Educational Policy and Notions of Citizenship in Four Asia-Pacific Societies

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The future schooling scenarios prepared by the OECD/CERI (OECD, 2001) are the focus of this article, first because they provide a useful tool for futures thinking in educational settings and, second, because they provide an analytic framework to investigate how notions of citizenship are embedded in educational policies and in the organisation of compulsory schooling. This article outlines the scenarios developed by the OECD/CERI, describes how these were used to conduct a survey of educational policy-makers in the Asia-Pacific region and then uses the scenarios as a framework to investigate the embedded nature of citizenship characteristics in educational policy positions. Examples will be drawn from four societies in the Asia-Pacific region – New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong SAR and Taiwan.

Key Words: policy, citizenship, Asia-Pacific region

A recent survey of educational policy-makers in the Asia-Pacific region (Cogan & Baumgart, 2003) made use of the future schooling scenarios prepared by the OECD/CERI[1] during the first phase of the Schooling for Tomorrow study (OECD, 2001). These scenarios are the focus of this paper, firstly, because they provide a useful tool for futures thinking in educational settings and, secondly, because they provide an analytic framework to investigate how notions of citizenship are embedded in educational policies and in the organisation of compulsory schooling.

This article begins by outlining the scenarios developed by OECD/CERI, describes how these were used to conduct a survey of educational policy-makers in the Asia-Pacific region and then uses the scenarios as a framework to investigate the embedded nature of citizenship characteristics in educational policy positions. Examples will be drawn from four societies

that participated in the Asia-Pacific study – New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong SAR and Taiwan.

As well as using the scenarios as a tool to deconstruct the discourses in educational policy initiatives, this article highlights the contextual and contested nature of education policy decisions, curriculum development and notions of citizenship.

The Six Scenarios

The original scenarios are best described in *What Schools for the Future?* (OECD, 2001). The six scenarios are organised under three main headings (see Table 1) as scenarios that either continued the status quo or offered alternative views of schooling through re-schooling or de-schooling. Each of the scenarios was developed around the following dimensions:

- attitudes, expectations, political support;
- goals and functions;
- organisations and structures;
- the geo-political dimension; and
- the teaching force.

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Table 1. *Six scenarios for future schooling*

Status Quo	Re-schooling	De-schooling
Scenario 1:	Scenario 3:	Scenario 5:
Bureaucratic school system	Schools as core social centres	Networks and the network society
Scenario 2:	Scenario 4:	Scenario 6:
Extending the market model	Schools as focused learning organisations	Meltdown and teacher exodus

The scenarios are presented below in summary form as described by Baumgart (2002).

1) Schools remain robust, bureaucratic organisations with strong pressures towards uniformity through well-defined curriculum and assessment strategies attuned to explicit standards.

2) Schools develop as extensions of the market model for education; governments encourage diversification and competition; change is stimulated by consumer demand and information on performance; monitoring of schools by public authorities declines as new providers introduce entrepreneurial management modes.

3) Schools function principally as core social centres under varied arrangements and in tune with the society's diverse needs; major investments in schools as key centres in the society leads to improved quality and equity, and well-earned recognition for far-reaching achievements (academic, social, cultural, vocational, community development, IT, etc).

4) Schools develop as focused learning organisations, meeting individual needs and encouraging lifelong learning; they focus principally on knowledge rather than social outcomes; schools are well resourced, emphasise research and development, network with tertiary education institutions, and communicate internationally in developing best practice and state-of-the-art facilities.

5) Schools lose their unique identity following public dissatisfaction with their institutionalised role; they become part of a multitude of learning networks in the society, with leadership coming from various cultural, religious, and community organisations; local networks, contractual arrangements for teachers, and community and even individualised arrangements replace formal school systems.

6) Schools face a crisis (meltdown) with a lack of qualified teachers resulting from retirements in an ageing profession, low morale, and more attractive opportunities for recent graduates; schools face public dissatisfaction, and diversity and inequality in provision and outcomes.

