Education for future-oriented citizenship: implications for the education of 21st century competencies[1]

Wing On Lee*

National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

*Email: wingon.lee@nie.edu.sg

Globalization and the knowledge economy have opened up worldwide agendas for national development. Following this is the emphasis on the social dimension, otherwise known as social capital. Much of social capital includes "soft skills" and "21st century skills", which broadly cover critical, creative and inventive thinking; information, interactive and communication skills; civic literacy, global awareness and cross-cultural skills. Proactively, the Singapore government is preparing for Curriculum 2015, a new curriculum that would develop student attributes, embedded in the "confident person", "self-directed learner", "active contributor", and "concerned citizen". Significantly, a new curricular initiative, Character and Citizenship Education, emphasizes the integrative nature of citizenship and 21st century competencies and has been implemented in all schools in Singapore from 2011. This future-oriented approach to citizenship education emphasizes the significance of individual initiatives and the intellectual capital of citizens. This paper analyses features of this particular approach to citizenship education, and its strengths and significance, which may be viewed as an integrative "total curriculum approach" with a "whole-society" perspective. In addition, the challenges of teaching 21st century skills will also be highlighted. This departs from the conventional paradigm of socialization, but to help students develop attributes for a future society to come.

Keywords: character education; citizenship education; civic education; moral education; Singapore; Thinking Schools, Learning Nation; Citizenship 21

Introduction

Minister of Education Mr Heng Swee Keat, Permanent Secretaries of Education Mrs Tan Ching Yee and Ms Yeoh Chee Yan, Director-General of Education Ms Ho Peng, Director of NIE Professor Lee Sing Kong.

Thank you for giving me the honour to address the conference on such an important occasion, and on such an important topic. Character education, citizenship education and values education are areas of education that have attracted increased

attention in today's world. Cummings, Gopinathan and Tomoda (1988) have made that observation in their book entitled *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West*. The book was published in 1988, but since then my observation is that the revival of values education has become more intensified than less, both in terms of its scope and regions. Character education, citizenship education and values education have become increasingly important mainly because in a fast-changing world, all countries need to react continuously and responsively, and fast, in preparing the new generation for change and communicating with the populace what the government expects from them as active citizens. Moreover, globalization and localization develop in parallel: the more vigorous globalization is, the more vigorous localisation becomes, and this triggers dialogue and debate on citizenship issues about what is to be national, what is to be global, and for the individual citizens, what is to be personal.

Although citizenship education can be an academic subject in its own right, citizenship education is always a composite of policy and practice, reflecting the issues of the time, and very often anecdotal in response to those issues. Citizenship education is also highly contextualized; thus almost all countries would find their own ways to address citizenship issues that are meaningful and applicable to their own contexts.

Controversies of citizenship education in contexts and politics

My first engagement in citizenship education dated to the mid-1990s. In 1995, I was appointed by the government to serve on a committee to review civic education in Hong Kong. In the same year, I was appointed National Research Coordinator for Hong Kong in the Second Civic Education Study organized by the International

Association for the Assessment of Education Achievements (IEA), with 28 participating countries. And later in the year, I was invited by IEA to join the International Steering Committee to participate in the central planning and administration of the project. Both of these experiences are unforgettable in my life. Let me talk about the review exercise first. The review was organized in 1995, 2 years before the handover of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty, and the Review Committee was set up out of social pressure on the colonial government that it has done nothing to prepare Hong Kong students to become Chinese citizens. The review panel was thus formed with the appointment of members that represented a range of interest groups, especially the ones who have asserted particular views about citizenship.

The Committee took about one year in its deliberation, each time touching upon issues that could hardly achieve consensus. Almost every aspect about the role and function of the future citizenry was examined and debated, but hardly coming to any conclusion, and the media was so concerned that this Committee needed to brief the reporters on the gist of discussion after almost every meeting. The review job was highly political in nature, but more difficult and political was the fact that it was an outgoing sovereignty setting the citizenship education agenda for an incoming sovereignty, which made it an unprecedented case as such. Within the Committee, some argued that civic education is about democracy and human rights, but others argue that it is about patriotism and nationalism. There was also debate on civic education as enculturation, and some argued civic education should be critical enculturation instead and should be a process of doing away with bad (harmful) values and bad practices and introducing good values and good practices.

While these were healthy debates, the issues were dichotomized in a period of political sensitivity. There were suspicions that those who promoted civic education as democracy and human rights education were subjecting Hong Kong to internationalization, and there were equal suspicions that those who promoted patriotic and nationalistic education were bowing to pro-Beijing forces. I always queried why the four types of civic education could not take place under one roof, but during political transition, they were dichotomized because of political sensitivity (Lee, 2001). Eventually, I have found that being an academic myself without a particular political slant could be useful in proposing a framework that would function best at that moment. Some of us suggested civic education should be student-centric, beginning with respect for the sanctity of life and human dignity. To protect this, we need a democratic system that could ensure the protection of human rights and equality. On the other hand, civic education is more than politics; it happens in relations, starting from the relation to oneself, and extending towards relationship with the family, the community, the nation and further to the globe, thereby extending from the self to brotherhood and sisterhood, regionhood, nationhood and humanhood. Thus the dichotomized views were accommodated, and the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education* were successfully accepted by the public (Education Department, 1996; Lee, 1997).

Shared values

Australia: launch of the Australian Values Education Framework
In 2003 and 2005, I was invited twice to address the National Forum organized by the then Curriculum Corporation of Australia on values education and citizenship education, respectively. What I learned in this process was Australia's interest in values education. In the 2003 event, there was an announcement of a values survey,

and in 2005 the Values Education Framework was announced. Later, *Australian Values* was enforced as the basis for Australian citizenship literacy, and was imposed upon anyone applying for Australian citizenship. I have studied the text provided by the government, and I have to say it was a succinct narrative of the history and geography of Australia, with some mention of famous Australian writers, musicians and artists. The text is easy to read, and quite interesting, and I agree that it is a good requirement for someone who is interested in residing in Australia and becoming a part of the society.

