of these teachers. Hall (1994: 394) points out that identities are not fixed; neither are they disconnected from the past, the present or the future. In so doing, he stresses the need to acknowledge the colonial past that shapes Caribbean cultural identity:

Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation.... identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. It is only from this ...position that we can properly understand the traumatic character of ‘the colonial experience.’

In chapter two, I reviewed literature on teacher beliefs, including research by Connelly and Clandinin (1999) that referenced the links between identity and curriculum making as well as the ways in which teachers’ identities are composed. These approaches are reflective of the dimension of postcolonial theory described by Hall (1994) above. In advancing their views of citizenship, particularly those aimed at helping students fit into wider society and promoting social and cultural capital, teachers were essentially communicating the lack of relevance of the written curriculum to the lives of their students. It was clearly evident in the views of these teachers that they regarded the curriculum as containing objectives arrived at without reference to the experience of their

student learners. Though some of the views and practices of citizenship advanced by teachers (e.g. the emphasis on dress, deportment and speech) illustrate the continued influence of the colonial experience, some of these views and practices reflect elements of resistance or agency aimed at rejecting remnants of the colonial experience, including the impacts of the inequities occasioned by globalization. These practices of resistance may be viewed as rooted in the hybridity of identity arising from the colonial experience. Homi Bhabha (1994) stresses that there is no clean dichotomy between ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ and that despite the incorporation of the colonized into the colonizing structures, colonial power is not absolute but can be subverted. This resistance or agency was evident in Edgar’s interrogation of identity and his emphasis on ensuring that his students became aware of their Afro-heritage and the inherent Eurocentric nature of systems and structures in wider society. Teachers’ agency also manifested in the practices they engaged in to meet their students’ social and emotional needs in the absence of sufficient support from the government and the lack of stable family structures for some of their students. These actions on the part of teachers addressed challenges and inequities arising from the impact of globalization and neoliberal policies on the social and economic context of Jamaica. Teachers recognized the resulting impact of these global inequities on their students’ ability to engage in the educational endeavor and took action to mitigate these effects even as the government seemed powerless to do so. These circumstances illustrate the extent to which education at the local level is connected to and impacted by external global forces. This impact of the global on the local has prompted scholars and researchers to call for a reconceptualization of postcolonialism to view it as “a violent event, central to the developing new relationships of globalization

and global capitalism” (Crossley & Tikly, 2004: 148). In a similar vein, Rizvi et al (2006: 254) stress the need to link postcolonialism and globalization. They argue that postcolonial analysis must be located in the:

contemporary material conditions characterized by the global movements of capital, people and ideas that no longer follow the familiar one-way colonial path from center to periphery, but involve more complicated flows and networks of power.

I will revisit this discussion of postcolonial theory later in this chapter as I compare the findings of this study with the analytic framework presented in chapter two.

Comparing Factors Informing Teachers’ Beliefs with Literature

In chapter two of this writing, I explored the literature on factors informing teachers’ beliefs and identified three areas proposed by Richardson (1996) as shaping teachers’ beliefs and attitudes. These included (i) personal experience; (ii) experience with schooling and instruction; and (iii) experience with formal knowledge (both school subjects and pedagogical knowledge), with each of these forms of experience beginning at different stages of the individual’s educational career. Richardson included in the definition of “personal experience” those facets of teachers’ lives that inform their “world view; intellectual and virtuous dispositions; beliefs about self in relation to others; understandings of the relationship of schooling and society; and other forms of personal, familial and cultural understandings” (p. 110). She also identified ethnic and socioeconomic background, gender, geographic location, religious upbringing and life decisions as additional factors that shape personal experiences and hence beliefs. These

factors were borne out in the findings of my study. These findings were also consistent with the findings of previous studies on teachers' beliefs about citizenship.

The participants in this study cited influences that operated at various stages of their lives to shape their beliefs about citizenship. These included their personal and professional relationships such as the influence of parents, grandparents, former teachers and current colleagues. Teachers' political affiliations were also a significant factor informing their views. For this study these educators' beliefs were informed by both negative and positive political experiences. Several teachers in the study cited the influence of their Christian principles on their views of citizenship. For one of these educators, the influencing belief system was Rastafarianism. Community activism also featured as an influencing factor in teachers' beliefs about citizenship and all teachers without exception cited their experience with formal knowledge at the secondary and/or tertiary levels as informing their understanding of citizenship. Each of these educators described the ways in which these factors informed their beliefs about citizenship and how those beliefs in turn translated into their practices in promoting citizenship. For instance, Gregory's experience of being cared for by his teachers and elders in his community while he was growing up without his parents present strongly informs his view about community support and help as important citizenship attributes. In turn his practices with his students focus on helping them to understand the need to care and look out for each other. Similarly, Gillian's experience of seeing her grandmother giving selflessly informs her view of the importance of giving, particularly to those in need. This outlook in turn manifests in the practices she engages in with her students to get them to become more selfless.