The Asia-Pacific Study

The Asia-Pacific study was conducted by members of the Pacific Circle Consortium (PCC) – an organisation of educational institutions and agencies based in the Asia-Pacific region with particular interests in intercultural understanding and co-operative research undertakings. The study was led by Professors John Cogan of the University of Minnesota and Akira Ninomiya of Hiroshima University. They developed the survey instrument and gained support from both PCC and OECD to proceed. Eleven societies [2] from five different regions participated (see Table 2).

The researchers in each society identified high profile educational policy-makers and copies of the survey were then distributed to them. A minimum sample of 25 was requested from each society. In all, 307 educators responded ranging from policymakers at the highest level to representatives of all levels and sectors of the education system. Survey respondents were asked to rank the six numbered but not named scenarios, firstly in terms of the desirability of each scenario, secondly in terms of the probability of each scenario occurring in their

Table 2. *Societies participating in the Asia-Pacific study*

Region	Society
Oceania	New Zealand
	Australia
South East Asia	Thailand
	Vietnam
East Asia	Hong Kong S.A.R.
	Mainland China
	Taiwan
North East Asia	Japan
	Republic of Korea
NAFTA	United States
	Mexico

setting and then finally to give an overall ranking. There was also an opportunity for qualitative comments which proved to have more local applicability (see, for example, Mutch, MacCormick, & Wenmoth, 2002) because of the varying contextual factors.

Although there were some minor differences across societies, and most notably between societies in Oceania and North America, and those in South East, East, and North East Asia, a surprisingly high level of consensus emerged from the findings. Those scenarios regarded as being most desirable were those associated with re-schooling, that is, Scenarios 4 (learning organisations) and 3 (social centres) – in that order. The least likely Scenario was 6 – the meltdown scenario.

In contrast, respondents thought these desirable scenarios had relatively low likelihood of implementation and the scenario thought to be most probable was the status quo, Scenario 1 (bureaucratic). The second scenario thought to be most probable was the de-schooling scenario emphasising a market approach to education. However, this scenario was not ranked nearly as highly as Scenario 1(bureaucratic) although it did receive relatively higher ranks in East Asia and North East Asia than in other regions. A summary of the desirable and probable scenarios is included as Table 3.

Before moving on to explore the selected society's scenario choices and their citizenship education policies it is necessary to explore the links between the scenarios and notions of citizenship.

Table 3. *Results of most desirable and most probable scenarios by society*

Society	Desirable	Probable
New Zealand	4	1
Australia	4	1
Thailand	4	1
Vietnam	4	1
Hong Kong SAR	3	2
Mainland China	4	3
Taiwan	4	4
Japan	4	1
Korea	4	2
Mexico	3	1
United States	4	1

Notions of Citizenship

Gilbert (1996, p.108) sees citizenship as a contested term. "Some definitions emphasise the nation state as an entity to which people should give allegiance and loyalty. Other definitions emphasise individual rights or a sense of shared loyalty. Others focus on citizen participation in government." He continues by outlining four major views of citizenship: citizenship as a status implying formal rights and duties; citizenship as an identity and a set of moral and social virtues based on the democratic ideal; citizenship as a public practice conducted through legal and political processes; and citizenship as participation in decision-making in all aspects of life.

Gilbert's categories provide a useful framework for unpacking the embedded citizenship notions in the six scenarios. The categories will be slightly altered with the second one being separated into two to make a total of five: citizenship as status; citizenship as identity; citizenship as the democratic ideal; citizenship as public practice; and citizenship as participation. Focusing on the dimensions that included attitudes, expectations, goals and functions for each scenario, the author constructed the following matrix using the fuller descriptions of the from the OECD material (OECD, 2001) plus other available elaborations (for example, Istance, 2002). The key words within descriptors were then matched to each citizenship characteristic using a comparative and iterative process.

The question that set this investigation in motion was whether there was any relationship between the desired and probable scenarios, with their embedded citizenship characteristics, and a society's educational policy related to citizenship education. To attempt to answer this question, two regions from the Asia-Pacific study were chosen for closer analysis. Societies from two regions – Oceania and East Asia – were chosen because of the interesting differences displayed in their results.

Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) found Scenario 4 (learning organisations) more desirable but anticipated a continuation of Scenario 1 (bureaucratic). The two East Asian societies selected to contrast with Oceania are Hong Kong SAR, [3] which desired Scenario 3 (social centres) but expected Scenario 2 (market model) and Taiwan which both desired and expected Scenario 4 (learning organisations). Table 4 elaborates on this.

Would educational policy documents and/or citizenship education curricula shed any light on either the desired or probable scenarios? The societies are discussed one at a time

Table 3. Matrix of citizenship characteristics of the six scenarios

Citizenship Characteristics	1 Bureaucratic (Status Quo)	2 Market Model (De-schooling)	3 Social Centres (Re-schooling)	4 Learning organisations (Re-schooling)	5 Networks (De-schooling)	6 Meltdown (Status Quo)
Status (as gained through educational achievement)	• formal examination system passport to economic and social life; • creates divisions and inequalities; • civil service role of unions; • "teaching a craft"	• international accreditation rather than local solutions; • skill focussed; • funding is key	• schooling and schools central to concept; • media and public support of schools; • teacher status high and supported; • range of teacher roles encouraged	• more demanding mix of curricula; • values specialisation; • variety of ways of gaining and recognising learning, credits; • teacher considered high status/leader	• institution of school has low status; • establishment of a "learning professional"; • educated elites emerge	• widespread public and media dissatisfaction; • focus on accountability, efficiency and results; • retrenchment and response
Identity (as promoted through the education system)	• local rather than national; • decentralisation; • uniformity; • common curricula; • "haves" and "have nots"; • global interests growing; • teacher identity diverse	• highly international; • level divisions (early childhood, primary, secondary) – where secondary education is more highly valued; • specialisation; • skill–focussed; • individualisation	• strong community involvement and identity; • local dimension/local solutions; • lifelong learning; • intergenerational mixing; • "inequalities" reduced but diversity widens; • less bureaucracy/more diversity	• breaks down "walls"; • life-long learning; • national framework but international outlook; • focus on knowledge rather than social outcomes	• dismantling of school curricula; • individualisation of educational attainment; • local needs prioritised but with a view to international links	• national focus rises in order to re-establish control; • inequality of provision and outcome (have and have nots)
Democratic ideal (as represented in the education system)	• growing corporate interests; • individualisation; • continuation of industrial model; • some school choice; • equality rather than equity	• value of education is expressed in economic terms; • competitive model; • "school choice" is a preference; • privatisation; • voucher systems	• high-trust politics; • social cohesion; • divisions between levels not so acute; • new forms of more democratic governance	• schooling viewed as a public good; • high-trust politics; • sharing of expertise; • targeting of disadvantaged and underprivileged	• rise of private investment in education; • growth of digital divide; • high employer involvement	• political impotence; • environment of conflict and emergency strategies; • deep-seated barriers to agreement and change; • affluent areas profit
Public practice (as exemplified in the education system)	• education is politicised with party politics to the fore; • conservativism (+ neo-liberalism)	• individual ownership; • copyright; • wider range of stakeholders in education; • entrepreneurial management	• more varied contractual agreements; • range of teachers and teacher roles; • fluidity and diversity of organisation	• team approaches; • flatter team-oriented organisations; • varied contractual arrangements; • focus on research and development	• variety of child-care and educational arrangements; • demarcations between teacher/parent blur	• crisis mentality; • problem-focused; • diverse solutions lacking coherence
Participation (as demonstrated through communication and interaction, for example, use of ICT)	• "playing the system" politically; • push for innovation; • ICT seen as one possible solution	• role of ICT expands; • home-schooling growth area; • consumer demand	• ICT flourishes as a way of producing social cohesion rather than competitiveness	• research and development key; • ICT learning and information tool; • links between schools, schools and community, schools and business	• ICT essential; • clustering and re-clustering according to individual need	• ICT viewed as an alternative to teachers and teaching; • Protectionist responses