The importance of shared values in an increasingly diverse and global society is emphasized through the development of the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools. In this framework, nine values are to be promoted and taught in schools, namely care and compassion, integrity, doing your best, respect, fair go, responsibility, freedom, understanding, tolerance and inclusion, and honesty and trustworthiness (DEEWR, 2005).

United Kingdom: the promotion of shared values
Australia's introduction of the Australian Values and values education reflects the development of the idea of "shared values" put forward by some other countries. For example, the idea of shared values education came forward in the UK in the mid-1990s, when the government and the civic educators identified that people were too individualistic and the moral behaviour of the young people was far from the ideal; and this was seen to affect social solidarity. Some of the theories of the earlier values education were found problematic, for example values clarification, as they emphasized the neutrality of values, ending up in moral relativism. John White (1990) in his book *The Good Life* particularly mentioned that children need to be guided by adults in their values development, and as they grow up they will gradually make their

own choice of values. This can be regarded as an adjustment to the value neutral

approaches represented by the values clarification theories:

> It is parents who first get children to understand what they want, through initiating them into correct use of 'want' and words which imply wanting… Parents must not only help children to identify desires: they also have to show them how conflicts between them may be resolved…. As pupils learn to become autonomous persons they come to make choices of wider and wider scope. Earlier, they chose within more tightly circumscribed frameworks; now they are beginning to make more global choices (White, 1990, pp. 78–79, 83).

In the 1990s, Nick Tate, Chief Executive of the School Curriculum and

Assessment Authority (SCAA) argued that the National Curriculum should play a key

role in fostering a national identity and social cohesion, and SCAA set up the National

Forum for Values in Education and the Community in order to study what society's

shared values might be (Cole, 2009). Further, the Advisory Group on Citizenship was

established by the Secretary of State for Education in 1997, chaired by Bernard Crick,

with a specific task to provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools.

The Crick Report was completed in 1998 as a part of an overall review of the national

curriculum. The Crick Report, as discussed in many papers (e.g., Davies, 2000; Odih

& Knights, 1999), was regarded as a significant document reflecting the current

emphasis of citizenship in the country. The Crick Report points out that the terms

"good citizenship" and "active citizenship" have come back into currency. It makes

reference to Marshall's three concepts of citizenship but qualifies that "social

citizenship" should not just mean what the state should provide for citizens but also

"what people can do for each other in voluntary groups or organisations, whether

local or international". It goes on to define its concept of citizenships as referring to

three mutually dependent elements: social and moral responsibility, community

involvement, and political literacy (see Table 1).

Even though the Crick Report did not particularly mention "shared values",

the report set forth new values for British society, requiring such citizenship attributes

as social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. And this set of citizenship attributes departed from those of classical liberal citizenship advocated by Derek Heater (1992) in the 1960s. Moreover, among the three strands of citizenship education, two of them focus on teaching values, including social and moral responsibility, and community involvement. One of the dominant features of the Crick Report is its emphasis on active participation (Crick, 1988; Lee & Fouts, 2005; Porter, 2002). Translating this to the curriculum, Crick proposed that "citizenship" be introduced as a new statutory foundation subject in secondary schools in 2000, and part of the non-statutory framework within Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) in primary schools in 2002 (Cole, 2009).

(Insert Table 1 here)

China and Hong Kong: a framework of values and priority values in curriculum reform

In China, the rapid economic development and globalization led Hu Jintao's government to put forward a values framework entitled "Eight Glories, Eight Shames", or "The Socialist Views on Glory and Shame", to establish a set of right values for young citizens. The glorified values include patriotism, serving people, being scientific, hardworking, united and cooperative, honest and trustworthy, law-abiding, and perseverance and resilience; while the shameful values comprise jeopardizing the nation, betraying the people, being benighted, lazy and indolent, making gains at others' expense, making profit at the expense of integrity, breaking the law and violating discipline, and being extravagant and hedonistic (Hu, 2003).

In Hong Kong, the 2002 curriculum reform, *Learning to Learn*, promoted five priority values (out of 80 values listed in the document), namely perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity and commitment. The stipulation of these

values was meant to guide "students' personal and social development and to the changes in the local context…and global context, with a view to preparing our students to meet the challenges of the 21st century" (Curriculum Development Council [CDC], 2002, p. 2).

It can be observed from the various country cases above that the values framework is important to many countries, especially as a part of the education system. These values will form a guide to the curricula to be developed, and can also affect the vision and mission of the schools, and the implementation of teaching. These values are important for school ethos and social ethos, and will form a foundation for social cohesion.

Citizenship education in Singapore: a historical scan

Context

The invitation to deliver this keynote address at the Character and Citizenship Education conference has given me an opportunity, and a requirement, to review and interpret the development of character and citizenship education both from historical perspectives and in terms of the country's contemporary challenges. In this process, I have found that citizenship education has always been on the agenda of Singapore's education policy. Its development process shows an unceasing pursuit of citizenship education as part and parcel of the educational provision of the system, and it is always an integral part of the school system, with tenacity and vigour. Since the birth of the nation, there has been active experimentation and continuous transformation to address the needs of the country and its people. Moreover, citizenship education has always been attuned towards nation-building and at the same time responding to globalization.

Some contextual features of Singapore are important to capture in order to understand the development of Singapore's character and citizenship education. The smallness of the city-state of 710 sq. km. with limited resources underlies many of the education policy decisions, particularly in its emphasis on talent (i.e., human resources) as the most valuable resource of the country. Singapore is one of the most densely populated cities in the world. With a population of 5.08 million and a population density of 7,526 per sq. km., which is lower than Seoul and Tokyo but higher than Hong Kong. With a diversity of ethnicities (74.1% Chinese, 13.4% Malay, 9.2% Indian and 3.3% others), religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Taoism and Hinduism) and languages (e.g., Chinese, Malay and Tamil) crammed together in this densely populated city-state, the social cohesion in diversity was naturally seen as an a priori citizenship education agenda of the country (Contact Singapore, 2012). In the IEA Civic Education Study conducted in 1995, "social cohesion and diversity" was regarded as one of the three pillars in citizenship education (the other two are democracy and national identity).

