

RECONCILING SELF-INTEREST AND ETHICS: THE ROLE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPIL COUNCILS

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ABSTRACT

The renewed focus on values in education and the need for the democratization of school systems has been accompanied by a widening of the perception of enterprise in education, with the implication that existing 'enterprising' approaches may lend themselves to the expression of citizenship education. But can the possible tensions between these two agendas be reconciled and, if so, how can teachers respond to this in practical terms? This article reports on new research emerging from a small sample of Scottish primary school pupil councils. The way in which teachers and pupils in these schools perceive the aims and purposes of these councils is explored, and the potential for linking aspects of individual enterprise with communitarianism is analysed. The research raises new questions about the potential for apparently opposing educational dichotomies to be harmonised, and a 'Third Way' between capital and welfare to be reflected in educational practice.

INTRODUCTION

One result of the 1980s — Thatcherism in Britain — characterized the presence of individualism in society. This was increasingly drawn to the attention of educationalists. Thatcher's infamous assertion that there was 'no such thing as society' was accompanied by a focus on enterprise and personal gain, and an increased focus on the need for children to leave school with a sound understanding of what industry and commerce had to offer (Watts, 1984). The 1988 Education Reform Act subsequently made provision for education to become more responsive to the needs of business and industry and, as a result, by the end of the 1980s the enterprise agenda reached the world of education. One focus in primary schools took the form of business-related projects where pupils worked in teams to create, market and sell a product for a financial profit and learn about the key concepts of a business and how it operates.

More recently, the development of the enterprise agenda has been accompanied by an increasing sense of renewal in the debate about 'citizenship education' in schools. The Advisory Group on Citizenship's (1998) recommendations and the selection of citizenship education as one of the cross curricular themes for the English national curriculum has been set against a backdrop of political and constitutional development: the establishment of a Scottish Parliament, a Welsh Assembly and an elected mayor for London has been accompanied by increased awareness of the 1990 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the need for more participative approaches to school organisation. However, the low voting figures in the British general election of 2001 (the lowest since 1918) provoked comments about young people's apparent disengagement with formal politics and the democratic processes of public life (Oliver and Heater, 1994; Humes, 2002; Deuchar, 2004).

In Scotland, the publication of Learning and Teaching (LT) Scotland's (2002) discussion and development document on citizenship has highlighted the potential links between enterprise and citizenship, and implied the need for an educational agenda based on an equal focus on rights and responsibilities. Although the emphasis seems to have moved to more of an enterprise model based on social improvement underpinned by civic values, one can also note the continued emphasis on economic restoration (Loxley and Thomas, 2001). This has been confirmed by the Scottish Executive's (2003) response to the recent publication of their own sub-group's

Determined To Succeed document, where they stress the need for young people to recognise the contribution they can make to both society and the economy.

This framing of enterprise somewhere on a continuum between social responsibility and economic restoration has been a repercussion of New Labour's attempts to find a 'Third Way' between capital and welfare, and its drive to reconcile seemingly opposing principles. Fairclough (2000) reflects upon this discourse:

The phrase "not only... but also" pervades the political discourse of New Labour in a variety of expressions... which both draws attention to assumed incompatibilities, and denies them. It is a rhetoric of denial of expectations – things are not as they have been thought to be. (Fairclough, 2000:10)

The reconciliation of enterprise *and* fairness is one example of this (Fairclough, 2000), and the emphasis on both of these priorities is currently seen as important in education.

MORALS, ETHICS AND INDIVIDUALISM IN EDUCATION

The recent increased urgency about the need for a focus on ethics and morality in education has been related to the perceived moral breakdown in society, and the apparent erosion of values among young people (Totterdell, 2000). Indeed, Lasch (1995) refers to the fact that many young people seem to be morally at sea, failing to grasp the idea that values imply a form of moral obligation. He observes that many young people 'insist they owe nothing to "society" – an abstraction that dominates their attempts to think about social and moral issues' (p.80). Indeed, Totterdell describes the times in which we live with reference to an ephemeral, self-obsessed culture:

...the change-rich factor seems to increase exponentially and our demographics become ever more liquid. The result is the culture of the transitory, the momentary; a lust for immediate gratification, a universal concern with self... (Totterdell, 2000:130)

