

Importance of citizenship at national and Global level

What is active citizenship and how is it defined?

This proved a challenging question to answer. The study reveals that:

- The term 'active citizenship' is not yet clearly understood or defined
- Active citizenship is related to shifting notions and definitions of citizenship and citizenship education and its usage is entwined with the progress of citizenship education in INCA countries.
- In many countries the promotion of active citizenship is linked to a more participatory form of citizenship which involves the development of citizenship education as an active process in a range of contexts in and beyond schools.
- Countries promote and support active citizenship for a range of reasons dependent on cultural and historical contexts. This suggests that once the term is more clearly understood it is likely to remain a contested concept.

- There is limited exploration of the conceptual underpinnings of active citizenship and, as a result, a distinct lack of clarity and common understanding of where it has come from and what it means.

The evidence collected in the thematic study suggests that, at present, active citizenship:

- is fundamentally about engagement and participation
- focuses on participation in both civil and civic society
- is increasingly framed in the context of lifelong and life wide learning
- involves the active development of citizenship dimensions not just knowledge and understanding, but skills development and behaviours picked up through experience of participation in a range of contexts
- includes both 'active' and 'passive' elements
- encompasses theoretical approaches to citizenship – liberal, communitarian and civic republican – and ranges from more conformist,

collective actions and behaviours to those that are more individualistic and challenge driven.

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- citizenship as a legal 'status' (USA)
- citizenship as a lever for social cohesion or civic engagement (the Netherlands, Republic of Ireland, Hungary and England)
- citizenship reinforcing a sense of national identity or patriotism (Singapore and Japan).

What is emerging from the data, to date, is a recognition that there is no one universally accepted definition of 'active citizenship', but rather a series of competing emergent definitions.

How is citizenship and active citizenship framed in education policy?

It is clear that there is a range of policy approaches to active citizenship development. Most countries have some policy reference, either implicit or

explicit, to active citizenship. However, the policy references and the development of policy approaches to active citizenship is extremely diverse.

Looking at the definitions and policy approaches across INCA countries indicates active citizenship is approached through citizenship education and in relation to three, core, interrelated elements:

- citizenship concepts
- citizenship components
- citizenship contexts.

Whilst the situation is complex, there would appear to be a relationship between definitions and approaches to citizenship education and those concerning active citizenship. Put simply, this means that in countries with a more holistic approach to citizenship education, active citizenship is coming to be viewed as the process by which an education for citizenship can be made active.

What implementation measures are there to turn citizenship and active

citizenship policies into effective practices?

The practice of developing and delivering active citizenship within and beyond schools is related to a number of issues concerning: learning and teaching; assessment and qualifications; resources; teacher education; inspection, monitoring and evaluation; and citizenship in non-school settings.

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- Learning and teaching - at this stage understanding of the effectiveness of different approaches to the learning and teaching of citizenship is somewhat scant and requires further investigation. It is clear though, that 'active citizenship' can be understood as much in terms of an approach to learning as of young people's participation in school and community life.
- Assessment and qualifications - most countries consider the issue of assessment from the perspective of the availability of accredited courses

and qualifications. On this basis, most indicate that they do not yet have established methods of assessing citizenship education and, in particular, active citizenship – citizenship as an active practice.

- Resources - citizenship practitioners across most INCA countries have the facility to access a wide and diverse range of materials to support their approaches to the learning and teaching of active citizenship. It appears that countries within North, West and Southern Europe, the Commonwealth, and the USA have the potential to access a broader range of (free-market) resources than those in Asian and Eastern European countries such as Japan, Singapore and Hungary.
- Teacher education – three countries (Australia, the Netherlands and USA) report no provision for initial or in-service training of teachers in citizenship education. Across the remaining countries there is more evidence of teacher education. However, the overall picture is one of piecemeal delivery with more of an emphasis on knowledge-based

elements rather than more active elements of citizenship programmes.

There is little evidence of training of young people in relation to

participation and facilitation skills.

- Inspection, monitoring, research and evaluation - nine of the INCA

countries have specific provision for the inspection, monitoring, research

or evaluation, of citizenship education. This reflects the increasing trend

towards some form of statutory citizenship education or civics provision

within most of the responding countries.