Being a small island adjacent to a large Malayan peninsula, with a dense population and without natural resources, the nation from its start had to think of survival strategies, and beyond survival, how to create best talents from within and attract more from without to make Singapore successful as a world-class city-state. And all these efforts have been very successful, as demonstrated by various international studies such as TIMSS and PISA. Economically, Singapore is growing to become the Capital of the World, with exponential and disproportional influence in the world economy as a country that is being seen as important far beyond its physical size, not in terms of land and population, but in terms of human capacity.

Programmes

It will be very easy for any analyst to come to an observation that citizenship education has always been on the agenda of the Singapore education, and this area of education is always on the move, alongside the education system, just by listing the citizenship education programmes being launched over time:

- *Ethics* (1959)
- *Civics* (1967)
- *Education for Living* (1973, interdisciplinary subject)
- *Review of the Moral Education* (1978)
- *Good Citizens (Primary)* (1981)
- *Being and Becoming (Secondary)* (1981)
- *Religious Knowledge* (1984)
- *Social Studies (Primary)* (1981)
- *Civics and Moral Education* (1995)
- *National Education* (1997)
- *Social Studies (Upper Secondary)* (2001)
- *Character and Citizenship Education* (2010/2011)

Citizenship education for nation-building

All these citizenship programmes were launched in view of the perceived societal needs of the time, and also as a response to some of the major issues of debate in the society. In 1959, Singapore gained full self-government, and *Ethics* was introduced to lay a good foundation for the newly built nation, by nurturing students to become "self-respected individuals", "good citizens", with "good habits", "right conduct", and the ability to uphold justice and to respect law and order (Kanagaratnam, 2011; Sim, 2005). In 1965, Singapore became an independent nation, and *Civics* was introduced in 1967 to replace *Ethics*, introducing such topics as the constitution, legislation and international relations, and such values as patriotism, loyalty and civic consciousness. It aimed to foster a sense of social and civic responsibility and a love for their country and its people, and was a response to the existing racial tensions as a factor of political instability for a new nation (Kanagaratnam, 2011; Sim, 2005). Moreover, *Civics* was taught as a part of the History and Geography curricula (Berlach, 1996). In

1973, *Education for Living* was introduced to the primary schools. It was an attempt of proactive planning in the face of impending economic changes, and as a means to bind people together, and to continue to ensure the country's survival and success. It also reflected the government's concern to develop in children a sense of national identity in the initial years of Singapore's independence. It was taught through an integrated subject, combining civics, history and geography.

Citizenship education for diversity and inclusivity
Singapore in the 1970s and1980s experienced rapid industrialization and modernization. Heightened economic and social interaction with Western economies also created heightened concern about positioning the Singapore values system in interaction with the international community, and the discourse on Asian values emerged in this process. Two significant reports were published and both had significant impact on the development of citizenship education in Singapore, namely the Goh Keng Swee *Report on the Ministry of Education* (1979) and Ong Teng Cheong *Report on Moral Education* (1979), which was published after a major review of moral education in 1978 (Chew, 1998; Teo, 2010). The Goh and Ong Reports responded to the need of the times by emphasising the need to teach values that were responsible for economic success, that would bind people together, and that would continue to ensure the country's survival and success. The reports identified a host of values regarded as important for these purposes, including habit formation (e.g., diligence, courtesy and thrift), character development (e.g., integrity, honour, inquiry, obedience, self-discipline, filial piety, respect for others and tolerance), sense of belonging (e.g., civic consciousness, respect for others, respect for law and order, and group spirit), respect for cultural heritage (e.g., understanding and appreciation of one's cultural heritage and beliefs), love of the country (sense of national identity,

upholding democracy, patriotism, justice and equality), and nation-building (e.g., appreciation of the country's pioneers in nation-building, and understanding of internal and external threats of the country) (consolidated by Berlach, 1996).

As a result, two new programmes were introduced in 1981 to replace the old ones, namely *Good Citizens* (for primary levels) and *Being and Becoming* (for secondary levels). *Good Citizens* was designed for primary school and adopted a rather didactic approach to teaching values, whereas *Being and Becoming* was designed for secondary school and adopted a values clarification approach. Sim (2005) described it as a deliberative approach which encourages pupils to deliberate and reflect on values issues, then debate and arrive at their own judgment. This was also a soft approach to syncretize the values of the various ethnic and religious groups within the country. Further recognition of ethnic and religious values of the population was made when *Religious Knowledge* (RK) was introduced to replace Civics at the upper secondary levels as a compulsory subject. Biblical Knowledge, Buddhist Studies, Hindu Studies, Islam Studies, Sikh Studies and Confucian Ethics were options available under Religious Knowledge. However, in the process of implementation, it was found that the teaching of religious values heightened religious fervour and it was difficult for schools to achieve a "neutralizing influence" on religion. Instead of achieving religious harmony, there was a tendency of segregating ethnic and religious groups in the teaching of Religious Knowledge. As a result, the programme ceased to be compulsory in 1989 (Kanagaratnam, 2011; Sim 2005).

Shared values: being rooted, living global
Civics and Moral Education (CME) was introduced at the secondary levels in 1994, with a specific aim to enable students from diverse ethnic and cultural groups to interact with each other and to foster inter-ethnic understanding and appreciation of

each other's cultures and practices. The Moral Education syllabus at the primary levels was also revised and replaced by CME in the same year.

The 1990s was a decade of complexities in terms of finding a pathway that would address various issues that emerged with Singapore's further success in its economy, Asia's economic crisis, and increased diversities coming along with the growing internationalization of Singapore's economy. Economically, Singapore experienced further successes and grew into a prosperous financial, trading and internationally oriented manufacturing centre of sophisticated products and services (Han, Chew, & Tan, 2001). At the same time, Singapore became more globally engaged and active, and internationalization intensified. This brought about the issue of balancing globalization with localization, and the pursuit for such balance was manifested in the citizenship education agenda in the 1990s as well.

To acknowledge diversity yet enhance efforts towards localization, a white paper entitled *Shared Values* was published in 1991, specifying several values that the government expected the populace to uphold in order to sustain a nation with social solidarity, namely "nation before community and society above self", "family as the basic unit of society", "community support and respect for the individuals", "consensus, not conflict", and "racial and religious harmony". The white paper on *Shared Values* is regarded as Singapore's search for national values and Asian values in the process of globalization (Suryadinata, 2000; Tan, 2001).