Table 4. *Comparison of desirable and probable scenarios between two regions*

Oceania (New Zealand and Australia)		East Asia (Hong Kong SAR)		East Asia(Taiwan) Desirable and probable
Desirable	Probable	Desirable	Probable	
Schools as learning organisations	Schools as bureaucracies	Schools as social centres	Schools following the market models	Schools as learning organisations
• schooling as a "public good" • national frameworks but international outlook • more demanding curriculum • valuing of specialisation • sharing of expertise • targeting of disadvantaged and underprivileged • flatter structures • research and development • ICT as a learning and information tool • links between schools, community and business	• industrial model • formal examinations as passport to economic and social progress • decentralisation of administration but increasing centralisation of curriculum • education politicised with party politics to the fore • tendency to conservatism • a push for ICT and innovation as problem-solvers	• public support of schools • high trust politics • high teacher status • strong community involvement • lifelong learning • inequities reduced • diversity valued • democratic governance fluidity of organisation • social cohesion • integrated services	• value of education expressed in market terms • skill focussed • competitive model • privatisation • focus on individuality • wide range of stakeholders • aim to international accreditation • school choice • voucher systems	• schooling as a "public good" • national frameworks but international outlook • more demanding curriculum • valuing specialisation • sharing of expertise • targeting of disadvantaged and underprivileged • flatter structures • research and development • ICT as a learning and information tool • links between schools, community and business

New Zealand

New Zealand policy makers in the Asia-Pacific study stated that Scenario 4 (learning organisations) was most desirable but that Scenario 1 (bureaucratic) was most probable. How does a brief analysis of key educational policy documents and related curriculum developments help explain these choices and how do the choices relate to embedded citizenship ideals?

As a result of the education reforms of the 1980s New Zealand developed a new policy document to underpin curriculum development. The *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) outlined the government's beliefs about education, its relationship to society and how the desired outcomes might be achieved.

> Today, New Zealand faces many significant challenges. If we wish to progress as a nation, and to enjoy a healthy prosperity in today's and tomorrow's competitive world economy, our education system must adapt to meet these challenges (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 1).

> Such learning will enable them [students] to develop their potential, to continue learning throughout life, and to participate effectively and productively in New Zealand's democratic society and in a competitive world economy (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 2).

> All young people in New Zealand have the right to gain, through the state schooling system, a broad balanced education that prepares them for effective participation in society (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 5).

The above quotes exemplify the tensions between the competing ideological factions of the day (described in Mutch, 2001, as the new right versus the liberal left, with the new right consisting of both neo-conservative and neo-liberal elements). In relation to the scenarios, neo-conservative values – outlined by Trowler (1998), as strong government, social authoritarianism, a disciplined society, hierarchy and subordination – match Scenario 1 (bureaucratic) most closely. Scenario 2 (market model) aligns most closely with neo-liberal beliefs – described by Trowler (1998), as focus on the individual, freedom of choice, a market society, a laissez-faire approach and minimal

government intervention. Liberal left elements described by Mutch (2001, p.76) as "a fusion of earlier liberal progressive and more recent socially critical perspectives" sit more comfortably with Scenario 3 (social centres) and aspects of Scenario 4 (learning organisations). The other discourse found in the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* is that of the "knowledge economy", more closely linked to Scenarios 4 (learning organisations) and 5 (networked society).

Interestingly enough, different policy documents released over the 1990s exemplified different views of schooling (and embedded notions of citizenship) with the trend moving in general, from the political right to the political left as the decade proceeded, that is, from the de-schooling or status quo scenarios to the re-schooling scenarios. The Ministry's ICT strategy (*Interactive Education. An information and communications technologies strategy for schools*, Ministry of Education, 1998) was one exception, as it went against the trend towards re-schooling scenarios and instead supported Scenarios 1 (bureaucratic) and 5 (networked society) by expressing these sentiments:

> Central to the ICT strategy is the recognition that schools, businesses and government all have a role to play in realising the potential of information and communication technologies to enhance teaching and learning, to enhance student achievement, and to make school administration more efficient (Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 9)

Te Whariki, the early childhood curriculum (*Te Whariki He Whariki Matauranga mo nga Mokopuna o Aotearoa.* [Early childhood curriculum], Ministry of Education, 1996) was one of the curriculum documents that signalled the trend towards the re-schooling scenarios and its discourse matches closely 'schools as core social centres' (Scenario 3), as exemplified in the following statement:

> This curriculum is founded on the following aspirations for children: to grow up as competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society. (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 9)

In 1997, the social studies document, *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1997) continued the trend to the political left, to be followed by *Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1999a).