- Citizenship in non-school settings - most countries do not have formal

programmes for citizenship learning or activity in the post-compulsory or

adult sectors. In these countries, however, there are many examples of

piecemeal community-based programmes, initiatives and activities

organised by voluntary organisations, NGOs and state bodies. This

indicates that active citizenship is not yet regarded in the context of

lifelong learning in all of the INCA countries.

What are the issues and challenges in turning active citizenship

policy into effective practices?

There are a number of overarching conceptual challenges concerning active citizenship. It would be wrong to assume that all countries necessarily have a clear understanding of what active citizenship is and of how it can be framed

in education policy and then translated into practice.

The degree of policy

reference to education for citizenship, or active citizenship, across and within

countries is extremely varied at present. This reflects the cultural and political

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traditions of different countries, as well as their key motivations for

developing citizenship programmes. Indeed, in certain countries such as the

Netherlands and Japan, though policy related to active citizenship is minimal

or non-existent, practice in these countries is much more clearly developed.

In addition to these conceptual challenges, there are also a range of practical operational factors which pose significant challenges for the development of effective practice in active citizenship. These include challenges related to:

- Learning and teaching. There is currently a diversity of learning and teaching practice across INCA countries, with methods ranging from rote to experiential learning. It is clear that the discussion about 'active citizenship' focuses as much upon encouraging teachers in schools to adopt active learning methodologies, and opportunities for democracy within the classroom (as in the Netherlands, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, for example) as upon creating opportunities for active participation in the school or wider community. However, this goal is some way away from being realised across all the responding countries at present:
- Teacher education. The finding that four countries have practically no

provision of initial, or in-service, teacher training related to citizenship education is a cause for some concern, as the current lack of clarity about the best methods of learning and teaching for active citizenship suggests a strong need for the development of staff, and indeed young people, in this respect. Analysis of the data suggests that countries need to work on a number of aspects of teacher education in order to reinforce citizenship education as an active practice.

- **Assessment.** There remains a requirement for a clearer, shared understanding of the meaning of assessment, which provides scope to recognise young people's achievements in active, as well as knowledge-based, elements of their programmes. It is unclear from questionnaire responses whether assessment is genuinely currently dominated by examination of knowledge-based elements, or whether there are less formal methods of recognising young people's achievements in active

citizenship in place, which have not been identified at this stage. The challenge for many countries is to find ways of assessing those elements of active citizenship which appear difficult to evaluate – skills, dispositions, values and participation for example.

- Resources. There is currently a wealth of information and a range of media upon which countries can draw to develop active citizenship programmes. However, much of this information is produced and presented in an ad hoc fashion, and has not been designed to link specifically with different countries' curriculum documents or programmes of study. The challenge for policy makers and practitioners is to find ways of accessing this information, using it to best effect, and making appropriate use of new media, in particular the Internet, in developing their programmes.

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- Inspection and evaluation. Most inspection and evaluation frameworks, with the exception of those in the Netherlands, do not currently consider active citizenship specifically. This is not surprising given the relative newness of active citizenship practice and terminology across INCA countries, and the fact that, in many countries it is regarded as an integral aspect of a broader concept of citizenship education. A general point however, is that a large number of the countries have inspection or evaluation frameworks in place for citizenship education. It is important that the findings of these inspections be used in a formative way, in order to inform the development of active citizenship practice internationally.
- Post-compulsory linkages. There is currently a plethora of post-compulsory community-based programmes, initiatives and activities organised by states, voluntary organisations and NGOs. These activities tend to have developed in a piecemeal fashion and there is currently no

clear linkage between these and the formal citizenship curriculum within schools, and crucially no apparent sense of active citizenship fitting within a framework for lifelong learning.

How can active citizenship be achieved and what are its outcomes?

