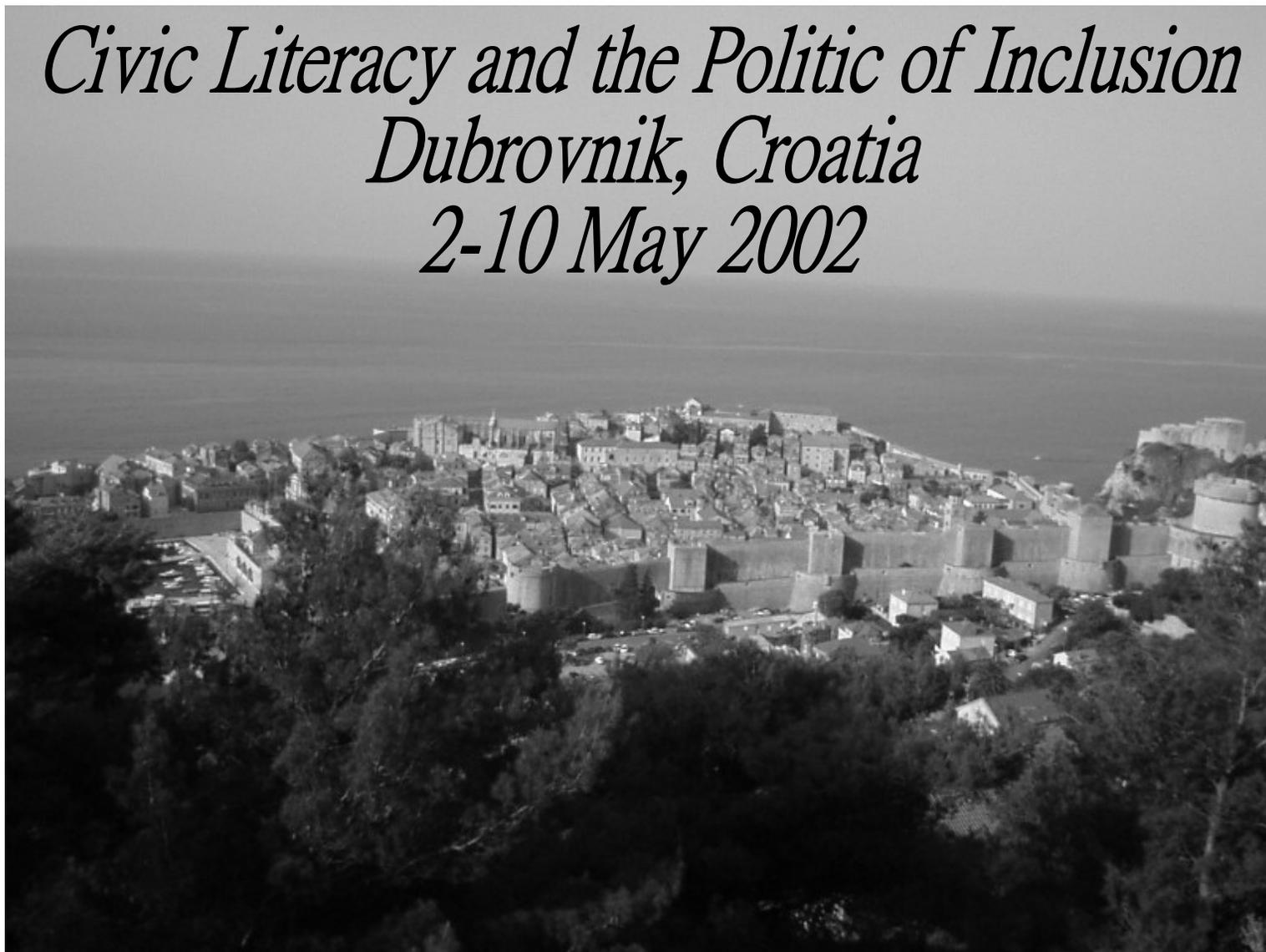


Journal of Ethno-Development

*Civic Literacy and the Politic of Inclusion
Dubrovnik, Croatia
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**Detroit, MI, USA
September 2002**

EDITORIAL - DUBROVNIK JOURNAL

We are publishing the papers derived from our May 1-10, 2002 meetings in Dubrovnik (Croatia) - *Globalization and the Politics of Inclusion: Civic Literacy and Civic Education*. We are publishing them in the *Journal of Ethno-Development*, which will appear both in hardcopy and on web-site. Should the issue provoke sufficient interest, we will revive the Journal on a three issues per year basis¹, dealing with Civic Literacy and Civic Education: The Politics of Inclusion and Globalization.

In this editorial we will address three issues: **first**, is the organization of the articles in this issue; **second**, is the strategy for September through December 2002 including the role of October 26th; and **third** is the implementation of the agenda developed at the Dubrovnik meetings

Item 1: The Organization of the Articles

The May 1-10, 2002 Dubrovnik meetings grew out of the *Divided Societies* seminars organized by Professor Silva Meznaric. A half day session at the 2001 seminars was dedicated to the discussion of Civic Literacy and Civic Education: Globalization and the Politics of Inclusion. During this session we discussed organizing a separate seminar in 2002. Maja Uzelac undertook the organizational task for Dubrovnik and Croatia and Otto Feinstein the task for bringing in the international participants.

The seminar had three functions and the articles we have included represent that structure: function **one** was to develop a set of collaborations between Croatia and the Detroit Civic Literacy-Youth Urban agenda project at both the theoretical and practical levels; function **two** was to develop similar collaborations between all the seminar participants and their networks; function **three** was to develop a local-international environment for developing a theory and action base on civic literacy and civic education: the politics of inclusion and globalization. The first twelve (12) articles in this issue are the results of what we considered the **Theoretical Discussion**. The second set of twelve (12) articles are the results of what we called the **Discussions of Practice**. We have also included a section called **Documents** which presents the Tallinn Declaration (July 4, 2001), the basic document explaining our activities; the Minutes of the Dubrovnik Meeting (May 1-10, 2002), our effort at this time to implement the Tallinn Declaration; and the basic document of the formation of the International Institute for Practice, Policy and Research for the Education of Adults.

In future issues we will encourage discussions of the existing articles and the presentation of new concepts and information, using the theoretical dimensions (as in the Tallinn Declaration) for clarification of the **Great Transformation** (the shift from industrial-urban to communication-information society, often called **Globalization**) and the significance of the **Politics of Inclusion**. On the practical level, we will explore the needs, demands and responses for civic literacy and civic education.

Item 2: The September-December 2002 Strategy

We are looking at the September through December activities as strengthening our existing base in Southeast Michigan and the network of our international contacts. Starting in 2003 we are looking at a number of base areas and international contacts with both our own networks and with other networks dealing with civic literacy and civic education in relation to globalization and the politics of inclusion. The focus for September-December is the International Youth Civic Literacy Convention to be held in Detroit on Saturday October 26 and linked to other sites by means of computers and if possible, interactive television to at least 10 other cities in the United States and 10 abroad.

¹ The annual subscription rate will be \$50 US for three issues and \$20 for students. We are also asking those of you who could obtain institutional co-sponsorship for the Journal to indicate at what financial level this would be possible. We thought of three levels: Co-Sponsor at \$500 a year; Supporter at \$250 a year, and Donor at \$100 a year. At this stage our goal would be to raise \$12,000.00 US for the first year. 100 subscribers @ \$50 = \$5,000; 100 subscribers @ \$20 = \$2,000; 20 donors @ \$100 = \$2,000; 4 supporters @ \$250 = \$1,000; 4 Co-Sponsors @ \$500 = \$2,000.

Based on the 2001/2002 project on *Student Voices* and *Justice Talking* which over a five year period will link Universities with school systems in 25 cities in the United States; based on multi-year support for the Youth Urban Agenda-Civic Literacy project by Wayne State University and its College of Labor, Urban and Metropolitan Affairs, funded by Wayne County government through its Jobs and Education Division of the Economic Development and Jobs Department, we anticipate participation at the convention and the civic education program leading to it from 150 classes in middle schools, high school, adult education programs and post-secondary (colleges and universities) institutions. Within the resource available we will be inviting students/teachers from the international school-to-school project to visit us on the 26th of October for about a week. We are asking our national and international networks to carry out programs on that day or week indicating the interest of younger people in the politics of inclusion and the learning/education it requires. The nature of this set of events will provide the momentum for the Dubrovnik Agenda and the Tallinn Declaration. By January 1, 2003 we hope to have at least 1,000 signers for the Tallinn Declaration.

The agenda for the convention is as follows:

09:00-09:30	Plenary - Welcome, Convention Rules, Initial Presentations
09:30-10:30	Agenda Issues - 40 Small Workshops
10:30-11:30	Agenda Issues - 40 Small Workshops
11:30-12:30	Small Group Workshops
12:30-01:30	Plenary - Agenda Issue Presentations and Voting the Agenda

Teacher Training and student facilitator workshops for the fall semester Youth Civic Literacy-Urban Agenda and for the international school-to-school project will be organized in both August and September in Detroit. Dates will be posted soon on our web-site www.urbanagenda.wayne.edu. By the September we hope to have a teacher training distance education course with video and written materials available on the web-site.

Item 3: The Dubrovnik Agenda

Thirteen (13) goals were presented from the working groups organized at the May 1-10 workshops in Dubrovnik:

1. Publication of the Dubrovnik Papers by 1 October 2002 in English and Croatian
2. Circulation of the Tallinn Declaration with explanation of key points by 1 October 2002
3. International school-to-school sites in 60 partnerships by 1 October 2002
4. Assessment /Evaluation Group - outline objectives and organize group 15 November 2002
5. Delegation to South Africa December 2002
6. Books for Chechnya start in fall 2002
7. International MA Program and Summer Courses - develop plan in September 2002
8. Theory group development and selection start in September 2002
9. Collaboration with ESREA - joint meetings - develop plan in September 2002
10. Distance Learning course on *Globalization* - develop approach in September 2002
11. October 26 *International Youth Civic Literacy Convention* - start organizing July 2002
12. Spring-Summer 2003 meeting in Dubrovnik - review outcomes, fix new plans
13. Meetings in other areas to be defined after October- before end December
Moscow, Instambul, South Africa, Ireland and Novosibirsk

Please fill-out the form on page ____ and e-mail or mail to us the activities you would be willing to participate in and if you and/or your institution would be interested in subscribing/supporting the *Journal*.

IN MEMORIAM

I want to thank Prof. Otto Feinstein and members of the International institute for giving me this opportunity to share some worthy and memorable accomplishments about one of our colleagues, Ettore Gelpi, a member of the Institute and one who was responsible for my participation in the Institute.

My acquaintance dates back to my years as a graduate intern at Paris I University, Sorbonne annexed to UNESCO where Ettore held tenure as Director of the Lifelong Learning Department. His leadership to younger students and colleagues particularly to myself was strong and of high esteem. Subsequently, this relationship will lead to ample opportunities for me in terms of international travel, collaboration in research and travel.

Prof. Ettore Gelpi grew up in Milan, Italy. He was educated in local institutions and received a doctorate degree in sociology. As a trained sociologist, his motivation in the struggle for equity and social justice sparked a radical interest in the labor unions in Italy. After a short stint with the labor unions, he proceeded in 1972 to work for UNESCO in the *Education Permanente* (Lifelong Learning) sector until he retired in 1993. During his years at UNESCO, he served as Adjunct Faculty in the Department of Sociology at Paris I University, Sorbonne.

Ettore made major inroads with the emerging concept of Lifelong Learning promoting it both at the university and the community levels. He was passionate about his work, exploring various areas of contemporary interest such as existing educational systems and inclusive practices, social conflicts - ethnicity, identity and global resource management. His major works include: *A History of Education* (1956); *Land Resource Consciousness* (1992); *Lifelong Learning: problems of Work and Educational perspectives* (1986). He was also a regular contributor to *Education Comparative* and *Dabar*, both dealing with sociological and educational issues of the day.

Prof. Gelpi was very international in his orientation pushing for change and pioneering in his lifelong learning efforts. He was a key proponent of distance learning serving students in Spain, Japan, Argentina, Mexico and Italy. He was a founding member of the League for Education in France, a network of over 36,000 local agencies to revise education in Europe. Ettore spoke four languages (French, Italian, Spanish, English) and loved swimming and fine dining. Gelpi died on March 21, 2002. He was 69. He is survived by his wife Brunella.

Below is an excerpt from one of his works that was presented in Strasbourg (France) to the European Parliament in December 1994.

Jean-Claude QUENUM, Ph.D

We join in *Memorium* for our dear friend and colleague - Ettore Gelpi and dedicate this issue of the *Journal* to our long years of productive collaboration

Editors **Journal of Ethno-Development**

Education of Adults for Democratic Citizenship

Education and Politics in the Field of Education in Europe

Ettore Gelpi

"At this time in history the competitive State is to a certain extent altering the condition of social stratification. The major crises affecting the middle and popular social classes, both indigenous and immigrant, are leading to a dual society, to inclusion and exclusion. The transformation of the role of the State is at the base of the major changes in the education of adults, which in the past years has to a large extent become the synonym for professional training to prepare for the competition between individuals, countries and regions. The terminological confusion (education of adults, continuing professional education, permanent education, permanent education of adults) disguises the reality to be dealt with.

If the meaning of legislation is evident, the concept **politics** has multiple meanings. Actually, educational politics deals with both the general direction education as well as the implementation of this general direction. It thus precedes and follows the legislation (especially as it deals with finances and with administration).

The Europe of adult education is extremely differentiated in its ancient and recent history and not only by its geographic regions which are over used generalizations (North, South, East West and Central). One can see that both the East European and South European countries (specifically the economically less developed regions) have a relative autonomy in both their legislation and politics in relation to the European and International institutions. On the other hand the Northern countries don't see themselves tied to these directives as they are more autonomous, not only educationally, but above all economically.

Legislation or discretion to assure the education of adults, individual right or collective education for adults ? This debate is being left behind by the reality which often makes training to a certain extent "obligatory" for part of the work force (employed or unemployed). Is the training the result of direct actions of the public educational institutions, the result of subsidies by non-governmental organizations, or funded by the adults themselves ? Privatization is certainly a new tendency but the new reality is that the public institutions themselves are entering a process of competition,

Comparisons in Europe Regarding the Education of Adults - Legislation and Politics

Both the legislation and the politics of the education of adults, both at the national and European levels, deal with only a limited aspect of the education of adults, which itself is undergoing a rapid transformation. The legislation, the politics of work and social policy seem more significant than the educational policies.

The educational system is undergoing a new phase of integration between initial education and continuing education, the movement of students within the educational system, interaction between residential education, distance education, formal and non-formal. Self-education is becoming and being recognized as an important component of both initial and continuing education. The educational profession today includes both teachers and adult educators.

One can also observe the privatization of the education of adults, a strong relation between production and education (education at work, professional education within the enterprise, the use of multimedia, significant financial support for non-governmental organizations, financial incentives to private enterprises to stimulate professional development at the work-site, and the creation of centers for the education of adults in various countries.

As far as the public is concerned, the great diversification of the education of adults is not so much an instrument for positive actions, but more a strategy to stimulate adaptation, performance and competition for a part of the adult population. For example equalization of chances for access in the world of work have stimulated a variety of adult education programs. But the statistics still indicate major differences in the area of employment between men and women.

The individualization of education deals more with the act of self-education (independent or assisted) than with the choice by the individual of the outcomes and contents of this education.

The elimination of unemployment is the key objective of much of the educational legislation addressing youth and adults. But the measures address the unemployed and not the financial, economic, and labor policies which cause medium and long-term unemployment.

It is interesting to note that the responsibility for policy and legislation in the area of education for adults in Europe is located at various levels (the European Union, the Nation, the Region, the Provinces and the Cities) often autonomous but also well developed.

The reports on adult education in Europe contain ample information on the positive development, but often underestimate, the fact that an important part of the European population (native born and immigrant) are de-facto excluded from the formal educational system, for economic, social and often ethnic reasons. The ad hoc programs for integrating these excluded programs are often non-effective.

The wealth of the European experience with the education of adults, due to the multiplicity of actors (institutional and non-institutional), their dynamics (centralization and decentralization), the cultural educational initiatives of grass-roots organization and not only those reported by radio and television could allow a reciprocal enrichment between the European countries, if the real conditions can be known, even if they do not correspond to a) the objectives advanced by the national

and European institutions which finance the education of adults and the related research, or b) the interests of the various adult education lobbies (which often serve as substitutes for the struggle of the workers and their educational actions).

The comparative studies which are used to prepare new legislation and educational policies would be the gainers, if they focused on the social cultural economic reality. Listening to the workers - laborers and cadres, young and old, unemployed, at risk, immigrants, the alienated, during their time of work and their leisure time, does not seem to be of great concern of the majority of researchers, which could be related to the source of the financing of the research.

The development and recognition of academic and professional qualifications are important elements of the legislation dealing with the education of youth and adults in relation to the functioning of the European labor market.

The mobility of pupils and students, as well as that of young workers and adults is a powerful tool for cultural and linguistic education. On the other hand a political and economic Europe functioning at different speeds could create a Europe of different speeds of education and could divide the mobility of those who live in Europe (native born and immigrant).

The Sociological Framework for the Education of Adults in Europe

The diversity in providing access to education for adults, is not only present in the legislation of the different States, but represents the relation of different populations with the world of work. Unemployment, ten times as high in Andalusia as in Luxembourg (Eurostat, 1995), shapes the education of adults more than the legislation dealing with adult education. The regional disparities, which have become worse in various European countries, divide the populations more than the national divisions. Urbanization which has developed in certain countries related to the creation of employment, can result in the developments not related to the national legislation, but to urban regional unemployment. As a result there are: a) a decline in the interest for adult education of an important sector of the population (which does not see any relation between education and the improvement of their own situation), b) the loss of a view of education as a value, etc. and the imposition of professional education on significant parts of the population.

The new policies of the education of adults in general tend to reduce the role of the State in education as it concerns direct participation (in the schools and in the Universities), stimulates privatization of education both in initial education and continuing education, concentrates the investment in techno-professional education, and leaves to the media a key role in the cultural development of the population by means of commercialization, financing in a marginal way those organization and institutions if they directly express the conditions of that section of the population most exposed to the consequences of change (unemployed, immigrant workers, senior citizens with marginal resources, refugees, prisoners and former prisoners, particularly when they engage in the struggle for inclusion).

The judicial and legislative actions in relation to privatization of education, often do not find an organized resistance within the galaxy of adult education structures of European adult education, which are most often public institutions or institutions with a public mission. These do not seem conscious of being instruments of educational policies which reflect an educational ideology imposed by discreet means on European and non-European countries by the most powerful international agencies and the multinationals of education and communications.

On the ideological level the education of adults is still tied to the *positivist view of modernity* (the importance of professional education for development and growth). At the same time, several post-modernist theoreticians of the education of adults, seem to ignore the fact that certain ideologies are not dead and that there has been a substitution of the conflictual ideologies of yesterday by a dominant ideology which hardly implies the end of history, quite the contrary.

From this emerges the need for an education of adults which stimulates critical thinking and the right to refuse imposed educational approaches. Given this perspective, what kind of educational policy is desirable ? Is there an alternative to the educational policy for adults which reenforces the dualism in society, to the policies of States which stimulate and finance education within enterprises by the enterprises (workers in the situation of workers) and which deals directly or by means of communal organizations with the marginal population (marginal workers, immigrants and the unemployed)? The end product of the first type of education is the production of sellable human capital, the end product of the second type is the survival of the marginal populations which indirectly promotes the value of human capital.

The Theoretical Discussion

Civic Education – what for?

Social responsibility between citizenship and international aid

Srdan Dvornik¹

Zagreb,
Croatia

Speaking from outside of any educational system, what should the 'final product' of civic education be like? Active and responsible citizens, supposedly. If we take a look at what this active and responsible citizenship is about, the first question we encounter relates to the very concept of citizen. Is s/he conceived primarily as a member of the state or a member of society?

In the liberal tradition, society is the sphere of private affairs – business-related or intimate – where people practice freely their pursuit for happiness, while the necessary care of the general framework was delegated to the state. A century-long experience shows, however, that such delegation is not sufficiently guaranteed by a periodical check of confidence in elections. The demand for bodies of political power to be open to public scrutiny is as old as modern democracy. As density and complexity of the necessary regulations in society grow, along with growing interference of the state into society, active and committed groups of members of society realize they must reciprocate. That is the very meaning of the concept of civil society in the contemporary sense: constant interference of citizens into the affairs of the authorities and the public institutions.

Thus, civil society is not a 'part' of social structure. Its core is an attitude, an active relation to social issues, based on a more or less informed will to do something about one's own community or society. No longer limited to the space of private affairs, protected from state interference, and after the experiences of 'new social movements' in established democracies in the seventies and eighties, as well as democratic 'revolutions' that overturned communist regimes, 'civil society' has acquired a new meaning, capturing the phenomenon of citizens' reclaiming parts of the political functions that had been delegated to (or usurped by) parties and systems of political and public institutions.

Such understanding of the concept has two important implications. First, behavior of people actively involved in a civil society may go beyond advocacy of their respective particular self-interests, and consequently cannot always be reduced to their particular socio-economic positions. In other words, such behavior implies a strong voluntary factor. That is precisely why the concept of civil society played such prominent role in the turnover of communist regimes. That, however, may lead to self-referentiality,

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which is the very issue in my dealing with the Croatian case. Second, the 'definition' suggested here does not tell us anything about the content or orientation of interests or values advocated by various actors of a civil society. There is nothing in it to imply that such interests or values should be “progressive” or “liberal” etc. On the contrary, we have recently seen examples of an extremely chauvinistic right-wing movement that has advocated authoritarianism 'from below' in Croatia.

One way or another, one thing is clear: civic attitude implies commitment that goes beyond private and particular interests, gives something for nothing, and involves some degree of solidarity among people. Dependent on what the basis of the solidarity is, we may have a community initiative, a xenophobic chauvinist nationalism, and anti-globalist global solidarity with the whole mankind

The voluntaristic approach notwithstanding, there are certain social and cultural conditions:

1. A strong 'middle class', no matter how vague the term is; suffice it to say that it encompasses all those members of a society who have sufficient discretionary money and free time to dedicate a part of it to voluntary work, but do not have direct access to or impact on power holders.
2. Political culture of participation: a sense of responsibility among citizens for consequences of political decisions and policies implemented by political and public institutions, accompanied by readiness to engage in monitoring, control, correcting (by constructive initiatives, as well as pressures), and co-determining policies and actions of the authorities.

From this standpoint, it is obvious that neither condition was met when the communist regime imploded and a process began, which we still believe is a transition to democracy. Instead of discretionary money and free time – the need to do extra work just to make ends meet, if you are lucky to have a job. Instead of participatory political culture, human solidarity and commitment – a mixture of apolitical apathy and nationalistic collectivism. *That* is where *civic education* comes into the game – in the span between requirements of democratic transition and the lack of prerequisites.

Two institutional systems can be found on the scene: the official educational system of the state and the networks of nongovernmental organizations. Although many would object to calling the latter an “institutional system”, and in spite of its often-unsystematic traits, it has played a substantial part in civic education in the post-communist countries.

The state educational system is not the subject of this presentation. It must be noted, though, that it has two essential built-in drawbacks, which cannot be overcome even by the best imaginable methods of civic education: (a) a significant element of authoritarianism can hardly be removed from the very essence of the schooling system; (b) the supreme controller of the system – the state – is in a sort of conflict of interests when it comes to educating its young citizens for democracy and active responsible citizenship.

The non-governmental “system” started literally as learning by doing: Non-governmental organizations emerged mainly as a response to the war crisis and consequences of nationalistic authoritarianism. Struggling with the immediate results (refugees and displaced persons; growing ethnic intolerance which led to widespread discrimination and, consequently, ethnic “cleansing”, etc.; rapid deterioration in equality of rights in relation to gender), they implicitly advocated basic values of freedom, democracy, nonviolence, tolerance, solidarity, and tried to play a constructive critical role in building the rule of law in the country. However, they seldom explicitly challenged the dominant nationalistic political discourse (a few important exceptions should be made, such as certain organizations for human rights). Moreover, political confrontation was often deliberately avoided.

Given the implicit opposition between the basic values of these civic groups and organizations on one hand, and ideological tenets of the nationalistic regime that enjoyed a vast majority support on the other, civic organizations failed to develop a broad constituency of volunteers; instead, they existed mainly as exotic islands in the society, whose very existence depended on support from international donors. The civic facet of international aid to democracy development is a significant, but seldom critically scrutinized aspect of globalization.

Apart from the unavoidable impact of the agendas of the international organizations (NGOs no less than foundations), it should be pointed out that international support, coming not only in money but in training and education as well, had significant political and cultural impact. The content of training and education varied from technical know-how (running an organization; project management; fund-raising, etc.) to a sort of acculturation. Knowledge is never merely technical, value-neutral and indifferent to social patterns. While civic-cultural impacts were hardly exercised deliberately and explicitly, i.e. as manipulation, they were certainly present by virtue of selection of subject matter and types of approaches. It should be worth considering and analyzing why education in 'translating' social problems into *political* issues and advocating them through various forms of political action was almost never developed and practiced, while topics like nonviolent communication, conflict resolution (later renamed into 'transformation', management etc.), mediation, etc. were dominant. Even when public advocacy was put into focus, it was presented either technically, in a form of content-neutral “know-how”, or on issues and experiences coming from respective societies of the international trainers and educators. As a result, in the view of many activists, massive social, political, and military conflicts that involved whole societies were reduced to terms of inter-personal or small-group relations. Methods and techniques transferred from 'normal' societies resulted in a total lack of political education, that was badly needed, given the tradition of apolitical attitudes.

What is at stake is a simple question: from where do civic actors draw their problems? How do they become aware of issues they are to deal with?

The essential problem with such an impact does not lie so much in the very patterns of attitudes and action, but in the fact that it invisibly undermined the sense of *social responsibility* that had underlaid the early stages of development of the local civil society. Thus, the intended democratic transition encounters two obstacles: On top of

the absence of a social group interested and powerful enough to bring about democracy (a 'revolution' without a 'revolutionary class') and the lack of political spirit and will among common citizens that might overcome or substitute that absence, the capacity of political action among civic NGOs – the supposed tip of the iceberg of civil activism – is very weak.

Why such an emphasis on the political?

Because the key problem or task of a democratic transition is not just using/exercising democratic rights or making democratic institutions work, but *creating and establishing institutions of democracy and the rule of law*. What we have had as a political system is not a state in the modern sense, i.e. a system of legislation, political decision-making, judiciary, and governance based on equality before law and neutral to particular social and economic interests, but a structure wherein certain particular interests and political power have been inextricably intermingled, or better (worse), wherein holding the state power was established as a particular interest opposed to the whole society. The President of the Republic and his aides were in a position to run the economy, to impose a 'spiritual reform' on the whole society, even to decide on the names of football teams or on the composition of the national team. What is worse, such structure has been legitimate: it enjoyed tacit if not explicit support of the majority of the population, thanks to the deeply rooted nationalistic ideology which elevated the state to the level of a sacred value. By the same token, even when the power holders were finally perceived as selfish and corrupt, that did not affect the attitude toward the state itself. As a result, the change of power after the last elections has not entailed any serious political reform. Moreover, it was the civic initiatives that had to stand in defence of the very basic institutions of the rule of law. Therefore, every responsible relation to any social problem must include the task of changing not only relevant policies, but also the very institutions that are supposed to make decisions, as well as predominant social attitudes.

This is not the place to elaborate a concept, or a possible program, of political education for nongovernmental organizations. Suffice it to say that it must include all substantial consequences of the attitude that recognizes all social problems – small or big, local or national – as potentially political issues. That means:

- problems should be seen and defined as a community- or public concern, not just a concern of a particular group;
- argumentation strategies must be developed which relate particular problems to generalizable values or standards;
- demands should be translated into solutions that are demonstrably feasible, which makes the demands more powerful;
- the places of relevant decision- or policy-making must be detected and responsible persons pointed out;
- problem statements, solutions/demands, and political targets must be proven legitimate in open public debate;
- only on such basis, the known methods of campaigns, public advocacy and lobbying should be employed, as well as methods of using media.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

Maja Uzelac

Research on education for liberation and strategies to achieve it have to include all aspects of education as it has been conceived in the book on *Education in Developments* (Haavelsrud,1996). This means that education is seen as inclusive of the actions necessary to eliminate the present contradictions and to create potential alternate realities.

The conditions for this would vary for different contexts dependent upon the historical development of the nation and its position in the world system of centres and peripheries, of the impacts of the process of globalisation (see Table 1). Thus it seems that only limited possibilities for liberating education (including action) exist in the formal schooling systems, whereas the possibilities are greater in informal education and adult education associated with citizen's movements and civil initiatives, campaigns, pressure groups and/or political parties.



This view is presented in the Tallinn Declaration, which is an act/action looking at the process of globalisation as stimulating the issue of inclusion, inclusion of the knowledge and experience of millions of people into the policy-making of the globalising society.

"Knowledge and experience accumulated by thousands of adult educators and millions of adult learners in various parts of the world over the past two generations is critical in developing interrelationships between the local and the global, and in the formation of new alliances, structures and practices that move towards a politics and learning of inclusion."

Tallinn Declaration (July 4, 2001)

This is not to say that formal schooling systems are not able to introduce some education for liberation at its edges, such as sites for citizenship, or extracurricular activities on peace and human rights (see the project information on Peaceful problem solving in Croatia schools), but formal systems of education are used to transmit dominant ideology, sometimes necessary for the continuation of the oppressive structures and to assess the success of the system in its attempt at indoctrination (Phillips, 1993).

The important tasks of further research is to continue the analysis and documentation of schooling as compulsion, but of education as liberation and strategies of change. As always it is easier to do critical research on present structures of compulsion (and indoctrination) than to invest in attempts of transcending the present.

Two examples of schooling and education in Croatia underline the existing contradictions: one is given by the recent analysis of history and civic textbooks in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia (Baranović; Hodzic, 2000). This study of content showed very similar findings (which will be summarized briefly only to show the problem of indoctrination): non-addressing of diversity issues and of bias-related incidents (such as the holocaust), focusing on "tradition" and "Nation" in the way of systematic cultivating intolerance and hostility toward the Other (nation, religion of "enemies"), diachronic cause-effect relationships in the content mainly referring to the past, causes of conflicts connected with value premises (not interests), and references often made to "many believe" and similar generalisations. In this paper we will not discuss how such content is dealt with in the classroom or group.

The second example is about the project on communication and conflict resolving skills in education for peace and human rights in 87 Croatian schools (in Eastern and Western Slavonia and Dalmatia region) done by NGO "Mali korak" Centre for Culture of Peace and Non-violence from 1995- 2001.

Supported by UNICEF, the Project's implementation started in 1995 and is still continuing in primary schools throughout Croatia. In the school year or 1999/2000 it was implemented in 52 primary schools, and next year in 87 schools. More than 2800 schoolchildren were included in 20-week extracurricular programme. The purpose of this programme model was to change attitudes, behaviours and experiences related to conflict and violence: improve coping with problem and conflict situations, develop awareness of prejudice, of one's own rights as well as the rights of others both in those who participate in the Programme (students) and those who deliver it (teachers). Working together we have all become more mature: the teachers, the students and I myself. Meeting teachers I could see how independent and inventive they became - throughout time they developed their skills in structuring the workshops themselves, adapting the activities and creating them to suit the children's needs. And the students, they were - according to the qualitative and quantitative analysis in the evaluation report - increasing their positive self-concept, prosocial behaviour, community building relationships, critical thinking, assertiveness, non-authoritarian behaviour, in a word - their transformational power.

(Note by the editor): It is in the context of these schooling/educational contradictions that civic literacy/civic education must address globalisation and the politics of inclusion.

Intercultural Education, Globalisation and Civic Literacy

Jagdish Gundara

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Introduction

Much thinking, educational work and initiatives have focused on the issue of civic literacy on the global context. Yet, globalisation is not a singular phenomena, which in and of itself is a good thing. This paper would like to focus on the issue of economic globalisation since many aspects of it are inimical to inclusive global citizenship. Civic literacy and citizenship are as such a political and legal reality which pertains to nation states.

Economic globalisation is not only a contemporary phenomena although it has become very different in scale and form from previous periods in history. The current scale of activity in political, economic, social and cultural terms knows fewer frontiers than at previous periods. In historical terms the process of globalisation has been influenced by mass migrations and travel, the movements of cultures and religions, war and invasions, flow of images and information as well as trade, investments, finance and production. The cumulative historical, as well as the deeper, and faster contemporary impact of these processes have profound implications for localities and nation states, and notions of civic literacy within them.¹ Social exclusions at these levels now have massive implications for violence from the local levels to the global.

The historical processes of domination and subordination have contemporary aspects of advancing western financial and corporate interests. Such global processes cannot of themselves fulfil conditions for global civic literacy and citizenship because the privatisations at global levels have impoverished the public domains within nation states and increased the gaps within and across societies. It is the re-invigoration of inclusive public cultures in public institutions, which can help strengthen the notions of democratic engagements at global levels. One of the barriers in this process can be the way in which exclusive notions of citizenship paves the way for denying rights of these who do not seem to belong and are asylum seekers or refugees. At this level issues of human rights and education about human rights is necessary.

Globalisation and Exclusions

The pressures on nations during the post-colonial period has led to intense pressures and strains on many national governments. One of the problems has been the difficulty of holding together socially diverse polities in various regions of the world.

The African continent for instance, has suffered immensely from indebtedness. Despite paying back billions of dollars in debt service and being reduced to debt-

¹ For a sanguine and rigorous analysis see, D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt and J. Parraton: *Global Transformations : Politics, Economies and Culture*, (Cambridge : Polity Press, 1999).

peonage² it is considered to be a 'structural irrelevance' to the global economy. This paper will not deal with this complex issue, except to suggest that a more considered and critical appraisal is necessitated to give substance to issues of global citizenship.

One of the main problems confronting national integration is the way in which state systems are being disaggregated by dual pressures of economic globalisation and calls for autonomy or devolution. Globalisation leads to extra territorialisation which detracts from the way in which nations can hold themselves together.³ This process has an even more dramatic effect in the South European region.

This is a rather partial view of issues of economic globalisation from an inclusive and intercultural perspective, and does not represent an analysis of multiple communication, informational and institutional manifestations but a brief over-view of the non-virtual global. These may have more integrative facets and aspects. Part of the problem lies in the way in which the articulation of the economically global visions are not democratic and complex and that inclusive societal visions and features are excluded. The globalised satellite information and entertainment systems are not free or democratic and a rational appraisal of the role of the voices and policies based on them at the national and local levels has not been worked out or planned in any region. Reactive voices to the dominant media and informational neo-colonialism are not of themselves adequate. Just to give one example, in economic terms, because the transnationals, and the World Trade Organisation determine capital flows and devise structural adjustment programmes, they do not necessarily take cognisance of national sovereignties or engage in democratic consultations. Nor do they take account of the entrenched global versions of the unequal economic playing fields. Hence, the opening up of the economies and markets in the poorer countries benefits the rich countries. "While developed countries were able to 'lock in' the benefits of technology, research and development and brand, their poorer trading partners were left competing against each to provide low-cost labour."⁴

Democratic governance necessitates that global institutions dealing with socio-political and environmental aspects of polities are strengthened to ensure that rights of all people whether they are citizens or not, belongers or non-belongers are respected. In this sense the regional organisations like the Council of Europe or the UN agencies at the international level are not effective in regulating human rights, inclusivity and democratic governance. The question here is how to strengthen the regulatory and implementational aspects of these organisations?

The global macro economies do not necessarily work hand in hand with the local micro economies and nor do the power structures largely located in the north deal equitably with the poorer south. A similar relationship of inequality is evident between Western Europe towards eastern and southern Europe. A more democratic governance at organisational levels from the local to the global may be one way of legitimising

² Hoogvelt, A. (1997), *Globalisation and the Postcolonial World*, (Basingstoke : Macmillan).

³ Bauman, Z. (1998), *Globalisation: the Human Consequence*, (Cambridge: Polity).

⁴ The Guardian, London 30-4-2002, Discussion about the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

‘mondialisation’ or global governance. However, the political economy of the global corporate order is based on integrating production/consumption patterns on a monocultural basis. In this process, relations and services between finance as well as labour standards are levelled out through centralised control and concentration of power. These processes do not only have an economic impact on the local. Giddens refers to the global impact on the local as follows:

"Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space."⁵

"‘Local transformations’ include the rise of chauvinism or local nationalisms and where these are conflictual in nature they can destabilise a locality, a nation or a region. They may even have wider reverberations. Globalisation processes therefore have many strands and do not have a single trajectory."

There are at the present time few democratic accountabilities and genuine international governance. Action by the global financial institutions in the US, can undermine the financial markets of many nations or regions as well as undermine the power of labour by employing cheap child and women labour. The liberalisation of economies underlying this has led to lowering of terms and conditions of employment as well as creating insecurity at societal level. Local environments are being destroyed by conglomerate mining companies, and the destruction of communities, which have until recently lived in sustainable and stable conditions. National governments in many parts of the world have failed to protect national spaces and the long-term livelihood of many local communities have been eroded. Sustainable and sustained high levels of economic growth properly channelled to provide social justice at national, regional and inclusive levels globally is needed to provide social peace and inter-group amity in many countries. The rise of reactive identities especially on religious grounds are a re-construction of notions of ethnicity which may have lapsed but are re-invented because of current levels of injustice and exclusions.

Many national governments are powerless in trying to reform the corporate powers and in fact, in many cases past and present leaders have played duplicitous role with corporate structures in strengthening the undemocratic features of global control. Such supposedly national democratic leaders allowed powers to shift from governments to cooperations, and have undermined the confidence in socially democratic national institutions. Such supposedly national democratic leaders allowed powers to shift from governments to corporations, and have undermined the confidence in socially

5 A. Giddens. (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Polity), p.64.

democratic national institutions. The global reverberations of the collapse of Enron and shake-up of Anderson are recent examples of this issue. One of the key elements at the international levels lies in reforming this process through greater transparency and the democratisation of agencies like the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the OECD which manage global economies. This is of paramount importance because ordinary people, local ad hoc groups and civic groups are too weak to campaign effectively against globalised inequities. Such global control affects intercultural relations negatively and not just the fourth world peoples (the tribal and indigenous peoples) in the southern hemisphere, but also those in the first world. The tribal peoples in India, the Romany peoples in Europe, the Orang Asli people in Malaysia and numerous smaller nationalities in many African countries are examples of these groups. However the same issues are equally relevant in many societies in the so called developed countries in the northern hemisphere. Increasingly as Chomsky argues that the Galbraithian notion of private wealth and public squalor is also reflected in the third worldisation of first world cities.

This enforced globalisation which respects no frontiers, and is allowed to function by national elites, wipes out differences and diversities within a society and can have serious consequences for social peace in a polity.⁶ Features of globalisation which are imposed on local communities without their consent lead to the wiping out of local communities, resources, skills and trades with consequent loss of security and certainties within localities. The fragmenting of families and communities have taken place as the marketisation and privatisation policies were being implemented and while family values were being asserted in many countries. In Britain these were ironically personified by Norman Tebbit asking people to “get on your bike” to get a job. Movements by workers to find jobs have eroded family unities and structures of local communities in many parts of the world. In general, citizens of many states are being excluded from the economic processes completely, leading to them becoming refugees.

For those who become unemployed the prospects of meaningful and gainful employment in poorer southern or eastern parts of the hemisphere becomes a problem because there are no moral imperatives or developmental strategies for an inclusiveness within these societies. The real options are containment and exclusion and this raises in its wake at the fringes of national societies prospects of ethnic and racially based fragmentation, contestations about depleted resources and the emergence of warlords and banditry. In the case of the exclusions on basis of faiths, the mobilisation on religious and cultural basis and confrontation has already taken place.⁷

Most of the nation state systems in the southern hemisphere and east of the Elbe are peripheral or semi peripheral to the dominant players (like European Union, Japan and the USA). Their political, economic and cultural ‘integration and development’ does

6 J. Gray. (1998), *False Dawn : The Delusions of Global Capitalism*, (London: Granta Books), Paul Hurst and Grahame Thompson, (1996), *Globalisation in Question*, (Cambridge: Polity).

7 See C. Hoogvelt, op.cit pp.182-99.

not result from a democratic process of consultation and engagement but is largely a result of dominant aggressive capitalist expansion and the marketisation of national economies. Corrupt and autocratic national regimes exacerbate the situation in which the poorer and marginalised peoples find themselves.

Increasingly marginalised societies are also more vulnerable to global forces of terrorism, lawlessness and crime. The more authoritarian the societies, the greater the likelihood that forces of democratisation are curbed as are those of the legitimate and diverse market forces. The Asian economic crisis does not only represent a crisis of so-called 'Asian values'. It also represents aspects of 'crony capitalism' of Asian tiger economies which are autocratic not democratic, conspiratorial not transparent as well as embodying low levels of accountability and therefore reflective of bad governance. Similar accusations have been directed at national elites in Africa, Latin America and states east of the Elbe and in southern Europe. The darker side of undemocratic economic globalisation also entails a great deal of criminal activity which net, \$750 billion to \$1 trillion a year.⁸ Even in purely technological terms the technocratic global cannot be equated with the democratic global.

Globalisation has currently taken shape, in worrying ways largely through the massive control of technological, financial, natural resources, media and communications and weapons of mass destruction by transnationals. This massive harnessing of resources without any democratic consents and largely relying on the market is inimical to universal and localised human needs. The negative features of globalisation do not liberate humanity from the menace of war, nor do they provide access to global resources for equitable sharing and distribution. The monopolies of financial and technological resources remain intact and there are no political institutions at a world level which would provide "social interests on a global scale."⁹ They therefore give rise to negative features of the rise of xenophobia, chauvinism and fundamentalism. The assumption being made here is that unless economic globalisation processes are undertaken within the political realm, the alienations, inequalities and disadvantages felt by various groups, communities and nationalities will inevitably have negative consequences. It is only in the contexts of progressive political milieus at the local, the national and the global levels that there can be a resolution of conflicts between the universal and the local or the particular and the general, and a possibility of bringing about social progress through democratic forces. In the absence of egalitarian goals to bring about equality and fraternity there can be no stability in most societies. Current economic forces have led to 20 percent of the world's peoples controlling 80 percent of its resources and tensions at local levels in many parts of the world have been heightened. The recent problems in many regions of the world are just the beginning of a crisis, which will affect ordinary people and contain seeds of even graver consequences for inter-group and communal relations. The expansion of capitalism and the market in global terms cannot be seen as being conducive to development because it does not necessarily lead to full employment or greater levels of equality in the distribution of income. In fact, higher levels of unemployment have occurred in

⁸ The Independent, London 14-5-1998. The Observer, London 4-7-1999.

⁹ S. Amin. (1997), Capitalism in the Age of Globalisation, (London: Zed Press), p.6.

most globalised economies. Therefore, expansion is guided by the search of profit by corporations and the consequences of their activities to local communities are seldom an important consideration. Most transnationals pay lip-service to issues of equity, environment and ethics.

The post-World War II and post-independence movement of non-aligned peoples set up in Bandung (1955) has received numerous set-backs. The modernisation and development which would have assisted the masses of peoples in non-aligned countries has faltered because of the way in which the national states have been undermined by current patterns of globalisation and their economies made stagnant. As Amin writes:

"For countries at the periphery, this stagnation leads to a grave involution of which fourth worldisation of Africa is the most extreme example."¹⁰

As a response to this phenomenon Amin suggests that national governments 'de-link' from globalisation processes, in favour of internal national development. Countries which are peripheralised as a result at this de-linking may need to establish structures of solidarity to provide mutual support and create mechanisms of mutual adjustment, to replace the current unilateral adjustment of the weakest to the strongest. De-linking as such is a difficult process because corrupt national elites are beneficiaries of the current 'links' and may not want to pay the personal price of reversing the situation. However, solidarity is necessary for poorer nations and also between groups at local levels to provide mutual support with others in similar situations. Such mechanisms of mutual adjustment necessitate deep political, institutional and democratic changes in every part of the world, so that the majority of peoples can benefit from "interdependence with mutual respect for diversity."¹¹ These solidarities or mutualities are more likely to be established if peoples within and across polities are civically educated.

Instead of the current globalisation imposed by capital, there is a need for processes which take the social, economic, cultural and political needs of peoples as their central focus. In the absence of such a complex process a disjuncture between globalisation based on capital and localisation based on xenophobia, communalism, chauvinism, fundamentalism and racism is bound to increase. This can be seen in parts of the world which have become peripheralised because of the differentiation between the semi-industrialised third world and the unindustrialised fourth world. As segments of national production systems have become part of the globalised productive system, the rest have not seen any positive changes. However, poorer countries, which are deserts as far as transnational investment is concerned, are further marginalised by such exclusions from the currently operated global economic practices. In certain circumstances globalised investment and market economies may have more merit than

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid, p.42. See also J. Mander & E. Goldsmith. (1996), *The Case against the Global Economy*, (San Francisco: Sierra Book Club).

no investment, especially if exploitative neo-colonial or traditional systems continue to subordinate groups.

In areas which have become peripheralised and have not become industrialised in the eastern and southern Europe, the Asian and African contexts there are vast pools of reserve armies of labour with no prospect of productive capacity or of migration.¹² As the project of nation building and integration becomes remote for the socially diverse polities, the previous unifying tendencies turn sour. In separatist cultures of winners and losers, the losers do not think they owe anything to the winners. Forces become centrifugal and as the state begins to disaggregate:

"The political crisis are founded on this breakdown, on this disintegration of the state and the accompanying rise of ethnic movements and religious fundamentalism."¹³

Globalisation processes which are imposed on local communities result in resentment against 'The Other', and this issue requires some analysis. This is particularly important where the developed states continue to use undocumented migrant workers when the economy can use cheap labour but return them to countries of origin during recession. At points at which a downturn occurs in the economies, national elites in countries like Japan revert to conservative and Confucian values which are nationalistic and reactive.

The disintegration of many countries is a living example of this process and ethnic renewals take the place of the previous forces of modernisation and integrative nation building. The unification of nations as diverse as Angola and Indonesia has been reversed and there is rising religious fervour in many countries.¹⁴ In general the weaker and more peripheral the state the more vulnerable it is to the global crises and especially the negative aspects of the market forces. Because economic globalisation as such is not based on equity and equitable principles but on exploitation, it has led to greater levels of global polarisation. Globalisation as currently organised therefore is not based on rational principles and nor does it have a 'mondialised' or inclusivist universalist character. Therein, lies the real challenge on how to bring about inclusive global forces which will lead to the universalisation of equitable relations at an international level.

While there are no frontiers for the transfer of capital there is obviously no such provision for the migration of labour, so that labour can follow the flows of capital. These pressures cannot be easily contained and lead to exacerbation of ethnic tensions and violence within or across state boundaries.

¹² See African Development Review, Special Issue on Africa and the Future, Vol.7, No.2, (African Development Bank, December 1995).

¹³ S. Amin. op.cit, p.60.

¹⁴ V.S. Naipaul. (1998), Beyond Belief: Islamic excursions among the converted peoples, (London: Little Brown).

Development Inclusive Globalism

Given the range of complexities faced by many states, the solution does not lie solely within currently dominant financial globalising forces or with the local communities on their own. Given the Janus headed notion of the nation, ties of blood and soil are likely to be reactivated. To reverse this process demands the political wisdom to strengthen and develop the other face of the monster i.e. the notions of modern constitutional nations based on equality, fraternity and liberty. This presents a major challenge to parliamentarians, educators and schools.¹⁵

Many national communities embody notions of particularism as well as those of universalisms. If civilisational knowledge can be pooled differently to draw the best from each phase of human history, then a more syncretic understanding from across civilisations and periods of time could inform the educational process differently.

In the first phase between 5 century BC and seventh century AD universalist concepts of humanity were established by great religions like Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam and the Confucian and Hellenistic philosophies. However, as Amin states:

"This declaration of a universalist vocation did not establish a real unification of humanity. The conditions of tributary society did not permit it, and humanity reformed itself into major tributary areas held together by their own particular universalist religion-philosophy (Christendom, Dar Es Islam, the Hindu world, the Confucian world). It is still the case, however, that tributary revolution, like all the great revolutionary moments in history, projected itself forwards and produced concepts ahead of its time."¹⁶

Although these earlier movements form an important part of the emergence of universalist norms and values they also continue to present unresolved dilemmas at a global level. Hans Küng, for one, outlines his major project for encouraging an ethical quest:

"No survival without a world ethic. No world peace without peace between the religions. No peace between the religions without dialogue between the religions."¹⁷

The second phase during the modern period likewise has made a contribution to universalism through philosophy of the Enlightenment. This social vision of society was based on notions of a social contract and the French Revolution sought a nation based not on ideas of blood and ancestors but of free men (sic). The abolition of slavery and ideas of secularism went beyond mere religious toleration. However despite the fact that the nation was not an affirmation of the particular, but of the

¹⁵ Various aspects of these issues are analysed in : Anthony King (ed.) (1998), *Culture Globalisation and the World System*, (London: Macmillan); Roland Axtmann. (1998), *Globalisation and Europe*, (London: Printer).

¹⁶ Ibid, p.80.

¹⁷ Hans Küng. (1991), *Global Responsibility: In Search of a New World Ethic*, (London: SCM Press), P.xv.

universal, such universalist objectives have not been achieved. In the American Revolution a nation largely based on immigration, the right to be 'different' was recognised. Nevertheless, there has been little, defense of the right to be 'similar' within a constitutional state, especially of the descendants of slaves and the indigenous Americans. Hence, inclusive social and political frameworks have not been optimally developed.

Thirdly, the rise of socialism in the 19th century further contributed to notions of radical transformation especially through Soviet Bolshevism. The price paid by socialism in respecting difference and not building inclusive rights to be 'similar' has been very evident in the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. These states did not develop social justice with inclusive citizenships and common and shared values.

Fourthly, the post-colonial states likewise faced great challenges of maintaining unity with divisiveness being foisted on them by the colonisers. Most of them have tried to maintain national unity despite tendencies towards fragmentation.

Hopes for the genuine underpinning of globalisation therefore lie in the collective wisdom of the earlier religious epoch, the Enlightenment philosophy, and their reinterpretation by the socialist movements as well as from progressive elements from amongst the post-colonialist liberation movements. The educational and political challenge for democratic ideas is to hold notions of respecting difference but at the same time ensuring the right to be similar. Such an approach could begin to break the polarisations between particularism and universalism. This establishment of a common set of resemblances amongst citizens of states can largely be accomplished by their education systems. Within the European context the development of Eurocentric knowledge and values which reinforce mentalities of "Fortress Europe" mitigate against inclusivity. In a very large number of western European and EU member states right wing and neo-fascist parties are either in power or the most important opposition.

There are various forms and patterns of historical movements and shifts which lead towards progressive notions of inclusion. Many of the initiatives undertaken by the United Nations which have moved towards creating peace, stability, equity and tolerance are important developments.

