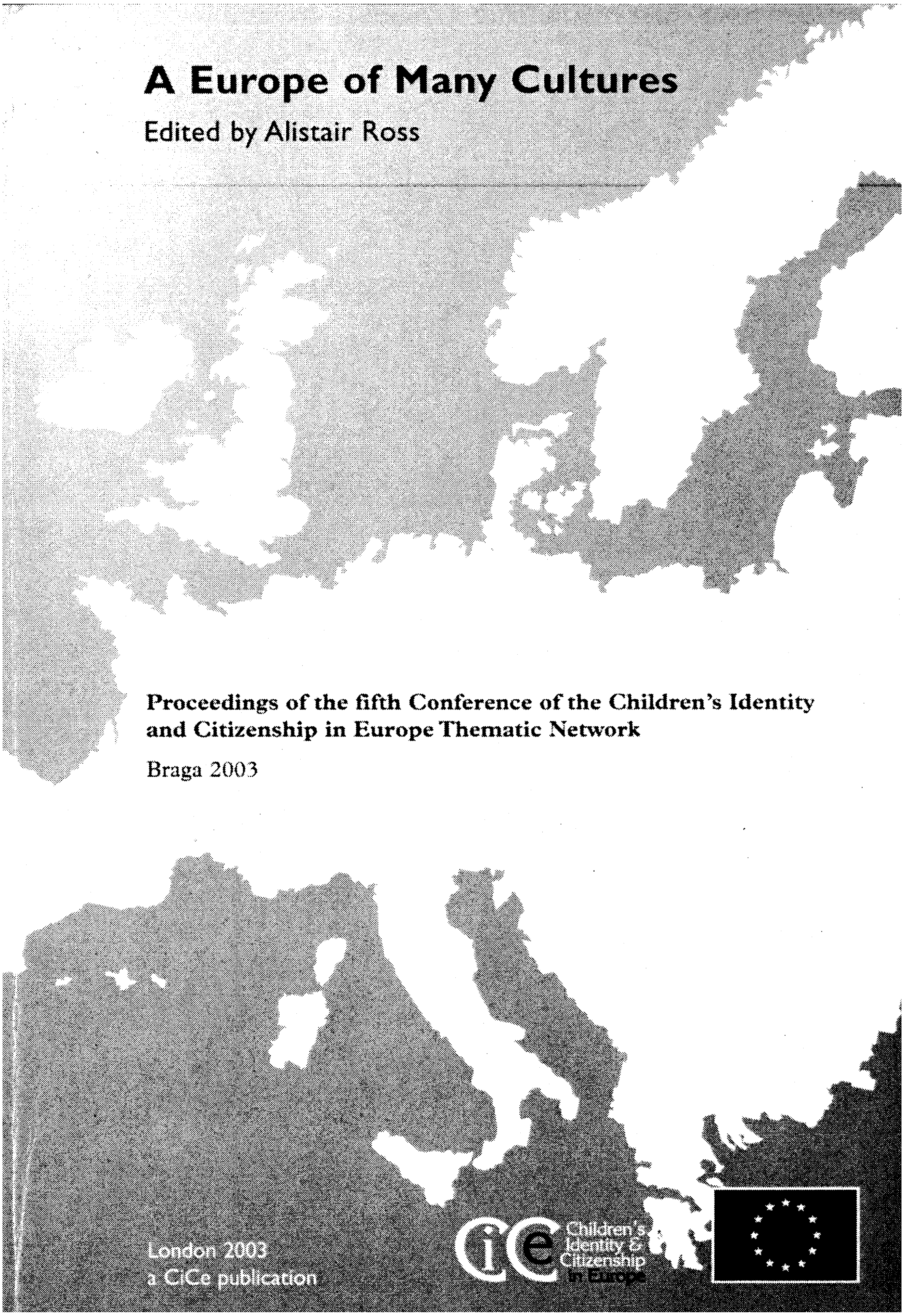

A Europe of Many Cultures

Edited by Alistair Ross

Proceedings of the fifth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network

Braga 2003

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The political development of adolescents: the impact of family background, opportunities for participation in and out of school, and the implications for citizenship education projects[1]

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In recent decades citizenship has become a 'myth that appeals to our political imagination' (Ignatieff, 1995, p. 53), generating the magical feeling that a mere allusion to it could serve as an antidote to exclusion, anomy and lack of participation (van Steenbergen, 1994). However, citizenship is anything but a concept with a clear and fixed meaning (Carter & Stokes, 1998; Ferreira & Menezes, 2002a; Gentilli, 2000; Torres, 2001): the least one can say is that several interpretations of this 'myth' are possible.

To begin with, citizenship is conceived and balanced very differently depending on the political tradition (Eisenstadt, 2000; Janoski, 1998; Kymlicka & Norman, 1995). For instance, 'active citizenship' can be conceived as 'mostly a passive role' (Walzer, 1995, p. 165), particularly under constitutional views of democracy, or under communitarian perspectives, as an essential right that involves a diversity of contexts and whose exercise is vital for the quality of democratic life (Santos, 1998). Furthermore, citizenship is 'from its inception ... an exclusionary category, justifying the coercive role of the included over the excluded' (Ignatieff, 1995, p. 56): it implies a distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Santos, 1998; van Steenbergen, 1994), based on criteria that are circumstantial and conventional, which ignore individual or group 'feelings of belonging' to a community, and which might even collide with basic human rights (Benhabib, 1999). Finally, although is it important to acknowledge the formal dimension of citizenship, i.e., legally-based equality of rights and duties granted to all recognised citizens, this ideal of universality has been questioned (Kymlicka & Norman, 1995; Torres, 2001; Young, 1995) on the grounds that justice might not always imply 'equal treatment for all groups' (Young, 1995, p. 176), and that it could entail a pressure for homogeneity that denies and represses difference. Therefore discussion about citizenship should consider its sociological dimension, related both to our daily experiences and our feelings of membership and taking into account that the formal project of equality of rights is contradicted by tangible (social, economic, ...) inequalities that interfere with the exercise of those rights (Ignatieff, 1995).

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It is obvious that any discussion of citizenship education – its meanings, contents, and methods – should not overlook that the emphasis on the role of the school in this domain is value-laden. However, when educational policy documents declare citizenship education as a central goal of schools, are the multiple dimensions of citizenship recognised? We shall consider briefly the evolution of the stress on citizenship in educational policies for basic education across Europe since the 1980s.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, citizenship appeared as a topic of personal and social education (PSE). PSE was a common designation in various European countries (for example, Belgium, Finland, France, England and Wales, Holland, Italy, Ireland, Norway, Portugal and Spain) for dealing with social concerns with the role of the school both in the prevention of youth problems (such as drug abuse or intolerance), and the anticipation of relevant life tasks (whether work-related, consumerist, environmental or interpersonal) (Campos, 1991). In general, curricular strategies involved cross-curricular dissemination of themes, values or skills, and/or the creation or reorganisation of specific subjects (e.g., ethics, civics) or project areas (Menezes, 1999). After the mid-1990s, however, growing concerns with social exclusion and political apathy together with the recognition of diluted feelings of social belonging and cohesion, of increasing phenomena of discrimination towards minority groups, and of the political disengagement of youngsters (and also adults) (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999) emerged as a central topic in political and social discourses across Europe. Citizenship was now the motto (and the 'new' myth) that invaded educational policy documents - with little or no discussion of its relationship to the 'old' PSE. For instance, in Portugal the curricular reorganisation of basic education defined citizenship as a transversal goal, both the object of a non-disciplinary curricular area coordinated by the class tutor and of the whole-school experience, in and out of the classroom (Menezes, in press). However, even if there are obvious similarities with the former PSE, citizenship appears to have a face value, obvious and consensual – with former intensive discussions around the creation of PSE, opposing conservative and emancipatory perspectives, being completely ignored.