The thematic study shows clear signs of emerging policy and practice in relation to active citizenship within many of the INCA countries. However, the analysis also suggests that the definition, policy orientation and development of active citizenship is still in its early stages. There is much yet to be considered, achieved and agreed, if active citizenship is to become firmly embedded within the contexts of the school curriculum, school democratic structures, other education and training establishments and wider communities, and a clearer recognition of its outcomes developed. A number of the challenges to achieving active citizenship and reaching agreement on its outcomes remain to be tackled. These include:

- Definition - Chief amongst the challenges to embedding active citizenship and recognising its outcomes is arriving at an accepted working definition of what it is. Analysis of questionnaire data, and the views of experts from INCA countries, suggest that key to this definition is being clearer about the nature of the relationship between education for citizenship and active citizenship. In particular, there is a need for more detailed consideration of the central question, namely 'To what extent is active citizenship an exposition of education for citizenship?', i.e how far is active citizenship an active process which facilitates the translation of the policy goals of an education for citizenship into effective practices.
- Learning and teaching approach – the challenge of determining the most appropriate learning and teaching approaches for promoting active citizenship. It is clear that 'active citizenship' can be understood as much

in terms of an active approach to learning, as in terms of young people's participation in school and community life, and as such, may extend beyond the citizenship curriculum. Stronger foundations need to be laid in

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many countries and a number of key practical implementation measures addressed, including:

- Testing out and discovering the most effective learning and teaching strategies for developing appropriate knowledge, skills, dispositions and creativity amongst young people, within the parameters of each country's approach to citizenship education and/or active citizenship.
- Developing opportunities for initial and in-service teacher training in citizenship education or active citizenship. It is clear that training needs to be well focused, with a clear expression of the subject's

rationale, aims and objectives. This is key, given the current lack of agreement regarding definitions and understanding of active citizenship and, indeed, education for citizenship, internationally.

Additionally, teacher education should seek to develop effective skills of facilitation, and learning and teaching approaches that will best develop knowledge, skills, dispositions and creativity, and opportunities for active learning and participation, among young people.

□ Exploring the meaning of assessment for active citizenship, and supporting practitioners and young people to find ways of recognising achievements, especially in areas that prove difficult to evaluate: skills, dispositions, values and participation for example. It is important that the relative ease of examining knowledge of civics, and the 'factual' elements of citizenship education, does not detract from the important

task of recognising young people's achievements in terms of skills

development and active participation.

□ Considering whether practitioners and young people need guidance and direction in locating and using relevant resources for active citizenship (in countries which have access to a wide and diverse range of materials), or whether the free market should prevail. Additionally, where possible, attempts should be made by schools to maximise their use of local resources, including agencies offering services to the local community and young people themselves.

□ Creating opportunities for the inspection or evaluation of active citizenship within inspection frameworks for citizenship education or civics. In addition, it is important that the findings of different countries' citizenship/civics inspections be used in a formative way, in order to inform the development of active citizenship practice internationally.

- Considering whether any continuity and progression is to be found between school-based citizenship programmes, and post-compulsory citizenship education.
- Considering the connections between the development of active citizenship within a variety of learning contexts, notably curriculum, extra-curricular, school community and wider communities. This would help to develop a stronger sense of a lifelong learning perspective in citizenship education or active citizenship, and encourage a more 'joined up' or systematic approach to the development of citizenship education policy and practice.

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Outcomes – the challenge of identifying and gaining agreement on the outcomes of an education for citizenship and active citizenship. Analysis of

country responses, and discussion among delegates at the Oxford international seminar, underlines that, at present, the outcomes of an education for active citizenship that involves learning through an active process in a variety of contexts ('active citizenship') are more aspirational and visionary than grounded in the reality of practice. This is to be expected given that these are early days in the development and acceptance of the term 'active citizenship'. The majority of countries are still feeling their way in terms of policy orientation and the development of practice and have given limited consideration to the outcomes of such an education.

Final comment

Perhaps, above all, this second thematic study has underlined the timely nature of the focus on 'active citizenship', or citizenship as an active practice. This is a coming development in many countries and is also being picked up and explored by supra-national organisations such as the European

Commission, Council of Europe and International Association for Educational Achievement (IEA). However, the study has shown that the concept and practice of active citizenship is often neither as active a practice in reality nor as easily defined in relation to citizenship as might be envisaged.

What is clear is that the development and promotion of active citizenship is still in its infancy. There is considerably more development work and conceptual underpinning that needs to take place in order that stronger foundations can be laid for embedding it in policy and practice and beginning to identify and measure its outcomes. This thematic study represents one such contribution to this underpinning. It is hoped that the outcomes will prove useful not only to those countries that participated but to all those with an interest in this area.