The ways in which the civil society has worked to create important instruments like the Convention of the Rights of the Child are an extremely important development in an age when children are victims of poverty, exploitation, war, conflicts and abuse. The global march of children to the International Labour Organisations, Geneva Conference, illustrates the weakness of the United Nations system in general and the weakness of legal measures against child abuse, labour and slavery. The various UN Summit Conferences like the Social Summit (Copenhagen), Environment (Rio de Janeiro) Women (Beijing) Population (Cairo) Drugs (New York) Climate (Kyoto) Racism (Durban) have all helped in challenging the dominant paradigms of economic globalisation and providing civil society with a voice. However, their effect has been

minimal in implementational terms especially since political and social agendas are not joined up and nor are they implemented in national contexts. At national levels single issue groups or even the coalitions of groups in civil society are weak and not cohesive, and are no match for the well established organisations like OECD or WTO, nor do they have consistent voices at gatherings like that at Davos, Switzerland. Human rights groups have cultural and regional problems and are seldom able to provide consistent support or make strategic interventions. Nevertheless, the shelving of the MAI treaty in the recent past represented a victory for institutions of civil society at national, regional and global levels.

There have also been numerous globalised educational initiatives to meet the challenges of xenophobia, racism and communalism. Some of the major initiatives after WWII have been advocated by UNESCO, and initiatives like global, international, peace and intercultural education have been developed in many national and regional contexts. It is difficult to ascertain the impact of such initiatives. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that education systems within national contexts have not allowed these international initiatives to become part of the mainstream national school and higher education institutions.¹⁸

Issues for the International Institute

The politics of inclusion in the global context represent a major challenge to the signatories of the Tallinn Declaration.

The first aspect of the challenge is that of the connectivity of issues, which is not clearly represented by an uncritical, acceptance of the term globalisation. In this paper an attempt has been made to shift the discussion away from economic globalisation towards a more broadly based understanding of the global. In the absence of this, the understandings of these issues by younger and the older generations it is less likely that politics of inclusion can become a reality in localities, regions, nations and at the global level.

The second aspect of the challenge is not only the connectivity of issues, but also a connectivity of constituencies. The learning environments at school and adult levels are largely used in developing civic literacies by a small minority of the populations engaged in learning. Hence, it is the converted talking to the converted. The real question is how to reach the unconverted. This is also partly the case because the process of education has become conflated with that of training. These two issues need to be separated so that effective training for employment is seen to be distinct from the process of being educated, which does not of necessity lead to skills or employment. The educative process is part and parcel of people cultivating humanity.

This cultivation of humanity entails an understanding of civic literacy to develop notions of inclusion within diverse polities. In terms of the polity it is to deepen democracy.

18 J. Gundara & S.H. Toh. (1998), Report of a Feasibility Study on the Establishment of a Regional Centre of Education for International Understanding in the Republic of Korea, Sponsored by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO and UNESCO Headquarters, Paris.

The third aspect of the challenge follows on from the last issue. In other words how are formal democracies going to confront the corrosions and erosions arising from economic globalisation on the one hand and the rise of reactive narrow nationalisms, ethnicisms and fundamentalisms on the other hand. The formal democracies like the US and Britain assumes that the dominant Anglo-Saxon norms to be sufficient basis of democratic engagement. Yet, these dominant values of formal democracy are seen to be assimilatory by the subordinated groups. In order to deepen democracy the International Institute ought to develop research and thinking about how to develop inclusive public culture, public institutions and the public square based on confederal good values which emanate from democratic engagements and struggles at micro-community levels to the macro-global levels. The question for the Institute is what is the corpus of these good public values which are drawn from different sections of the communities and different civilisations which form part of democratic societies.

The fourth aspect of the challenge for the Institute in developing the civic literacy project is to connect the above issues with those of active political life and especially the local, regional and national parliamentarians. There needs to be a serious consideration at this Dubrovnik seminar of developing at local, national, regional levels a very cohesive group of progressive interculturally inclined parliamentarians who understand the challenges for the maintenance of peaceable diverse polities. Such polities are bound to become fragmented if there is no parliamentary or congressional support for such policies. The question which needs to be considered is whether the initiation of an intercultural parliamentary group at European, Asian, African, American or international levels is part of the Institute's agenda? and how will the Institute's agenda connect with it?

Issues that Need to be Addressed – Civic Literacy in Transition States

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The ideas for intercultural education in the Balkans are developing in a very complex historical, social, political, and cultural context. With about a dozen independent states, the region is still a place of unachieved peace and of unceasing war. Despite of the fact that the war was limited to the former Yugoslavia republics, its impact is enormous, the consequences difficult to forecast.

The only European wars in the last forty years not only stirred and revived old animosities and tensions but as well started some new ethnic, religious, political, and cultural rifts. This ironically happens in a period when formal democracies have been established throughout Eastern Europe. The world in which the young people from the region are growing-up in is obscure, problematic, and full of contradictions and dangers. Their reality has no underlying ideologies, no ultimate truths, no clear life prospects, no normal safety the people need in their everyday lives. This is a post-communist world where the norms of the totalitarian society are not valid anymore but where we, as of now, have no established and viable democratic practices.

This world of transition is a very difficult educational space. It is not clear what kind of educational approaches could be used where there are no local democratic models to be followed, where there is a moral vacuum. Being always on the crossroad of different cultures and religions the region faces, in an acute form, the contradiction between nationalism and globalism.

On one side all countries and newborn states are looking for their national identities and from the other side the region suffers from the big waves of the Globalism coming from the West, from the clash of religions, from such global processes as the drug trade. Exposed in the past to one of the most global ideologies – Communism – today the region stays somewhere between the idea of constant opening and of national isolation.

The other point is that the revived national idea expressed itself in socially destructive and fatal for the international cooperation forms as the dreams /and the corresponding actions/ for “Great Albania”, “Great Serbia”. The Balkans experienced the revitalization of the idea of the growing role of the nation state in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world. This is still a region looking for its place between modernity and tradition. Simultaneously facing developments, characteristic of the transition from the medieval rural and social forms to modernity, from the industrial times to the service society, from the isolated regions toward the modern global society.

Therefore, we could say that this region belongs in the same time to history and to the future, where there are no clear boundaries, no clear divisions, where one set of social ideas and practices contradicts the other, where there are constant and unpredictable changes. The educators on the Balkans are so involved in the ongoing events that they have neither the perspective nor the capacities to analyze and understand what happens around them, in their communities, with the society or with the broader world.

What are in this context the main challenges that intercultural education is facing? It is repetitious to assert that the main challenges stem from the general context but, once again, we have to try to enumerate the problems which the educators, the curriculum designers and the policy makers (if such people do exist in this field) are facing, in the intercultural education space. The biggest challenge is the deepening social differentiation of the Balkan societies. From this point of view, the intercultural education is, and should be, a response not only to the ethnic problems - as they are often seen as - but to the new qualitatively different social reality.

The next big challenge is the revitalization of nationalism that in some of the countries is the "hidden social curriculum" behind the new democratic phraseology. Populist policies and attitudes should seem favorable to the ideas of intercultural understanding and co-operation but going deeper we can see that such attitudes often lead to more traditional educational expectations and practices where there is no space for the more and more complicated modern social reality. There is a need to underline the fact that the populist attitudes are typical for the ruling majority groups in each country and therefore the ethnic minorities and their fate are excluded by definition from these post communist utopian visions.

The next challenge is the social ignorance of the population. I am using this term in order to lay emphasis on a characteristic for all social layers and not only the rural areas or the working and lower middle classes. Social ignorance means that the population is very often unaware of the intercultural problems and tensions, it is unable to articulate its interests in this field or to conceptualize the need for intercultural co-operation and understanding as well as the need for corresponding education. It is not a surprise that most of the projects in the interethnic field are supported financially and methodologically from abroad, and are seen by the representatives of the majorities as efforts, alien to the national spirit and traditions.

The totalitarian attitudes are still characteristic at all social levels and are not favorable for co-operative ideas. Paradoxically these attitudes have been elaborated and strengthened in artificially homogenous society - as the communist society was - and now they are hindering the processes of social differentiation and are destructive to the intercultural ideas of living and dealing with these differences. The totalitarian black and white vision of the world, the "we and they" approach is the worst tool with which to move into the new reality or to conceptualize it. The majority of the teachers - which in most cases are representatives of the majorities - support these attitudes. They are the real part of their hidden curriculum, independent from all ideological, normative and content changes in the educational system. The other side of the

totalitarian attitudes is the lack of the democratic capacity in the society and in the educational system to deal with the growing social diversity. Intercultural education could be a successful approach in a society with a general agreement on democratic values and accompanying actions.

The other big challenge for intercultural education is the absence of resources – financial, human, and methodological – necessary for the development of interculturalism as a generally accepted social and educational approach and policy. Very challenging is the political conjuncture in the region – characterized by internal and crossborder tensions and conflicts, by complicated ethnic situations in most of the countries, and by the simultaneous pressure from the Western countries for quick intercultural solutions.

The up and downs of the politics in the field, accompanied by the general unreadiness of the educational system to incorporate the ideas about intercultural education, are leading in most of the cases to imitation of the intercultural educational policies, to formal decisions without substantial results. Even in a situation of constant and significant growth of the civic society throughout the region, the evident lack of ability of the social and the educational systems to deal with intercultural problems hinders strongly the positive developments in the intercultural field.

The Tallinn Declaration notes that in a global context we are witnessing simultaneous processes of globalization, transformation and at the same time violence influencing the individual and group fates and developments as well the development of the mankind as a whole. The Balkan Peninsula is one of the regions where these three trends are essential parts of the social and political reality and of everyday life, thus we can not understand the efforts to introduce intercultural education and the underlying ideas behind these efforts outside of this context.

Inside the educational system itself there are many specific developments and challenges. The social background of the system is totally different but still the old communist educational paradigm is present everywhere – very centralized in every aspect the educational system, built on very egalitarian educational and social assumptions, isolated from the social reality and not responding to the social changes and challenges. In order to have the ideas and practices of intercultural education realized we have to expect the disappearance or the transformation of the communist educational model, a process that is still far from being realized.

It is important to emphasize that it was only on the surface that the communist model was an egalitarian one – over the years increasing number of schools for the elite were established and, on the other side, the minorities' educational problems were not a part of the educational agenda in most of the communist countries. In general, most of the problems and conflicts in the intercultural field have not been articulated, which is one of the explanations for a sudden growth of ethnic, social, and intercultural tension in the educational field since the start of the nineties.

The education systems are at the crossroad – they have exhausted their capacity as vehicles of socialization typical for another type of society and still they do not know how to deal with the new emerging reality. At the same time, it is hard to expect that in a situation of severe economic crisis significant changes in governmental policies when education is not among the priorities.

The teachers themselves are coming from the past and have no means or resources to effectively function in the new situation. They are much more engaged with the problems of survival and accommodation than with the problems of change, of critical thinking, or with conceptualization the new educational reality. It is a personally uncomfortable situation when they have to teach about democracy, while being brought-up in a reality denying all the democratic principles of social and educational organization. The methods being most used in education are typical of the 19-century classroom, therefore unproductive in a new field as intercultural education.

From this point of view it is not amazing that, in spite of all educational promises, new ideologies, and reforms, it is the school problems of the financial base and the supply of materials and not new methods and approaches which are at the top of the agenda.

In the end, the lack of social vision concerning the new democratic educational system is crucial for intercultural education. In this situation, it is often seen more as a new technique and foreign educational device than as an integral part of a modern educational system. The social differentiation processes from the nineties are now part of the everyday school reality. This is a multifaceted process with grave consequences for the nature of post-communist education.

At first, all the hidden contradictions and tensions from the ancient regime are becoming visible for the general audience, for example the schools for the handicapped children, which under the communism were usually established far from the social centers. Segregation elements of the system as well are very visible – it is not longer possible to hide the problems of the schools in the Roma ghettos in Bulgaria. The diminishing amount of resources for education in the national budgets affects the marginal groups and the poor in the entire region. Access to education - constitutionally declared - is increasingly problematic for hundred of thousands of young people.

Ironically, in a transition period when the ideas of equal chances and of integration and inclusion in the field of education are proclaimed and discussed, the domestic resources available to look for solutions are diminishing steadily. The decline of the school attendance is accompanied by the lower quality of the educational services. From the educational policies' point of view, at first there is a need to deal with the school attendance and with the growing illiteracy rates and only afterwards with the problems of the quality. The general impoverishment of the population transforms the inclusion and integration problems from ethnic into a broader social dimension – the access to education for growing number of the majority members is being denied.

Impoverishment precludes not only educational chances but also empowerment chances for significant numbers of young people, and makes ineffective inclusion policies and strategies. Even worse – we need to look at the process of criminalization of part of the youth in the region – this means not a narrow definition of a school non-attendance but young people not being able to be incorporated in most of the social structures of the emerging formal democratic society.

From this point of view, a youth resocialization policy is the essence of inclusion and integration – a policy, which has not been formulated throughout the region and for which there are not enough resources or social support available. In most of the countries, the old educational system continues to function, not seriously changed or challenged. For the purposes of our analysis, this educational system of the transitional period is not able to deal with the emerging problems and challenges. We are witnessing the diminishing power of the central influences and interventions and, at the same time, the evident inability to elaborate local approaches based on self-government and sustainability. Those approaches proclaim empowerment and inclusion of the young people and intercultural co-operation as essential elements of their socialization.

This decade of transition showed that most of the educational systems in the region are not capable of realising a reform from the inside, that they are entangled more and more in their insoluble internal problems and contradictions. Such systems could not formulate visions or effective plans of action for such a complicated field as social inclusion of the young people, intercultural education, and understanding.

In the end, the Civic Education designates the broad context in which the ideas of interculturalism are being developed. Here I would like to focus on several assertions. As a whole, in spite of the pressure from outside and from the social necessities:

- The societies in the Region and their educational systems are not capable of building the foundations of a sound and effective system for Civic Education;
- There is not a serious approach aiming to integrated fully Civic Education into the changing educational systems and into the curriculum;
- There is still missing an analysis of the Civic Education as a theory and a practice and of its essential elements of which intercultural education should be a substantial and integral one;
- Civic Education still fights to find a place in the formal educational system, it has not enough social support, often is understood as a threat for the existing educational system, and meets a lot of resistance, mainly from policy makers and teachers;
- Instead of a continuous source of innovations and as a model for a change, Civic Education is being seen rather as a necessity or as an ideological component of the turn to democracy in the field of Education;

- Even where introduced, Civic Education sounds very traditional – it is more theory and outdated educational methods, than a dialogue based on interactive methods, there is no link between the Civic Education in the classroom and the social life and practices of the young people;
- Civic education still encompasses a small percentage of the young people in the region;
- We could not even dare to say that something like Civic Education System exists – very indicative is that almost all of the innovations, of the ideas, of the projects are coming from outside the formal education system – from foreign donors and from NGOs;
- In none of the countries could we find a fully developed concept and strategy for the introduction of Civic Education that could unite the local agents for change.

Civic education in the region oscillates between resistance and good intentions, between tradition and missed opportunities for change. It is considered a chance for dealing with the unemployed teachers, as a means for survival of the teachers and not as a space for the development of the young person. In the end, we have to remember that the social reality is not very conducive for the affirmation of the Civic Education ideas and principles – it denies most of the democratic principles which Civic Education or Education for Democratic Citizenship, tries to support.

The positive developments that are influencing the educational systems are connected with the establishment of formal democratic order, with democratic influences from abroad, with gradual spread of elements of the democratic culture in the field of education. The most important development is the growth of the civic society and especially the civic society in the field of education. In fact, thousands of NGO's are introducing and transferring more successfully democratic values and practices in education than the state educational structures. If we look throughout the region, more than 90 % of the projects realized in the field of intercultural education are the result of NGO efforts. NGO's involvement is a sign of a new role of the parents as well but for our analysis it is more important that through the NGO's we have new educational approaches transferred, many resources accumulated, and the main problems of modern education articulated. The NGO's projects do serve as a bridge for cooperation between different social groups and the groups of students but as well as a vehicle between the local community and the educational system.

The second important phenomenon is the students themselves, the unprecedented developments happening with and within the young people from the region. They do respond and are influenced mostly by the processes of transition and change. Independently from formal education, they are undergoing a process of inexperienced up to now socialization – they are being acquainted with new information technologies, and they are much more advanced in this field than their teachers are. The students do use the opening of the ex-communist societies and are entering Europe mainly as university students but they are becoming members of the world youth culture through means of communication. They are bringing new attitudes toward school, learning, and society. In a natural way, students are becoming part of

the new world and in this situation they do outgrow their parents and educators. They are establishing some new intercultural and global cultural patterns unknown to their parents and educators.

In fact, we are facing a situation of having greater intercultural reality without intercultural education with all the social and educational consequences stemming from this fact. The young people are subject of a strange paradox – via communication and media they are becoming global citizens and at the same time they are isolated in the old educational system from the social life and practices in their local communities – they are more spectators than actors in the world in which they are growing-up. Students do acquire new attitudes but at the same time, they are inheriting a lot of stereotypes and prejudices from their social backgrounds.

With strong formal educational influences absent, the models of intercultural communication and co-operation of the young people are contradictory, one sided, superficial, without strong moral components. The establishment or the interiorisation of the citizenship idea is to a very big extent a question of chance rather than a consequence of an elaborated educational approach.

What are the strategies and opportunities for intercultural education in this situation? The introduction of the intercultural education as a vital part of the curriculum and as an utmost necessity for education in the region must become part of consistent educational policies. It will be useful to follow the model of implementation of Education for Democratic Citizenship in the region – receiving an institutional stimulus from the European institutions and the local states to be engaged with the introduction of intercultural education as a part from the curriculum.

The other side of pressure from abroad is linked to continuing methodological, financial support and with the realization of bilateral projects. The region needs to accept a broad definition of intercultural education and to evade the one sided approach to support intercultural initiatives only in the ethnic field, which for the vast majority of projects means support for initiatives related exclusively to the Roma minority and discrimination. The chance for the intercultural education to serve the processes of democratic socialization should not to be limited to interethnic relations although these should be one of the main concerns.

In the educational policies, there should be a clear discrimination between the national level, with its more institutional approach and policy-making, and the local and community level, with its project orientation, social involvement of young people, and with the interaction between the school and the community. Intercultural education should change its position of a necessary educational approach with the much more important role of a social practice and an ongoing process of socialization of the young people. Cross border bilateral projects should be stimulated as well as regional projects – but they do not have to loose the broader European context – otherwise there is an inherent danger of isolation.

The extraordinary role of NGO's in fostering and supporting the intercultural educational practices and education should be institutionalized, and cooperation and dialogue between educational authorities and NGO's should become everyday reality and legal requirement if necessary. At the regional level, the dialogue and the joint initiatives of the young people and of educators and policy makers as well, should become a rule – the frequency and the intensity of these contacts are more important than their institutionalization.

We do not have to forget that nowadays many ethnic groups in the region simply can not live with another and that is why the emphasis on building in young people this sense of community, of dialogue without prejudices, of being together, is so important. The role of the majorities in each country should be leading – they are responsible for the start of the intercultural initiatives, usually they do rule the countries and could form the educational policies. There are not enough educational local materials and not intercultural materials specially tailored for the realities of the region. Such materials should serve as a common ground. The efforts should go simultaneously in these three directions – development of local intercultural education programs and materials, development of the national materials, and regional projects and materials. The training of teachers must cross the boundaries and become regional in content – especially opportunities for the dialogue between the young teachers needs become reality in the educational policies.

In conclusion, looking toward Europe, the Balkans could develop some specific kind of identity for the common past and problems, and intercultural education could become a powerful means in this direction. The Tallinn declaration puts several important conditions forward in order to realize these ideas and to develop the capacity of intercultural education as an educational process and as a part of the new social reality. At first, Civic Education and Lifelong Learning should become parts of the broad process of contemporary education and, if I could say so, of the process of the lifelong socialization, a characteristic trait of our times.

If interculturality is a reality and social inclusion is a necessity – urging the “inclusion of the peoples' knowledge and experience in the policy making and practice of a globalizing society”. “So the struggles for learning environments open to a democratic agenda building” are as well struggles for an intercultural learning environment. How this environment can develop is still an open question and we may find possible answers more in the social practices than in theory. However, the emerging link between “promotion of civic education and intercultural learning initiatives and the creative development of new forms and practices of democratic citizenship” is promise for the development of a democratic culture in the region.

Citizenship and Civic Education in Turkey

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Introduction

Webster's New World Dictionary, published by the World Publishing Company in 1966, describes the word "citizen" as a "native or inhabitant of a town or city" (p.267), and the word "citizenship" as "the status or condition of citizen: the duties, rights, and privileges of this status" (p. 267). Therefore, the idea of citizenship could be as old as the first settled human communities. However, citizenship, as the idea of participation in the life of the local community, may be traced back to the Roman and Greek civilizations. Since then, the concept of citizenship gradually included civil, political, and social dimensions.

Individual legal rights of citizens (the civil elements) and courts began to form in the 17th century. Afterwards, political rights were included and expanded alongside with the modern parliamentary system. With the 20th century and the welfare state, social dimensions of citizenship (social rights of individual such as employment, health, and education) were guaranteed (Marshall 1950, cited in Dahrendorf, 1994, p.13).

An individual has many identities and to Heater (1990) citizenship is one such identity, "which helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities" (cited in Ichilov, 1998, p.11). "It does so by conveying to each individual citizen a society's collective memory; cultural togetherness and nationality and the collaborative sense of purpose in fraternity. These elements bind people together with a common identity of citizenship" (Ichilov, 1998, p.11).

The changing pattern of citizenship has been discussed in recent decades. Brzezinski (1970) claimed that citizenship identity would be based on global awareness instead of nationalism. Hobsbawm (1990) thinks that "nation" and "nation-states" defined politically, economically, culturally, or linguistically will be absorbed or dislocated by a new super-national restructuring of the globe. Gilbert (1992) indicates that "post modernity may transform the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education by introducing changes in the diffusion of information, the production of knowledge, the sense of identity, and the nature of politics itself" (cited in Ichilov, 1998, p.21-22). However, there are others, who, like Greenfield (1993), think that, unless alternative guarantees of dignity are offered, nationalism will not cease to exist and will not lose its strength and that people would not want to lose their acquired through nationality dignity. What is happening around the world indicates that the concepts of nationalism and "nation-state" are as valid as it has been. This is even true for the United States of America (USA) and the members of the European Union (just observe how the following leaders behave: G.W. Bush in the USA, Le Pen in France, Berlusconi in Italy, Haider in Austria, Sharon in Israel, Kjaersgdard in Denmark, Jhirinovskiy in Russia, etc.). The events of September 11, 2001 in the USA (destruction of Twin Towers, etc.) are a turning point in seeing what Mann (1993) had claimed years ago, that the nation state has been developing rather than dying.

There have been basically two types of nation and citizenship. One is a territory-based or state-centered concept that has been generated during, and after, the periods of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution and the other one is an ethnic concept. For instance, the French notions of nation and citizenship are state-centered and German ones, based on ethnic group – while the French notion of citizenship involves a membership to state, German notion of citizenship implies a membership to a nation. Similarly, the term “American” or “British” refers to the people who are living in a given territory.

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The idea of citizen/citizenship is rooted back to the later periods of the Empire therefore, the development of the idea of citizenship in the Ottomans is summarized first, and then the state of citizenship and civic education in the Republic are investigated.

Citizenship in the Ottoman Empire

Ottoman Empire is considered a “millet” (nation) that composed of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. They were grouped into religions – ethnic communities, each with its own legal and administrative system. This may be considered as the ideology of Ottomanism. The rulers of the Ottoman Empire saw themselves as Ottomans – they did not identify themselves with Turkish ethnicity. Contrary, they called their rural Muslim Anatolian subjects Turks in a disdained matter. In the same time, in Europe the Ottomans were called “Turks” and seen as the symbol of the menace for the survival of Europe and Christianity (Cornell, 2001). The expansion of the Ottomans ended at the walls of Vienna in 1683, about the same time when the Russian expansion started. Therefore, for the Europeans the Ottomans gradually became a counter-weight to Russian expansion.

The term millet became to mean a nation after the Tanzimat Reforms of the 19th century, started by the Declaration of Gulhane in 1839. By this declaration, the “equality” of the people before the law was guaranteed. Security for the life, the property, and the honor of all people, without any distinctions of their status, religion, ethnic origin etc., were granted as well. The Decree of Innovation (Islahat Fermanı) of 1856 was the second major event where some further reforms in justice and taxation took place, and some privileges were given to foreign investors in railroads, harbors, public utilities, agriculture, and mining (Braude and Lewis, 1983; Shaw, 1976; and Saybaşılı, 2000).

The Tanzimat movement was an attempt to get the support of the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the empire against the separatist tendencies of the non-Muslim subjects, provoked by increasing financial, economic, and social problems of the Empire. Economic conditions got worse after the war with Russia (Russian War of 1877-1878), thus, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was set and, accordingly, the Empire fell under the European financial control.

The Tanzimat movement became the starting point of a broader process of democratization as well. After this movement, the so-called New Ottomans emerged. They promoted a multinational Islamic state with a Constitutional government (Meşrutiyet) and protection of the state from collapse (Zurcher, 1995). Then, the

Sultan Abdulhamit II agreed to rule according to a constitution and the first constitutional period started in 1876. The sultan suspended the constitution after two years, and later became infamous as the “red sultan”, because of his strict personal rules. Afterwards, another group of people, to be known as the “Young Turks”, emerged. They were generally educated in Paris-France and brought the issues of political discussions (liberal ideas about economy, labor, science, literature, nationalism, and modernity, etc.) in Europe to the Empire. They were seeking to reform the Ottomanism and opposing to Sultan. After a military uprising in the Balkan region, Abdulhamit II was forced to reactivate the Constitution again and the second constitutional period began in 1908 and ended with the collapse of the Empire and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, after the World War I.

During the second constitutional period, the Ottomans lost territories as a result of wars: some parts of the North Africa in 1911, most of the Balkan Peninsula in 1912, and the Middle East in 1918. The concept of Turkish nationalism came to existence when the Ottomans realized that even their Muslim subject, i.e., Muslim Albanians and Arabs sought separation. Turkish Hearts, as non-governmental community centers, were established to promote Turkish national consciousness among the remaining Muslim subjects of the Empire, in 1911.

Citizenship and Civic Education in the Republic of Turkey

After the World War I, Greeks, French, Italians, and British divided Anatolia among themselves while occupying their respected territories, including the Ottoman’s capital “Istanbul”. In March 19, 1920, the British occupied the Ottoman’s parliament and some deputies were sent in exile. The last act of this parliament, with its Muslim and non-Muslim members, was the acceptance of the National Pact that identified the ultimate borders of the country (today’s border with a few exceptions).

Upon the occupation, Mustafa Kemal (after 1934 known as Atatürk) organized people to fight a war for national liberation. The Turkish Grand National Assembly was formed on April 23, 1920, and transition from monarchy to a democratic regime had started. The Assembly proclaimed to save the Turkish people from the domination and the oppression of imperialism and capitalism, and adopted its first Constitution on January 20, 1921. The first article of the constitution declared “sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the people”. At the end of the war for national liberation in 1922, the Sultanate was abolished and Atatürk founded the Republic of Turkey, which in October 29, 1923 became secular state as an ideal democracy. In this struggle, Atatürk’s major support came from Alevies (the second largest Muslim group after the Sunni Muslims) and Kurds (the second largest ethnic group after Turks).

The new republic of Turkey with Atatürk’s leadership considered the citizenship as a member of a nation in geographical terms and adopted the constitution of 1924. Article 88 in this constitution stated “the people of Turkey regardless of religion and race are Turks as regards to citizenship”. Turk replaced the Ottoman of the Tanzimat period. Similarly, constitutions of 1961 and 1981 had the same content – “every individual bound to Turkey by a bond of citizenship is a Turk”. Atatürk’s famous saying, “happy is one who calls oneself a Turk”, aims at the political unification of the nation regardless of the people’s ethnic origins.

During the formation process of Turkish Republic with its new “Turkish” nation, the cultural differences of individuals were not brought to the foreground. The different groups of people were expected to coexist, and gradually melt into the dominant culture. The state aimed to transform Turkish national identity through “uniform incorporation, connecting the concept of citizenship with that of social-cultural-linguistic unification” (Salamone, 1989; cited in Öztürk, 1998, p.81). This concept of citizenship was an umbrella for all Abkhaz, Armenian, Bosniak, Chechen, Greek, Laz, Kurd, Turk, etc. “This was an integration but not an assimilation policy... No antagonism between origin and citizenship was accepted” (Cornell, 2001, p. 123). “On the contrary many Kurds have fared well and can be found in position at all levels, including the presidential post. Up to a third of the Turkish parliament consists of Kurds” (Cornell, 2001, p.124). However, in the early period of the regime, Muslim subjects were trusted more than the non-Muslim subjects.

The new regime accepted the universal validity of the western modernity as the way of building modern Turkey. In 1924, coeducation was started; the Law of Unification of Education was enacted which ended the dual education and started secular and scientific education; the religious lodges and convents (Tekke, Zaviye) were closed; and the Caliphship was abolished. Reforms on all aspects of fine arts (music, painting, sculpture, theater, motion pictures, language, literature, etc.) began. The Civil Law, the Criminal Law, and the Commercial Law were adopted. Head-dress and clothing were updated. The new Turkish Alphabet replaced the Arabic letters and a literacy campaign was conducted in 1928. However, the process of modernization was heavily controlled by the state, because the new Republic was considered to be vulnerable.

Through the education, new type of citizen was sought: namely, one should share the common language and culture, and be an obedient devotee of the state as well. The aim was to educate people to be rational, socially responsible, be able to devote to the state and the nation. Thus, to educate the youth to be citizen of the Republic, a civic course was included in the primary school program. Turkish and History courses were also facilitated for this purpose. In 1932, several non-governmental organizations (the People’s Houses, the Society of Turkish Language, and the Society of Turkish History) have been established with the support of Atatürk. The People’s Houses aimed to promote the intellectual, cultural, and social development of the people, and to reinforce the republican ideas and national unity. The number of these houses reached to 210 in 1936, 395 in 1943, and 478 at the end of the 1940s. They conducted various social, cultural, and educational activities in towns and villages, and published bulletins and journals. Goal of the Society of Turkish Language was to protect and expand common language and provide mutual understanding of each other. The Society of Turkish History aimed to study Turkish history and increase public awareness about their history.

In 1937, six principles (republicanism; nationalism; etatism - state controlled economy with public and private sectors; secularism; populism-everything is for the people and with the people; and revolutionary spirit), known as Atatürk’s principles or Kemalism, were incorporated in the constitution and became the principle of the

Republic. The first half of the 1940s was the time of the World War II with the Fascism on the rise in many countries. In these war years, Turkey started to aggressively expand education in rural areas. In 1940, Village Institutes were established as a special normal teacher training school having the goal to train villages' primary school teachers for the rural areas. The students of these schools were recruited among the graduates from the rural primary schools. In these institutes they were treated with respect, and trained for five years to be teachers and change agents in their villages. The teachers worked not only with children but with their parents as well, collaborated with the villagers to build schools, roads and to implement new techniques in farming, horticulture, and cattle rising.

After the end of the World War II, Turkey embarked the multi-party democratic system, joined the United Nations, and added aspects of individuality in the primary school curricula. Civic education course was included into the junior high school program. A new party, the Democratic Party (DP), was established in 1945, got momentum, and won the general elections in 1950. DP did not pay attention to the modernization process. The People's Houses and Village Institutes were closed; preacher schools, turned out to be religious school later, and schools using English (instead of Turkish) as the teaching medium were opened. In his first program, the new prime-minister, Adnan Menderes, promised that the government "will guarantee a stable public order based on the rights and liberties of the citizens and the will of nation, in the constitutions" (Öztürk, 1968, p.361). The Democratic Party, however, did not follow this path. Instead, it carried the party-group domination as "national will" and interpreted, and implemented the constitution in a totalitarian direction. As the economic situation in the country deteriorated, the government increased the restrains on freedoms and, even though it was unconstitutional, created a "Parliamentary Investigations Committee". The police pursued everybody who criticized the system or showed concern about human rights issues pursued.

In result of these actions, on May 27, 1960, the military overthrew the Democratic Party government and new constitution was adopted. The supremacy of laws was preferred from parliamentary supremacy, and a Court of Constitution was established. The new constitution stated that the Turkish republic was based on human rights and the fundamental principles set forth in the preamble. The country became a social welfare state based on democratic, secular, and legal principles. Among students, workers, and teachers there flourished awakening intellectual movements. Unions, youth clubs, all types of civil societies began to thrive.

The conservative government, led by Süleyman Demirel ever since 1965, stood against this awakening. Demirel's government outlawed the university students who where involved in human rights movements and emphasized sovereignty, Kemalism, and egalitarian issues as extremists. Demirel was claiming that "the Constitution becomes loose for the people" and the Chief of the Army was implying that "the social awakening had passed the economic development". Thereupon, the military interfered again in the political life in 1971 and introduced several modifications in the Constitution: the autonomy of Turkish Radio & T.V. and democratic rights were vastly restricted. Unionization of civil servants was prohibited.

In 1973, the same government adopted the Basic Law of National Education which identified the goals and structure of the Turkish education. According to the second article of this law, students should be educated as a devotee of Atatürk's nationalism and the principles, embedded in the constitution. The students should accept, protect, and develop national, moral, humane, spiritual, and cultural values. They should love and praise their country and nation, and should be aware of their responsibilities towards the Turkish Republic (Ministry of Education, 1998, p.4).

Turkey became a battlefield between the right wing and left wing students, with the casualties reaching up to twenty per day in the second half of the 1970s. The economy deteriorated even more, especially because of the misgovernment and Turkish involvement in Cyprus. As a result, on September 12, 1980, the Military overthrew the government once again. The military government (whose deputy prime minister Turgut Özal became prime minister after the election of 1983 and president in 1991 until his death in 1993) made and implemented many anti-democratic policies. The adopted in 1981 new constitution reduced the democratic and social welfare statuses of the state. The government enacted new higher education law and established Higher Education Board to control the universities. Some working at public schools and universities educators, mostly left inclined, were thrown from their jobs without any trial. Active members of teachers' union, who have been prosecuted and found innocent in the 1970s, were prosecuted again. Activist of the Society of Turkish Teachers' Associations, unions, youth organizations of political parties, and other civil societies were suspended and academicians were prohibited to join political parties.

During this period, Turkish-Islamic understanding (emphasis on Turkish ethnicity and Sunni Islam) dominated the cultural and educational field. Atatürk's principles were imposed on all paper works, laws and regulations, and in every subject in the schools. In practice, Özal's governments and the following coalition governments led by Süleyman Demirel, Tansu Çiller, and Mesut Yılmaz did not pay attention to effectively teach Atatürk's principles until 1997, when compulsory education was expanded to eight years and Turkish-Islamic understanding began to lose its popularity.

Assessment of Citizenship and Civic Education

Şahin (2002) investigated the frequency of key words encountered in three civic textbooks used in the primary school system in 1928, 1934, and 1937. The textbook published in 1928 includes topics such as: who/what is public, life at home, school, village and towns, information about municipally, governments, civilization rules, and Republic of Turkey. The textbook published in 1934 contains some topics related to family, homeland, details about village life, public organizations, duties of the Turkish citizen, and health. The book from 1937 embodies information about nation, republic, and state's duties towards the citizens, working life, tax duty, military, equality, and freedom. According to Şahin, towards the end of the 1920s, solidarity was emphasized as the basis for homogenization of the society. In the early 1930s, the concern was with the rural areas and the transformation of society. By the end of 1930's, importance was given to nationalism, the state, and citizenship (Table 1). During these years, local governments and the concept for civilization lost importance and nationalism and freedom gained momentum. Strong nationalist movement in Europe

were the basic reason for nationalist expansion and usage of phrases as “ The Turkish nation is the greatest nation in the world” in the 1930s.

Table 1 Frequency of Some Key Words in Civic Textbook

Frequently Repeated Key Words	In 1928	In 1934	In 1937
Village & villager	206	248	14
Local governments	167	76	1
School and education	143	106	37
State & government	109	66	129
City and towns	74	45	6
Works	56	20	23
Civilization	46	8	1
Turkey & Turk	27	54	101
Nation	18	26	136
Family	14	27	-
Freedom	8	2	30
Homeland	8	96	64

Source: Şahin, 2002, p. 140-141, 151, 161.

We can consider the 1940s as the golden years for citizenship and civic education in the new republic of Turkey. Because the Village Institutes trained their students, according to the goals set by the Village Institute Law, in order to prepare them to be responsible and socially active teachers-citizens who were also bestowed with skills to safeguard their rights and the rights of the villagers. In terms of civic education, nothing has been done significantly in the 1950s. The 1960s, however, can be considered as the second golden age for the citizenship in Turkey for youths, workers, and people gradually became interested in social, economic, and political issues. In addition, they became active participants in the activities of civil societies.

For about half century, civic education was part of the junior high school curriculum. This course covered the structure of the Republic of Turkey and the duties of her citizens. Besides this civic education course, courses like Turkish, Literature, and History at both levels of primary and secondary education, and a compulsory course of History of Turkish Republic at higher education level have been the means to teach citizenship to Turkish youth. The content of these courses was not attractive for the students. Therefore, these courses have not been effective in their goal to form civic awareness or democratic attitude in the student and “democratic system is not internalized by the Turkish people yet” (Ünlühisarcıklı, Kirazoğlu, Okçabol, 1995, p.70).

In 1998, the name of the civic education course in school curriculum has been changed to “Civic and Human Rights Education” and with the name was changed the content too. It is taught in the 7th and 8th grades at the primary education (at junior high school). The topics for the 7th grade include the following: 1) mutual heredity of humanism (concepts and importance), 2) human rights, 3) ethnic and human rights (responsibility of being a human), and 4) basic rights and freedoms (individual rights, freedom of thought and speech, role of the state, and the child rights). The topics for the 8th grade include: 1) concept of state, democracy, constitution, and rights and responsibilities of citizenship, 2) the protection of human rights and the role of education in society, 3) elements of national security and national strength, and 4)

issues of protecting human rights (Vural, 2000). In the same year, a new elective course called “Democracy and Human Rights” was included in the high school curriculum. However, it is too early to assess the effects of the courses.

In terms of adult civic education, there have been no comprehensive programs or activities. Workers unions and civil societies conduct some educational activities that include some aspects of civic education or may be considered as civic education, but they are limited in their scope and number of people they reach. Nevertheless, for the coming years, an in-service education called “Human Rights” will be provided for all personnel who work for government. Police academy will also include this subject matter in their curriculum.

The 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s would be considered as the darkest period for the citizenship, because of the governments’ attitudes and the anti-democratic changes in constitution. Especially after 1980s, youths, intellectuals, waged people, farmers, and unemployed were forced outside of the political life. In addition to this phenomenon, several long-lasting adverse economic and social conditions threatened the citizenship in Turkey. A summary of the following conditions and issues may clarify the state of citizenship and civic education in Turkey.

Factors Effecting to Citizenship and Civic Education

The Economy Right after the general parliamentary election in 1950, Prime Minister Menderes declared his goal to create a millionaire at each neighborhood and to make Turkey like a "little America". Since then, conservative parties with similar to those of Menderes’ political and economic standings have been governed Turkey. The following quotation summarizes the Turkish development in the last fifty years very well. “In 1950, 12 years after Atatürk's death, the income of the average Turk was marginally higher than that of his counterpart in Spain and Portugal. ...Nowadays, the income of the average Portuguese, Spaniards or Greek is three to five times that of his Turkish equivalent” (McBride, 2000, p.3).

McBride made the above claim in 2000, when the Turkish society was the fifth country with the largest gap between rich and poor. The wealthiest 20 percent of the society owned the 55 percent of the national income, while the poorest 20 percent had only 2.5 percent of it (British Council, 2000). This uneven expansion of economy, low and nearly freezing wages, high level of inflation, and having an economy where nearly half is unregistered and untaxed, produced ever-expanding disillusioned and explosive group of people. Some people blame themselves and think that their fault and laziness cause these results. Some others see the situation as the will of God. Thus, some people seek shelter in the extreme groups such as fanatic religious groups. About a year ago, a heavy economical depression took place in Turkey, where the Turkish money was devaluated about 50 percent overnight. Nowadays, minimum wage is about half of the minimum cost of living for a single person. An average teacher's salary is not enough even to rent a moderate apartment. Yet, nearly half of the population lives at the poverty level. The last economic crises alone put hundred thousands of workers and businessmen on the street.

The Media Although laws prevent excessive concentration of power in a single media company, media barons have been able to evade such restrictions through complicated networks of cross-holdings. Hence, it is not surprising to hear complaints about company director who gets frequent calls from newspapers threatening to run critical stories about the firm unless he/she advertises with them (McBride, 2000). The media controlling the information flow is increasingly playing active role in political and economic life by manipulating public awareness on certain issues. A new media law (enacted in May 2002) lifted the prevention on excessive concentration of power in a single media company and opened the way for the media barons to strengthen their position.

The Social Issues Migration from rural areas to the cities has taken place since 1950s (Okçabol, Ünlühisarcıklı, and Kirazoğlu, 1994). The awry economic development since the early 1980s, and the terrorism initiated by an illegal Kurdish Labor Party (known as PKK) accelerated the process. Because of the current economic and social conditions, the cities are not able to “urbanize” the migrants. Instead, cities are losing their urban flavors and migrants find themselves in emptiness. They are neither rural nor urban people anymore. Most likely, they are the ones, who are jobless and forced to live below the poverty level, who are subject of humiliation, who are the candidates to join mobs, mafia, religious or ethnic fanatic groups, or even terrorist groups, and seek peace in drugs.

Internal and external forces agitate social unrest due to economic conditions. The Turkish citizens with Kurdish origin and the political Islamists are the two popular interior matters. Historical Armenian dispute, Cyprus and Aegean Sea issues with Greeks, and the water issue with Arabs are the example of regional or international matters which are made use of by the developed countries (like the USA and some European countries). When one of the above mentioned issues loose its popularity, the other one is promoted, as if, to be sure of the existence of a dispute and keep the control over the under-developed countries. Foreign policies of the developed countries sometimes include double standards, even for the terrorism. They blame the terrorism in public, but in particular times may consider some well-known terrorists as freedom fighters behind closed doors.

Sometime, external forces become more aggressive and go over the diplomatic line. For instance, the USA prefers the so-called “moderate Islamic Turkey” to “secular Turkey”, even if the USA is a secular country and aware that the ultimate goal of the “moderate Islam” is to implement Islamic law (şeriat) to the full extent (Sadowski, 1998). There are even some foreign non-governmental organizations like Conrad Adenauer Foundation, Goethe Institute, German East Institute, etc. who agree with such attitudes. They, sometimes, forget their democratic and humanistic goals and play with the feelings of the communities. They agitate conflicts by providing false information and exaggerating political comments. For instance, while they try to discredit Kemalism and Turkish Republic, they try to promote “moderate Islam” (Banoğlu, 2000; Zileli, 2000). Some NGOs perceive the expansion of compulsory education from five to eight years in 1997 as “the enmity of the Turkish Army” and some others do not hesitate to provide false conclusion that “the Turkish Republic has crashed the beliefs of Islam and expression of religious feelings since the day of the

establishment” (Zileli, 2000a). Even the weekly magazine *The Economist* has shown similar position by attacking Kemalism and diverting the realities, and dared to say “the government simply shot down the religious schools for younger people” (Mc Bride, 2000, p.18).

The European Union (EU) Turkey is trying to become full member of EU, meanwhile the EU is waiting for Turkey to insure freedom, security, and justice, to solve the issues of human and minority rights and to democratize social and political life. According to the Court of Constitution of Turkey, “there are no minorities in Turkey other than those accepted in the Lausanne and Turko-Bulgarian Cooperation Documents. It is natural and is a fact that there are different communities in states with respect to their language, religion, race, and sect. However, giving each one of these communities a minority status is against the unbreakable unity of the state with its country and notion” (Court of Constitution, 1994, cited in Öztürk, p.14). This point of view is also shared by the majority of the Turkish people. Therefore, when some members of the EU ask Turkey to provide minority statuses to Kurds and Alevies (as if they are not the backbone of the republic), Turkish people became disturbed.

It is a fact that, geographically and historically Turkey is a European country. The Ottomans were in the Southwestern part of Europe for about six centuries and Turkey still holds East Trace as part of the continent of Europe. Culturally, the Ottomans and Turks have been influenced by the Roman and ancient Greek culture, so do the Europeans. In addition, ancient Greek culture had flourished both in Greece and in Ionia, Western coast of Asia Minor – Anatolia (which is part of Turkey). Psychologically, belonging to the west has gradually been a kind of dogma for Turkish intellectuals since the Tanzimat reforms. However, any sign from the west to regard Turkey not as an equal partner, or westerner, or even European, results in highly emotional reactions by the Turks. In addition, when European seems not to pay attention to the feelings of the people on some issues like old Armenian dispute, Cyprus, PKK and other terrorist groups, and secularism, it becomes difficult for the common citizen to see the reality in the critics of foreigners in terms of anti-democratic happenings in Turkey and to favor for European Unity.

Level of Education Nearly 20 percent of adults are still illiterate. The average educational level of the population is about 4 years. There are some children in compulsory school age, mostly girls living in the Eastern part of the country, who are not in school. About 40 percent of children at the secondary school age are not attending school. The system is quite elitist and selects the cream of the students through various exams at the secondary and higher education levels. Okçabol (1998) and Okçabol and Gök(1998) argue that teachers and students are not happy about the system and complain that learning is based on memorization. Another perceived problems are that schools do not prepare students for life, and democracy is not practiced in the schools.

Awareness about Human Rights

Okçabol’s (1999) qualitative research provides some insights about the awareness level of the people on human right issues. He claims that more or less everybody has some idea about human rights, but they do not have a deeper understanding of it.

People are aware more about the violations of human rights than what it means conceptually. If they hesitate or have difficulties to provide examples of violations from their everyday life, they mention some example from abroad. It seems that their knowledge and awareness level about the human rights issues are limited with what they have seen or heard on television. In general, the subjects see the State being responsible; they accept the realities of human rights as it is, look at human rights issues only from a personal perspective, not through the eyes of the others, and do not have “let’s do something now” attitude. Instead, they expect the solution provided by the State. Similarly, only a few of the subjects emphasize the value of adult education in fostering human rights. The degree of adult awareness about human rights slightly differs (but not statistically significant) by age and educational level. Older and more educated adults are relatively more aware about the human rights than younger and less educated adults.

Conclusion

In terms of the hierarchy of human needs, large portion of the Turkey’s population is at the food and shelter level. General educational level and people’s awareness about human rights are not any help either. Today, the majority of Turkish youth could be compared to the American youth of 1990s: “cynical, politically apathetic and disconnected from their communities” (Braungart and Braungart, 1998, p.99). However, there are some rather marginal groups who are concerned to transfer the country to either an Islamic state or an ethnic nation – religious fanatics and right wing people, respectively. On the other hand, after the collapse of communist regime in the United Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991 left movements have been reduced significantly.

Political disinterest has been gradually increasing while civic responsibility has been decreasing since September 12 of 1980 (the day of the last Military takeover in Turkey, so far). Journalists and pollsters indicate these developments clearly by showing public’s loss of party support and trust in politicians and the parliament. Even the members of the political parties, in and out-of the parliament, seem to be disinterested in politics. They do not involve in politics, rather they try to please the party leaders, who are choosing the party candidates for the parliamentary election and who identify basic policies of the party alone. It seems that even the parliament has lost its interest in politics. Based on the relationship between IMF-parliament-and government in a year or so, many people accuse the government and even the parliament as representing International Monetary Fund (IMF) instead of Turkish people. When it relates to monetary terms, the government and the parliament almost completely conform to IMF policy, but when it comes to democratization process and human rights, they are less cooperative with the EU. The warning of the former Carnegie Commission President, Ernest Bayer (1990), “unless we find better ways to educate ourselves as citizens, America runs the risk of drafting unwittingly into a new dark age” (cited in Braungart and Braungart, 1998, p.99), sounds right for America as well as for Turkey.

In a democratic society such as Turkey, the concept for citizenship is much more than just casting votes. The freedom to choose rulers implies that the citizens (as rulers and ruled) are interested in the government and feel belonging to a political society rather

than to a family, a village, a professional category, an ethnic group, or religious confession. In democracy, citizens are expected to vote in elections, organize political parties and pressure groups, and express their views on political issues without any fear. Participatory democracy is seen as the best way to develop and enlarge human personalities and enables people to be included in politics. Although the contents of the new civic education courses are more comprehensive than the previous, it seems that they are still not adequate for preparing youth as active democratic citizens. To prepare youth and adult to be a member of the participatory democracy, the following components should be included in the civic education program or in various related courses, and such programs should be provided by various civil societies as well:

- Preparing person as a competent member of society through juridical, political, economic, and cultural practices;
- Understanding of limits of government, private versus civic life, nation-state, federalism, and representative government;
- Understanding of what is the basic rules of the democratic game in real world politics, what their alternatives are;
- Understanding that membership in a democratic society depends on the willingness, importance, and functions of civil society as the arena where citizens can exert pressure on both the economy and polity to improve the quality of community;
- Understanding and treatment of the role and status of minority groups and women in politics;
- Extracurricular activities that provide democratic culture (such as flexibility, trust, efficacy, openness to new ideas and experiences, tolerance of differences+ambiguities, a sense of purpose, solidarity, acceptance of others);
- Community service participation practices through which people gain a worthwhile socialization experience for active political learning and lessons in civic responsibility;
- Information about what citizens can do when they think democratic values are threatened; and
- Means to motivate adults to participate to such courses.

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Citizenship and Adult Education in Croatia

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Citizenship (and civil society) has regained popularity in political science and in education as well. There are number of reasons for the growing interest in citizenship: rise of minority rights, increased voter apathy, erosion of the welfare state, failure of environmental politics, questions of political identity, raised by the creation of the “new Europe”, resurgence of nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, and disaffection with globalization and the perceived loss of national sovereignty (Kymlicka 2000: 5-6; Bennett: 1998).

Modern discussions on citizenship tend to take the ideas developed by T. H. Marshall in his lecture of 1949, as a starting point. Marshall noted that citizenship is captured by full membership in a community, where membership entails participation by individuals in the determination of the conditions of their own association. Today many authors use Marshall’s concept as a still valuable tool to analyse and resolve a number of questions in the development of new concepts of citizenship. These new types of citizenship are unfolding in light of new developments and problems: European citizenship, cultural citizenship, ecological citizenship, multicultural citizenship, women’s citizenship, “active citizenship” versus “good citizenship” and global or world citizenship (B. Crick, B. Turner, M. Nussbaum).

Bryan Turner suggests that old causal mechanisms of Marshallian citizenship – class conflict and mobilization for warfare – have been replaced by new causal processes that are more closely connected with social movements, status contradictions and identity (Turner 2001). However, after September 11, 2001, Robert Putnam discussing the effect of The USA’s war against terrorism states that warfare mobilization is not an outdated citizenship issue (Putnam, 2002). Americans have rediscovered friends, neighbours, public institutions and a shared fate. What a powerful lesson in inclusive citizenship. Sadly, this lesson also has been learned in tragic circumstances in Croatia during the war of dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.