New Zealand, as has been explained in Mutch (2002), does not have an explicit citizenship curriculum, the citizenship characteristics, as outlined by Gilbert (1996) earlier in this paper, are threaded throughout the later curriculum documents such as *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1997) *Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1999a) and *Guidelines for Environmental Education in New Zealand Schools* (Ministry of Education, 1999b). The sentiments in these later documents sit strongly within the re-schooling scenario frameworks (Scenarios 3 and 4) .

In summary, the New Zealand policy and curriculum documents display embedded notions of citizenship that reflect the ideological tensions at the time of their implementation. The trend over the 1990s was to move away from de-schooling and status quo scenarios to re-schooling scenarios. This is reflected in the fact that New Zealand educational policy-makers selected Scenario 4 (learning organisations) as their most desirable, followed by Scenario 3 (social centres). Why then did policy-makers consider that the status quo (Scenario 1 – bureaucratic) was the one that would prevail? Do they feel some sense of powerlessness? Perhaps the Australian responses, which were similar, and the relevant Australian citizenship documents, could help provide some answers.

Australia

In Australia there is no national compulsory curriculum in citizenship education (Kerr, 2002; Pederson & Cogan, 2002). There is, however, Ministerial endorsement of *Discovering Democracy*, a programme that is federally funded and distributed to all states. Citizenship threads also appear in Human Society and its Environment/Studies of Society and Environment (or the corresponding name used for integrated social studies curricula in each state).

In the Pederson and Cogan (2002) study, the authors describe citizenship education as not being valued as an academic subject by administrators, teachers or students. Centrally produced resources (such as *Discovering Democracy*) were rarely used and where lessons were taught they were didactic in nature. They suggest that New South Wales presents an interesting case to watch as a high-stakes History, Geography and Civics test was introduced in 2002. It will be interesting to observe the changing status of citizenship education as it becomes compulsory and examinable.

O'Brien and Parry (2002) outline some of the reasons for citizenship education's low status in Australia. In the late 1980s the Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs recommended active citizenship education as a key objective in the national curriculum. O'Brien and Parry cite the following extract:

> [School leavers should] have the capacity to exercise judgement and responsibility in matters of morality, ethics and social justice, and the capacity to make sense of their world, to think about how things got to be the way they are, to make rational and informed decisions about their own lives and to accept responsibility for their own actions, and be active and informed citizens with an understanding and appreciation of Australia's system of government and civic life. (cited in O'Brien and Parry, 2002, p 32)

The discourse of the day appears closest to Scenario 3 (social centres). O'Brien and Parry (2002) contend that the contested nature of citizenship and its relationship with the underpinning disciplines have been a barrier to the development of a stand-alone subject within the school curriculum. In 1994 the Civics Expert Group reported low levels of education for and experience in, democratic citizenship. They advocated the inclusion of topics such as: Australia's heritage and multi-cultural nature; democratic processes; international relations; and ecological sustainability. As O'Brien and Parry (2002, p. 33) state:

> The group's clear intention was to redress Australian's limited knowledge and understanding of how they might participate effectively as citizens within an ever-changing and dynamic contemporary society.

The links with Scenario 3 (social centres) are still apparent with increasing overlap with Scenario 4 (learning organisations) and possibly even Scenario 5 (networked society).

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (see for example, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz, 2001) provided another opportunity for the evaluation of citizenship education in Australia. Citing this, O'Brien and Parry summarise the continuing obstacles for effective implementation as ranging "from competing curriculum priorities and conflicting societal values to the dilemma of existing limitations in teacher's pre-service and professional development experiences (2002, p. 38).

Perhaps another obstacle to be identified is the lack of a coherent vision for educational policy. The Australian policy makers in the Asia-Pacific study stated Scenario 4 (learning organisations) as their preference but expected that Scenario 1 (bureaucratic) would prevail. The rhetoric in the documents relating to citizenship education, however, is firmly grounded in the context of "schools as core social centres", or using the term coined by Kennedy (1997), "schools as social anchors". If we accept as Kennedy (2001, p. 52) states that "the curriculum of schools is a significant policy instrument directed towards cultural formation, social cohesion and economic development" then the disjunction between the aims of policy makers and curriculum developers can only lead to confusion and an inability to achieve the stated aims … or perhaps an acceptance of the status quo because alternative scenarios are too fraught with difficulty to achieve.

