

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK • REGIONAL POLICY DIALOGUE

Education Network

Education for Citizenship and Democracy in a Globalized World: A Comparative Perspective

Viola Espinola
Editor



Inter-American Development Bank
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Integration and Regional Programs Department
Sustainable Development Department

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

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The opinions expressed in this paper are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Cover: Shell-shaped pendant belonging to the Quimbaya prehispanic Society.
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Regional Policy Dialogue

The Regional Policy Dialogue was established in December 1999 by the initiative of the Board of Executive Directors. The objective was to create a forum of communication within the Bank to expand and enhance dialogue among the countries in the region by sharing experiences, preparing them to face the great challenges of globalization, and generating processes for regional cooperation. The Bank identified seven areas to be included on the Dialogue and created seven specialized networks in which government officials at the Vice-Minister level from Latin America and the Caribbean, who are responsible for decision-making and public policy design, participate.

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- 2) Poverty and Social Protection Networks;
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Prologue

The present document, *Education for Citizenship and Democracy in a Globalized World: A Comparative Perspective*, was developed in response to a request from the members of the Regional Policy Dialogue/Education Network. The studies in this document were presented and discussed during the VII Regional Policy Dialogue meeting held in January 2005 at the Inter-American Development Bank's headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Within the general context of recent economic and political developments in Latin America and the Caribbean, experts regard free market and democracy as the fundamental economic and political paradigm leading to modernization and development in the global market. There is a concern in a number of democratic nation-states about levels of political engagement, particularly among the youths. This is cited as a reason for strengthening citizenship education.

The studies presented in this document discuss Education for Citizenship and Democracy and the role of schools as systematic providers of the civic knowledge and the participatory practices that are the foundation of democracy. Among all of the institutions that facilitate the acquisition and development of skills for democratic participation, the school is the one that provides students with the competencies to effectively participate as citizens in a democracy.

There has been an increasing interest in citizenship education both in the national and

international contexts. At the national level, the aim is to pursue commitment and political participation, particularly from youth. In the international sphere, the objective is to find answers to the challenges such as immigration, global communications and trade across international borders and to a new level of awareness and appreciation for human rights.

By providing a comprehensive overview of progress made by industrialized countries in the field of citizenship education, this study intends to share lessons learnt and effective practices which may be applied in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean.

In addition, this study includes three experiences from Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia and Mexico) that were presented during the VII Regional Policy Dialogue. The three experiences show a practical and positive approach to the feasibility of introducing citizenship education in the schools of the Region. The cases present examples of reforms that evolved from the traditional civic education into an engaging education for citizenship and democracy.

The Inter American Development Bank trusts that this publication will contribute to the discussions among member countries and create alternatives for the strengthening of democracy in the Region through education and citizenship.

Table of Contents

I. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR YOUTH IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE..... 1

Viola Espínola

1. ECD and global vs. local tension	2
2. Priority issues of ECD in different regions	4
3. What Latin Americans Think about Democracy and Citizenship.....	5
3.1 Towards a Citizens' Democracy, UNDP	6
3.2 Latinobarómetro.....	6
4. The profile of Latin American youth.....	7
4.1 Poverty and Youth: Inequality of Opportunities.....	8
4.2 Distribution of Educational Opportunities.....	8
4.3 The Labor Market.....	9
5. Participation as Practice for Citizenship	9
5.1 What Young People are Interested in Participating in (Demand)	11
5.2 Participation Options for Young People (Supply)	12
6. Youth violence as a means of social inclusion.....	14
7. Strategies to Strengthen Civic Behavior through ECD.....	16
8. The Content of this Document.....	18

II. STUDY ON THE ADVANCES IN CIVIC EDUCATION IN EDUCATION SYSTEMS: GOOD PRACTICES IN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES..... 19

Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey

1. Executive Summary.....	19
2. Why is CE being introduced?.....	21
3. How is CE being introduced in schools?	25
4. How does citizenship education enhance the school curriculum?	32
5. What evidence is there of successful practice?	34
6. What difficulties have been identified?	38
7. What resources and support, including teacher training, are required for successful citizenship education?	40
8. Recommendations	42
Appendix A: Democracy and diversity: principles and concepts checklist	43
Appendix B: Resources for citizenship teachers available on the web.....	50
Appendix C: Human rights education evaluation tool.....	55
Bibliography	56

Acronyms and abbreviations.....	60
A note on terminology	60
III. EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY: POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS	61
<i>Fernando Reimers and Eleonora Villegas-Reimers</i>	
Introduction.....	61
1. The competencies to be citizens are learned	62
2. School and Democratic Citizenship	64
3. Education for democracy in the secondary school curriculum.....	65
4. A model to conceptualize education for democratic citizenship.....	70
5. Conclusions and suggestions for continuous strengthening of education for democracy	77
IV. THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILE.....	81
<i>Cristián Cox</i>	
1. Characterization of Citizenship Education in our Region at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Five Challenges	81
2. Curricular Reform of the '90s: from 'Civic Education' to 'Citizenship Education'	83
3. Evaluation of the Curriculum in Effect and Adjustment Proposals: National Citizenship Education Commission, 2004.....	85
V. THE EXPERIENCE OF COLOMBIA	87
<i>Rosario Jaramillo</i>	
The Citizenship Competencies Program.....	88
1. Formulation of standards and evaluation.....	88
2. Workshops on the Socialization of the Program	89
3. Local and Departmental Forums for Successful Experiences	89
4. National Education Forum.....	89
5. Citizenship Competencies in the Universities: A University Colloquium	90
6. Identification and Promotion of Structured National and International Programs	90
VI. THE EXPERIENCE OF MEXICO	91
<i>Lorenzo Gómez-Morín</i>	
Conceptual Framework in Which Civic and Ethics Education Circumscribes.....	91
1. Educational Axes	92
2. Fields of Application.	93

Citizenship Education for Youth in the Global Village

Viola Espinola*

As the 21st century begins, issues of education for citizenship and democracy (ECD) are once again assuming considerable importance on education policy agendas across Latin America and the Caribbean. These are not new issues. Rather, ECD served as an organizing principle around which public education took hold throughout the region. Indeed, Cox et al. argue that: *“Ideas about ‘the popular school’ developed by Sarmiento, such as those about the common school voiced by Horace Mann in Massachusetts, essentially have a civic purpose: the bringing together of different social and cultural groups with the aim of creating nationality and citizenship and a new political order capable of confronting the “caudillos”, who during the wars for independence, competed for power in Latin America.”*¹ From this point forward, civic education became a required component in school curricula.

What differs at the dawn of the 21st century are the conditions under which the world has become increasingly globalized. As Cristián Cox argues in his chapter on the Chilean experience in this document, the current era is characterized by marked individualism, the subordination of politics to economics, and a weakening sense of belonging, thus producing tension between individual loyalties to larger, national political communities and those to more immediate and local ones. More than any other education subject, ECD speaks to the relationship between the school system and its social, cultural, political and economic context. It is interesting to point to the fact that the topics used to highlight key objectives of ECD in different countries and regions, make reference to the link between regional and national contexts. Any analysis of ECD must

thus be contextualized by the history and socio-political circumstances of each region.