Citizenship in Croatia

Growing interest in citizenship issues in Croatia must be described in the context of a triple transition: democracy, market, and state in the post-war environment. This context is also important for the building of institutions and of a state while forging a national identity. All other problems associated with “types” of citizenship are also present - ecological, gender, multicultural, ecological, and European (as A Croatian political goal). In Croatia we can also find ideological cleavages (Kasapović 1998: 48-49). Old historical national divisions are reflected in contemporary cleavages such as the traditional ethnic polarisation between a Croatian majority and Serbian minority and the ideological polarisation between post-Ustashism and post-Partisanism (the followers of two opposing movements in World War II – Ustashe and Partisans). The primary cleavages, however, are territorial and cultural, centre vs. periphery. Ideological and cultural cleavages of this type can best be described as the opposition

between democratic and authoritarian governance which is the typical orientation in most new democracies. Where old and new cleavages overlap, there is a tendency for mutual intensification.

Citizenship is not only a legal status, defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity, an expression of one's membership in a political community. In this model, a person's citizenship refers to three distinct ideas or phenomena: 1) her status as a legal citizen; 2) her identity as a member of one or more political communities, an identity that is often contrasted with her other more particular identities, based on class, race, ethnicity, profession, sexual preferences; and 3) her activity or civic virtue.

Another ideal or goal of citizenship that applies at the level of the political community is social cohesion as the desired outcome (Kymlicka/Norman 2000: 30-31). Only an adult as a political citizen can play a full and active role in democratic society. To be a citizen is only one of a person's roles in adulthood (others are husband/wife, employee, etc.), but this role, rights and duties are important for a person's public and private life.

Adult learning

An adult is commonly defined as a person old enough to be held responsible for his or her acts. The assumption in democratic societies is that an adult is able to understand the issues, can make rational choices as a socially responsible, autonomous agent and, at least sometimes, is free to act on them (Mezirow 2000: 25).

Adulthood has to be learned. Learning has transformative potential throughout the whole life span. Lifelong learning is our reality. We assume that adults are teachable and changeable. In transitional societies, we are rewriting biographies while learning new citizenship issues (from membership to identity). We have to learn about our status as legal citizens (through new documents – citizenship certificate), we have to learn about ours and neighbors' identities in a new political environment (during war and in postwar international relations), we have to learn how to be active citizens in a pluralistic democracy and we have to gain other knowledge and skills. Education in school, NGOs and incidental learning about these issues does not always classify as citizenship education – but these are and even before were important to our political culture (Vujčić 2001).

Adult education, therefore, is vital for sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life as clearly expressed in the Hamburg Declaration (CONFITEA V, 1997).

There is a wide feeling of agreement on the importance of adult education as a consequence of active citizenship and a condition for full participation in society (Adult education 2002: 429). Many contemporary documents of educational policy reflect this consensus. In Croatia, Consensus is supported by a hundred year old tradition of adult education. Croatian adult education started in 1907 in the Open

University with lectures about state, freedom and other political issues, important for citizens from Croatia in Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nowadays, a consensus on the definition of adult education is present in Croatia. The accepted definition is from UNESCO, Nairobi, 1996.

Adult education denotes the entire body of organized educational process whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whenever they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges” (see, Pastuović 1999: 53, Pongrac, 1999). Widely accepted within professional associations in Croatia are two important aims 1) to promote active citizenship and 2) to promote employability (Memorandum, 2000) Active citizenship focuses on whether and how people participate in all spheres of social and economic life, the chances and risks they face in trying to do so, and the extent to which they therefore feel that they belong to and have a fair say in the society in which they live. On these premises, adult education for democratic citizenship in Croatia uses a diversity of methods in formal, non-formal education and Informal learning given the complex nature of the desired results.

Main types of adult citizenship education in Croatia

The Open University began its lecture activities with political, historical and law issues. The founder, a then-young assistant professor Albert Bazala wrote in 1907 in his inaugural address, ”Family and civic duties cannot be carried out without cultural and aesthetic development. Without these duties, there is no political freedom“ (Obad, 1997). Nowadays, this tradition has been partially lost, especially in formal education and most of our programs are directed only to employability.

There is the lack of an adult education development strategy which is connected with the lack of research about effectiveness of different adult educational forms and programs. Different projects in government and the Ministry of Education are still being prepared but in public debate and in discussion within the Ministry, there is no significant interest in adult education. Most current discussions are focused on elementary school education.

Formal education is acquired in highly formalized institutions that determine learning strategies, programs and achievement evaluation. Such education is highly structured and the roles of teachers and students are very clearly defined. After completing elementary education, Croatians enroll in secondary level educations where they can, through various secondary level programs, attain secondary level qualifications: high-school diploma, vocational programs, program for attaining semi-skilled qualifications, retraining, training and advanced training programs.

According to the Croatian educational system definition, adults are individuals who are fifteen years of age or older and are not full-time students. Adult education programs are carried out based on separate plans and programs as well as standard ones. These programs are modified to educational conditions and goals as well as market needs. The Ministry of Education and Sport is the only one in charge of the formal programs and supervises the work of relevant institutions. Formal adult

education is regulated by the Law on Basic Education, the Law on Secondary Education and the Adult Education Act.

The most important adult formal education training providers include :

- secondary schools for adults;
- institutes for higher education;
- institutes for adult education (folk high/open university);
- other providers entitled to offer full education programmes, as well as short – term courses, seminars etc.

In formal programs there are 350 adult education organizations which have some program certified by the Ministry of Education. There are secondary level programs in 230 adult organizations with 10.000 students.(Adult education, 2002: 136). They have programs that are similar to high school programs for non-adults, including school subjects such as politics and economy, history, ethics using the same student's textbook and same curriculum. The only differences are learning strategies. Educators mainly teach general knowledge and facts. In some programs, students are also trained in communication skills (courses for secretaries, shop-keepers etc.) but seldom as A civic competence. Croatia does not have civic or citizenship education organized as either a single subject or as part of a structured curriculum. In formal programs, at all educational levels, students pay all of the fees for their education mostly by themselves. There are only a few programs supported by chambers of commerce and employment agencies. There were only 15 organizations in basic adult education with 290 students in 2000. This is not sufficient if we know that in 2001 about 17 per cent of the total population older than 15 was without full (8 year) basic education (Census 2001). We are aware of the impact of lack of education on civil and political engagement and the importance of a basic education before more advanced ideas and concepts can be introduced in higher education. It is very difficult to expect inclusion of such subjects in the educational process without radical change in education policy, including adult education policy. We suppose that this underdevelopment of basic education makes expanding other educational programs more difficult. Of course, we must reflect upon the serious impact that low educational levels have on civic literacy and political culture.

In such an environment with strict administrative control and lack of financial support, formal programs are characterised by organizational and content uniformity and dependence. Institutions have been proven to be more flexible under conditions of changing needs and the growing educational market but they still must adhere to Ministry regulations and administrative efficiency requirements.

Let me present only few facts about NGOs. About 4% of all NGOs in Croatia define themselves as educational, but about 14% of all NGO have some educational programs (Rezultati natječaja 2002). This means that the organizational structure, target groups and curricula of these NGOs relate to some actual aspect of citizenship. Most of them have programs for human rights education, minority problems, gender education, environment education etc. Most leading NGOs depend on the support of a

few foreign donors. For example European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) aims to strengthen pluralistic democracy, human rights and the rule of law with a view to support overall process of democratization, civil society development and protection of human rights. Grant assistance is awarded for human rights, capacity building, women's issues, development of new programs and methods of teaching human rights and democratization in the Croatian education system, educational activities and exercises promoting human rights for youth, for minority rights such as Roma, protection of children, measures for stopping the growing xenophobia against Roma, rights of homosexual people, and interethnic tolerance.

Some of these programs now have national government support. There is also growing interest on the part of local governments in supporting NGOs (Zagreb, Rijeka, Split). Most foreign donors prefer programs about minority problems and grassroots organizations. The Croatian government supports a wide range of organizations with symbolic grants (for most of them). Sadly, foreign donors and government institutions prefer that Croatian adult education offers short-term programs for specific problems more than creating new and specific programs to improve the political and social environment. In such a situation, citizenship could remain a trendy term without realizing the full scientific and political potential of this important political and educational issue. We are back at the starting position. If we want adult citizenship education, who will pay for it, what will they pay for and what results do they expect?

I also want to mention education in political parties and trade unions. Education is organized for party members, intensifying just before elections. In trade unions target groups are – union activists and workers representatives. In seminars, courses and the union school they learn about laws, labor policy and organizing and bargaining skills. Some of them have women sections for special educational programs and gender issues. Union and worker representatives' education are protected by law and employers have to enable, and even support these activities.

Seminars and courses in political parties are organized in the parties' educational departments or in adult education organizations. There is not enough information or research about the details of training in political parties. What is generally known is that they try to improve their communication skills, campaigning efficiency, and effectiveness and political persuasiveness. These activities are directed more to voters than party members. From fragmental information we know about trainings for members the main goal of which is to strengthen internal organizational structures. Some parties have education departments, others cooperate with educational organizations, other NGOs or with international partners. The Law about political parties is being reformed in Croatia. The intended changes are to promote more transparency in decision making and finance policy.

There are also education departments in a few government ministries – not only for civil servants but also for other participants. In Ministry for European Integration there is Directorate for Information, Education and Translation. The Directorate organizes lectures, seminars and specialized courses on various aspects of European integration for government employees, representatives of the local administration and local

government, journalists and students. In Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia there is the Diplomatic Academy. The activities and aims of the Academy are organizing diplomatic studies and arranging training programs through a one-year basic course, special courses and seminars and professional training, development activities contributing to the students' understanding of international affairs, professional training of civil servants as well as of those who have just entered the foreign service, and of foreign nationals. The one great change in internal education policy is in the Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

This change is especially related to the field of vocational training and education that has been organized and carried out by the Department for Vocational Training and Specialization of the Police Academy. In the Police Academy, there are formal and non-formal programs of retraining, advanced training, foreign languages. Their main goals are greater efficiency, better organization, and improvement of knowledge and skills. Police officers also learn and practice communication techniques and have a special program on human rights.

In Croatia, there is also A National Program for Adults human rights education through which citizenship education is implemented. These programs forge linkages between formal and non-formal programs, between adult education organizations, NGOs and ministries. The main objectives are: improving adult education teaching and the efficiency of human rights adult education, other educators getting acquainted with the peculiarities of adult education and the exchanging of teaching experience of educators within NGOs, public and private schools, scientific organizations and institutions, governmental organizations, supporting educators through seminars, courses, data base and handbooks.

Conclusion

Adult education in Croatia is an accepted consequence of active citizenship and a condition for full participation in society. Adult education is part of lifelong learning, an essential policy for the development of citizenship, social cohesion and employment. This agreement among professionals and adult educators doesn't mean that adult education is at the same time a political and social priority in policy-making and implementation.

The lack of adult education development strategy is connected with the lack of research on the effectiveness of different adult educational forms and programs dealing with human rights, gender issues, European identities, minority problems, and sustainable development.

Different dimensions and approaches to citizenship are not only theoretical or political issues. They refer to organizational structures, target groups and curriculums in adult education. Consequently, in Croatia there are many different seminars on human rights education, women's studies, about European identities, minority problems, and sustainable development. Most of these programs are targeted to one particular dimension of citizenship because they are often used as tools for political participation, civil action or improving interpersonal relations within and between

certain groups. Some of these programs are formal. Civic education is presented through a few subjects. Nowadays, however, citizenship (as different from civic) education has been partially lost. The origins of adult education and most of our formal programs are intended only to improve employability.

One of the main problems in adult education is that very few programs are targeted to citizens who have not finished elementary school. What can we accept from such undereducated citizens, how can we motivate them for further education, for civic education? The Croatian Adult Education Society is making efforts, including lobbying, declarations, and negotiations with the Ministry, to change this situation and make this type of education more available for Croatian adults. We think that, in this case, general literacy and civic literacy are part of the same problem and an important policy issue that has an impact on political culture.

Characteristic of non-formal education and learning are the following: a high degree of individual initiative, dynamism, organizational and contents diversity and autonomy. Institutions and organizations for non-formal education have been proven to be more flexible under conditions of changing needs, conditions and possibilities than formal education institutions. Adult education institutions and organizations demand answers to open questions of adult education including contemporary implementation of adult civic education. Their effort to bring these issues to the attention of decision-makers and the public alike is an attempt to reaffirm the important position of adult civic education in Croatian society.

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Towards an Understanding of Civil Society in Post-colonial Africa

Jean-Claude QUENUM, Ph.D

Post-colonial administrations in African countries are still in search of their own political identity that will meet the people's needs desires and rights. After more than forty years of independence from colonial influence, most former African colonized countries still need to define a citizen's full identity, his rights and responsibilities and the democratic options available to him. It has become increasingly difficult to measure the type and level of consciousness needed by an individual to share national pride and fully participate in the political process for the betterment of a civil society. How does one define citizenship in the post-colonial era to understand better the requirements of a civil society in a changing world? How do we integrate a program of civic education to promote increased participation in the political process?

Post-colonial citizenry in Africa

The greater part of the African continent was under colonial rule for less than a century yet, in that relatively short period of time, the impact of the colonial administrations continue to constrain and shape its political and economic future. France's domination in Africa was marked in the north and western regions. Unlike the British who ruled their territories from a distance through traditional leaders, the French system of governance was one of 'assimilation' whereby a small class of burgeoning elites would be drenched in French standards and culture and they would become the qualified few to help govern the colonies. Citizenship was meant for all yet the process of acquiring the status of citizenship was very discriminatory. In Senegal for example, the French colonial masters chose to grant the status of citizenship to residents of only four *communes* or towns, Dakar, Saint Louis, Gorée and Rufisque. They had full legal rights and from the time of the French Revolution they had representations in the French Chamber of Deputies (O'Toole 2001, p.49). The rest of the population was classified as French subjects in the *Territoire d'Outre-mer* (TOM) or Overseas Territories, a classification with less privileges than those in the *Département d'Outre-mer* (DOM) or Overseas Departments where the colonized have the right to vote as French citizens. There were also, the young African men prepared by the colonial masters who constituted a small pool of African elites to enjoy similar social privileges like the masters. This group of elite so created worked as a social class to preserve their privileged position mostly with detrimental consequences to their societies in general; they were largely unable to understand or react to conditions in their own communities. The goal of the colonialists thus, was to standardize the colonies politically, economically and culturally within a worldwide hierarchy where the values of rich countries were established and maintained to increase dependency and exploitation.

The rights of citizenship or the conditions for becoming a citizen were inherent in the practices of the colonizers but were confusing and unsettling to the local people. New African leaders imitate the political model of their old colonizers even though they go to great lengths to try to refrain from doing so. After a century or so, there is greater uncertainty today in many African countries about how to neutralize artificial

boundaries created by the past and promote cohesive social groups for stability in nation building and to respond to the needs of a civil society. Colonialism has created in the colonized person emptiness in personality and the death of his culture. The colonized has been denied the status of a political person. Not only has he been a nobody in his own land but he is now being asked to become a somebody within a model of political thinking he barely understands. The post-colonial citizen is a confused one and so is his political identity and that of his leaders.

Depersonalizing colonized people

Colonialism has often been described as "essentially a paternalistic and bureaucratic dictatorship" (O'Toole p.46). Colonial subjects were not a part of the new wealth found on the continent; in fact, local peoples were claimed as "property" and were considered culturally and politically absent. Cecil Rhodes, the British diamond tycoon who exploited the southern Africa regions of its precious resources for the benefit of British royalty and ownership held the African in such disdain and was quoted as saying, ... "the native is to be treated as a child..." (Chinweizu p 1). The contempt for Africans put them in a category of children with belongingness to the owner, the colonial master. They had no control over their own destiny and little interaction with the political process. Sembene Ousmane in his novel, "La Noire de ,,", conveys this concept more effectively. *The Black Girl*, the title of one of his novels portrays the story of an African girl in a French home in France during the colonial period. She had no name and was constantly referred to as the *black girl of..* ; in other words the property of the owner. Colonialism had a way of taking away one's identity and leaving them with a limited sense of their cultural past.

With this process of depersonalization, what roles and expectations exist for sensible leadership of African republics? Franz Fanon, the outspoken scholar and theorist on anti-colonial struggle demonstrates his disillusionment with the colonial domination in two classic works, *White Masks*, *Black Skin*, and *the Wretched of the Earth* often described as "the bible of the decolonization movement" (Stuart Hall). Fanon analyzed the cultural anguish colonized peoples of the world endured at the hands of the colonized, the political dislocation and the mental control of colonizing governments that stripped the colonized from their own native or indigenous learning structures that satisfied the needs of their environments. It is no surprise that Fanon's prediction about subsequent political upheavals as a result of the imbalance in power between dominant and marginal groups created by the colonial administrations is witnessed in so many post-colonial nations. Ethnic rivalry, civil wars and poverty occur in countries like Rwanda where post-colonial trauma has led to serious internal conflicts that have wreaked havoc on multiethnic group coexistence. The same spirit of ethnic divisiveness where "the neighbor is an enemy so fight him" is true of other post-colonial contexts like Algeria, Nigeria, Congo, Somalia, and Sierra Leone.

Serving civic interests

New African leaders are now making the choice to shape and act on constitutional rights for more active participation in the making of a civil society. Governmental structures and political regimes present a combination of the burrowed and the indigenous to include monarchies, dictatorships, military regimes, civilian governments and revolutionary systems. Many of these governments have not

articulated a strong policy of commitment towards a civil society that will promote social cohesion and solidarity among the people. Suffice it to say that the choice of model of instruction was not designed for the African citizen to understand his political environment. Thus, the civic interests did not focus on his particular needs.

Would a new sense of consciousness obliterate the negative impact of colonial education and restore meaning to the sense of nothingness that is apparent everywhere on the continent? Can the new generation of African leaders overcome personal inadequacies and try to acquire intensive political training for the advancement of civil society and nation building, factors integral to successful political leadership?

Globalization and Civil society

The creeping effects of globalization are visible on the continent. Globalization is pushing the boundaries of emerging nations to increase knowledge of responsible citizenship in light of global political and social changes. One of the major problems confronting many African countries is the high rate of illiteracy and the absence of a structure or model to impart citizenship skills. With rapid population growth outstripping the gains made in literacy education, illiteracy reaches over 60% in some states, women forming the bulk of the illiterates (UNESCO 2002).

Civic education for post-colonial African nations needs a more global focus while at the same time addressing local needs. Cultural diversity on the continent calls for universal citizens that understand the world and the global changes that are encroaching on their environment. Civic education should provide opportunities for greater participatory, democratic attitudes and social responsibility for more active and responsible citizenship.

Recommendations in this direction are as follows: Citizenship of integration and inclusion, (all ethnic, religious, gender) in all African post-colonial countries; civic education as a necessity in school curriculum to foster a better understanding of the notion of democracy and civil rights, institution of a nationwide civic education curriculum for adults; mobilization of media to keep the nation informed of civic rights and responsibilities.

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Widening Access to Lifelong Learning – Policy of Adult Education in Estonia

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Introduction

Having in mind the integration with the European Union and being a full member of it from 2004 sets the framework for all kinds of political decisions and/or activities in in Estonia. This includes the field of education and lifelong learning. If Estonia is to become a member of the European Union in two years, the educational systems have to be compatible with the all-Union systems in general. This is the main reason why Estonian politicians and educationalist worked hard during last years, and will continue do so in the near future, trying to:

- get familiar with the documentation concerning and regulations in the educational field, especially lifelong learning in the EU;
- adoption of EU regulations;
- taking part in the different consultation processes around lifelong learning in the EU and/or member states;
- elaborating a national strategy of lifelong learning in Estonia, combining national priorities in education with those of the EU.

For us this is the first round of the globalisation in education. The second is the whole world. We need to know what is going on in other countries outside the Europe, especially in the USA:

- what kind of effects the great transformation have upon people and what is the role of education in adapting it;
- what is the role of lifelong learning in the process of controlling the transformation processes;
- how can this kind of knowledge be adapted in Estonia;

We need to know how globalisation affects life in Estonia, and what the role of education and lifelong learning is in the process of transformation.

Orientation to the European Union lifelong learning framework

Orientation to European Union frameworks doesn't mean taking over ready systems in education and lifelong learning. It mostly means that in elaborating a new system of lifelong learning in Estonia, which best suits our society and our people, we have to take into consideration the European values and key points. This is what EU expects from member states and candidate countries like Estonia. The European Union calls for radical new approaches to education and training. The clear message is that "traditional learning systems must be transformed to become much more open and

flexible, so that learners can have individual learning pathways, suitable for their needs”¹.

The European Union “rules” have been used by educationalist as a tool to convince politicians to accept the need for developing a lifelong learning system in Estonia, to give it better support than during past decade; to invest in lifelong learning much more than until now. It will help to work out and put into practice the Strategy of Lifelong Learning in Estonia. The two main European documents being at the base for these discussions are: *A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*, and *Making the European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality*.

A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning

In the introduction to *A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* it is stated that, “The European Council held in Lisbon in March 2000 marks a decisive moment for the direction of policy and action in the European Union.” Its conclusions affirm that Europe has indisputably moved into the Knowledge Age, with all that this will imply for cultural, economic and social life. Patterns of learning, living and working are changing apace. This means not simply that individuals must adapt to change, but equally that established ways of doing things must change too.

The conclusions of the Lisbon European Council confirm that the move towards lifelong learning must accompany a successful transition to a knowledge-based economy and society. Therefore, Europe’s education and training systems are at the heart of the coming changes. They too, must adapt. This Memorandum takes up the Lisbon and Feira European Councils’ mandate to implement lifelong learning. Its purpose is to launch a European-wide debate on a comprehensive strategy for implementing lifelong learning at individual and institutional levels, and in all spheres of public and private life. This aim cannot be achieved unless everyone works together: this is the goal to which the Memorandum aspires.

The Commission and the Member States has defined lifelong learning as all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence.² This is the working definition adopted in the Memorandum as a starting-point for subsequent discussion and action. “Lifelong learning is no longer just one aspect of education and training; it is to become the guiding principle for provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts. The coming decade must see the implementation of this vision. All those living in Europe, without exception, should have equal opportunities to adjust to the demands of social and economic change and to participate actively in the shaping of Europe’s future”³.

¹ Communication from the Commission: Making an Area for Lifelong Learning Reality. 2001, Brussels, p.

² This is the definition used within the European Employment Strategy, which was initiated at the November 1997 Heads of State European Council in Luxembourg. This strategy established a monitoring and reporting procedure for all Member States, based on annually revised Employment Guidelines. The Employment Strategy rests on the four pillars employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability and equal opportunities. As one of the results of discussions around the Memorandum, the definition of lifelong learning was changed. See it on page ... this paper.

³ A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning. 2000, Brussels, p. 3.

The debate around the six key messages (*new basic skills for all; more investments in human resources; innovation in teaching and learning; valuing learning; rethinking guidance and counselling; bringing learning close to home*), proposed in the Memorandum, was obligatory to the member states, and recommendable to candidate countries. Estonia took the chance to participate in the discussion.

Consultation results in Estonia

The Memorandum, especially discussions around it, was extremely important and useful for promoting lifelong learning idea in Estonia. It was clear from the first moment that there is not too much to give to EU, as lifelong learning has not yet found the permanent place in the policy of education in Estonia. But at the same time the discussions called the public attention to the lifelong learning, stressing the indispensable need for continual improvement of one's competence, knowledge and skills during all lifetime, as a significant bases for success in workplace, as a citizen, and in life in general. The Memorandum makes a clear statement, treating regional and local governments as important institutions in the educational process, and making them responsible for developing infrastructure for learning environments. Promoting local lifelong learning systems will be much easier from now on.

The value in national, regional and/or local level for participating institutions and individuals is hard to over-estimate. The reports to the minister of education, the minister of social affairs, regional and local governments, employers' associations, also the institutions responsible for providing learning possibilities to the people, are important documents for promoting lifelong learning in Estonia. The results of discussions in 15 counties around Estonia pointed out significant differences in lifelong learning situation between places involved. A first rule is - the longer away the place from Tallinn, the harder the situation. Local people lack the information about learning possibilities, don't know their rights for learning given by laws, know less foreign languages needed for using modern study materials, etc. Mostly from that reason national priorities between the key messages, put in order by opinions of 6 experts, leading discussions in workshops, are as follows:

- Bringing learning close to home,
- More investments in human resources,
- Innovation in teaching and learning,
- New basic skills for all.

Outcomes from debates, also conclusions made on regional and/or local level, will be developed and put into practice in respective places. Institutional and/or individual benefits are hard to value. Still satisfaction, expressed by participants during discussions, gives a hint, that all participants received positive outcomes from taking part in the discussions around the Memorandum. Co-operation in local level between different key institutions in developing lifelong learning will improve. For us this is a good result.

Communication from the Commission: Making the European Area of Lifelong Learning – a Learning a Reality

Over 12,000 citizens in Europe contributed to the consultation which was initiated by the European Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong Learning. The feedback clearly highlighted the enormity of the challenges ahead. "Economic and social changes associated with the transition to a knowledge-based society present the EU and its citizens with both benefits – in terms of increased opportunities for communication, travel and exclusion. The scale of such changes calls for a radical new approach to education and employment, and risks – not least relating to higher levels of inequality and social training. Moreover, the current uncertain economic climate places renewed emphases and importance on lifelong learning. Traditional policies and institutions are increasingly ill-equipped to empower citizens for actively dealing with the consequences of globalisation, demographic change, digital technology and environmental damage."⁴

Taking into consideration the results of the consultation, pointing out that co-operation and co-ordination in this field at the European level is essential, the European Commission contributes to the establishment of a European area of lifelong learning. The aims of it are both "to empower citizens to move freely between learning settings, jobs, regions and countries, making the most of their knowledge and competences, and to meet the goals and ambitions of the European Union and the candidate countries to be more prosperous, inclusive, tolerant and democratic".⁵

During the consultations around the EC Memorandum there were concerns that the employment and labour market dimensions of lifelong learning were too dominant within the definition. As a result it was widened essentially. Four broad and mutually supported objectives were named: personal fulfillment, active citizenship, social inclusion and employability/adaptability. Lifelong learning was defined as

"all learning activities undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspectives".⁶

Communication from the Commission was designed to assist EU member states and candidate countries, to meet their commitment to develop and implement coherent and comprehensive strategies. It defines the building blocks for incorporating the European dimension and those being relevant at the national levels. The latter comprise the following blocks: sharing of roles and responsibilities; partnership working across the learning spectrum; insight into demand for learning; adequate resourcing; facilitating access to learning opportunities; creating a learning culture and striving for excellence. The Communication from the Commission turned out to be a

⁴ Communication from the Commission: Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality. 2001, Brussels, p.3.

⁵ Op. cit., p.3

⁶ Op. cit., p.9

good model for elaborating national strategy on lifelong learning. It done this in Estonia.

Elaborating the Strategy for Lifelong Learning in Estonia

An important policy decision was made in 2001 by the Government of the Republic, when the minister of education initiated the process of elaborating a Strategy for Lifelong Learning by calling outstanding persons from different fields of activities and different sectors (public and private, also formal and non-formal education, private business, public service, etc.), to work out the Strategy for Lifelong Learning. It was the first time that the Government officially acknowledged adult education and lifelong learning as a part of the educational system and key for the national development⁷. The objective of the Strategy was defined as “*create prerequisites for developing a system making the lifelong learning possible, also expedience, effective and intensive performing on different level of social regulation*”.⁸

The first draft of the Strategy, elaborated by the working group, was opened for wide discussion from the beginning of 2002. The remarks and proposals have been analysed and, if possible, taken into the consideration in the final version of the Strategy.

Building an Educational Environment for Lifelong Learning in Estonia

The working group had no need to start from the zero point, as during ten years of the independent country several results on the field of adult education had been achieved. The most important and effective of those was, for sure, the Act of Adult Education, passed by the Parliament (Literally *Riigikogu*) in November 1993. The *principles of legislative framework* were as follows: Creation of our own model of adult education, which is to be based on the development needs of the society and on the real possibilities to guarantee adults' access to lifelong learning. Guarantee paid educational leave for 14 days during a year to each adult person to participate in continuing professional training courses. Supporting local initiative and bringing learning closer to home. Co-operation of public, private and non-governmental adult educational institutions. Allocate in State Budget grants for in-service training for teachers and public administrators.

During last years some basic models of adult education have been analysed thanks to a national grant on lifelong learning, which was given to Tallinn Pedagogical University, and the UNESCO grant for ANDRAS. It means that preparatory work for Strategy had started already some years earlier. An additional point of support was the strong third sector in adult education, which had been developed since the independence period and had in some cases taken the functions of co-ordination in the field of adult education on its shoulder. The Association of Estonian Adult Educators ANDRAS, founded in 1991 and being a member of many European and international bodies took the lead role. Thanks to that the information and knowledge about innovations in adult education had reached to Estonia.

⁷ For now the State/National Development Plan has been prepared, and “developing a flexible education system, guaranteeing access to lifelong learning to everyone and supporting employability/adaptability on labour market” has been listed as priority number one in document.

⁸ Strategy of Lifelong Learning (Elukesva Õppe Strateegia), p. 13.

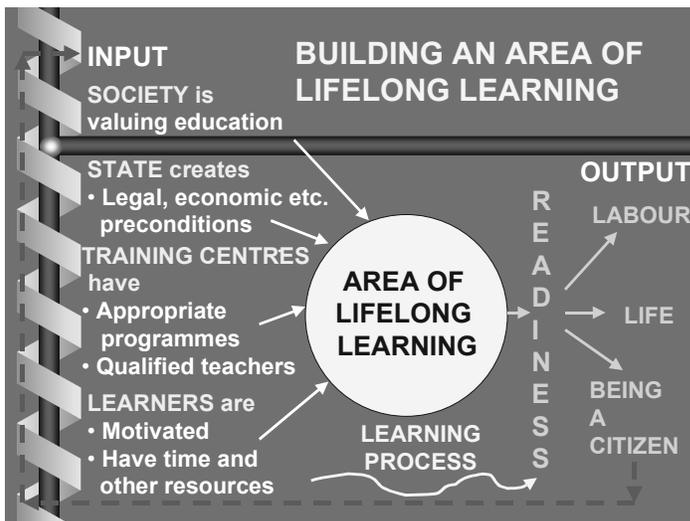


Figure 1. Building an area of lifelong learning

As a starting point the working group created a model, which described the **INPUT** for building an area of lifelong learning as follows: *society* values learning; *the state* creates political, legal, economic, social, organisational, cultural, preconditions for that; *learning providers* have appropriate programmes, qualified teachers, etc.; *learners* are motivated, have time and other resources.

The **OUTPUT** could be defined as *readiness* for job, for life and for being a citizen. (See figure 1)

Sharing of roles and responsibilities the strategy divided the roles and responsibilities between the most important bodies in lifelong learning:

- Government is responsible for creating preconditions for making an area of lifelong learning a reality.
- The public authorities are responsible for ensuring the rights of citizens to have an access to opportunities for acquiring and updating knowledge and competence throughout life.
- Employers are responsible for developing competence of their personnel.
- Learning providers have a responsibility for the quality and relevance of their learning provision. Individuals take the responsibility for their own learning.

Partnerships working across the learning spectrum

To put the Strategy of Lifelong Learning into practice requires a good partnership model, defining the tasks of each and one body responsible for the final results. It means, that on the *Government level* the tasks of different ministries have to be shared and responsive resources in the State budget allocated, and a co-ordinating ministry agreed to. Co-operation between *State and local authorities* must be strengthened. Until now local authorities are not sufficiently involved in adult education and lifelong learning. 2002 is the first year when they will be responsible for the distribution of budgetary money for teachers' continuing education, but this does not yet mean that the importance of the lifelong learning as a key for local community development is completely understood. This is why Government support is needed.

Extremely important is partnership at the local community level. To create an educational environment and make lifelong learning a reality all essential institutions

local authorities, employers, employment offices, social partners, trade unions and learning providers have to be actively involved in the networking process. Widening access to lifelong presume co-operation between *public, private and the third sector*; between *formal, non-formal and informal sector*; also between *general and vocational education*. From three above named levels quite satisfactory co-operation is taking place between public, private and the third sector in adult education.

Insight into demand for learning

Creating the area of lifelong learning is possible only, when the need for learning among adults is clear. For that reason two surveys have been conducted in Estonia during recent years:

In October-December 1997, 3463 twenty (20) to sixty (60) year old people were surveyed across Estonia using the random selection method. The aim of the Survey was to determine the opinion of Estonian inhabitants on the current state of adult education, the demand for it, the interest, needs and motivation of the possible participants, as well as the possibilities and the availability of further education and continuing training. The state of the art in adult learning, satisfaction with the quality of the courses, and degree in which participants used the acquired knowledge and skills in everyday work afterwards were also studied.⁹

The data showed the number of participants in further education and training was, however, quite low: in the period from the start of 1996 to November 1997 (almost a two year period) only a little over one-fifth of 20-60 year old had participated in various courses. The younger age groups have actually been relatively active users of training opportunities: whereas 27% of 20-39 year olds had participated in courses; this indicator reduces noticeably for the over-40 year olds (19%), and is lowest for the 55-60 year olds (9%). In our present circumstances, the over-40 year olds consider themselves too old for study, although they have another 20 years or so to go before they retire¹⁰. The results of Adult Education Survey indicated that the Estonian adult education and training market is currently oriented in a major degree towards persons with higher education: 41% participated in the courses and even more, 52% are motivated to participate in future. The indicator for persons with primary and/or basic education is only 5%. An analogue situation exists for differences resulting from social standing: amongst workers the participation rate was over three times lower (12%) than for managers and/or specialists (41%).

In November 2001 the second survey was conducted. As seen from the data (See table 1), the percentage of those who had learnt during the last year was not growing compared to the year 1997. Altogether 13% of 20 – 65 years old adults had participated in education and training courses. 15% of those were Estonians and 9% Russian speaking population. The younger persons were most eager to learn than older

⁹ Täiskasvanute koolituse uuring 1997. Metoodiline ülevaade. 1998. Tallinn: Statistikaamet, p.6.

¹⁰ Estonian Human Development Report 1998.

persons – the highest percentage was in the age group 20 – 29 (22%), also 30 – 39 (17%). There were no big changes in age groups, when comparing the data of the first survey, conducted five years ago – starting from 40 years (40-49) 25% of adults have the feeling being too old for learning (see table 2). It makes it hard to reach to the target groups, which are most important for coming years to take responsibility for developing the society. In the age group 50-59 52% and 60+ 76% considered themselves too old, although employers attitude towards their learning is very positive. 59% of them appreciate the learning of older persons¹¹.

Table 2 November 2001 Survey (2) Who was leading

	General %%	Estonians	Russian	20 – 29	30 – 39	40 – 49	50 - 59
YES	13%	15%	9%	22%	17%	15%	13%

Table 3 November 2001 Survey (2) Reasons why people are not learning

Reasons	General %%	Age group	Age group	Age group	Age group 60+
Too old	38%		25%	52%	76%
There is no need	27%	36%	29%		
Lack of resources	23%	35%			

To the question – “If possible would you like to learn?” 40% answered –YES. It proves that the access to lifelong learning today is too narrow, as only 13% out of 40% could learn. The survey also clarified the prevailing domains in lifelong learning. Most people are interested in job-related subjects and professional training, strengthening their self-confidence and employability. Language and computer training are also needed.

Facilitating access to learning opportunities

There are still several obstacles narrowing adults’ access to education and lifelong learning. Eliminating those barriers is an important part of the policy of adult education. The biggest barriers are: Obstacles in obtaining secondary education by grown-up people, as the Law of Basic Schools and Gymnasiums limits the learning time in secondary level by three years. Learning by subjects, also making the study time longer is impossible.

There are limited opportunities for part-time learning on university level. The number of so to speak “State paid student’s places” are very small and available only in teacher training. All other professions are available only in Open Universities where a tuition fee has to be paid by the students themselves. Not too many younger adults could afford paying it. If employers want to support the personnel learning at university level using the Tax Law, they have to pay not only the tuition fee, but also an additional 60.5% tax.

¹¹ Baromeeter uuring: Elukestva õppe võimalused Eestis (Barometer Study: Access to Lifelong Learning in Estonia). 2002. P. 15

Non-formal and informal education, also prior learning and/or working experience is not accounted for in further education. Public/state vocational and/or higher education institutions are accepting neither non-formal and informal education, nor previous work experiences, if a person wants to continue learning. Learners' mobility between higher education institutions is complicated/limited, as universities and applied higher education institutions have different curricula and usually don't want to know anything about the competitors' ones. If a person wants to make changes in its learning path, he or she has to prolong the learning time, as in many cases they have to start from the beginning.

Priorities for action 2002 - 2004

To implement the Strategy of Lifelong Learning an Action Plan was made. The most important activities, making lifelong learning a reality and widening access to adult education are:

- define the State policy and work out adult education financing system
- renew essentially the taxation legislation,
- create an adult education FUND,
- develop the licence and accreditation system in adult education,
- reorganise the adult education system,
- strengthen the role of the Ministry of Education.

Until now there is only one political advisor working for the development of the lifelong learning in the Ministry of Education in Estonia. This is obviously not enough, as lifelong learning has to become the priority field of education. An Adult Education Institute has been established by a mutual agreement, signed by the minister of education and the adult education umbrella institution ANDRAS. The responsibility for developing the policy of lifelong learning, organising Adult Education Forums, Adult Learners' Week, and co-operating with the European Commission has allocated to this NGO. Still the responsibility of the State should be strengthened, by starting to educate adult educators and managers in lifelong learning at the university level; allocating State resources to support this activity.

To create a legislative basis for building a lifelong learning area amendments to the Act of Basic Schools and Gymnasiums have to be made supporting adult learning in secondary and higher education level. Liberal adult education has to be put on an equal basis with general/formal and vocational/labour market oriented adult education. Planning in local communities, networking and collaboration between local authorities, employers, social partners and learning providers must be initiated. Reorganisation of empty schoolhouses in communities into adult education centres, and distribution of funds for education at the community level by counting all people living in the village/city, not only children (as it happens today) need to be priorities.

Adapting the national system of adult education/lifelong learning to the EU one, would be the most important area of the activity, if we want to be ready in two years for using EU structural funds, opened to the European Union member states on the

field of lifelong learning. The most active adult educators in Estonia are working on such a strategy today.

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Illiteracy as a Social Divide

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Introduction

Our focus is the United States as an illustration of an important but often understated and neglected national problem, adult illiteracy. The US ranks tenth in adult literacy levels from among seventeen (17) industrialized nations (IALS 1997). In the nation as a whole, there are 40-44 million adults, representing 21-23 percent of the population sixteen years and older who are classified as functionally illiterate, meaning that they read at level one, the lowest literacy level for tasks such as basic calculations and comprehension (NIFL, 1998). An additional 25 percent, i.e. 50 million adults are classified as marginally illiterate (NIFL, 1998). Seventy-one percent of adults of age 60 and older have either inadequate or marginal literacy skills (NCES, 1996). About 43% of all functionally illiterate adults live in poverty (NIFL 1998).

The above statistics underscore the deepening chasm between highly and poorly educated and between whites and racial and ethnic minorities. Differences in the quality of education translate into differentials in literacy competencies with serious implications for effective functioning in a complex and fast changing society. Simple computational and reading comprehension skills that were at one time regarded as marks of "functional literacy" are now deemed as unsatisfactory. Fast-paced scientific and technological innovations are pushing the boundaries of literacy's basic definition to include new dimensions such as "techno-literacy" and "computer Literacy". Previous functional conceptions of literacy have also been expanded to include civic, health, and workplace literacies. In effect, scientific, technological and their associated economic changes have rendered a range of skills qualitatively inadequate for effective functioning in American society and thus, expanded the nation's overall pool of functional illiterate individuals and their prevalence within racial-ethnic groups.

The chasm between highly and poorly educated groups, measured in either quantitative or qualitative terms is an important dimension of illiteracy. This needs attention as a social problem with broad national implications. In a highly racially heterogeneous society such as the United States, the clustering of illiteracy rate differentials around social groups and their spatial concentrations serve as additional burdens to compound existing racial-ethnic problems. Our intent here is to sketch the character of illiteracy as a social divide in the United States with reference to African Americans and whites. The paper will start with a brief overview of the trends in the education of African Americans to underscore its struggles and quantitative gains and thus, the closing of the gap in the differentials with whites in this context. We will then use a recent national illiteracy survey to illustrate gaps in the quality of education and its translation into functional literacy competencies in contemporary society. The focus of the later discussion will be the state of Michigan as an example of the

interface between literacy as a social divide that clusters around race and the spatial distribution of racial groups.

Trends in African American Education

Prior to the Civil War, very few African Americans attended school. Their exclusion from education was by and large the reflection of the mentality of slave society. Punishment if caught trying to learn to read included whippings and beatings and even the threat of death. In South Carolina like in many other southern states, teaching slaves to read or write was explicitly prohibited by law as is evidenced in this South Carolina law of 1740:

“Whereas having slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing may be attended with great inconvenience; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause a slave or slaves to be taught, to write ... every person and persons, shall, for every offense, forfeit the sum of one hundreds pounds current money" (Goddell, 1858 p. 319.)

Despite such prohibitions, the thirst for basic literacy among African Americans was persistent and urgent. Most of the learning allowed for slaves upto this point was restricted to apprenticeship or "learning by doing or seeing" in craft trades such as carpentry, blacksmithing, tannery and tailoring. Formal educational opportunities for African Americans in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was largely connected with economic advantages to the slave masters (Whiteaker, 1990). At the point where formal prohibition for the education of blacks ended, the Black Church, YMCA and other moral reform societies such as the Quakers emerged as the primary agencies promoting African American education. Schools then, began to spring up all over the south. Hampton Institute in Virginia was established as a school for freed blacks in September 3, 1861 by the American Missionary Association (AMA) (Lovett, 1990). Later, in April 1881, Spelman Seminary, one of the more prestigious schools for black women and girls was established by the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the John D. Rockeller family (Futz, 1990). Efforts of singular individuals such as Booker T. Washington in the process of reconstruction following the Civil War were equally significant. With church support, Tuskegee University was established in Butler Chapel Church by Washington in 1881 (Woodson, 1968).

As part of the Reconstruction process, federal financial supports for education and training appeared. The passage of the Smith -Lever Act in 1914 introduced federal financial support (Stubblefield, 1990). Other federal programs for African Americans would continue up until today. These included the New Deal and other specific federal legislative programs. However, the educational opportunities for African Americans were still qualitatively and quantitatively unequal and segregated. From the 1940's on, national government administrations have introduced manpower training programs emphasizing job readiness and workplace opportunities: The Manpower Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of (EOA) of 1964; the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 (EEA), the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

(CETA), the Job Training partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982 (Grant, 1990; Hamilton, 1990) and the New Welfare Reform of the 1990's. Additionally, legislative and political reforms such as the Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's, school desegregation, compensatory education, and Affirmative Action programs have combined to show meaningful gains for blacks nationwide. The Adult Education Act of 1991 provided greater coordination of services for the illiterate adult and led to a score of programs and activities to address the gaping needs in the field. Expanded opportunities for African American participation in schooling reached new heights as can be seen from Table 1 below:

Table 1 - School Enrollment By Race, 1850 - 1990

YEAR	Percent	
	African-American	White
1850	2	56
1860	2	60
1870	10	54
1880	34	62
1890	33	58
1900	31	54
1910	45	61
1920	54	66
1930	60	71
1940	68	76
1950	75	79
1960	82	85
1970	92	95
1980	96	95
1990	97	98

Source: Leonard Beeghley. *The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996, p. 271.

School enrollments of African Americans was negligible until 1860 when it started climbing to a level of ten percent in 1870 followed by a gain of 24 percent the following decade to reach a level of 34 percent in 1880 and then hovered around 30 percent for two decades on account of Jim Crow laws (Woodward 1966). Beginning in 1910, enrollment started climbing steadily and at rates faster than whites. Between 1970 and 1990, the percent enrollments of African American and whites were quite close.

Table 2 - Median Years of Schooling by Race, 1940 - 1992

YEAR	Median Years of Schooling Completed	
	Black	White
1940	5.7%	8.8
1960	8.2	10.9
1970	9.8	12.1
1975	10.9	12.4
1980	12.0	12.5
1992	12.4*	12.7*

* Figure taken for the year 1990.

Sources: US Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790-1978* (Washington, D.C: US Bureau of the Census, 1979), table 70; US Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of*

Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics (Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census, 1983), tables 83 and 123; US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1992* (Washington, DC.: US Bureau of the Census, 1993), table 230; and Claudette Bennett, *The Black Population in the United States: March 1992* (Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census, 1993), table 1.

As seen in Table 2, median years of schooling for African American between 1940 and 1992 followed the same increasing pattern as in their enrollments. A gap of three years between African Americans and whites in 1940 was closed over a period of one half century to a negligible difference of 0.3 years.

It took nearly 150 years to close the gap between African Americans and whites on the basis of school enrollments and median years of schooling. It has taken time and tremendous sacrifices to accomplish these singular national achievements both as an end in itself and prospective uses of education as an instrument for social integration. Unfortunately, current trends point to erosion of these gains.

Faces of Illiteracy in Contemporary American Society

The profile of the nation's illiterate population has been recently captured through a nationwide survey by the National Institute for Literacy (NIFL). The survey was conducted with the conception of literacy at multiple levels and within the definition and guidelines of the National Literacy Act of 1991. To meet the emerging needs of our current technological society, literacy came to assume new dimensions to reflect changing demands in the level of basic skills required to function more effectively in the society. In 1991, the National Literacy Act defined literacy as:

"An individual's ability to read, write and speak in English, and compute and solve problems at levels of proficiency necessary to function on the job and in society, to achieve one's goals, and develop one's knowledge and potential"

Using this definition as a guide, literacy was defined for purposes of the national literacy survey at multiple levels (1-5) (See NIFL 1998 for more on survey outcomes). Based on Level One literacy measures, there are 40-44 million adults (sixteen years and older) representing 21-23 percent of this age group who are functionally illiterate or low literate. The largest number of low-literate are native-born whites, however, significant proportions of race-ethnic minority adults (50 percent Hispanics, 40 percent African Americans and 33 percent Asians) are classified as low-literate (Ferdman 1994). As expected, the higher incidence of low-literate individuals among racial-ethnic minorities are distributed along the lines of the nation's segregated residential patterns. Michigan municipalities and cities are used as illustrations of these patterns.

In Michigan, the adult illiteracy rate is estimated at 18 percent which is relatively lower than the national rate of 21-23 percent (NIFL 1998). Six to eight percent of adults in Michigan (approximately 500,000) age 18 or older have less than a ninth grade education and over twenty-three percent of Michigan adults age 25 and over have not graduated from high school (US Bureaus of the census, 1990). State illiteracy levels range from as low as 9 percent in counties such as Clinton and Livingston to as

high as 30 percent in Wayne County. Within municipalities, levels are from 9 percent (Canton Township) to 47 percent (Detroit and Muskegon Heights cities) and in Highland Park the rate is 56 percent (NIFL, 1998). These differentials in illiteracy rates and the high concentration of illiterate adults within Wayne county and cities of Hamtramck, Highland Park and Detroit lend the issue of illiteracy as an additional burden on already racially divided and segregated metropolitan community. Illiteracy rates at both county and city levels mirror their relative share of racial-ethnic minority populations. The proportion of minorities in Wayne County is about 49% and it has a corresponding illiteracy rate of 47 percent. A similar pattern prevails in Muskegon (Table 3). Similarly, high illiteracy rates in cities such as Detroit, Hamtramck, Highland Park, Muskegon Heights and Pontiac correspond to higher concentrations of minorities in these cities (Table 4)

Table 3 -1999 County Population Estimates with Minority Representation and Illiteracy

County	Population	% Minority	% Illiteracy
Clinton	65,924	7.06	9
Hillsdale	47,632	3.4	14
Livingston	53,182	3.9	9
Macomb	803,769	13.4	13
Monroe	147,887	6.85	14
Muskegon	173,068	42.7	21
Oakland	1,207,916	15.9	13
Wayne	2,170,610	48.7	30
Washtenaw	313,947	22.6	12

Sources: Population Estimates Program, Population Division, US Census Bureau, Annual Time Series, Washington DC., July 1, 1990- July 1, 1999.

Literacy Data from National Institute for Literacy (1998) - "The State of Literacy in America: Estimates at the Local, State and National Levels". Washington DC, The National Institute for Literacy.

Minority Populations: Hispanics, African American, American Indian, Asian and Pacific Islander.

Table 4 - Selected Cities - Population and Minority & Illiteracy Levels - July 2000

Cities	Population	% Minority	% Illiteracy
Ann Arbor	114,024		20
Canton Township	76,366		9
Detroit **	951, 270		47
Grosse Pointe Farms	9,764		11
Hamtramck **	22,976		38
Highland Park**	16,746		56
Muskegon Heights **	22,076		47
Pontiac	66,337		34
Troy	80,959		11
Warren	138,247		17
Ypsilanti	22,362		17

Sources: Southeast Michigan Council of Governments, (SEMCOG), Detroit, April 2000.

Literacy Data from National Institute for Literacy (1998) - "The State of Literacy in America: Estimates at the Local, State and National Levels". Washington DC, The National Institute for Literacy.

** Cities with high concentrations of minority and immigrant populations

The minority percentages in Table 4 help us understand the following data on African American presence in urban settings. In 1980, 58 percent of African Americans lived in central cities, 23 percent lived outside central cities in metropolitan areas and only

19 percent lived in non metropolitan area (US Bureau of the Census, 1982). The African -American population is relatively young with a median age of 24.9 years compared to 30.0 for the total population and 31.1 for the white population (Ferdman 1994). Both the age profile of the African American population and its concentration in central cities with high illiteracy rates tend to compound race as social divide in American society.

Conclusion

The issue of illiteracy in the United States has been described as a time bomb (Bernstein 2002). We share this view. By describing the nation's illiteracy problem as a "time bomb", one is able to simultaneously convey its dangers and sense of urgency for needed responses. But like all allegorical expressions, the notion of illiteracy as "time bomb" lacks precision. By and large, the nation's illiteracy problem is viewed in the context of global economic competition. That is, the dampening effect of illiteracy on the United States dominance in a fast changing global economy. While important, this focus tends to mask other dangers of illiteracy as a national problem. In our view, the widening gap between the nation's highly literate and illiterate groups, and its internal social implications are equally worthy of attention as essential ingredients of illiteracy as a time bomb: 40 percent of adults at Level one literacy live in poverty compare to four percent of those at level 5. Their respective weekly incomes are \$240 and \$681. There are also links between unemployment, dependence on welfare and/or food stamps and low level literacy. These links with illiteracy, the spatial distribution of the nation's illiterate population and their racial-ethnic overtones are worthy of consideration in an evaluation of illiteracy as a social problem especially in a heterogeneous society such as the United States.

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Civic Education and Romania's Transition to Democracy

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Introduction

The goal of this paper is to outline the evolution of education for democratic citizenship in Romania over the past decade. Most of the qualitative evaluations made here are based on the concrete field experience of the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara. This organization, initiated in 1992 with the support of the Council of Europe, has been involved in various activities, such as local, regional, national and international pilot projects, training sessions, workshops and conferences related to intercultural and citizenship education.

After a short presentation of the major issues confronting the Romanian society, two sections refer to what we consider as the most relevant learning environments where education for democratic citizenship takes place: the education system and the NGO sector. The last section proposes arguments for the idea of a necessary connection between civic and intercultural education, and illustrates these arguments with examples from some of the activities of the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara implemented in the Romanian context and in the context of regional cooperation in South-East Europe.