The tendency to hold the school accountable for social crisis is probably as old as education itself (Beane, 1990; Roldão, 1999). This is why educational reforms generally contain the elements for innovation and empowerment but also might play a role of compensatory legitimation (Bento, 2000), both from a political and a curricular point of view; used to promote the state's legitimacy (Weiler, 1985) but leaving the (traditional) curricula intact (Galloway, 1990; Sultana, 1992). Once again one might wonder whether citizenship education emerges more as a legitimation strategy for dealing with educational (and social) crisis than as an emancipatory project. However, research shows that contrary to optimistic beliefs about the impact of school education in political socialisation and development 'apparent education effects are usually diminished when wealth, income, leisure time and (…) membership of social networks are included in the models' (Emler & Frazer, 1999, p. 253).

Therefore the organisation of citizenship education should take into account what research tells us in terms of the political development of children and adolescents, including both the relative impact of the school and the common features associated with desirable results. Our discussion here will be based on the results of three research projects conducted in Portugal in the last four years. The first is the IEA Civic Education Study, an international project that involved the testing of representative samples of Portuguese students from grades 8, 9 and 11 about civic knowledge, conceptions, attitudes and behaviours. The second is a study with adolescents from academic and vocational schools and explores the impact of both in and out of class experiences and significant events (the process of East Timor independence, which raised a systematic and cross-generational political mobilisation in Portugal) on political attitudes and behaviours (Ribeiro, 2002). The third study considers the quality of participation experiences within the civil society (voluntary associations, political parties), both in terms of opportunities for role-taking and personal refection/integration, and their impact on political reasoning complexity within secondary school students (Ferreira & Menezes, 2002b).

The analysis of the IEA Civic Education Study data for Portuguese students shows that, in addition to school variables (educational expectations and academic success), family cultural background (parents' educational attainment, books at home) and to a lesser degree, political interest and experiences (frequency of participation in voluntary associations) are the most significant predictors of civic knowledge (Menezes et al, in press). This suggests two things. The first is that cultural background does have a significant impact, and that therefore education does not appear to counterbalancing previous disadvantages among students. The second is that schools alone cannot make all the difference: citizenship education must be acknowledged as a responsibility shared with other social institutions and contexts.

It therefore makes sense that that citizenship education should pay special attention to students' actual participation experiences within their communities, and should even promote their involvement in their community's problems, as proposed by service-learning projects (Barber, 1991; Naval, 1995; Yates & Youniss, 1998; Yowell & Smylie, 1999). However, it is important to stress that participation does not have an intrinsic value, and that its potential for developing student competencies and empowerment depends both on the organisational structure of the context where participation occurs (Putnam, 1993; Stewart & Weinstein, 1997) and on the quality and the meaningfulness of the experience (Sprinthall, 1991). Our own research with secondary school students has shown how opportunities for authentic and significant actions balanced with systematic possibilities for integrating the meanings of the experience in the context of interaction with others (with whom one might disagree) are crucial for the impact of participation in terms of political development. Moreover, when the quality of participation is low: when there is seldom an opportunity occasion to do relevant things, and there are few opportunities for personal integration, the impact of these experiences is non-existent (Ferreira & Menezes, 2002b; Ribeiro, 2002). Ribeiro (2002) shows that students who have experienced active participation within the class, the school, and the civil society tend to value conventional citizenship activities more highly, to be more politically active, and also more predisposed to become politically involved in the future. Ferreira and Menezes (2002b) observe that quality of participation is related significantly to political reasoning complexity; students who have balanced and frequent opportunities for action and reflection are less dualist when they consider political issues.

If experience is to become a relevant educational tool for citizenship education it must be deliberately designed to promote political development. This means that participation experiences should provide:

- opportunities for *real and meaningful action*, giving students the possibility of being involved in the solving of actual social and political problems. However, it is essential that the complexity of the task is adequate to the age and developmental status of the youngsters and that it provides the opportunity for them to 'enact plans and strategies that lead to success' (Yowell & Smylie, 1999, p. 480).

- opportunities for *interaction with (different) others*, since action should involve interaction with other people who might have diverse perspectives. Diversity is an essential feature in the sense that it promotes alternative visions of self and the world: 'narrow networks of community encounter – that is to say 'ghettos' – have the effect of narrowing and impoverishing conceptions of selves in futures' (Law, 1991, p. 159) and might even reinforce in-group bias and prejudices (De Piccoli, Colombo & Mosso, 2002).
- opportunities for *personal reflection and discussion with others vis-à-vis the personal integration of the experience*. Systematic reflection is essential if students are to 'integrate [the] everyday concepts with which they started the project with the more organised and systematic knowledge gained in interactions' (Yowell & Smylie, 1999, p. 480).
- *support* since 'growing ... is painful. The emotions must be acknowledged and supported as a means of moving toward relaxed reflection and the ultimate incorporation of a new system of thinking and feeling' (Sprinthall, 1991, p. 37). A movement towards growth implies close interpersonal relationships with adults supervising the process who both validate and defy students' achievements.
- *continuity*, since experiences should be continuous and long-term for real changes to emerge.

Finally, political involvement – as other forms of human involvement (Campos, 1992) – is not the outcome of information and rational decision-making, but involves emotions and affections. In our research with Portuguese adolescents we addressed political attitudes and participation in relation to the processes of independence in East Timor (Ribeiro, 2002), and concluded that this event had a significant impact on youngsters' political interest and involvement. The implication for the development of citizenship education projects is that affection and emotions should not be considered as a negative side effect to be eliminated and controlled through rational debates; they are inherent to and essential for political deliberation between conflicting and plural perspectives of the common good (Arendt, 1958) – and is this not what democracy is about finally?

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Self-responsibility as a social competence determining active participation in the life of a social group - presentation of the results of research and a workshop

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Introduction

Polish society has had to cope with specific problems over recent decades. The multiple transformations of Polish life in 1989 resulted in the introduction of parliamentary democracy, a free-market economy and cultural pluralism, making it difficult for some people and social groups to find their place in the new situation. It seems that the attitude of the 'unresponsive bystander' (Latane and Darley, 1970) does not only arise in extreme situations (such as those connected with violence), but may be typical of this large group of people. In addition, world-wide tendencies towards globalisation on the one hand and local ties on the other may lead to a 'citizenship crisis', especially in the so called 'new democracies': this is why it is so important to promote active attitudes which allow us to mould our social environment.

Are there any factors conducive to the development of proactive attitudes? A critical period is childhood, when our values, attitudes and 'self' are beginning to take shape. Both family and school have a considerable effect on the development of this activity, so we should ask how the educational system and school can stimulate and promote proactive attitudes in children. This paper presents self-responsibility as a factor crucial to the development of proactive attitudes. It also describes part of a project whose aim was to develop self-responsibility at school.

Self-responsibility as social competence stimulating proactive attitudes in a group

The period between 6 and 11 years of age is an important one with regard to the development of identity (Erikson, 1968, 1982). Children set limits on 'I' (individual identity) and 'we' (social identity) through action. Their competences, abilities and skills, as well as their sense of responsibility, develop intensively. What are the competences conducive to activity in the group, and which of their elements are fundamental to further development of social activity?

Competence can be interpreted in many different ways: as a one-dimensional structure, that is, a skill or ability (Spencer et al. 1990; Furnham, 1990), or as a multi-dimensional structure (Roberts, 1997). Social competence which enables one to exist in a complex environment must also be complex, so I shall treat it as a three-element model including:

1. knowledge - the information and cognitive procedures necessary to reveal competence(Anderson, 1985);
2. attitudes - a relatively stable approach to the object of competence, determined by our beliefs, emotions, values and previous experiences (Wojciszke, 2002); and
3. abilities/skills - the effective use of the above procedures, making it possible for competence to reveal itself in behaviour.

A key social competence, allowing change from reactive social behaviour into active behaviour, is self-responsibility. In phenomenology and humanistic psychology self-responsibility is a special kind of responsibility, oriented at and developing with 'self' (Ingarden, 1987; Rogers, 1969, Erikson, 1968, 1982).