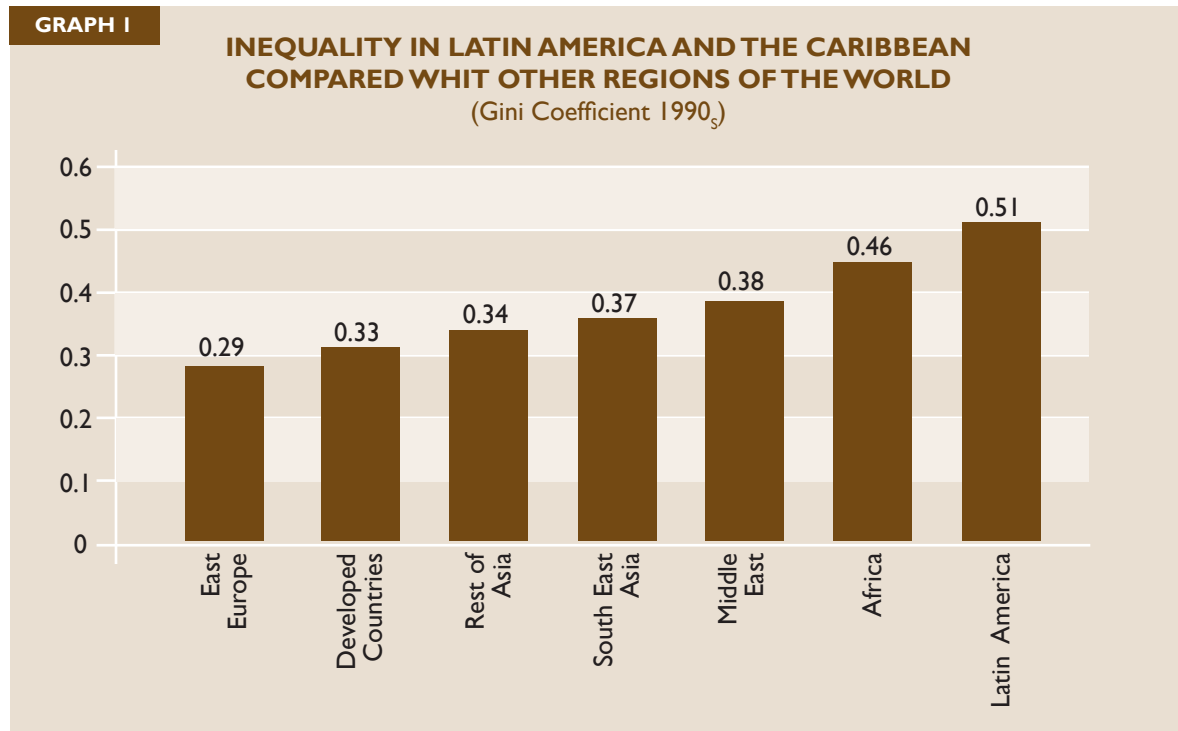
In the case of Latin America, two critical context-themes emerge: violence and inequality. Data on crime and death through violence confirm that, after Africa, the region remains the most violent in the world (see graph 3). Social and economic indicators reveal that it is the most unequal region in the world (see graph 1). Today, in spite of substantial advancements made to consolidate and deepen democracy and the fact that the majority of countries have created and institutionalized reliable electoral systems, serious risks continue to loom. Anti-democratic elements of the prevailing political culture in the region, such as corruption, authoritarianism, populism, organized crime and impunity, challenge democratic governability (J. Biehl, 2005)². Although the human rights situation has improved drastically compared to the non-democratic period, aftereffects linger, and are manifested in a lack of trust in institutions and people, corruption among leaders, and a civil society that only recently began to organize itself. (Graphic 1).

Contextual issues help to organize and prioritize ECD and to align it with the educational needs of youths. The following sections present

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¹ Cox, C., Jaramillo, R. and Reimers, F. (2005), Educating for citizenship and democracy in the Americas: an agenda for action, Inter-American Development Bank document, Washington, DC.

² Opening speech of the VII meeting of the Regional Policy Dialogue Education Network, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC, 2005.



Source: *Toward Sustainable and Equitable Development: Sectorial Strategies for Latin America and the Caribbean*, IDB, 2003.

an overview of the profile of Latin American youth and their immediate social context, that is, the context they encounter as they learn to become citizens. Opportunities for participation are then placed within this context—often characterized by poverty, social inequities, and violence—and used to better contextualize a discussion of how ECD should best be designed and delivered.

1. ECD and global vs. local tension

The social, cultural, political and economic world that graduates –and dropouts– of the educational system will face is very different from the world in which people lived during most of the 20th century. Globalization and the communications revolution are among the most determinant variables of economic growth, productivity and interaction among people, regions and nations. Progress in information technology and connectivity has resulted in very low-cost communications, and physical distance has practically disappeared in economic and cultural exchanges.

The level of skills and knowledge required of people increases almost daily, thus generating

considerable pressure on educational systems to deliver more and better. In Latin America, the average number of years of school [completed] has increased from 6 to 8.9 for the 25 year-old cohort (2000). Yet this increase has been slow. In the developed world, the average number of years of school [completed] for young workers is currently 14. On the other hand, trade treaties and the liberalization of customs borders across the region create challenges for those workers who have to perform in constantly changing globalized markets, placing increasing demands on the handling of information technologies and personal communication skills. It is estimated that current workers will engage in formal and informal training activities a number of times over the course of their working lives.

Cultural borders tend to disappear as the volume of communications and virtual exchanges increase. The Internet is a tool that is transforming traditional societies into online interconnected societies. It allows, for the first time, communication among many people at the same time and on a global scale. Interaction through an online individualism has become a predominant means of sociability. Electronic mail, which repre-

sents 85% of all the uses of the Internet, is used in almost all dimensions of daily life, extending from work to relations between family and among friends. Online individualism is a social model on which virtual communities, as intensive and effective as the physical ones in terms of uniting and mobilizing, are built. Because of its applicability to a wide range of social situations, the Internet has significantly increased the capacity of individuals to reconstruct the pattern of socializing from below (Castells, 2001)³.

The content of democracy and the links it maintains to the economic and social spheres of society are in a period of transition as well. In an ever-changing global context, where wealth is more concentrated and politics are increasingly more international, which tends to weaken the internal sovereignty of the State, the problems for which citizens are demanding solutions are being divorced from the capacity of governments to confront them (UNDP, 2004).

Seen in this light, the changes highlighted in this document underscore the need to strengthen the values and the social capital of countries. This, in turn, speaks to the need to develop a culture of citizenship that respects democracy and puts it in practice, cooperation, and social responsibility, and to create societies with a broad sense of nation-community. Technology has expanded the boundaries of the community vis-à-vis the globalized world—a feat that is both astonishing and frightening at the same time. Traveling be-

tween these dimensions will require competencies and values that, until a decade ago, were not essential. Education, and ECD in particular, has a key role to play in the transmission of these competencies to a more modern society.

This document understands the concept of ECD as it is used by the Council of Europe (CE): “... a set of practices and principles aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society” (Council of Europe, 2004)⁴.

According to a study conducted by the CE, even when countries varied in their understanding of the EDC concept, as a result of specific contextual conditions in each country, this concept was ultimately adopted and became the common reference point for treating the subject.

Citizenship is a key element of ECD. It makes reference to a type of society, a system of values and an ideal community which by way of its organization acquires the power to ensure the satisfaction of its needs and demands from public institutions. Citizenship involves actions and behaviors whereby citizens can exercise

⁴ Education for Democratic Citizenship Activities 2001- 2004 ; All-European Study on EDC Policies, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2004.

³ Castells, M., 2001, La Galaxia Internet: reflexiones sobre Internet, empresa y sociedad, Arete, Barcelona.

TABLE I

DEFINITION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CONCEPT OF ECD ACCORDING TO THE CE

- It is based on the fundamental principles of human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of the law.
- References rights and responsibilities, empowerment, participation and a sense of belonging and respect for diversity for all ages and sectors of society.
- Aspires to prepare youth and adults for active participation in democratic societies, thus strengthening democratic culture.
- Is instrumental in the fight against violence, xenophobia, racism, aggressive nationalism and intolerance.
- Contributes to social cohesion, social justice and to the common good.
- Strengthens civil society, contributing to the education of informed citizens equipped with democratic skills.

their social rights, monitor public policies and contribute to the resolution of issues of common interest.