One theme which emerged to explain teachers' beliefs about citizenship is their views about their students' needs. These needs were shaped by the broader societal context of Jamaica which I explained as linked to the larger global discourses, including neoliberalism. I picked up on the discussion I began in chapter one where I outlined the circumstances that gave rise to Jamaica's heavy indebtedness to the World Bank and the IMF and the consequently high levels of debt servicing that placed a strain on the government's ability to meet social needs of its citizens, including those relating to the education sector. This factor coupled with high unemployment that disproportionately affects inner city communities creates the backdrop for understanding the challenges students face particularly when they live in inner-city communities. These challenges inform teachers' perceptions about students' needs and in turn shape the issues that teachers emphasize in promoting citizenship.

I described violence as a cross-cutting theme, in light of its pervasiveness throughout Jamaican society, in politics, police brutality toward citizens, the culture of the don in the inner-city community, and in deejay and dancehall culture. These challenges of unemployment, violence and social-class divisions that remain deeply entrenched beyond the colonial period all go together to inform teachers' views of their students' needs and in turn the issues teachers' seek to emphasize as they promote citizenship among their students. The literature on teachers' beliefs sheds some light on these findings. Pajares (1992) spoke about teachers' educational beliefs as being comprised of a subset of 'educational beliefs *about*' noting that beliefs are interconnected in intricate and complex ways. It is likely that there may be some interconnection

between teachers' beliefs *about* their students' needs and teachers' beliefs *about* citizenship. Future research might focus on exploring this connection more closely.

Comparing Teachers' Views with the Ministry of Education Citizenship Education Pilot Program

In chapter one of this writing, I described the main features of the Citizenship Education program piloted by the Jamaican Ministry of Education, including the genesis of the program, the main themes and the approach to implementing the program. This section examines teachers' views about citizenship in relation to the conceptions of citizenship espoused by the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program. I begin by restating the themes of the pilot program, followed by broad observations about the ways in which these themes compare with teachers' views, expanding on each of these observations using supporting data from teacher interviews. To be sure, this section is not intended to make claims about teachers' *knowledge* of policy or the extent to which they implemented the pilot Citizenship Education program with *fidelity*. Rather, this section aims to determine how consistent teachers' views are with the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program.

The seven themes of the pilot Citizenship Education program included 'National Pride,' 'Respect,' 'Positive Group Interaction and Cohesion,' 'Accomplishments,' 'Order and Orderliness,' 'Celebrations,' and 'Volunteerism.' Generally, teachers' views about citizenship were fairly consistent with the pilot citizenship education program. For instance, teachers talked about volunteering and stressed the importance of students developing values of respect, order and national pride. Despite this alignment of teachers' views about citizenship with the main principles or themes of the MOE

citizenship education pilot program, none of the teachers in this study cited this pilot program as informing their view of citizenship. I account for why this might be the case in the following sections.

Extent to which views were informed by citizenship education pilot program

The approach of the MOE to implementing the pilot citizenship education program was either to offer one day's training at the ministry's offices to one or two representatives from the pilot school or to visit the school and make a short presentation to the full teaching staff and solicit volunteers, usually based on the recommendation of the principal. That volunteer or principal's appointee would then serve as the liaison for the Ministry of Education on the program. This liaison was described as the Citizenship Education Program link or CEP link and the CEP link would in turn be tasked with "training" other teachers within his or her school on the overall goals of the program, the themes and the manner of integrating these themes across teachers' respective subject areas. In some instances, the original CEP link may have devolved responsibility to another teacher in the school. This might occur because the original CEP link may have been promoted with increased responsibilities, as was the case in one of the schools I visited, or the original CEP link may have left the school through transfer or retirement.

The ability of the citizenship education pilot program to take root and spread throughout the school therefore depended on a single individual (i.e. the CEP link) with support³³ from a Ministry of Education officer. Accordingly, knowledge of the themes of

³³ A total of six officers working with the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program were tasked with the responsibility of monitoring the program in all 120 participating schools.

the pilot citizenship education program was uneven across and indeed within schools. Therefore, only some teachers (including those who served as the CEP link) were familiar with the themes of the pilot program. As a result, even where teachers' views were consistent with the themes of the pilot citizenship education program, those views were not necessarily informed by the program. Nevertheless the initiatives implemented in some schools drew directly on the themes of the pilot citizenship education program. For instance, Gillian explained that the over-arching theme selected by her school each year for their citizenship education program was guided by the themes of the Ministry's pilot citizenship education program.

We have citizenship education. We try to promote it. This year our theme is 'Order and Orderliness: A Pathway to Success'...we had it from last year, when persons were asked to make suggestions, based on that, we did that. Because, that is also one of the themes for the citizenship education program at the ministry... So we just added on 'pathway to success' to it. (Gillian)

The suggestion that teachers' views, even where consistent with the Ministry of Education citizenship education pilot program, were not necessarily informed by the program is based on the fact that some teachers were either unaware of the themes of the pilot citizenship education program or had been incorporating some of the values espoused by the pilot citizenship education program even before the program was introduced. This prior introduction of the themes appeared to be a function of teachers' subject area and one participant described prior familiarity with the themes by linking them to the Values and Attitudes program introduced several years earlier by a previous administration.