Using education to mould self-responsibility is not easy: no studies have been conducted on the relationships between knowledge about a social group, social abilities and proactive attitudes. Each educational process carried out in this area is at the same time a research process which enables better understanding of the social functions performed by children and stimulates the professional development of teachers who, through reflections on the actions they take and the activity of their pupils, become creative and active themselves.

This is the background to an investigation into self-responsibility and its development in children starting their primary school education on which this paper reports and which is ongoing. It would be difficult to say who benefited most from this process, as it was going on at three levels: (1) stimulation and observations of pupils' behaviours, (2) supporting the development of the teacher, and (3) the development of the researcher.

Meetings with pupils – inspiration and change

My meetings with primary school pupils started in February 2003 and took place on a regular basis, once a week. Each meeting was devoted to a workshop or a diagnostic project aimed at exploring three elements of self-responsibility: (1) passing on knowledge about the principles of social life; (2) the development of interpersonal and communication skills (3) stimulating the development of proactive attitudes. I conducted several coaching sessions with the teacher, during which we discussed the situation in the class, and was also keeping a personal diary, writing down my observations and reflections on the process.

1. The first meeting

Classroom

The pupils that participated in the project share their classroom with colleagues from the second form – the former learn there in the afternoon, and the latter in the morning. The classroom is clean and tidy, with colourful charts on the wall. To my great surprise, it turned out that 90% of the classroom space was decorated by the second form pupils.

Lesson organisation

When I arrived the pupils were sitting at traditionally arranged desks. They were trying to solve a mathematical problem and often consulted the teacher. A boy whose pen stopped writing also reported it to the teacher immediately.

When the pupils had completed their work I asked them about responsibility – what does it mean to be responsible? There were few responses: 'Responsible people take care of animals', or 'they take care of the flowers in the classroom'.

The teacher's opinion

> 'I didn't have classes with these pupils for half a year. During my absence the children from the second form decorated the classroom. I have nothing against it.

> Every year we organise a competition at school to choose the most beautiful classroom, and the tutor of the second form is very talented, so the classroom looks really nice. I still don't know these children well. They are a little frisky, so I have some problems with discipline.'

The researcher's opinion

I wondered about the sense of responsibility in children who for half a year had two different teachers, who could not feel at home in a classroom almost entirely arranged by other pupils, and who declared that to be considered responsible you have to fulfil your duties, observe the rules and be submissive to the teacher. The examples they gave showed they thought being responsible meant not to cause destruction and to respond promptly to orders. They seemed totally dependent on the teacher for their activities in school. Were my expectations too high? Would I succeed in stimulating their activity? Margaret (the teacher) could give me a lot of information on the pupils, but she particularly concentrated on their behaviour, rather than on their way of thinking.

2. Second meeting – 'Editorial Board' – a workshop

Description of the workshop

I proposed a game called 'Editorial Board'. The pupils were divided into small groups – editorial boards. Each group was given three blank pages of a newspaper and six pictures to go with six articles discussing different social problems:

- how to help disabled people in wheelchairs
- how adults should organise time for children who are bored
- how to make Poles use credit cards more frequently, as in other European countries
- how to help ill children in hospitals
- how to persuade pupils who throw litter about to keep their classroom tidy
- how to support old people protesting against too low pensions.

Each group was to place two articles on each page of the newspaper – the most important ones on the first page, less important on the second, and the least important on the third. First each pupil was supposed to think about his/her preferences, then the pupils were to work in small groups, present their proposals to the class, and finally all of them had to make a common decision about placing the articles in the newspaper. Then we were to discuss the way they organised their work – was it good? should it be changed? I paid particular attention to competence development at three levels: (1) gaining knowledge about teamwork, (2) acquiring the experience indispensable for developing the ability/skill to work as a team member, and (3) stimulating proactive attitudes by getting personally involved, stirring up emotions and evoking team spirit.

The performance of the task

The pupils needed very little time to decide about their preferences and quickly passed on to team work, which was organised quite differently in particular groups:

(a) in the first group an authoritarian leader appeared. One of the girls made the others keep silent, took the newspaper and started to stick the articles in herself. Some of the children agreed with her choices; the others simply stopped working;

(b) in the second group all decisions were made by voting;

(c) in the third group three girls were discussing their opinions, not letting the other pupils speak for themselves, so they quickly became passive;

(d) in the fourth group there was a quarrel: everybody took one article and stuck it in any empty place.

When the work was completed the pupils were asked to justify their choices, which they usually did rather laconically, saying 'we thought this problem to be important'. They were willing to talk about the work itself, its organisation and advantages, and expressed their general opinions on the workshop.

My suggestion that they should now arrive at a common decision concerning the arrangement of the articles caused complete chaos in the classroom - everybody tried to take the newspapers and place the articles according to their own preferences. They were arguing and pushing one another. After three or four minutes I decided to intervene and asked them why they had not managed to complete the task successfully. The children were very excited and all wanted to answer at the same time: 'Because everybody wanted to decide', 'Because there were too many of us', 'Because you didn't tell us how to do that'. When I asked them how the work should have been organised to satisfy them all, they said that everybody should have the right to decide. When I asked them if it would not be better if I decided for them, to prevent quarrels and arguments, they said: 'No, it would be unjust! We wouldn't know what you wanted to do, and we *must* know it'. After a short discussion they agreed that voting for or against each of the articles would be the best method of making final decisions, so we carried out the voting.

The teacher's opinion

> 'I realised that if they are really interested in the problem they are to solve, you don't have to establish any rules for them, as they will do it themselves. Some groups did it intuitively and naturally, in the course of work. Some others started their work with adopting certain rules, and it was their own idea, which is amazing. In some situations they are ready to lay down the rules themselves, that they need them! Some children do it intuitively, others are fully aware of this process.'

The researcher's opinion

The pupils engaged actively in the work, naturally functioning at two levels: the level of action and the *meta* level, connected with conscious organisation of the work. Their comments and observations concerning the task show that they wanted to have an influence on the situation, and that this influence could not be replaced with anything else. During voting all of them displayed great enthusiasm when their option was chosen by classmates. They also demonstrated discontent when their proposal was rejected by the group, but did not protest. The situation aroused excitement, and it may be that these strong emotions made the children engage in the work with passion. This suggests that if a teacher wants to involve pupils in a task, the task must be exciting.

3. The last meeting – 'Parliament' – a workshop

Description of the workshop

The pupils were asked to settle the following problems connected with daily school life:

- leaving the classroom for break
- keeping their workplace tidy
- talking during the lesson
- being allowed to speak during the lesson (taking the floor).

The meeting started with four stories illustrating the consequences of letting these problems remain unsettled. Then I told the children how various problems are regulated by Parliament, how particular parliamentary committees work, how bills are proposed and passed. I suggested that they should try to solve their school problems in a similar way. I performed the role of Speaker of Parliament and addressed the pupils formally ('Ladies and Gentlemen, a motion concerning… was put forward' etc.). The children were divided into four committees, and each was given one problem to settle. Then representatives of each committee presented their proposals to the class, which – as Parliament – voted for or against them. I suggested that they should hang their proposals on the wall, but it turned out that there was no room for them. Suddenly the children noted that the whole space was occupied by work done by the second form pupils. The children decided it should be changed – they wanted to talk to the second form tutor and pupils.

The performance of the task

The pupils treated this task very seriously, listening carefully to the introductory stories. They worked efficiently in groups, analysing and discussing the problems in detail. The class did not interrupt the speakers presenting their proposals and only occasional comments were made. The voting stirred up strong emotions, but the majority of the motions were accepted. The committees whose motions were rejected showed discontent, but did not protest. After the lesson the pupils tried to find some place in the classroom to display their proposals. They were surprised to discover that the whole space was occupied by pictures painted by their colleagues from the second form. Some were indignant at the situation, even swearing about it. When I asked them what could be done, there were different opinions: 'Let's throw their works away', 'Let's agree that half of the classroom is theirs, and the other half is ours', 'These pictures are nice, so we should let them stay'. Each of the proposals was put to the vote. Finally they decided the classroom space should be divided into halves. Then the pupils discussed how they would inform their colleagues about this. One of the boys suggested they should meet with both the second form tutor and pupils to tell them about this decision. His proposal was accepted by the class.