As such, the teaching of moral education and values has become increasingly recognised as the responsibility of schools (Covell and Howe, 2001). And yet, others have argued that personal ambition, individualism and egocentric attitudes may not be completely divorced from the need to develop ethics and values in education. Goggin (2003) poses a challenging and stimulating debate in relation to this:

Self-interest is far from being an enemy of a more conventional way of thinking morally. (Goggin, 2003:67)

While moralists may despair over the apparent collapse of the duty ethic in modern society, Goggin questions their right to assume that 'duty is the only starting-point for morality.' (Goggin, 2003:68). He argues that morality would, in fact, have no purpose if it did not connect at some point with human interests, and that individual decisions about lifestyle and human well-being may lead to the development of a range of values, such as fairness, thoughtfulness and consideration of others. In short, self-interest can be a catalyst for developing a broad set of principles and values (Goggin, 2003). This view has been endorsed by Covell and Howe (2001:31), who argue that there may be 'a contagious effect in which learning about one's own rights results in support for the rights of others'.

It seems, then, that the perceived breakdown of social principles and values among young people has led to a renewed focus on ethics and moral education in schools. At first glance this focus may be in direct conflict with individualism and the development of self-interest and freedom. However, recent research suggests that concentrating pupils' ideas on self may be a useful catalyst for enhancing their interest in wider values. The conjoining of rights education and individualistic principles with communitarian and collectivist views of society may be a constructive way of enhancing the values and attitudes needed for a 21st century society.

PUPIL COUNCILS AS A MEANS OF CREATING THE ACTIVE CITIZEN

The reconciling of these apparently competing educational agendas requires that pupils not only *understand* democracy but also *live* it (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004). Richardson (1996) underlines the need for pupils to acquire formal knowledge of human rights, a felt sense of identity and the action skills to claim a place in society, and this is reflected in Starkey's (1987) 'thinking, feeling and doing' model (Osler and Starkey, 1996:85). Cognisant of these priorities is the Advisory Group on Citizenship's (1998) vision for the need for three inter-related priorities: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. In short, pupils should learn about socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom and the skills and values needed to make themselves effective in public life (Kerr, 1999).

Indeed, articles 12 to 15 of the UN Convention on The Rights of The Child affirms children's right to freedom of expression and the freedom to form associations. In Scotland, Learning and Teaching Scotland (2002) have recommended the use of pupil councils as a vehicle for the expression of active citizenship and democratic participation in schools. Pupil councils have, indeed, been long recognised as an effective vehicle for enabling the expression of thoughtful and active citizenship. Dobie (1998) argues that these councils can play a huge role in the process of encouraging pupils to have a sense of ownership in the life of the school community. Through participating in such councils, pupils can develop a range of attributes, which includes 'speaking up on behalf of others, listening to and taking account of other points of view, working as part of a team and taking responsibility for decision-making' (Dobie, 1998:72). Baginsky and Hannam (1999:*iii*) develop this further when they argue that the use of school councils can be a very effective means for signalling to students that they are respected and that 'their capacity to contribute to the task of school improvement is recognised.' Further, Taylor and Johnson (2002:2) argue that, in its widest sense, pupil councils can contribute to the development of pupils' social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy – 'thereby in one strategy addressing the three main strands of citizenship education.'

However, it is essential that school councils amount to being more than merely tokenistic. Baginsky and Hannam highlight the fact that the agendas associated with many school councils tend not to roam far outside the 'charmed circle of lockers, dinners and uniform' (1999:*iii*). They call for wider issues to be discussed that involve the pupils in genuine discussion and debate over serious educational issues, guided by the creation of a democratic climate in which teachers and pupils feel comfortable collaborating over such issues.