[I became the Citizenship Education Program link] because of the fact that I was actually putting these things in the [school's] program. We were [already] doing these things. (Denise)

They have incorporated the values and attitude with the citizenship education program now. So we no longer collect [information for the values and attitudes program]; it's just for the CEP. So it would be one big thing then; citizenship education program, encompassing values and attitudes. (Gillian)

The objective of the program I think is really to improve behavior in the school and behavior in the country as a whole. I think that is the objective....the Ministry wants this to be a part of the curriculum and as I said before, the most suitable area for it to fall under is the social studies. Other areas are encouraged to do it 'cause as I said, we try to integrate it in History as well as in Religious Education... but as I said, is not anything that is really new. (Francine)

Comparing Teachers' Beliefs About Citizenship with Literature

In chapter two of this writing I reviewed the literature on citizenship education and used this literature to inform the resulting framework for understanding teachers' ways of thinking about citizenship and the factors that inform those views. For purposes of this section, I will draw on the review of literature undertaken in chapter two and the resulting analytic framework. With regard to the descriptions of citizenship outlined in the analytic framework, several broad observations can be drawn about teachers' views of citizenship. The first is that teachers' views are fairly consistent with literature, though the terms and definitions used by teachers were generally less exhaustive than in the literature. Another observation is that the views teachers held about citizenship were mainly in relation to the nation-state and local communities and were less concerned with the global context. Finally, and related to this focus on local context, teachers' views of citizenship were more closely tied to conceptions of 'Citizenship as Identity' than to

conceptions of ‘Citizenship as Active Participation.’ Each of these observations will be examined in turn below to provide a fuller understanding of the ways in which teachers’ views compared with literature.

Views consistent with but less exhaustive than academic literature

Many of the views of citizenship teachers described are consistent with the definitions of citizenship cited in academic literature. In accordance with T.H. Marshall’s (1964) theory of citizenship and Heater’s (1999) interpretations of citizenship as a civic republican style tradition and a liberal style tradition, teachers cited the importance of rights and responsibilities of citizens in relation to the state. Among the rights teachers cited were the rights to freedom of speech and freedom of religious expression as well as the right to vote. Though teachers emphasized rights more than they did responsibilities, the responsibilities they cited included keeping the surroundings clean and paying taxes, for instance.

Less frequently mentioned by teachers were some of the broadened conceptions of social citizenship described by Isin et al. (2008), Blades and Richardson (2006), and Levstik (2001) as important and relevant for recognizing rights of groups previously marginalized on the basis of gender, ethnicity, race or sexual orientation. Here it should be observed, based on teachers’ responses, that the most controversial of these broadened conceptions of social citizenship appears to be rights based on sexual orientation.

Teachers held a range of views on this issue. The issue of sexual orientation arose in all but two interviews and without exception, all the teachers with whom I talked about this issue, described homosexuality and lesbianism as morally wrong. Some cited biblical

principles to support this claim. Others went further to suggest that those biblical principles were implicitly part of the laws of the state since Jamaica was “declared a Christian country.” Still others viewed it as a way of being that right thinking persons in society did not ascribe to. Teachers were careful to balance these views about sexual orientation by proposing the need for tolerance and respect of difference in society. The following quotes exemplify this range of views held by these educators.

I would love to see a teacher who is able to talk to them and tell them that they should be respectful to homosexuals... Society does not support these things. It's what they learn; how they are socialized. It's not even possible [to have a conversation about it]. They would be tearing down the room... the terms they use when you start to talk about gays [include] 'fish' and 'roar' and 'aquarium.' Those are the terms they use. They wouldn't be able to have a discussion. It would be so difficult. (Doreen)

[T]his week one of the boys didn't come to school and I said, “What happen to [student's name]?” And them say “Miss him don't come to school” (“*Miss he didn't come to school*”) and I say “Why?” Him say “Di grade 9 bwoy dem beat im up yesterday afta yuh gawn. Lick im inna im head, kick im down an im sey im head a hurt im” (“*The grade 9 boys beat him up yesterday after you left. Hit him in his head, kicked him down and he said his head was hurting*”) and I say “Why?” “Im did a wine up pan somebody round deso an ah talk bout com wi goh goh.” (“*He was gyrating on somebody around there saying come let's go.*”) And the boys carry him down there and beat him badly. There was this student also in grade 9, who had that orientation an him walk an him bleach him face and he had to leave, because the school is just homophobic and once them hear you talk, if you even talk funny or behave in a particular way, you can't come back to the school... I don't know how I would approach that because I'm so homophobic myself that although I will accept it in my mind I know that I have to accept it because of the training and because I'm a teacher and you can't segregate. (Kathy)

The reluctance of some of these educators to deal with this controversial issue is consistent with Hess' (2008) observations that many teachers elect not to deal with these issues in classes out of concern that those issues may be too upsetting to the community or to students. The responses of these educators acknowledge, and in some instances,

embody the sentiments held in wider society as evidenced by the high levels of violence against homosexuals in Jamaica.³⁴ These responses also illustrate that acts of violence against homosexuals are equally prevalent among students within schools as they are among adult citizens in wider society. For as illustrated in the quotes above, teachers attested to the violence meted out by students en masse toward any student perceived as being or “acting” homosexual.