Teacher's opinion

> 'I was astonished to see how easily they adapted to the convention of a parliamentary debate, how mature and effective their were in their work. They engaged completely in the task. I think it's a good idea to talk to the second form pupils about sharing the classroom, but I'm afraid it may cause a conflict, I'm not sure if they will be able to do that properly. To me the greatest surprise was that

on the next day after the workshop, when I asked them if everybody was ready for break, they decided to vote on it - they liked this way of making decisions that much! Something else also happened. After two days they brought me a three-page school newspaper, where in unskilful handwriting they asked questions concerning school and education: 'Is our class OK?', 'Is it good to learn?', etc. Below there were the results of voting'.

The researcher's opinion

I was greatly surprised by the children's dedication to the task. The convention of a parliamentary debate made them work efficiently and focus. When I talked to them in formal language they obeyed my orders willingly, which resulted in good organisation of the voting. I was also astonished how much they were moved when they discovered that there was no room for their work. This probably made them think not only about the division of the classroom space, but also about their role and position. They found that they had certain rights, and wanted to exercise them. I was afraid that they would vote for throwing away the paintings made by the second form pupils – I don't know what I would have done in such a situation. Maybe the lesson in democratic methods of decision-making helped them to choose negotiations as the best option. It is interesting that they did not want to negotiate with the second form tutor only, but also with their colleagues. The fact that they spontaneously applied the method of voting while making other decisions in the class, as well as the initiative they displayed while 'editing' the newspaper, encouraged me to believe that my work will bear fruit.

Transformations

The pupils

During my two months' work with these pupils I noted considerable changes in their behaviour. They work more efficiently, with greater devotion. They employ the methods presented during the workshops when making decisions related to their daily school life. They are proactive, ready to take the initiative: edit a newspaper, negotiate the division of the classroom space with their schoolmates. They act as hosts in the classroom. When faced with a problem, they choose negotiation rather than pressure.

The teacher

At the beginning of our cooperation the teacher declared she had problems with maintaining discipline. She concentrated only on the pupils' behaviour. During our meetings she began to pay more attention to the children's intentions and way of thinking. After some time she discovered that her pupils were able to solve certain problems, organise their work or establish rules themselves, provided that they were assigned interesting tasks.

The researcher

At first I had serious doubts about this project. I was afraid that due to my high expectations I would have to wait months for any results, but when I began to assign more complicated tasks and to let the pupils take responsibility, without imposing too many regulations, to my surprise they managed to control chaos and establish order. When I was told about the spontaneous actions they had undertaken, I became convinced that our meetings had resulted in significant changes in their functioning in various areas of school life.

Conclusions

This paper presents the results of a project aimed at developing self-responsibility in younger primary school pupils. The project was intended to promote active social attitudes. It was based on the assumption that actions stimulating simultaneous development of knowledge, abilities/skills and attitudes lead to active participation in social (school) life. The workshop described may be a source of inspiration for both teachers and researchers. It shows that in the diagnostic and educational process we should focus not only on stimulation and measurement, but also on the dynamics of changes and reflection, which are crucial elements of self-responsibility development in both pupils and teachers.

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Current educational opportunities for a European citizenship[1]

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Education for European citizenship: general features and purposes

Education for European Citizenship (EEC) is a specific educational perspective, progressively developed and spread in the context of the European Union in the past few years. We can interpret EEC as a peculiar form of Education for Citizenship (EC), or, more precisely, of Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC). EEC should have a specific role in educational programmes in the EU context and gradually become increasingly more relevant than EC developed in a national perspective.

EEC defines itself as innovative - as does EC - in comparison with more traditional approaches in this field that can be included under 'civic education', to use a very general label. Essentially, EC differs from civic education in that it covers a much wider semantic range of both objectives and contents. Civic education is aimed at the transmission and acquisition of knowledge, skills and values which govern the functioning of society in a formal educational framework; this formal learning is generally through the form of a specific subject, although sometimes also through cross-curricula activities. (Civic education can be conceived as a specific sector of literacy concerning the civic/political sphere: see Lastrucci, 1996.) Citizenship education, on the other hand, focuses on the acquisition and active exercise of a wide set of competencies concerning the aware, active and participatory contribution of the citizen to political and social life. The content of EC is more comprehensive than of civic education: it includes civic education itself, but also other crucial topics such as human rights education, political education and socialisation, legal education, ethical and values education, intercultural education, peace education, global education and more.

However, the most significant difference between civic education and EDC consists in the fact that the former is not necessary inspired by democratic ideals or framed in the context of a democratic society that aspires to develop and increase the forms of social organisation on which it is grounded.

As Duerr, Ferreira Martins and Spajic-Vrka (2000) observe

> If civic education is considered in terms of preparing young people for informed, active and responsible participation in democracy based on respect for universal human rights, equality, justice and pluralism, its goals are similar to the ones of education for democratic citizenship. On the contrary, if civic education is considered as political education which aims at preparing young people to be loyal citizens in democratic regimes that are blind to inequality, social exclusion, lawlessness and social integration, then, the differences between these two approaches are too significant to be easily ignored. For this reason it is important to retain the adjective 'democratic' and to consider EEC as a special form of EDC.

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[1] The present contribution is a reduced version of the paper submitted during the conference in Braga. The extended version is available in the respective languages of several European countries.

EDC implies the formation of a wide range of general skills (linked to critical and argumentative thinking, creative and productive thinking, problem-solving, assessment and evaluation, and moral reasoning), specific skills (linked to participation, multiple communication, co-operative and team-work, debating, negotiating and compromising, intercultural comprehension, conflict-prevention/resolution, mediation and facilitation etc.) and attitudes, especially those referring to pro-social and pro-active dimensions, usually defined in terms of involvement in or commitment to (respect, attachment, defence of) something that is recognised as of universal value in society.

This paper presents a state of the art synthesis of EDC in a European context. It represents only a first and preparatory contribution for wider and deeper analysis and understanding of the role of schooling and other educational institutions and agencies, in several European countries, in creating opportunities for EEC and more generally for political socialisation oriented to democratic citizenship at the level of the European political and cultural context. Such research would be oriented towards a comparative framework of educational trends in curricula and educational practice in European schools, analysing their relationship to theories and findings about the processes of construction of social identity in children, adolescents and young adults. It would in particular examine the extent and effectiveness of how principles of human rights, democracy, tolerance and mutual respect, the rule of law and peaceful resolution of conflicts are incorporated into the daily practice of teaching and learning, and also whether these topics are considered in relationship to European citizenship. It would be also useful to investigate the effectiveness of curricula and practices in reaching these objectives, and the real relationship between these objectives and psycho-social dynamics related to the process of political socialisation oriented to the acquisition of a European political identity and citizenship.

This paper has the more limited objective of examining the main trends of EC and more particularly of EEC, referring to the most recent educational theory and practice in this field.

Educational theories for EDC and EEC: main objectives and core competencies

To understand the specificity of the role of EEC, it is necessary to have a preliminary outline of the more general features and purposes of EDC. Educational theories and methods that inspire EEC arise largely from those that that inspire EDC.

Most recent theoretical perspectives in EC are grounded on new fundamental principles, linked to new educational needs. In a world characterised by rapid economic, technological, social and cultural change, the nature of all learning processes is also changing deeply and rapidly. Duerr, Ferreira Martins, Spajic-Vrka (2000) suggest three new basic principles concerning EC.