In accord with these concerns to pursue national values in globalization, *National Education* was introduced to schools in 1997 in order to shape positive knowledge, values and attitudes of Singapore's young citizenry, and to develop national cohesion, the instinct for survival and confidence in the future of Singapore. In particular the programme was designed to: (1) foster a sense of identity, pride and

self-respect among young Singaporeans; (2) relate the Singaporean story about how Singapore succeeded in becoming a nation; (3) understand Singapore's unique challenges; and (4) teach the core values of the society (Sim, 2005).

To further pursue the national values agenda in the midst of globalization, a Singapore 21 Committee was set up in 1997, and a report entitled *Singapore 21* was published in 1999. Singapore 21 was described as a vision for a new era. Distinctive from the previous national values documents, this document was an outcome of consultations with 6,000 Singaporeans from all walks of life, reflecting many people's wishes and a diversity of viewpoints (Lim, 2002). It espoused five key ideas: (1) Every Singaporean matters, (2) Strong families: our foundation and our future, (3) Opportunities for all, (4) The "Singapore heartbeat": feeling passionately about Singapore; and (5) Active citizens: making the difference.

Singapore 21 represents further efforts to sustain national values, and it is also a furtherance of "shared values'" in terms of inclusivity for cultural diversity:

> Singapore 21 is also a society where there are shared values. No matter one's race, religion, gender or class, there is harmony, unity of purpose and a sense of national identity. These common attitudes and attributes uniquely identify the Singaporean community. Friendships starting from school transcend cultural boundaries (para. 31–32).

Singapore 21 is also a statement about Singapore's positioning in the 21st century as a global and cosmopolitan city, and at the same time prepares Singaporeans to become international as well as national. What is particularly telling is the statement that: "The Singaporean of the 21st century is a cosmopolitan Singaporean, one who is familiar with global trends and lifestyles and feels comfortable working and living in Singapore as well as overseas…. Singapore 21 has a culture of internationalisation." Moreover, globalization is not a choice, but a necessity (*Singapore 21*, 1999).

As much as Singapore 21 has provided a balance for shared values in terms of nationalization and internationalization, in respect to the citizenship education,

National Education was balanced by the new Social Studies programme launched in 2001 as a compulsory subject offered at upper secondary levels. Social Studies is a vehicle for socialization, but it is also a vehicle for higher order thinking and criticality. According to Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977), Social Studies can serve three functions: citizenship transmission, learning the discipline, and learning reflective inquiry and thinking. The Social Studies programme introduced in Singapore also serves the three functions. In addition to developing a deep sense of shared destiny and national identity among the students, the new Social Studies programme also aimed to enable students to understand the issues that affect the socio-economic development, governance and future of Singapore; to learn from the experiences of other countries to build and sustain a politically viable, socially cohesive and economically vibrant Singapore; and to develop citizens who have empathy towards others and who will participate responsibly and sensibly in a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multireligious society. More importantly, Social Studies was meant to prepare the students to adopt a more participative role in shaping Singapore's future in the 21st century (Ministry of Education [MOE], 2001). In line with the spirit of Singapore 21, the Social Studies motto is "Being rooted" and "Living global".

Citizenship education for the 21st century: future-oriented citizenship

The above historical scan of the development of citizenship education programme shows that Singapore is very "busy" with developing the kind of citizenship education responsive to the need of the time, and the process reflects continuous self-review and self-critique, in finding the more appropriate approaches that would suit the development of the time and at the same time being cognizant of the development of the field in general internationally.

The Singapore 21 project was conducted hand-in-hand with the *Thinking Schools, Learning Nation* (TSLN) agenda launched in 1997. In June 1997, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong delivered a hallmark speech at the 7th International Conference on Thinking entitled "Shaping our future: Thinking schools, learning nation". The opening remark of the speech pinpointed the urgency and significance of preparing the nation for the future (i.e., the 21st century):

- A nation's wealth in the 21st century will depend on the capacity of its people to learn.
- We know three things about the future. First, it will be an intensely global future, with diminishing barriers to the flow of goods, services and information. Competition between cities, countries, sub-regions and regions will be intense.
- Second, knowledge and innovation will be absolutely critical.
- Third, it will be one of change, and increasingly rapid change. It will be change as a permanent state, not change as a transition to some known, final state. Change will be unpredictable but it will affect everything we do at work, in society and at home.
- We have to prepare ourselves for a bracing future – a future of intense competition and shifting competitive advantages, a future where technologies and concepts are replaced at an increasing pace, and a future of changing values.

TSLN acknowledges that the challenge ahead in the 21st century is change, rapid and continuous change, thus it requires people to have the skill of thinking and learning and higher order thinking, being innovative and creative as well as critical. This orientation of emphasis lay the ground for the emphasis on reflective inquiry, thinking and criticality in the new Social Studies programmes launched in 2001. It kicked off Singapore's journey of preparing the nation for the 21st century, and this became the national development agenda that formed a significant grounding for the emergence of the current *Character and Citizenship Education* programme in Singapore.

21st century skills and citizenship

Globalization and the knowledge economy have opened up worldwide agendas for national development, and facilitated the flow of information and knowledge. Most immediately, the driving force for the new global knowledge economy is the intellectual capital of citizens. In other words, political, social and economic advances in any country will be possible only if the intellectual potential of its youth is developed. The urgency in building the capacity of students as future workers is readily apparent in many countries, as many educational systems make parallel changes to prepare their students for the new world beyond the classroom. Indeed, the last 20 years have witnessed two decades of education reforms. Kennedy (2008) notes that almost all Asian countries have embarked on curricular reforms of sorts related to developing what is known as "21st century skills" which broadly cover critical, creative and inventive thinking; information, interactive and communication skills; civic literacy, global awareness and cross-cultural skills.