Introduction

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1. Introduction

The INCA2 thematic study on active citizenship, of which this report is the final outcome, was commissioned by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority in England (QCA) in May 2005. QCA is interested in revisiting the topic of citizenship education, and specifically ‘active citizenship’, following considerable developments in policy and practice in this area both in England and in the UK, Europe and the wider world, since the first INCA thematic study on citizenship education was undertaken by NFER some eight years ago (Kerr, 1999).

In England, in particular, the introduction of citizenship as a statutory new National Curriculum subject for all students aged 11 to 16 in 2002 (QCA,

1999), the promotion of a pilot programme of citizenship development projects in 16 to 19 education and training (Craig, et al, 2004) and an emphasis on promoting active citizenship in local communities (Woodward, 2004) has succeeded in broadening the nature and scope of the discussion about the most effective policies and practices concerning citizenship education. Recent policy developments in England are replete with references to promoting active citizenship – citizenship as an active process. Indeed in its latest report on the progress of citizenship in schools and colleges in England, OFSTED talks about citizenship promoting “critical democracy” in which young people are educated to be ‘critical and active citizens’ (OFSTED, 2006). However, there are still many unanswered questions as to the meaning and implications of such policy directives for evolving practice.³ As OFSTED note ‘it is the active elements that make citizenship new and challenging’ (OFSTED, 2006 p. 8). Given this context, revisiting citizenship

education, with a particular focus on 'active citizenship' is very timely for QCA.

A consideration of the meaning, purpose and practice of active citizenship is also timely for other countries involved in the INCA network and dovetails with on-going developments in citizenship and human rights education across the world. For example, The Council of Europe designated 2005 the European Year of Citizenship through Education (Council of Europe, 2004), with a

2 International review of curriculum and assessment frameworks internet archive.

3 For further details about the development of active citizenship policy and practice in England see the Background Paper to the thematic study. It provides a case-study example of active citizenship development in England (Nelson and Kerr, 2005).
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strong emphasis on promoting and strengthening education for democratic

citizenship (EDC). Additionally, the European Commission has launched a new programme of activities entitled Citizens for Europe to run from 2007 to 2013 to promote active European citizenship. The Commission has also set up an expert working group to investigate how indicators for active citizenship can be produced across Europe that feed into the follow up to the Lisbon process from 2010⁴. Meanwhile, at international level, the United Nations (UN) Decade on Human Rights is on going and being strengthened by a new programme on human rights education. There are also efforts to promote sustainable development initiatives as part of a push on the global dimension of citizenship. Finally, the IEA has recently announced plans for a third study on Civics and Citizenship Education (ICCS) to run from 2006 to 2010⁵. The study will investigate, among other things, how well young people are prepared to undertake their roles and responsibilities as active citizens both in school and in the wider communities to which they belong. These

developments underline just how much QCA in England, and those involved in the INCA network from other countries, can learn from this thematic study.

The current thematic study on active citizenship is made up of four main processes and outcomes. It comprises:

1. A background paper. Published in 2005, this paper summarises relevant literature in relation to active citizenship, and provides a case-study example of active citizenship policy and practice within England in the UK. It was disseminated to the INCA network in September 2005, along with a questionnaire, designed by the EURYDICE Unit at NFER and QCA, asking INCA representatives to provide details on active citizenship policy and practice within their countries (Nelson and Kerr, 2005).
2. An issues paper. Produced early in 2006, this paper summarises questionnaire responses received from INCA network country

representatives. There are 20 countries in the INCA network, 11 of whom, at the time of writing, had responded to the questionnaire. It was disseminated to the INCA network in February 2006 (Nelson and Kerr, 2006).

3. An international seminar. This took place in Oxford, England in March 2006, hosted by QCA and NFER. It provided an opportunity for country representatives from 13 INCA countries to meet, share views and experiences of active citizenship, and to consider developments that needed to take place in order for active citizenship policy and practice to develop internationally. The outcomes of this seminar are interwoven into this final report (see Annexes A and B for details of the Oxford seminar programme, and delegate list respectively).

4 For more details visit:

http://www.farmweb.jrc.cec.eu.int/CRELL/active_citizenship.htm

5 For more information about ICCS visit:

<http://www.iea.nl/icces.htm>

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4. A final report (the current document). This report draws on data collected through the questionnaire survey of INCA countries in 2005 and 2006, and on discussions and key findings arising from the international seminar in March 2006. Fourteen countries responded to the questionnaire - Australia, Canada, England, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Scotland, Singapore, Spain, the USA and Wales, and there was additional representation from one country, Italy, at the Oxford seminar. The report seeks to provide answers, as far as possible, to the five key questions around which the study is based. These are outlined below.