> Firstly, the term 'citizen' does not merely imply a legal status within the political system; rather, it implies competencies, skills and capabilities that must be transmitted in a *life-long learning* process. Secondly, Learning for Democratic Citizenship is a comprehensive task that cannot take place in formal institutions alone, it is rather learnt in *multifaceted formal and non-formal settings* involving the co-ordination and co-operation of the relevant institutions and organisations. Thirdly, during the learning process, the relationship between the transmitter and the learner changes dramatically. The question of how people (i.e. individual

citizens) are to meet the requirements inferred on them by citizenship in an effective manner will become more and more important.

These principles call for a redefinition of contexts and contents of learning processes as well as a reappraisal of requirements. The institutional framework for EC must be redesigned too. 'Even though this framework is still characterised by the dominance of the formal educational sector, in the future it must be brought into close interaction with another increasingly important area in democratic learning i.e. society' (ibid). Moreover. Innovative and more effective and attractive forms of learning and methods of teaching will be developed for the educational goals of EC defined in this new perspective. It is also necessary to strengthen and enrich the preparation and training of teachers and other professionals in education, to develop the teaching competencies necessary to realise this ambitious programme.

Policy-makers in education, experts, teachers and a large part of public opinion agree on the principle that EC must be oriented to promote 'active citizenship', a concept highlighted by Article A of the Amsterdam Treaty of the EU. One of the main objectives of the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission is to develop citizenship not just in its formal aspects (respect of law, tolerance, etc.), but above all through encouraging people's practical involvement in democratic process at all levels. For this purpose, the European Commission assigns a crucial role to actions in the field of education.

However, as the official document affirms, and as educators and politicians would probably agree, 'the level of awareness among European citizens of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society is far from satisfactory'. From this point of view, education should have the task 'of preparing the individual for life in a democratic society by enabling him/her to carry out his duties and responsibilities as a citizen', and not only teaching the fundamental principles and values at the root of our society, but also 'introducing him to politics' (Council of Europe, 1997). Consequently, new theories about EC are focused on a set of educational goals defined on the basis of a new framework of core competencies involved in acquisition of active citizenship.

Audigier (2000) provides a review of most relevant basic classifications of competencies for democratic citizenship. These models represent for this author different theoretical frameworks which can be used to define, orient, motivate and analyse educational activities. He stresses that 'these constructs are intended to help us, so let us take them as such and try to improve them through constantly comparing them with reality'.

The first classification comprises three broad categories of competencies - a triangle of interdependent dimensions - (a) cognitive competencies; (b) affective competencies and those connected with the choice of values; and (c) capacities for action (social competencies).

Cognitive competencies can be separated into four families:

- competencies of a legal and political nature, which are 'weapons' with which 'citizens can defend their freedoms, protect individuals and challenge abuses of power by those in authority' and are especially connected to knowledge about the rules of collective life and about public institutions in a democratic society;
- knowledge of the present world;

- competencies of a procedural nature, which are transferable and hence usable in a variety of situations (in addition to various general intellectual capacities, they concern particularly the ability to argue, which is related to debate and the ability to reflect, i.e. the capacity to re-examine actions and arguments in the light of the principles and values of human rights, to reflect on the direction and limits of possible action, on conflicts of values and of interests, etc.);
- knowledge of the principles and values of human rights and democratic citizenship.

The second field of competencies concerns ethical and axiological dimension. This dimension involves not only cognitive but also affective aspects: 'citizenship cannot be reduced to a catalogue of rights and duties, but entails membership of a group or groups, bringing identities into play in a very profound way. It consequently requires an ethical shift that includes a personal and collective emotional dimension' (ibid).

The third dimension, concerning capacities for action, includes in special way three orders of capacities: (a) to live with others and cooperate; (b) to resolve conflicts in accordance with the principles of democratic law; and (c) to take part in public debate. 'Knowledge, attitudes and values, take on meaning in everyday personal and social life; they are embodied in these capacities and help give sense to the presence of each to others and to the world' (ibid).

To explain more clearly how the three dimensions interact in a concrete situation, Audigier use the example of the peaceful resolution of a conflict. To reach such an objective

> … implies knowledge of the democratic principles that organise this resolution, a personal attitude which involves controlling one's own violence and accepting not to take the law into one's own hands, and the capacity for action in connection with the debate. The majority of the competences thus classified also refer to the two other fields. For example, argumentation and debate call for a knowledge of the subject under discussion, the capacity to listen to the other and acknowledgement of his point of view, as well as the application of these capacities in the precise situation in which the people find themselves. There is no effective citizenship other than that exercised in and by the actions of the individual; conversely, knowledge of and reflection on his acts and their social and personal, practical and ethical significance are just as important. According to the training and education criteria, the accent should be on the weakest dimension. Another advantage of this type of construct is that it constitutes an instrument which is an aid to the evaluation and reorientation of practices (ibid).

The second classification is that proposed, in particular, by Veldhuis (1997). It is grounded on a distinction - based on an analysis of social life – between four dimensions of citizenship: political and legal, social, cultural, economic.

The political and legal dimension covers rights and duties with respect to the political system and the law. It requires knowledge of political institutions, democratic attitudes and the capacity to participate, to exercise responsibilities at all levels of public life.

The social dimension covers relations between individuals and requires knowledge of what these relations are based on and how they function in society. This dimension is connected to others, in particular the economic one, through the weight of values such as solidarity.

The economic dimension concerns the world of production and consumption of goods and services. It includes labour and the way it is organised, the fruits of labour and their distribution, and requires knowledge of how the economic world (including the world of work) functions.

The cultural dimension 'refers to collective representations and imaginations and to shared values. It implies, like the others and sometimes more than them, historical competence, recognition of a common heritage with its varied components, a mobile heritage, a heritage to exchange with others'. Culture is also connected with literacy and linguistic education. In EEC this is a very important dimension, for it is based in great part on a widening of cultural horizons to European civilisation, necessarily also through the acquisition of linguistic competencies in a second and third European language.

Audigier observes

> Although they differ in presentation, both these classifications stress the importance of constructing a critical social consciousness, that is to say a consciousness of belonging to the world, a 'fellow-citizenship' which involves the citizen shouldering his/her responsibilities on a day-to-day basis, but also necessitates a broader dimension beyond any immediate and local concerns. Such a social, but also historical and geographical, consciousness involves developing a capacity for stepping back from oneself, as well as establishing a public forum for debate (ibid).

Specificity of EEC

In the wider perspective of EC, EEC assumes a specific physiognomy, which results when theoretical principles and methods are fashioned to meet the requirements of a citizenship framed in the European political and cultural context.

As I have elsewhere attempt to show (Lastrucci, 2000, 2002), the development of a European citizenship is founded on the possibility of a widespread common consciousness among European citizens. 'This consciousness consists, first, in an historical consciousness founded on a view of the history of Europe as history of an unique civilisation; secondarily, it is founded on a *social identity* build on an aware European citizenship and on the feeling of belonging to European community and civilisation instead to one's own national group' (Lastrucci, 2002). In other words, we must, by means of an organic, coherent and shared educational project, stimulate in each member of the European Union – and above all in children and adolescents - a process of formation of social identity in which, progressively, the European view becomes more central and constitutive than a national and/or local view.

This implies the need to redesign the features and purposes of EDC, shaping them in a perspective of authentic EEC.

In this perspective in particular, there should be found a new and more central role for historical knowledge. As can be inferred from this synthetic review, such knowledge does not have a principal role, nor does it enjoy specific attention in the majority of the educational models presented, although they appears innovative and incisive.

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Education for global citizenship: the knowledge, understanding and motivation of trainee teachers

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In 1998 over 1000 school children, aged 11-16, were questioned about their knowledge of global issues. Whilst most felt they knew something, the majority felt that they needed to be taught more at school and that such an understanding was important to their future (MORI 1998). If this is the case, then how well are we preparing our new teachers to meet this need? Do trainee teachers feel secure in their knowledge of global issues? How confident do they feel to include global perspectives in their teaching? In 2003, four universities from the south west of England undertook a collaborative study to investigate these issues. Key questions were:

- how knowledgeable are trainees of global issues?
- where does their knowledge and understanding come from?
- how prepared (and motivated) do they feel to educate for global citizenship?