Interestingly, none of the teachers participating in this study stated their opposition to homosexuality on legal grounds. Section 76 of the Offences Against the Person Act reads:

Whosoever shall be convicted of the abominable crime of buggery either with mankind or with any animal shall be liable to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for a term not exceeding ten years.

This legislation, first enacted in Jamaica 1864, codified an offence that existed in English common law in the early centuries. In England, the Sexual Offences Act of 1956 amended the law of that country to allow for consensual sexual intercourse between adult men (over the age of 16). However, no similar change was effected in the laws of Jamaica as the government sought to avoid “any ripples in the society.”³⁵ This consistent rejection (by different sections of society) of the notion of social citizenship as

³⁴ The preliminary findings of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights following a visit to Jamaica in December 2008 cited human rights abuses in Jamaica, including violence against gays and lesbians (See Press Release 59/08 from the Organization of American States at <http://cidh.org/Comunicados/English/2008/59.08eng.htm>. Retrieved April 5, 2011).

³⁵ The Sexual Offences Act of 2008 did not make any fundamental change from the Offences Against the Person Act since the definition of rape in the new legislation excluded anal or oral penetration. This attempt at maintaining the “traditional definition of rape” was described by then Attorney General A.J. Nicholson as achieving the intended outcome of updating the 1864 legislation “without any ripples in the society” since it was argued by some groups that broadening the definition of rape to include anal and oral intercourse would effectively legalize homosexuality (Jamaica Observer, Feb 15, 2007 http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/119148_Definition-of-rape-stays, Retrieved April 5, 2011)

including rights based on sexual orientation results in what Alexander (1994) and Kamugisha (2007) describe as the denial of full citizenship for persons who practice a sexuality that differs from the “heteronormative impulses of the state.”

Another infrequently mentioned conception of citizenship relating to the broadened conceptions of social citizenship described by Isin et al. (2008) related to gender rights. Gender issues were raised by only three of the nine teachers and each of these had a very personal connection to the issue. The most vocal of the three teachers was Kathy who had experienced domestic violence in her household growing up. Her experiences led her to develop concern for women’s issues and accordingly, Kathy stressed the importance of protecting women generally and female students in particular. Her concern also extended to boys’ issues manifesting in her efforts at mentoring troubled boys through creating a space where they might be able to express their concerns freely. The concern for boys’ issues was also shared by two other teachers, Gregory and Gillian. Each of these teachers’ concerns stemmed from their personal experiences – Gregory from not having grown up with a father and Gillian from seeing a number of young men (many of whom were her contemporaries) “slip through the cracks” ending up involved in gang related activities, in jail or dead.

Views focused more on the local than the global context

While teachers acknowledged the importance of the global context for questions of citizenship, their descriptions of citizenship focused primarily on the nation state. The literature reviewed in chapter two and the resulting framework emphasize the centrality of the concept of global citizenship and highlight the growing corpus of research over the

past decade relating to this conception of citizenship. Discourses on global citizenship may be broadly categorized in terms of writings that re-examine the role and of nation states in the face of global forces and processes (see Carnoy, 1999, Brodie, 2004, Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, and Stromquist, 2009, for instance) or they may be viewed as denoting human relatedness and interconnection giving rise to concern with the situation of persons beyond the borders of the nation state. This latter view of global citizenship includes issues of universal human rights and humanitarian law (Osler & Starkey, 2005; Nussbaum, 2002).

Though these educators were unfamiliar with the term ‘global citizenship,’ they all regarded citizenship as having relevance beyond the nation state. This external relevance was expressed in two main senses. The first was in relation to human connectedness and concern for persons beyond the borders of the nation state. The recent³⁶ earthquakes in Haiti and the public debates on the question of Jamaica receiving refugees from Haiti typically served as the entry point for much of the discussion on this aspect of global citizenship. Of note is the fact that teachers’ descriptions of human connectedness and concern for persons outside the nation state did not specifically include acknowledgment of human rights or humanitarian law consistent with the view proposed by Osler and Starkey (2005). The other sense in which teachers regarded the global dimension of citizenship, related to the relevance of citizen attributes for contexts outside of Jamaica. In this regard, educators emphasized the importance of helping students understand that the norms, behaviors and values they were being taught e.g.