The UNDP refers to three dimensions of citizenship: political citizenship, which includes the right to choose representatives of governmental institutions, whether national or local; civil citizenship, which speaks to individual liberties, including freedom of expression and the right to legal equality; and social citizenship, which refers to individual safety, economic well-being and the right to health and education.

In order to teach citizenship, ECD must be framed within the social, political and cultural contexts within which it is taught. While knowledge about the structure and scope of public powers, laws, and constitutions is key, dimensions related to the social, political and cultural context, global and local, need to be addressed. Reading the press and critically analyzing the media are only one element of the relationship between the school and its context. Another critical element is the commitment and participation of students in community service activities and in local issues of a social and civic nature.

2. Priority issues of ECD in different regions

Given the varying focal points and thematic emphases arising from the social and political context, different regions of the world face different challenges to educating their citizens for modernity. In every one of them, however, the goal is to educate citizens capable of exercising their rights and civic, political and social responsibilities, in a world where their loyalties will be continuously torn between the individual and collective, between the local and global.

In **Europe**, contemporary debate on ECD and its solutions faced its most decisive moment during the 1990s. Intense debate in many countries led to significant reformulations of the curriculum structure, produced educational materials, trained teachers and strengthened ties between schools and communities. All this activity was directed toward a task that they placed among the priorities on the educational agenda. The Council of Europe (CE) involved itself in the issue and actively participated in these discussions, taking on the task of unifying criteria among countries, establishing common standards and creating channels of communication. This facilitated the

transfer of experience and knowledge from countries that had moved ahead to those who had just begun to revise ECD (All-European Study on EDC Policies, 2004)⁵.

As discussed and implemented in Europe, ECD focuses on topics such as participation, empowerment, diversity, equity, multiculturalism and social cohesion. The scope and nature assumed by each reflects to some degree a historical sensitivity to the legacy of fascism and the recent growth in immigration (Osler and Starkey, 2005, in this document). Much like the issues related to the period of high immigration in America during the 19th century, Europe faces critical issues regarding nationality, patriotism, prejudice, discrimination and racism. This comes as a consequence of the waves of immigration accelerated after the fall of the Berlin wall and the opening to the countries of the East.

In the **United States** the urgency to revise civic education occurred somewhat later than in Europe. It was not until 2000 that it took on a federal dimension and national visibility, when initiatives were carried out that gave direction to analysis, solutions and proposals for action, which followed.

Since the founding of the United States as a nation, Americans have shared a vision of democracy in which all citizens recognize, appreciate, and become actively involved in political and civic life. However, the last two decades have seen a growing estrangement between individuals and their political institutions and civic activities, such as volunteer groups, religious groups, community organizations, and political and electoral activities such as voting and involving themselves on public issues. Young people have also distanced themselves from political processes, displaying significantly less interest than their predecessors in voting and participating in political discussions.

Another manifestation of the lack of interest in civic and political issues was an impoverished curriculum. Practically all civic education taught at the beginning of 2000 in the United States was a single semester course in governance. By contrast, a minimum of three semesters on democracy, civics and government was taught up until the 1960s. This change caught the attention

⁵ Education for Democratic Citizenship Activities 2001-2004, Ibid.

of authorities and the public alike, because education is considered a fundamental base of future citizenship.

As a result, many young people were not prepared to participate in a democracy, which is understood to be the fundamental pillar for increasing the commitment of youth to their responsibilities and rights as citizens (The Civic Mission of Schools, 2002). Showing a great trust in the well-being of its democracy, the predominant thematic focus has been the exercise of citizenship and citizen participation. The basic subject is called civic education.

At the end of 2002, the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, CIRCLE, and the Carnegie Corporation invited the most renowned and respected academics and educators in the country to a series of meetings to determine, on the basis of available evidence and data, the components of a potential and effective civic education program. The participants represented the entire political spectrum, a great diversity of disciplines and a variety of perspectives. There were disagreements in several areas with regard to the civic education to be taught in schools throughout the country, but nevertheless, they were able to agree on a position regarding the civic education they desired. The result of these meetings was the report "The Civic Mission of Schools,"⁶ which provided a framework for the creation of civic education programs and represented, for the first time in the history of the country, a consensus on what civic education should be.

Much in line with the Anglo-Saxon tradition of a community that organizes itself to demand that the State meet its demands and at the same time is highly participatory, non-governmental organizations have proliferated, becoming part of the wealth of civic education proposals and programs. Many of them are mentioned in the article by Reimers and Villegas in this document.

In **Latin America and the Caribbean**, the contextual themes for the definition of a new ECD in the region are related to both historical events and to recent developments –much of which are still present– such as inequality, social disintegration and violence. According to some analysts, the relatively recent end to authoritarian governments places the Latin American region in a situation of having to reconstruct democratic mechanisms and social trust (J. Biehl, 2005). Of

18 countries that are part of the UNDP report, only 3 lived under democracy 25 years ago.

The weakness of the social fabric is evident and constitutes one of the main challenges facing Latin American democracies. The groups that are most excluded from the exercise of social citizenship are also the same groups that suffer from a lack of basic rights and quality of life. In this sense, the strengthening of civil society and participation are fundamental pillars in the construction of civic and social citizenship, particularly in the case of the poor and ethnic and cultural minorities.

It is worth mentioning that the members of the Dialogue who attended the VII Meeting of the Education Network touched upon many themes within the social, political and cultural context that is characteristic of Latin America and the Caribbean (Minutes of the VII Meeting, Regional Policy Dialogue). Among the most noteworthy were the lack of trust in various actors of society, the need to practice the competencies that are part of citizenship during the education process –emphasizing that the earlier this starts, the better– the school as a place of stability and as a favorable place for socialization, and the need to introduce ethical practices into the bureaucracy of the Education System and democratic practices into schools. In particular, the theme of youth violence was addressed from diverse perspectives and at various times, as a critical problem in many of the countries attending.

3. What Latin Americans Think About Democracy and Citizenship

The last few years have seen significant efforts to profile the average citizen and more recently to create a profile of youth with regard to democracy and its related themes such as participation, trust in institutions and motivation vis-à-vis participation in civil society organizations. Here we will analyze some information provided by the report published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2004, *Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizens' Democracy*, by the survey carried out by

⁶ The Civic Mission of Schools, Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2002.

Latinobarómetro in 2002, and by the Study of Civic Education, conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

The information provided by the above-mentioned reports added considerably to the knowledge base of the authorities responsible for the education of citizens at all levels, not only within the education sector. It also served to incorporate a wider part of civil society in these discussions. Evidence of this includes the National and Local Forums held in Colombia, the creation of the National Commission of Citizenship Education in Chile and other events. Furthermore, the representatives of Chile and Colombia during the VII Meeting of the Regional Policy Dialogue in February 2005 emphasized the role of the information provided by the IEA study in subsequent decisions—with the support of the highest authorities of the education sector and the country—to reformulate ECD policies and programs. The new information on what regional youth are thinking in comparison to their counterparts in industrialized nations—as described in the Chilean and Colombian presentations in this document—provided important parameters that led to the ultimate transformation of the ECD transmitted in the Education System, from traditional civic education to modern citizenship education.