A total of 850 trainee teachers, both secondary and primary, postgraduate and undergraduate, were involved in the research. This paper reports on the findings of the research from the 300 primary PGCE (Post-graduate Certificate of Education) students, drawing on both questionnaire and interview data, and discusses the implications for both teacher education and for effective education for global citizenship

Global issues

The debate about how children should best be educated to deal with our rapidly changing and interdependent world has recently re-surfaced, having been marginalised when the National Curriculum was introduced in 1988. The introduction of education for citizenship in 2002 has been one reason for this debate re-surfacing, with its requirement that pupils be taught about 'the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this' (DfES 1999; 14). There is a recognition that the focus of the national curriculum has been too anglo-centric and nationalist, ignoring both the culturally diverse nature of the UK and the global community within which we now operate. Many reports (Runnymede 2000, Cogan and Derricott 2000) indicate an urgent need to educate young people as competent global citizens, knowledgeable about global issues and competent to participate in a democracy.

Hicks (2003) has traced the global education movement back over the last 30 years, indicating how the work of Richardson, Hicks and Fisher, Pike and Selby among others have influenced both policy and practice. The current resurgence of interest owes much to the work of these authors and is typified by the work of the Department for International Development (DfID) and many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who are supporting schools and ITET (Initial Teacher Education and Training) in the teaching of global issues. Oxfam, for example, has provided materials for what they have termed 'global citizenship' and has identified the key areas of knowledge and understanding which should underpin such a curriculum as:

- peace and conflict (present and historical conflict)
- globalisation and interdependence (world affairs, political systems)
- social justice and equity (in different societies)
- sustainable development
- diversity (cultures in our own and other societies). (Oxfam 1997)

The MORI survey: children's knowledge of global issues

The five areas identified by Oxfam (above) are closely mirrored in the research conducted by MORI (1998), which in turn formed the basis for our subsequent research into the views of trainee teachers. The questions to the pupils covered their knowledge and understanding of the reasons for war (in the world), famine, overpopulation, environmental problems, economic problems in developing countries and human rights abuses..

Most of the pupils felt they knew something about global issues. Three quarters felt they knew something about the causes of war, with two thirds saying they knew something about the reasons for famine in the world, environmental problems and the reasons for overpopulation. Half felt they knew something about the reasons for human rights abuses and the Third World's economic problems. However, one quarter admitted to knowing nothing about the last two issues. The causes of war, along with the reasons for human rights abuses emerged as the issues that pupils most wanted to learn more about.

Television (82%) was cited as the primary source of information about global issues, with school, newspapers and parents following close behind. Although some pupils said that they learnt about global issues at school, three quarters wanted to know more and felt that they needed such understanding to help them in the future. They felt that environmental problems, war and the increasing gap between rich and poor would affect their lives as adults. They did not, however, feel that they could do much to change the world. This feeling of being interested but powerless is mirrored by other research – e.g. Hicks and Holden (1995), Hutchinson (1996).

Our research: trainee teachers' knowledge and understanding of global issues

If the children in our schools are interested in global issues and want to know more, then how well are we preparing our new teachers for this work? Our survey aimed to keep as far as possible to the MORI questionnaire to enable direct comparisons, while adding some new questions to ascertain the background and prior experience of the trainees. This was in line with findings from Thomas (2001) that teachers with prior experience, for example of VSO, are more committed to introducing global perspectives into their teaching. When pupils were asked about their knowledge and understanding of specific global issue, they were given three choices: 'know something', 'know nothing' and 'don't know'. This was amended with the trainees to 'know a lot', 'know something', 'know nothing' as it was felt that some trainees might consider themselves to be well informed in a way that school children would not.

In-depth interviews were used to illuminate the responses in the questionnaire. 300 students volunteered to be interviewed, from which a sample of 41 was selected. Trainees were asked to 'say more about' their responses and to talk about their confidence to teach global issues and their perceptions of their training. Whilst the focus was on l issues identified in Table 1, the trainees widened the remit to include other aspe izenship education such as teaching about justice, equality, cultural diversity cs in this country and teaching the skills of co-operation, discussion and criti tion.

primary trainees' perspectives

paper focuses on the responses from the 300 primary trainees on PG ammes. The training of primary students on a one year PGCE programme is cular interest as trainees must cover the National Curriculum with its emphasis ematics, science and English which leaves little time for global issues. Given asis and the short nature of the PGCE, the knowledge and attitudes which trair with them are of real importance.

knowledgeable are trainees about global issues?

e 1 Trainees' knowledge of global issues (%)

	Know a lot	Know something	Know nothin
sons for war in the world	11	85	3
sons for famine in the world	12	83	4
sons for the destruction of the environment	17	77	5
sons for overpopulation	14	78	8
sons for the Third World's economic problems	12	78	10
sons for human rights abuse	11	73	16

se questions were the same as those given to the pupils with the exception of the ow a lot' category. The Table indicates that the vast majority feel they know ething or a lot about most of today's pressing global problems. They know least reasons for human rights abuses. This parallels the findings from the pupil su re they too knew least about the reasons for human rights abuses and the rld's economic problems. Further analysis of the data indicated (per erstandably) that trainees with no interest in global issues and no connections we st likely to 'know nothing' – i.e. they had the least understanding of global issue

nments made in interview endorsed these responses. One trainee said she knew a ut most of the questions but 'there is too much to know' whilst another admitt 't know very much' but would 'like to know more'. Others talked about agement with voluntary organisations in this country or time spent living or wo oad: these experiences had often been the source of their knowledge and had fue ire to know more.

Where does trainees' knowledge and understanding of global issues come from?

Table 2 Sources of information (%)

Television	93	Magazines	52
Newspapers	90	University	48
Friends	63	Internet	47
Books	60	Films	38
Radio	58	School	28
Family	57		

Like the school children, the trainees cited television and newspapers as main sources of information, but after that they differed. Important sources of information for the children were parents and school, followed by magazines and books. As the table indicates, under half of the trainees felt they had learnt much about global issues from university even though the majority of them had just finished an undergraduate degree. In fact their main sources of information were those which could carry a particular viewpoint, so there may be a question here about how well we train young people (and in particular potential teachers) to be critical interpreters of the information they receive.

Table 3 Prior experience
(responses total more than 100% as trainees could tick more than one category)

Lived and worked abroad	43%
Family/friends from other cultures	62%
Particularly interested in global issues	58%
None of the above	13%

The questionnaire given to the children did not include this section, but, as noted above, we felt it important to go beyond the sources of information in Table 2 and look at the prior experiences of trainees. Table 3 indicates that while nearly half had lived or worked abroad, well over half had friends or family from other cultures and were interested in global issues. A minority had no interest in global issues and had no connections with other places or peoples. As noted earlier, these trainees were also those most likely to say they 'know nothing' about global issues.

Interviews shed more light on the nature of the experience of those who had lived or worked abroad. Some had taught English in other countries- e.g. India, Nepal and Morocco. Others had done voluntary work abroad, such as working for VSO, for the Raleigh International Project in Ghana and for Aids Awareness in Zimbabwe. Some had lived abroad with their families (in India, Australia, Nigeria) or travelled extensively (in Nepal, Pakistan, China, Spain etc).

Those who had lived and worked in the South spoke of the importance of experiencing difference. They spoke in terms of cultural difference, ideological difference and the difference in terms of wealth and privilege. For many, their time abroad had raised issues for them in relation to wealth and poverty and had given them a broader perspective. As one explained:

> *It opens up your eyes to how other people live and the problems they face and how like you they are... I feel that everyone is similar to each other... we live in different places but we're fundamentally the same.*

A student who had been going to India since she was young because her father worked there, described it as 'forming who I am'.