Romanian society: between democratization and the impact of globalization

Romanian society has undergone radical changes since 1990. The most important category of changes refers to the transition from the communist totalitarian regime towards democracy. The other one, made possible once Romania opened to the world after decades of extreme isolation, refers to the impact of globalization.

Indeed, the crash of the communist total control system allowed for a full impact of many elements of globalization, both positive and negative, on the Romanian society. The economic restructuring brought access to high-quality products but determined also a high uncertainty on the labor market and a high level of unemployment. Among other consequences is the increase of the economic gap between the regions, between rural and urban environment or between rich and poor. External migration, for economic reasons, is another effect of globalization: several hundreds of thousands people left Romania just after 1989 and more than half million Romanian citizens left during the last ten years. This process was also associated with the brain drain, many high qualified Romanians choosing to find a better life elsewhere.

Democracy, as an idea, has been quickly embraced by Romanians after the fall of communism even if its meaning was unclear for many. Pro democratic attitudes remained at a high rate until now. According to the latest opinion polls over three

quarters of the population agree that democracy is the best solution for Romania. Transition towards democracy was a gradual process that started with the building of key democratic institutions and with the development of a strong media sector, once the freedom of speech was guaranteed, and continued with the timid emergence of the civil society. The level of political culture remains however rather low, corruption is recognized by everybody as a very important problem and the plans elaborated to reduce it did not prove successful so far.

An element that acted as a catalyst for the democratization of the Romanian society was the contact with Western European institutions. Western Europe and the West in general were initially seen by the majority of Romanians with reserve and even with a mixture of envy and hostility. The attitude changed rapidly after a couple of years and Romania is now among the countries with the highest popular support for European integration and with an overwhelming majority in favor of joining NATO. Both these processes are strongly associated in public's representation with an increase in the standard of living. In 1993 Romania was accepted as a full member of the Council of Europe, in 1995 applied for EU membership and in 1999 the EU accession negotiation process started. The gradual integration of the European "acquis communautaire", and the importance given to the annual reports of the European Commission, were important guiding factors that kept Romania on the road of democratization.

Among the elements associated with the democratization process that represent relevant arguments for the importance of civic education for the Romanian society are interethnic relations and the recognition of minority rights, particularly difficult due to the heritage of the strong nationalism promoted by the communists, the issue of Roma communities, an important segment of about 5% of the population facing strong discrimination and social exclusion, the rise of extremist and nationalistic movements, that in Romania preceded the current Western European tendencies, and the decrease of confidence in the political class and of the political participation of citizens. It is impossible to describe a very complex situation with a few words. In some areas, such as the interethnic relation, significant progress has been made since the mid' 90s, in other areas much is still to be done.

Civic education and educational reform

The school is certainly one of the most important places in which education for democracy should be implemented and the education system has undergone radical changes in this respect over the past 12 years. One of the first measures taken immediately after the change of political regime in 1989 was to eliminate all trace of the communist ideology impregnating the education system. The rhetoric of "education reform" began to be used but little was done concretely for several years. The most significant changes concerned the introduction of special provisions for education in the language of national minorities and the beginning of a curriculum reform.

A comprehensive and systemic reform of the education system started only in 1998 and led to radical changes implemented over a period of only a few years. This reform

concerned all the levels of education and practically all the aspects related to the educational process: organization, evaluation, contents, teaching methods, etc.

We can speak about a real “Copernican revolution” with a change of perspective from a knowledge oriented to a personality development oriented education. That means that, at least in theory, now the children are in the center of the whole educational process and their development includes all aspects related to their quality as citizens.

From a practical point of view, the reform has determined another “Copernican revolution”, one that refers to the flow of change. Before this reform, dedicated teachers or trainers, often with the support of NGOs, were developing pilot initiatives trying to show that things can be done differently with success. They were facing a more or less open opposition from the structures of the educational system, which was still based in fact on old principles, even when official declarations were stating the contrary. For several years, the situation has been reversed. The pressure for change did not come any more from bottom-up but from top-down and the major difficulties were now related to the practical implementation of the reform measures at school level. However, despite the positive consequences of the reform, its impact is limited by ineffectiveness of the reforming the teacher training system. Indeed, considering the lack of experience of the teachers, the great need for information, training and practical support, and the difficulties of adapting shortly to a radical change of perspectives, this area still represents the weak point of the reform.

Several keywords of the reform, such as decentralization, learner-centered approach, school-community partnership, are, not only in line with the most advanced tendencies in this field worldwide, but also perfectly compatible with the objectives of civic education. Also, a quarter of the curriculum is now to be decided at school level, in order to be adapted to local context and to the specific needs of the children. Activities related to civic education or to the multicultural character of the communities surrounding the school, can be developed in this framework. After a period of pilot experiments at the beginning of the 1990s, civic education has been included as a compulsory subject in the curriculum of grades 3, 4, 7 and 8, with one hour per week. However, being an active and responsible citizen does not imply only knowledge about democracy, but also attitudes and practical skills. That means that “teaching about democracy” from a theoretical point of view will not be enough and that educational activities involving children to “practice democracy” should also be developed by the school. For the moment, unfortunately, Romanian schools are far from being a model of democratic institutions in their organization. However, more and more teachers are open to ideas of democratizing school life and to improving their teaching methods of civic education in order to integrate active pedagogy elements.

Teachers can choose among several alternative textbooks based on the same national curriculum. In practice however, civic education is often marginalized, considered unimportant and sometimes misused: for the smaller grades, civic education classes are used for teaching writing and reading based on civic education textbooks, and for the higher grades, teachers sometimes prefer to expand the time for other subjects

considered as having a higher status. Those who teach civic education are usually history, philosophy, social science or even language teachers that consider teaching civic education as a secondary activity and often lack specific training both on content and on methodology.

Education for democratic citizenship and the role of NGOs

We consider education for democratic citizenship (EDC) as a wider approach not limited to civic education lessons in school but including a large variety of activities realized in many different contexts and addressed to all age groups. From this perspective, NGOs and their partnership with the institutions of formal education play a very important role.

During the first half of the 1990s NGOs were initially seen as a threat, sometimes accused of “destabilizing our young democracy” then still seen with suspicion but accepted as additional funding sources. Many NGOs active in different areas were indeed basing their activities on external funding. Since 1996, a discourse of “partnership with civil society” has been put forward and a lot of positive changes did occur in this respect. In many cases however things were left at the level of declarations, without any real life consequence. Although national regional and local authorities were gradually authorized to support NGO activities, many public officers are not used to this idea and do not consider appropriate to take advantage of these opportunities. Also, the law does not encourage support for NGOs from private persons and enterprises. Even in the cases where partnerships could be realized, either with local authorities or with schools and educational authorities, many of the results of successful pilot activities were not fully integrated into the system.

Despite these shortcomings, a great number of community-based or out-of-school activities tackling different aspects connected with citizenship education were initiated and implemented by NGOs, mainly with financial support from abroad. It is also important to mention that some NGOs, including, particularly, students NGOs and minority NGOs, manage to involve large numbers of persons in their activities and should therefore be considered as important learning environments. Currently, on our opinion, the most important challenges for the Romanian NGOs concern effective area-specific coalition-building and resistance to direct or indirect political parties’ control. An annual national NGO Forum, established with the support of the EU, is functioning since the middle of the 1990s but it has little practical impact on the sector and its status. The only area in which a successful communication network and an effective coalition seem to be emerging is the environment.

The whole development of the NGO sector in Romania could not be realized without the strong support from international NGOs but also from major international organizations. The most active ones were the Council of Europe and the EU.

EDC and intercultural education

Based on its ten years experience, the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara has elaborated an integrated approach for combining education for democratic citizenship with intercultural education. The underlying assumption is that both these types of

education are better served by this combination and that this is the only way to address in an effective way the problems of present-day society. The theoretical background that we use for both EDC and intercultural education is the one proposed by several European-wide projects of the Council of Europe¹. More recently, this idea has been also incorporated at a regional level in the work of the Stability Pact for South-East Europe which has a working group for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity², also coordinated by the Council of Europe.

Indeed, we realized that, without an EDC component, there are higher risks that intercultural education deviates towards culturalism, folklorism and a historical perspective, that is towards promoting, implicitly or explicitly, an essentialist view of culture and an idealized, constructed, past. Also, without an intercultural education component, EDC will be forced to avoid some of the most important social issues that confront society. Some of the most significant connections between the two educational areas concern the association of social exclusion with cultural issues and the promotion of democratic values in multicultural societies with a high level of intolerance based on nationalism.

This can be illustrated perfectly by the two major problems resulting when analyzing intercultural relations in Romania: the relations between the Roma and the rest of the population and the relations between the Romanian ethnic majority and the Hungarian minority. In the first case, a vicious circle of discrimination and social exclusion, based on racism, can only be broken through, both the empowerment of the Roma, and through raising awareness of the rest of the population on the shared responsibility for the current situation. The social problems in this case cannot be addressed effectively without considering both issues of rights and responsibilities and cultural issues. In the second case, reducing tension and replacing (symbolic) competition with cooperation (oriented towards finding concrete solutions to present common problems) can be achieved not by denying or ignoring nationalism, but by understanding and deconstructing its roots. Also, attempts to improve intercultural understanding between the two communities by focusing exclusively on cultural-specific issues and by ignoring current common social issues, including ideas like managing conflicts in a democratic way or sharing power on a non-discriminatory basis, will fail to determine any sustainable impact at community level.

All these ideas are reflected in the latest activities of the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara. Two current projects are particularly relevant in this context at national level but the approach has been integrated also in cross-border cooperation activities.

One such project concerns the Roma communities, a topic that has been at the center of many activities of the Intercultural Institute during the past years. In a pilot phase, young Roma from two disadvantaged rural Roma communities have been working together with a group of young university students in sociology, social work, journalism and educational sciences that were doing their practice hours required by

¹ The most significant such projects were Democracy, Human Rights, Minorities: the educational and cultural aspects and Education for Democratic Citizenship.

² For details see www.stabilitypact.org and <http://www.see-educoop.net>.

the university. The goal of the students was to assist the young Roma in assessing the problems affecting their communities and to develop small local development projects to improve the situation. The only criterion for the selection of the two categories of participants was their motivation to participate in the project. A series of training sessions were organized prior to and during the fieldwork in order to stimulate the development of a common group identity, despite the big differences of background between the young Roma and the students, and to provide the participants with some basic knowledge and skills necessary for the tasks that were assigned. Nor EDC nor intercultural education was ever mentioned explicitly in the initial phase of the project. However, a lot of related issues came out implicitly as activities were progressing. The young Roma had very little previous knowledge about their rights and the possibilities to improve their situation, while most of the students had practically no initial knowledge of the cultural-historical background and the current situation of the Roma communities. For both groups, the work together led to significant attitude changes and proved to be a very rich learning experience. In the next phase, the participants have been asked to reflect on this learning experience, to evaluate the effectiveness of their work and to plan follow-up activities. The whole process has been widely documented by the journalism students and the written, audio and video materials resulted can also serve as a source for the evaluation process with a view to replicate the methodology in other similar communities.

Another project aims at developing a national network of “democratic intercultural schools”, that is schools integrating, in their teaching, out-of-school and community connections, as well as in their internal organization, the principles of EDC and intercultural education. From previous experience we have realized that EDC and intercultural education should be associated but also that a number of additional conditions need to be fulfilled at school level in order to ensure real effectiveness:

- a critical mass of teachers committed to promoting these principles in their everyday work is crucial for each school; isolated initiatives of one teacher cannot lead to significant impact;
- teachers need continuous support and assistance for implementing innovative pedagogical methods; isolated training sessions are not enough and an effective communication and support network needs to be created among the teachers sharing these principles;
- EDC and intercultural education should be embedded in all subjects of the curriculum and not treated in an isolated way; that also supposes the creation of multidisciplinary teams of teachers and a different way of managing the time of the children in school; one hour per week of civic education and one of intercultural education could not determine a significant impact, and it is even worse if their content is contradicted immediately by the other subjects;
- school administration and regional education authorities should be supportive in order to determine a sustainable change of school’s organizational culture;

- out-of-school, service learning and extracurricular activities organized by the school should be articulated as much as possible with the curriculum-based activities;
- the cultural diversity and the current relevant social issues of the community surrounding the school should not be ignored, but fully reflected in the school's activity.

All these conditions can in theory be achieved under the present situation of the Romanian education system. The real challenge is to implement them at school level considering the practical gap between the officially stated principles and the current situation. The results obtained by working with a network of ten schools in the western part of Romania are to be used for developing similar networks in other regions over the next few years.

The Intercultural Institute has also been very active in promoting cross-border cooperation in EDC and intercultural education between Romania and its western neighbors, Hungary and Serbia. Of course, projects involving partners from Romania and Hungary are particularly useful to address also the issues of Romanian-Hungarian relations in Romania. On the contrary, the projects involving NGOs from Romania and Serbia during the years of Milosevic regime highlighted the importance of associating democracy with respect for cultural diversity and resulted in a number of significant positive effects for both parties. For instance, Romanian participants became more aware of the opportunities that a democratic society offers them and the Serbian participants understood the crucial place of respecting minority rights for the development of a stable democracy. In fact, this was the major message of the first meeting of independent NGOs representing all important ethnic communities in Serbia, organized, prior to the elections that resulted in the fall of Milosevic, by the participants to our activities.

An excellent opportunity to test our approach and methods in this area was represented by the BANNET project, a cross-border cooperation project involving partners from Romania, Hungary and Serbia and implemented partly in the framework of the Stability Pact for South-East Europe. BANNET stands for *Banat NGO Network* but also, later, for *Banat Network for Intercultural Citizenship Education* and focused on promoting cooperation in the areas of EDC and intercultural education within the Banat region.

Banat, a former province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire now divided between the three countries, is a region with a strong multicultural character. A big number of different ethnic and religious communities that have preserved a specific cultural identity live here for a long time. There is also symmetry between the three parts of the region with ethnic Romanians being the majority in the Romanian part and a minority in the two other parts, the same being valid for Hungarians and Serbs. In addition, some ethnic communities, such as the Slovaks, the Germans and the Roma, are minorities in all the three parts. The state borders became over the years strong separation lines and very few connections could be developed until recently between citizens living in the three parts of Banat.

In this context, a series of meetings and common activities were organized, involving NGO activists, teachers and young people representing all major ethnic groups from the three parts of the region. Direct contacts were also supported and pursued by on-line exchanges using a quadrilingual website³. The first evaluations reveal that these activities determined significant changes of attitude both towards the citizens of the other two countries and between the different cultural communities within each country. Positive outcomes have also been obtained in the development of partnerships between civil society and educational institutions as well as between the schools of the three countries. Further impact evaluation based on participative research methodology is currently undergoing and it will represent the basis for designing future follow-ups.

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³ see www.intercultural.ro and follow BANNET logo or <http://bannet.ebanat.com>

The Role of Education and Civic Education in South Eastern Europe

Mitja Žagar¹

Introduction

This contribution is based on my presentation at the course Civic Literacy and Civic Education: The Politics of Inclusion in a Globalising World at the Inter University Centre in Dubrovnik in 2002. However, it is a result of a research and other activities that I have carried out in the past fifteen years, but especially since 1999. Among them I should mention more than 20 trips to the countries of South Eastern Europe combined with more than 400 meetings and interviews², participation and membership in the Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities³ and the participation in the research team of the “Feasibility Study on the Creation of a South-

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² These field trips included, among others, 1 trip to Albania, 4 trips to Bosnia-Herzegovina, 9 trips to Croatia, 9 trips to the FRY (1 trip to Montenegro, 8 trips to Serbia including 3 to Vojvodina), 3 trips to FYRo Macedonia, 1 trip to Romania and 2 trips to Turkey.

³ The Geneva Meeting (18-19 October 1999) of the Working Table I on democratisation and human rights of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe decided that an international conference on ethnic relations and (national) minorities in South Eastern Europe was to be convened by Slovenia to determine the Stability Pact's activities in this field. A Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities was established that was given a mandate to visit the countries of the region and examine the ethnic situation and protection of minorities there in order to produce a report for the conference. The following members were appointed to the Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities: Mr. Hans-Peter Furrer (Director General – Political Affairs, Council of Europe – the Head of the Special Delegation), Mr. Philippe Boillat (Switzerland), Mr. Marcin Czaplinski (Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities), Dr. Constantin Economides (Greece), Dr. Sonja Moser-Starrach (Austria), Mr. Jeroen Schokkenbroek (Council of Europe), Dr. Stefan Troebst (Germany) and Dr. Mitja Žagar (Slovenia). The missions of the Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities took place in the following way: 21-23 November 1999 in Croatia; 23-27 November 1999 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Special Delegation visited institutions and representative of the state and both constituent entities – The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska; 12-14 December 1999 in Albania; and 14-17 December 1999 in Macedonia. In each country the Special Delegation met with key governmental institutions (including the highest governmental (e.g., presidents, vice-presidents of governments, ministers, state secretaries, etc.) and parliamentary representatives), representatives of public institutions, churches and NGOs (especially NGO activists working with marginalized groups and minorities). Special meetings were organized with representatives of different (possibly all existing minorities) minorities in every country that gave them the opportunity to explain their situation and problems as they saw them. Members of the Special Delegation met also representatives of international organizations (UN, OSCE, Council of Europe, EU, Office of High Representative, etc.) that have their missions, branches, projects or local personnel in respective countries. A special dinner meeting took place also with the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities during the Special Delegation's mission to Macedonia. Additionally, in each country members of special delegation met with experts, scholars and researchers studying human rights, (inter)ethnic relations and the protection of (ethnic) minorities. Altogether, members of the Special Delegation had 20-40 meetings (including breakfast and dinner meetings and working lunches) in every visited country. In addition to the mentioned missions of the special delegation its head, Mr. Furrer visited also Bulgaria and Greece where he met with the highest governmental representatives and representatives of international organizations and NGOs. At different occasions, the author had contacts and meetings also with representatives of Serbian opposition and Montenegrin government, representatives of Albanians and Roma from Kosovo, Hungarians and Croats from Voivodina, and scholars and lawyers from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The findings of the Special Delegation were published in its report, presented at the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe 2000 Portorož International Conference on Interethnic Relations and Minorities. See: “Promotion of Multi-Ethnic Society and Democratic Citizenship: Report of the Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisers.” Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Working Table I on: Democratisation and Human Rights. (Strasbourg, 6 March 2000).

Eastern European Educational Co-Operation Centre.”⁴ Additionally, I participated in a team that organized a series of international conferences on “Citizenship and Education in Democracies” in Slovenia in the period 1998-2001.⁵ Conferences gathered invited experts on civic education from the East and West and practitioners in the field of civic education from South Eastern Europe, including a significant group of civic education teachers from primary and secondary schools in Slovenia. These conferences addressed several issues in this field and enabled the exchange of information and experiences relevant especially for the region.⁶ Also, from 2000 I am chairing the Task Force on Human Rights and Minorities of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and from July 2001 I am heading the International Center for Interethnic Relations and Minorities in South Eastern Europe at the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana that both address, among others, issues of democratic citizenship and civic education – especially in connection with the situation of human rights and the adequate protection of national minorities in South Eastern Europe.

This essay differs from traditional scholarly articles in that that I am presenting a few personal views and thoughts and concepts regarding the education for democratic citizenship, rather than reviewing traditional scholarly concepts and literature. This approach is conditioned also by the fact that during my fieldtrips to the countries of South Eastern Europe I collected a very extensive and, in my view, valuable material on relevant issues concerning civic education from expressed reflections and views of my interviewees and colleagues. This material is rather fragmented, often based more on their views and perceptions than on “research data”, however, it offers an insight that might often be lost in traditional – quantitative and qualitative – studies.

The concept

My basic hypothesis is that education is one of the most important issues at the turn of millennia also for South Eastern Europe – as it is for the rest of the world. When I am speaking of education this includes all fields, spheres and levels of education and training – be it formal or informal. Considering the recent history and urgent needs – especially in the context of expressed interest of all countries of the region to join the European Union and other Euro-Atlantic integrations – special attention needs to be paid to civic education, to the education and training for active, responsible and effective citizenship in democracies. In the process of transition all countries of the

4 The study team consisted of Professor Jagdish Gundara, Head of the International Centre for Intercultural Studies; Crispin Jones, Reader in Education, Institute of Education, London University; Jack Peffers, European Development Officer, Institute of Education, London University; John Singh, Council of Europe expert and former HM Inspector of Schools, UK and Professor Mitja Žagar, Council of Europe expert, member of the Special Delegation of the Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities, and Director of the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia. See: “Feasibility Study on the Creation of a South-Eastern European Educational Co-Operation Centre.” Report To The European Commission In Relation To Contract: Re/You/15/01/99. International Centre For Intercultural Studies, Institute Of Education, London University. London, September 2000.

5 These conferences were organized by the Scientific Research Institute of the Slovene Academy of Science and Arts, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Trade Union of Education, Scientific and Cultural Workers of Slovenia (SVIZ) and sponsored by the Ministry of Science and Technology / Ministry of Education, Science and Sports of the Republic of Slovenia, and the National Commission for UNESCO, Council of Europe and the Public Affairs Section of the American Embassy in Ljubljana.

6 Among results of these conferences we should mention also the book: Oto Luthar, Keith A. McLeod and Mitja Žagar, eds. (2001), *Liberal Democracy, Citizenship and Education*. Mosaic Press in cooperation with the Scientific Research Institute, Ljubljana (Slovenia). Oakville, Ontario, Niagara Falls, NY, 2001.

region introduced democracy and multi party political systems formally in the beginning of the 1990s. However, democracy cannot be established by law or a simple decree alone. Democratization, which should be observed always as a process, and especially the development of democratic political culture take time – often generations; they, at least ideally, also require participation of all segments and generations of the population. Considering the volume of relevant information, but also the rapid pace of social development and change, including technological and other developments in political processes, civic education in modern societies needs to be continuous (permanent); also, it has to include all segments and generations of the population in formal and informal programs of education and training.

In this context, also in civic education we shall speak of life-long learning that makes use of all available information and knowledge, developed teaching and training techniques and approaches, technologies, etc. However, this requires the adequate infrastructure, including the necessary number of teachers and practitioners that can organize and realize programs and all other different – educational and training – activities. Usually, this cannot be done without the participation of the state, public institutions and local government, but equally important is the involvement of NGOs and other actors in civic society. Successful permanent civic education also requires the efficient mobilization of target groups and their members – especially for participation in informal programs and activities. Namely, in this concept civic education is above all a continuous learning process in which a learner should have an active role – being a passive student only occasionally, but most of the time being active participant, partner and advisor and, also, trainer and teacher in some cases.

These goals, requirements and desires, well known and proclaimed in the developed West, are no different in South Eastern Europe. However, the conditions in which they need to be realized are rather different (e.g., trauma of recent wars, the critical post-war situation and rebuilding of destroyed basic infrastructure, lack of means – not only finances, but especially of trained practitioners and teachers and also adequate equipment, etc.) This makes the realization of these goals even more difficult.

Discussion

Although we often hear that there is no evidence that civic education and social mobilization can contribute to a better functioning of democratic political systems and institutions, there was a complete consensus of all people I talked to in South Eastern Europe that the adequate education and substantially improved civic education within this context are central needs of the region and every individual country in it. Their views on education and civic education and their evaluation of concrete circumstances in individual countries might have differed, however, they all believed that the international community needs to do something to address the burning issue of inadequate education and civic education. They insisted that unless the situation was improved, thereby providing the basis for the future development of the region and the integration of its countries in the global integration processes at the global level and the basis for competitive economic and social integration of individuals in these integration processes at the individual level, the region was heading to new crises.

This shows that – above all – they are worried for their younger generations and for their future in the world.

Also other answers indicated that people I talked to considered especially regular education and formal educational system(s) when they talked about education and civic education. They mostly talked about the schools and their programs, underlying the urgent need to reform the education and educational systems in every country of the region to improve their competitive positions and competitive chances of their youth. Interestingly, they did not stress just the importance of general education and technical education, but also the importance of social sciences and humanities, including civic education. They all agree that without at least basic knowledge about political systems and institutions and skills processes a young person cannot be successful in a global labor market.

An important point was that civic education could not be limited just to a specific subject or program on civic education. Important civic education contents should be present in all curricula, programs and subjects. The example frequently mentioned was the role of school history, literature or culture classes that all played an important role in the reproduction of national and nationalistic mythology that fueled intolerance and conflicts – especially the escalation of ethnic conflicts. However, the important role of mass media was usually addressed only after this subject had been brought up in a conversation. Afterwards, interviewees all agreed that media should be included in the civic education process, since they already are one of key players in informal education. Especially in civic education media and their employees should be aware of their potentials and responsibility.

Usually it was mentioned that rather than political parties, trade unions and NGOs – in many cases especially international and foreign NGOs – played an important role in civic education and even more so in developing democratic political culture. They stressed great importance of different informal programs, schools, camps and simulations dealing with human rights, the protection and rights of minorities, but also the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, confidence and tolerance building, overcoming trauma and grievances of war, etc.

An important issue was that of international aid. Especially in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Macedonia there were many opinions that without foreign assistance there was no hope for a successful reform of education and establishment of adequate educational systems. A problem of adequate education and training of teachers was usually mentioned in this context; here problems are not only existing inadequate educational systems but also inadequate systems and programs for permanent education and training (in some cases, reeducation and retraining) of teachers and practitioners in education. Regarding the foreign aid frequent comments were that they needed some advice, but especially funding and equipment. They often criticized the frequent practice that foreign lecturers, volunteer, but also experts, who did not know the region and individual countries, their situations and needs, came there to teach them and to transplant western models not at all adapted to specific circumstances and

needs. Their opinion was that such a practice could produce more harm than good, but at the same time it could be very costly; they believed that for the funding more and more competent indigenous educational and training programs could have been developed and carried out. They hoped that more programs and foundations that would be interested in funding adequate educational and training projects and programs in South Eastern Europe would be established or that the existing ones would focus their interest on the region.

International co-operation was also mentioned as an important factor that could contribute to better education and also to better civic education. If the funds were provided they were especially interested in cooperation with western partners, however also cooperation within the region of South Eastern Europe was considered extremely important and sometimes the best way to improve education and civic education. Sharing knowledge and experience with environments that do possess basic knowledge and information about the region can be sometimes the most productive type of international cooperation.

Conclusion

This contribution addresses a few issues that I and people from the region I talked to consider important for the future development of education and especially civic education in South Eastern Europe. Although there can be no universal model that can be applied in every country of the region, there are certain common characteristics that can enable cooperation and joint activities. Specific programs developed for individual countries have to take into account all specific circumstances in respective countries, but shall also indicate fields and activities where cooperation is possible and where global or regional approaches can be even more effective. In my view the most important issue is that education and civic education become top issues of the political agenda for the international community and individual countries and that they are understood as continuous processes that require constant attention, but also adequate funding. Here I would like to quote a statement by my friend from the region who said: "Education is one of the most important ways to ensure a better future for the region and people for the region. If they (i.e., the international community and western countries) do not realize the importance of education in South Eastern Europe and the need to invest substantial foreign funds in this field, but also in economic and social development, they will face first massive [economic, political] migrations from this region firstly and secondly a source of permanent instability that could endanger peace and stability not only in Europe, but also in the world."

The Discussion of Practice

Sites for Citizenship – the Challenge

Ciril Coh

Teacher of philosophy, logic and ethics in
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“Education for Democratic Citizenship”,
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The Education for Democratic Citizenship project (EDC) is one of the key activities of the Council of Europe. It was set up 1997 with the aim of finding out which values and skills individuals require in order to become participating citizens, how they can acquire these skills and how they can learn to pass them to others. The part of the Action Plan is to raise citizens’ awareness of their rights and responsibilities in the democratic society, to activate existing networks and to encourage and facilitate the participation of young people in civil society.

There are three project sites in Croatia: in Gymnasium Labin, Zagreb and Varazdin. I come from the Gymnasium Varazdin. We have established open relationships and partnerships not only within the sites, but also outside of the sites at the local, national and international level cooperating with different governmental and not governmental organizations. We have horizontal and vertical relationship with the Institute for Education, the Ministry of Education and local authorities, as well partnership relationship with the civil society.

At the Varazdin EDC citizenship site, students in the Gymnasium and their teachers are working to improve communication between individuals, authorities, institutions and communities, on building a more democratic school climate by introducing collaborative methods to the learning process. Lobbying, protesting, petitioning and networking are frequently used as methods and techniques for learning how to influence the decision-making process. A monthly bulletin “D GIMNAZIJA TAJMZ” covering the school issues of human rights and democracy has been produced. In the three year period since its initiation 14 issues have been printed.

“PRO HOMINE” section, a group of students who are involved in the project in one very specific way, has taken the task of of reviving class-based communities, student – teacher relationship, teacher – parent relationship and the democratization of our school as a whole. The members of the group take part in the meetings of the school staff, class group staff meetings, parents meetings, class meetings. Experts from various fields are invited to visit the school and meetings and discussions are organized with teachers, students, parents, local social community about positive and negative occurrences in school, about themes of the special interest like: “conditions for mutual understanding, confidence and tolerance as means of strengthening democratic relationship between students and teachers”, “collaborative learning”, “the methodology of team work”, “criteria and competencies in the conscience are still not

criteria and competencies in behavior”, “let me speak”, “stereotypes and prejudices”, “there is no democratization without virtues”. At the very first meetings it was decided to get involved in the Students’ Council and the Parents’ Council so that these bodies would not merely exist for the sake of appearances. These approaches are shared with other schools in Croatia willing to enter into internal transformation.

The establishment of a Youth Parliament has linked to group to other towns in Croatia and to part of Europe where such parliaments have already been operating. The development of intercultural learning with the international partners focusing on the global cultural approach and not on the cultural centrism is an important aim of the project and contacts have been established with the international partner schools in Norway, Germany and Austria. Promotion of intercultural links with neighboring countries, especially with Slovenia, and with other countries in our region like Albania is important current goal.

The students are aware of how important these activities really are. Student Ivanka Zagorac wrote in a special issue of “D Gimnazija Times” concerning in twin-school cooperation with the Albanian Site:

“From 15-17th June in Borowets, Bulgaria, the first training workshop on twinning of EDC sites in south-east Europe was organized. I proudly took part in it as the only student among all adult participants from Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Ireland, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia. Thought being minor, I was given a chance to participate in all the activities. The aim of the training workshop was to prepare a plan of action in the twinning project. Albania was chosen as the twinning partner of the Croatian site and they should work jointly on Intercultural education. The objectives of the twinning project are to develop cooperation in the field of intercultural education and to stimulate partnerships between actors and institutions of the two countries. Although it seems to be going on very slowly because of the social and economic conditions in Albania and Croatia, the beginning is rather promising. I hope students in my school will soon be exchanged with the students from Albania. We will take part in Twin Schools Days, workshops, field trips... That is how Europe can substantially become united: nations knowing one another, being together but at the same time preserving their identity. I wish I could give my tiny share to achieving it.”

In last six months the twin-schools project between Albanian and Croatian for "sites of citizenship" has been deevloping. Both Albanian and Croatian sites of citizenship have been working on building partnership within the sites as well as with the local communities. Among issues addressed are: human rights education, conflict resolution, cultural, and ecological awareness of citizens, intercultural education and dependence. A virtual communication system using e-mail, and the exchanged of materials through the regular mail are being used. "Albanian Days" has been

organized in Varazdin to learn about the culture of Albania. The Albanian partners organized "Croats Days" in Tirana. One Albanian site participant visited the Varazdin site. Two Varazdin site participants visited the Albanian site. Marija Safran said:

“Albania was something new for me. The best impressions I have are about people. It was something very special for me when we went to one primary school in Tirana. We had very lovely programme. Children were singing to us, acting and we could try traditional Albanian food. I enjoyed mostly in our private conversation with young people. We talked about everything, from parents, school, teachers, friends, love to politics and view on life. The best of all is the fact that Albania is not just a word anymore. Albania means people, beautiful moments, places that I'll remember my whole life and I hope I will visit it again.”

Filip Novosel was surprised by the possibilities of communication with “different” people:

“We talked about everything so there weren't any forbidden subjects. I found out all the little details I wanted to know like the history of Albania, the habits of students and their private life; their point of view. I saw that Albanians live a hard life but they are also trying hard to improve it. All my prejudices were soon gone.”

The initial premise of these activities is that the democratization of the society and the improvement of the quality of living can start with the transformation of school. School is the best place where the young can learn how to share power and build a society based on solidarity, moral values and culture heritage enriched with diversities. Frustrated by reforms which failed to transform the situation in the Croatian school system, the students realized that it is they who need to break the ground with some minor but radical and well-designed projects from within.

The work is innovative but risky because of the authoritarian school climate and the lack of willingness of some teachers to accept students as partners, as well as the lack of willingness of some students to take actions and responsibility. But the action has started, one of them, Ivanka Kosi writes in “D Gimnazija Tajmz”:

“I can proudly say that I am a member of an EDC group called ‘Pro Homine’. You will ask why proudly. Here is a reason: because people say we are taking a easy way. Everyone, or almost everyone, is wrong. ‘They are only gossiping the teachers... They are setting the student on the teachers... They are only quarreling... They are rediscovering America... They are coffee bar and disco philosophers...’ These are just a few remarks that we have a chance to listen to every day both from our schoolmates and

the teachers. As I am a active of the “Pro Homine” group, I was attacked. Fortunately, not physically (I am only 50 kilos of weight) but verbally. For the very firs time in my life I was called an immoral and unconscientious person, prof. Coh’s mercenary and a person who is spreading intolerance between the students and the teachers. That teacher even threatened me with a make-up exam. When I got over the initial shock I started to defend the group and my interest. After all the insult the teacher started to attack me because the twinning project in which Croatia has become a twin country of Albania. He ended the first part of his ethical lecture with a lot of spitting on Albania (...) Than he started to persuade me to leave the group while I still could (...) And just when I thought that the brain washing is over, he started again! I didn’t have enough strength to talk back and to explain the same things again. (...) When I was finally saved by the bell, the teacher left me with my chaotic thoughts in which one of them, the teacher thought actually, seemed convenient: If you act morally and to your conscience, everyone will attack you!”

The transformation of school is not possible without establishing new forms of study and partner relationships which oppose the bureaucratic and traditional school system. Owing to a number of meetings with the representatives of some schools, some students associations which promote education for human rights in Croatia and in the world, models were shared which can make schooling more human and efficient. In joint workshops with the teachers in some other activities, these models were introduced. Authoritarian attitude of some teachers who eliminate any activities of the students, who monitor everything and demand absolute obedience were pointed out at as pedagogically untenable and against human dignity. Both directly talking to the protagonists and writing in the Gimnazija bulletin D Gimnazija Tajmz, plus writing to the Ministry of Education, plus participating in public discussions, local radio and TV teaching based on experience where skills for life are acquired, critical and applicative thinking is tended, where cooperation is cherished were requested. Most of this was done in lessons where the forms of education mentioned came true.

In conclusion I would like to stress one of the most important items which the EDC project can do, is to give the possibility to young people to really express themselves, to develop and show their own point of view. Only they really know what they think, what they need, what they want. Perhaps their thinking, needs, wishes are not always correct. But if we are teaching them how to communicate we must let them speak, and listen to them.

Student Anda Kostial wrote in “D Gimnazija Tajmz”:

“This age is the age of permanent revolutions of all kinds. People are making changes to make the world a better place to live in. We in the Varazdin Gimnazija have been trying to make our little school world more bearable. Generations after

us will finish the job but we, my generation have started. In the process of changing EDC project, carried out by some enthusiastic teachers and students, has a very important role. When we heard of the project, few of us idealist decided to give it a go. We thought we d newer make any progress at all but we did! We made a difference, we proved it was possible to make some changes in our rigorous school system. Our steps further were small but visible. One of successes we made is, for me, the fact that the teachers actually started to listen to what we have to say. Earlier, we had very few chances to show our creativity and to actively participate in our classes. The teacher would talk and we had to listen and write something down. Now we ask questions, give propositions, even play games. And by doing that we make the class more interesting and worth attending.”

Meetings have been organized where both the students and the teachers (of “tough” subject usually) stated their arguments and discussed how to make a certain compromise with a goal of avoiding possible conflicts among those school protagonists. Once we even organized a workshop where the “opposite” sites were divided into groups and given tasks to do by, imagine, cooperating. *“Gee, we did talk as a equal partners!”*

The International School-to-School Project

Lynne Partington

Coordinator

International School-to-School Project

Globalization, the great transformation of the 21st Century, has touched the lives of nearly everyone. The rise of the internet and recent advances in telecommunications have created an atmosphere in which an increase in the development of international trade has opened more markets, delivered more capital, and lowered costs. Globalization has provided the potential for broader choice and the power of individuals to control their own destiny. Increased trade has also led to more spending, rising living standards and a growth in international travel.

Unfortunately, many negative aspects of globalization have been blamed for inequality in the market system between industrialized countries and the poorer countries. Globalization is leaving significant sectors of the world population behind as they find themselves unable to integrate into the world economy and to trade and attract investment successfully. In addition, the highly developed Internet and telecommunication technology that has enabled information exchange and a greater understanding of cultures, has also led to the diminishment of national traditions and identities.

In an effort to respond to the massive changes brought about by the process of globalization, a working meeting was held by the International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research in the Education of Adults in Tallinn, Estonia in July 2001. As a result of a weeklong discussion of the implications of this global transformation, the Tallinn Declaration was issued on July 4, 2001. The Tallinn Declaration recognizes the challenges of globalization and the fact that “civic education and lifelong learning is essential for coping with the uneven and contradictory process of global change” and, further, that “the struggles for learning environments, open to democratic agenda building, are a necessary condition for translating people’s needs into appropriate demands, and resulting in meaningful responses.”

The Tallinn Declaration and its emphasis on the promotion of civic education and intercultural learning initiatives is the basis upon which the International School-to-School Project has been established. To develop an appreciation of alikeness and a feeling of connectedness, members of different nations require positive contact. Without real human contact, tourism and even student exchange opportunities have little value. Real interaction in a framework of equality is essential for people to come to know and accept each other. Ideally, people will join in the pursuit of shared goals, which further generate shared values and ideals. The International School-to-School Project provides students, through the agenda building process, the opportunity to discuss real issues, seek solutions to real problems and collaborate with children across the globe.

As a pilot project, five middle or high schools in Southeast Michigan and five international educational sites were developed over a two-year period (1999-2000).

The project expanded by July, 2002 to include 77 international educational sites which are interested in seeking partnerships with middle schools, high schools, and university students in Southeast Michigan. 28 International School-to-School partnerships are operational and the number of sites is steadily increasing.

In the School-to-School Project, collaborative relationships between educational institutions are developed for the specific purpose of engaging students in the Youth Urban Agenda process, based on the Needs, Demand, Response, and Model. Student exchange, community service, language development and cultural enhancement are all integral components of a program that facilitates an understanding of the challenges of globalization. Students have the experience through this project, of identifying issues, in their own communities and societies that need to be addressed and seeking solutions for dealing with those issues. This means understanding the nature of the political system and civic participation in their own community and society. Students have the opportunity to exchange ideas and debate issues that affect their lives and to collaborate with other young people living in Southeast Michigan, in cities across our country, and throughout the world. The program, it must be emphasized, is not a forum for promoting any one political system or ideology. Collaborative projects and student exchange experiences develop from the needs that arise and become apparent as friendships evolve through Internet communication.

Three educational outcomes may be expected to occur as a result of participation in the International School-to-School Sites for Democracy Sites for Citizenship Project:

1. Students learn about globalization and many worlds on a personal basis

Siberia: Exchange visits occurred between teachers from an English immersion school in Novosibirsk, Siberia and Page Middle School in Madison Heights, Michigan. Students from Madison Heights then visited Siberia and actually helped instruct the teachers and students there in the “agenda building process” which they had learned in their classrooms. In October 2000 the students from Novosibirsk visited Page Middle School and attended the International School-to-School Project Youth Urban Agenda Convention on the Wayne State University Campus.

South Africa: A student and teacher delegation from River Rouge High School visited South Africa in 1999 and a return delegation of students and their teachers from four high schools in South Africa occurred in October 2000. All students and teachers at River Rouge High School, as well religious and community leaders joined enthusiastically in hosting the South African guests. Segments of the week long series of activities, including student participation in the Youth Urban Agenda Convention, were video taped and shown on local cable television networks.

Honduras: A teacher from an orphanage school for street children, the Maximilian Kolbe Institute, in Honduras visited the Academy of the Americas Spanish Immersion Middle School in Detroit where he learned the basics about the Youth Urban Agenda Civic Literacy agenda building process. He returned to Honduras to institute the project and after a great deal of internet exchange, teachers and a group of students from the Honduran school then visited their Detroit partner school and attended the

International School-to-School Youth Urban Agenda Convention on the Wayne State University Campus in October 2000. In reaction to agenda issues coming from the Maximilian Kolbe Institute, Detroit students raised funds to send sports equipment to their partner school in Honduras. This effort arose spontaneously from personal empathy that developed between the two groups of students as they participated in agenda building exercises.

Afghanistan: The original impetus for the creation of a relationship between Afghanistan and a Northville, Michigan middle school was a response to the desire of Meads Mill students in Northville to assist children in a remote area of Afghanistan after learning about living conditions in the region. In two years (1998-2000) the students raised \$12,000 through fund raising efforts (bake sales, bottle refunds, and special events) to begin construction of a private co-ed school and a clinic in Wardak Province, Afghanistan. Videos (since internet communication was not possible) of the construction process allowed the children in both countries to develop and enhance educational and cultural understanding. In October 2000, two teachers and two students from Afghanistan visited the students from Northville, Michigan who had helped them build their school. They also attended the International Youth Urban Agenda Convention on the Wayne State University campus. That same year, Friends Middle School in Detroit also joined the Afghan Project and began to assist in the effort to build the school in Wardak Province, Afghanistan. All of this occurred while the Taliban controlled Afghanistan politically. Most recently, in June 2002, after the change in Afghan political leadership, two teachers from the participating Michigan schools traveled to Afghanistan for the first time to see the school and clinic in Wardak Province. They carried bags of medicine and school supplies donated by their students.

Croatia/Slovenia: Since 2000, a partnership has developed between students at Wayne State University and the Inter University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia. The Inter University Centre was created to provide an educational opportunity for students from around the world to interact, discuss areas of concern, and develop agendas to deal with those concerns. The Wayne State students attended a ten day course on "Divided Societies" at the IUC in May, 2000 where they not only studied issues of ethnic conflict pertinent to the region, they were also able to meet with students from many different countries and ethnic backgrounds. A delegation of Wayne State students attended the IUC "Divided Societies" course in 2001 and in 2002. In addition, a second course, sponsored by the Youth Urban Agenda Civic Literacy Project was added to the IUC curriculum in 2002. The course, entitled "Globalization and Civic Literacy" was attended by a second Wayne State delegation and international representatives from 35 different countries. The international delegates were so enthusiastic that they agreed to participate in the International School-to-School Project and recruit high schools and middle schools from their own countries to partner with schools in Southeast Michigan. More than 15 schools in Croatia are now participants in the project.

2. Students improve communication and social science skills by means of interaction with international partners

Communication begins in the classrooms as students discuss, usually in small groups of 3-5, as students, current issues in their school and in their community that affect them as youth. They research and prioritize these issues, and after coming together with the other groups of classmates, develop one common agenda for their class. Students develop cooperative skills of discussion and consensus through the agenda building process which then culminates in a Youth Urban Agenda Convention consisting of a cluster of high schools or middle schools. At the convention the agenda building process is repeated with student participants from schools representing diverse ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds. They break into caucus groups to create their agendas which are then presented and voted upon at a final plenary session. There may be between 400-1000 student participants at the convention and students have the experience of speaking in public as they present their issues to elected officials and community leaders who have been invited to attend. The Youth Urban Agenda Civic Literacy Project, which allows students to develop the knowledge of how to actively participate and initiate change in the community, is the foundation by which a democratic society functions. Students learn that citizen power serves as a means to create avenues for peaceful change, as well as an understanding of the political institutions necessary to facilitate change. The program is a participatory approach to teaching civic literacy designed to be implemented in any educational curriculum. It facilitates the requirements of the MEAPS (Michigan Content Standards and Draft Benchmarks) by developing and enhancing skills required for depth of understanding, imperative of citizen involvement.

The agenda building process is the foundation upon which the International School-to-School Project has been established. Teachers from schools in Southeast Michigan begin communication by explaining to their international teacher partner the procedure, as well as their experience with the Youth Urban Agenda Civic Literacy Project. When Michigan students begin the international Internet exchange, they discuss their own agendas, as well as agendas being developed by the international students. Computer skills, writing skills, social studies, geography, and communications skills are all enhanced by student participation in the project. Students from Page Middle School in Madison Heights, Michigan who went to Siberia actually assisted teachers as facilitators in classrooms to teach the agenda building process. Students from River Rouge High School attended a Leadership Training Camp while visiting South Africa, participating in team responsibility exercises, conflict resolution, and peer mediation. They also spoke at a meeting of professors and students at Rhodes University where they explained the importance of civic participation and international exchange.

Students, who have the opportunity to know someone from another culture, work together on a common project, share concerns, and explore solutions to common problems, then develop a sense of empathy and compassion. After the U.S. began the bombing campaign in Afghanistan in December 2001, Northville students were concerned for the safety and well being of their international school partners, and for the school they raised money to help build. Carlin, an eighth grade student from

Northville, Michigan who participated in the Afghan Project expressed it well when she said that “in today’s fast paced world we are sometimes so wrapped up in our own busy lives, trying to keep up with the times and technology, that we do not realize that others are less fortunate than we are.” Wayeed, a student in the Afghan partner school said that he was shocked that kids in America care about kids in Afghanistan. “I wish there was something we could do in return. Right now, there is nothing we can give them in return except our prayers and that they live happy and successful lives and enjoy the songs that we have memorized to sing for them.” Erica, a student from River Rouge said, during her visit to South Africa that “now I know that what I want to do when I graduate is to be involved in international work”. Today, Erica is attending college, majoring in international business, and doing an internship in Sweden.

3. Student self-esteem develops in a positive way as they seek solutions to real problems and they realize that their views are important

As a result of more than ten years experience in middle and high schools across Southeast Michigan, it has been the experience of the Youth Urban Agenda staff that, contrary to commonly held opinions, young people are not apathetic about civic participation and political issues. They just believe that no one cares what they think. Once they have participated in agenda building within their class, their school, across Southeast Michigan, and internationally, they develop an interest in seeking solutions to community issues that will affect their future. For immigrant students, in particular, the benefits of the International School-to-School Project in terms of development of self-esteem are significant.

Most newly arrived students lacking English skills are placed, when enrolled in public schools, into a special ESL program within a school. The English as a Second Language Program is described as a “sheltered curriculum.” tudents remain in this program until their English skills have developed to the point that they can be “mainstreamed” into a normal classroom. In reality, this means that they are normally isolated and have very little contact with other students in the school who may have little understanding, even negative opinions, about immigrant students and their cultures. The International School-to-School Project has changed all that in schools where the project has been implemented. ESL students are able to interact in all aspects of the International School Project including agenda building, fund raising, and conventions. In fact, they are able to help facilitate the project by acting as the link to the international partner site which may be, and often is, their own former school. They can describe their culture to their schoolmates and become an integral participant in their school activities instead of remaining outsiders. The International School Project also assists ESL students in achieving the skills which will enable them to become integrated into the normal school classroom. They learn how to do research, write letters, give speeches, and make phone calls. As students become friends with their international school partners, plans for travel and for assistance projects often develop.

All students participate in fund raising activities which gives them a sense of ownership of the project. Some activities have included hosting school dances and dinners, collecting bottles for refunds, selling pizza kits, and T-shirts. Students at Page

Middle School in Madison Heights, Michigan have hosted “backpack drives,” collecting backpacks and school supplies for their international partners in Romania, Siberia, and Albania. Academy of the Americas students in Detroit collected athletic equipment for an orphanage school in Honduras, and Meads Mill Middle School has collected money to build a school and clinic in Afghanistan. They have also held clothing drives and sent school supplies and medicine. Page Middle School is now beginning a health project for Gambia.

Participatory global citizenship, in which the world’s inhabitants learn to articulate their needs, negotiate differences, seek peaceful solutions, and respect each other’s cultures, can no longer be dismissed as optimistic rhetoric. The future of the global community, in fact, may well depend on the degree to which educators are successful in teaching young people the skills that will enable them to contradict the darker forces of the globalization process. Terrorism, ethnic conflict, economic inequality, disease, and famine will be the consequences of indifference and ignorance on the part of the international community in the education of their children. It is no longer a question of whether globalization is “good” or “bad” or whether or not responsible educators should or should not support international civic education. Because we cherish our children’s future, there is no other viable alternative.

From Theory to Realization: Integrating Civic Literacy into a Content Driven Curriculum and Youth Centered Agenda Building Process Within the School and Global Society

Dan Kramer

As current trends of globalization and transformation continue, the growing number of individuals who face the realization of a global acculturation-assimilation process are finding their voice to be non-existent in representative democracy. As this occurs, there are two educational considerations to move these individuals into a path for civic understanding and participation. These two strands of thought include the continuing education of adults and the constant and consistent education of youth.

Within the strand of thought regarding youth, civic understanding must come through the individual, the local education system, the regional government, the nation-state, and the global community. This understanding must come through not only an educational base of content driven knowledge, but as well, an application of this knowledge to an evaluative level of active agenda building process. This process is given through the following theoretical educational segments that are to be applied to a practical teaching approach.

The Story Base/Appeal to Audience

The story base within this teaching approach is an abstract, allegorical view of comprehension to the student with the overall process of being able to understand world events and how to use them in current relevant forms. The story base begins with Plato and the cave, bringing a sense of individual understanding of thought into action, regardless of the norms perceived within one's environment. This story is a start for understanding that the individual has valid ideas and discoveries that can contribute to society. Having these ideas, however, is not enough and it is soon realized that each individual needs to be given the right tools with which to express what it is that is to be contributed. As Plato leaves his cave to discover a new and beautiful world not known to his friends and family, he returns in excitement to express to everyone what he has seen. Upon doing so, he finds he does not have the appropriate words with which to communicate.

The second story within this base includes the shrunken shirt story of a young boy who disregards the words of his mother in buying a shirt that will shrink. The boy pretends that all is well with his purchase to the point of discomfort and an eventual strangling of himself to prevent admittance of his mistake. This story illustrates the surrounding ideas of leaping into a bureaucratic system. When an individual attempts to formulate ideas into expression within an established system, the role of advocacy proves to be crucial. When we jump into a system of unfamiliarity it will provide us the same discomfort and eventual strangulation as the shrunken shirt.

The third story is of two hunters that need the help of a sea plane so that they may carry their prized capture home. In this story, the sea plane cannot carry the weight of the animal and crashes killing the pilot. The hunters soon admit that this method only worked just a little bit better than the previous hunting trip. This story illustrates the critical need to evaluate and change current methodologies that are destructive.

As youth become familiar within this framework of allegory they are able to begin educational steps to understanding civic literacy as well as analyze the content knowledge given within common social studies curriculums. These three stories are in effect three steps to giving students the tools to transform the content base of educational studies into relevant application in simple terms.