3.1 *Towards a Citizens' Democracy, UNDP*

The publication of this report by the UNDP in 2004 stirred up public opinion and alarmed interested parties, because of the disturbing picture it portrayed about the opinion of average people and national leaders on the state of democracy in the region. In general, there is support and people value democracy, as shown by the fact that only 17 of the 231 leaders interviewed disagreed with the assertion that democracy had made significant progress during the last decade. However, this is a conditioned support, given that 55% of the citizens interviewed responded that they would not continue to support a democratic government that was incapable of solving economic problems. In the same vein, 56% of the citizens were of the opinion that economic development is more important than democracy.

This view is supported by evidence showing that, in many cases, growing frustration caused

by lack of opportunities, high levels of inequality, poverty and social exclusion is expressed in discontent, loss of confidence in the political system, extremism, violence and a governability crisis. The report points out that facts like these put the stability of the democratic system itself at risk.

3.2 *Latinobarómetro*

The *Latinobarómetro* survey conducted in 2002 paints a somber picture regarding the knowledge and attitude of Latin Americans towards democracy, its institutions, and relationships among people (Pilotti, 2004)⁷. Support for democracy is 56%, but the degree of satisfaction with democracy is only 32%, which people indicated is based on how well the economy performs. This reveals not only the weakness of the support to democracy, but also a lack of knowledge about democracy. (The latter statement greatly supports the argument that strengthening and adapting ECD in the region is needed). The survey also shows that only 14% of Latin Americans trust political parties, that people have little trust in the branches of government—primarily judicial and legislative—and believe that corruption is on the rise. Just as alarming is the fact that in Latin America only 19% of the people surveyed say that they trust other people, in contrast to 70% in Northern European countries and 50% in the United States.

The information provided by both the UNDP and *Latinobarómetro* does make clear that people recognize progress in the area of political citizenship, but there are still additional steps that need to be taken in order to ensure people's satisfaction with the state of democracy and the opportunities to participate in it. The election of government officials is only a first step in this direction. The subsequent steps towards civic citizenship through which people can hold their representatives accountable, and progress in social citizenship, where everyone has opportunities to participate and to the well-being to which they are entitled. This strengthens the social fabric, which is the basis of democracy.

⁷ Pilotti, Francisco, (2004), Promoting democracy through civic education: an introduction to research projects sponsored by OAS, in: Strengthening democracy in the Americas through civic education: an empirical analysis highlighting the views of students and teachers, OAS, Social Development and Education Unit.

Just as Latinobarómetro profiles Latin American adults, the Study of Civic Education conducted by IEA in 1999 profiles what young people think about democracy and citizenship.

4. The profile of Latin American youth

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), conducted a survey in 1999 on the civic knowledge and attitudes of 14-17 year-old students, in national samples representing 29 nations. The majority of the participating countries are European; the only participants from the Americas were Chile, Colombia and the United States. An exhaustive analysis of results obtained in Chile, Colombia, Portugal and the United States shows that in general, students have acquired concepts related to democracy and its political institutions (Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2004)⁸. Nevertheless, they do not seem to understand the more subtle aspects of democracy, such as political rights, the responsibilities of citizens and the role of the communications media and economic institutions. Worth highlighting is the fact that the 17 year-olds in Chile and Colombia show less trust in state-related institutions and less national pride than the 14 year-olds. This trend needs further research, since it suggests that the more information stu-

dents have, the less they trust the government.

They are informed about current news much more through television than through the press, given that they practically do not read newspapers. They obtain information on their social environment primarily through entertainment programs transmitted on TV and not necessarily from news or other informative programs.

The results of the study show that Chilean and Colombian adolescents have a high degree of trust in school as an institution, which strengthens its value as an agency for transmitting knowledge on citizenship and democracy.

The profile of the youth provided to us by the Civic Education Study shows that they do not trust government institutions, they do not participate in politics, and they do not trust the organized civil society as a way of obtaining responses and solutions to their problems and concerns. Very few register to vote and go to the polls to elect their representatives, and the percentage of youth who do trust people is very low. The current generation is made up of young people

⁸ Torney-Purta, Judith and Amadeo, Jo-Ann, (2004), Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education: An Empirical Analysis Highlighting the Views of Students and Teachers, OAS, Washington, DC.

TABLE 2 **LATIN AMERICA: EXTREME POVERTY, BY AGE GROUP AND GEOGRAPHIC AREA, 2002**

Age Group	National		Urban		Rural	
	Number (millions)	Incidence (Percentage)	Number (millions)	Incidence (Percentage)	Number (millions)	Incidence (Percentage)
0-5	19	29.6	9	21.4	9	48.6
6-12	22	30.5	11	22.1	11	51.9
13-19	15	22.1	8	15.0	7	44.3
20 y más	41	13.9	23	9.8	19	28.7
Total	97	19.4	52	13.5	46	37.8

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), based on special tabulations of household surveys in the major countries, 2002.

who are in general more educated than their parents—they are considered to be the most educated generation in history—⁹. but they tend not to use the mechanisms of democracy.

4.1. *Poverty and Youth: Inequality of Opportunities*

As mentioned, Latin America's level of inequality is one of the highest in the world. Naturally the question arises: is there anything less democratic than inequality? Young people see the inequality of opportunities between the haves and the have-nots, reflecting the values of societies that are not democratic in the social sphere.

One segment of these young people seeks the solution to its problems, its marginalization and lack of opportunities by channeling the frustration through anti-social behavior. This ranges from apathy and extreme disinterest to participation in gangs that make violence their means of relating to society. The choice of violence as a problem-solving strategy is correlated with income level; evidence suggests that young people living in the midst of poverty are less likely to believe in a peaceful and civic resolution of conflict.

Since a significant percentage of youth in Latin America are poor, they face the world with a comparative disadvantage from the start. They must also reconcile the essential contradiction between the ideal of democracy—which assumes a social order with equal opportunities for all—and their own experience of inequality as a determinant in their lives. They are given a raw deal, which marginalizes them from society and the opportunities it offers.

(Table 2) shows the extreme poverty figures for the age group between 6 and 12 years old and between 13 and 19 years old, which are 30.5% and 22.1% respectively. In absolute terms, this means that there are over 37 million children and youth who live in extreme poverty. The poor segment is even greater; conservative estimates based on global trends suggest that the poor population tends to be twice the number that live in extreme poverty. This allows us to conclude that at least 50% of the population in these two age groups live in conditions of poverty. This means that in Latin America, more than 60 million children and youth between the ages of 6 and 19 are poor.

Given this poverty level among the region's youth and the limited opportunities available for

poor young people, the profile described above should not come as a surprise. Along with the lack of opportunities, their own experience and that of other people their age generate a vicious circle of low expectations and a loss of trust in democracy and its institutions.

4.2 *Distribution of Educational Opportunities*

The average years of schooling in Latin America has increased progressively during recent decades. In 18 countries for which we have data, the average years of schooling of people who are 25 years old or over is 8.9 years. If this is compared to the average six years of schooling shown by the general population, it becomes evident that the current generation is receiving more education than their parents did and that this is an upward trend.

However, this promising trend is overshadowed by the inequality that hurts the poorest students. Lower-income students—in particular those who live in rural areas and belong to racial or ethnic minorities—are most likely to start their education very late, repeat one or more grades, drop out early, and perform very poorly in tests that measure acquired knowledge. The probability of students graduating from secondary school is very low. Among people between the ages of 25 and 30, the average difference in years of schooling between the highest quintile and the two lowest quintiles is 5.5 years. In Mexico, Honduras and Brazil, this difference exceeds 6.5 years (Urquiola and Calderon, 2005)¹⁰.

Dropping out of school, both at the primary and the secondary level, is a significant variable explaining the low level of years of schooling observed in Latin America. In Central America, for instance, 90% of the children are enrolled in school, while only 65% of them finish fifth grade. In South America, close to 98% of the children are

⁹ The majority of Latin American youth of 25 years or over has attained an average of 8.9 years of schooling, compared to the average 6 years of schooling attained by their parents (Urquiola and Calderon, 2005).