Other trainees who had not had such experiences were nonetheless aware of and interested in global issues. Some were involved with campaigning organisations or charities in the UK, such as Amnesty, Greenpeace, Traidcraft and local environmental or action groups. Others cited the influence of their parents, their friends or their religious beliefs on forming their opinions.

As an interesting aside to the interviews, many of the students wanted to point out that while they themselves were interested in issues of global inequality and committed to working for change, they did not think that all students shared their concerns. One said:

> *People don't have a clue, I remember voting....and no-one that I knew voted, I just about managed to get my flat mate to come and vote with me.*

A mature student despaired:

> *I live in a flat with people who are sort of twenty two, they honestly just don't give a damn... they don't think about it, they're not involved with any charities, they don't give a toss about environmental concerns, they just want to go out, get pissed on Friday night and watch the footy on Saturday and have fun and there's this whole kind of Hollyoaks youth culture which wasn't my adolescence and I find that really scary.*

These comments are obviously anecdotal - we cannot know how true they are- and indeed by contrast another student from the same course said she was surprised at how many people she knew were interested in global issues. Nonetheless the comments are interesting and may indicate that those who volunteered to be interviewed were not typical. Further research is needed here.

How prepared (and motivated) do trainees feel to educate for global citizenship?

Responses from the questionnaires indicated that 92% of the respondents either strongly agreed or tended to agree that 'trainee teachers need to know more about global issues', and that schools should 'educate pupils on issues affecting the world'. 95% believed that as teachers, they could make a difference to children's understanding of such issues but said that they needed to know more.

This high level of interest in and commitment to teaching about global issues was reflected in the interviews. Trainees said that it was 'essential' that children learnt about such issues, that they had broad horizons, were able to 'live internationally' and could see beyond their own 'small world'. One trainee thought that teachers who did not have this approach were 'short changing the children'. For another, there was a 'big link' between 'active citizenship and global awareness .... You need to be aware of your actions... that your actions have consequences'.

In one case, the enthusiasm for such an approach came from a recent placement, where the trainee claimed that the 'whole school ethos' reflected a commitment to global citizenship:

> *What excites me so much about multicultural classrooms is that it's there- it's tangible because the kids are from different cultures and the school reflects that.*

However this high level of commitment was matched by an equally high level of concern about how such issues should best be taught. Many could see that there were opportunities within the primary curriculum (especially in cross-curricular topics which included geography, science, English and PSME (personal, social and moral education)) but wanted much more guidance on teaching strategies and on how best to introduce global issues and the other areas related to citizenship. Concerns focussed on:

- the fear factor (children's reactions to war and violence)
- knowing how to judge what is appropriate and what isn't (especially with young children)
- how to be sure of their own role- should they be neutral or give an opinion?
- parents' reaction to dealing with controversial issues
- time for this along with everything else
- lack of confidence to deal with difficult areas (e.g. Iraq, immigration)
- knowing how to facilitate discussion
- knowing how to encourage active citizenship that's acceptable to the school
- having sufficient knowledge themselves of current issues.

One articulated these concerns:

> *The danger is that.... you're vested with this huge authority as a teacher. I think if you just say 'Well this is my view,', most of them will look to find a way of supporting your view without actually engaging with the issues. It is difficult in a primary school because they're so young.*

Discussion

Our findings indicate that trainee teachers are generally enthusiastic and committed to teaching about global issues and that many bring prior experience to their training. However, they wish to know more and lack confidence in their ability to teach what for many appear to be controversial or difficult issues. There are implications here for those of us in initial teacher education. In particular we need to:

- harness the enthusiasm and commitment many trainees bring
- help them critically evaluate their sources of information on global issues
- listen to their experiences and their concerns
- give them strategies for teaching about global and controversial issues

- provide opportunities for them to improve their own knowledge and understanding
- consider how to address the disinterest of a minority of students.

This may mean a shift in the current emphasis on the core subjects in the teacher education curriculum, or at the very least taking a more cross-curricular topic-based approach.

Garratt and Piper's comments on trainees' knowledge of citizenship, are relevant here. 'It may be appropriate', they say, 'to identify the limitation of a classroom competency driven approach to teacher training in comparison with a more socially conscious conception of teacher education' (Garratt and Piper 2003,143). A shift in the current focus of initial teacher education to include a greater emphasis on global perspectives across the curriculum will not only address the needs of the children in the MORI survey, it will also meet the needs of our young teachers. As one of our trainees said:

> *There's teaching the stuff that you have to teach but there's also educating children about life and about the real world and real issues and that's something which I feel is really important, it's close to my heart and something which I would want to do ....*

If we are to retain young teachers such as this one in the profession and provide a curriculum which is relevant to them and relevant to the twenty first century then giving time to 'the real world and real issues' would seem a sensible way forward.

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Civic education as transformation? Studying teachers within international networks

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The transformation of society: the need for legal/political/institutional change and social/psychological change

The United States Supreme Court's famous 1954 decision in Brown vs. The Board of Education, followed by the successes of the Civil Rights movement, brought about a political and legal/institutional transformation that seemed finally to achieve the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation and Civil War a century earlier. Yet, as I came to understand after a former student terrorised several states in a racist shooting spree, the United States never attempted a systematic nation-wide effort to eliminate racism through schools. The shooting was not an isolated incident, and the United States is still rife with racism and racial problems. Even the promise of Brown and the Civil Rights movement continues to languish, as the third most powerful elected official in the country publicly celebrates segregation without being compelled to resign while reports of racial purging of the voter roles before the 2000 election emerge from Florida.[1]

Could a national school-based campaign against racism have made a difference? The attitudes and dispositions we would hope to foster in students in order to overcome racism are also the foundation of a healthy and sustainable democratic government. This student had taught me that this institutional and legal/political transformation could only be fulfilled by a parallel change in the attitudes of individuals, a social and psychological transformation. Even the most enlightened social policy would fail without such a change. I began to struggle with the question of what kind of education would be necessary to overcome such antisocial attitudes.

In *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897) John Dewey wrote 'I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. All reforms which rest simply upon the law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements, are transitory and futile.' This view - that shaping individuals can bring about almost any societal change - did not live up to his expectations because it neglects the structures within which we must live. Good people within structures of government or business must sometimes make decisions they know to be against the good of humanity. As Charles Taylor explains it, if our problems were merely 'a matter of a perhaps unconscious orientation…it would be hard enough to combat, but at least it might yield to persuasion. But powerful mechanisms of social life press us…[and change] will have to be institutional as well' (Taylor, 1991). I believe that this point - that social/psychological change and institutional change are interdependent - is critical for educators to understand, particularly for civic educators, and is an idea that must be conveyed through civic education.

For post-communist countries, many of which will have moved from the Soviet Bloc to the European Union in only a dozen years, the stunning legal/institutional and political changes need to be fulfilled by a complementary transformation of attitudes and dispositions. Unlike in the United States, there is in these countries a deliberate attempt to bring about the appropriate development and transformation of democratic attitudes and dispositions through civic education. As an attempt to match social and psychological change to the relatively consolidated institutional transformation, its successes and failures are thus of global significance. Unfortunately, as Tom Vontz's evaluation of the excellent Project Citizen reveals, the development of such dispositions by even the best programmes is no easy task (Vontz, Metcalf and Patrick, 2000).

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[1] See, for example, *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy*, 2003, by Greg Palast, or articles and newsclips from BBC news at www.gregpalast.com.

The intent of this paper is not to evaluate the success of the transformation - an important task, to be sure - but to discuss the forces and structures shaping the opportunities for change. It will lay out a scheme for examining civic education as an international system. It argues that the transformation of teachers is particularly important, and it discusses some of the additional influences or constraints on civics teachers.