The Agenda Building Process

The agenda building process is done through asking students five questions that provoke issues of importance. These questions include:

- 1) Where do you want to be in 5-10 years?
- 2) Where do you want your community to be in 5-10 years?
- 3) What tools do you need to reach these goals?
- 4) What are some major life issues?
- 5) What are you willing to do about it?

Within the context of a content based curriculum, these five questions become one of the major applicable basis for both activation of agenda building (which is the raising of issues from the five questions and putting them into an action plan) as well as analyzing events throughout history in terms of the actions of individuals and nation-states alike.

Cultural Understanding

The twenty-four folkways originate from a book about the foundations of learning how to understand culture to achieve common goals between groups. It is one thing to formulate an agenda between individuals. It is quite another, however, to continue in the agenda building process of individuals especially when those individuals bring diverse abilities, understanding, perceptions and realities to a group. The twenty-four folkways gives a basis to understand culture in any setting and to seek ways to become effective as an agenda building group. This particular part of civic literacy ties closely to the programs of conflict resolution and peer mediation programs and is greatly encouraged as it builds and supports cohesiveness within environments. As well, the folkways may be included in content studies that deal with migration patterns, conflicts, wars, trade, peace treaties, occupations, and countless areas of study within all educational environments. The twenty-four folkways include:

time	rank	order	building	marriage	gender	naming	childraising
social	speech	sexual	religion	magic	freedom	family	wealth
food	death	dress	learning	sport	power	age	work

Understanding of Bureaucracy

As individuals form an agenda and perhaps mold into groups at various levels, entering stages of presenting this agenda to bureaucratic environments can be difficult at best. This path can lead individuals into directions that include advocacy in two forms. The first is to express the formulated agenda to the correct individuals that will lead toward an advocate taking the agenda into the proper bureaucratic environment and attempting to implement it within the appropriate system. The second form of advocacy is to lead the agenda builders into the bureaucratic process where expression and active participation can take place. Upon either process, once entering the bureaucratic system, a cycle begins to express need of the agenda builders. This cycle takes the need of the agenda and formulates it into a demand process and then provokes response from those sought after. Depending upon the anticipated result of the response, the agenda need is met or the cycle repeats itself reformulating the need-demand statements, or perhaps moving to a different response mechanism.

The Project Levels

As a basic understanding of agenda building and bureaucracy begins to shape youth, an understanding of project level participation is the next progressive step leading to active expression of issues. The project levels include agenda building within (1) the school environment, (2) the local community, (3) the regional community, (4) the nation-state, and (5) the international community. Collaboration of issues between groups at each of these levels brings the folkways into integrated practice as cross cultural understanding through common issues that formulates into agenda building.

(International) Collaboration

To truly believe globalization impacts individuals around the world in a way that depresses the acculturation-assimilation process where members of society are excluded, the need to work collaboratively is beyond justification. To do this, the eleven steps to international coordination are needed to follow the above mentioned process. These eleven steps include:

1. Communication is open and unmonitored and continues throughout eleven steps between youth.
2. Goals are discussed in terms of the five questions. School curriculum is also played into this role and the project level is introduced to create a pattern.
3. Folkways are introduced to teach culture. Culture is used to bring more of an understanding to international participants as well as curricular study.
- 4-8. Goals (through the five questions) are done within each school to strengthen the process and establish cooperation between all applicable project levels.
9. A day of voting is set for all participating schools to vote on the issues that are most important between schools.
10. Joint issues are divided upon, agendas are formulated and date for travel is set

Trip is planned and carried out with representatives from each participating school to the location of the issues.

A Project Model - School 130, Novosibirsk, Siberia, Russia and Page Middle School, Madison Heights, Michigan, USA.

Transforming the theoretical base into a working curriculum within Michigan public education is a difficult issue with many educational and political factors to consider at various levels. Working beyond those factors and into international collaboration with a school in Novosibirsk, Siberia only adds to the difficulty of the framework by coordinating educational and political factors from two societies. Over a span of three years, collaboration between these two sites transformed from the above expressed theoretical base into an integrated program within two curriculums on opposite sides of the globe, now juxtaposed into one collaborative effort. The entire project link between the two schools began with basic communication and understanding of civic literacy. This was done through an observation of programs and individual site integration of civic literacy within current curriculums. Within Page Middle School, the civic literacy program became a voluntary-based integrated approach within all current curriculum areas. Within School-college 130, courses were created within various grade levels to give a solid base to core content within the curriculum framework. Through the exchanges, the work between the two schools became one collaborative effort leaving two different but parallel systems working together. The following is a year by year account of the collaborative program build-up.

October 1998: Administrative observation of civic literacy cluster convention in Detroit, Michigan, USA with 3600 students began first broad look into the program for Siberians. Civic literacy project established at John Page Middle School from eleven English as a second language students newly immigrated that year. Students began working on theoretical steps of civic literacy in school level participation of expression of issues important to them. Students combined with one other mainstreamed classroom to work on community level issues in Madison Heights, Michigan.

May 1999: Initial person to person contact between John Page Middle School and principal of School-College 130 in Novosibirsk. Invitation extended to administration to observe established program at Page Middle School. Sixth grade team of Page Middle School begins integrated process of using civic literacy within curriculum.

October 1999: School-College 130 administrative visit to Detroit to observe Page Middle School Civic Literacy Process in theory base and as applied within the classroom in various curricular areas. Long term goals discussion between schools takes place. Planned visit and training session made for Novosibirsk. Page training of eleven teachers and two-hundred (of six-hundred) students takes place from a core group of middle school students involved in civic literacy program.

March 2000: Training visit to Novosibirsk takes place to teach students and teachers civic literacy process parallel to Page Middle School. Planning for student visits, creating a full circle of exchange between schools established. Core group of Siberian students formed to learn civic literacy process to match core group established in Page Middle School.

October 2000: First cluster convention of Page Middle School held, hosting sixteen-hundred students over two days from six metropolitan Detroit middle schools and three international sites including Afghanistan, Honduras, and Siberia. Siberia brings core group of students to observe Page Middle School process and participate in agenda building. Page Middle School civic literacy project spreads to whole school voluntary format with all teachers understanding theoretical base and integrating it into various curriculum areas.

April 2001: Page Middle School civic literacy students visit Novosibirsk completing the first cycle of exchanges between schools. During this visit, students teach civic literacy process within School-College 130, observe newly created elementary civic literacy program created to feed higher grade courses and core groups from both schools meet and discuss future agenda issues between schools. Two new schools contacted near School-College 130 to establish initial contact and beginning stages to a localized school cluster in Novosibirsk.

October 2001: Page Middle School continues whole school civic literacy project with addition of high school, board of education and elementary administration training. Second cluster convention held among Detroit area schools with nearly two thousand participants. September 11 events postponed all scheduled international school visits which included Albania, Romania, Siberia and possibly Greece.

The Future of the Civic Literacy Project at John Page Middle School

The seven (7) year International School to School Plan: Connecting and collaborating with 18-25 international sites over the next seven years based upon the Siberian-Madison Heights model.

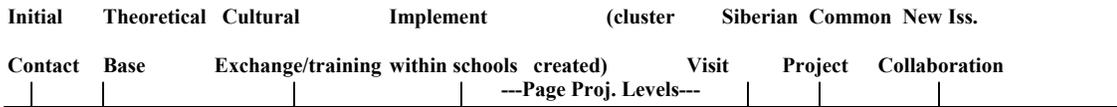
District-Wide Project: Implementation of the program on a district-wide basis in both voluntary efforts and integrated firmly within core curricular areas.

Pin Site for World Wide Training: Based upon the eleven steps to international collaboration, and in coordination with the seven year international school to school plan, Page Middle School would like to train new schools on the theoretical base of the project up to full level implementation of the program and linkage to various schools around the world. Within this plan, a complete collaborative connection of schools raises issues in a parallel structures that can be shared in issue and relevance while still maintaining an autonomous nature that respects each individual site.

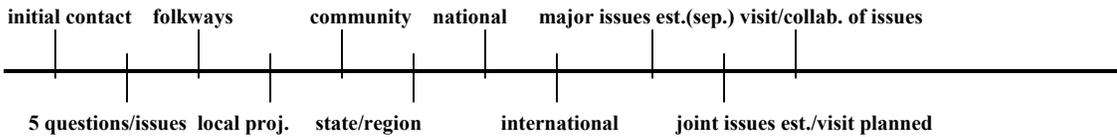
Strengthening of National Project Level Sites: Although Page Middle School has begun a national school to school project site with Whitwell Middle School in Tennessee, a continued effort to build collaborative efforts of a domestic nature will need further structure and linkage into the overall international collaboration.

TIMELINE FROM SIBERIA-MADISON HEIGHTS COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS IN RELATION TO THE ELEVEN STEPS ON INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Siberian-Madison Heights Collaborative Efforts



11 steps to international coordination



Civic Education and Ethnic Conflict (Chechnya)

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The two Chechen wars (1994-1996 and 1999 - till now) resulted in disastrous human and material losses. At the time of the 1989 census, the number of people living in the Checheno-Ingushetia* was about 1,270,500. By comparing the various sources with data from the 1989 census, and considering the number of people who have reportedly emigrated from the republic, as well as casualties, and morbidity and birth rates, the UN considers that about 440,000 people currently live in Chechnya, whereas Ingushetia has about 350,000 inhabitants. The number of displaced people in Chechnya and Ingushetia is 160,000 and 150,000 respectively¹. During the Chechen wars about 40-50,000 people were killed, over half the territory's population (some 500,000) became refugees in their own country, the capital of the Chechen Republic – the city of Grozny and many other settlements suffered heavy destruction. It is a tragedy for the Chechen people and the worst crisis in Russia's new history. The conflict between Russia's federal government and the Chechen armed secessionists is still unresolved and the war's consequences are still there.²

Despite official claims, made by Russian military and political leaders on April 15, 2000 that the fighting stage of the counter-terrorist operation in Chechnya to be over and that the key enemy forces have been routed (13,000 rebels killed, 20 well-known field commanders killed and 20 arrested), federal troops have not won the second Chechen campaign.³

The Russian troops have lost about 3,000 soldiers (these figures seem questionable to many NGOs and to media). Human rights organizations estimate citizen losses at approximately 9,000 (V.Ibragimov, representative of Ichkeria*, quotes different data: 14,000 killed by federal forces and 1500 by the Chechen resistance).⁴

Russian troops are attacked daily and bear monthly losses in the region of 50-70 servicemen. The Russian military estimates the number of rebels in Chechnya at

* The Chechen territorial autonomy was first created in 1922 as a part of Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In 1924 the Ingush Autonomous Oblast was formed. In 1934, the Chechen and Ingush Autonomous Oblast were united into Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Oblast, which in 1936 was granted the status of an autonomous republic within the RSFSR. (Valery Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame*: Sage Publications, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi, 1997. P. 191). In November 1991, a separate Chechen Republic was declared.

1 Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal 2002. North Caucasus (Russian Federation): United Nations, New York and Geneva, November 2001. P. 8-9

2 Valery Tishkov, *Understanding Violence for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Chechnya: The report prepared for the 4th International Security Forum 'Coping with the New Security Challenges of Europe'*, 15-17 November 2000, Geneva. P. 9.

3 Chechnya post-Conflict Reconstruction Plan: Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (fewer) Report, <http://www.fewer.nm.ru>

* Chechen Republic of Ichkeria – official name of Chechnya declared by Dz.Dudaev

4 Chechnya post-Conflict Reconstruction Plan: Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (fewer) Report, <http://www.fewer.nm.ru>.

between 2,000 and 2,500, while Maskhadov believes that there are some 15,000. The Kremlin's primary objective, to destroy the strongholds of the armed separatists, has not been attained. Moreover, ineffective use of the armed forces has multiplied the number of victims among the civilian and refugee populations and has led to increased support for the resistance movement. The situation is even worse due to the problem of how to prevent the degeneration of troops. Soldiers tried by the ordeals of the war, have found themselves with time on their hands. The result is that the 100,000-strong army is getting out of control. The growth of alcohol-related crime and of anti-social behavior is widespread. Weaponry, drugs and alcohol seem to pose a greater threat to the army and civilians than the rebels. The Chechens have become hostages of the war and victims of coercion by both sides. Widespread abuse of human rights and freedoms in the republic seems to be the principal area of concern for Chechnya today.⁵

All sorts of "special" or "cleaning" operations lead to an escalation in the number of civilian casualties, intensify refugee flows and strengthen support for the guerrillas on the ground, even among groups initially antagonistic towards the guerrillas. The violence and illegal activities of the Russian forces towards Chechen civilians aggravate the tendency to treat the combat activities of the federal forces as actions directed "against the people". One should realize, that the Russian military forces in Chechnya are nationally (ethnically) homogeneous, and that they are fighting in a territory with a mono-ethnic population. This creates pre-conditions for tension in relations between the two sides.

The experts in Chechen conflict area assert that the most probable scenario of possible development is on-going protracted war, which sooner or later will be followed by a set-back for the federal forces and negotiations with the separatists. The conflict can only be ended when large-scale military actions are halted, the army is separated from police functions, attitudes towards the Chechen people change, human rights and freedoms in the CR are protected, and, principally, after the reconstruction of the Chechen economy will begin the reconstruction of the social sphere.

It becomes clear, that although military force is still in favor in the Chechen conflict management, there is no belligerent solution. Apart from a extremely disastrous in terms of individuals necessity of peaceful settlement on state level, and material and all possible costs, a wide space for civil society peace-education work also exists.

The already started reconstruction of the Chechen economy and social sphere will not automatically provide for peace and creative life conditions in the area, unless social and ethnic reconciliation has not happened and xenophobia and distrust are not overcome.

Intolerance and enmity resulting from differences in political views and, especially, in ethnicity, are incompatible with the principles of construction of a democratic multicultural society. To oppose the spread of these phenomena is a duty of civil

⁵ Ibid.

society. It is particularly important for the societies that are or were in a state of armed conflict. The Chechen Republic belongs to such societies.

A guarantee for peace is tolerant relations between people. The civil society in Chechnya and NGO networks including Chechen NGOs has to be educated and developed in order to initiate psychological aid to the conflict victims, promote tolerance and reconciliation projects, to focus first of all on youth and children programs.

The Fund for Humanitarian Assistance to the Chechen Republic, established by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and Russia in 2000, has designed a project “Reconciliation in the Chechen conflict zone” (hereafter only Reconciliation).

The goal of the Reconciliation project is the creation of grassroots level’s structures of civil society, involving the Chechen, as well as other Caucasian and Russian young people, interested in establishing peace and confidence in the relations within the Chechen Republic, among Chechen people themselves and the neighboring populations. *The task* of the project is to conduct a round table-seminar on education and young civil society leaders’ training in conflict management and practical application of the acquired skills in the peace-building process. The long-term goal of the project consists in the creation of a network of experts, working on permanent basis, having professional knowledge and practical skills in conflict settlement. Participants of the round table constitute the basic of this network.

With the end of large-scale military operations in the Chechen Republic, the civil society is faced with the problem of arranging peaceful life – restoration of economy, of education system, culture and other major spheres of social life. Rebuilding of pacific life, however, is impossible without the normalization of the relations between people and social groups.

The Chechen society is divided by internal contradictions into at least the following groups:

- Supporters of a forceful solution of the Chechen self-determination issue, understood as the establishment of an independent state;
- Supporters of a peaceful and gradual solution of this issue;
- Politically inert, mainly civilian population, concerned about everyday life’s conditions;
- Groups formed according to “blood-revenge” traditions, as a result of violent actions like murders, robberies etc.

Besides Chechen internal disruption, one of the main lines of society division concerns mutual relation between Chechens and the neighboring Caucasian people, and mostly the Russian population. The stereotyped enemy images, particularly “Russian” and a “Chechen”, are widely popular among a part of relevant ethnic groups not only among the republic’s population, but also in neighboring districts and big cities, including

Moscow. The destruction of these images is one of the main objectives of the “Reconciliation” project.

Initial hypothesis and target audience

We assume that, among all the strata of society that can be involved in peace education and peace-making process, the youth has a special place. In many ways, the youth determines the situation within the country and influences prospects for the peaceful development of the Chechen Republic. Unlike the adult population, young people find common interests more easily and are open to alternatives in the context of peace restoration. That’s why we believe that it is necessary to start a peace education and peace-building dialogue with the youth. It is important that young civil society leaders, enjoying authority with their age-mates, should not only be oriented towards peace building, but also have the appropriate education, knowledge and practical skills to succeed in the work of peace making.

The Round table - seminar that is planned to be carried out by The Fund of the Humanitarian assistance to the Chechen Republic in 2002-2003 is devoted to the formation of this knowledge and practical skills by means of informal education through civil society structures like NGOs. The “Reconciliation” project fully conforms to the purposes and tasks of the Fund, among which we can name the following:

- Uniting the efforts of the state, public organizations and private initiatives in helping the post-conflict reconstruction of the Chechen Republic, the realization of educational, cultural and social projects in the field of civil society formation and interethnic relations harmonization;
- Realization of projects in social-psychological and medical rehabilitation of the victims of the conflict, especially children and teenagers, refugees and forced migrants;
- Holding scientific and practical conferences, training seminars and other kinds of peace-making activities.

In 2000-2001, the Fund conducted four seminars on post-conflict trauma and pedagogical psychology with intent to give secondary school teachers the necessary professional psychological knowledge of how to work with children who have experienced traumas of armed conflicts.

The Round table - seminar “Reconciliation in the Chechen conflict zone” is the first step in a series of peace education and peace-building activities planned by the Fund for the next two or three years. At the project’s initial stage, Chechen high school students and same-age people from other republics of Northern Caucasus and other regions of the Russian Federation will serve as *the basic target group*, a total of 20 people including 8 Chechens, 3 Russians, 3 representatives of Dagestan peoples, 2 Ossetians, 2 Ingushs, 1 Kabardin, and 1 Balkar.

Apart from a informal discussion on the most complicated ethno-political issues interfering with interethnic reconciliation and restoration of trust between the Chechen

and other Russia's populations, the Round table - seminar pursues two key goals: *educational and practical*. The *educational objective* will be implemented by providing lectures by experts in such issues as *the nature of conflict and conflict management, formation of the enemy's image and its dismantling, the role of ethnic culture specificity in conflict management, and other matters*. Part of the time will be devoted to training *in practical skills* in conflict management applied in different environments.

The Round table seminar also pursues the purpose of establishing contacts among students and elaborating strategies and mechanisms for the support of mutual confidence. We expect that one of the results of the action should be the creation of youth sub-networks, which in the long run will form the basic structure of a network of peace educators and peacemakers in the North Caucasus. The creation of such a network is the purpose of this initiative in the long-term perspective. It is even more important, for in spite of the fact that during the last decade a number of ethnic conflicts have occurred in Russia and some of them have still not been settled, there still does not exist a single state or civil society structure which would be involved in conflict settlement at the local level. The need for such structures is obvious, since the real democracy begins at the level of local government and local community. NGOs, actively working in the zones of conflicts, including the Chechen Republic, are basically focused on human rights monitoring, making no attempts at conflict management on behalf of ethnic groups.

At the same time, both republics and regions of the Russian Federation in the Northern Caucasus, and especially local governments in ethnically mixed environments feel an urgent need for facilitators, mediators and negotiators who, besides the knowledge of local traditions in peace-building, would have appropriate professional training in this field. The "Reconciliation" project deals with this deficiency, since it is aimed at the formation of peace-making structures within the civil society. Attempts at training in the area of adult education in conflict management skills in the post-Soviet space have been taken since 1992. In particular, in 1992 the first three-week seminar was carried out jointly by the International Alert, University of the United Nations and the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences. Despite the fact that at this productive seminar post-soviet citizens got acquainted with Western political culture and of peace education and received tuition in the skills of conflict management, neither it nor other seminars out later by International Alert in the Northern Caucasus have led to the creation of a network of professionally educated and trained peacemakers, even though some participants of those seminars have tried to put their knowledge to practice.

Popularization and Dissemination of the project's ideas

One of the central issues of our initiative is popularization and dissemination of the peace education and peacemaking ideas. The general idea of the project itself is based on the use of a possibility of increasing the number of peacemakers and co-operation with those who support their undertakings. However, the implementation of the project, as well as participation of each person in it, will not be accompanied by a noisy advertising campaign. On the contrary, all problems of the individual

participants, their replacements in case of need, as well as the methodology and practical work of the seminar will be decided on in accordance with the state of the ethno-psychological atmosphere around the Chechen conflict. The authors of the Reconciliation project are interested in the achievement of the stated goals. They will avoid, in every possible way, the probable dangers of trapping seminar participants by political opponents.

Activities/methods/stages

The duration of the project is planned to be 12 months. Its realization is intended to be carried out in four stages:

Stage I - preparatory phase (four months)

The tasks assigned for this stage:

- Elaboration of detailed conceptual plan and concrete terms of its realization;
- Development of the schedule of the Round table-seminar 's work;
- Development of the selection criteria for the Round table-seminar participants;
- Working out of the list of candidates-participants of the Round table-seminar;
- Selection of project's participants;
- Arranging for the Round table-seminar;
- Development of methodological key for the assessment of the Round table-seminar's work and the prospects of peace-making activities;
- Development of a draft questionnaire for further discussions to be held at forthcoming seminars.

Stage II- organization of the seminar

(5th month, 7 working days and the day of arrival, the day of departure.)

- Organizing the arrival of participants of the Round table – seminar to the place (possibly in the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria – Nal'chik city);
- Arrangement of working premises (rooms) for the seminar and organizing the work on a daily basis;
- 7 days of seminar work;
- Analytical work on the materials for brainstorming evaluation/appraisal of the results of the Round table - seminar.

Stage III - evaluation of the Round table - seminar results and the elaboration of the Reconciliation project's further development (6-th-11-th months. See below)

Stage IV - preparation of the scientific+financial report on the project (12th month)

Evaluation

Stage III will be devoted to the evaluation of the results of the Round table – seminar. Taking into account the innovative character of the project and its importance for the conflict management in the Chechen Republic, as well as the necessity of developing adequate approaches and methods for this kind of work, much attention will be given to the evaluation of the results of the first Round table – seminar. It will be carried out

in, at least, two directions – the assessment of the work done by the participants, i.e. the participants of the Round table – and the appraisal of its managing staff, i.e. trainers, lecturers, heads of practical training.

For the evaluation of the success (or failure) the Round table – seminar both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used. At the *preparatory stage* of the seminar an anonymous questionnaire will be developed and distributed among seminar’s participants, aimed at revealing their attitude towards the project, including their suggestions for its revision. Besides, the managers and trainers will be asked to give their own assessment of work of the Round table – seminar: in informal conversations, and with the help of other methods. Immediately after the Round table – seminar has been finished the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the positive and weak sides of the project will be carried out and corrective amendments will be made in view of its further development.

The authors of the project do not doubt that the project has strategic potential, and should be continued by all means. Experts, possessing professional education and training skills in the field of conflict management, will undoubtedly be soon in great demand. In the process of affirmation in the Russian society of political democratic culture, the need for experts wishing for and capable of settling ethnic and other conflicts not from positions of power or force but by negotiations will be felt more and more. We believe that in the near future, in Russia, and, first of all – in its “complicated” regions such as the Chechen Republic, special if not state, then civil society structures (commission, committees etc.), will operate which by definition will be aimed at peace education, conciliatory work, just as it has already been the case in other countries that went through ethno-political tensions and conflicts. Proceeding from the above, the authors of the project further plan the creation of a network of experts – negotiators who will, at the initial stage of conciliatory structures formation, carry out conflict management at the local level. We assume that such formations can be of interest to various state structures involved in ethnic conflict management, but lacking the appropriate staff.

Political Scientists and Civic Education in Croatia

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Importance of the civic education

Although civic education is one of the oldest topics in political theory, it was not in the mainstream of social sciences during the 1970's and 1980's. However, in last 10 or 15 years civic education is again on the agenda of contemporary social sciences. Reasons for this renewed interest in civic education primarily come from the area of political practice. Decreasing interest in public affairs in old democracies (Putnam, 1995) and problems of consolidation in new democracies (Linz: Stepan, 1996) clearly indicate that procedural mechanisms are not sufficient to secure democracy. Thus, compared to previous generations, scholars today are more likely to agree that beside well-designed institutions, a well-ordered polity also requires citizens with the appropriate knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

This question is connected with some others that are not primary aims of this paper. For example, one could raise a question: What degree of civic and political knowledge citizens should possess in order to be considered competent for democratic politics? Political theory offers several various answers on this question. Libertarians, for example, claim that citizens need not to possess any knowledge and skills which would enable them to participate in the public sphere. Moreover, they regard citizen's retreat from the public sphere as something healthy for society. Yet, in my opinion, and this is opinion of large number of other proponents of civic education as well, even if one rejects the philosophical proposition that active citizenship is essential to human flourishing (which was developed by Aristotle) or the civic-republican view that public-spirited action is intrinsically superior to self-regarding pursuits (which was developed by Rousseau), it is hard to avoid the hypothesis that at some point the withdrawal from public engagement endangers the healthy functioning of democratic polities. In a conclusion; even though competent democratic citizens need not to be policy experts, still there is a level of basic knowledge below which the ability to make a full range of reasoned civic judgments is impaired. In another words, for democracies to thrive citizens have to be taught to be democrats. This situation challenges educators to address the question of how people learn to be democrats, and this is the task of civic education.

Civic education and civic political education

This paper will confine itself to only on one aspect of civic education - on civic political education. What is the difference between civic education and civic political

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education? Firstly, all education should be regarded as civic education in the sense that individual's level of general educational attainment significantly affects their level of political knowledge as well as the quantity and character of their political participation. The existence of an association between an individual's education and his or her political role as an adult is beyond dispute, and indeed is the one of the most robust observations in the social science literature. People who have had more education take a more active role in politics and have more clearly defined political identities (Frazer: Emler, 1999). Secondly, there are different definitions of civic education. Some of them are very broad. We can agree that the task assigned to civic education is to create socially integrated and active citizens. However, these goals encompass different aspects or dimensions: political (knowledge of the political system, democratic attitudes, and participatory skills), social (knowledge of social relations in society, social skills), cultural (knowledge of the cultural heritage, basic skills like language competence, reading and writing), and economical (vocational training, economic skills, job-related and other economic activities). These four aspects or four dimensions (social, political, cultural and economical) refer to four subsystems that we can recognize in a society and which are essential for its existence - society, politics, economy and culture. Some researchers, arguing for holistic approach to civic education, use definitions that include all these aspects. Not denying the plausibility of such an interpretation and the definitions of civic education, a narrower definition will be used, that of civic political education.

Civic political education is concerned primarily with the political dimension or political aspect. Political education as a process that enables individuals and groups to obtain knowledge, enables them to analyse experiences, promotes insight, stimulates attitudes and train skills that give the individuals and groups better opportunities to influence political decision-making processes. To put it simply, civic political education deals with the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation. Some authors think that “[c]ivic political education has moral primacy over other purposes of public education in a democratic society” (Gutmann, 1987:287).

Civic political education in schools

It is the formal school education which is the focus of this paper, although the informal and non-formal education could be important part of educational process in general, and also in the area of civic political education. Of course, civic political education, formal or non-formal, is just one agent of political socialization. Political socialization is a process through which individuals and groups acquire their political culture (knowledge, attitudes and skills). Other important agents of political socialization are: the family, the mass communication media, church, peer-groups, and workplace (Dekker, 1991).

The question of relative strength of each of these agents in the process of political socialization is a complex one, and still there is not enough empirical research on that. Therefore, it is impossible to make statements on the level of influence each agent has on the development of political culture on the basis of the existing research. What large number of research show, is the fact that formal civic political education plays

very important role in the political socialization of young people and civic formation of pupils. Here I can mention some of them. David Denver and Gordon Hands conducted research in England (Denver: Hands, 1991), Richard Niemi and Jane Junn in United States (Niemi: Junn, 1998), Henry Maitles in Scotland (Maitles, 1999), and we have also comparative study made by Carole Hahn (Hahn, 1999). All these authors studied the impact of formal civic political education on some aspects of political culture of secondary school students.

The main findings of these studies were similar: positive correlation between the existence of civic political education in curriculum and the development of democratic political culture. For example, research in England suggests a clear and strong relationship between levels of political knowledge of students and formal education in politics. One can say that civic political education contributes to the development of the democratic political culture of students, and through that also to the survival and stability of the political system. The importance of civic political education in schools comes from one simple fact – schools are the only places where we can ensure that all children develop at least basic elements of civic political literacy. The case for civic political education in schools is obvious: to teach students about politics in the same manner we teach them about other important spheres of life.

Models of civic political education in schools

The next question is how? What is the best way to implement civic political education in schools? What is the appropriate place of civic political education in the curriculum? In my opinion one can speak about four basic models of civic political education in schools with regard to its place in the curriculum:

Extra-curricular model- Within this model civic political education is treated as an extracurricular activity, very often through the so-called hidden curriculum. In this model we do not have specific arrangements in the school curriculum, because of the assumption that civic political education will take place through hidden curriculum which include such things as school ethos, organization of the school, decision-making structures, relation between teachers and students, etc.

Cross-curricular model- Civic political education could be integrated into the curriculum as a whole. Civic political education in this model is neither separate subject nor is it a part of an integrated course. Instead, it permeates the entire curriculum and is infused into all subjects. The idea here is to institutionalize civic political education in the form of a general educational principle.

Integrated model- Civic political education could be treated as a part of a broader course. In this model we have integrated area of social sciences as a school subject, and then civic political education is one part of this school subject. *Social studies* or *Social sciences* is usual name for this school subject and it usually consist of the knowledge from political science, sociology, economics, and law.

Separate model- Civic political education could be structured as its own, separate subject. Civic political education is a specific school subject with different names in different countries, although we can see some similarities.

Which model is the dominant model in European schools? As it is shown in Table 1, the answer is obvious: a large number of countries in Europe have in their obligatory school curriculums, courses under a variety of titles with specific responsibilities to prepare students for political citizenship, i.e., to be active citizens.

Table 1: Civic political education in Europe (compulsory level)

Country	Terminology*	Grade	Hours/ week
Austria	History and social studies	6-8	3
Denmark	Social studies	9	2
England**	Citizenship	7-11	---
Finland	Social studies	7-9	1
France	Discovery of world and civics	1-2	4
	Civics	6-9	1
Greece	Social and political education	5-6	1
	Democratic government	9	2
Ireland	Civic, social+political education	6-9	1
Italy	Civics	6-8	1
	Social studies	1-5	2
Netherlands***	---	---	---
Germany	Civics	7-8	1
Portugal	Social studies	5-6	1
Spain	Social studies	7-10	1
Sweden	Social studies	7-9	1
Croatia	---	---	---
Bulgaria	Civics	7-8	1
Czech Republic	Civics	6-9	2
Lithuania	Civic education	7-8	1
Hungary	Social studies	5-8	1
Macedonia	Society	4	2
	History and democratic society	7-8	2
Poland	History and civics	4-6	2
	Civics	9	1
Romania	Civic education	3-4, 7-8	1,1
Russian Fed.	Social studies	8-9	1
Slovak Republic	Civics	6-9	1

* For the benefit of comparison the names of all school subjects are in English

** From the school year 2002/2003.

*** Cross-curricular approach

Sources:

- *World data on education, 4th edition*, International Bureau of Education, Unesco, 2001.

- *Key data on education in Europe*, EURYDICE - the education information network in Europe, Luxemburg, 2000.

- *Civic education across countries: Twenty-four national case studies from the IEA civic education project*, The

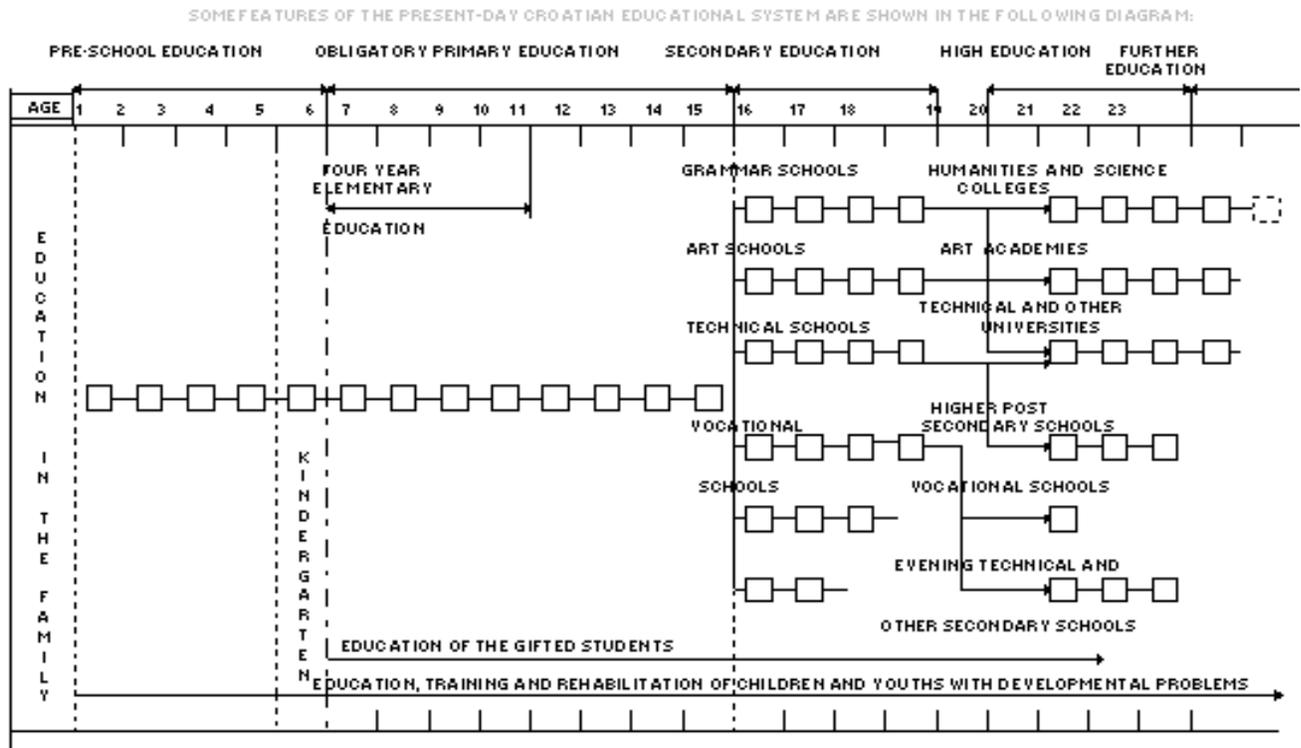
International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Amsterdam, 1999.

- *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries – civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen*,

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Amsterdam, 2001.

Civic political education in school in Croatia

What is the actual situation concerning civic political education in schools in Croatia? At the beginning of transition process (transformation from non-democratic to democratic political system) there was a need to raise the question of political resocialization of citizens. Croatia was a part of the former Yugoslavia with totalitarian communist regime. The situation concerning civic political education in the former Yugoslavia could be described in one sentence: Not everything was bad, but everything was intended to be bad. If the transition in Croatia was to take place, communism would have to be unlearned and replaced by the values, information and skills that might be necessary in the post-communist environment. The logical answer to this necessity for the creation of a democratic political culture is civic political education. Has Croatia used civic political education as a channel to improve democratization process? To answer this question one has to look in Croatian school-curriculum. Basic features of the present educational system in Croatia are presented in Scheme 1.



Scheme 1: Educational system in Croatia

Primary education in Croatia is compulsory and lasts eight years. At the lower stage of primary education (Grades I-IV) teaching is accomplished by class-teachers and in the upper stage (Grades V-VIII) teaching is subject-based and performed by subject teachers. It is important to mention that the curriculum, on which teaching is based, is the same for all primary schools. Secondary education for full-time students lasts four years in grammar schools, artistic, technical and related secondary school and three years in vocational schools. At this stage, various types of secondary schools have different curricula.

I will describe the position of civic political education at the primary and secondary level. It is obvious from Table 1 that in Croatia civic political education exists neither as a separate subject nor as a part of an integrated social sciences course at the level of primary education. As a consequence, students complete their formal and obligatory education without any knowledge of political themes. This situation is in contradiction with the experience of other European countries, where civic political education is an important element of school curricula at the compulsory level of education. At the level of secondary education in Croatia there is school subject POLITICS&ECONOMY, designed for a political and economical education of students. Positive aspect is that this subject is taught in all types of schools at the secondary level. Negative aspect is that only one school hour per week is reserved for this subject and that only half of this time is dedicated to politics. Second negative aspect is that POLITICS&ECONOMY is taught only during one school year. In a fact, only 18 school hours during all secondary education are reserved for civic political education.

Logical question about above facts is: what are the reasons for this unsatisfactory situation concerning civic political education in Croatian schools? It is impossible to give definite answers in this paper but I can mention three moments. Firstly, during the process of transition key political actors in Croatia were primarily, or even exclusively, focused on political institutions, because they thought that proper design of political institutions will lead to stable and efficient political system. Secondly, in Croatia educational authorities showed high levels of ignorance concerning the question of civic political education.

Civic political education and political scientists

The last moment is especially important for me as a political scientist. It is about relation between civic political education and political science. Civic political education can be treated as a field of study and as an area of practice. In Croatia political science as a profession and especially as a science didn't show any systematic interest for civic political education. Very good example is journal "Political Thought" which is the only scientific journal for political science in Croatia. In last 11 years more than 600 articles were published in this journal and only two of them were dealing with the field of civic political education. The first is Political education in secondary schools: where to *and how to proceed?* (*Političko obrazovanje u srednjoj školi: kamo i kako dalje?*) (Bešker, 1997) which deals with the question of the quality of teaching politics and economy to secondary school students. This article is written from the pedagogical perspective. The second article is *Political science and political*

education /Politička znanost i političko obrazovanje/ (Vujčić, 2001.) This is the first article that systematically deals with the topic of civic political education from the perspective of political science. I hope that this article marks the beginning of the development of interest in civic political education from political scientists in Croatia. I hope that this will happen because those who have chosen to teach politics as their profession bear major responsibility for addressing the problem of civic political education in Croatia. Current situation in Croatia is in stark contrast with the situation in other European countries and especially with the situation in the United States. In these countries civic political education is an area of interest of different type of social scientists, but primarily of political scientists. This is very logical because education for civic engagement was one of the founding objectives of the political science profession at the beginning of the 20th century and remains essential for the 21st century.

Conclusion

What are the possible consequences of this neglect of civic political education in Croatia? The name of the research, whose some results are presented in the Table 2, is Political culture of students in Croatia. The principal goal of this research was to study some dimensions of student's political culture like political interest, attitudes towards democracy, political participation, political tolerance, etc. In other words we want to study what young people know about politics, what opinions they have, how extensive, or how limited their interest in politics, etc is.

Table 2: Political culture of students in Croatia

Title: *Political culture of students in Croatia*

Coordination of the research: Faculty of political sciences, University of Zagreb

Time of research: 1999.

Sample: 867 students (19-24 years old) from University of Zagreb, University of Rijeka, and University of Split

Questions

6. How much are you interested in politics?

Very interested	12,57%
Interested	39,10%
Not very interested	32,41%
Not interested at all	15,92%

7. How often do you discuss politics with your friends?

Very often or often	10,25%
Sometimes	60,14%
Almost never or never	29,61%

15. Do you think that democracy is best possible form of political system?

Democracy is the best possible form of political system	59,28%
I'm not sure	28,49%
There are some better forms	12,23%

38. Are you a member of political party?

Yes	4,85%
No	95,15%

Here there are only four items from this research, but it seems enough to illustrate the existence of aberrations in the political culture of young people in Croatia. Current levels of political knowledge, political engagement and political enthusiasm are so low as to threaten the vitality and stability of young democracy in Croatia. These results indicate the need for the improvement of civic political education as a tool for creating democratic political culture. The policy implications are clear: if civic political education is ignored, dangers to democracy likely to outweigh the controversies that might attend its introduction. Creating and implementing programs of civic political education should be a joint task for educational and political science experts.

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Attaining Unity in Diversity: The Case for Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion in Ghana

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The end of the cold war signaled the end of bipolar, interstate rivalry and marked the beginning of the demise of the state in most parts of the developing world especially in Africa (Zartman, 1990). To be sure, the demise of the former Soviet Union was celebrated as the end of unbridled challenge to the spread of western capitalism and democracy (Sorensen, 1990; Fukuyama, 1989). But as it turned out, it only opened the lid to a pressure cooker. Intra-state conflicts, mostly of an ethnic nature, erupted in Eastern Europe, South East Asia and notably Africa. The survival of the state system, a system that has defined the contours of international politics for three centuries and a half, was threatened. Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, The Congo, Liberia, and Sierra Leone typify the malaise of intrastate conflict and state collapse in Africa. The Secretary General of the United Nations remarked that “[i]n 1996 alone, 14 of the 53 countries of Africa were afflicted by armed conflicts, accounting for more than half of all war-related deaths worldwide and resulting in more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons” (Secretary General’s Report). Unfortunately, most African countries including Ghana, not currently experiencing any conflicts are potential victims of intrastate war. This has led some pessimist to describe the continent as either dead or dying.

The rapidity with which states have decayed and collapsed in Africa has led some critics to doubt the viability of the institution of the state in Africa. Some think it was inappropriately suited to Africa. Yet others concern themselves with why the newly created states in Africa have failed to transition into the stable political institutions they were intended to be. Other commentators have refused to blame the problem on unsuitability of the institution per se. They lay blame on failures in state construction processes to cater for the interests of Africa’s multi-ethnic societies. These different schools of thought perceive the causes of state collapse in Africa in different ways.

In this paper I will not rehash the various causes of state collapse. Rather, I will focus my discussion on the more fundamental question, which is “essentially, a meditation on the African experience” of statehood at the end of the colonial rule; a period which “inspired high hopes and promised liberating freedoms” (Davidson, 1992). Perhaps the whole failure of statehood does not signify a failure or incompatibility of an institution. But the failure of statesmen to implement and nurture the structures that ensure the survival of the institution. In short, I blame the crumbling of states on failures in nation building; a dismal disregard at ‘inculcating’ a sense of unity among otherwise diverse groups.

A brief historical review is appropriate to place the subject in perspective. Statehood was bequeathed to Africa at the time of independence. The boundaries of the state in Africa did not correspond with the ethnic identity, culture, language or even pre-colonization political units. Old colonial boundaries defined the boundaries of the

newly independent African countries. In most cases, a euphoric national consciousness was forged only in response to a common enemy: the colonial government. The diverse ethnic groups, living together, within erratic borders drawn by colonial governments, overlooked their discontent, if only to fight the common enemy.

Not surprisingly independence in the late 1950s and the decade after witnessed a withering away of this apparently cosmetic 'national' consciousness. Ironically, the presence of colonial administration was a cementing factor among the diverse groups of the colonial state as they united to fight for independence. Nationalism in these territories was a relatively powerful and unambiguous sentiment in the face of colonial rule but it has proved quite intolerably undirective in practice in the aftermath of independence. The state in Africa has been bedeviled by a lack of trust in the state apparatus, disunited by ethnic rivalry and nepotism, drained by economic greed and grievance and shredded by political exclusion of some ethnic groups from mainstream national politics.

There are many competing analyses of the crisis in Africa. The explanations of the dynamics of the conflict can be distinguished by their stress upon exogenous or endogenous causes. Exogenous explanations seek to locate the causes of the conflict outside Africa while endogenous explanations pinpoint internal atavistic historical, cultural, religious, and segmental antagonisms. Without minimizing the salience of exogenous factors, I am inclined to search for the causes of fragmentation within the state in Africa.

Robert Rotberg, one of the forerunners on state collapse admits that the phenomenon is not homogeneous but varies dramatically from place to place. Rotberg relates a "nation's geographical, physical, historical, and political circumstances, such as colonial errors and Cold War policy mistakes" as some of the prime causes. However, he insists that the issue transcends structural or institutional weaknesses to primarily human agency. The human agency is akin to destructive decisions by individual leaders i.e. Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire (now The Democratic People's Republic of the Congo), Siaka Stevens in Sierra Leone, Mohamed Siad Barre in Somalia, and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. Through a combination of greed and patrimonial policies these rulers "licensed and sponsored the avarice of others, thus preordaining the destruction of their states." He concludes that the "leaders and their associates subvert prevailing democratic norms, coerce legislatures and bureaucracies into subservience, strangle judicial independence, block civil society, and gain control over security and defense forces. They usually patronize an ethnic group, clan, class, or kin. Other groups feel excluded or discriminated against, as was the case in Somalia and Sierra Leone in the 1970s and 1980s. Governments that once appeared to operate for the benefit of all the nation's citizens are perceived to have become partisan".

Political exclusion is the cancer that causes state collapse in Africa. Following Rotberg, I blame the problem on failed leadership. But unlike him I nominate failed civic leadership and exclusion as the prime suspect of intrastate conflict and the consequent crumbling of the state in Africa.

The contention that the institution of statehood is foreign to African traditional forms of political organization is a hugely contentious project upheld by a burgeoning

cottage industry. While this present work recognizes the significance of this debate, it contends that Africa, at the end of colonial rule, would have had to be organized into a certain political fashion even if this implied a return to indigenous forms of political organization; whatever that means. The fact is that a kind of political ‘container’, capable of surviving and fitting into the already established international political system of states, was inevitable; the circumstances of which would not form part of the present project.

The caricature of the state in Africa cannot be understood without reference to the distinction between state building and nation building. According to O’Leary and Arthur “[s]tate-building and nation-building are distinct processes. State building is the creation and the maintenance of public institutions subordinated to a centralized and sovereign decision-making authority, which enjoys an effective monopoly of coercion within a given territory, the capacity to extract stable revenues from subjects, and the ability to enforce laws.” While state building is basically a process of coercion, “[n]ation-building by contrast necessarily required legitimization. The manufacture of a national identity amongst heterogeneous people could not succeed unless the imaginary national community was extensively internalized by the target population. Whatever the historical dynamics of the formation of the nations, they had two simple consequences. Nation-builders came to argue they required a state to protect or to express the nation. State-builders, conversely, usually came to believe that nation-building was indispensable to the maintenance and expansion of the power of their regimes” (p. 2). In multinational states, the case for inclusion is even more urgent.

As mentioned already, the failures to construct and maintain the structures for nation building created fertile grounds for dissent and conflict among multiethnic communities. To be sure, I am not articulating an agenda of nationhood as a homogeneous population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, and belief systems. The ‘classic’ nation in history entails all of these and more. However, there is no doubt that this homogeneity is merely a construct; witness the historical development of nations (Hobsbawm 1990; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1983). This was a necessary platform for the development and growth of powerful states.

If multiethnic societies like Ghana are to achieve stability then there is an even urgent need for a national consensus; something akin to Benedict Andersen’s ‘imagined communities’. The route to this imagined community in my opinion is civic education and the agenda of inclusion; an agenda that gives citizens recognition and participation in national affairs. Too often this has been interpreted as dismantling ethnic identities in favor of a unique national identity. This approach mimics the historical development of nationhood among the present advanced industrialized countries. The situation in Africa in general and Ghana in particular does not lend itself to one-size-fits-all mechanisms and experts have to search their minds for better suggestions. The point of departures of different countries is not similar. While the United States, Canada, France, Germany, and many others were launched on a single dominant nation, which absorbed others through conquest, the states in Africa were inaugurated on a multinational platform.

Ghana is composed of roughly 100 linguistic and cultural groups which linguists have conveniently categorized into one or the other of only two major linguistic subfamilies of the Kwa and Gur groups within the Niger-Congo language family, one of the large language groups in Africa. The majority Kwa group includes the Akan, Ga-Adangbe, and Ewe. The Akan are further divided into the Asante, Fante, Akwapim, Akyem, Akwamu, Ahanta, Bono, Nzema, Kwahu, and Safwi. The Ga-Adangbe includes the Ga, Adangbe, Ada, and Krobo or Kloli. Even the Ewe, who constitute a single linguistic group, are divided into the Nkonya, Tafi, Logba, Sontrokofi, Lolobi, and Likpe1. North of the Volta River are the three subdivisions of the Gur-speaking people. These are the Gurma, Grusi, and Mole-Dagbane. Like the Kwa subfamilies, further divisions exist within the principal Gur groups (Ghana Government Homepage). All these groups have unique cultural, linguistic, and religious identities, which have not disappeared. Ethnic rivalries of the precolonial era, and variance in the impact of colonialism upon different regions of the country, and the uneven distribution of social and economic amenities in post independence Ghana have all contributed to present-day ethnic tensions.

The case for maintaining the uniqueness of each group while forging a sense of oneness is urgent under such circumstances. For want of better phraseology, I will term this ‘unity in diversity’ to wit an effort at upholding the unique linguistic and cultural identities of different groups and at the same time encouraging a common sense of unity. Admittedly, this is not easy to achieve especially among previously hostile groups. It takes a lot of commitment to engender trust and commitment to a common national agenda. But the examples of Canada and Belgium demonstrate that different groups can co-exist peacefully if only through judicious policy making and political inclusion.

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Germany's Educational Crisis: Will We Finally See Reforms?

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Over the past twenty years, globalization has reached the most remote corners of the world. At its worst, globalization has eliminated entire industries resulting in massive unemployment, underemployment, uncertainty, and exclusion (Ramonet, 1999).

A critical examination of the transformative processes at work, which affect peoples' lives all around the world, lead members of the *International Institute* to conclude that the "key resource" for dealing with the challenges generated by the "uneven and contradictory process of global change" is the "civic learning and education of individuals and their collectives" (see Tallinn Declaration). Thus, the promotion of civic learning environments is a "necessary condition" for translating the needs of adults and youth into appropriate demands. Over the past decade, however, civic leaders and scholars have increasingly expressed their concern about political apathy and civic illiteracy, particularly among youth, in Europe and the United States (Patrick, 2000). Moreover, there is disconcerting evidence across many Western democracies that there is widespread ignorance over basic political issues and a decline of interest in civic education and learning activities among high school students (Angvik and von Borries, 1997; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz, 2001). Since civic learning activities are – to some extent – designed to motivate students to engage the globalizing process from a critical perspective, it follows that a decrease in the number of civic activities will have a negative impact on students' abilities to cope with the global changes and to translate their needs effectively into demands. Therefore, scholars and activists alike have proposed a myriad of both formal and informal civic education programs;¹ some of which have sparked disagreements as to whether concentration should be on content or skills.

This paper is situated in the skills-versus-content debate. Beyond knowledge about how, for example, government and institutions are organized, what is most significant to my mind is that young people's ability to actively participate in modern society as well as cope with rapid transformations in an era of globalization largely rests on their intellectual understanding of the various social, political, and economic processes at stake. Therefore, I argue that civic education programs, or better school curricula, in general, should concentrate on the dissemination of essential intellectual skills – (even) at the expense of content, if necessary. Specifically, it assesses whether high school students are effectively prepared to meet future challenges and suggests basic elements necessary for a politically aware citizenry. With an examination of the most recent and comprehensive international assessment of student literacy to date, the so-called PISA study, I attempt to provide preliminary answers to these questions with a focus on the performance of German high school students.