¹⁰ Urquiola, M. and Calderón, V. (2005), Apples and Oranges: Educational Enrollment and Attainment across Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Regional Policy Education Dialogue, Inter-American Development Bank.

enrolled, with 83% of them finishing (Education Strategy, 2005)¹¹.

When the students of poor families reach 15 years of age, many of them drop out of school in order to work, even though they have probably not yet completed sixth grade. They go to work at a very early age, giving up the chance of obtaining the higher income that is linked to more education. The significant percentage of youth that do not finish secondary school is the first link in a chain of lost opportunities that underlies young people's hopelessness and frustration.

Thus, inequality of educational opportunities is one of the greatest impediments to the region's social and economic progress. At the individual level, young people enter the labor force inadequately prepared, work at low-skill jobs, and have few opportunities to aspire to better jobs throughout their entire work lives.

4.3 The Labor Market

At the roots of the region's inequality is not so much the labor market itself, which merely reflects this inequality. To a large degree, unequal income is related to the differences in the skills the workers take with them into the labor market, which depend on their schooling and experience (IPES, 2004)¹².

There are high unemployment rates among youth in the region and a significant imbalance between supply and demand of skills. Global tendencies—also observed in Latin America—show an increase in demand related to a better-prepared labor force.

In Latin America, the percentage income increase linked to one additional year of primary, secondary or postsecondary education is very high. In a sample of 12 countries, the average return of an additional year of primary schooling is 7%; secondary education, 9%; and tertiary education, 16%. By way of comparison, in the industrialized countries, an average return of 3% has been reported for all years of schooling in Sweden, 6-7% in Canada, 9% in the United States and 13% in Austria (Krueger and Lindahl, 2001, in IPES, 2004)¹³.

The demand for workers with tertiary education has progressively increased in the last decade, as the salary gap between the workers who have finished a tertiary education and those who have finished high school has increased by 14%

per year (IPES, 2004). In 20 years, this represents an increase of 32%.

Thus, a decrease in the inequality of skills that workers bring to the labor force could eventually decrease the income inequality (IPES, 2004). The positive correlation between years of schooling and income level in both developing and developed countries has been widely documented. Recent research suggests that a higher income level shows that schooling does, in fact, transmit knowledge and skills that increase workers' productivity (Krueger and Lindahl, 2001, in IPES 2004).

On the other hand, the percentage of children and youth between the ages of 16 and 19 that work is lower in the Latin American countries than in the United States (Cox-Edwards, p.11)¹⁴. Country comparisons show that around 45% of 19 year-olds are working, a figure that is similar to that of the United States. However, while US young people study and work at the same time, Latin American young people who work do so full-time and have abandoned their studies.

Many of the young people who abandon their studies to look for a job remain unemployed. Data from 2001 show that the youth unemployment rates have been over 15% in the majority of the countries, except for Brazil, Costa Rica and Mexico, countries in which these figures have been systematically lower.

5. Participation as Practice for Citizenship

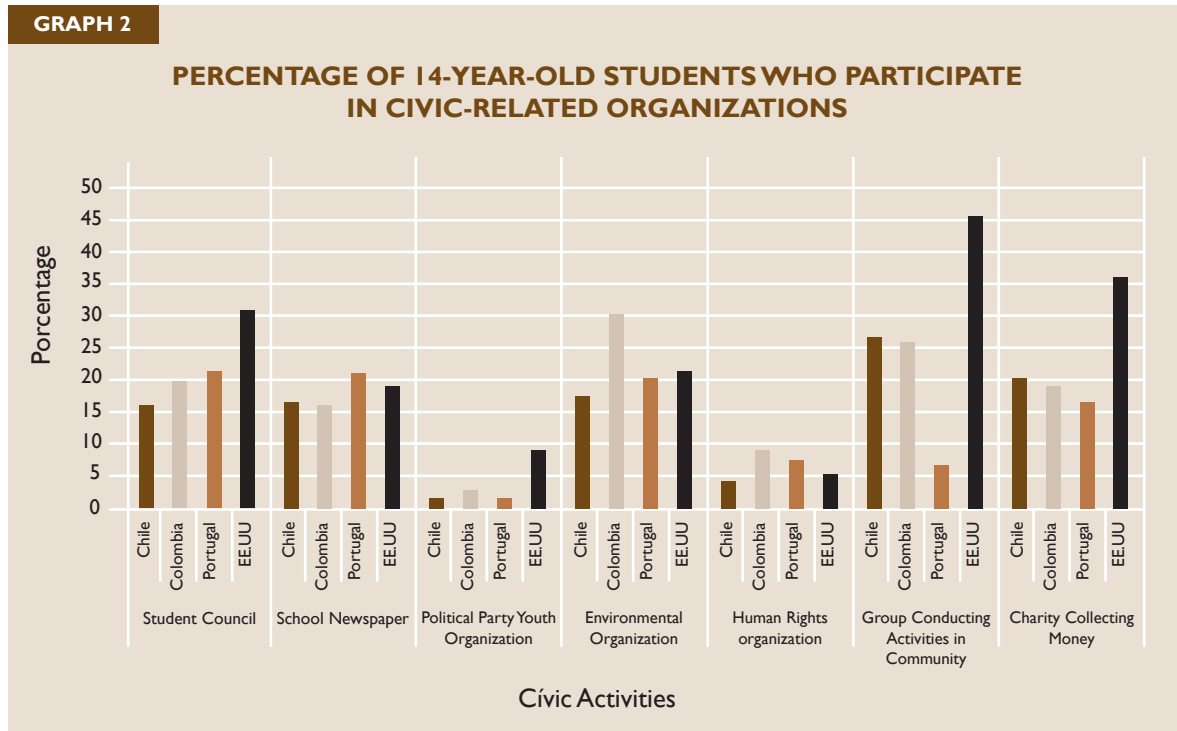
Participation is the best practice for learning to be citizens. As such, it represents a key mechanism for achieving the integral development of youth; it contributes to developing and strengthening the skills that will be used for acting as responsible citizens. The contribution of participation to young

¹¹ Expanding the Knowledge Capital of Latin America and the Caribbean: a strategic framework for education and training, 2005-2015, Inter-American Development Bank, Draft.

¹² Good Jobs Wanted: Labor Markets in Latin America, Economic and Social Progress Report, IPES [its Spanish initials], 2004, Inter-American Development Bank.

¹³ Krueger, A. and Lindahl, M. (2004), Education for Growth: Why and for Whom?, *Journal of Economic Literature*, 39 (4): 1101-1136.

¹⁴ Cox-Edwards, Alejandra, 2004, Changes in the Labor Market in LAC: What do they mean for education? in: *Modernization of Technical PostSecondary Education: Opportunities and Challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean*, Document of the Education Network, Regional Policy Dialogue.



Source: Torney-Purta, J. and Amadeo, J.A., 2004, *Ibid.*

people's individuation is seen in the following: (i) social recognition based on the individual skills provided by participation contributes to a person's self-perception of autonomy and personal identity; and (ii) the experience of the social environment as a predictable and manageable place contributes to developing a basic trust in oneself and the ability to make an impact in that situation (Infante, F, 2001)⁵.

Moreover, substantial research shows that adolescents who participate in school or civic activities will probably become committed adults (Torney-Purta, 2004 p.84).

It is unrealistic to assume that children and young people will become responsible adults from one day to the next, without having been exposed to the skills, competencies and responsibilities that this entails. Understood in this way, participation is transformed into both a means and an end in itself and therefore, a central pedagogical theme for ECD.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, a 1989 United Nations document that has been

ratified by more than 100 countries, includes a paragraph that establishes the importance of children participating in decision-making¹⁶. International institutions that have become involved in these issues, such as UNICEF, consider participation to be an "integral to the democratic ethos and to building civil society".

