democracy to educational settings. In a key sentence, he notes that: 'diversity figures as the most central deliberative asset' (453). In other words, democracy is inconceivable without diversity and so diversity is an asset. National unity is a legitimate concern for governments and, in a democracy, may be an aim of the education system. However, the nation state is too narrow a focus to contain all the belongings and identities of those that live within its territory and those that attend its schools. Education for cosmopolitan citizenship, based on understandings of human rights, can help to reconcile the tension within multicultural nation states of issues of unity and diversity.

This volume is essential reading for all scholars and students of the academic field of citizenship education. There are further excellent chapters in parts 1 and 2. It is therefore particularly surprising that the Ajegbo report ignored this book. Perhaps the team was put off by the subtitle 'global perspectives'. Unless citizenship education for a multicultural Britain is framed within a global perspective and universal principles, it is liable to recognise only the values of the dominant majority. In England we have lessons to learn from India and Israel.

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Education for inclusive citizenship, by Dina Kiwan, London and New York, Routledge, 2007, 147 pp. £24.99 (paperback), ISBN: 978-0-415-42368-7

Based on her doctoral research, and informed by her work on policy development, Dina Kiwan's book explores the perceptions of citizenship of key players in the formulation of the policy and curriculum of citizenship education in England – including teachers, academics, NGO members, the former home secretary David Blunkett and Sir Bernard Crick. The book begins with an extensive historical account of the development of citizenship education in England from the nineteenth century Victorian context, up to the 1998 Crick report (QCA 1998) and the 2007 Ajegbo report (Ajegbo et al. 2007), which Kiwan co-authored. In her analysis, Kiwan explores the participants' theoretical conceptions of citizenship and their relations to conceptions of diversity. From these she derives four models of citizenship underpinned by political philosophy – moral, legal, participatory and identity-based – and explicates their implications for ethnic and religious diversity. The theoretical implications may be transferable to other contexts, while the practical implications mainly refer to the education system in England.

Kiwan criticises the citizenship conception models based on moral, legal and participatory understandings. When it comes to the moral conceptions, Kiwan proposes that 'the educational context must focus on the *process* of inclusive communication and collective problem-solving, rather than focus on trying to achieve the outcome of "shared values"' (59). The author always places 'shared values' in inverted commas – perhaps to emphasise the danger of the quest for shared values becoming 'a synonym for assimilation into a monoculturalism based on a numerical majority' (ibid.). While the dialogue about values is not abandoned, it is not required that the participants reach an absolute agreement. Kiwan's argument is in line with Appiah's (2006, 78) proposal, in the context of cosmopolitanism, to learn about other people and civilisations:

> … because it will help us get used to one another. If that is the aim, then the fact that we have all these opportunities for disagreement about values need not put us off. Understanding one another may be hard; it can certainly be interesting. But it doesn't require that we come to agreement.

Kiwan finds the 'legal' conceptions of citizenship, concerned with the human rights approach, to be well-intentioned. However, she proposes that as a universal legalistic approach, human rights do not adequately take into account ethnic and religious diversity, and may not succeed in the encouragement of the active participation of all citizens. Similarly, she finds the 'participatory' conceptions of citizenship failing to achieve an inclusive empowerment of all young people through active participation, as they are not all able to relate their personal identities with those in the wider community. Drawing from Osler and Starkey's (2005) definition of citizenship as 'a status, a feeling and a practice', Kiwan proposes that 'citizenship as "feeling" and citizenship as "practice" are inextricably linked and mutually enhancing, given that motivation to actively participate is logically predicated on a sense of belonging to or "identification" with the context in which they are participating' (82). She argues that citizenship education needs explicitly to consider a diversity of identities through a pedagogy that emphasises active communication and problem-solving, leading towards inclusive participative citizenship. The 'identity-based' conceptions of citizenship – diversity, identity, anti-racism, multiculturalism, nationality and global and European aspects of citizenship – were perceived to be underplayed in the policy development process. Not surprisingly, diversity did not arise in the interviews, unless Kiwan specifically raised it for discussion; it was 'perceived to be "too difficult" to deal with, and in addition, not a primary objective in the context of citizenship education' (85).