¹ E.g. Mann/Patrick: Education for Civic Engagement in Democracy – see references

PISA And Beyond

My central argument is that basic intellectual skills are prerequisites for civic literacy as well as a practice of a globalizing society; and therefore, they need to form the central pillar of civic education programs, in particular, and school curricula, in general. On its face, the argument is hardly controversial. It is obvious that content cannot be effectively taught without analysis and skills need content to have relevance. It is my contention, however, that formal institutional knowledge is far less important than methods and analytical tools for evaluating their worth. To be sure, content is not superfluous; but imparting information, even at relatively high levels of sophistication has become remote, unimaginative, and generally ill-suited to the world students enter upon graduation (Reeher and Cammarano, p. 348-reader). To critically examine the uneven and contradictory process of global change as well as develop awareness for democratic agenda-building, students should, at a minimum, be able to (1) spot bias and exaggeration, (2) analyze critically different pieces of evidence, (3) weigh sources and come to conclusions and (4) develop skills for investigating issues (Maitles, 1997).

From a more radical perspective, one could argue that national educational policies must demonstrate their global responsibility by going beyond imparting information to the active engagement of essential analytical and communicative skills to ensure their students' participation and competitiveness in a rapidly changing world. Are students able to analyze, reason, and communicate their ideas effectively? Do they have the capacity to continue learning throughout life? To be sure, well-informed answers to these questions are critical in developing national education systems in a rapidly transforming world. Although this argument is not entirely new, research has generated very little analyses of the skills necessary for participation and success in modern society but rather concentrates on the knowledge base. The recent publication of the PISA study, an international comparative analysis of high school student performance conducted by the OECD, fills this gap by assessing to what extent students have acquired basic intellectual skills during their years of secondary schooling. As mentioned above, this paper focuses on the performance of German students.

Germany serves as my case study for several reasons. First, as a German citizen, I moved through the main stages of the education system and am genuinely interested in whether today's students receive a more appropriate preparation for addressing issues of civic education and globalization. Second, the findings of the study exhibit a tremendous gap between the representational practices of German education experts and the actual performance of German students. Due to its strong intellectual history and the large number of nationals studying or working abroad, officials and experts alike tend to portray German secondary education systems as highly competitive internationally. As I will illustrate below, however, this applies only to a very small fraction of German students, namely those who are channeled into college-preparatory schools. Third, the majority of the articles in this edition focus on the role of education in developing countries. Germany, on the other hand, is a full-fledged democracy and ranks very high on the development scale among first world countries. Though more impressionistic than logically compelling, one could suggest that Germany's high

level of development together with its leading political and economic role in the European Union should be indicative of a high-quality education system. After examining the findings of the study, however, the latter argument no longer holds. Instead, it becomes clear that Germany's education system exhibits dramatic weaknesses in terms of teaching intellectual skills to the majority of its students. Across all areas under examination, German high school students performed quite poorly.

Prior to an in-depth examination of the findings of PISA 2000, let me turn to a brief overview of the objectives and methods of the study. Conducted by the OECD, PISA 2000 aims at assessing to what extent 15-year old high school students have acquired some of the knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in society across 32 states.² Specifically, the study analyzes young people's ability to use their knowledge and skills in order to meet real-life challenges, rather than merely looking at how well they had mastered a specific school curriculum. Although the assessment domains (mathematics, science, and reading) are closely related to subjects learned at school, PISA concentrates on the value of the skills acquired, beyond the school gates through applying literacy in a broader sense. Importantly, the comparative study also provides insights into factors that influence the development of these skills at home and at school and examines how these factors interact and what the implications are for policy development. Regarding the assessment procedures, a total of 265,000 students from 32 countries took part in the study. To apply literacy in the three assessment domains in its broadest sense, students had to understand key concepts, to master certain processes and to apply knowledge and skills in different situations. Students and their principals also answered questionnaires about themselves and their schools. This allowed PISA to identify what factors are associated with better and worse performance. As previously stated, German students consistently ranked in the lower tier across all three assessment domains. Tables 1, 2, and 3³ illustrate their performance in comparison students from other participating countries.

Beyond the students' performance in math, science, and reading, PISA reveals other interesting findings. An analysis of the factors that influence the development of these skills suggests that (1) the socio-economic background of German students exerts an important influence on student performance (Table, 4) and (2) non-native born students show much lower literacy scores than students who were born (as were their parents) in the country (Table 5).

Challenges and Implications

Given Germany's international political and economic status, it is not surprising that the release of the study generated public outrage -- if not a national "educational crisis." Since PISA 2000, policymakers and scholars alike have proposed a number of reform initiatives, which, ironically enough, are reminiscent of those discussed in the 1960s and 1970s; these include, inter alia, reforms to eliminate (1) the overall disadvantage of students with a lower socio-economic profile and (2) the educational

² All 28 OECD member states took part as well as Russia, China, Latvia, and Brazil.

³ All tables are published at the end of the article, ed.

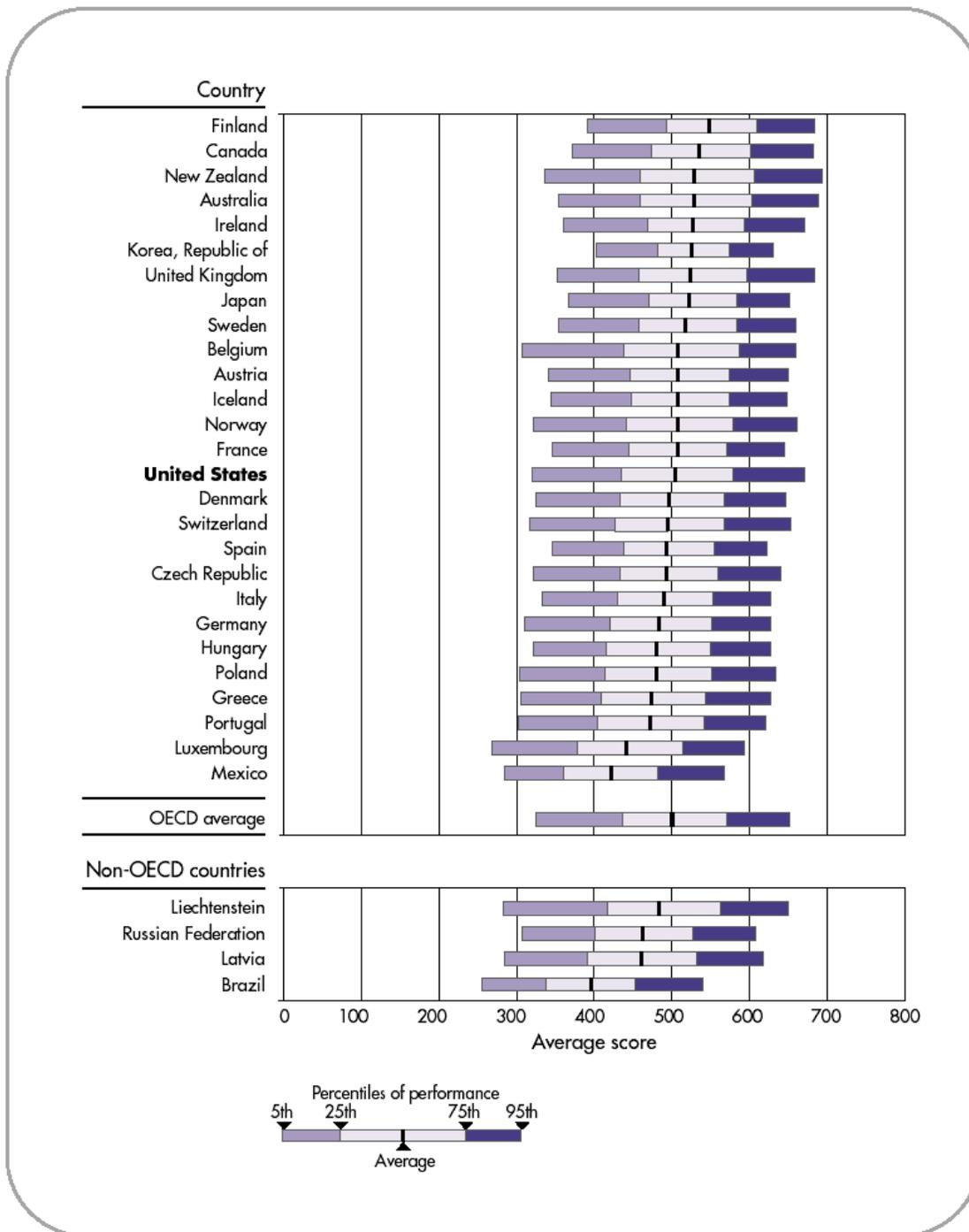
disadvantage among children born outside the country. To be sure, PISA 2000 extends previous national debates on reform. Now, illiteracy, or more specifically, functional illiteracy both in its quantitative and qualitative dimension is at the forefront of current debate, which attempts to assess to what extent the education system is responsible for generating this illiteracy.

The necessity for a thorough system analysis is obvious for several reasons: (1) Unlike Germany, where the majority of the states' (Länder) educational systems channel their students into different types of schools⁴ (preferably after fourth grade), countries like Japan, Canada, or Finland, whose students consistently scored in the upper level across all three literacy domains, have comprehensive schools that educate students from all classes in the same schools at least until ninth grade; thus preserving equal opportunities among its students for a much longer period of time. The results of PISA 2000 clearly contradicts a common presumption advocated by the majority of national education experts; that is, different skills for life are classifiable at an early age and should, for maximum benefit, be channeled into different schooling tracks. As the findings demonstrate, however, more inclusive educational systems exert a more positive effect on overall student performance than systems where, through an early selection process, advanced secondary and higher education is the domain of a small group of elite citizens. (2) There are wide differences in literacy performance among schools in Germany. Conversely, in countries such as New Zealand and Norway, differences are mainly within schools. The countries with the greatest differences between schools are those that tend to send their students to different kinds of secondary school, often on the basis of prior performance in school. Again, Germany's traditional three-tier system is at the very root of the problem. The quality of the teaching and/or the curriculum for sixth grade, for example, is not the same across the different tiers. Only up to 45 percent of the teachers in the (manual labor oriented) Hauptschule are specifically trained for the subject, which they are assigned to teach; whereas the (college-preparatory) Gymnasium only hires teachers with extensive expertise in their field of teaching. Given the differences in teaching quality among the three types of schools, I contend that it is no longer plausible to argue that the channeling of students into segregated schooling tracks is for their own "maximum" benefit. On the contrary, students in the lower track schools (particularly, the Hauptschule) are – a priori – systematically deprived of cross-cultural competencies as well as marginalized in competitive national and international labor markets. (3) This type of systematic exclusion is apparent across two other dimensions. Germany exhibits large differences in performance between students from higher and lower socio-economic backgrounds as well as between students born in the country and non-natives. Again, these exclusionary practices stem from severe deficiencies in the system-structure. As the performance of students from other countries suggests, not all non-natives or students from disadvantaged family backgrounds perform poorly. For example, in countries such as Canada and Finland, the differences are much smaller across the two dimensions. Importantly, these countries demonstrate that more integrative and less exclusionary systems allow for the separation of both socio-

⁴ The traditional three-tier structure (with a college-preparatory Gymnasium, a technical-clerical oriented Realschule, and a manual labor oriented Hauptschule) is a reality for the overwhelming majority of German parents and students.

economic background and immigration from the acquisition of basic cross-cultural skills. In other words, the majority of Germany's current educational systems fail to meet their global responsibility; that is, preparing their student populace – in its entirety – for future challenges in a globalizing world.

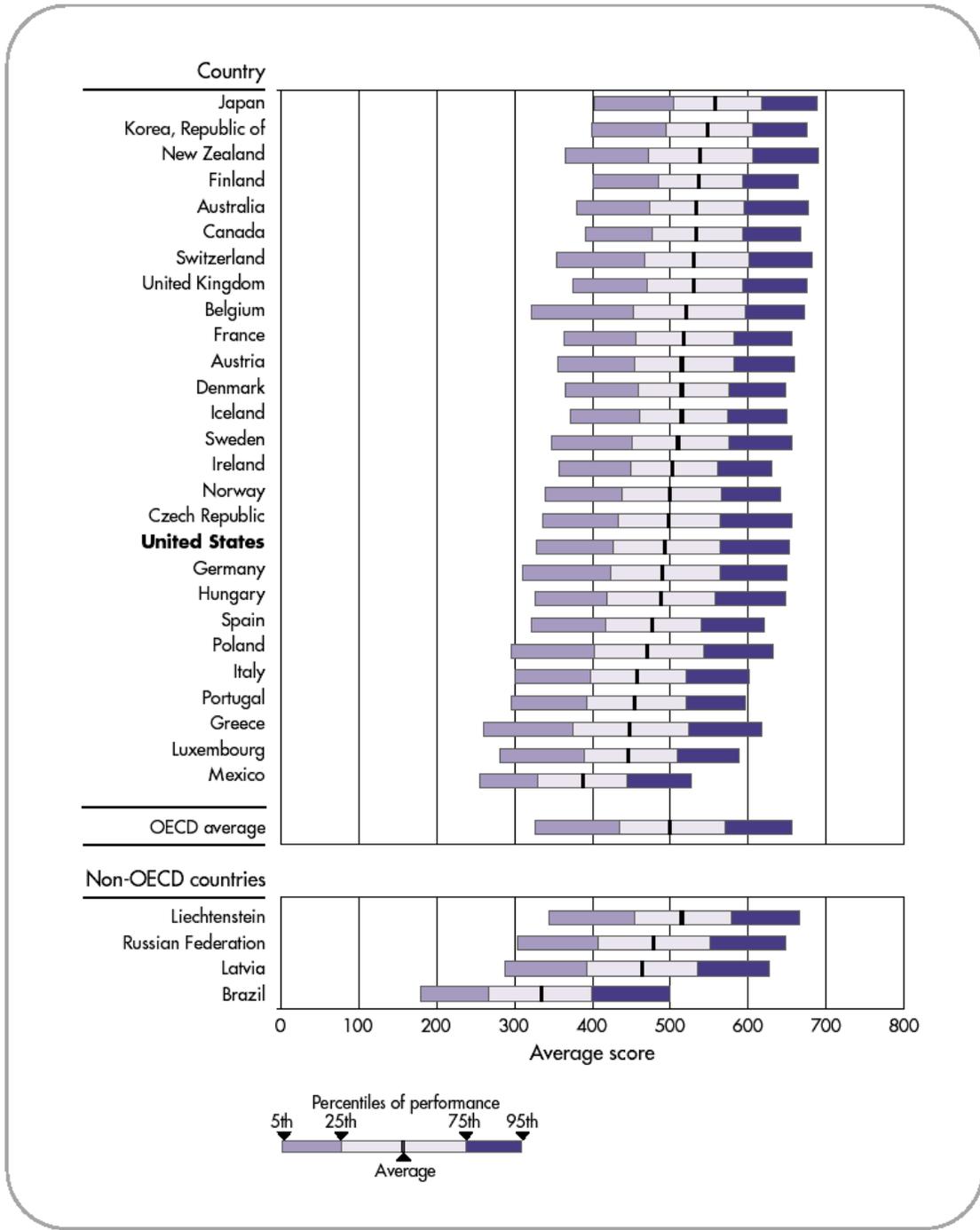
The challenges illustrated above demand urgent and innovative approaches. A democratic system, I argue, has the obligation to provide its youth with adequate tools to master their lives as global citizens. Since the problems of Germany's national education systems are primarily rooted in their structure, we should expect to see dramatic changes. Importantly, though, experts and officials should embrace advice from those countries that have demonstrated their global responsibility through politics of inclusion and by equipping their students with basic tools necessary actively participate in democratic-agenda building as well as for succeeding in a modern and rapidly changing world.



NOTE: Although the Netherlands participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000, technical problems with its sample prevent its results from being discussed here. For information on the results for the Netherlands, see OECD (2001). The OECD average is the average of the national averages of 27 OECD countries. Because PISA is principally an OECD study, the results for non-OECD countries are displayed separately from those of the OECD countries and not included in the OECD average.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.

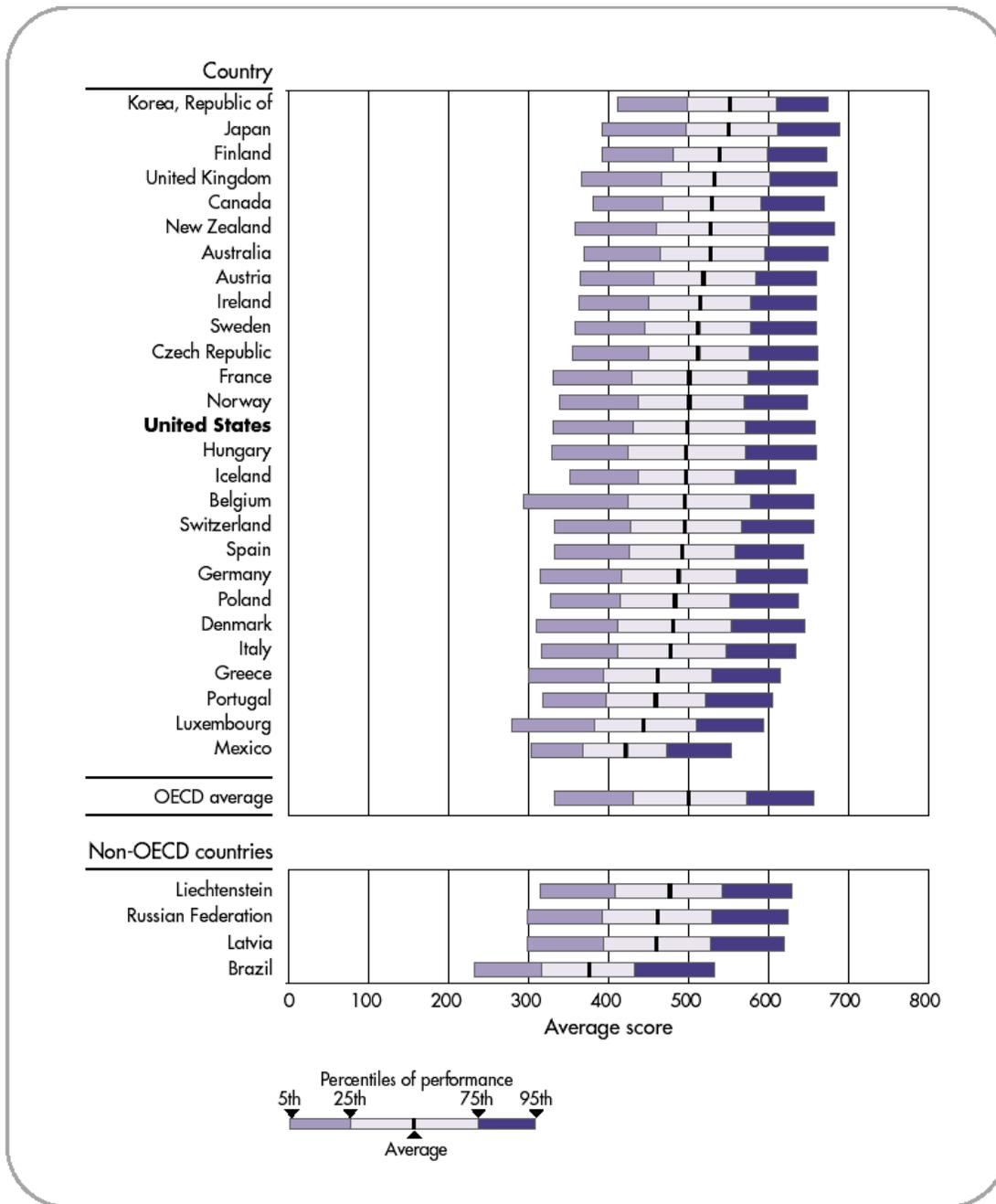
Table 1 Distribution of combined reading literacy scores of 15-year-olds by percentiles, by country: 2000



NOTE: Although the Netherlands participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000, technical problems with its sample prevent its results from being discussed here. For information on the results for the Netherlands, see OECD (2001). The OECD average is the average of the national averages of 27 OECD countries. Because PISA is principally an OECD study, the results for non-OECD countries are displayed separately from those of the OECD countries and not included in the OECD average.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.

Table 2 —Distribution of mathematics literacy scores of 15-year-olds by percentiles, by country: 2000



NOTE: Although the Netherlands participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000, technical problems with its sample prevent its results from being discussed here. For information on the results for the Netherlands, see OECD (2001). The OECD average is the average of the national averages of 27 OECD countries. Because PISA is principally an OECD study, the results for non-OECD countries are displayed separately from those of the OECD countries and not included in the OECD average.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.

Table 3 —Distribution of science literacy scores of 15-year-olds by percentiles, by country: 2000

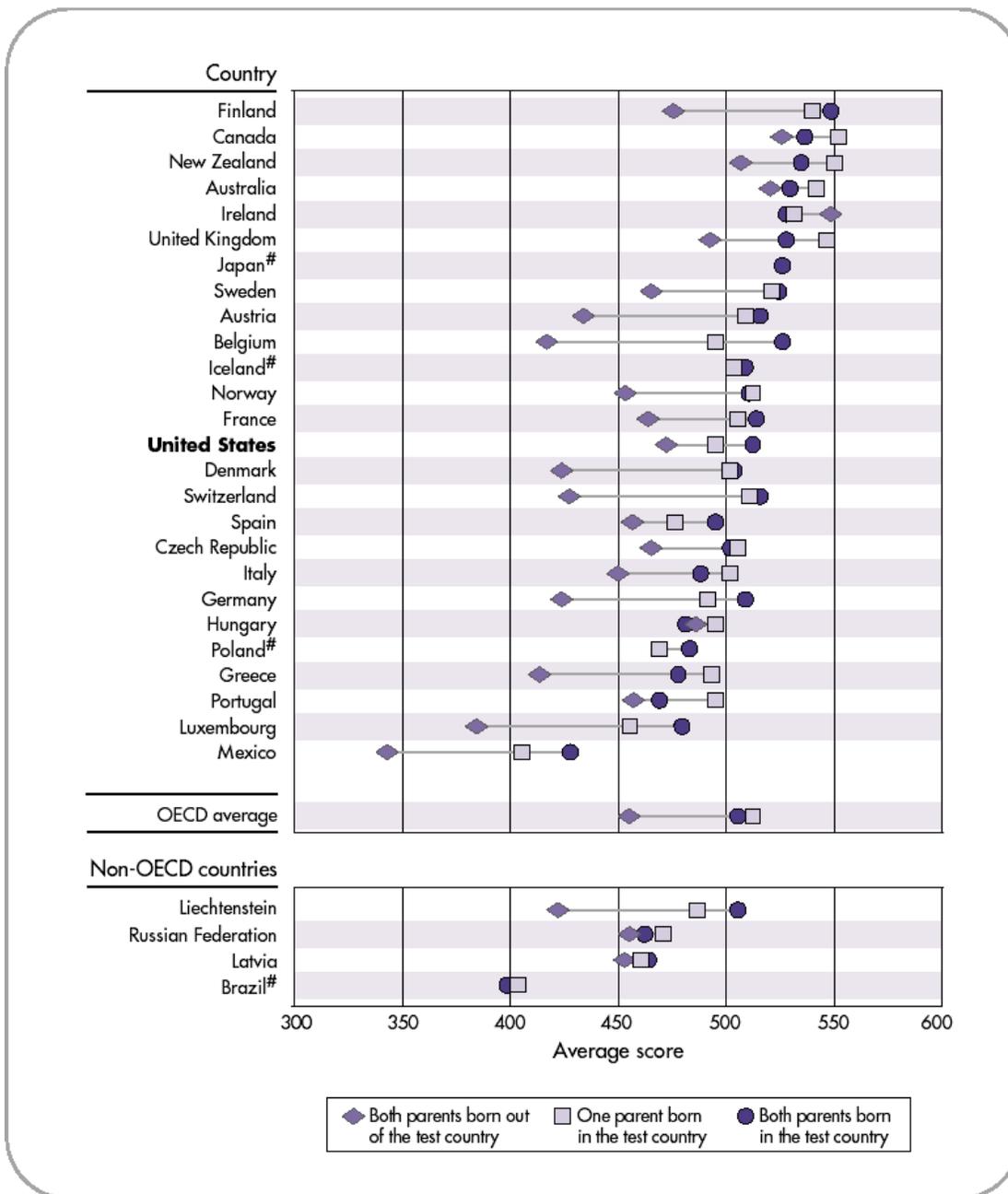
AVERAGE SCORE POINT INCREASE
WITH A ONE UNIT INCREASE ON THE ISEI INDEX

Country	Combined reading literacy	Mathematics literacy	Science literacy
Australia	1.9	1.8	1.6
Austria	2.2	1.9	2.1
Belgium	2.3	2.3	2.5
Canada	1.6	1.3	1.4
Czech Republic	2.7	2.6	2.6
Denmark	1.8	1.5	2.0
Finland	1.3	1.2	1.1
France	1.9	1.6	2.1
Germany	2.8	2.4	2.5
Greece	1.7	1.9	1.6
Hungary	2.4	2.6	2.7
Iceland	1.2	1.0	0.8
Ireland	1.9	1.6	1.8
Italy	1.6	1.3	1.5
Japan	0.4	0.6	0.5
Korea, Republic of	0.9	1.3	1.2
Luxembourg	2.4	2.0	2.0
Mexico	1.9	1.8	1.6
New Zealand	2.0	1.9	1.9
Norway	1.8	1.6	1.6
Poland	2.2	2.2	2.0
Portugal	2.4	2.1	2.0
Spain	1.6	1.7	1.9
Sweden	1.7	1.9	1.5
Switzerland	2.5	2.1	2.5
United Kingdom	2.4	2.1	2.3
United States	2.1	2.2	2.1
OECD average	2.1	2.0	2.0
<hr/> Non-OECD countries			
Brazil	1.6	2.0	1.6
Latvia	1.3	0.9	1.2
Liechtenstein	2.0	1.4	2.2
Russian Federation	1.6	1.5	1.5

NOTE: Socioeconomic status is measured by the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI), a measure based on the occupations of the student's parent(s). The measure used in these analyses was based on the parent with the highest ISEI. Students can be placed anywhere from about 16 to 90 on the ISEI index. The numbers shown in the table indicate the strength of the relationship between the socioeconomic status and literacy in each of reading, mathematics and science. Each number is interpreted as follows: a one-unit difference in ISEI is associated with an n-unit difference in literacy, where 'n' is the number shown in the table. Thus, the larger the number, the greater the association between socioeconomic status and literacy. Although the Netherlands participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000, technical problems with its sample prevent its results from being discussed here. For information on the results for the Netherlands, see OECD (2001). The OECD average is the average of the national averages of 27 OECD countries. Because PISA is principally an OECD study, the results for non-OECD countries are displayed separately from those of the OECD countries and not included in the OECD average.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.

Table 4 —Relationship between parents' socioeconomic status and combined reading literacy, mathematics literacy, and science literacy scores, by country: 2000



[#]Data for country in one or more reporting categories are too small to report.

NOTE: The points on each line displayed above represent the national averages for students based on their parents' national origin: students with both parents born in the test country, students with one parent born in the test country, and students with parents both born outside of the test country. For example, U.S. students whose parents were born in the United States averaged a score of 512 in reading literacy compared to 494 for students with one parent born in the United States, and 472 for students whose parents were born outside of the United States. Data for the Republic of Korea are not available. Although the Netherlands participated in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000, technical problems with its sample prevent its results from being discussed here. For information on the results for the Netherlands, see OECD (2001). The OECD average is the average of the national averages of 26 OECD countries. Because PISA is principally an OECD study, the results for non-OECD countries are displayed separately from those of the OECD countries and not included in the OECD average.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000.

Table 5 —Differences in combined reading literacy scores of 15-year-olds by parents' national origin, by country: 2000

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Civic Literacy and The Agenda for Inclusion (India)

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The biggest impact of globalization on educational systems in different parts of the world has been that it has strengthened the “politics of exclusion”. Across the world educational systems have been the sources of social inequality. Political apathy among the youth arises from the way educational systems are structured. The dangerously high level of political disinterestedness among today’s youth is the direct result of an educational curriculum that discourages engagement of young people in civic issues.

The absence of an environment that encourages political participation among youth is common to educational systems in different parts of the world.

The reality of a multi-lingual existence in most third world countries has further reinforced the environment of mistrust among different linguistic communities and pushed the colonial language as the *lingua franca*. The use of a foreign medium of instruction (e.g. English in India) has been one of the key factors in the stratification of Indian society along class lines. Cynical ruling administrative elite is increasingly abandoning even a pretense of caring for the excluded, underprivileged sections of society. The education system in India has generally failed to perform the task of enlightening the minds of the young people. Private educational institutions that cater to the elite are simply pathways to a “good life” for those that have access to them. Standardized test scores are the benchmark of academic excellence and are used to exclude the majority from gaining access to the institutions for higher education. Elitism in educational institutions produces a stream of selfish individuals who equate excellence with winning the race for better grades. This desensitization results in a debilitating impact on the psyche of everyone who undergoes schooling. It is no surprise that when educated young men and women assume positions of authority (especially in government) they forsake any notion of public service. Instead, they employ the competitive skills honed by them during their school years to chart the most profitable career path for themselves.

This paper addresses the question that given such a situation, what it would take for a civic education project to make an impact in India. In my view, civic literacy projects in India must begin by addressing the issue of the impact of the medium of instruction on social stratification. One of the basic sources of exclusion in the Indian education system lies in the access to English medium schools. Private organizations or individuals run these institutions like any other business enterprise. The quality of the educational infrastructure in many of these is excellent but their biggest selling point is the medium of instruction, which is English. As the primary requirement of most of the elite white-collar jobs is a suitable knowledge of written and spoken English. The wards of the English-medium schools enjoy a massive advantage over those who study in the vernacular medium government schools. The students attending these government schools receive little or no instruction in the English language and are deprived of a basic skill to compete for jobs in an economy buffeted by the winds of globalization. The India Policy Institute (IPI), a well-known anti-corruption group active in India rightly states in its manifesto that the Indian educational system has

turned out to be a more virulent form of the ancient Indian caste system that had traditionally institutionalized ascriptive class discrimination in Indian society. It systematically excludes the entire population of vernacular medium students attending poorly run government schools from the realm of well-paid jobs. It would be difficult to disagree with the IPI's thesis that unless a common medium of instruction is implemented in all schools- government or private run – a majority of the Indian population will continue to remain excluded from effective political participation.¹

The other major problem that contributes to political apathy among the educated youth – irrespective of what school they attend - is that the civics curriculum is based on rote learning rather than participatory activities. There is absolutely no attempt to discuss the relevance of these facts for their role as citizens. The massive disconnect between their theoretical knowledge and actual practice leads these young minds to become disenchanted and cynical. The curriculum of the prestigious English medium schools is designed to foster the competitive virtues that would enable their wards to compete successfully in the global market place. Civics related courses merely stress on a memorization of a stream of facts related to the government and the constitution. This learning becomes motivated not by an attempt to turn out better citizens but with the aim of fulfilling a scholastic requirement. One of the biggest motivations to study civics among students attending schools or college is to join the prestigious civil service, which is a passport to wealth and power.

The curriculum in Indian schools is focused on developing the three R's: reading, writing and arithmetic so that students can be competitive in the standardized test conducted to determine entry into technical and medical colleges and prestigious universities. As elsewhere in the world, the "best and the brightest" enter these institutions and later go on to take up the top positions in government, academia and the corporate sector. If one charts the educational experience of scores of these young men and women who take this route to the elite class of Indian society, one will hardly find any element that would prepare them for civic life. The policies of economic liberalization over the last decade have further reinforced the trend among the educated youth to disengage from their civic role. The mad scramble to get access to a consumerist lifestyle among the youth has been the predominant outcome of the decade old liberalization in India. The middle/upper middle class in Indian society has learnt to exploit the advantage of its access to English education to extract benefits from the global marketplace. This is the most vocal constituency that has pushed the agenda of economic deregulation over the past decade. This is not surprising since it stands to benefit the most from the economic opportunities that globalization promises to bring. They compromise with the systemic chaos that bedevils governance in India and are willing partners in its culture of corruption.

In India it is only the English medium private schools have the access to the technological and educational resources that civic literacy projects require. Civic education has to be transferred from these elite institutions to poorly equipped vernacular government schools. Perhaps a way forward can be to have an effective

¹ <http://www.indiapolicy.org/debate/reference.html>

partnership between these two sets of institutions. This is a divide that has to be bridged for effective civic literacy to be undertaken in India.

Implementing a civic literacy program outside of the above-mentioned exclusive and articulate group is an uphill task as some internationally funded literacy projects have discovered in the past few years. The Commonwealth of Learning's Literacy Project (COLLIT) in India has been one such initiative. COLLIT began its three-year pilot project in India in 1999 with financial support from the British Department for International Development (DFID). As its official website says, its goal was "to kick start self-sustaining literacy programmes based in community learning centers, using information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as computers and televisions, in the curriculum of the country. The target group is adults and out-of-school youth in the workforce who have an immediate need for reading and writing skills." Interestingly, it sought to build upon the foundation of existing literacy programs being conducted in a local language, Hindi.

Anita Dighe, the director of this project in India, has rightly commented that sustainability has remained a major problem for such literacy projects worldwide thereby limiting their effectiveness. Hence, the COLLIT tried to create a self-sufficient infrastructure that would not collapse with the end of the project. The stress was on "mobilizing the community and eliciting community participation." The COLLIT experience in India shows that the ethnic and religious differences within the community as well as the status of women have to be taken into account before any attempt at introducing a literacy program can be made. Understanding these cultural mores is the only way to build trust among the community and to make the program self-sustaining in the long run. Although the COLLIT project was primarily geared towards "functional" literacy involving specific skills to help disadvantaged people become useful in the economy, the project claimed that it also had a positive impact on "civic" literacy as well. According to Dighe, access to the Internet has enabled the target group of the project "to get news, information about their rights and entitlements under certain government programmes or legislation..."²

However, the difficulties with implementing such technologically based literacy project in India are numerous. The first problem is the weak communications and power infrastructure in most regions in India. Telephone connectivity particularly for the use of the Internet is either non-existent or highly unreliable. The situation with electricity is even worse. Second is the problem with language. In most cases, computer literacy skills require a working knowledge of English that is very hard to acquire for target populations such as being dealt with by COLLIT. Although attempts have been made to overcome this language barrier, use of Internet for purposes stated above is severely hindered if someone does not know English. Unfortunately, most Government of India websites also use English, thereby preventing a large majority of people from accessing their content. In this context, it is also instructive to note the sad tale of the computer technology centers that were set up with much fanfare during US President Bill Clinton's 1999 visit to a few villages in the Indian state of Rajasthan.

² <http://www.col.org/literacy/issues.htm>

Today, these centers are in a state of complete disrepair precisely because of the infrastructural difficulties mentioned above.

Finally, as with everything else in India, the specter of corruption is dominant in the education system as well. The failure of the post independence Indian state to provide free universal primary education reflects poorly on its institutions. Low allocations of funds for primary education coupled with the venality of the bureaucracy have been the two key factors contributing to this situation. Funds meant for building school infrastructure has been lining the pockets of sundry local and state level officials who then use this ill-gotten money to send their own children to expensive English-medium schools. Dr Kamala, vice-principal, Alpha Arts and Science College located in Madras points at another critical problem: poor salaries and abysmal working conditions discourage the educated youth from taking up the profession of school teachers which is often the occupation of last resort for the educated unemployed.³

What would the foregoing imply for civic literacy projects in India? Unfortunately, the truth is that in most parts of India, officials responsible for education remain unresponsive at best - and extortive at worst – with regard to such independent initiatives. The culture of siphoning of public funds has become so deep-rooted that it does not raise any eyebrows anymore. Civic literacy projects in India have to guard against what is inappropriately called “developmental administration” if they wish to make an impact. This is rather ironical and sad, but anyone who has run developmental projects in India knows this to be the truth. Unfortunately, of late even the non-governmental sector has become afflicted with this bureaucratic culture and misappropriation of grants has come to the fore as a major problem.

The implementation of initiatives such as the civic literacy project faces a strange dilemma. On the one hand, it is hard to disagree with the general argument that Dilip D'Souza makes in his online article at rediff.com that education enables people to demand services, justice and rights. This also leads to greater political accountability. That also means the political class would not be too keen on the entire education agenda, and more specifically a civic education agenda that would develop a class of responsible and aware citizenry. Unfortunately the first past the post system has meant that political leaders find it expedient to stoke the flames of primordial identities like religion or caste. A civic literacy project would be at odds with the interests of the Indian political establishment. Hence, independent initiatives on civic education in India must realize that they would face resistance from a very powerful political elite.

In conclusion, I would like to say that civic education is the crying need of the hour in what is mythically called the “world’s largest democracy”. A state that is unable to give access to basic literacy skills to half of its population cannot afford to call itself democratic. The English speaking elite has significantly hijacked the developmental agenda in post-independence India. Its open advocacy of market-oriented “survival of the fittest” ideologies has given further justification for the state to withdraw from its responsibility as a facilitator of development.

³ <http://www.rediff.com/news/1998/feb/02india.htm>

Civic Education in a Globalizing World and the Realities in Sub-Sahara Africa

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The issue of civic education at an age of rapid globalization presents a complex situation. This issue is even more complex on the Sub Sahara Africa where several prohibiting conditions are present. These conditions include: economic stagnation, politics of exclusion, lack of national identity, lack of democratic norms, and language barriers. These obstacles create an environment where education is seen not as beneficial, but rather a tool for the subjugation of the society. This essay will examine four formidable barriers that hinder the implementation of an effective civic education in Sub Saharan Africa. First, I will address the lack a national identity. Second, I will address the lack of citizen's trust in the state due to nepotism, favoritism and exclusionary practice of the state. Third, I will address the dilemma that multi-languages present in the provision of civic education. Fourth and finally, I will address the effects of the economic decline and how it hindered the state's ability to pay for education.

Introduction

There is little argument against the role and the importance of civic education in a society because it helps to create an informed and responsible citizenry. At this age of rapid globalization, however, the issue of civic education presents a dilemma of both conception and practice. On the one hand, civic education focuses on geography and symbols that are unique for particular country with a particular government and other symbols, such as: flags, national anthems, historical sites, buildings, monuments, etc. Civic education emphasizes civic participation and the skills necessary for an informed and responsible citizen. In the meantime, it explores the political process, with special attention given towards the understanding how it promotes the rights and responsibilities of both the individual and the government. More importantly, civic education entails the existence of separate nation-states with different histories, customs, norms, environment, ecology etc. that both create and push their own brand of civic education. One main reason is the existence of the Westphalian system where sovereign states claim exclusive control over a given territory and legal rights, which all others were bound to respect (Quigley & Bahmueller, 1991).

On the other hand, the past decade was marked by the end of cold war and enthusiastic hopes for the formation of a *global village*. The process of creating the global village entails global transformations that are changing the nature of citizenship (McGrew, et al 199). Global flows of information (computers, television, etc.) and expanded trade across societal borders weakened states' ability to maintain separate and coherent *nations* in pursuit of their particular societal goals. Thus, globalization involves in the weakening the power of the nation-state and the development of 'post-national' citizenship (Rose 1996). Soysal (1994) argues that national citizenship is losing ground to a more universal model of membership located within an increasingly de-

territorialized notion of a person's more universal rights. Therefore, civic education, in this age, must recognize this trend and gear its efforts towards the creation of a global citizen. The process of globalization, however, presented an upsurge in the gap between the haves and have-nots in the globe. In 1960 there was a ratio of 30:1 gap in average per capita incomes between the fifth of the world population who live in the rich industrialized countries and the fifth that live in the poorer countries. This gap reached 60:1 by 1990 and after the new millennium it has widened to over 74:1. Therefore, the rapid globalization presented a severe economic decline in the already poor countries. This decline, in turn, hindered the ability of many states to provide many basic services including civic education.

These two controversial concepts present a dilemma for many societies in the world, especially in the third world countries. This problem is far more complex in the region of Sub Saharan Africa, which represents the most diverse and economically weak states. The provision of a viable civic education requires several ingredients including: (1) The existence of a citizen within a country; (2) The citizen's trust on the state and feeling that is responsible (or believed to be responsible) for their welfare; (3) The existence and accessibility of a median language within which the education and general information is transmitted; (4) More importantly, is the existence of a functioning economy that can afford to pay for this civic education. In the Sub Saharan Africa region these four obstacles create bigger nightmare than any other place. The rest of this paper will be dedicated to examining these four obstacles.

Citizenship and Sub Saharan Africa

Over the years the meaning of citizenship has been transformed from the ancient Greek City-State, where only male property owners were recognized as citizens, while others were excluded from the privileges and duties of citizenship i.e. voting, joining the military or pay taxes. This concept, however, was broadened to eventually include all the inhabitants of the state. According to *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, citizenship entails the relationship between an individual and his/her state whom the individual pays allegiance and in turn receives the state protection. Marshall (1992) says that citizenship is defined in three models that include: *civil rights* (i.e. right to private property and a fair trial), the right to *vote*, and *social rights* (i.e. protection against poverty, unemployment, etc.)¹ Therefore, a citizen is a member of a state or nation whether by birth, descent, or naturalization owes allegiance to it and is entitled to full civil rights and privileges. In short, citizenship, deals with the relationship between the *rulers* and the *ruled* where they share a mutual responsibility.

The artificial African states, which are inhabited by many ethnic groups, resulted from the legacy of colonial rules. Each African government became preoccupied with how to create citizens for their newly formed multi-ethnic states. In order to ensure integration, groups were brought together in interaction and conflict (Mazrui, 1969; Van den Berge 1969; Freeman 1976). At the end it was hoped that out of this interaction would emerge a common basis for collaborative work towards the development and progress of the nation. Many programs were instituted towards this

¹ Marshall, T.H. and T. Bottomore (1992) *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press.

goal, including Ghana's Young Pioneers and Nigeria's National Youth Service Corps intended to prepare the young people for citizenship. Other programs focused on raising national consciousness including President Nyerere UJAMAA in Tanzania; Kenyatta's Harambe in Kenya; and Kaunda's Humanism in Zambia; and Banda's unity, loyalty, discipline and obedience in Malawi.

This effort to create citizens in the multi-ethnic states in the Sub Saharan Africa soon became a frustrating to both the public and their leaders. The basis for this frustration, especially in its political landscape resulted from illegitimacy, deceitfulness, nepotism and selfishness of the rulers. Tribalism, rather than competence, emerged as the median in which the state's distribution of both the security and welfare were based upon. Political leaders paid little or no attention to the citizens and thus to their political role in society. Consequently, by 1983 over 50 African states had experienced a change in government, and in 28 of these, it was by a coup d'etat.² Moreover, these states have had since independence the ability to function, most of the time, without resorting to taxing their citizens. Their operating budgets were most of the time provided by the international community through foreign aid or the availability of natural resources such agricultural commodities, minerals and oil. Therefore, little incentives exist for these states to provide adequate public services.³

Citizenship in most parts of Africa presents a fluid structure invented for the survival of the group[s] at the sub-national or national levels. In order to understand this disparity one must examine the role of the socio-cultural setting in which the African people, their leaders and bureaucrats function. Ekeh (1975) suggests the existence of two public realms that has two different types of moral linkages to the private realm in post-colonial Africa. The first is the *primordial public*, which is identified with primordial groupings, sentiments and activities (ethnic group). The primordial public is moral and operates on the same moral imperatives as the private realm⁴ (p.92). The second is the *civic public*, which is historically associated with the colonial administration and became identified with popular politics. The civic public in Africa is amoral and lacks the generalized moral imperatives operative in the private and in the primordial realm. This public is based on civil structures such as military, civil service, police, etc. (p.92).

Ekeh suggest that these two publics give a different meaning of citizenship than citizenship as understood in the West. In the African setting *citizenship* acquires different meanings depending on which realm (primordial or civic) it is conceived. (p.106). On the one hand, in the primordial public realm, the individual is morally obligated to sustain his identity with his group. The individual, in turn, gains huge benefits in the form of identity and psychological security."⁵ (p.106-7). On the other hand, in the civic public realm, the individual seeks to gain in material terms and does

² Lamb, D. (1987), *The African*, New York: Random House, USA.

³ For similar argument see: Herbst, Jeffrey (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁴ Ekeh, P. P. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975):91-112.

⁵ Ibid, p.92

not have any moral obligations and duties "... are de-emphasized while rights are squeezed out of the civic public with the amorality of an artful dodger" (p.107).

Ekeh argues that the educated Africans belong to both of these realms, which he argues puts them in dilemma because of the dialectic tension between the two. This tension manifests itself in the uniqueness of the African politics in the form of an unwritten law that "...it is legitimate to rob the civic public in order to strengthen the primordial public" (p.108) It is this dilemma of identity of the individual that sets the mechanism with which social *inclusion/exclusion* is created and enforced. This mechanism is the post-colonial state in Africa, which gives advantage to some group, while it deprives others. Therefore, the idea of "government" is at the heart of the process of social exclusion in Africa (and elsewhere). This exclusion is never the result of a spontaneous process, but rather, it is the result of historical manipulation and practice of the more powerful group[s] in the society. Therefore, one's trust and identification with the government is directly tied to how much benefit (real or perceived) he/she expects to receive. Given, however, Africa's fundamental inequality presents a dilemma in the creation of citizenry within their borders.

In Sub Saharan Africa, as everywhere else, the most important aspect of exclusion is that there is a very close relationship between holding positions of power in the state and the acquisition of wealth. The African state and its leaders have advantage over the ethnic groups within the country. Lonsdale (1986) compares these groups and argues that "...states have some moral force in the modern world and some international standing; they are licensed to use violence against their citizens and to incur debts. Ethnic groups are allowed none of these strengths...and Ethnic politics is stigmatized as tribalism."⁶ (p.141) Lonsdale argues that the morality of new forms of social inequality was the "tribe" where the included persons took on "the duties of patronage" and justified their actions by "...creating communities in which they had a moral standing and beyond which they acted as brokers of political alliance within the new arena of the state."⁷

The crises discussed above point to the disparity between the people and their government in Africa. Over the years government also begins to despise the citizens for being selfish and denying to pay allegiance to the leaders. The citizens also became enraged with the government for its illegitimacy, deceitfulness, kleptocracy, nepotism and more importantly its harsh laws. Both the ruled and rulers hold animosity, frustration and more importantly trust in the state began to weaken or disappear all together.

Trust in the state

One of the most important ingredients for the provision of an effective civic education is the trust the citizens place on their state. This trust is the basis for why a citizen would collaborate with the state in the process of creating allegiance to the state. In the African setting, however, the allegiance to one's ethnic/ tribal and/or clan has been far

6 Lonsdale, J. (1986). "Political Accountability in African History." In *Political Domination in Africa*, edited by P: Chabal, 126-57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P.106-7

7 Ibid, p.143

more salient than allegiance with the state. One main factor is, as we established, the fact that the state in Africa became over the years an agent of “division” rather than “unity.” The African states designed and enforced several mechanism of inclusion/exclusion, which benefited some (usually the relatives of the leaders) while it hurt others. Therefore, many members, perhaps the majority, in the society began to rely on their tribal/ clan groups for their protection. In order to understand the salience of the tribalism and clanism and lack of trust of the state one must revisit Africa’s colonial heritage.

Colonialism in Africa represented a continuation of slavery and slave trade that massively depopulated the continent. One main result of slave trade was that it made Africans to view themselves as inferior people who lost the confidence and ability to develop their lives. During slave trade (1500-1885) Africa lost a substantial portion of their population and hence manpower. Rodney (1981) estimated that Africa’s population grew from 100 million in 1650 to only 120 million in 1900, while the population in Europe grew from 103 million to 423 million during the same period.⁸ The human trade left the African continent with lasting scars. In 1962 President Ahmed Sekou Toure, of the Republic of Guinea summed up the effects of the African slave trade as, “Africa remains marked by the crimes of the slave-traders: up to now, her potentialities are restricted by under population.”⁹

The gradual expansion of the European powers into Africa continued from the time Portuguese explorers reached the coast of North Africa in 1434. Europeans took advantage of the trade routes that were established by the Arab merchants and religious missionaries (Fage, 1995; Ramsay, 1995; Bever, 1996) In October 1884 Otto Von Bismarck invited European powers into Berlin in order to make the European colonization of Africa official. In this meeting European powers divided the continent amongst themselves without any attention paid to the social fabric of the people. Among the rationale behind this action was imperialism and economic opportunism. However, the European rhetoric for their colonialism was rationalized differently and included among other things racism and supremacy i.e. Britain's *white man's burden*, France's *mission civilisatrice*, or King Leopold’s delivery of “...light for the only part on the earth where light never penetrated”¹⁰ (Hochschild, 1998). Yet, King Leopold of Belgium declared the entire Congo basin, a territory 80 times the size of Belgium as his personal property and ran one of the most ruthless colonial systems.

The international colonial regime was based on European sovereignty, which was constituted in 1648 with the Treaty of Westphalia at the end of 30 years war. During the Westphalian peace Europe decided to respect each other’s territorial integrity and not to interfere in their internal affairs. But, the rest of the world, including the Egyptians and Chinese, which had centralized states before them, were now declared

⁸Rodney, Walter (1981). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington DC: Howard University Press.

⁹Ibid, P.95

¹⁰ Hochschild, Adam (1998). *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston, MA: A Mariner Books.

as *terra nullius* “a land that belong to nobody.” Therefore, through colonialism European sovereignty was extended to these territories, thus justifying the declaration of an entire area as part of a particular European nation-state. Europe’s ability to use “divide and conquer” tactics, among Africans was utilized and the end result was the imposition of European colonial rule. By the beginning of World War I Africa was divided into seven different colonial empires, with varying shapes and sizes. Nevertheless, Britain and France grabbed the lion’s share i.e. 66% pre WWI and 71% in post WWI.¹¹

The most damaging aspect of colonialism, however, culminated from three sources. First, Europeans established administrations within these multi-ethnic borders. In many of these areas rigidly demarcated identities were enforced and in some cases created.¹² Second, based on these demarcated or invented identities colonialism created patrimonial paths to the state, which gave benefits and prestige (real or perceived) to a group [s] in one case, and fear and reduced status to other groups. One example is the role of the Belgian administration in creating the Hutu-Tutsi demarcation in Rwanda and its subsequent genocide.¹³ Third, colonialism created an administrative system that ran a predatory style of governance.

These states were not the result of the consent of their subjects, and their only reason for existence was to facilitate the exploitation of Africa's resources both human and raw materials. With the process of politicization of ethnicity, the colonial state created new phenomena in these countries. Vail (1989) argues that the creation of ethnicity in the colonial state can be understood in the interaction between three groups: (1) intellectuals, missionaries and anthropologists who provided education that forged and in some cases invented culture and identity; (2) the local administrators who gained prestige in the tribal context; and (3) the ordinary people who gained a sense of comfort and control in their interaction with other groups in the colonial state.¹⁴ Throughout colonial era European colonial powers heavily relied on the local chiefs and other traditional leaders in their administration. This reliance on ethnic or tribal structure was utilized by both the indirect rule of the British and the *assimilationist* direct rule of the French. (Welsh, 1996; Mamdani, 1996; Young, 1994). The role of the local leaders has been important to the functioning of the colonial state. Welsh (1996) summarized this role as:

11 Khapoya, Vincent (1998). *The African Experience: An Introduction*. Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall. P.112

12 Many African societies in Sub Sahara Africa are suffering from this invented history and identity perpetrated mainly by the European Anthropologists, Historians and Religious groups. For information on this particular dilemma see Mudimbe, V.Y. (1988). *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and order of knowledge*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.; See also, Clapham, Christopher (1988). " Rwanda: The Perils of Peace Making." *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 35(2) PP.193-210. See also, Ottaway, Marina (1999). *Ethnic politics in Africa: Change and Continuity*. In Richard Joseph (Editor). *State, conflict, and Democracy in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers. Pp.229-318.