Hong Kong SAR

Hong Kong SAR provides an interesting contrast. The educational policy makers who responded to the study saw Scenario 3 (social centres) as most desirable but Scenario 2 (market model) as most probable. The New Zealand and Australian scenarios could be explained by conflicting curriculum and policy goals leading to acceptance of the status quo. Is the Hong Kong SAR result an example of a similar case but at the extremes? That is, is there a heartfelt wish for "schools as core social centres" with the expectation of this being achieved so unlikely, that even the status quo (a middle position) is rejected as the probable scenario, in favour of the more pessimistic view of schools as an extension of the market model?

The Pederson and Cogan (2002) study helps put these decisions into a social and political context by comparing citizenship education approaches before and after Hong Kong's return to China in 1997. From 1985 they identify civics and values education's goals aiming to "produce responsible, moral citizens, [and] maintain social order and stability" (p. 27) and from 1997 "to inculcate Chinese values, family values, social harmony, moral responsibility, political machinery of PRC, patriotism and love of the motherland, controversial issues, reflection and action." In 1998 civics was introduced as an optional subject. Schools were encouraged to use the non-formal curriculum as the main venue for citizenship education, for example, through extra-curricular activities. To this end, no civics textbooks are available for teachers and students in Hong Kong SAR, and no key examinations test civic knowledge (Pederson & Cogan, 2002). The Pederson

and Cogan study also highlights the disparity between the national policy recommendations for an interactive, pupil-centred pedagogy and the reality of how citizenship education is actually implemented in schools:

> In Hong Kong, civics education is viewed as getting students to behave. Most civics content knowledge is delivered during the morning assemblies where students are required to stand politely through long missives. (Pederson & Cogan, 2002, p. 19)

Morris and Morris (2002) explain that the educational and curricular reforms promoted before 1997 served "a primarily symbolic function, rather than intending to produce real change in schools" (p. 21). Since the handover, the recurring themes in curriculum revision have been the promotion of Chinese values and the avoidance of controversies. Chinese culture and values, they state (p. 21) "are portrayed in a way that suggests they are a homogeneous and monolithic entity and they are associated with a desirable range of values (sense of unity, consensuality, modesty, integrity, etc)." Morris and Morris continue their discussion by focusing on the gap between policy intentions and implementation outcomes and conclude "the way these barriers [to educational change] are combined and manifested is the result of Hong Kong's distinctive socio-political context" (p. 21).

Has the handover to China meant that the ideal scenario is an impossible dream or simply empty rhetoric? Why is it considered that the market model will prevail? Is this in response to China's economic reforms or a carry-over from Hong Kong's hey-day as the leading economic centre in Asia?

The next phase of the Asia-Pacific study aims to conduct semi-structured interviews with a selection of key policy-makers from each of the societies. This will allow for in-depth responses to the question of the disparity between the desired and probable scenarios and will hopefully expand on the contextual factors to aid in an understanding of these complex issues.

Taiwan

The educational policy makers in Taiwan both prefer and anticipate that they will achieve schools as learning organisations. Again, some understanding of the context is needed to make sense of this response.

Since martial law was lifted in 1987, many educational reforms have been promoted in Taiwan. The Commission on Education Reform published a report in 1996 that highlighted five important directions:

1. To design multiple avenues of entry to higher secondary and tertiary institutions
2. To decentralise control of the educational system
3. To improve the overall quality of education
4. To teach all students effectively
5. To promote life-long learning (Lui & Doong, 2002, p. 27).

In the study by Pederson and Cogan (2002) cited earlier, where the data were gathered between 1997 and 2000, they describe the citizenship education curriculum as focusing on "civic knowledge, moral behavior and civic values… eg social cohesion, national identity, self cultivation, democratic values" (p. 28).