The first INCA thematic study on citizenship education (Kerr, 1999) helped to enrich understanding about education for citizenship at a time when

participating countries, including England, were either just about to begin, or had just begun to undertake, major reforms in this area. These reforms were part of a broader revision of education and national curricula. Since then developments in citizenship education have moved on apace, and the evidence base that can be drawn upon to assess the development of citizenship education across INCA countries, is a great deal stronger than in the 1990s (<http://www.iea.nl/icces.html>; Birzea, et al, 2004; Ireland, et al, 2006, Maes, 2006).

One of the major developments since the late 1990s has been a growing interest in the concept of 'active citizenship' and an emphasis on its promotion through policy and practice in a variety of contexts. However, although 'active citizenship' is a frequently mentioned goal, or desired outcome, of citizenship at national, regional and international levels, understanding of what it is, and experience of how it can be developed effectively, is still evolving within and

across these contexts. There are a number of issues that remain to be explored.

In particular, though, 'active citizenship' forms part of a new language of citizenship in the 21st century:

- What are the roots of this new language?
- What are its conceptual underpinnings and the drivers that spur on its promotion?
- What implications does the promotion of active citizenship have for policy and practice within and across countries?

This report seeks to provide answers to some of these issues by addressing five key questions. These questions are those which the QCA, in dialogue with NFER researchers, deemed to be of most interest in exploring the theme of active citizenship, and learning from developments in INCA countries. The questions are as follows:

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- What is active citizenship and how is it defined?

- How is citizenship and active citizenship framed in education policy?
- What implementation measures are there to turn citizenship and active citizenship policies into effective practices?
- What are the issues and challenges in turning active citizenship policy into effective practices?
- How can active citizenship be achieved and what are its outcomes?

The chapters that follow consider each of these questions in turn, and seek to provide some insights into active citizenship definitions, policies, practices and outcomes. The short final chapter attempts to sum up what has been learnt from this thematic study.

The report is evidence based, in that the models proposed, and conclusions reached, have been drawn from data provided by responding INCA countries.

Some of this data was provided through questionnaire returns, whilst other data has been derived from discussions at the International Seminar, held in

Oxford, England, in March 2006. A range of relevant literature relating to active citizenship has also been drawn upon. Where the information under discussion has been drawn from one source specifically, this is made clear in the report. However, where it was presented through both questionnaire responses, and seminar discussion, as was often the case, references to 'data' should be taken to mean information provided through more than one source.

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2. What is active citizenship and how is it defined?

This fundamental question lies at the heart of this thematic study. It is hoped that the report will help to identify a conceptual framework underpinning the

development of active citizenship and that such a framework will, in turn, lead to greater clarity in terms of the aims and purposes assigned to active citizenship. Chapter 3 that follows provides fuller details of countries' definitions and approaches to 'active citizenship' within policy documentation. The purpose of this chapter is to take a step back from the detail and, instead, begin to explore the contexts for, and drivers of, active citizenship and to identify the activities which comprise active citizenship and which influence how it is defined within and across INCA countries.

To this end, and drawing on the outcomes of the wider literature reviewed in the Background Paper (Nelson and Kerr, 2005), the questionnaire responses from INCA countries (Annexe C shows the questionnaire to which international experts responded) and delegates' inputs into the international seminar in March 2006 (see Annexe A for the seminar programme and

specific questions), the chapter seeks to accomplish three specific tasks. These are to:

- set the context and outline the key drivers that are bringing an increasing emphasis on active citizenship in the development of policy and practice in countries
- identify and categorise some of the principal actions and behaviours that comprise active citizenship
- begin to explore the interplay of drivers and factors that influence the ways in which active citizenship is defined within and across INCA countries.

This chapter, therefore, provides valuable background to a deeper consideration of the exploration of policy documentation concerning active citizenship in Chapter 3.