So, in recognising the need for encouraging education for the 'active' citizen as a means of encouraging ethics, morals and values, pupil councils sit high on the agenda. Much of the research into these councils has suggested the potential for emerging values and qualities, including teamwork, decision-making and representing other people's views. In so doing, the Advisory Group's (1998) recommended outcomes for citizenship can be easily addressed. However, questions remain over the type of current educational practice that surrounds school councils. Research suggests some tokenistic practice, where school staff pay lip-service to pupils' views and suggestions or where serious issues are sidestepped and the school hierarchy remains unchallenged. Even where good practice exists, it is unclear whether pupils may have opportunities to engage in and practice individual enterprise and determination as well as more communitarian values. Davies, *et al.*, (2001) highlight the tensions involved here when they pose a highly philosophical but pertinent question:

Teachers and schools are expected to play an essential transformative role in developing pupils' attitudes towards being competitive and enterprising

and towards developing civic values... can one, at the same time, be wholly competitive and wholly civic-minded? (Davies, *et al.*, 2001, p.261)

Davies, *et al.*, challenge the assumption that morality and enterprise may not be compatible, and suggest that democracy is perhaps itself an example of competition or enterprise. However, in the day-to-day realities of schools with so many national priorities and initiatives, teachers may find themselves in a state of dysfunction that Gardner, *et al.* (2001:30) describe as 'anomie', whereby 'nobody any longer knows the right thing to do'. On the one hand, teachers may fear becoming too political and economic in their approach in case of criticism from conservatives, but may also fear becoming too moral in case of hostility from radicals (Humes, 2002; Deuchar, 2004).

THE RESEARCH

As part of a larger research project examining the connections between enterprise in education and education for citizenship, a sample of ten schools was selected by a combination of information from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE), local and national publicity materials and the database of the Centre for Studies in Enterprise, Career Development & Work at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow. From this wider sample, the researcher formed a smaller sample of five schools which were known to have well-established pupil councils. The schools were selected from different local education authorities and were set within a range of socio-economic backgrounds. While several of the schools were set within highly affluent and more rural areas, others were located within socially deprived, inner-city settings. In addition, pupil populations varied in their ethnicity; while one school contained a high proportion of ethnic-minority pupils, others consisted of predominantly white pupil populations.

The author was involved in visiting one pupil council meeting in each school, where a semi-structured observation schedule was used for gathering data under key headings, based on categories used in previous research by Taylor and Johnson (2002). The aims were to explore the way in which pupil members represented the school population, the type of items discussed and style of interaction, as well as pupils' and teachers' perceived aims and learning gains. Since pupils were to be active participants in the research, local education authority and headteacher consent was followed up by seeking the permission of parents to allow pupils to be observed and interviewed. In addition, individual pupils were informed of the nature of the research in advance.

During visits to meetings, the researcher found the most popular topics by far related to the school playground, where pupils were involved in discussion about new recreational games, ways of improving the playground and making it more attractive and environmentally friendly. Their discussions also gravitated towards the more controversial area of social conflict, with issues relating to bullying and ways of improving the quality of co-operation in the playground frequently on the agenda. In addition, pupils were also often involved in discussing ways of improving school amenities, and ensuring that items remained in working order. A great deal of time was also spent on talking about opportunities for fundraising, where children could be involved in carrying out activities that would help them raise money for charity. In one school, pupils were involved in drawing up a statement of 'shared values' in the local community, working alongside teachers, parents, community members and other pupil committees in school. This later formed the basis of the school's new 'code of conduct', drawn up collaboratively by pupils and teachers.

There appeared to be representation from all year groups in all councils, although the nature of this representation varied. While some meetings consisted of the meeting of representatives from primary 1 to primary 7 classes, others brought together a

range of pupils from primary 4–7 only, whereby some children liaised with infant classes and attempted to represent the younger pupils' views. This was achieved through older pupils regularly visiting an allocated infant class in order to gauge their views and opinions on school issues and to provide feedback from the outcomes of meetings. Although a teacher-leader (usually the headteacher, but sometimes a class teacher) was always present, pupils generally appeared to be free to express opinions, although professional courtesies were upheld via the use of formal agendas.

During meetings, teacher-leaders tended to guide pupils in their thinking and encouraged them to reflect upon the feasibility of pupil suggestions and responses. One observation of teacher/pupil interactions recorded in the researcher's field notes represents a common strategy:

HT facilitates discussion and thinking, here; she encourages pupils to think about and reflect upon peers' suggestions for fundraising – are they good ideas? Feasible? Workable? (Field notes, school A)

Although the pupils often appeared to take the lead in discussions, teacher-leaders also made suggestions and on rare occasions blocked pupil ideas on grounds of health and safety. An example of this was where pupils were keen to have swings erected in the school playground, but the headteacher had to point out to the pupils the dangers that may be involved and the reasons why the idea lacked feasibility. Pupils appeared to cope well with recognising the limitations of their power to initiate all the changes that they would like, and compromise was often the key here as this typical scenario illustrates:

Pupils would like football nets, but HT explains that they could be a magnet for people coming in to vandalise... Pupils suggest that the school could buy a hut for the nets, and the children could put them away every night. HT agrees to this. (Field notes, school C)

Observation of teacher-leaders' facilitating styles during meetings illustrated varying degrees of democratic participation. Some teachers tended to direct the discussion through providing information or making suggestions themselves. Others were more driven by the pupil voice, and used pupil suggestions boxes as the basis of the whole meeting's agenda. With reference to Hart's (1997:41) 'ladder of children's participation', the differing degrees of initiation and collaboration here seemed to affect the ethos of meetings to a degree. Where the agenda for change was guided more through pupils' representation of school-wide views, meetings followed a 'child-initiated' model where decisions were shared with adults. In meetings where discussion was directed more by the teacher-leader, the ethos became one where pupils were consulted and informed, but where decisions were still initiated by adults (Hart, 1997).

In some contexts, agendas lent themselves to liaising with other pupil associations, such as eco-school committees, playground and litter committees and improvement groups, as well as key staff members. Decisions were often made by collective agreement, or occasionally by means of a vote if disagreement arose. Decisions were fed back to the wider school via school assemblies or smaller class meetings. In all cases, minutes were recorded by pupil members although the methods for allocating this particular responsibility varied; in some schools, one pupil acted as 'secretary' all year, while in others the duty was rotated around the older members of the council.

The practice observed here, along with the range of topics that were discussed during the council meetings, appeared to lend itself to many of the recommended outcomes of citizenship contained within LT Scotland's (2002:34) discussion and development document. Pupils appeared to display an ability to 'research, discuss and share information about social, political and community issues' through their concern for the school's amenities, and their commitment towards improving the ethos

within the playground and wider school. Their concern to tackle bullying and ensure that social inclusion was high on the agenda illustrated the way in which the school councils were also enabling pupils to explore more controversial social issues.

The pupils were able to 'contribute to debates and discussion in ways that are both assertive and respectful of others' contributions'; although pupils were generally free to contribute opinions, they were also mindful of other people's viewpoints through the following of a set agenda, often informed by the views of the wider school. In addition, the observed sessions appeared to enable pupils to work 'in pursuit of one's own needs and purposes and those of communities'; individual rights were being upheld by giving pupils a voice, but their discussion clearly focused on the needs of the school and ways of working towards solutions that could benefit the school population and the local community at large. The facilitating nature of the teacher-leaders represented varying degrees of enabling pupil participation in decision-making; while some teachers tended to share decisions with pupils, others encouraged children to initiate those decisions themselves. In both cases, teachers were open to compromise and appeared to encourage pupils to learn about the potential and limitations of devolved decision-making in schools.

However, the observed sessions primarily suggested that the focus of debate tended not to move out of the 'charmed circle' of topics referred to by Baginsky and Hannam (1999). In the majority of schools, discussion of larger, serious educational issues, such as school development planning, teaching approaches or even staff appointments, was conspicuous by its absence on pupil council agendas. This, in part, seemed to be a reflection of the genuine interests and concerns of pupils, who were most concerned with improving the school playground and amenities. However, in one school where the pupil council was very well-established and worked almost as a steering group alongside a range of other pupil committees, pupils appeared to be more involved in the creation of school policy and the setting of social and behavioural values.

TEACHER-LEADERS' VIEWS

Follow-up interviews were conducted with the five teacher-leaders responsible for facilitating and guiding the meetings in the case-study schools, in order to identify the rationale underpinning the school councils. In describing the aims of the pupil council, many teachers focused on the need for the pupil voice and devolved decision-making in schools:

Children feel that there is a forum to have an opinion listened to, and that it is valid and they see change happening as a result.

Teachers described how pupils became involved in the pupil councils through the process of elections, which included differing degrees of political formality in different school settings. As such, some teachers saw the worth of the council experience in providing pupils with appropriate political and social knowledge, while others saw the potential for developing aspects of negotiation and debate:

Making pupils aware of the idea of pressure groups and debating skills are the key aims.