In general, it is observed that a key aspect of 21st century skills bears similarity to Putnam's (1995) social capital, otherwise known as "soft skills", that broadly includes trust, teamwork, social cohesion and social networks. These "soft skills", scholars have argued, are critical for economic advancement in the new global environment (Heffron, 1997; see also http://www.bettersoftskills.com/research.htm; Heckman, 2010). Notably, the 21st century skills are also closely related to the skills and values pertinent for active citizenship in the global and interdependent society. For example, Merryfield and Duty (2008) describe four skills necessary for active global citizenship. They include: (1) skills in perspective consciousness to understand points of views of people different from themselves; (2) intercultural competence to participate effectively in today's multicultural societies; (3) critical thinking skills, especially the ability to evaluate conflicting information; and (4) habits of mind

compatible with civic responsibilities in a global age, such as to approach judgments and decisions with open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, and develop the habit of asking – is this the common good? Similarly, Cogan and Derricott's (1998) multidimensional citizenship model requires citizens to address a series of interconnected dimensions of thought, belief and action expressed in terms of the personal, social, spatial and temporal dimensions, as briefly summarized in Table 2.

(Insert Table 2 here)

Whereas the discourse of citizenship in the past was by and large focused on rights and responsibilities, the recent discourse has gradually and subtly shifted towards emphasizing values such as respect, responsibility, care, social justice and cooperation. A review of several recent policy initiatives shows an identifiable trend of values orientation emerging in the discourse of citizenship education across countries, including Singapore. As aforementioned, in the UK, the Crick Report established citizenship education as a compulsory subject in schools centred on fostering a sense of common citizenship, and considered shared values as the heart of citizenship (Crick, 1988; Lee & Fouts, 2005; Porter, 2002). In Australia, the importance of shared values in an increasingly diverse and global society is emphasized through the development of the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools (DEEWR, 2005). In China, the rapid economic development and globalization has led Hu Jintao's government to put forward a values framework entitled Eight Glories, Eight Shames, to establish a set of right values for young citizens (Hu, 2003). In Hong Kong, the 2002 curriculum reform, *Learning to Learn*, promoted five priority values (out of 80 values listed in the document), namely perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity

and commitment. The stipulation of these values were meant to guide "students'

personal and social development and to the changes in the local context…and global

context, with a view to preparing our students to meet the challenges of the 21st

century" (CDC, 2002, p. 2).

In Singapore, the introduction of *Curriculum 2015* (C2015) and the

development of 21st century citizenship competencies has to be seen in the context of

developing the intellectual capital of its young citizens in order that Singapore thrives

in the new environment. Similar to the value foci of the abovementioned education

reforms in other countries, the 21st century citizenship competencies framework in

Singapore is underpinned by values. The first statement of the framework reads:

"Knowledge and skills must be underpinned by values. Values define a person's

character. They shape the beliefs, attitudes and actions of a person, and therefore form

the core of the framework of 21st century competencies" (MOE, 2010). These values

include respect, responsibility, integrity, care, resilience and harmony. The 21st

century competencies, when effectively developed, will result in the desired outcomes

of education and citizenship attributes as embodied in the "confident person", "self-

directed learner", "active contributor" and "concerned citizen" of the C2015. As

illustrated in Table 3, there is a host of other soft skills attached to the four major

attributes, such as interpersonal skills, leadership skills, self-management skills,

problem-solving skills, cross-cultural skills, civic skills, and so forth. The skills

espoused in C2015 can also be found in the citizenship education literature and are

described as citizenship skills as well.

(Insert Table 3 here)

Future-oriented citizenship

The notion of preparing citizenship for the future is exciting as it departs from the traditional concepts of citizenship. Lee and Fouts (2005) have studied and traced the development of citizenship concepts as follows:

- *Classical citizenship*: citizens were a privileged class, as distinctive from slaves;
- *Liberal citizenship*: people were liberated to have a right to be citizens;
- *Social citizenship*: people's citizenship rights were extended towards entitlement to social welfare;
- *National citizenship*: the citizenship concept was closely linked to the concept of nation-state, and citizenry was defined in legal terms by the state;
- *Post-national citizenship*: the citizenship concept was extended beyond the state with increased migrations and globalization;
- *Global citizenship*: the citizenship concept generated from the idea of a global village, reminding people of the global responsibility on top of their responsibilities at national levels, and that one's behaviour in a corner of the world may have global impacts, especially environmental implications; and
- *Multiple citizenship*: the citizenship concept was further extended with people identifying themselves with more than one nation, also as a result of globalization.

The conceptual change of citizenship reflects the changing socio-political conditions of the time, and people's concept towards human rights. However, all the above concepts can be regarded as a reflection of the contexts where the citizenship concepts stem from, and they also reflect the "here-and-now" nature of citizenship and citizenship education. Across nations, a common approach to citizenship education is through socialization, and because of this, there are controversies about how much the state should socialize the citizens, and how much the socialization process allows for individual inputs, including room for them to counter-socialize or make inquiry to be critically enculturated. Nevertheless, the discourse, however controversial and dispute-engendering it may be, reflects what is deemed to be right for the here-and-now. Citizenship education for the future is a different matter – it is a bold step forward, and a leap of faith. As distinctive from the here-and-now, future-oriented citizenship acknowledges the reality and necessity of change, it looks beyond

the present and accepts uncertainty. It moves from being to becoming. It requires an open mind towards what is emerging, and ability in sense-making about what is emerging. It needs significant confidence of the state about the future, and trust in the people that they will shape the future positively and constructively. Once a nation adopts a future-oriented approach to citizenship, the state of play for citizenship education will change from state-led to collective construction or co-construction of the future. To achieve this, it requires not only invitation from the state, but also active engagement and participation from the citizens.

Based upon this, we can perceive that C2015 is not only a new curriculum for the 21st century, but it is a citizenship education curriculum for the future per se. The four attributes stipulated as the desired outcomes of C2015 are actually citizenship attributes, namely "confident person", "self-directed learner", "active contributor" and "concerned citizen". These learning outcomes significantly depart from the academic learning outcomes of traditional curriculums; they are all soft skills – soft outcomes. So far, we are not yet too sure how to measure these outcomes, and not yet sure how these outcomes work to make a person more successful, whether for further studies or for career. However, given that the knowledge economy does differ from the manufacturing economies that require knowledge competencies to create new economic opportunities, and the speed of change in job nature is so fast that only the most flexible, innovative and creative lifelong learners can survive, the pursuit of these soft skills is convincing – a right and necessary direction. Moreover, since the UNESCO Delors Report (1996), learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together (as a team player) have become recognized worldwide as the attributes of the new learners in the 21st century. These learning attributes are also a convincing target of learning for the new age.