³⁶ Semi-structured interviews with teachers for this study were commenced in January 2010, approximately two weeks after the devastating earthquakes in Haiti.

values of tolerance, respect and freedom, though important within the borders of their country, were equally applicable to broader contexts outside Jamaica.

On the whole, the site of the nation state rather than the global context was more frequently the reference point for teachers' descriptions of citizenship. Teachers therefore spoke mainly about rights and responsibilities of citizens in relation to the state and participation by citizens in issues and communities based within the nation state. This tendency to tether discussions of citizenship to the nation state rather than the global context seemed to relate in part to what teachers viewed as a state of crisis in Jamaican society that kept the site of focus of citizenship as the nation state. Ironically, negative "external" or global forces were seen as contributing to the crisis among youth. These external forces included the negative influence of popular culture that manifested locally in inter-personal violence relating to deejay wars or through increased individualistic tendencies among youth. Therefore, implicit in this posture of focusing on the local was a rejection of 'negative global forces' resulting in a call to citizens (and youth in particular) to revisit the essence of who they are and celebrate their Jamaican heritage. The following quote exemplifies these views:

Based on what is happening, what they see on the TV, and the media, all those things. The music that they listen to, it's all about me and... materialism and my face and my body and it's all about that. It's all about the individual. It's about looking better than the other person. Getting more than the other person. Not sharing then. It's all about you. So you have to take them away from being self-centered to being for the people; to assist people in general. (Gillian)

Views less focused on Citizenship as Participation

Even within this focus on the nation state, teachers' descriptions of citizenship were focused more on issues of 'Citizenship as Identity' than on 'Citizenship as

Participation.’ In other words, active participation was less emphasized than rights and responsibilities and broadened conceptions of social citizenship. Teachers spoke about active participation in two main senses. The first was by reference to “volunteerism,” a term which teachers tended to use primarily to describe projects that were planned, organized and executed as a group. The other sense in which teachers talked about active participation was by way of a call to live in accordance with communal traditions and collective priorities. In citing volunteerism as an important attribute of citizenship, teachers described the concept in ways most closely aligned with Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) conception of the ‘personally responsible citizen’ but less so with their conceptions of the ‘participatory citizen’ or the ‘justice-oriented citizen.’³⁷ The conceptions of volunteerism proposed by teachers often involved donations of foodstuff, clothing or money by students which meant, particularly in the case of monetary donations, that parents were the ultimate actors. Volunteer activities were less geared toward personal engagement e.g. students giving of their time. Further, very few of the activities that involved personal engagement by students were sustained over a period of time and were usually one-off activities e.g. visiting the elderly.

Interpreting Teachers’ Views in Context

The less exhaustive nature of these teachers’ understandings of citizenship compared with literature and their focus on the nation state rather than the globe as the

³⁷ Westheimer and Kahne (2004: 241) describe the ‘personally responsible citizen’ as one who “acts responsibly in his or her community by, for example, picking up litter, giving blood, recycling, obeying laws, and staying out of debt.” The ‘participatory citizen’ is defined as one who “actively participates in the civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state or national level.” Finally, the term ‘justice-oriented citizen’ is used to describe one who seeks to solve social problems and improve society through questioning, debate and action and who seeks over time to change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time. These categories are not exhaustive, mutually exclusive or cumulative.

main reference point for issues of citizenship might be construed as suggesting that they hold minimalist conceptions of citizenship. Scholars like Ichilow (1998: 268) call a broadened conception of citizenship and citizenship education that moves beyond “inculcation of traditional patriotism or conventional nationalist ideology” to recognize the demands of the highly dynamic, complex and interdependent world in which we live. Similarly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) call for a shift away from the “narrow and often ideologically conservative conception of citizenship” (p. 237) embodied in many citizenship education programs that focus mainly on rights and obligations of citizens. I propose an alternative way of interpreting these teachers’ understandings of citizenship. It is that conceptions of citizenship such as those embodied in the literature presented in chapter two of this work fail to account for the cultural and historical context of Jamaica as a postcolonial Anglophone nation-state or for the nuanced forms of resistance and agency these teachers engage in to prepare their young charges for their roles as adult citizens in wider society. To this extent, a framework such as the one presented in chapter two belies the complexity of these teachers’ practices and perceptions and the extent to which they are a product of the context in which they operate, particularly the social dynamics that attend the lived realities of their lives and the lives of their students. Indeed, some of the beliefs about citizenship espoused by these teachers are not accounted for in the literature and analytic framework presented in chapter two. I present two examples below to illustrate this point. These examples include the view of (i) citizenship as adherence to social norms; and (ii) citizenship as the embrace of traditional values. In presenting these examples I also refer to teachers’ practices in relation to these beliefs about citizenship.