Lui and Doong (2002) discuss the new Nine Year Integrated Curriculum Plan which was introduced in 2001. It emphasises a seamless education system with an interdisciplinary approach between the seven subject areas (languages, mathematics, social studies, nature and technology, arts and humanities, health and physical education, and general activities) and a focus on ten basic skills, such as critical thinking and information processing.

The similarities to education reforms in western countries are apparent and in their article Lui and Doong write of the "Americanised direction of the reform" (2002, p. 34). Lui and Doong see both positives and negatives in the reforms. In relation to positive changes in citizenship education they state:

> The old civic curriculum emphasised knowledge transmission, while participatory citizenship was seldom encouraged. Teachers believed that citizenship [could] be encouraged by persuasion, socialisation and indoctrination…citizenship is best promoted through a process of inquiry in which knowledge is derived when citizens make decisions and solve problems (p. 32).

They note the move from an emphasis on social cohesion to one of social diversity. The controversial issue of Taiwanese "national identity" is underplayed but the writers notice less attention paid to Chinese nationalism and more to "indigenous understanding" and to broader world issues.

Lui & Doong explain that curriculum development in Taiwan follows a top-down model and the development of the Nine Year Integrated Curriculum was no exception. They state, "Practitioners and the public have no way to be heard in the process of developing the new curriculum." Perhaps this authoritarian approach (as Lui and Doong describe it) goes some way towards explaining why educational policy makers expect to get the model they desire.

Discussion

Space only permits the investigation of four societies from the Asia-Pacific study. I have briefly explained how notions of citizenship are embedded in educational policy documents and the relationship this has to how policy-makers view future schooling scenarios.

In New Zealand and Australia, the policy-makers wish for a learning organisation scenario which Istance (2002) summarises as "high levels of public trust and funding, schools and teachers in networks and learning organisations; [with] strong quality and equity features" (p. 45). These policy- makers expect that the status quo – "strong bureaucracies and robust institutions [in which] vested interests resist fundamental change [with] continuing problems of school image and resourcing" (Istance, 2002, p. 43) will prevail. The analysis of relevant documents reported upon in this paper suggests that there is a mis-match between what policy-makers want (Scenario 4 – learning organisations) and curriculum writers promote (Scenario 3 – social centres)) and rather than negotiating a consensus, the status quo (Scenario 1) wins out.

The Hong Kong SAR situation provides a more extreme example of the pessimism suggested in the Australasian examples. Although Scenario 3 (social centres) is desired, the barriers faced in its implementation seem so insurmountable that even the status quo is not anticipated. Rather there seems an admission of defeat by accepting a market model that takes education out of control of the educators and into the hands of the market. This needs to be placed in the context of Hong Kong's recent history and her future directions.

Historical and political context are also important in trying to explain Taiwan's response to the Asia Pacific survey. The suggested answer to the confidence of policy-makers in achieving the future scenario they desire, is in the top-down educational reform process outlined by Lui and Doong (2002). Keeping practitioners and the public from having a voice in educational reform renders the directions of future schooling less problematic for policy-makers.

What can be taken from this analysis? The scenarios have shown that they can have multiple uses – in this case assisting in exploring embedded citizenship ideals in educational policy.

The four societies discussed here highlight the contextual nature of any curriculum development and how an understanding of the historical, political, social and educational contexts is imperative for making sense of these developments. The four societies also demonstrate that curriculum development is a highly contested process and that stakeholders in such a process, be they policy-makers, curriculum developers, practitioners or the general public, all strive to have a voice in curriculum development. Another factor apparent in this study is how educational ideas and ideological positions are global trends and move quickly between societies, with varying views of the nature of schooling, citizenship, teaching and learning coming to prominence at any one time.

It is hoped that the interviews conducted in Phase 2 of the Asia-Pacific study will contribute even further to our understanding of the complex interrelationships between context and decision-making, between the purposes of schooling and notions of citizenship, and between rhetoric and reality.

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Notes

1. OECD/CERI. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.

2. The word 'societies' was used rather than country or nation because of the complex political relationship between China, Hong Kong SAR and Taiwan.

3. Hong Kong, a former British colony, returned to Chinese rule in 1997 as a "Special Administrative Region".