The author finally combines the underplayed identity-based model with participatory understandings, in order to produce her theoretical model of inclusive citizenship. The first of the two elements of this model is the concept of 'institutional multiculturalism' – similarly to the acknowledgement by the Macpherson Report (1999) of 'institutional racism' – as a response to the perception that multiculturalism is only related to minorities. Kiwan defines 'institutional multiculturalism' as 'an inclusive process', 'a means to go beyond the problem that multiculturalism is generally perceived to be about and for "minorities"', and 'a political reconstituting of society itself, so that diversity is not a passive concept to be "celebrated", but rather is a proactive process, with outcomes not only at the level of the individual, but at the level of society itself' (109).

Institutional multiculturalism requires that public institutions recognise difference and the role of personal attributes in public practices. The second element of the model of inclusive citizenship is 'strengthening the quality of the citizen-state relationship by developing citizens' trust in the state's legal and political institutions' (115). Among the practical implications of her model for policy, curriculum and pedagogy, Kiwan includes the incorporation of the overlooked 'moderately' and 'culturally' religious groups in the policy development process, and that teachers need to have clear understandings of concepts like immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, citizenship and democracy. Finally, Kiwan concludes, 'accounting for diversity cannot be added on at the implementation stage, but instead, must be developed and articulated theoretically throughout the whole cycle from policy development through to implementation' (127). To this, I would add Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998) characterisation of diversity as 'inevitable and as restrictive as gravity. It is not to be deplored, nor to be exalted. It is simply there, to be used as a resource'.

It would have been useful to have had a more elaborated discussion on what is in the book's title itself: the model of inclusive citizenship. It will be interesting to follow up Kiwan's work on this, and to expect more suggestions as to how it might be practically implemented; these will be necessary to policymakers in citizenship education and other fields. The author also addresses academics and postgraduate students in the fields of philosophy and sociology of education, and those interested in citizenship, multiculturalism, social justice and ethnic studies. The book is of direct relevance and a must-read for anyone interested in citizenship education in England. From the perspective of a postgraduate researcher interested in the accommodation

of ethnic and religious diversity in educational policy and practice, I would suggest this book to those investigating policy and curriculum development, as a good example of grounded theory research.

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Policy-making and policy learning in 14-19 education, edited by David Raffe and Ken Spours, London, Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, 2007, 234 pp., £18.99 (paperback), ISBN 0-85473-746-4

In the last decade there has been a considerable growth in the research literature on the educational policy process. This volume represents an interesting and valuable contribution to this branch of research, and one that lends itself to being used as the basis for teaching on the topic of policy formation.

The focus of the volume is that moment in the ongoing saga of English qualification reform when the Titanic of Tomlinson hit the Iceberg of Adonis and sank, leaving various pieces of debris, most notably the 14–19 Diplomas, bobbing forlornly on the surface. Its central thesis is that English policy-makers are not tremendously good at learning, from research or experience (either their own or that of policy-makers elsewhere), and that this tends to produce 'reforms' that do not work all that well.

The editors make clear from the outset that as both of them played a part in the work of the Tomlinson Group they may be open to accusations of sour grapes. This reviewer, who played no role whatsoever in the deliberations of the Tomlinson Group and who remains moderately unconvinced by some of its recommendations, is happy to clear them of this charge. One does not need to be a supporter of what Tomlinson recommended to recognise that recent attempts in policy formation on many aspects of 14–19 policy fall far short of what might reasonably be hoped for by any taxpayer or citizen – in terms of both process and outcomes.

The volume provides a range of perspectives on policy formation and learning, including learning from earlier experiences, learning from various forms of local innovation, and learning from other countries (including 'home international' comparisons across the UK). On this latter point, there are informative chapters on experience in Wales and Scotland, which offer the warning that although the grass may indeed be somewhat greener on the other side of the fence, all is not perfect in either country. A chapter by Cathleen Stasz and Susannah Wright provides