Citizenship as embrace of traditional values

An important dimension of active citizenship described by teachers related to helping in ways that strengthened traditional values of communal caring and sharing. Several teachers described this aspect of active citizenship as “extending a helping hand to one’s neighbor” in a very basic sense and in ways that go beyond the superficial i.e. truly being one’s brother’s keeper. Gregory for instance, linked his beliefs about the ways a citizen should act to biblical principles stressing the importance of “extending your hand once you see it fit” and being the type of citizen who would “give help in case of emergency; like you’ll help your neighbor according to the good book.” In essence therefore, teachers called for the re-establishment of communal traditions and core values based on caring for the less fortunate in society.

... as community men, we are to make sure that the children in our community [are taken care of]... we used to swap, my father was a fisher[man], go out sea and get enough fish, him give next door and dem give him. Children not supposed to be hungry. People don’t do that anymore, it’s all about [self]. (emphasis added) (Kathy)

When [my grandmother] was boiling soup, it would be a big pot of soup and she will give [some] to me [and say] “Go and take this to Ms Ulee, you go and take this to Uncle Joe down there”... No, they are not [blood relatives]. Even the boys who [were] consider[ed] to be bad boys; a lot of them when anything cook, you see them draw near and everybody would get something. So I grow up with that. I was telling my nieces and nephews the other day too, because I don’t think they know what it is to share like how we used to share back then. (Gillian)

In these quotes, teachers are expressing a view of active participation that obtained when they were growing up. This perspective of citizenship is concerned with the collective and contrasts with the current outlook of youth and their communities who, based on these teachers’ accounts, eschew traditional values and display more individualistic tendencies. In making this comparison teachers are calling notice to a conflict between

traditional values and those of the new generation of youth. Dewey (1997) takes up this issue as he discusses the potential conflict between traditional and progressive education, emphasizing the need for the education of a new generation to be a balance between the traditional and progressive views of education. Dewey describes the underlying idea of traditional education as including the transmission to the new generation of standards and rules of conduct and related moral training, all of which have been *developed in the past*. This approach to education says Dewey, requires students to adopt an attitude of “docility, receptivity, and obedience” (p.3). Dewey goes on to describe traditional education in the following terms:

The traditional scheme is in essence one of imposition from above and from outside. It imposes adult standards, subject matter and methods upon those who are only growing slowly toward maturity...learning here means acquisition of what already is incorporated in the books and in the heads of elders. Moreover, that which is taught is thought of as essentially static. It is taught as a finished product, with little regard either to the ways in which it was originally built up or to changes that will surely occur in the future (pp. 4-5).

In other words, Dewey is cautioning against the imposition of traditional values on a new generation. His perspective is echoed by Halstead and Pike (2006) who caution against too strong an emphasis on shared national culture as a necessary dimension of citizenship. Citing Andrews (1991), they note that such heavy emphasis on shared cultural and other practices may lead to the assumption that “people have the right to full citizenship only if they conform to cultural preconditions” (p.9). The views of citizenship these teachers expressed in the quotes above suggest there may be a cultural divide between values tethered to a previous colonial era and a resistance to those values in the present by a new generation that exists in a post-Cold War, capitalist, globalized

world. The question which therefore arises is ‘How do we negotiate this divide?’ The short answer appears to be that these values ought to be negotiated and settled upon through debate rather than indoctrination (Gutmann, 2004). In this way, youth will be cast in the role of agents *with* whom (rather than *for* whom) the challenges of contemporary Jamaican society can be identified and addressed.

Citizenship as adherence to social norms

In describing the attributes of a good citizen and the ways in which they seek to prepare their students to participate in wider society, a majority of teachers interviewed for this study regarded a deep understanding of social norms and behaviors as important to facilitate full participation in wider society. This strongly held view was shared by inner-city and traditional grammar school teachers alike and expressed educators’ beliefs about the importance of citizens having an outlook, disposition or “way of being” that facilitates their integration into mainstream society and ultimately fosters social cohesion in society. The knowledge teachers deemed necessary for students to fit into mainstream society included appropriate habits of deportment and proper social graces e.g. how to speak (using standard English and refraining from use of obscene language) and how to use of a knife and fork. There was also an emphasis on proper grooming, including personal hygiene and how to dress appropriately for school as well as the future world of work. Teachers also viewed these social norms indicating good citizenship as including a focus on punctuality. Further, a number of these educators confirmed that their practices in promoting citizenship included focus on these issues.

The intent³⁸ of each of these teachers in focusing on teaching students social norms and behaviors is to equip their students with an understanding of the rules of the “culture of power”³⁹ to ensure that their students acquire the “discourse patterns, interactional styles, and spoken and written language codes that will allow them success in the larger society” (Delpit, 1998: 285). These educators are acutely aware that the cultural codes of their students’ communities differ from those of the wider society. Moreover, they understand that their students receive less than equal access to quality schooling (i.e. access to qualified teachers, high-quality materials, equipment, laboratories, and infrastructure) and resulting work opportunities compared with some higher SES students attending traditional grammar schools. Accordingly, they viewed their role as underscoring to students the importance of being sufficiently flexible to cross boundaries within society and they also saw themselves as helping their students acquire the cultural capital needed to participate in mainstream society. In focusing on these issues, teachers were tacitly acknowledging the failure of policy and indeed wider education reform efforts to address underlying inequities in schooling and create fairer outcomes for their students.