In respect to this uncertainty of the future, yet the certainty and determination to face it, this was clearly explicated in the then Prime Minister Goh's speech for Singapore 21, as mentioned above: that change will be a permanent state, and we have to prepare ourselves for a future of change (Goh, 1997).

Actually, learning also requires a leap of faith. According to Jerome Bruner's learning theory (1960, 1966), learning is by itself a paradoxical act of faith. In the process of learning, the learner actually does not know what he or she is going to learn, as by definition it is when one learns something one does not know, then can one describe this process as "learning". Learning is thus a process of learning something unknown and yet to be known, and the learner would have the confidence that by the time he or she knows, there is something out there to know and that is worth knowing. But there is no absolute guarantee of what really is to be known, and how much is to be known, and how useful that known-to-be will be for the learner after learning it.

From this perspective, adopting a future-oriented approach to citizenship education actually invites the whole nation to step onto this learning journey as a leap of faith, as defined by Bruner – there is something there that is worthy to know. The state has demonstrated confidence in the people that collectively they will participate in this citizenship learning journey. Bruner's learning theory, although espoused a long while ago, fits very well with the essence of learning for the 21st century – have faith in learning something not yet known to the learner. Actually, his learning theory should also be a good reminder for us in assessing learning outcomes, as the present culture of aiming for measurability and performativity has led to a reductionism in calculating all learning outcomes. As inspired by Bruner, the fun of learning rests in the sandwich interaction between "known-unknown-known" and "unknown-known-

unknown" (Easterbrooks & Estes, 2007). The removal of this dose of uncertainty and "suspension" in learning also reduces the fun and joy of learning, and the surprise that will emerge out of unexpected discoveries in the process of learning.

Future-oriented citizenship expects and requires the citizens to be active agents in the society – active with a sense of belonging, active in the sense of being concerned about the society, and active in participating in the co-constructing of a better society together with the state. Singapore 21 has made it clear that the expectation for the future citizen should be one of an active citizen, concerned about the future of Singapore, and committed to building a better society and making the society more competitive and more successful in the international arena. Because of its requirement for having active individuals, and the attributes of 21st century competence are mostly psychological attributes such as being confident, self-directed, active, concerned, creative, adaptive and collaborative, the individual citizens must be in very good psychological health to acquire and exercise these attributes so that they will become constructive contributors to the society. In this context, having good social emotional learning for character building is important as this directly addresses the personal quality of the individual citizens. A citizen with good character and social emotional health is the foundation of good citizenship. The attention to individual-oriented citizenship education is as important as state-oriented citizenship education, thus Character and Citizenship Education, the latest citizenship programme to be introduced to Singapore schools is going to be a very important one that will address both individual and state concerns, and provide a good balance for both perspectives.

Total curriculum – whole-school and whole-society approach

C2015 adopts a total curriculum approach. This should apply to the implementation of Character and Citizenship Education as well. Internationally, how citizenship education should be implemented is always under debate and so far there is no consensus. In the two international citizenship education studies conducted by the IEA in 1995 and 2009, it was discovered that there is a 50-50 split among the countries involved (28 countries in 1995, and 38 countries in 1999) between teaching citizenship education (and/or moral education, values education) as an independent subject and teaching citizenship education across the curriculum. There are strengths and weaknesses in both approaches.

One problem of teaching citizenship as a separate subject is to make moral discussion compulsory in the classroom, and it is not always convincing and productive to require pupils to engage in moral discussion just to fulfil curriculum requirements. Oftentimes, the moral discussion can only be meaningful when a certain issue arises in the society and/or out of life experience. Enforcing a talk on a moral or civic topic when people are not ready to talk may generate unproductive effects, such as avoidance. Thus, it is commonly pointed out in the literature that the civic curriculum will turn into teaching knowledge (such as civic institutions) rather than values, attitudes and beliefs. Another problem is that many teachers do not want to conduct these discussions, as teachers also have different value beliefs themselves, and they are not necessarily the expert or role model for particular moral issues. Further, when the responsibility of teaching citizenship is assigned to a few teachers, other teachers may not feel a responsibility for it; but then the assigned teachers may become overly burdened to take charge of the civic morale of the whole school.

On the other hand, it is important to note that education is not value-free, but value-laden; and there are values across the curriculum (Tomlinson & Quinton, 1986).

The values inherent in the curriculum are taught, whether we are aware of it or not. The total curriculum approach is therefore important in making explicit the tacit values inherent in the curriculum, and in this sense, citizenship education is not only limited to the teachers being specifically assigned as civic teachers, but all teachers bear some responsibility, and the whole school becomes a community that enhances civic virtues. It is established in the field of values education that the whole-school approach is needed for effective values education, as it requires values commitment by the whole school community for sustainability in values education. The values that the school upholds should be reflected in the school's vision and mission, and the values espoused by the school should be reflected in school ethos and policies for students to understand the significance of those values (Tudball, 2007).

Referring to the case of Singapore, it is quite special, if not very rare, that a country would define the curriculum outcomes as citizenship outcomes and plan to integrate citizenship education into the whole curriculum and school system, and also prepare the whole curriculum and school system around citizenship education. In addition to the boldness of adopting a future-oriented approach to citizenship education, integrating citizenship education with the total curriculum will be another major initiative in the experimentation with citizenship education that would become an international contribution to the model of citizenship education as it evolves, and will provide a significant reference for other countries contemplating an integrated education system that builds citizenship outcomes into the learning outcomes, and vice versa.