13 For details on the Belgian practices see: Newbury, Catherine (1998) "Ethnicity and Politics of History in Rwanda." *Africa Today*. Vol.45 (1), Jan -March. PP.7-24. See also, Mamdani, Mahmood (2001). *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

14 Vail, Leroy (1989). *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. In Vail (Editor). *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. London: Currey Books. For similar idea see Welsh, David (1996). *Ethnicity in Sub Saharan Africa*. *International Affairs*. Vol. 72(3): 477-491.

“Chiefs were useful intermediaries between the administration and colonized people. They could commonly be relied upon to help in preserving law and order, enforcing customary civil law (within norms laid down by the colonial administration) squeezing their subjects for taxes, and providing men for the *corve'e* and other labour requirements. Where colonized societies had known no indigenous chieftanship, such the Kikuyu, the British, believing that all African people must have chiefs, created chiefs and endowed them with minor bureaucratic functions ... Where no one with authentic claim to chieftainship could be located, Shepstone (Sir Theophilus Shepstone was Britain's Secretary of Native Affairs in Transvaal in 1870s) found suitable pliant individuals, often, it was alleged, from among his cooks and other retainers, and vested them with minor local control that were pivotal to his administration.”¹⁵

In most cases, the resulting states in post-colonial Africa were a direct copy of the preceding colonial state. Ideally, according to Max Weber (1978) in the modern state there are some core features according to what he named “modern bureaucracy”. Among the features of the bureaucratic state, “public moneys and equipment are divorced from the private property of the official” (Weber, 1978:957). Also, decision-making in this state is characterized by systematic and hierarchical structures that the “...freely creative administration would not constitute a realm of free, arbitrary action and discretion of personally motivated favor and valuation” (ibid; 979). Majority of African states, however, “particularism” became the norm, thus lacking both the Weberian characteristics mentioned above and more importantly, all the ingredients necessary for the promotion of societal development. In these states public officials served their own interests rather than their employing organizations (Médard, 1996, Callaghy, 1984, Hydén, 1983, Bratton and van de Walle, 1997). Almost by definition, the state has a low degree of capacity that results from the lack of distinction between public and private entities and public services took a particularistic rather than universalistic character. In these states corruption became endemic, and in turn hindered the state's ability to implement policies favorable to the benefit to whole nation. In this process the state neglected the process of creating and developing citizenship in their respective countries.

Median Language

Language is the expression of human behavior, which involves the use of vocal sounds in a meaningful pattern. Over the years societies put effort to educate its members for the enhancement of their welfare and security. If we, then, define education as the process of spreading information, knowledge and skills either formally or informally requires the existence of a median language. The relationship between language, education, development and citizenship is intimate, because of the fact that hardly any education can be instituted without this median language. Furthermore, the societies cannot realize any development without the existence of language and education. Therefore, language is the foundation and center of

¹⁵ Welsh, David. 1996. “Ethnicity in sub-Saharan Africa.” *International Affairs* 72:477-491. p.479.

education, development and citizenship. The development of human societies involves in all aspects of human welfare such as economy, politics, culture, social life, education, etc. More importantly, it involves the realization of the nation's full potential in utilizing its resources (human or natural) to benefit all its citizens.

The third dilemma that makes Civic Education in Sub Sahara Africa is the lack of a median language with which education is transmitted. There are over 1700 distinct languages spoken in the continent of Africa, which represent roughly one-third of all the languages used in the entire world. (see table 1) If one includes all the dialects spoken by various ethnic groups, the number is much higher, which is estimated at 2000 indigenous languages. Not all of these languages, however, have the same importance – some are used by only a few hundred people; others are spoken by millions. Among the most prominent tongues spoken, are Arabic, Swahili, and Hausa. Except in North Africa, very few countries use one single language or even a majority language: three such countries are Rwanda, Burundi, and Somalia. That is why the official language of Africans is usually the language of the former colonial masters such as English, French or Portuguese. In many states, several official languages both local and European coexist e.g. Kenya Swahili and English. But, as argued, given the stratification created by the colonial states and continued by the post-colonial state, the issue of languages for education and administration becomes another tool of exclusion used by the ruling elite. In most cases the language and culture of the ruling clan is adopted as the official representation of the country.

A brief glance at the populations compared to the number of languages reveals the following trends:

Table 1: Some of the languages spoken in Sub Sahara Africa and their population

Country	Population	Indigenous languages
Nigeria	97,232,521	400
Cameroon	13,227,000	250
Zaire	36,372,000	250
Sudan	28,947,000 (1994)	133
Tanzania	28,251,511	113
Ethiopia	56,677,100	92
Senegal	8,572,200 (1996)	65
Ivory coast	14,230,000	58
Ghana	15,400,000	57
Kenya	7,164,823	35
Uganda	16,671,705	33
Angola	11,561,000	29

Source: Africa South of the Sahara, 27 ed, 1997

In many countries like Nigeria although English is the official administration language, the Hausa language is being pushed as the official language. Similarly, in Ethiopia even though the Amharas are minority, the Amaharic language was made the official language of Ethiopia. This was made possible by the Amhara's domination of the political arena prior to 1974 when Haile Salase's thrown was replaced by military

regime of Mingistu Haile Mariam. Similarly, in Somalia, since independence in 1960 the culture and language of the elite clans was made official in the country. The nomadic clans of central and north-eastern Somalia speak Mahaa language. During their rule, which is entirely the duration of any functioning Somali government, the nomadic culture, language and history were glorified.¹⁶

This does not mean, however, that Sub-Sahara African countries have not tried to build up their education. Many countries had mandatory primary education. For example, in Somalia the Barre regime made primary education compulsory and free, which lifted the literacy rate from 5% of the population to 24% by 1990¹⁷. Also, the Nigerian military government imposed the Universal Primary Education (UPE), which mandated for the children to enroll in school during the 1970's. As a result, in 1975 there were 4.5 million children in schools, by 1981 this figure jumped to 18 million¹⁸. However, the type of education that African students received had been irrelevant to the development of the region.

Obviously, education is essential for the survival of any society in the long run. However, one must not forget that a great portion of education is informal which is passed from one generation to the next for survival or simply understanding the surrounding environment. For example, before the European contact among the Bembas (what is now Zimbabwe) a child of six years old could name 63 species of tree plants, but he knew little about flowers, the reason for that was he simply needed to know those trees for survival, and flowers had little to do with that.

Since the end colonialism African students learn more about Europe than their own countries. For example, a child in elementary school in Africa learns about the Danube and Rhine rivers, or the French Alps, London, Paris, or Rome, rather than Niger and Zambezi Rivers, or the Atlas Mountains in North Africa, or Lagos and Accra. In Anglophone countries the student will learn how the English defeated the Spanish armada in 1588. Similarly, students in Francophone countries learn how Napoleon was a great General. Therefore, the “educated” African becomes a stranger in his own land. More importantly, the majority of the education in Sub-Sahara Africa is taught in a foreign language, which only a handful of elites have access for it. Dr. Kofi Busia summed up and he said “Over the years I went through college and university, I felt that the education I received taught me more and more about Europe and less and less about my society.”¹⁹

Affordability to pay for the education.

Education is an important variable for the development of a society, because, education prepares capable citizens that can cope with technical requirement for

¹⁶ Information on how the institutions that were created by the successive Somali governments were promoting this school of thought, see Mukhtar, Mohamed H. *Islam in Somali History: Fact or Fiction*. PP. 35-36. See also, Lee Cassanelli's *The Shaping of Somali Society*.

¹⁷ "Somalia" MS Encarta.

¹⁸ Obinyelaku, Ebubechukwu R. (1984). *The Federal Nigerian Civil Service: Recruitment Issues and Representative Bureaucracy*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Wayne State University. P.52.

¹⁹ Rodney, 1982. P.246.

development. This is one of most expensive ventures a society can take, which requires a coherent and conscious governmental policy. For example, in Japan the Meiji dynasty increased primary education from 28.1 in 1873 to 100% in 1911²⁰. The expenditure for education in Sub-Saharan Africa, however, had been declining, especially, during the 1980's. For example, between 1980-87 spending per student went down from US\$ 32 to mere US \$ 15. Also, many countries began to impose user fee, which made primary enrollment from 79% in 1980 to 67% in 1990.²¹ This leads us to the fourth dilemma that faces the provision of civic education in Sub Saharan Africa.

The source of Africa's economic decline stems from both internal and external factors.

Internally, the newly independent African states inherited the colonial state structures, which were geared towards expanding export production of taxable primary crops and minerals. For political support, the new leaders had to rely not on urban working classes or middle classes, which most of the time barely existed. Instead, they relied heavily on the rural notables, whose allegiance they secured through chains of patronage stretching from the ministers' offices to the villages. By the mid-1970s majority of African states had become unstable. One main reason was that their economies began to decline. This decline in turn lowered the state's reciprocal and patronage capacity. But, in most cases those excluded from the patronage mobilized their districts and ethnic groups in increasingly unmanageable opposition. In response to this, "centralized bureaucratic" regimes were created in which an all-powerful President controlled the patronage system with the help of a centralized bureaucracy and army; the best-known examples are perhaps Nyerere's Tanzania, Kenyatta's (and Moi's) Kenya, and Mobutu's Zaire. In other countries clientelism persisted without central control and degenerated into ever more unstable "spoils" systems, e.g. Nigeria, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, where everything was eventually up for plunder.

This resulted, then, in years of social exclusion and inequality, which in turn created, among other things, severe economic decline and poverty. The economic decline resulted from the reduction in investment in social programs such as public education. For example, the rich will commit money for the education of their children, regardless of their intelligence, which perhaps excludes a more brilliant child from the poor family who could contribute more to the society's advancement. Therefore, inequality is inherently an ingredient in slow growth in social capital.²² Additionally, inequality is associated with political instability as evidenced by the numerous coups d'état that occurred in the continent since independence. These coups contributed disincentive to invest as evidenced by the decline in the Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) from 15% in 1970 to 8% in 1989. (UNDP, 1992:37)

²⁰Nafziger, E. Wayne (1995). Japan's Industrial Development, 1868-1939: Lessons for Sub-Sahara Africa. In Howard Stein (ed.) Asian Industrialization and Africa: Studies in Policy Alternatives to Structural Adjustment. New York, NY: St. Martin Press. PP. 53-85.

²¹Stein, Howard (1995). Asian Industrialization and Africa: Studies in Policy Alternatives to Structural Adjustment. New York, NY: St. Martin Press. PP.1-29. p.6

²² For similar argument see, Bardhan P. and C. Urdy (1999). Development Microeconomics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore (2000) links the bad governance to poverty, particularly in Sub Saharan Africa. By the end of the 1960s, majority of these newly independent countries had experienced either a civil war or military intervention or both. Consequently, by the end of the 1970s, a study by the World Bank found that of the 34 world's poorest countries, 21 (60%) were from sub-Saharan Africa. And, by the 1980s, the African sub-continent would harbor 82% of the world's poorest nations with 93% of the countries reporting the lowest levels of standards of living in the whole modern world; concluding that "The African region was now headed to socioeconomic catastrophe" (McGowan and Johnson, 1984). Furthermore, Mbaku (1988) observed, "It is now more than twenty years since these [sub-Saharan African] countries achieved independence. Unfortunately, the quality of life for most of these Africans has failed to improve or has done so marginally". Similarly, Harden (1990) writes:

"Sub-Saharan Africa is the most dramatic loser. Here, poverty is at its most stark, with the prospects of the 21st century looking bleak. The sub-continent contains 33 of the 50 poorest countries of the world. Improvements in health, education, and living standards have reversed in the past two decades, and the standards continue to fall. More than half still lack safe water and 70% are without proper sanitation; forty million children are not in school. Infant mortality is 55% higher than in the rest of the world's low income, developing countries; average life expectancy is 11 years less than those of most low-income countries are. It is a part of the world where children have swollen bellies."

Externally the economic decline in the continent resulted from pressure that the International Financial Institutes (IFIs) e.g. World Bank and International Monetary (IMF). Specifically, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) in the 1980s, which further crippled many states' ability to provide social programs such as public education. As a result, Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in the world in which poverty has steadily increased during the last two decades. All major reports and sources stress a continuing deterioration in the region's development indicators (UNCTAD, 2000; UNDP, 1999; WB, 2001; Wolfensohn, 2000).

One of the biggest declines, however, happened to public education many students received in these countries. For example, total spending in Sub-Sahara Africa fell in real terms between 1980-1988 from US\$ 11 billion to US\$ 7 billion. A review of 26 countries shows that a decline in spending per pupil from US\$ 133 to US\$ 89. Even more serious is the drop in enrollment rates from 71.1% in 1980 to 66.7% in 1990. On average, only 37% of girls enrolled in primary in 1990 and this figure drops after 7-8 years of schooling.²³ The number of people in poverty increased, where almost half of the population of sub-Saharan Africa live on a dollar a day and this proportion has not changed in the past 15 years. These opposing regional trends raise questions about increasing inequality between countries: some regions of the world appear to benefit from the global economy, while others are left behind.

²³ http://www.kulu.dk/Financing/Regional%20Fact%20Sheets/fact_sheet_on_debt_africa.htm

Conclusion

The intention of this paper was not to question the validity and need for civic education in a society. But, rather it intended to raise several indicators that could prove to be obstacles to the provision of an effective civic education. We have defined civic education as the process of creating an informed and responsible citizenry. More importantly, it entails the existence of separate nation-states complete with their own system of government, history, culture and norms. However, the past decade or so the world grew closer, which weakened the role of nation-states, as the sovereign entity that needs to be respected, especially in conducting its internal affairs. However, no place has this dilemma been more prevalent than in Sub Saharan Africa, where the creation of a citizen of a specific state is yet to be created due to the reality of colonial legacy, multi-ethnicity and severe economic decline.

The paper examined four obstacles that made the realization of an effective civic education in Sub Saharan Africa difficult. First, we argued that the issue of citizenship, understood as the one's identification with the state has been non-existent in the region. Instead, the most salient identity scheme has consistently been that of the tribe and clan. The second dilemma came from the lack of national effort to include all its citizens in both the welfare and security provided by the state. The post-colonial states in Africa became an enrichment tool for its leaders, who got engaged in client-patron structure, where few benefit and the rest suffer. Therefore, the people's trust on their state has become weak or non-existent. Third, obstacle came from Africa's multi-lingual reality, where the dissemination of knowledge and information to the citizen suffered. The fourth obstacle came from the economic decline that many African states faced for the past decade. This economic decline hindered the state's ability to pay for the education of its citizens. Given this reality then, what options do we have in order to realize the task of providing civic education?

In closing, civic education provides, at least part of the answer to the four dilemmas outlined above, but only where both the state and citizens see it as mutually beneficial. The most important task for African nations is to ensure that citizens can benefit from their rights of public education and equal protection under the law. The citizens for their part are expected to pay taxes, obey the law, be patriotic, respect each other's rights and participate in the civil society.

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Teachers, teachers' unions, Transitional period in South-Eastern Europe (the Bulgarian example)

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OPEN EDUCATION CENTRE

TEACHER'S UNION "PROMJANA" - BULGARIA

The Big Challenges of the Period

It is difficult to define the dimensions of such a versatile phenomenon as the transitional period of the educational system in whose boundaries the teachers' unions are developing. For this reason, all attempts given below of definitions and outlines of tendencies should be accepted to a certain extent conditionally. The example of Bulgaria is both significant and specific, thus the conclusions should not be considered valid in general. Nevertheless, these conclusions show the ways the teachers' unions are developing in a vague educational post-communist reality. At present, education in Bulgaria is conditioned by two processes, which should be considered separately because of their immense and decisive influence on the teachers' unions. There is a neo-liberal economic model, which is implicitly imposed in education. This process is determined by economic and financial indexes not related to the needs of education. For example, teachers are made redundant not because of the needs of the educational system but because of the financial calculations of The Ministry of Finance. Those calculations are based on the total reduction of students in the country. Thus, education becomes an allocation column in the budgetlist instead of an institution with its specificity and development. The financial criteria have become the leading factor in the development of the educational system at a time when it needs to be reformed, and the carrying out of the educational reform has been declared to be in progress, if only in words. Money has come to be the main indicator of the efficiency of the educational process, which causes huge damage to the educational system and commercializes the disposition and the expectations of society. Education turns into an article of trade, which is measured by society through the criteria of the allowance of money for education, the prices of textbooks, the means allotted for private lessons etc. At present, what is good for education and for the development of a young man is not important for the system, but only what is economically efficient according to the vague economic views typical for quite an asocial economic model. Because of these tendencies and the conditions resulting from economic crisis and shortage, education is in a process of giving up its positions. At first sight the indicator of that decline is also economic, i.e. the decrease in the allotted financial means for education in the budget. Education does not take its deserved position in the new public agreement and it is not among the declared priorities for national development. The Ministry of Education is becoming an executive body of The Ministry of Finance; thus, the possibility for exercising a real national educational policy disappears. In this situation, the teachers' unions are put into the sphere of figures and economic indexes. They are facing an uneven battle, on somebody else's territory - the territory of the financial institutions, where the teachers' unions hold a defensive position, i.e. keeping the existing economic indexes, not changing the system and asking for financial insurance and guarantee for the changes in education. Even when the financial

demands are aimed at increasing certain parameters, it can be seen that in most analyzed cases the point is not about increase, but about compensation.

The teachers' unions are entering the territory and following the logic of the market mechanisms and institutions, instead of imposing the educational logic of the changes. The speedy establishment of that neoliberal educational model has its prehistory in the decline of education during the period of communism, its isolation and the degradation of the social role of the teacher's profession.

Thus, in the transitional period education is deprived of its necessary social importance. There is not the necessary power to negotiate and strengthen its position in the new social conditions, i.e. within the framework of the new public agreement, and to maintain its essence. In such situation, the recognition of the power of the educational market even for a short time is a self-destructive social policy.

The transformation of all educational indexes into economic ones in the protectionistic educational model, inherited from communism, changes the values in education.

Education is transformed into a bargaining counter where all changes are put through the prism of money and where the core values of educational development are not taken into consideration. In other words, the establishment of monetary relations without a qualitative educational reform and without maintenance of qualitative educational indexes and priorities means in fact the end of a real educational policy. Figuratively speaking, in this situation the teachers' unions are like defenders of a fortress with open gates. Education, not being a priority will fade away, i.e. without defining the dimensions and the parameters, which should be adhered to, and without being given the necessary financial and social support. The second key tendency for education during the transitional period is related to the process of democratization of society and the transfer of this process into the educational sphere, which is the social equivalent of the neoliberal model. For education, it means the formalization and institutionalization of certain educational actors on all levels. The sole teachers' union during the communist period gives way to several rival teachers' organizations and in the framework of education there is emerging a slow but steady formation and institutionalization of a much wider public representations such as students', parent-teachers' and local nongovernmental organizations. Thus, one of the aspects of the transitional period is the narrowing of the educational and social field of activity of the teachers' unions, which is caused by the democratization of society. The second aspect of the democratization of education is the transformation of educational problems into social ones or the entering of politics into education. In order to be effective and to be included in the public agenda, the decisions concerning education should correspond to the new political criteria, such as representation, public consensus, public debate and the use of democratic means for organized social pressure. All of a sudden, the teachers' unions find themselves in the broad field of democratic educational policy. They possess a better preparation than the other educational actors do, but they are not powerful enough to defend the educational and social interests against the neoliberal state. The teachers' unions cannot rely on themselves to impose priority educational regulations on society, since the possible democratic educational coalition is still in an

embryonic stage, and in it, the teachers' unions have difficulties in strengthening their leading position. The third aspect of democratization is focused on the decentralization of education, which is an inexorable process in a formal democratic social system and holds an essential position for educational developments. The solidity of social, professional and political activities disappears and there is observed a decomposition of the activities in the educational system on national, regional and local levels, which is typical for democratic societies. In other words, the centralized educational developments (as it was during the communist period) cease to exist and the educational coalitions are in a state of permanent reformation. In this situation, the educational actors and mostly the teachers' unions should be more flexible and diverse in their actions. In this dynamic situation only the state maintains its central role (a role that is far weaker than that of the communist centralized state regarding both resources and ideology) and on this stage it still dictates the educational developments with the help of neoliberal ideology, which in its essence is antieducational.

The other big dimension of the democratization of education is self-government. The establishment of this process is also slow, which is inevitable for all educational actors. Consequently the state slowly loses its monopoly role and for the teachers' unions, it becomes increasingly harder to manage the educational developments inside and outside them. The possibilities for coordinated activities as well as negotiations or joint actions with self-governing actors become more problematic in the conditions of self-government of the teachers' organization.³ In this aspect, an important characteristic of the transitional period is the search of a place for the educational system in the new social configuration, based on the formation of a new educational model, i.e. a formal democratic and neoliberal model. Education is slowly emerging from the social isolation imposed during the communist period and is becoming an ever more independent system in its search for confirmation in the framework of society. At the same time, another main feature of society is the reluctance to recognize education as an independent system. Such recognition means care, interaction, and priority in relations, and allotting resources and means. In the transitional period there is another possibility, which for the present seems far easier and feasible: to leave education to be guided spontaneously by the market; not to have a clear engagement of society with the problems of education, these problems to be removed from the public agreement and therefore not to be solved as a priority. Briefly, there is an imposition of the tendency for an implicit refusal of society and its political class to deal with the problems of education and upbringing.

In this situation the teachers' unions all of a sudden find themselves to be the only exponents powerful enough to express the educational interest of society, i.e. the teachers' unions are the best organized actors in the educational sphere, the "generals" of an army which has been reduced in strength and which is faced with an indistinct enemy.

The next important dimension of the transitional period in the educational system is connected mainly with the process of "normalization" of society, the obvious familiarization with the mechanisms of the democratic system and their social and educational implementation. Society, teachers, parents and the teachers' unions begin

to accept the democratic establishments in the sphere of education. The nostalgia for the communist educational system is unable to change the present process. We have mentioned the acceptance of pluralism, the market economy, decentralization and self-government. To the process of normalization of the perceptions and the activities, I would like to add the recognition of the inequalities in education, the multiethnic nature of society, the necessity for actions for social and educational participation of ethnic formations. Since the democratic processes in education obviously do not bring the desired results, a large amount of fatalism and disappointment accompanies the normalization in the conditions of life in Bulgaria. The normalization is an extremely painful process when there is an understanding of the limitation of the resources and the possibilities for change, when the logic of the market mechanisms is felt along with the weakness of democratic institutions to provide an equitable educational order. This aspect includes the multiethnic nature of the new democratic society. The Turkish ethnical community is an already recognized partner in the governing coalition and at present the claim for the social and political participation of the Gypsy community and the need for a new interethnic agreement are gathering more power. The problems of fair nondiscriminatory education and the building-up of an educational system that includes the whole of society, as well as the problems of teachers as actors of this social inclusion are coming to the fore quite sharply. So far, during the transitional period, the teachers' unions have been developing as organizations of the Bulgarian majority and as such, they formulate the educational interests of that majority, which are considered as common educational interests. The membership of the teachers' unions is exclusively Bulgarian in its present dimensions and at a time when the teachers' unions are fighting to win recognition in a multicultural world. The future of the teachers' unions as key educational actors depends on to what extent and how they will meet the interethnic challenges and take part in the intercultural dialogue and in the formation of conditions for intercultural understanding in education.

The next essential process in the transitional period is connected with the European integration of education. This process constitutes the speedy implementation of educational ideas and models (most of all in the field of educational management, social sciences, self-government, and the participation of society), as well as the development of new regulations for the educational system in the framework of integration with the European Union. Of course, this process is also contradictory. The European Union can offer or even impose models for the creation of a democratic system and its management but it cannot define the nature of the educational system. The process of integration is a mutual one and at the same time, it is a process of choice for the new democracies, which constitutes an informed responsibility for the proper development of education. The teachers' unions are also conductors of modern tendencies through their Western partners. These tendencies concern the activities of the teachers' unions and the development of education in general. But the teachers' unions cannot disengage themselves from their role in the creation of a new public educational agreement or from being one of the locomotives of the changes in education, as well as one of the guarantees of those changes.

Another essential process of the transitional period is the beginning of an educational dialogue in schools, which should lead to the achievement of a public agreement in the

whole educational system. Again the role of the teachers' unions is contradictory – they balance between the protection of their own interests in a certain school and the establishment of the new democratic principles of organization and management of education.

The period coincides with the establishment of the information technologies, too – the establishment of the “power” of the computer in education. No matter how weak and initial this process is in countries like Bulgaria, it obscures the settlement of educational problems or suggests apparent solutions, hidden behind the organization of information about certain educational elements.

At a time when the teachers' unions are suffering loss of members and reconsidering their nature, they must embrace a process, which reforms traditional education. This process gives students and society new possibilities and potentially gives more power to the educational system, compared with the power of the traditional educational partners.

For the present we are witnesses to how the teachers' unions, the state and the organizations often watch helplessly and support the implementation of computers and technologies, without being able to make sense of their nature or use their power.

Because of all these contradictory developments, the determination of the parameters of the forming educational system of the transitional period should be brought to an agreement. The question is what should be the character of this public educational agreement. The essential question for Bulgarian education is whether it will be subordinated to corporate interests, state institutions or to the interests of different educational actors, whether it should be based on the neoliberal model or there will be an agreement, which takes into account the democratic changes, the multiculturalism of society and education, the need for interaction among the actors and the possibility to formulate and adopt a common educational interest.

In this aspect the teachers' unions being the most organized educational actor and having a strong say in settling the character of that agreement are entrusted with a task, which most likely exceeds their capacity and is beyond their framework of activity.

The legacy of the old period

During the almost half-century communist period the teachers were organized in one of the biggest professional groups in society, which is a worldwide process. The position of teachers was quite contradictory. On the one hand, teachers were charged with serious responsibilities concerning the indoctrination of the young generation. At the same time they were narrowly specialized and had an extremely belittled and restricted social role.

In the framework of the system evolution, from the first violent years, through the stage of the well-developed socialism to the break-up of the system the teacher's indoctrination functions were decreasing at the expense of the retirement in the narrow

world of the school subject study and the strengthening in the teachers' and social consciousness of the idea of the professionalism of the teacher as a specialist in a certain subject area.

The teacher's social role, which is of greatest interest to us, began to acquire a caricature role - deprived of means, trained in a school subject, the teacher began to be prejudiced to his profession, to treat it as a burden and something unnecessary.

I mention this important process because in principle this is a description of the predominant part of the teachers at the beginning of the nineties – withdrawn in their school subjects and purely personal and daily problems, hostile and unable to accomplish significant and lasting interaction.

Thus, the denial of the teacher's social role in regards to students and society turned teachers not only into narrow school subject practitioners in a more and more interconnected educational reality, but also into a social group, unable to carry out a serious educational dialogue with the other actors in the educational system, a group extremely passive in social scope.

Things came to such a point that teachers were unable to implement their essential role, determined by the communists, i.e. to indoctrinate the students. The isolation of teachers from society and their own school subject withdrawal was contrasted with the requirement of obligatory membership in the only teachers' union and with the inability to formulate any sort of important professional and personal demands – neither for themselves, nor for the development of the educational system.

Practically this meant that the activities of the teachers' union were meaningless, because of the built-in resentment to any form of social and civil participation (in the years of socialism they were ridiculous). That was a natural process during the so-called real socialism, accompanied by a drop of prestige and status of the teacher's profession, by withdrawal in the school subjects, by refusal on the part of society to let teachers reveal their aptitudes and formulate and defend their own interests, by lack of social initiative and responsibility for their own fate.

The character of teachers' unionism in the years of communism was in the official role and not in the one challenging the system, in the maintenance of the status quo and not in the own interests, in the hollow appearance behind which were not hidden any serious actions, in the impossibility for discussing (let alone changing) the basic parameters of the profession, in the lack of any depth of actions.

That was the exact state of the sole teachers' union when the changes came at the beginning of the nineties and when the social conditions changed exceptionally literally for several days.

The transitional period and teachers' unions

The transitional period was a period of change of identity, a change of the essential characteristics of unionism in the country and in the region. The transition to unionism

in the conditions of formal democracy was quite painful, hard and according to some even impossible, which was predetermined by the social legacy.

The first new phenomenon was the pluralism in professional unionism. In a few months were created several unions, which was not only an unusual adventure for the teachers accustomed to obedience but also the first test of the readiness of the unions to change their essence.

The second essential phenomenon was the professionalization of the unions' activity, i.e. suddenly, they were put in a situation where they had to formulate, defend, develop and foresee their members' interests in a formal democratizing society. At this point there was a collision mostly between the necessity of ideas for a change and a new organizational framework of activity, the necessity to foresee and analyze the direction of the changes on the one hand and the available personnel, financial and organization resources on the other.

This was the period of strengthening the legitimacy of unionism, of finding its exact place in the framework of the educational system, a period of putting its representative functions into operation and clearing up the interaction with the other social institutions and educational actors.

For the first time after decades, unionism began to evaluate its activities in the context of the settlement and protection of collective labor contracts – the legitimacy meant emphasis on purely union interests and forms of action. From this moment on the assessment of the union's activities is based on the above mentioned forms.

At the same time since the beginning of the transitional period unionism in the post-communist society has been practically charged with nonspecific tasks. The teachers' unions turned out to be the only organized power in the field of education and took the role of articulation of the social and educational interests, of formulation of the educational developments. This social mission often exceeds the professional role imposed on them by their legitimacy and they play it with variable interest.

During the first years of the transitional period, a period of dramatic oppositions and abrupt change of the political system, there were some changes in the educational system concerning regulations and personnel. In this situation, the unions were inspired by the possibility to express the social interest in education. For this purpose they used strike pressure and tried to impose their own union interest as an interest of the system.

During the second half of the period the unions began to enter their own territory, to be more professional, to be an institutional partner of the state, to fight and accordingly to gain identity from the contacts with the state.

Practically, the transitional period in countries like Bulgaria where there is low social and educational activity of the people (participation of the democratic society in the settlement of educational problems) and lack of organized educational actors determined unionism as a key element of the educational system.

The paradox is that unionism again as it was during the years of communism was charged to play an essential role in the educational system without having the necessary resources for it.

During the period of legitimization and professionalization of the protest, unionism should play the role of a deputy of the social care in education. The bureaucratization of unionism in the new conditions – if we use this word for the institutionalization of union protest and actions – was accompanied by the natural processes of decentralization, characteristic for organizations in a democratic society.

Unionism, which is a protagonist in the educational system, reflects its developments without imposing its pattern. It follows and reacts to such developments as the decrease in the quality of the educational process, decentralization, and the financial degradation of the educational system and the lack of coordination during the changes in the educational system.

Actually, the teachers' unions in the period are suffering from lack of resources to build up their own pattern and to play their versatile social role in education. We are talking about financial resources: extremely small proper base - membership dues, property, state subsidies, etc.; personnel: the support of the teachers is decreasing, formalization of the support, withdrawal of the good teachers from the unions; ideological resources: inability to create their own union ideology and import of such from abroad through contacts with Western unions.

Teachers' decreasing support of union actions and structures is a very important problem and should be taken into consideration. Sometimes the support is a result of the successful actions of the unions. In the places where the collective labor contracts are good, the teachers (absorbed in their own problems) tend to be less active.

The problem of the decreasing support is logical in view of the democratization of education and the right of free choice. At the same time, this problem is quite alarming as a phenomenon, since there is not any serious professional teachers' problem that has been sorted out. Such problems are as follows: there are no elaborated standards for teachers and managers in the field of education; there is not an adequate payment for the work completed; there is no reliable protection against arbitrary acts of decision concerning the development of teachers; there is no system for qualification; there is neither a conception, nor conditions for the realization of the teacher's role as an agent for social inclusion.

According to teachers, the most important problem in Bulgaria is the permanent dismissal of pedagogical staff during the last years (because of demographic problems). In this situation, the unions are gaining the support of teachers in their fight against the state. However, the support due to the loss-of-job threat is not constructive for the development of the unions, since it closes the unions in the confined space of purely material demands and as a result isolates them from the other educational actors and obstructs them from fully playing their social role, which they somehow or other want to play.

The consideration of the problems in education through the prism of the teachers' dismissal on national level leads to distortion and marginalization of the union vote and actions. Because of this reason, even when they are defending social educational interests, the unions are suspected of that aiming at private interests.

The Europeization of the union problems, the adoption, consideration and application of West European and American models and experience is also a key moment in the development of the unions in the country. This process enables the normalization of the union actions, helps to find more suitable forms of union policy and protest and clears up the legitimacy of the unions. The big problem here is to what extent unions can adopt civilized forms of dialogue, to what extent they can become European partner in their spirit too, to what degree their interaction is expressed in enriching their own ideas and models and not only in drawing resources and uncritical acceptance of ideas for union building and action.

Dilemmas of unionism in Bulgarian education

The dilemmas of unionism are determined by the following factors: the contradictory character of development of unionism; the inherited communist model; the contradictory signals and tendencies from outside the unions; the nature of the post-communist society.

The dilemmas can be formulated also as challenges, i.e. challenges of the environment, challenges of the search for identity pattern, challenges of the internal development, and challenges of the future.

Reaction or action, following or getting ahead of the changes, responding to or directing the developments – this is the key dilemma of the development of professional unions. In a democratic society, the active position is preferred but this position requires a lot of resources, purposefulness, clarity of the purposes, selfrestriction and flexibility.

At present, the teachers' unions are following the events and attempting to rearrange their structure or more exactly - the events are restructuring them and articulating their interests.

The adoption of an active position requires efforts and much greater responsibilities for which the unions are hardly prepared.

In this sense the active role requires an answer to the other dilemma – whether unionism will play a narrow official role, thus letting the educational system move with fewer problems or whether it will be the leading party in this movement. For the time being the other educational actors with the exception of the state are not seriously structured so that in the empty space there is enough room to dispose, to settle and to act.

The role of a leading educational actor requires going beyond the narrow professional interests, extreme social responsibility, social solidarity and duty, i.e. things for which the union movement is not ready as a whole.

The difficulty of the adopted position of leader and speaker of the educational processes means giving answer to the dilemma – whether the leader should serve the logic of the educational system or follow his own interests and the extent to which these two processes can be combined.

At present, the development of the educational system does not always require good decisions for teachers such as restructuring, mass dismissal, entering of young teachers, but it also requires decisions which will be socially supported - strengthening the status and prestige of teachers, significant increase in payment and development of standards in education.

It is important for the union policy to present to society the contradictory measures for the development of the teacher's profession as a whole, as well as to seek necessary support for these measures in its ranks.

The other serious dilemma, which is fateful for the development of unionism, is the dilemma of how far and in what way to develop partnership and where the starting point of opposition against the neo-liberal state should be.

In other words, what should be the relations with a state, which does not pay enough attention to education in an ignorant educational society – of a constructive and critical opposition on the one hand or of a slightly critical accomplice on the other in the adoption of key decisions for the development of education – and how to distinguish these two roles, which are hard to support?

In this course of thoughts is the next dilemma – where is the place of unionism in the framework of present-day education? Whether inside the educational system by means of an overall agreed engagement with an officially granted legitimization or the acceptance of the role of a democratic opposition, refusal to share with the state the responsibilities for educational policy, breaking the institutional framework for decision making imposed by the state and seeking the support of society? The question is not abstract at all and is permanently on the agenda during the transitional period. Some actions of the unions show that society tends to identify the unions with the state and does not accept them as an independent actor, which directly affects the social support of their actions.

The unions in the sphere of education will most probably have difficulties in the future in strengthening the vision of an important educational actor and leader of the changes with the pragmatic image of a defender of their narrow proper interests in the system.

Both unions and society should go their own course to achieve clarity on this issue, but it is natural that the unions should be the leading party in order to give more clarity, to convince society and to be able to distinguish their interests from those of society as well as to have convincing arguments which to present as their own in the cases where it is really so.

In this course of thoughts is the next dilemma – whether the unions should give priority to the creation of visions for the educational development of the country or higher priority to their own development. The mixing-up of these two visions, which are of different type, tends to confuse society.

The unions should build up their model of social engagement clearly and should not mix it up with the task for building the model of their own course, internal development and institutional consolidation.

In this way, it will be easier to support and persuade society in their significant aspect and to attract more clearly allies in the coalitions for educational changes.

For the unions, this is an opportunity to be able to go all the way from the fundamentality of the problems to the everyday details, to perfection in union work, to serving the professional interests of their members.

Thus we reach the internal dilemmas of unionism in Bulgaria; too, the most important being whether they should strengthen and develop together or independently. Pluralism is good within certain boundaries but in the conditions of drastic dismissal of teachers, splitting-up is not always successful as a policy and a way for identifying and defending the teacher's interests.

The number or quality of the union members is an internal organizing dilemma. The attracting of members in a small and strongly unionized state as Bulgaria is a hard process, which would only lead to tension and collisions among the different teachers' unions in case of redistribution of their members. In the conditions of union splitting and opposition, to the fore come actions for the improvement of the members' quality as union activists – i.e. training, educational activity, close connection with the other members' professional activity.

The other opportunity is the search for new union areas mostly in the development of the teacher's role as an agent of social inclusion in societies recognizing and trying to find a solution to inequalities and the arising conflicts and marginalization of big layers of the population.

The big struggle in the future too will be on the issue about the relations between the generations, between the young and the old teachers in unionism, about the access of young people to union management, and associating the aspect of unions with young people.

The dilemma is not abstract; it is real – in Bulgaria, the access of young people to education is extremely restricted and the unions are becoming defenders of the active ageing teachers. On the solution of this problem depends the overall dynamics of union movement in the future.

Another essential dilemma for modern unions is the finding of balance between the representativeness of their own actions and their content value, the balance between

the representativeness and the richness in content of their union interference. The negotiations and the commitment to the state means that the unions should be constantly in the spotlight, but often this presupposes the possibility to participate in somebody else's agenda and does not urge teachers to be interested in what is going on under these spotlights.

The last dilemma is between the regionalism of the problems and their European dimension. We are convinced that there are no ready recipes but the sense of Europeism is in the study of organization-building, in actions typical for the democratic society, and not only in the absorption in and measuring of the problems with one's own yardstick. Europeisation means also attracting broader-minded people, overcoming the negative selection of union members and leaders, giving everyday problems a more general aspect and considering them in this light.

The Future of Unionism

is in the answer to the above dilemmas. The way for development of the unions in the post-communist society is open and a great part of the decisions depend on us only.

The first possibility for development is in the further professionalization of the unions, a process, which will help towards the affirmation of their own look and identity, towards the attainment of a clearly distinguished place in the sphere of education.

At the same time, the future of unions lies in the strengthening of their own influence by seeking a wider public identity in the new educational world, in the public debate. In other words, the future of unionism in Bulgaria is in its playing an essential role in the elaboration of the new social contract in education.

In this way the unions will be able to institutionalize their significance in education and to convince society and the state to accept as well as to guarantee their leading position in future public debates, too.

Let us not forget that the transitional period is a period for strengthening tendencies and developments in the post-communist society. Once recognized, these tendencies and developments are hard to change.

The next years are essential for the unions. We will witness either their closing in the shell of their members' proper interests or their establishment as a leading actor on the stage of educational changes. The latter may become reality only by means of carrying out a policy of resource supply in all possible aspects – personnel, ideological, financial and material.

This means dynamization and rejuvenation of the structures – it is not possible to search for and direct changes while at the same time the unions remain an organisation of a teachers' minority or a haven for old teachers.

This means also efforts for overcoming the marginalism of the structures – internal modernization of the organizations; entering of serious managerial teams,

democratization of the possibilities for interaction among members, decentralization of the structures and at the same time attainment of national representation.

Without dynamic, modern structures, corresponding to the character of the time and to the democratic character of the social structures, unionism has no lasting chances for success in our conditions.

In this light may be examined also the formula for union pluralism - as a possibility for interaction among stable, dynamic organizations which have something to say and contribute to the Bulgarian educational stage, which do not duplicate themselves only in their efforts to attract more members. In a sense, the membership is fixed and changes are more likely to be sought in the discovery of new areas for union activity, in the development of new educational projects and ideas.

The greater opportunities for development lie in the European integration of the union activities in the positive sense of the word, in the exchange of ideas, personnel, in the search for Bulgarian equivalents of the modern teachers' union actions.

Only in this way may be achieved a stable development of Bulgarian unionism – by means of dynamics of the union protest, by means of actions anticipating the educational development, by means of a leading place in the educational dialogue but at the same time by means of a clear defence of interests and borders, which should not be overstepped as far as teachers are concerned, as well as by means of striving to see the future processes and phenomena.

The Right to Culture and the Role of Education

Rodolfo Stavenhagen
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One of the least developed and consolidated areas of the international system for the protection of human rights is the area of cultural rights. The classical texts have some occasional references to this theme, but are vague and ambiguous. At the national level the problem is similar and in the legislation there is really no mention of cultural rights; the same is true in other countries.

None the less is clear that many of the current social conflicts originate around cultural issues and have been included in key negotiations. It must be remembered that the Guatemalan Peace Agreement of 1996 dealt with the human rights and culture of the indigenous population. The San Andres accords of the same year dealt with similar issues and the issues around Article Two of the Constitution are in the midst of a controversial conflict which has as yet to be resolved.

Today, the *internal conflicts* are based on traditional *inter-state conflicts*, which serve as a source of massive human rights violation and which frequently occur between social and political actors defined in ethnic and cultural terms. It is clearly not possible to have a culture of peace in the world without respecting the cultural rights of individuals and groups.

The rich and diverse experiences with education for human rights have over the last few years reflected the growing concern with the rights of national, ethnic, linguistic, religious minorities and indigenous populations.

The memorandum prepared by the World Council on Culture and Development of UNESCO, entitled *Our Creative Diversity (1995)*, indicates the importance of culture internationally. It affirmed that "culture is the ultimate frontier of development" and calls for a global ethic. The authors of the report recognized that culture is at the center of our progress and creativity and that cultural freedom, as differentiated from individual freedom, deals with the rights of groups to acquire the type of life they desire. In other words, the report considers cultural rights as human rights.

This affirmation is most important, for during much of history culture, and above all political culture, has been dealt with in the language of human rights, as an aspect of social politics, as a public good.

We can discover the current concept of cultural rights articulated for the first time in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, which in its article 27 states that:

"1. Each person has the right to take part freely in the cultural life of the community, enjoy the arts, and participate in the progress of science and the benefits which result there from.

2. Each person has the right for the protection of moral and material interests which correspond to scientific, literary, and artistic production."

Here the individual freedoms and rights to authorship were discussed, but culture is not clearly defined. Two decades passed before the international system again considered this theme.

In 1966 the General Assembly adopted the International Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Treaty of Civil and Political Rights, ratified by Mexico in 1981. The first article of these pacts states that "all peoples have the right of free determination", in the virtue of which they can provide for their economic, social and cultural development. In addition to this basic principal, the treaties advanced some additional elements.

In Article 15 of the 1966 Treaty the right of each individual to participate in the cultural life and benefit from the progress of science and its applications was established. It reaffirmed the rights of the author and instructs the participating states to adopt the measures necessary for the conservation, development and diffusion of science and culture. Furthermore it requires the States to respect the freedom required for scientific research and creative activity.

The International Treaty of Civil and Political Rights reaffirms in Article 19 the right to freedom of expression, information and opinion. In Article 20 "all actions leading to national, racial or religious incitement for discrimination, hostility or violence are to be strictly forbidden under the law." It needs to be pointed out that Mexico has not passed legislation making discrimination a crime.

It is important to note that in the 1948 the United Nations adopted the Convention for the Prevention and Legal Sanctions Against Genocide, defining it as any act perpetrated with the intention to destroy, totally or partially a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such. These acts do not only include the attack on members of a group (such as occurred in the former Yugoslavia in the nineties) but also "serious harm caused to the physical or mental integrity of a group, as an intentional means for the creation of conditions leading to its partial or total physical destruction." Various experts consider the Convention as applicable to ethnocide or "cultural genocide" often practiced against indigenous peoples and various minorities. Discussions on the meaning of "intention" to commit this crime continues among specialists, but there is no doubt that the right of existence for the mentioned groups (peoples, nations, ethnicities, tribes and communities) is legally assured by this Convention. In other words, the Convention articulates the human right to life with the right of the group to live in the context of its own culture.

Of great importance is Article 27, referring to members of ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities as having the right to their cultural life, to profess and practice

their own religion and use their own language. This article was the basis for the Declaration of Minority Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1992.

These fundamental texts on human rights have been supplemented over time by other legal documents strengthening the concept of cultural rights. A major study undertaken by UNESCO identified fifty (50) distinct cultural rights mentioned in international legal texts.

A critical reading of the numerous legal instruments and diverse documents arising from the United Nations system (not to mention those of regional international structures) indicates that there is no clear conception of *culture* which would generally be accepted as rights. My own reading of these documents has led me to identify three distinct concepts, each one leading to different views of cultural rights.

The first focuses on culture as cultural patrimony accumulated by humanity, expressed by monuments, historical edifices, objects of art, artifacts, urban sites, etc. Culture is seen as *social and symbolic capital*, with cultural rights meaning the right of peoples to conserve and develop this social capital. Conservation and access to the cultural patrimony is today considered a clear cultural right and at the same time a declared objective of the cultural policy of States, supported by evolving international norms. UNESCO has actually developed a list of sites declared as "human patrimony" and the States often request the inclusion of sites in the territory on the list. (such as the City of Puebla, in Mexico)

The destruction of such sites of human patrimony is considered an international scandal. Recent examples were the destruction of parts of the old city of Dubrovnik during the war in Yugoslavia and the destruction of the thousand years old statues of Buddha by the Taliban Government of Afghanistan. These acts of vandalism are not only considered a violation of the patrimonial rights of humanity but also as acts of religious and cultural intolerance.

The concept of cultural patrimony is no longer limited to archeological and historical monuments, and objects of the arts, it includes materials and products accumulated by a culture over time. It includes intangibles like spiritual values, abstract thought, popular wisdom, oral tradition, ceremonies, dances, music, games and the infinite number of cultural expressions of a people, including patterns of production and consumption, as well as technologies for survival and joint living. If a people wishes to conserve all or part of cultural heritage, it is a basic right to do so. It is a basic cultural right to have a social, economic and political environment which makes such a decision feasible and respected, so that the rights of the individual and group are not undercut by ethnocidal politics.

The second concept limits culture to the creative objects of specialized cultural producers, which in the West are called the "Bellas Artes". The freedom of creation is considered a fundamental human right, with all restrictions being a violation of human rights. It is well known that there are many means of exercising such restrictions by censorship, repressive and restrictive laws, ideological and political persecution,

denial of resources, space and public opportunities for the creative artists, etc. This concept is no longer limited to the traditional areas of cultural creation, but also include scientific inquiry, freedom of the University, and the methods transmission of information, (particularly the development of new massive means of communications).

Intellectual property rights, as well as the recognition and remuneration of the creators of cultural goods and products are a critical part of cultural rights. Their restriction or prohibition can be considered a violation of human rights.

The defense of the right to cultural and scientific creation, of the freedom to express one's thoughts, and the free dissemination of ideas indicates a recognition of the hundreds of years old battle for human rights. While these rights are now recognized by international jurisprudence, they are not respected at all local and national levels. The mechanisms for the protection and guarantee of these cultural rights are less effective than those related to the traditional civic and political rights.

Finally, the third concept which permeates the current discussions of cultural rights considers culture as the totality of practices, symbols and social relations which define human communities and distinguish them from each other. This is the anthropological definition of "culture". In this definition culture is not external to the person or the community. The human person, socially and culturally, is defined by means of this concept.

One can no longer define, as one has done for a long time, peoples as having or not having "culture", or having "more" or "less" culture. Certainly there are societies which have more complex cultures than others, but this does not justify or legitimize ethnic or cultural discrimination. It is better to say that there are distinct cultures with massive interconnections with other cultures and others who live daily within their own culture.

It is this third concept which is at the center of the current debate about cultural rights. The human right to a cultural identity and one's own culture is today the fundamental issue. This concept forces us to realize that the world is composed of multiple cultures, multiple peoples, nations and cultural communities most of which are not recognized by the international system as sovereign nations. The recognition and willingness to deal with this contradiction is essential if we are to deal with the reality of cultural rights, the existence of different cultural groups within the boundaries of the "national" states.

In November 2001 the General Conference of UNESCO approved the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity where once again cultural rights are declared as universal human rights. The Declaration underlines the importance of respecting cultural diversity and the obligation of the states to protect it.

Cultural rights do not exist in isolation, they are related to all other human rights, to the extent that the violation of one becomes the violation of all. Let us take the right

to education guaranteed by article 13 of PIDESC and by the Mexican Political Constitution. In relation to the right to cultural diversity, the general right to education can be interpreted as the right of the different ethnic groups for education in their own language and culture. This is exactly what the ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples all around the world are demanding.

A major transformation has been going on in the acceptable definition of "cultural rights". Frequently when cultural rights are discussed, they deal with the mechanisms of **access** to an existing "acceptable" culture external to the culture of those requesting their cultural rights. The discussion then shifted to the concept of **participation** as a dynamic and interactive process between the creators and consumers of cultural products. Most recently the issue of **cultural identity** of individuals and groups as the basic freedom and inalienable right has entered the realm of discussion. The current emphasis is developing around **diversity and cultural pluralism** as social phenomena critical to all human rights.

This debate is progressively moving towards a construct in which the rights of the individual are also the rights of communities, nations, and peoples. So that one will be able to state that ***the cultural rights possessed by the person, are located in those of the peoples***. Both being essential for the existence of effective cultural rights.

The issue of cultural rights of minorities and indigenous peoples clearly illustrate the different truths presented in this debate.

Let us consider for example the right to cultural identity discussed at various meetings of UNESCO and other venues over the past few years. The cultural identities are not considered as fixed or permanent in the individuals. Artifacts, constructions, inventions, discussions, behaviors, and symbolic worlds are what is dealt with. From childhood one assumes a cultural identity which is determined by one's family and the immediate environment in which one finds oneself. Over time one can reason and behave according to this identity or assume and construct an alternative. However this occurs within the more or less rigid range imposed by the collective social and cultural context in which one functions. Individual cultural identity always (or nearly always) reflects a pre-existing collective cultural identity existing outside of the self.

One can accept this cultural identity totally or partially; modify, rebel or reject it.; all according to given circumstances. But independently of the actions of one or another individual, the collective cultural identities maintain themselves and reproduce themselves over time and space.

Through the course of history, collective identities can change as a result of exterior factors, at times by violence, like genocide or conquests, war, forced displacements, migrations of all types, as well as by development strategies, political education, evangelization, or through the impact of mass communications media.