Alternatively, the application of postcolonial theory might give rise to a different interpretation of these educators’ approaches to promoting citizenship. Their views and

³⁸ I make this claim based on the entirety of my interviews with teachers and the whole of the time spent with them both in casual conversation as well as during interviews for this study.

³⁹ This expression was used by Delpit (1988) to describe five rules of power she proposed as explicitly and implicitly influencing the debate over the most effective ways to meet the educational needs of Black and poor students. She argued that the cultural code of students from these backgrounds was different from that embodied in society in general and school in particular, making it necessary for these rules to be made explicit to Black and poor students in order for them to succeed in these environments.

practices of helping students embrace mainstream norms and behaviors may be understood through Hyacinth Evans' (2001) argument that debates still exist in Jamaica about the value of certain cultural forms and their place in the curriculum. Evans notes that "the Jamaican Creole language is still viewed in pathological terms, and regarded as "bad English" which must be avoided if one wants to be seen as educated" (p.19). Further, the focus on teaching social graces, hygiene and punctuality is reminiscent of the approach adopted by the British during the colonial period toward schooling working class children who were destined to be agricultural laborers. King (1999:31) observes that emphasis in schooling these working class children was on inculcating desirable attitudes and habits, including "order, punctuality, honesty and the like which would then be likely to stick with them all through life and make them better laborers." Accordingly, these teachers' views of citizenship may manifest as, what Hickling-Hudson (2006) describes as, colonized frames of thinking that serve to perpetuate and reproduce patterns of stratification along the lines of race and class inherited from the colonial era as described in chapter one of this writing.

Implications for Theory and Practice

The two examples presented in the previous section as well as the opening discussion in this chapter on postcolonial theory, illustrate that using a framework based solely on conceptions of citizenship masks the deep complexity of these seemingly simple beliefs and practices of these educators. Accordingly, one of the major findings of this study is that the beliefs about citizenship espoused by these teachers must be read using other frameworks or conceptual lenses *in addition to* the framework based on conceptions of citizenship presented in chapter two. In other words, if we are to fairly

and accurately describe the beliefs and practices of these teachers relating to citizenship, we must utilize additional frameworks e.g. postcolonial theory that pay regard to their specific context. This finding substantiates the view of Kamugisha (2006) who argues for a different conception of work relating to issues of citizenship in the Caribbean than that being institutionalized in citizenship studies. This different approach he argues, is warranted by “the experience of genocide, slavery and indentureship [that] have been so distinctly formative to the creation of the modern Caribbean” (p. 57). He echoes calls by other Caribbean scholars, including Hickling-Hudson (2004, 2006), Hintzen (1997, 2004), and Meeks (2000, 2007) who argue that at the heart of questions of citizenship and identity within the Caribbean must lie a concern with the ways in which the postcolonial state is constructed since this has implications for individual’s ways of viewing themselves, others, their relationship with others, and by extension their sense of belonging. These findings therefore have implications for theory as they support the call by scholars like Kamugisha (2006, 2007) for an approach to citizenship that integrates the postcolonial experience. This study highlights how this postcolonial context problematizes teachers’ understandings of citizenship and adds to the body of theory on citizenship by illustrating that the intersection of postcolonial theory and citizenship can potentially provide a more powerful tool for analyzing issues of citizenship in postcolonial spaces and can have profound implications for learning and teaching of citizenship education in those spaces. Recommendations for future research therefore include the development of citizenship frameworks that take account of this postcolonial context.

This study also has implications for policy and practice relating to citizenship and citizenship education. I described violence as a cross-cutting theme, in light of its pervasiveness throughout Jamaican society, in politics, police brutality toward citizens and the culture of the inner-city communities, including the role of the don and the rivalry spawned by alliances with deejays. This centrality of violence within a postcolonial nation-state characterized by deeply entrenched race and class divisions make the challenge of promoting citizenship significantly harder for schools and teachers. The school therefore has to work harder to make its messages about respect, honesty, and rule-following believable, particularly when these messages are belied by the realities of students' lives and the lives of those in their communities. It is a challenge, for instance, for students to believe that hard work pays when the don is overwhelming prosperous and the high levels of unemployment mean that they (the students) will be abandoned by their parents who must go overseas to earn lucrative employment. Students' lived realities disprove the view that honesty, rule-following and obedience to the laws of the lands win out when corruption abounds at the highest levels of politics and business without consequence. Moreover, students and their neighbors in inner-city communities are in constant conflict with the police who break their doors down and drag their relatives into the streets, shooting them in broad daylight. It is therefore unmistakably clear to the students who make up the overwhelming majority of the populations of the schools in this study, that they are treated differently from the rich and the powerful. And perhaps most importantly, students do not believe in the rhetoric of equal treatment and the concept of "Out of Many One People" embodied in the national motto. They are acutely aware that they are sent to the poorest most under-resourced schools that pale in

comparison to the wealthy traditional grammar schools in the more affluent parts of the capital. They are also aware that the government under-invests in their communities. The almost daily street protests accompanied by the seemingly mandatory burning of tires and blocking the roads in these communities aid their understanding of these seemingly complex yet obvious issues.