A schema for thinking about the global nature of civic education programmes

For heuristic purposes, permeable levels can be identified in the development of civic education reform. These are international civics networks, funding agencies, and governmental organisations (CiCe, Civitas, USAID, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the European Union etc.) There is a real division between the United States and Europe: one European official characterised the difference and the struggle for influence as a war. Speaking generally about the influence on education, the official derided the privatised education springing up that has such high tuition that some young women turned to prostitution to help pay for their education. Another, referring specifically to civics, stated that there were general philosophical differences between Europe and the US, and while a variety of views is healthy for a democracy, in fact it seemed to produce paralysis. Groups in some countries seemed unable to choose between approaches, and when conferences were organised with both Americans and Europeans present to facilitate an informed decision, it became evident that they didn't want to make a decision that would jeopardise funding from either source. Some American officials with whom I have spoken concur that there are deep philosophical differences, and there seems to be little interest in cooperation or coordination between groups that would seem to be competing for influence in transition societies.

One of the ideological differences between the US and Europe concerns governmental or non-governmental groups. The idea of civil society, which is very popular for a variety of reasons in the United States, motivates many networks to cooperate with so-called non-governmental organisations. The EU and the Council of Europe, however, often work through official channels, government ministries, etc., and ask them to supply an appropriate person for a desired position or representative. In this way, American and European networks can create a schism that penetrates into national contexts, where they essentially compete for influence through different channels. In addition, the Council of Europe is sometimes felt by those in the Baltic states to devote its more limited energies and resources to crisis areas, e.g. south-eastern Europe, rather than to relatively stable-seeming countries; USAID retired Estonia (and similar states) by 1995 and concentrated its efforts in Africa and elsewhere.

In practice, the American interest in civil society seems to create the appearance of civil society. A truly independent civil society requires funding, and transition countries, particularly small ones, do not yet seem to have the surplus income to support many such organisations independently. As a result, many NGOs in fact get a lot of funding from the government, which makes their status a little less clear. The problem seems to be more in foreign definitions and expectations than in the reality. While some NGOs are full-fledged and flourishing institutions, some seem to be ad-hoc, with apt titles, but little more than a mailbox most of the time. Perhaps Americans wink at this practice, whereby people can basically declare themselves an NGO, have a title, business cards, a mailbox and maybe a brochure but little more, or perhaps it suffices; this is not at all to say that such arrangements are unsuccessful, merely that the concepts and the expectations they carry can be misleading.

One problem 'fully-functioning' NGOs face is the need for a constant stream of money, and since outside funding sources often have their own agendas and ideas, the local NGOs seem compelled to jump from one project to the next. The projects may all be worthy, but without sustained funding, textbooks may be created but courses never developed and implemented to use them; there is neither the time nor money available to lobby governments to adopt new programs. In addition, NGOs must constantly be looking for the next activity and source of income, further cutting into their time. In sum, they are less able to develop and to implement a coherent strategy due to the ad-hoc nature and the piecemeal and multiple-source character of their funding.

Finally, amidst some scarcity and insecurity, self-preservation and personal interests can collide with principles or ideal solutions, while money and opportunities can be distributed more to build personal networks than to select the participants most obviously connected to the work, or even functional in the official languages in use. One individual expressed to me a disinclination to participate in a certain reform because a positive change could undermine the ability to justify international assistance, thereby threatening this person's well-being. There is no mechanism to guarantee that actors sacrifice self-interest to principle, and the stability and long tenure of relationships and contacts may conflict with the goals of a broader distribution of training, experience and ideas.

Power comes with money, and though some make every attempt to be sure they enter into contracts as equals, often the funding institutions provide the 'experts', whether this is in fact valid or not. And there may still be some imbalance between transition countries and EU countries and the US, a problem sometimes exacerbated by language barriers. Access to English was more constrained than in Western Europe, and creative thinking (like early posting of papers) can help where funding is absent. While money can create some unequal or 'semi-equal' partnerships, some groups like the Soros Foundation devote money for 'east-to-east' meetings to share developments and experiences.

Between these international and national actors, particularly teacher-trainers, textbook authors, curriculum-developers and researchers, stands a language barrier. This language barrier is permeable in one direction: ideas easily work their way into these countries, because many national actors are multilingual. Few outsiders can fully appreciate what is going on inside, though, because few people involved with civic education master languages like Czech, Hungarian or Estonian. This creates a certain autonomy for actors working with international money.

From national actors, ideas are passed along to teachers (who sometimes work on textbooks too, or in teacher training) through textbooks, teacher-training sessions, exam-preparation materials from the government, etc. These forces shape teachers who pass along ideas in the classroom to the students. This is a general outline of the civic-education-related structures within which teachers work, develop, and participate.

Civic education in transition countries: the role of experiences, others, the media and textbooks in changing mentalities

How well has civic education succeeded in its task of changing mentalities? I think we all believe in the potential of civic education but have concerns about its efficacy, particularly in the hands of people, some of whom had their opportunities for professional growth severely constrained, some of whom are uninterested in change, and some of whom have serious reservations about the changes they see. (Others have, of course, completely reinvented themselves with the help of these networks' support.) A focus on civic education provides only a partial view into the changing of mentalities during transition. It is partial for three reasons: first, civic education is only one of many factors that shape civic views; second, because its audience is children, not people who grew up in the Soviet Bloc. Finally, in Estonia at least, students have only one hour a week of civic education in the fourth, eighth and ninth grades, and two hours a week in the twelfth grade.

Regarding the factors that shape our views, I suggest in my teaching that everything we know comes from four main sources: textbooks, the media, our experiences, and from other people (and what we learn from others must ultimately derive from one of the first three sources.) Among the people from whom students learn, are civics teachers more influential than friends and family members? Do textbooks hold their own against the media? What weight do civics courses hold when compared to life experiences? Perhaps civic education does not play much of a role. Indeed, those of us who grew up in market economies and democracies may have learned mostly from experience, the media and our families. We know, for example, that a family's level of education and the number of books in the home are highly correlated with civic knowledge (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz, 2001). To note one example, when teachers in Estonia began to speak about the law and legal issues, they found that many (if not most) children thought that the court system used juries, which are not used in Estonia. They are prominent, however, in Hollywood movies.

Particularly important for civic education teachers would seem to be political participation itself, particularly in school reform. Reform of the education system is a critical element for the long-term success of the democratisation and preparation for a free market projects. As McGinn and Epstein emphasise, in transitional states we should understand democratisation not just in terms of the existence of majority rule or guaranteed rights, but in terms of participation both in decision-making and in the formulation of choices (McGinn and Epstein, 1999). What role does education play in increasing participation and democratisation? The relationship between democratisation and education is quite complex. Unlike long-established democracies where children are by far the primary focus of educational transformation for democratic citizenship, this transformation is needed throughout the population in post-communist countries. Increased participation in education, therefore, 'offers adult citizens a unique opportunity to participate in the governance of their society' and in 'the generation of a majority consensus about issues' (McGinn and Epstein, 1999). Such participation in decision-making is particularly important for teachers, who have the task of introducing children to the ideals of democracy and participation. Their direct experience of democratic governance, or lack of it, has the potential to play a critical role in the civic education of their students. An important policy question, then, with implications for civic education, concerns the extent to which teachers are provided with opportunities to participate in democratic decision-making in the work-place or are afforded the leisure to participate substantially in voluntary organisations outside school.

In the aftermath of the Soviet's authoritarian and hierarchical policies that had severe penalties for deviance, the current push for decentralisation creates new spaces for individual action throughout the policy process (Buroway and Verdery, 1999), thus meriting close examination to policy-as-practice (Sutton and Levinson, 2001). Civil society institutions can play a significant role in policy through numerous means, including influencing policy-makers and training implementers; when policy-makers see aspects of policy being handled to their satisfaction by other groups, it frees them to limit their own areas of concern and to withdraw precious resources from those functions. This dynamic means that the range of policy and the actors involved are ever-shifting. Indeed, the well-studied macro-level changes, such as democratisation, are increasingly constituted by micro-level processes, such as shifts in authority centres and variable policy implementation; these micro-level processes have been relatively neglected by scholars (Buroway and Verdery, 1999), but additional study of these processes is needed for an examination of the role of education in democratisation.

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