In the modern epoch the phenomenon which has most influenced the transformation of collective identities of peoples has been the construction of the nation-state. The

classical nation state, creates, reproduces, and imposes on its subjects (today called citizens) the model of the nation which excludes and rejects cultural models which differ from itself. To achieve this cultural homogenization the modern nation state (since the XIXth Century) has used multiple mechanisms to eliminate, expel, marginalise, isolate, subordinate, assimilate or integrate heterocultural groupings. The practices of genocide, ethnic purification, rigid hierarchical systems such as apartheid, and policies of ethnocide have also been used, sometimes with *the best of intentions* in the name of progress, development, civilizing missions, or national unification.

Cultural identities are multifaceted and complex phenomena which can not be reduced to simply schemes or ideological slogans such as "the clash of civilizations", the fight between "good and evil", progress versus tradition, or reason against intolerance.

Extremism and fanaticism take shape in this process and need to be confronted and take place both within a given civilization and between different civilizations. The growing interest in the current demands of indigenous peoples give us a good example of this process. Previously relegated to marginalization, ignored by the dominant groups and national societies, indigenous peoples in recent years have reappeared as new social and political actors in many countries (particularly in the Americas) as well as at the international level (such as the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the UN, with equal representation from representatives of the indigenous peoples and of the national governments of the territories in which they reside).

Demanding their long-denied human rights, the indigenous populations are requesting as a first priority the respect of their cultural rights, as the indispensable foundation for their participation in the national life of their countries. These demands have appeared in full force in our country (Mexico) through the Zapatista uprising of 1994. The first, and up to the present, the only signed agreements between the EZLN and the Federal Government deal with the cultural rights of the indigenous people. Peculiarly enough they thought this would be the topic with the greatest possibility for consensus. On the other hand they generated such controversy and conflict in the country that the Zedillo government decided not to pursue such agreements and to leave them to others. The Constitutional Reform of 2001 did not achieve the aims of the Treaty of San Andres. It was interpreted in the famous Cocopa Law. In the end, the reform approved by the Congress was not only unacceptable for the Zapatistas, but to the entire national indigenous peoples movements and for many of the organizations from civil society.

Currently the Supreme Court is considering controversies around the interpretation of the law brought by the indigenous municipalities which consider unconstitutional the procedures through which the Reform was ratified, as well as its specific contents. The national Supreme Court now has the option of deciding in either a strictly technical and legal sense or to interpret the thinking of the indigenous populations and a significant portion of the entire Mexican population by looking at the concept of social justice and the wellbeing of the nation.

The right to one's own culture manifests itself in specific rights, such as linguistic rights only tentatively recognized by legislation. Only recently has the right of the accused to a judicial process in their native language and the need for the state to

provide appropriate translation begun to be accepted. On the other hand the Federal Law on Telecommunications states that only the national language (Spanish) may be used, which means that the native languages have no access to the wide usage that the new age of mass communications requires. The native peoples, at the National Encounter for Peace, with Justice, and with Dignity in San Cristobal las Cases, called for a modification of this law.

The central theme of this *national debate* deals directly with the cultural rights of native populations. Having overlooked and ignored these rights for a very long time, they are now at the center of national concerns. If we continue to resist recognition of the cultural rights of the native peoples as human rights, we will only increase intolerance, social conflicts and in the end, violence which will lead to major violations of our own human rights.

The right to bi-lingual and intercultural education is another of the unsatisfied demands of the native peoples. Even though there are bilingual education programs at the elementary school level, they have multiple problems, and the right of native peoples to receive bilingual and intercultural education is not based on any specific legislation. As a result, this aspect of educational policy is fragile and vulnerable. To achieve its goals is by no means simple, as it must confront significant technical, methodological and pedagogic problems. As with other economic, social and cultural rights, this must be seen as a major aim to be implemented over time with a recognized obligation to do so by the state.

We also need to consider "uses and customs" in the area of social and political aspects of community level justice, like the issues of cultural rights this item results in major disagreements between the experts. The new law for indigenous peoples approved by the State of Oaxaca in 1998 renounced these uses and customs, while Article 2 of the Constitution mentions them (negatively).

Finally, it is important to mention the right to land and territory not only as a productive resource, but as the space (environment) for social and cultural reproduction. This is of course the most violated right of native peoples, and not only in Mexico. These conflicts about the land - its possession or its use - lead to violent confrontations, such as the most recent one at Agua Fria in the Zapotec community in Xochiltepec in Oaxaca. The reform of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1991, which opened the door to privatization of comunal and ejido lands, have been considered by many of the indigenous peoples organizations as a violation of ancestral rights and a they have called for a return to the original text (without recognizing the technical and political implications of this most serious issue). The defense of the native people's lands goes far beyond the fight for a means of production, for a parcel of subsistence.

The land contains profound spiritual and cultural meaning for the native peoples. This has been recognized by the International Court for Human Rights when in August 2001 it decided in favor of the Mayan indigenous community of Awastigní in

Nicaragua, a decision which can be considered as a watershed in international law related to the rights of native peoples.

While a growing world consensus (with some serious exceptions) exists around the importance of protecting human rights in general, there seems to be no similar consensus regarding cultural rights. They have been supported by some and attacked by others, written in the works of theory but often prohibited by practice. In Mexico there is a greater consensus on civil and political rights but much less consciousness and agreement on economic, social and cultural rights.

This situation places new tasks on the defenders, educators and militants of human rights. The promotion and protection of cultural rights is both urgent and not achieved. The enforcement of cultural rights is directly linked to the possibilities for a culture of peace. Education for peace and for human rights can not function if cultural rights are not established. In its publication, *The Treasure of Education*, the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century of UNESCO proposes that one of the pillars of education needs to be "Learning How to Live Together", and in order to achieve that "Education has a double mission, to teach the diversity which the human species represents and to contribute to the understanding of the interdependence between all human beings."

This objective will continue to be a first priority, and the process has already begun. The full benefits of cultural rights will be recognized in the long run. The function of meetings like this is to teach us that a better world is possible.

Youth Charter

UNDP Bulgaria

This appeal is addressed at ourselves – the young people, and at you – the responsible adults.

We, the young people, participants in the Youth Forum, became united and prepared to take an active part in the political and public life of the country. People aged 14 to 25 constitute more than 1 million of the Bulgarian population. Our aim is to lay the foundations of a new road for all youths and adults to follow in their joint creation of a better Bulgaria. Let us not forget that the children of a country represent its future. Today we have clear aims and feasible projects and ideas. We are fully aware of the situation in the country and we hold out a helping hand.

We need each other and hope that you will accept our proposal for the joint creation of a more organized and responsible country, a unified and wise Bulgaria – for our children and us!

We are students and we want to feel safe and protected. We are prepared to take part in the decision-making on important issues relating to us. We are the hope of Bulgaria. Invest in us as a way to invest in your own future. Give us a chance, this is our time. Our strength lies in our youth and our knowledge. It is not just ready-made knowledge that we need, but also to learn to think. We demand an education that is advanced, modern, and fostering our best aspects and abilities. We want to build our personalities. Provide us with a better school environment and the chance for fulfillment in life, and we will provide for your safe old age.

May the school be our second home, where we could find support and true understanding. May we freely voice our own opinion about all issues, which concern us. We are ready and motivated to take part in this process of breaking up the old and inventing new forms and methods of education.

Health is the groundwork for our human aspirations, for the achievement of satisfaction and a wholesome life. It is the condition for fulfillment of our dreams. It is our right and responsibility! We, the young people, place health care before the care for the illnesses. That is why we need your expertise, competent assistance, and professional ethics in the field of health care. We want accessible and valid information on how we can look after our health and protect it against risks. We need health services customized to our specific needs.

We are ready to involve in a broad awareness campaign addressed at the young people from the minorities and the vulnerable groups in society.

We believe that modern hospital treatment in the country should be compulsory and that the provision of conditions for active involvement in sports serves to promote better health.

Let there be a constant level of public awareness about and control over the quality and content of food products.

Let us we preserve our natural resources. May we address our natural and human environment with love and care, and protect and develop them!

We, young people, want to work! Give us a chance to develop and live as normal people! Give us a hand! We need support! Create incentives for youth entrepreneurship to help us shape our future.

Successful young people are a guarantee to the prosperity of their state. Provide us good conditions for work, so that we could prove ourselves here, in Bulgaria. Make use of our potential! Put an end to corruption and discrimination, so that we could become equitable and active participants in the social and economic life of the country!

Regardless of our gender, age, social status, ethnic or religious background, we are equal. Let us unite and prove that we can assume our responsibilities and be respectable citizens of our homeland.

We expect to see the shaping of an environment that will encourage our participation in the public and political life, and in volunteer programs. Vest your trust in us! We want and can participate in these domains, simply because when issues concerning us are at stake, we are the ones who best know what we need. We expect continuous feedback and access to information about youth-related processes in our country. Good coordination between the relevant institutions and the young people should be ensured to make this happen.

Let us take part in all levels of governance, through joint initiatives of youth, government, and civil society. A flexible mode of dialogue and interaction should be in place to address youth issues from the moment of their occurrence. Let us establish a dialogue between us and help each in our joint work.

In order for us to stay here we need security for our life and that of our relatives. We want to be sure that nobody will stifle our rights. To lead a normal existence in this country we need tolerance. There should be no discrimination in our daily life, because we are here together, live in one and the same country, and are all citizens of Bulgaria. Alienation is one of the plagues of our times, forming a barrier along the road to our common goal – a better life. We have common problems and only by joining our efforts could we succeed in resolving them in a way that is most opportune for all of us.

The road to solving the problems is a difficult one, but we are ready to stand up for ourselves, acknowledge our weaknesses, and assume our responsibilities.

We expect that you will have a tolerant attitude towards us, as we are your tomorrow.

Documents

The Document Section of this issue contains three items:

The Tallinn Declaration (2001)
The Dubrovnik Minutes (2002)
The International Institute (1993)

These items document the key developments of our current network on *Civic Literacy and Civic Education: The Politics of Inclusion and Globalization*.

The Tallinn Declaration was passed on July 4th, 2001 in Tallinn Estonia and is the base document around which the May 1-10, 2002 Dubrovnik meetings were held. If your name is not on the list of signers and you agree with the statement please send an e-mail <o.feinstein@wayne.edu> or mail message indicating that you are signing and the e-mail address at which you can best be reached. Also ask your colleagues who would be interested to sign and if they agree send us their names, identification and e-mail addresses. Our hope is to have 1,000 signers by January 1, 2003. We can circulate the Declaration at meetings and conferences and if possible set-up panels to explain our projects and why it is significant to have the Declaration signed.

The second document **The Dubrovnik Minutes** give the *Journal* readers the information on our strategy for the next few years, while the *Journal* issue indicates our theoretical and action framework. We hope to use a set of common events on October 26th, 2002 (Saturday) to show the size and approach of the network. As soon as the issue is prepared to go to the printer we will start work on the items we agreed on in the Minutes - the organization of a delegation to South Africa in December, the establishment of a Theory Group, the work on a joint MA project, the use of the Tallinn Declaration as a multi-media education tool, etc. As this work gets done we will start the discussions and preparations for the meeting(s) in Spring/Summer 2002/3 and the discussion of the next year priorities.

The international school-to-school project now has 77 international sites prepared to start in the fall. We will be having workshops with the Detroit participants in late August and reaching out to other cities in the U.S. in August and September. We hope to have 180 international and 180 US sites within four years, by 2006. The Detroit Youth Civic Literacy-Urban Agenda project has been selected as one of 21 University-based civic education projects in the United States for the development of civic literacy educational models and evaluation research. This is a three year project. We hope to have representatives from 150 Southeast Michigan classes at the October 26th Youth Civic Literacy-Urban Agenda convention.

The Document: **The International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research for the Education of Adults** serves as a background to the networks which organized the meetings in Tallinn Estonia resulting in the Tallinn Declaration. One strand of the network was focused on the development of an international network for educational

development in relation to the *Great Transformation* (from the industrial/urban to the communication/information society), particularly the development of lifelong learning and education of adults strategies. The other strand was working on the critical issues of cultural diversity - ethnicity and ethno-development involved in this *Great Transformation - Globalization* on the joint issues of the politics of inclusion, inclusion of diversity as agenda issues and relational conditions. **Civic Literacy and Civic Education**, becoming critical tools for addressing both of these issues. The Institutes role at the *CONFINTEA - UNESCO 1997* was significant. More of this history and the history of other current participants will become available on our website - currently www.urbanagenda.wayne.edu.

The Tallinn Declaration

Below is the Tallinn Declaration with the key concepts "high lighted". Educational/discussion materials for these items will be developed this summer and additional names collected (with your help) for an effective circulation of the Declaration.

The Tallinn Declaration

Global Transformation, Civic Education and the Politics of Inclusion

International Institute for Policy, Practice
and Research in the Education of Adults
Tallinn: July 4, 2001

*People*¹ all around the globe are seeking to *respond to the massive changes*² that the world is undergoing in nearly all aspects of life. These profound changes are usually referred to as "*globalization*". *This transformation*³, which is more than a set of important changes, poses significant *historical challenges to the policy-making and implementation processes*⁴. The accompanying dangers of *social and physical violence*⁵ coupled with the growing division between "*winners*" and "*losers*"⁶ demand urgent innovative approaches in the social and political realms. "The challenges...cannot be met by governments, organizations or institutions alone; the energy, imagination and genius if people, and their full, free and vigorous participation in every aspects of life are also needed." (UNESCO--CONFINTEA V, Hamburg 1997).⁷

The key resource for addressing the challenges represented by this great transformation is the civic learning and education of individuals and their collectivities. Three policy and practice-related questions need to be addressed:

- What have we learned from the past two generations of adult learning in relation to policy making, implementation, relevant strategies and structures?
- What are the basic issues and themes which confront people today?
- How can adult education and learning address these issues and themes?

Over the past two generations, tens of thousands of adult educators and millions of adult learners in various parts of the world have accumulated an immense store of life-world knowledge and experience. This knowledge and experience is critical in developing interrelationships between the local and the global, and in the formation of new alliances, structures and practices that move towards a politics and learning of inclusion⁸. Such an approach provides the basis for confronting and refuting the alleged "*inevitable*" direction of *this transformation*.⁹

Civic education and lifelong learning is essential for coping with the uneven and contradictory process of global change. Crucial to these processes is the inclusion of people's knowledge and experience in

¹ The focus is on people - not "bottom line", not minorities or women, or other portions of humanity.

² Responding to massive changes

³ Globalization is the great transformation from industrial/urban to communication/information like from agricultural/rural to industrial/urban.

⁴ Challenges the policy making and implementation processes (NDR).

⁵ Danger of violence if issues not addressed

⁶ Growing gap between "winner" and "losers"

⁷ Genius of people is required

⁸ Need to use experience of adult learners and adult educators

⁹ direction of transformation (*globalization*) not inevitable

the policy making and practice of a globalizing society. The *struggles for learning environments*¹⁰, open to democratic agenda building,¹¹ is a necessary condition for translating people's needs into appropriate demands, and resulting in meaningful responses. This can only occur through the promotion of *civic education and inter cultural learning*¹² initiatives and the creative development of new forms and practices of democratic citizenship.

We, the signatories and members of the International Institute present at the Tallinn meeting, will continue to develop and research interconnected civic education and learning activities that critically engage the globalizing processes. We invite those who share the concern outlined in the Declaration to join us in contributing towards the necessary creation of more democratic and inclusive societies¹³.

(90 signatories)

AGAPOVA, Olga	St. Petersburg Bureau of Institute for International Cooperation, German Association for Adult Education (Germany/Russia)
ARMIANOV, Gancho	Wayne State University (USA)
ALANDU, Michael G.	Political Science, Wayne State University (USA)
ARMIANOV, Gancho	Wayne State University (USA)
AYHAN, Serap	Ankara University (Turkey)
BAADJES, Ivor	University of Natal (South Africa)
BENSON, Lee	Emeritus University of Pennsylvania (USA)
BHOLA, H.S.	Indiana University (USA)
BILIR, Mehmet,	Ankara University (Turkey)
BOCKSTAEL, Eric	Emeritus University of Louvain (Belgium) and Wayne State University (USA)
BONIC, Tomislav M.	Political Science, University of Zagreb (Croatia)
BOZ, Hayat	Abkara University (Turkey)
CANER, Ayse	Bogazici University (Turkey)
COH, Ciril	Gimnazija Varazdin (Croatia)
CUSHINGBERRY Jr., George C.	Commissioner of Wayne County (USA)
DIETRICH, Simone	Wayne State University (USA) and OSCE mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Sarajevo)
DRINKOVIC, Gordana	Teacher, private elementary and high school, Zagreb, (Croatia)
DUGANDZIC, Biderka	Principal Zabok High School (Croatia)
DUMAN, Ahmet	Mugla University (Turkey)
DVORKIN, Srdjan	Civic Committee for Human Rights and Transition to Democracy, Zagreb (Croatia)
EIDELMAN, Natalia	Asst. Professor-Novosibirsk State University - Civic Literacy Project (Russia)
FEINSTEIN, Otto	Wayne State University (USA)
FERGUSON, Robert	University of London (UK)
FLEMING, Michelle	Wayne State University (USA)
FORRESTER, Keith	University of Leeds (UK)
GUNDARA, Jagdish	University of London (UK)
GUNLU, Ramazan	Ankara University (Turkey)
HAMILTON, Sheri	Civic Literacy Institute (South Africa)
HARKAVY, Ira	Univeresity of Pennsylvania (USA)
HORVAT, Goran	Croatian Environmental Education Centre, Zagreb (Croatia)
JOEGI, Larissa	Tallinn Pedagogical University (Estonia)
KAPP, Ene	Tallinn Pedagogical University (Estonia)

¹⁰ struggle for learning environments

¹¹ democratic agenda building is the needed approach

¹² need civic education and inter cultural learning

¹³ why massive signatures

KATUS, Jozsef	Leiden University (Netherlands)
KLERCQ, Jumbo	"Odyssee", Institute for Training and Consultancy, Nymangan (Netherlands)
KOSTANJSAK, Jadranka	Principal, Pre-School Krijesnice, Zagreb (Croatia)
KRAMER, Dan	Wayne State University (USA)
LeBOUTTE, Pierre	Dr. Parthage (Belgium)
LEIRMAN, Walter	Professor Emeritus, Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium)
LOPEZ-PALMA, Fernando	Sociological Theory, University of Barcelona (Spain)
MABUDE, Patrick	Civic Literacy Project (South Africa)
MARJA, Talvi	Emeritus Tallinn Pedagogical University (Estonia) President of AEAE Andras
MARTINEZ, Rodolfo	Wayne State University (USA)
MATIJEVIC, Milan	Teacher Training College, University of Zagreb (Croatia)
McLEOD, Keith	University of Toronto (Canada)
MOHORCIC SPOLAR, Vida A.	Slovenian Institute for Adult Education (Slovenia)
MORIC, Nada	Principal of Private Elementary and High School, Zagreb (Croatia)
MUKHERJEE, Bappaditya	Wayne State University, (USA)
NORMAK, Peeter	Tallinn Pedagogical University (Estonia)
NTIRI, Daphne	Wayne State University (USA)
OKCABOL, Ryfat	Bogazici University (Turkey)
OSMAN, Abdullah	Wayne State University (USA)
PARTINGTON, Lynne	Wayne State University (USA)
PANKEEVA, Elenka	Department of Historical Ethnology and Monitoring, Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
PERRY, Anthony	Wayne State University (USA)
PETAK, Zdravko	President, Croatian Political Science Association, (Croatia)
PETRICEVIC, Dusan	President, Croatian Adult Education Society, Zagreb (Croatia)
PIERET, Lucien	Principal Emeritus St. Mary's Secondary School (Belgium)
PLANTAN, Frank	International Consortium on Higher Education, Civic Responsibility and Democracy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (USA)
POLJAK MAKARUHA, Dubravka	International Project, Ministry of Education (Croatia)
PTICEK, Rajka	Gimnazija Varazdin, (Croatia)
QUENUM, Jean Claude Dr.	Wayne State University (USA)
RADCLIFFE, David	Education, University of Western Ontario (Canada)
ROTH, Brad	Political Science and Law School, Wayne State University (USA)
RUS, Calin	Intercultural Institute, Timisoara (Romania)
SAKAJA, Laura	Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb (Croatia)
SALAJ, Berto	University of Zagreb, (Croatia)
SANTIVANEZ-LIMAS, Vicente	Universidad de San Martin de Porres - Lima (Peru)
SAYILAN, Fevziye	Ankara University
SHLYGINA, Natalya	Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
SOLDOVA, Galina	Teacher Re-Training Institute - Novosibirsk (Russia)
STEFANOVSKI, Snezana	Bi-Lingual Teacher and Wayne State University (USA)
STAVENHAGEN, Rodolfo	Colegio de Mexico (Mexico)
STENSBORG, Lars	Secretary General, International Association for Intercultural Education (Sweden)
TEMELINI, Walter	University of Windsor, (Canada)
TISHKOV, Valery	Director, Institute of Ethnology+Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
TOTH, Janos Sz.	managing president Hungarian Folk High School Society, V. P. European Association for Education of Adults (EAEA).
UEGAMA, Walter	University of British Columbia, (Canada)

UNLUHISARCIKLI, Ozlem	Bogazici University (Turkey)
USTINOVA, Mara Dr.	Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences
UYSAL, Meral	Ankara University (Turkey)
UZELAC, Maja	Education in Human Rights, Croatian Schools (Croatia)
VALCHEV, Rumen	Open University Center, Sofia (Bulgaria)
VERGIDIS, Dimitris	University of Patras (Greece)
VOLKOVA, Olga	Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, Siberian Branch Russian Academy of Sciences
WAYNE COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS	Wayne County Michigan (USA)
ZAGAR, Mitja	Institute for Ethnic Studies and University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)
ZAGORAC, Jasminka	Jasminka Technical High School, Zagreb (Croatia)
ZETTEL, Sandra	Wayne State University (USA)
ZILJAK, Tihomir	Open University Zagreb, program manager/coordinator for adults human rights Education (Croatia)
ZULIM, Andreja	Gimnazija Varazdin, (Croatia)

Back-Ground Information

On July 4, 2001 the International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research in the Education of Adults issued the *Tallinn Declaration* as part of a three point agenda for the next three years. The first point, the declaration, was to set and explain the frame-work of our actions and to link up with others working in the area of civic education and the politics of inclusion in relation to the process of global transformation. The Institute since its initial organization in 1986 has focused first on ethnicity, ethnic conflict and ethnic conflict resolution, and then on the policy for the education of adults. At this time we see the focus on civic education as the critical task and asks its members, friends and their colleagues in other networks to sign and publicize the declaration.

The second point, the school-to-school international linkages (*Sites for Democracy-Sites for Citizenship*), was to show in practice what we are talking about in theory. The initial step is to link civic literacy education in specific classes or programs in middle schools, high schools, adult education and university education to classes in Detroit (Southeast Michigan). At the next Institute meeting and seminar in Dubrovnik at the Inter University Centre May 2-10, 2002 we hope to have established 60 such linkages (see list attached after the Tallinn Declaration below). At those meetings we will diversify the linkages so that the linkage to Detroit was a pilot setting up one way how to do it but opening the way for many other linkage points. The project starts by have a Youth Urban Agenda project see www.urbanagenda.wayne.edu in a specific class or site and comparing outcomes, issues and environments within which the agenda has to be implemented between the students and teachers in the given classes. Once this is done student and teacher exchanges are developed. We have developed such linkages with Novosibirsk, South Africa, Honduras, Croatia, Slovenia, and Belgium at the middle, high school, adult education and university levels with actual exchanges having occurred with Novosibirsk, South Africa, Honduras, Croatia, Slovenia and Belgium.

The third point was to establish a research and study group on the theme of the Declaration and to have presentations and discussions of the key issues and policy options at the May 2002 meetings in Dubrovnik. We had developed this method of approach in our work on Ethnicity including our participation in the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the UNESCO CONFINTEA V process.

The Sites for Democracy/Sites for Citizenship

International School-to-School Contacts

Afghanistan

Wardak School (Wardak Province) - Meads Middle School, Northville (Kris Nedam)

Argentina

St. Gregory's College Middle School (Buenos Aires) - Earhart Middle School (D. Flaherty)

Belgium

Institut Sainte-Marie de Chatelineau (Brussels) - Friends School, Detroit (Julie Poll)

Brazil

Ogamita School (Rio de Janeiro) - Dunn Middle School, River Rouge (Larry Bohner)

Canada

University of Toronto - Wayne State University

University of Windsor - Wayne State University

Chile

Raimapu School (Santiago) -North Farmington High School (Elias Khalil)

Croatia

Inter-University Centre (Dubrovnik) - Wayne State University
University of Dubrovnik - Wayne State University

Honduras

Maximilian Kolbe Institute (Flores-Comayagua) - Academy of the Americas (Naomis Khalil)

Russia

School N130 (Novosibirsk) - Page Middle School Madison Heights (Dan Kramer)

Slovenia

Institute of Ethnic Studies (Ljubljana) - Wayne State University

University of Ljubljana - Wayne State University

South Africa

Nathaniel Nyalisa High School (Grahamston) - Mumford High School (Delores Darnell)

Bethelsdrop High School (Port Elizabeth) - McKenzie High School (Deborah Woods)

Zitheleni High School (Johannesburg) - River Rouge High School (David and Lylette Woods)

Kliptown High school (Johannesburg) - Southwestern High School (Omari Kikuyu)

University of Natal - Wayne State University

Rhodes University (Grahamston) - Wayne State University

Wittwatersrand University (Johannesburg) - Wayne State University

Projects Being Developed for 2001

Argentina - two high schools

Belgium - University of Leuven, University of Louvain, two high schools

Bolivia - one high school

Bosnia - High School for Nurses and Medical Technicians, Technical High School,

England - University of Bradford, University of Leeds, University of London, two high schools

Estonia - Tallinn Pedagogic University, Tartu University, two high schools, one middle school

Ghana - two high schools

Honduras - 3 junior high schools, 1 high school

Hungary - Hungarian Folk High School Association, two high schools, one folk high school

Macedonia - University of Macedonia, Mosa Pijade High School

Netherlands - University of Leiden, European Society for Voluntary Associations, two high schools

Portugal - University of Lisbon, Youth Program (street children)

Russia - Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Ethnography and Anthropology, Russian Academy of

Sciences (Siberia), Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, two high schools in Novosibirsk

Serbia - Novi Sad Trade and Business High School

South Africa - University of Capetown, two high schools

Contacts being developed in:

Armenia	Australia	Bulgaria	China	France	Germany	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Japan
Jordan	Lebanon	Mexico	Peru	Poland	Romania	Scotland	Spain	Turkey	

Globalization and the Politics of Inclusion: Civic Literacy and Civic Education

2-10 May 20002

Inter University Centre, Dubrovnik, Croatia
A Report

Participants

Thirty-seven persons attended the Seminar. Seventeen were from the Tallinn group and the International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research for the Education. Seven were Croatian colleagues invited as a result of the April 2001 Dubrovnik meetings of the Divided Societies Seminar. Thirteen were students, staff and faculty from the Youth Civic Literacy-Urban Agenda Project in the Political Science Department of Wayne State University.

Tallinn and Institute Group (17)

Baadjes, Ivor	Center for Adult Education, University of Natal (South Africa)
Bockstael, Eric	Professor, Wayne State University - Emeritus University of Louvain (Belgium)
Forrester, Keith	Professor, University of Leeds (UK)
Gundara, Jagdish	Professor, University of London (UK)
Kramer, Dan	Teacher in Madison Heights and International Institute
LeBoutte, Pierre	Director, NGO for the Handicapped (Belgium)
Leirman, Walter	Professor Emeritus, Catholic University of Leuven, (Belgium)
Mabude, Patrick	Civic Literacy Project, (South Africa)
Marja, Talvi	Professor Emeritus, Tallinn Pedagogical University (Estonia), Pres. of AEAE
Ntiri, Daphne	Professor, Wayne State (USA) and Director Detroit Literacy Campaign
Okcabol, Ryfat	Bogazici University (Turkey)
Quenum, Jean Claude	Professor, Wayne State (USA)
Rus, Calin	Intercultural Institute, Timisoara, (Romania)
Ustinova, Mara	Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
Valchev, Rumen	Open Education Center, (Bulgaria)
Volkova, Olga	Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences (Siberia-Russia)
Zagar, Mitja	Director Ethnic Studies Institute and faculty University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)

Croatian Implementation (7)

Coh, Ciril	Sites for Citizenship Local Coordinator (Croatia)
Makaruha, Poljak	Dubravka Civic Education and Language, Croatia
Salaj, Berto	University of Zagreb, Political Culture in Croatia
Sisko, Toncica	Economist, Human Rights Education Network
Uzelaj, Maja	Croatian Schools, Education in Human Rights
Zagorac, Jasminka	Regional Education Coordinator Croatia
Ziljak, Tihomir	Open University Zagreb, Program Manager/Coordinator Human Rights Education

Wayne State University (13)

Alandu, Michael	Graduate Student from Nigeria at Wayne State (USA)
Armianov, Gancho	Graduate Student from Bulgaria at Wayne State (USA)
Dietrich, Simone	Graduate Student from Germany at Wayne State (USA)
Feinstein, Otto	Professor, Wayne State (USA)
Fleming, Michelle	Undergraduate, Wayne State University (USA)

Holub, Nicholas	Undergraduate, Wayne State University (USA)
Krause, Kevin	Professor, Wayne State (USA)
Mukherjee, Bappaditya	Graduate Student from India at Wayne State (USA)
Osman, Abdullah	Graduate Student at Wayne State (USA)
Partington, Lynne	Director, International School-to School Program Wayne State (USA)
Roth, Brad	Professor, Wayne State (USA)
Stefanovski, Snezana	Bi-Lingual Teacher and student at Wayne State (USA)
Uppal, Puja	Undergraduate, Wayne State University (USA)

The Agenda

The following agenda was developed and implemented from May 1-10, 2002. Thirty-two papers/presentations were given and small working groups set up to develop follow-up projects which were reported to plenary sessions of the Seminar.

May 1- Wednesday - Arrival

May 2 - Thursday

- 10:00 Towards a Civic Education Strategy in Multicultural Societies - Otto Feinstein
- 11:00 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion in Croatia - Maja Uzelac
- 02:00 Civic Education and Human Rights Education - Croatia - Dubravka Poljak Makaruha
- 03:00 Civic Education in Practice - Jasminka Zagorac
- 04:00 Small Group Project Discussions

May 3 - Friday

- 09:30 Civic Education National Project what for? Citizenship and International Aid - Srdjan Dvornik
- 10:30 Political Scientists and Civic Education - Berto Salaj
- 11:30 Citizenship and Adult Education in Croatia - Tihomir Ziljak
- 03:00 Challenges of Sites for Citizenship - Ciril Coh
- 04:00 Workshops for joint project with Croatia
- 05:00 Workshops for joint projects with Croatia

May 4 - Saturday

- 09:00 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion (Balkans) - Mitja Zagar
- 10:00 Policy of Adult Education in Estonia - Widening Access to Lifelong Learning -- Talvi Marja
- 11:00 Regional Collaboration and Adult Education (Flanders) - Walter Leirman
- 12:00 Civic Education and the Role of NGO's (Romania) - Calin Rus
- 03:00 Citizenship and Civic Education in Turkey - Ryfat Okcabol
- 04:00 Globalization and Civic Education - How to do it? - Eric Bockstael
- 05:00 Civic Education and General Educational Policy - Simone Dietrich

May 6 - Monday

- 09:30 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion (India) - Bappaditya Mukherjee
- 10:00 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion (Ghana) - Michael Alandu
- 10:30 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion (Bulgaria) - Gancho Armaniov
- 11:00 Civic Education and the Agenda for Inclusion (Somalia) - Abdullah Osman
- 11:30 Discussion
- 02:00 International school-to-school+immigrant children-Lynne Partington+Snezana Stefanovski
- 03:00 International school-to-school (Novosibirsk+Madison Heights) - Olga Volkova+Dan Kramer
- 04:00 Small Group Sessions

May 7 - Tuesday

- 09:30 Civic Education and the Mentally Handicapped - Pierre LeBoutte
- 10:00 Intercultural Education, Globalization and Civic Literacy - Jagdish Gundara
- 10:30 Issues that Need to be Addresses - Civic Literacy in Transition States - Rumens Walchev
- 11:00 Sites for Citizenship-Sites for Democracy (Community Education) - Keith Forrester
- 11:30 Discussion
- 01:30 Small Group Sessions
- 04:00 Plenary - Reports from Small Groups

May 8 - Wednesday

- 09:30 Literacy and Civic Literacy - Daphne Ntiri
- 10:00 Civic Literacy and Ethnic Conflict (Chechnia) - Mara Ustinova
- 10:30 Civic Education: Globalization + Inclusion (South Africa)- Patrick Mabute + Ivor Baatjes
- 11:00 Civic Education Options in former colonial Areas - Jean Claude Quenum
- 11:30 Discussion
- 01:30 Small Group Sessions (3) on activities and outcomes
- 04:00 Plenary - Reports from Small groups

May 9 – Thursday

- 09:30 Plenary-Small Group-Plenary on Agenda for 2002-03
- 12:30 Farewell Reception with IUC

May 10 - Friday – Departure

The Outcomes

The following outcomes were presented from the working groups to the plenary and approved for implementation in the year 2002/2003:

1. Publication of papers by 1 October 2002 - English and Croatian

Papers are to be submitted (if possible via e-mail) by the end of June to Otto Feinstein. Gancho Armaniov will be the editor of the English version which should be available on the web-site and in hard copy by October 2002. A Croatian version edited by Berto Salaj and Tihomir Ziljak should be available at the same time.

2. Tallinn Declaration with explanation of key points

The Tallinn declaration (with additional signatures) and an educational package explaining the key terms will be available by the start of October. All seminar participants are requested to get additional signers and to invite us for presentations at key meetings (see SADAC meeting below). The first effort is attached. Please take a look and make your comments. The Detroit group has undertaken the task of preparing the educational package.

3. The International school-to-school program

Out of the seminar meetings and the follow-up we have developed links to 5 middle schools and 5 high schools in Croatia, schools in Bulgaria, and interest in a number of other regions which will be pursued in May and June. We hope to have 60 operational school-to-school ties by October 2002. Kevin Krause is following up on several of these contacts and Lynne Partington is the coordinator of this project.

4. Assesment/Evaluation Group

We will develop a joint assessment/evaluation group on civic education in collaboration between the Croatian Political Science Association, the Croatian Adult Education Association and the Youth Civic Literacy-Urban Agenda Project in Political Science at Wayne State University.

1. Once this cooperative model is operational we will expand it in two ways: additional partners will join the structure and use its approach for evaluation of civic literacy/civic education projects in their own regions.
2. We will develop a roster of civic education/civic literacy evaluation/assessment experts available to projects desiring such services. Local groups will be able to select a small team from such a list. We will develop a funding procedure for transportation, food and lodging for this project. Berto Salaj, Tihomir Ziljak and Otto Feinstein will develop this project.

5. Delegation to South Africa - December 6-8, 2002

A delegation led by Talvi Marja with Michael Alandu and Lynne Partington will represent the project (Tallinn Declaration and the activities related to it) at the December meetings organized by the University of Natal. Visits to existing and potential civic education sites will be included.

The Institute will provide funds for transportation and food/lodging will be provided locally. Patrick Mabude, Ivor Baatjes, Talvi Marja, Lynne Partington and Michael Alandu are in charge of the project and a report on how delegations around the Tallinn Declaration can encourage civic literacy education will be prepared from this experience.

6. Reconciliation Projects and Books for Chechnya

Mara Ustinova with Maja Uzelak will develop an educational reconciliation project for application in Chechnya as a model for disseminating the Croatian reconciliation education experience. They will consult with other such projects represented at the Dubrovnik meetings. Mara Ustinova will inform us on the sending of books to the libraries in Chechnya.

7. International MA Program - Courses

In relation to the Grundwig Project and interests presented from South Africa and Detroit a small committee headed by Keith Forrester will look at options for collaboration in developing such a joint MA, including summer courses bringing together students and faculty from the collaborating institutions. Such a project is crucial for the development of experts in our areas of concern.

8. Theory Group on Globalization-the Politics of Inclusion: Civic Literacy/Civic Education

It was agreed that we will form a theory group which will assure our discussions, research and dissemination in this central area of our concerns. Olga Volkova has agreed to be the coordinator of this project at this time. Otto Feinstein and others have agreed to help her. A web-site and publication will be available for this effort. Issues presented for consideration:

- Citizenship in 3rd world countries in relation to the nation state and the global system
- The impact of globalization in different countries and different sectors
- The political implication on multicultural issues within globalization
- Conflicts and conflict resolution/management and political identification in the process of globalization
- What are the models in relation of globalization and cultural identity, globalization and educational reform, Globalization and economic and social reform; and
- Others.

9. Collaboration with ESREA

Keith Forrester will explore the possibility of joint meetings with ESREA.

10. Distance Learning Course on Globalization

- A working group will be set up to develop a distance learning course on Globalization;
- Materials have already been produced by both Eric Bockstael and Keith Forrester. A proposal for this project will be prepared by the end of the summer.

11. October 26 Detroit International Youth Civic Literacy Convention

On October 26th there will be an International Youth Civic Literacy Convention in Detroit. Three activities would be possible at that time:

- 1) meeting in Detroit to review the progress of the above ten activities and a two year strategy;
- 2) participation in and observation of the convention;
- 3) telecommunication/computer links to international sites as part of the convention and as a support for the international school-to-school projects and the Tallinn Declaration.

Work will start on this aspect of the project in June.

The Meeting

In evaluating the May 1-10, 2002 meetings as a guide to future meetings the following consensus emerged:

Length of meeting: 9 days - with accommodation for people who can only come for a shorter period;
Organization: themes with panels, 15 minutes per speaker and time for discussion, 35-40 people;
Time: start of May
Involve: local groups

We have invitations from Moscow, Istanbul, South Africa, Ireland and Dubrovnik. We will start the decision making process in the fall.

Comments on what was liked about this meeting:

- diversity/representation of a larger audience from around the world
- value of presentations/lectures and the relevance
- amount of information
- time for discussion in relation to presentations
- comfort of the meetings
- excellent exchanges
- the value of connections - we are not alone in our concerns and issues
- more systematic discussion of civic education
- politics of inclusion model to connect us under civic education + the Tallinn Declaration
- the African issues coming forth
- good structure, open to change
- time (length) ok and adaptable to individuals coming, going and staying
- panels
- good number of people

Comments on what did we learn:

- shorter presentations (15 minutes) desirable
- read papers and exchange views before meeting
- make panels - by collective decision also for pre meeting paper exchange
- keep number of people to 35-40
- be sensitive to selected site and local place
- create a permanent theoretical group to track what lessons and theories emerge
- keep focused on Tallinn Declaration - papers, panels, presentations
- keep focused on Civic Literacy and the relationship to our work
- more workshops/small group time, more time on projects
- create accountability measures
- continue to leave with solid conclusions
- use publication/web site to inform new people of "history", of "process"
- poster presentations to help new people "catch-up"

- links were developed with:
 - Croatia
 - SADC (14 African states)
 - Central-East Europe and former Soviet Union
 - Slovenia, UK, Grundwig, Ireland, Spain
 - IAIE, ESVA, Ethnic, Delphi-Adult Education – Institute

We would like to thank Dan Kramer for his excellent minutes of the Dubrovnik meetings.

The International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research in the Education of Adults

PURPOSE: FOUR FOCAL POINTS

The International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research in the Education of Adults has been established to develop and implement the field of policy and politics of the education of adults by means of an institutional strategy which is also responsive to the needs of modern society.

This purpose is to be accomplished by linking local adult higher education units and their social partners by means of a network of adult education policy makers, practitioners and researchers.

The Institute is designed to focus on four areas which are essential if this task is to be realized within the time available:

1. The development of international, cross cultural criteria and procedure, for the analysis and evaluation of policies, practices, and resulting pro-grams for the education of adults;
2. The education and training in theory, method and practice of an interna-tional cadre of young, adult education professionals in an international, multicultural context; the design of a curriculum, including field exper-ience, characterized by an international content; the *conscious* objective of creating a multicultural and experienced cadre for the field are part of the task;
3. Participation in and support of: national and international networks deal-ing with issues critical to the education of adults; in select, indigenous adult education projects; mutual assistance networks around specific projects; and the strengthening of professional adult education linkages;
4. The linkage of the above three functions to an environment for the deve-lopment of theory relevant to the field of adult education, including the collection of basic data, clarification of basic concepts, and the develop-ment of appropriate methodologies.

*(adopted unanimously by the Institute
organizing committee meeting at the
University of Leuven and Louvain-
Belgium, June 4, 1993).*

A THREE YEAR STRATEGY

The Institute will, by the 1997 UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education, be fully operational in four areas and will have prepared a working paper on *Adult Education in a Multicultural World* for this important event. Once this objective has been accomplished we will review and evaluate our achievements in the four areas and lay out our plans for the future.

Indigenous Networks

The Institute is currently working with a number of indigenous networks dealing with the following issues:

- Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation and Ethno-Development;
- Democratization: the Voluntary Sector and Civic Literacy;
- The Future of Work and Labour;
- The Internationalization of the Welfare State;
- Intercultural Education: Issue and Policies;
- Policy and the Education of Adults.

The status of linkages with the networks was reviewed at the January 13-20, 1995 meetings in Detroit and a method for closer collaboration with the networks developed. This method involves a conscious "seeding" process of participation by the various networks in each others conferences and projects, as well as the development of some common infrastructures such as e-mail links, publications, teleconferences, collaboration on common issues.

Participation in networks dealing with Environment and Ecology, Urban Agendas, Literacy and a number of other key adult education issues will be developed over the next three years. By January 1996, the Institute will issue a catalogue of its projects in collaboration with indigenous networks.

Policy Analysis and Evaluation

The Institute is involved in a massive project studying the development of policy for the education of adults based on the European Delphi Project: Lifelong Learning in Europe - Towards Establishing the Needs and Policies for the Education of Adults. The project now includes the 12 initial EEC countries, Estonia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic, Vancouver, Ontario and Michigan and over 2,000 adult education policy specialists. National Symposia are being completed in preparation for the September 1995 Barcelona Conference. At that time we hope to have located the resources to make the project international and completed by the UNESCO World Conference.

The goals of the project are a comparative Delphi-type study about: a) perceived adult learning needs - problems and challenges; b) the contribution of adult continuing education to help solve key problems confronting individuals and societies; c) the existing policies and policy making/implementing structures; d) the shaping of national and international policies; e) the contribution to the development of comparative adult and continuing education policy studies.

By January 1996 the Institute will have a roster of policy and program evaluators available to participating institutions in relation to their programs, the programs of the community partners and regional, national and international policy making structures.

Curriculum and Cadre Building

The June 1993 Institute meeting identified the organization of annual Spring/Summer Faculty/Graduate Seminars as the first step in collaboration regarding curriculum and the training of cadres.

The first seminar *Globalization of Adult Education: Practice, Policy and Research* held in the summer of 1994 involved seminar sessions at the University of Michigan, Windsor, Toronto and Wayne State University and field visits to a wide range of community-based adult education partners of these institutions. The seminar involved intensive pre and post field visit sessions, readings, lectures and discussions.

The second seminar *Policy in Global Adult Education: Outcomes from the Delphi Study*, being planned for Leuven, Belgium before the September 1995 conference, includes graduate students from participating countries.

The third seminar for the summer of 1996 deals with *Global Adult Education: North/South Realities and Options*, and the fourth seminar will be linked with the 1997 UNESCO World Congress: *UNESCO and International Adult Education: Local and Global Policy, Practice and Research*.

We have also set up a committee to develop travelling seminars on *Democratization and the Voluntary Sector: Civic Literacy in Multicultural Societies* involving multi-site colloquia where the travelling faculty/students meet local faculty/students and visit adult education projects. If funding can be located for 1995, the first travelling seminar will involve US/Canadian students visiting Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, with briefing and debriefing stops in Leiden (Netherlands).

In Spring 1996 the International Institute will publish a compendium of adult higher education curricular and degree offerings from all the participating units/institutions. This will list the curricula, degree requirements, costs, faculty, number of students, social partners and collaborative projects, research, telecommunications, etc. We are also using this date as a deadline for the negotiation of inter-university graduate degree programs using the common summer seminars.

The globalization of adult education and the need for inter-culturally trained adult higher education cadres is one of the main reasons for this function of the Institute. It will require the use of comparative studies and cross-cultural education, leading to a global perspective as it develops. Our goal is to have 50 graduate students involved in this approach by the time of the UNESCO 1997 meetings.

Theory and Research

The findings of our preliminary survey of research and theory development being undertaken at the participating institutions were presented at the Vancouver

International Seminar (18-22 August 1993) and a seminar was held discussing the following seven (7) questions related to the Institute's basic purpose:

- 1) Why should there be a field of politics, policy and practice of the education of adults?
- 2) What are the problematics addressed by this field?
- 3) What clarifications, specifications, definitions are necessary before constructing such a field?
- 4) What are the behaviours and practices of individuals, institutions, communities, societies and cultures involved?
- 5) How do we study the politics, policy and practice in the field?
- 6) How do we develop theory from the study of practice, politics and policy?
- 7) How do we organize a structure for such research and can we create a theory group linked to the Institute?

(See *Question de Formation*, Vol. II, No. 4&5, 1990-91)

It was recommended that we launch a Journal with an editorial board (the board to be the initial theory group) and provide the place for continued theory discussion and theory development. A date for the first issue of January 1996 has been fixed. A study to review the current state of theory and those developing it will be inaugurated by the Journal and published in time for the UNESCO 1997 meetings. It has been suggested that we use the Delphi method developed by Professor Walter Leirman for this study, leading to the development of a theory building strategy.

Two additional projects in relation to theory building were approved at the meetings in Belgium and are to be completed by February 1997 or earlier:

- a study on the accelerated production and application of knowledge, its impacts and the role of the education of adults (individual and collective) for its constructive integration;
- an international celebration of 2,500 years of Book VII of Plato's *Politeia* (The Republic), a work dedicated to continuing lifelong education for the wise and just governance of society, including production of a video and study guide.

The theory group would start its annual meetings by 1996 and be responsible for one issue of the journal per year.

At the Detroit meetings January 13-20, 1995, the above strategy was reviewed and reaffirmed. The consensus of the group was that the activation of these projects was well underway and that the 1997 date was realistic.

Institute Structure:

Local Units and International Networks

The structure of the Institute emerges from the collaborative projects around the four institute functions (see above) and the Institute's linkage to the local units (see below). The local units and their social partners would be linked by means of international resource networks as the institutionalization of the collaborative projects.

A *local unit* can be an actual unit within a given higher education institution and its social/community partners or it can be a collaborative effort among a number of local institutions which are able to carry out the essential functions of a local unit.

The structural objective of the Institute is to have 100 local units with an average of four social partners, or a total of 500 organizations, operational by summer 1997. These local units would be linked to each other and the Institute by means of *international networks* assisting with the four core functions, its six core activities, its collaborative activities with its social/ community partners and by its relation to the international and national adult education associations.

The four *core functions* are the activities which make up the institute: indigenous networks, policy analysis and evaluation, curriculum and cadre development, and theory and research.

The common local units *core activities* are: program development, distance education, open faculty, administration and communications, evaluation and institutional research, and network building.

The *collaborative activities* with community/social partners are developed by the local units with their own local partners. The eight listed in the graphic are examples. These activities are to be assisted by the international expert networks.

The local units and their community/social partners form the base of the Institute. The International Networks are designed to assist them. It is a system designed for both North/South and East/West collaboration. The *system* is non-hierarchical, making the institute a network of networks and local units based on a series of collaborative projects with their community and social partners. Such a system is designed to encourage collaborative analyses, development of cooperative strategies and the effective development of theory and practice.

Organizing Networks:

Jose BELTRAN	Universitat de Barcelona Centre of Research for Education
Pieter BATELAAN	International Association for Intercultural Education Hilversum, Netherlands
Eric BOCKSTAEL	Wayne State University College of Lifelong Learning
Larry BERLIN	University of Michigan College of Education
Marvin BOBES	To Educate the People Consortium California
Fr. Liam CAREY	St. Patrick's College, Maynooth Centre for Aldut and Community Education
William CAVE	University of Michigan Higher and Adult Education
Vladimir CHOLVAD	Slovak Ministry of Education Higher and Adult Education
J. Linn COMPTON	University of Wisconsin (Madison) Continuing and Vocational Education
George CUSHINGBERRY Jr.	South East Michigan Council of Governments Adult Education Task Force
John DARBY	University of Ulster (Colerain) INCORE Project
Burton DUNBAR	University of Missouri-Kansas City Art History
Ramon FLECHA-GARCIA	Universitat de Barcelona Divisio de Ciencies de l'Educacio
Otto FEINSTEIN	Wayne State University To Educate the People Consortium
Eric FENSTER	To Educate the People Consortium International Adult Education
Keith FORRESTER	University of Leeds Department of Adult Continuing Education
Ettore GELPI	Universite de Paris VIII Adult Education
Elisabeth GERVER	University of Dundee Centre for Continuing Education
Jagdish GUNDARA	University of London Centre for Multicultural Education
Pavel HARTL	Charles University (Prague) Adult Education and Social Work
Roger HIEMSTRA	Syracuse University Adult Education
Pere HIMMELSTRUP	Danish Cultural Institute Copenhagen
Theo JANSEN	Catholic University of Nijmegen Institute for Social Pedagogy
Peter JARVIS	University of Surrey at Guildford Department of Educational Studies
Zoran JELENC	Slovene Adult Education Centre Ljubljana
Jozsef KATUS	Leiden University Adult Education and Information
Klaus KUNZEL	University of Koeln Department of Pedagogy
Larry LANDRY	Rainbow Coalition Washington, DC
Per LAURSEN	University of Copenhagen Adult Education
Walter LEIRMAN	University of Leuven

Pierre LEBOUTTE	Adult Education CARAT Brussels
Talvi MARJA	Tallin Pedagogic University Adult Education
Pierre MARCHAL	Catholic University of Louvain F.O.P.A.
Rodolfo MARTINEZ	Wayne State University Bi-Lingual and Multicultural Education
Francois MARTOU	Catholic Workers Movement Belgium
Keith McLEOD	University of Toronto Education
Silva MEZNDARIC	University of Zagreb Croatia
Cesare PITTO	University of Calabria Anthropology
Erantz POEGELER	Aachen Technical University Adult Education
Kyell RUBENSON	University of Linköping (Sweden) Adult Education
Hans SCHUTZE	University of British Columbia Adult Education
Vida SPOLAR	Slovene Centre for Adult Education Ljubljana
Rodolfo STAVENHAGEN	Colegio de Mexico Sociology-Anthropology
Milton STERN	University of California - Berkeley Adult and Continuing Education
Germaine STROBEL	Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Centre Detroit
Walter TEMELINI	University of Windsor Modern Literature and Languages
Valery TISHKOV	Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
Janos TOTH	Hungarian Folk High School Association Budapest
Walter UEGAMA	University of British Columbia Adult and Continuing Education
Mara USTINOVA	Institute for Pedagogy Moscow
Dimitri VERGIDIS	University of Patras Adult Education
Tashome WAGAW	University of Michigan Higher and Adult Education
Nicholas WALTERS	University of Surrey Continuing and Adult Education
Kevin WARD	University of Leeds Adult Continuing Education
Mitja ZAGAR	University of Ljubljana Slovenia

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