Before attempting to outline the key drivers for active citizenship it is worth making a few general observations about the challenges posed in this thematic

study of participating countries and respondents understanding and defining the term 'active citizenship'. For example, initial questionnaire responses

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received from the 14 participating countries and discussions at the Oxford Seminar indicated that the term 'active citizenship' is currently not clearly defined or understood. A number of countries did not explicitly recognise the term, whilst others referred to it, but with very different interpretations and meanings, as well as differing degrees of emphasis (as outlined in Chapter 3, sections 3.1 to 3.3). Many of the countries sent through details of the policy and practices of citizenship education in response to questions about active citizenship.

This is a crucial finding. The responses suggest that the notion of active citizenship is conceived currently, in most countries, as entwined with the

progress of citizenship education. The documentation received reveals the growing promotion of active citizenship linked to an emphasis in many countries on a more participatory form of citizenship that involves the development of citizenship education as an active process. It also highlights the spread of this active process to a range of contexts radiating out from schools and encompassing homes, local neighbourhoods and wider communities at national, regional and international level.

The thematic study has also shown that, at present, there is limited exploration of the conceptual underpinnings of active citizenship and, as a result, a distinct lack of clarity and common understanding of where it has come from and what it means. Such exploration is beginning to emerge through the work of supra-national bodies such as the European Commission, (Dr Weend et al., 2005; Eurydice, 2006) in partnership with the Council of Europe and the IEA, as

well as that of researchers (Kennedy, 2006; Jochum et al., 2005). This thematic study is a contribution to such exploration. However, it is clear from this study that it will take some time before there is understanding and common agreement of the definition and meaning of active citizenship.

Though many participating countries promote, and respondents support, active citizenship they appear to do so for a range of reasons. This finding came through very clearly in the Oxford Seminar. It suggests that active citizenship, once it is more clearly understood, is likely to be as contested a concept as that of citizenship. It is also likely to encompass a multitude of meanings and emphases dependent on cultural and historical contexts.

2.1 Context and drivers of active citizenship

The first thematic study in citizenship undertaken in the late 1990s (Kerr, 1999) underlined the important role of context and culture in understanding

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aims and approaches to citizenship education. This finding still holds true in this second thematic study in relation to active citizenship. This is because approaches to and definitions of active citizenship are related to shifting notions and definitions of citizenship and citizenship education across countries. Researchers and commentators have expanded at length on the tensions facing the traditional concept of citizenship as defined in relation to the nation state (Held, 1989; Kymlicka, 2001, Osler and Starkey, 2003). These tensions arise as the notion of citizenship is revisited and revised in response to the rapid pace of change in modern society.

A fundamental part of this review is centred on an acceptance of the changing nature of the relationship between citizens and the state. The literature often draws a distinction between three particular theoretical approaches to

citizenship – liberal, communitarian and civic republican (see Jochum et al., 2005). While distinct in their conceptions of and starting-points for citizenship, the changing nature of the relationship between citizens and the state is beginning to establish clearer links between these three traditions. This is because citizenship in the 21st century is increasingly becoming defined not just in relation to citizenship as a status (historically status in relation to the nation-state) but also crucially in relation to citizenship as an active practice. The relentless pace of change is beginning to pose serious questions about the nature of participation in modern society and, in particular, about how citizens participate in civic and civil society. Increasing interest and action in encouraging people to view citizenship as both a status and an active practice explains the growing interest in the notion of ‘active citizenship’.

So what has caused this dual emphasis to take place? There are a number of

reasons but perhaps the main two are: first the response of countries to the impact of rapid global change on society and second, interrelated changes in the role and practice of education. Each of these reasons is explored in turn.

The first citizenship thematic study observed that citizenship education developments were closely linked to ‘a concern in many countries about how to respond to a period of unprecedented global change’ (Kerr, 1999, p.11) and provided a list of the key challenges at the time namely:

- rapid movement of people within and across national boundaries
- growing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities
- collapse of political structures and the birth of new ones
- changing role of women in society
- impact of the global economy and changing patterns of work

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- effect of a revolution in information and communication technologies (ICT)
- increasing global population
- creation of new forms of community (Kerr, 1999, p.12).

Interestingly, this list of key challenges remains highly relevant at the start of the new century and can be supplemented by the growing challenges now posed by environmental/climate change, random acts of terrorism across the world and concerns about the continued sharp downturn in participation in civic society, particularly among younger generations. Though many of the challenges remain the same as in the late 1990s they have been exacerbated by the relentless pace of change facing modern societies.

While accepting that there are many positives for individuals