What this society is therefore faced with are massive “fractures”⁴⁰ or disconnects between rhetoric and reality at all levels of society. The implication of this for schools is that the normative ideals of citizenship that teachers seek to impart are unbelievable and farcical when the totality of the circumstances of Jamaican society is considered. It is for this reason that the teaching of citizenship values is a Herculean challenge for the teachers in this study. Teachers must therefore confront this challenge head on. The majority of these educators engage in acts of resistance daily as they extend themselves beyond their professional duties to address the needs of their students. In chapter six I highlighted these types of actions by three of the educators in this study. However, more can be done. I argue that in order for educators to truly prepare their students to participate fully as citizens in this postcolonial society, they must start the process of breaking the colonial legacy of schooling. Teachers in this postcolonial context must begin to understand their own place in perpetuating the race and class structures in Jamaican society through for instance, teaching their students how to fit into the norms of the dominant culture rather than engaging with those students in deep analysis about the origins of those structures and discussions about how society as a whole might begin to

⁴⁰ Dr. Joan DeJaeghere suggested this concept to me.

change them⁴¹. In other words, they must examine their own place in the state of oppression by virtue of their unwitting function as “carriers of troubled knowledge” (Jansen, 2009).

Jansen (2009) proposes nine key elements of a post-conflict pedagogy, one of which is instructive for this study. This element of critical post-conflict pedagogy stresses the importance of listening. Jansen begins by acknowledging the teacher-centered character of typical classrooms in Third World states noting that this characteristic feature of these classrooms explains the failure of Western pedagogies that insist on open, critical and student-centered classrooms. He goes on to propose that critical dialogue demands that teachers adopt a posture of “consciously positioning [themselves] to listen” (p.263) so that they might hear the pain that lies behind a claim based on indirect knowledge or an angry outburst, for instance. This approach is also instructive for teachers in the postcolonial setting of Jamaica where the teacher-centered classroom is still very much a feature of schooling. By consciously positioning themselves to listen, teachers may ultimately find themselves adopting a different response to the violence they observe in their students or to the growing individualistic tendencies suggesting that youth have rejected traditional values and perhaps embraced negative external values that manifest in the form of deejay culture wars, for instance.

To be sure, educators cannot do it alone. Teacher preparation programs and teacher professional development programs must make the adjustment by taking account of these hegemonic structures and developing programs that interrogate the role of

⁴¹ To be clear, a blended approach representing each of these positions may be warranted or appropriate.

education in a postcolonial space while encouraging teachers to become more reflexive so that they might understand their own privilege. These outcomes might be achieved by integrating post-colonial frameworks into these programs and trainings to help teachers analyze the cultural complexity of the lives of their students (Hickling-Hudson, 2006) and interrogate the hierarchies established during the colonial era that persist even today and perpetuate inequities in schools and wider society. Such a focus can ultimately redound to the benefit of inner-city students as their teachers become more reflexive and develop the capacity to “explore education in a way that recognises and escapes colonised frames of thinking” (Hickling-Hudson, 2006:203). Teachers and policymakers will then be better poised to discuss and enact approaches to education that range from incremental to transformative. This also implies that care must be taken to ensure that teachers have a voice in the formation of citizenship education policy and that sufficient resources are made available for the implementation of citizenship education programs so that teachers are fully apprised of the features of the program, have buy-in and are adequately trained in its delivery.

Conclusion

This research proposes that the starting point for understanding how citizenship values and practices are passed along to students is to examine teachers’ beliefs about citizenship and the factors that inform them. This study examined the ways in which a group of secondary teachers in the nation-state of Jamaica think about and understand citizenship. It highlights the significance of the postcolonial context that informs the meanings ascribed to citizenship by a group of secondary level teachers in Jamaica. The study also illuminates the connections between: (i) teachers’ views about citizenship and

about their students' needs, abilities, and life trajectories; and (ii) traditional race and class hierarchy in colonial and postcolonial Jamaican society. The findings highlight the ways in which teachers (consciously or unconsciously) hold views that may be a product of this postcolonial heritage even in circumstances where they see their role as agents of change tasked with making a difference in their students' lives. The study contributes significantly to the existing body of social science research because it adds to two little explored areas of research, namely (i) teachers' beliefs about citizenship; and (ii) the factors that inform teachers' beliefs about citizenship.

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