Indeed, this concurs with the concept that education is indeed by and large citizenship education, a view held by many educators (e.g., Crick & Porter, 1978; White, 1996). According to this view, literacy is the basic requirement for citizens to

function as citizens, and sufficient literacy, being described as political literacy, is required for citizens to understand state policies and offer their feedback (which is an obligation for active citizens). Moreover, it also requires citizens to understand state policies in order for the state to be accountable to the citizens. Education is thus the foundation for effective citizenship and active citizenship. Kelly (2009) alleges that we need to see curriculum as "total curriculum", seeing it beyond a subject and as a totality including content, product, knowledge and process. My own review of curriculum definitions shows that curriculum is a very broad concept and definitions vary. Curriculum can mean an organization of study, but is also referred to as learning orientations and school operation; thus we need a "total" perspective to make learning integrative rather than compartmentalized (Lee, 2008).

Conclusion: kicking off a learning phase of education in Singapore, beyond the thinking phase

The above review of the development of citizenship concepts suggests that most of the citizenship concepts are closely related to socialization processes that are relevant to the need of the times and the contexts where those concepts were born, but conceptual changes take place notwithstanding; most of these concepts are reflective of the times and contexts, and look forward, so we need a future-oriented perspective of citizenship. In this regard, Singapore has boldly adopted this concept when contemplating citizenship and citizenship education for the 21st century, that is, for the future. The acknowledgement about uncertainty, and the certainty in launching it, and the invitation to the public to co-construct the future by the Singapore state has to be congratulated and celebrated.

One major issue about citizenship education is the criticism of indoctrination, and the potential imposition of socialization, but a future-oriented approach is a

forward-looking, proactive and inviting approach, inviting all people to work together for a better future – and this should be the crux of citizenship education. In my past experience of providing teaching training for citizenship teachers, the common questions coming to me were:

- I am not confident in teaching citizenship as I was not trained to do so;
- I am not confident in teaching citizenship as I also do not know whether I am absolutely right, but I need to teach about what's right and wrong.

My reply to these questions was that the problems only arise if we assume we need to teach and we feel we are, or need to be, absolutely right. However, if this is an inviting process – inviting students to work with teachers to plot a better future, and a better society for the future – we need everyone's effort to make the future. On this, a future-oriented perspective and a future-oriented approach will be necessary to make citizenship education constructive.

Another major contribution of the future-oriented citizenship agenda is its invitation for the whole nation to step into a *learning journey*. As much as there is some degree of uncertainty in a future-oriented agenda, there is an a priori uncertainty in learning itself, as it assumes something to be learned, and acquisition of the known as an outcome of learning, and assumes that the outcomes should be worthy to know and worthy to learn. The assumption of learning something forthcoming which is worthy to know and worthy to learn is a leap of faith, but this embarks upon a learning journey for all. The future-oriented approach to citizenship education resonates very well with both the Singapore 21 and the TSLN agenda. On this, what is particularly worth mentioning is that looking at the development of the various subjects of citizenship in the form of National Education and Social Studies shows that a lot of efforts have been made toward shaping the Thinking School and Learning

Nation, but the future-oriented approach actually launches the learning agenda for the future – to learn something to be learned, and to know something yet to be known.

The Learning Pathway is being substantiated by Character and Citizenship Education, which aims to attend to both personal needs on the side of character education and national needs on the side of citizenship education. Character and Citizenship Education is a vehicle for citizenship education for the 21st century, and is embraced by the C2015, in defining 21st century learning outcomes as citizenship attributes in terms of developing confident, self-directed, concerned and active citizens as 21st century learners. The total curriculum approach incorporates the specific citizenship curriculum, the nation-wide C2015 curriculum, the whole-school approach and the whole- society approach. It requires the efforts of the whole school to make citizenship education work, and the whole society's development agenda to provide meanings for citizenship education for visionary development.

The introduction of Character and Citizenship Education and C2015 may mark a second phase of citizenship education in Singapore, the launch into the "learning" phase grounded upon the "thinking" phase. The reform initiatives of the past 10 years can be largely described as preparing thinking schools and thinking students by encouraging criticality and creativity, and this resonates with the "ability-driven" phase of Singapore's education development. I would regard the introduction of Character and Citizenship Education and C2015 as a launch towards the "learning" phase in Singapore's education development.

To prepare for the "learning" phase, especially in terms of citizenship education, my colleagues and I at NIE have recently put forward a few projects funded by the Office of Education Research, one project (by Jasmine Sim, Kim Koh and myself) focusing on preparing teachers to teach citizenship and another (by Ho

Li-Ching and Theresa Alviar) focusing on multicultural citizenship. As 21st century education requires 21st century teachers, future-oriented citizenship education also requires future-oriented citizenship teachers who should be equipped for handling diversity in society as well. NIE wishes to make a contribution to this education agenda by proactively putting effort to walk the learning journey together with the government and the society at large. In time, we will be able to share our research findings and provide suggestions for ways to improve our teaching and learning for citizenship education.

In 2010, Kennedy, Lee and Grossman (2010) solicited examples of pedagogical practices from 13 Asia-Pacific countries. Analysing the pedagogies in the participating countries, we identified multiple modalities of citizenship pedagogies in these countries (see Figure 1). We found that there were significant diversities in teaching adopted in these Asian countries, depending upon the choice of the government, the teachers and even the students. Despite the variation, the choice of the teaching approaches were informed choices, as we found that all of them had access to the international literature and were quite updated in their curriculum development, showing awareness of the different citizenship education approaches available internationally. They made their choices according to their perception of needs and the perception of relevance to their own situations and contexts. However, all nations are struggling with three dimensions of citizenship education, namely, personal, national and global. Nations and their teachers have to attend to a balance of these three dimensions. While there are specific features in each dimension, there can be common features of the three dimensions, and many Asian nations are trying to find the common features in the intersections of the three dimensions, taking into consideration the various concerns, and teaching citizenship in the most feasible way

to students. Reviewing the discourse in citizenship education in Singapore, I am

confident Singapore will have a lot to contribute in citizenship education, as an

outstanding Singapore approach, particularly in putting forward a future-oriented and

total curriculum approach towards citizenship education.

(Insert Figure 1 here)

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Table 1. Definitions of citizenship: Marshall and Crick.