I like to show them that nothing is compulsory for children... The ethos is that kids are invited to raise an issue and re-raise it... no one is going to say, "shut up, you've already raised that".

While some teachers felt that the work of the pupil council should primarily allow scope for enabling pupils to focus on social and moral issues, others felt that it should also be linked to enterprise, and that pupils should gain experience of the business elements of budgeting and risk-taking:

It's important to talk about budgets, reality, feasibility... there is risk involved... and the children experience confidence and pride in achieving things.

I ask the pupil council members to take their ideas to the Playground Improvement Group and sell them: they have to think about – why should they give you £4000?

Here, we see the diversity of intended outcomes that teachers may hold in their minds in establishing a primary school pupil council. On the one hand, many may focus their outcomes on pupil rights and the need for the pupil voice in participative decision-making and community involvement. Within this, others may incorporate the need for social and moral responsibility in enabling pupils to relate their decisions to aspects of fairness and justice. However, the range of responses here indicates that teachers may also relate the work of the pupil council to elements of competitiveness and enterprise on a more individualistic level. This may arise from encouraging pupils to liaise with a range of other school committees and to become involved in discussion that revolves around business-related themes, such as budgeting, negotiating and even bartering, while still incorporating cooperative approaches to learning.

COUNCIL MEMBERS' VIEWS

Group interviews were conducted with samples of between five and ten pupils from each of the pupil councils studied, with a view to determining members' views on the aims and purposes behind the councils and the learning that may emerge from their involvement in the work of the council. Thus, a total of around half of the sixty participating council members were asked to share their views. Participants were chosen in order to provide a gender balance (twenty boys and fifteen girls were interviewed), and a range of age-groups from primary 1-7. In defining the aims, many pupils saw the council as a means of improving the school and helping the members of its community, as the following responses show:

To improve things... try and get better things for the playground... try and stop fighting in the playground... making the school better and having different things done ... making pupils happy but safe... make disabled people comfortable at school.

Other pupils felt that the council provided them with a means of achieving their own rights of participation, realising personal needs and wants and enabling them to fulfil these, which may involve handling money:

It's so as the pupils get ideas listened to... to see people's views... making the pupils happy; they can get what they want... to get jobs done on a budget.

When asked which parts of the pupil council they found most enjoyable, some pupils related this to the pride they had experienced in seeing school improvement as a result of their decisions:

I enjoy talking about improving things in the playground... setting up competitions... I feel like I'm helping things get better.

It's good – if people are coming up about something they really want changed, they really look up to you.

While some pupils also felt that the council provided them with an opportunity to escape from the normal classroom routine, others felt that they sometimes missed out on other, enjoyable aspects of school or that school council duties added additional pressure when they returned to class:

The first time we had football, we had to go to a pupil council meeting.

People come up to you and say “I want this and that”... it’s boring, with everybody shouting at you.

You have to do the minutes – it takes up a lot of your time.

Sometimes you leave a meeting and (teacher) says ‘if you don’t finish your work by 3, you have to take it home.’

When asked about what they had learned in the pupil council, and how this may help them in later life, pupils’ views were extremely enlightening. The most common type of skills highlighted by pupils as emerging from their experience with pupil councils included discussion, responsibility, representing other people’s views and teamwork skills. In identifying how such learning may assist them as adults, pupils displayed a range of reflective thinking:

You will know how to discuss or look out for people that are older or younger than you, and can work towards what they want.

Funerals, weddings and parties... you’ve got to arrange things.

How to vote for a Party like the Labour or Tory Party.

When I grow up I want to be a psychologist so I will be helping and serving others.

If you work in government you should know how to make proposals.

These pupils’ views appeared to fall into several categories. Many pupils appeared to identify learning experiences that related to promoting the rights and welfare of others and empathising with other people’s perspectives. Some pupils appeared to relate their experience in pupil councils to a growing awareness of human rights and related social responsibilities, incorporating the development of decision-making skills that may enable them to respond to individual and societal needs and wants. Others felt that they were becoming equipped with the experience they may need in order to become engaged in the political structures and processes of a democratic society.