"Democracy demands [that] all citizens take part in establishing the governance and key functions in society... Opportunities for participation in shared decision-making, listening to different points of view, and weighing options and consequences can help build a critical appreciation for the democratic process." (UNICEF, 2001)⁷.

⁵ Infante, F, (2001) Participación juvenil: *aprendiendo a domesticarse*, Foro Centroamericano de Juventud [Central American Youth Forum], El Salvador, October 2001, Pan American Health Organization.

¹⁶ Lansdown, G., Promoting children's participation in democratic decision-making, New York, UNICEF, 2001, in: Youth Participation Guide: assessment, planning and implementation, WHO, 2002.

¹⁷ Rajani, R., The Participation Rights of Adolescents: A Strategic Approach, New York, UNICEF, 2001, in: WHO, *Ibid.*

TABLE 3

MEAN CIVIC PARTICIPATION EXPECTATIONS LEVELS OF STUDENTS AGED 14-17

Countries	Chile		Colombia		Portugal		United States
Type of Activity	Age 14	Age 17	Age 14	Age 17*	Age 14	Age 17	Age 14
Type of Activity	2,98	2,98	2,96	2,93	2,73	2,68	2,60
Illegal Protest	1,78	1,75	1,74	1,79	1,65	1,65	1,67
Conventional	2,44	2,45	2,72	2,70	2,52	2,53	2,52

Note. Ratings were made on the following scale: 1 = 1 will certainly not do this; 2 = 1 will probably not do this; 3 = 1 will probably do this; 4 = 1 will certainly do this. *Colombian 17-year old data unweighted.

Source: Torney-Purta, J. and Amadeo, J.A., 2004, *Ibid.*

5.1 What Young People are Interested in Participating in (Demand)

The Civic Education study showed that between 80% and 90% of 14 year-old adolescents in the four countries analyzed participate in at least one organization in their country (Chile, Colombia, Portugal and the United States). These organizations range from the school newspaper and student councils to sports teams and religious groups. The majority of students who answered the survey belong to one of these organizations. However, when it comes to organizations related to political parties and/or human rights, less than 10% of the students in the United States participate and less than 5% do so in Chile and Colombia (See Graph 2).

Translator's note: Civierelated Activities: Student Council; School Newspaper; Political Party/Youth Organization; Environmental Organization; Human Rights Organization; Group Conducting Activities in Community; Charity Collecting Money

The low levels of participation in political organizations may not be exclusively due to political activities being discredited and lacking prestige in these societies. There is probably also an historical factor involved, in which parents may play an important role. Particularly in Chile and Colombia, the low participation levels may be interpreted as a stigmatization of these

activities going back to the vehement political activism of the 1970s and 1980s, which led to a violent repression. In this context, the low levels of youth participation may be interpreted as an anticlimactic response to the history of the political movements of the 1970s and 1980s. Undoubtedly the young people that responded to the study did not personally experience the political activism and its consequences that occurred in prior decades. However, they have probably heard about it from their parents, who have sent messages to the young people about keeping their distances from any kind of political affiliation. An additional factor to consider is that a lot of this activity occurred at the expense of the attending school or university, leading many young people to dropout from school or higher education.

Students were also asked about political and civic actions that they might undertake over the next few years, in an attempt to identify their expectations of participation and involvement in civic processes. An analysis of these responses shows that intentional participation in social activities such as volunteer work, collecting money, collecting signatures or peaceful demonstrations are highest on the list of intended activities (See Table 3). Next, in terms of percentage of intentional participation, are the conventional civic/political activities (voting in elections, becoming informed on the candidates, affiliating with a political party, writing to the media, becoming

a candidate) and the lowest percentage of intentional participation was for illegal protests (painting phrases on walls, blocking traffic, occupying public buildings).

The first element to consider in the interpretation of these answers is that the context in which students responded to the survey could have an influence on the content. Being in school under the supervision of the teachers may have influenced many students to respond in a way that avoided them any risk of sanction or censorship. Perhaps this explains why the percentage of intentional illegal protest participation was so low. On the other hand, the relatively low percentages of conventional political participation may reflect the low acceptance level of partisan political activities in the participating countries. However, to an extent these responses repeat and corroborate prior responses on the current situation of students. There are no significant variations between how young people are currently involved in social and civil life and how they see their involvement in the future.

In Colombia, there is an apparent contradiction between the low level of intent to participate in conventional political activities and the recent teaching of the new Colombian constitution. This has been interpreted as a sign of the persistence of antidemocratic elements in the country and that what students learn at school may not necessarily be in keeping with what they see in their communities. (Rodríguez Rueda, 1999, in Torney-Purta, 2004, p.91). The hypothesis of the social stigma and the subsequent fear of activities related to politically partisan groups may also be relevant.

According to the study, the factors that predict the participation of the youth in social activities, civic action and illegal protests are newspaper reading, freedom of expression in the classroom, and the links between the school and the community. For the expectation of participating in conventional political activities, the level of trust in institutions is an additional predictive factor.

The information analyzed above has important implications for ECD. In the first place, it emphasizes the school's responsibility for promoting democracy. It also shows the importance of fostering participation in extracurricular activities, both inside and outside of school, as a means of promoting citizenship education. Among these, critical reading of newspapers, analysis and dis-

cussion of the media, implementation of democratic practices in the classroom and in school, and fostering of debates, discussions and the free expression of opinions within the school are important. Finally, it stresses the importance of teaching basic knowledge about governmental institutions and the powers of the State.

As we have seen above, school is highly valued by the Colombian and Chilean students; this suggests that the school has the power to bring about changes in this regard. The tools are completely within its reach, and its prestige contributes to its credibility as an agency for transmitting cultural and civic values.

5.2 Participation Options for Young People (Supply)

Participation opportunities may give young people the necessary skills, knowledge and motivation to become active citizens. While Anglo-Saxon societies are highly participatory and organized societies that have contributed to the building of democracy from the beginning, Hispanic societies are traditionally less participatory. According to the information in the Civic Education Study analyzed by Torney-Purta et al., young people in the United States participate more than Latin Americans. Of the students surveyed in the United States, 90% stated that they belonged to at least one organization.

The explanation could lie in several of the factors from the demand side that are cited in the OAS study, but the supply factors are also determinants. In Latin America, the relative weakness of civil society organizations is even more critical within youth organizations. As a matter of fact, the emergence of civil society organizations to address a wide variety of interests is a very recent phenomenon. (Table 4).

Poor young people may formally acquire the status of citizens, and they may even obtain a certain level of political participation through voting. What they do not have is access to power in the sense of decision-making, nor is it possible for them to integrate socially, in terms of the opportunities available (PRADJAL, in Mettifogo, p.9)¹⁸. In a prior section, we saw how their labor and social options may be limited from early on through poor and incomplete education. This

¹⁸ Mettifogo, D., (1998), Participación juvenil y promoción de salud: opciones de política, OPS, Washington, D. C.

TABLE 4

EVOLUTION OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

	Old Paradigm	New Paradigm
Actors	Collective identity based on socio-economic and political ideologies: students, urban and socialist youth.	Individual identity with regard to values: gender, sexual orientation, ecologists, feminists, Socialists, global warming.
Content	Economic and social improvement in school, neighborhood, workplace.	Democracy, environment, sexual rights, gender equality, human rights, indigenous rights, peace.
Values	Centralism, Messianism, revolutionary change, social change through structural change.	Autonomy and individual identity, decentralization, self-government, social change through the individual.
Ways of acting	Institutionalized participation, party affiliation, mass protests, pyramidal organization, centralized government.	Little institutionalization, individual participation, horizontal organization, and formation of flexible networks.