Marshall	Crick
Civil Citizenship	**Social and Moral Responsibility**
Personal liberty and regime of individual rights	Social virtues and a regime of individual responsibilities
Political Citizenship	**Political Literacy**
Political participation and democratic representation	Effective participation in public life and the public sphere
Social Citizenship	**Community Involvement**
State intervention/Welfare state to reduce economic inequalities and increase social justice	Active involvement in the community to revitalize civic networks and associations, in part to offset reduced state involvement

Source: Gamarnikow & Green (1999, p. 116)

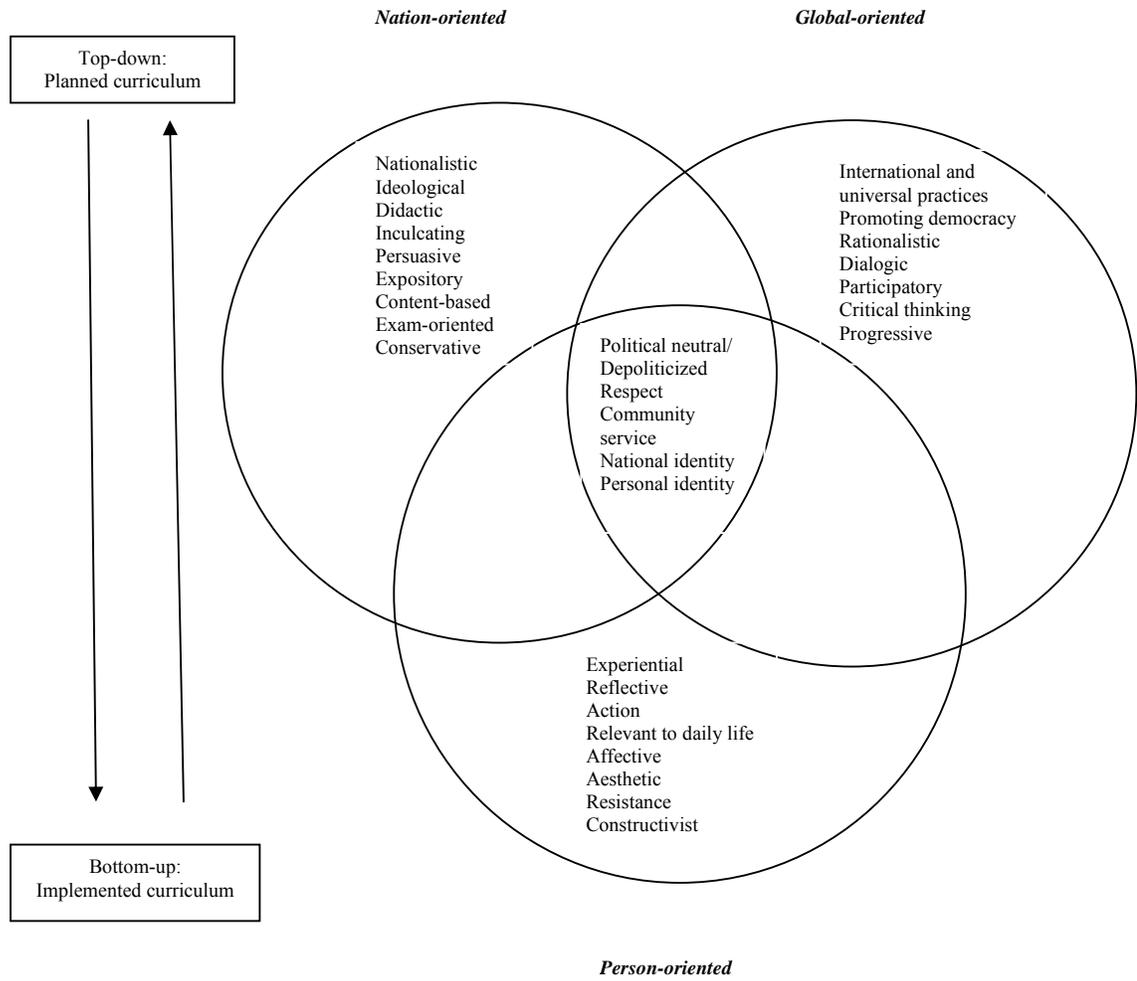Table 2. Multidimensional citizenship.

Personal	A personal capacity for and commitment to a civic ethic characterized by responsible habits of mind, heart, and action
Social	Capacity to live and work together for civic purposes
Spatial	Capacity to see oneself as a member of several overlapping communities − local, regional, national, and multinational
Temporal	Capacity to locate present challenges in the context of both past and future in order to focus on long-term solutions to the difficult challenges we face

Source: Cogan & Derricott (1998)

Table 3. Future-oriented citizenship education articulated in Curriculum 2015 (C2015).

C2015 Student Outcomes	Associated C2015 Skills & Mindsets
Confident Person Thinks independently Communicates effectively Has good inter-personals skills	Thinking skills Communication skills Collaborative skills Interpersonal skills Leadership skills
Self-directed Learner Takes responsibility for own learning Questions, reflects, perseveres Uses technology adeptly	Self-management skills Problem-solving skills Information and media literacies Technological literacy and skills
Concerned Citizen Is informed about world and local affairs Empathizes with and respect others Participates actively	Multicultural literacy Cross-cultural skills Civic literacy
Active Contributor Exercises initiative and takes risks Is adaptable, innovative, resilient Aims for high standards	Planning skills Management and organizational skills Innovative skills

Figure 1. Citizenship pedagogies in Asia-Pacific countries.

Nation-oriented   *Global-oriented*

Top-down:
Planned curriculum

Nationalistic
Ideological
Didactic
Inculcating
Persuasive
Expository
Content-based
Exam-oriented
Conservative

International and
universal practices
Promoting democracy
Rationalistic
Dialogic
Participatory
Critical thinking
Progressive

Political neutral/
Depoliticized
Respect
Community
service
National identity
Personal identity

Experiential
Reflective
Action
Relevant to daily life
Affective
Aesthetic
Resistance
Constructivist

Bottom-up:
Implemented curriculum

Person-oriented

Source: Lee (2008, p. 355)