These learning experiences clearly relate well to the Advisory Group’s (1998) recommendation for community involvement, political literacy and values. However, as well as satisfying many of the recommended outcomes of the citizenship agenda, the pupils also identified specific links with more individualistic learning relating to enterprise and education for work. Many pupils clearly felt that the experience they were gaining through these councils may be equipping them with individual competences such as confidence, assertiveness, communication skills, the ability to engage in debate and to make business propositions, as well as equipping them with a sense of pride in their own achievements.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The observation of practice within each of these primary school pupil councils illustrated some sound democratic values. In each of the case study settings, pupils’ views throughout the school were represented via elections to council and the use of balloting of school-wide views often enabled the full engagement of the pupil population. Pupils experienced freedom of expression, but were facilitated by teachers to reflect upon issues and consider feasibility of ideas. Teacher-leaders’ facilitating style did vary, and in some instances the teacher voice tended to be the loudest, whereas in other cases it was the pupils that were the leaders in discussion and decision-making. However, even where teachers led the discussion it was clear that the practice observed still matched the ‘participation’ end of Hart’s (1997) ladder; pupils were still consulted, and their views were still treated seriously.

The topics for debate, although limited, lent themselves to pupil interests and also enabled discussion to centre around aspects of social responsibility, community involvement and improvement. Although the teachers' vision for these councils centred around the need for enhancing pupils' awareness of social justice, fairness, morals and ethics, they also related the creation of the councils to the need for pupil rights of participation, and equipping members with the political knowledge necessary to take an active role in society. In addition, their perceived aims for the councils often included the need for pupils to engage in many of the processes relating more to personal ambition, social criticism and activism, risk-taking and individual enterprise.

The pupil members also appeared to view the purpose of the councils in a generic sense. While much of their vision centred around social improvement, many pupils also saw the need for realising their own goals. They also saw their learning gains framed within a language of reconciliation, with opportunities for becoming more experienced in helping and serving others but also developing individual experience that would allow them to fulfil personal ambitions. With this learning came perceived socialisation, interaction, as well as pride and honour in realising goals and recognising achievements. However, involvement in pupil councils also appeared to bring pressure to pupils, in coping with new responsibility and demands placed upon them by their peer group, combined with the prospect of missing out on some of the fun and enjoyable parts of classroom experience. There appeared to be isolated instances of lacking teacher support and unsympathetic approaches towards enabling pupils to juggle their responsibilities with expectations for class work.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

While this was a small-scale case study and no definitive conclusions can be made, the practice observed combined with the perceptions of staff and pupils can allow some tentative observations to be made. Far from reflecting a sense of youth alienation, lack of social values and disengagement with political processes, the pupils involved in this case study seemed genuinely enthusiastic about their potential for participation and for making a contribution to social and community improvement. This enthusiasm, commitment and engagement seemed to transcend all socio-economic backgrounds studied. The extent of the consultation process was encouraging, if a little variable. Some schools seemed to be working within a model based upon an agenda for change driven by pupil voices, where children and adults felt comfortable working in partnership. Others were still working towards this model. Where pupils were more experienced at engaging in the democratic process and the pupil council acted at the centre of school-wide democratic practice, pupils appeared to bring wider school issues to meetings. In other situations, agendas still tended to gravitate more towards the more fundamental concerns of primary-aged children.

Teacher-leaders recognised the contribution that these forums played in developing aspects of citizenship and enterprise among pupils and appeared to encourage both communitarian and individualistic values. Indeed, these seemingly opposing agendas were reconciled comfortably, and pupils recognised the worth of what they were learning in terms of their own personal goals and in terms of their commitment to serving other people. There was also evidence to suggest that pupils were learning not only about the satisfaction derived from being empowered to make decisions, but also about the limitations of their potential for decision-making.

This research addresses only the tip of the iceberg, but may provide an understanding of ways to explore pupil councils and views of pupils in wider school audiences as to their worth and value. However, from the views and comments contained within this paper, it seems that current practice in primary schools may, in many cases, be achieving a reconciliation of neo-liberal 'enterprise' with 'social justice' (Fairclough, 2000). In so doing, teachers are able to encapsulate a wider focus on enterprise that enables a fuller expression of democratic values and the instilling

of social and economic commitment in young minds. This type of practice provides a useful point of reference for all those involved in attempting to implement the policy agendas of enterprise and citizenship education in Scottish schools.

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