Source.: Serna, Land Alfie, M., (1995), *Social Movements and Globalization*, in *Sociology*, Year 10, No. 27, Metropolitan Autonomous University, Mexico.

leads to a vicious circle of low-income jobs and lack of opportunities to continue their training in order to eventually gain access to a better job.

Organizations exclusively for young people are seen to be unrepresentative, are difficult to sustain over time, and they are frequently manipulated by external agents. With the exception of some university organizations, they suffer from organizational inefficiencies, scarcity of physical and material resources and weak preparation of their leaders. The majority are based on an adult approach to politics (Mettifogo, 1998)¹⁹. In addition, there is evidence suggesting that youth organizations frequently have weak support, even when there is no direct opposition from the community or the state.

In this context, it is important to review the fact that we are encouraging young people to participate in social organizations and political action groups and at the same time, as a society, we offer them limited spaces and opportunities for participating in the social life—and particularly in the political life—of their communities. This is even more true in terms of opportunities to participate in government-related activities and decisions, including those of local government. Even though the majority of the countries in the

region are democracies, it is clearly difficult for the political systems to represent and to attract the participation of young people. Explanations offered include the fact that young people do not represent votes.

This is corroborated by Torney-Purta, 2004, p.85, which cites the research studies of Welti (2002). Welti found that in North America and Europe, there are many formally constituted youth organizations, while in Latin America, informal organized groups are more common—including gangs, which we will analyze below.

For many children and young people, school is the only institutional experience they have that offers them a chance to participate. Those who drop out of school before completing the cycle do not even have this experience of participating in an institution. In other words, young people fail to participate not only because they do not want to or have not been trained to do so, but because the opportunities are extremely limited and precarious. Thus, if we want to promote youth

¹⁹ Mettifogo, D., (1998), *Youth Participation and the promotion of Health: Policy Options*, Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), Washington, DC.

participation, we have to promote opportunities and conditions for them to do so by facilitating the creation of organizations.

What type of organizations are we talking about? In Latin America we have seen that the characteristics of the youth organizations and the ways in which young people participate have been evolving over time, adjusting to the political and cultural changes in the region. (Table 4) presents a comparison of organizations in the late 1990s with those of prior decades.

Youth participation (as shown in Table 4 above) shows a trend toward emphasis on individualism, horizontal coordination, ad-hoc organization (based on current needs) and weak institutionalization. The paradigm shift reflects a transition from strong affiliation to groups based on temporary circumstantial networks.

The Internet has played a crucial role in the horizontal association of interest-based groups across a wide spectrum of interests. The organization of groups through the Internet keeps multiplying exponentially.

6. Youth violence as a means of social inclusion

One of society's most critical problems is the growing violence among youth. Beginning in the 1990s, it has been an issue for school systems because in many countries, schools are where gangs and criminal groups recruit new young members. Schools have also been the site of violence on too many occasions.

Several members of the Regional Policy Dialogue who participated in the VII Education Network Meeting (see meeting minutes) mentioned youth violence in their countries as a priority issue to be considered in redefining citizenship education. Several aspects of youth violence will be examined in this section.

World Health Organization (WHO) data show that worldwide more people between the ages of 15-44 die from violence (self-inflicted, inter-personal or collective) than from any other cause. In 2000, at least 1.6 million people died from violence (which is 28.8 violent deaths for every 100,000 inhabitants). Most of these deaths occurred in poor countries; less than 10% were in high-income countries (WHO, 2002). In 2002, the violent death rate in low-income countries was 32.1 per 100,000 inhabitants, more than twice

the rate of that in high-income countries (144 per 100,000 inhabitants). (Table 5).

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED HOMICIDE RATES WORLDWIDE

Age Group	Homicide Rates (per 100,000 inhabitants)	
	Men	Women
0 - 4	5.8	4.8
5 - 14	2.1	2.0
15 - 29	19.4	4.4
30 - 44	18.7	4.3
45 - 59	14.8	4.5
> - 60	13.0	4.5
total ^a	13.6	4.0

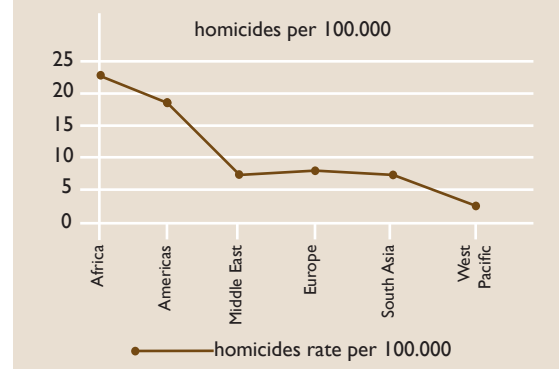
Source: WHO, 2000.

a) Standardized by age

According to the World Report on Violence and Health, Latin America is the second-most violent region in the world (for reasons not due to war and internal conflict), after Africa. Evidence supports this finding, as shown in (Graph 3) below.

GRAPH 3

OF MURDERS PER REGION, WHO, 2000



Source: Violence: A Worldwide Public - Health Problem, WHO, 2002.

In the region, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras report higher levels of violence than the Latin American average and, after Colombia, they form the most violent sub-region in the world (Krug et al., 2000)²⁰.

While it is difficult to estimate the exact figures, the economic cost of violence (including medical expenses, missed days of work, and police and legal expenses) amounts to billions of dollars. In 1997, medical expenses resulting from violence was 1.9% of GDP in Brazil, 5.0% in Colombia, 4.3% in El Salvador, 1.3% in Mexico, 1.5% in Peru and 0.3% in Venezuela (WHO 2002)²¹.

A significant amount of the violence in Latin America is perpetrated by youth. In Central America, gangs (maras) are a main source of crime, plummeting the region to be among the most violent in the Western hemisphere (Call, 2000).²² Violence is mostly carried out by adolescents or young people between the ages of 10-24 organized in gangs or informal groups. This type of violence poses a major problem for the education system since it is the same age group as that going to school.

The gang problem in Central America is not new. In the early 1990s it began to be a serious problem in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. Since then, gangs have grown increasingly more violent. What began in the 1980s as small groups of youth who gathered in the streets to look for mutual support and solidarity, consume alcohol and toxic substances has erupted into a violent, uncontrollable phenomenon. The situation has grown even more critical during the first half of this decade as compared to 1998 data. Violence has increased in Brazil, Colombia and Jamaica (Santacruz and Concha-Eastman, 2002)²³. In Nicaragua, gangs have shown slightly different characteristics, but in the last five years they have become a major sociopolitical issue (Maras and Gangs in Central America, 2004, UCA Editorial).

In several Central American countries, schools have become recruitment centers for gangs and maras. In Mexico, drug traffickers go to schools to recruit children and adolescents to serve as intermediaries and transporters. In Brazil, the proliferation of weapons and guns has become a huge problem that is difficult to solve; preventive measures are now being taken, but the effects are still unknown (Abramovay and Rua, 2005)²⁴.

In the United States, the issue of youth violence has been particularly dramatic. The school shootings and murders of students and teachers in the late 1990s were planned and executed by teenagers. These events marked an explosive turning point in the rates of youth violence in the country, which first emerged as a public health problem in the 1980s. Experts agree that between 1983 and 1993, an epidemic of violence caused thousands of young people and their families to suffer permanent wounds, disability and death. After 1993, when the epidemic peaked, the rate of youth violence declined. The government's strategy has been to promote prevention, launching thousands of programs, many of which target schools. The most effective programs have proven to be the ones that focus on both individuals' prevention skills and school social settings. (Youth Violence: A Report of the Surgeon General, USA Government, 2005).

While poverty cannot be identified as the sole cause of youth violence, the two are closely linked. Many variables interweave and play a role in the source of violence, including lack of opportunities for schooling, work, and recreation, as well as lack of mechanisms for social participation (Santacruz and Concha-Eastman, 2002). In this context, young people may turn to violence for respect, status, social recognition and a sense of belonging to a group. Out in the street they find an environment where they can acquire "skills" and practice the incidents of violence that will eventually earn them the right to join a gang.

Gangs fester in communities with weak community interactions and cooperation, where civic participation is so rare that communities do

²⁰ Krug, E., Dahlberg, L, Mercy, J, Zwi, A and Lozano, R., (Eds), 2002, World Report on Violence and Health, Geneva, WHO Publications

²¹ Violence: a worldwide public health problem, World Health Organization, WHO, Geneva, 2002.

²² Call, C.T., 2000, Sustainable Development in Central America: the challenges of violence, injustice and insecurity, Working Paper #8, Hamburg: Institute fur Latinoamerika-Kunde, in: Maras and gangs in Central America, gangs and social capital, 2004, UCA Editorial, San Salvador.

²³ Abramovay, M and Rua, M.G., 2005, Violence in Schools, UNESCO, Brasilia.

²⁴ Feldstein, L.M., y Putnam, R.D., 2003, Better together: restoring the American community: New York, Simon and Shuster, en: Maras y pandillas en Centroamerica: pandillas y capital social, UCA editors, San Salvador.

not establish relationships with state agencies and prevailing norms do not condemn violence as a way to solve conflicts (Maras and Gangs in Central America, 2004). But not all poor communities with limited opportunities generate gang members. What marks the difference is social capital, which also helps keep kids who have been victims of violence in childhood from later turning into gang members or criminals.

Social capital is defined as those “networks together with norms, values and shared opinions that facilitate cooperation within and among groups” (OECD). In terms of social capital, adolescents and young adults are a community’s most vulnerable group, since they are the ones who most need to associate and participate, to create ties of reciprocity and trust as well as establish systems of norms and values that strengthen their sense of belonging and individual identity. It depends on the society whether these needs are met by gangs or by school, family and community (Feldstein and Putman, 2003)²⁵. Evidence shows an inverse relationship between the strength of the social base supporting youth and the magnitude of antisocial/delinquent acts they commit (see Table 6 below).

TABLE 6

THE ROUTE OF VIOLENCE: THE PATH OF “MARAS”

Group Involved	Magnitude of violence or crime
Organized crime	Homicides, robberies, drugtrafficking
Gangs, “Maras”	Rapes, assault and battery, homicides
“Barras”	Minor delinquencies, burglaries, quarrels
Youth groups	Social harassment
Family, socioeconomic context	Conflicts, violence, victim/witness

Source: Santacruz, M. and Concha-Eastman, A., 2002, *Inside the neighborhood: the violent solidarity of gangs*, WHO, El Salvador.

The trends toward violence described in Table 6 shows that maras, or gangs, provide the hub for organized crime, drug trafficking, bank robberies, and armed gangs pursuing hidden interests. The chance that a young person will get into organized crime is inversely proportional to the amount of support from society and family that he or she can count on.

The phenomenon of violence is not limited to certain countries or regions, and no country is free of risk. Many factors contribute to the universal spread of violence, including tension between local and national interests, globalization of communications, and immigration flows across borders. Several types of rapid communications media can cause violence to spread between countries and locations, such as the Internet, television, and cell phones. No longer luxury goods but common items of mass consumption in many countries, these media can spread models of violence that youth from different latitudes adapt and reproduce in response to their needs to belong and feel included. Studies in El Salvador, for example, show the strong influence of U.S. gangs (primarily in Los Angeles) on the style and behavior of gangs in El Salvador, tied to the extradition policy implemented by the U.S. government as part of a strategy to control youth violence (Santacruz and Concha-Eastman, 2002, *Ibid*).

7. Strategies to Strengthen Civic Behavior through ECD

In view of the complex panorama presented in this document and the urgency of the situation of youth –in particular, impoverished youth– it becomes clear that ECD in the region needs to repair the precarious path of the entry of youth into society and its consequences. It needs to repair their apathy toward politics and government and their disregard for public institutions, repair their lack of interest in civic organizations in order to bring about desired changes, and halt the growing move toward violence, gangs and organized crime.

²⁵ Feldstein, L.M., y Putnam, R.D., 2003, *Better together: restoring the American community*: New York, Simon and Shuster, in: Maras and gangs in Central America: gangs and social capital, UCA editors, San Salvador

During the last Dialogue meeting, a question emerged as to whether school is the institution that should be responsible for such a task; there were intense and ongoing discussions on this issue (see the minutes of the VII Regional Policy Dialogue Meeting). Doesn't this task correspond to society and its respective institutions? The conclusion was that although society and its institutions are generally responsible, schools are also definitely responsible within their sphere of activities.

The privileged position of school as agency of youth socialization was analyzed and its value to students and the community in general. These circumstances cannot be wasted. Participants also discussed the ambitious scope of this task, and the conclusion was that indeed, the task is ambitious, but it must be fully taken on, and effective programs designed and resources assigned to ensure conditions for its success. Thus, meeting participants analyzed the importance and urgency of training teachers in ECD to meet the current demands of society. Finally, we must not forget that the function of school is precisely to prepare youth –both present and future citizens– for appropriate entry in the workforce, and social, civic and political spheres. Traditional civic education is no longer sufficient and ECD needs to be thoroughly updated. The studies presented later in this document provide clear guidelines on how to proceed to achieve this necessary renovation.

Latin America has progressed in the political dimension of citizenship, given that most countries can guarantee fair and transparent election of authorities. However, progress in civil citizenship and above all in social citizenship is insufficient and needs greater development. In this framework, the strengthening of civil society is a priority, and education can play a major role. As can be seen in the studies by Reimers and Villegas and Osler and Starkey, a crucial aspect of ECD is the practice of citizenship both in and out of school. Aspects in the school environment include: democratic practices, freedom of expression, support for student government. Aspects outside school include: community service and the positioning of students in local government institutions. Among modalities of citizenship practice, the Internet is a great instrument to support civil society in the advancement of its interests– not only because of the access it provides to information on the public system and society in general, but also for the possibilities of establishing so-

cial networks on subjects of common interest. In this framework, ECD should incorporate the use of information technologies in schools.

With respect to youth violence –a critical issue not limited to countries in Central America– several initiatives have been implemented to contribute to its solution. Since the school has the unique privilege of offering a contained space, many initiatives operate through it. In the Dialogue meeting, participants reviewed evidence showing that schools represent a safe place for students (and at times for the community itself), particularly when violence is prevalent in the surrounding community (Minutes, VII Meeting of the Regional Policy Dialogue Education Network, February 2005).

Any program to prevent youth violence by strengthening citizenship skills must avoid victimization (poor teens and youth as victims of social injustices) and stigmatization (guilt, and pre-categorization of youth). The victimization/guilt cycle is something that happens to poor youth. The conditions of being young, poor and at-risk can add up to an individual being unfairly labeled by society, hindering the construction of citizenship and acquisition of skills for constructive participation (Mettifogo, 1998)²⁶.

The Program for Educational Reform in Latin America (PREAL) has been the leader in many school initiatives and programs promoting a culture of peace and prevention of violence, particularly in Central America. It has organized outreach initiatives in several countries (Series on Prevention of School Violence, PREAL, 2005).

Mexico's ECD policy includes promoting a culture of legality in schools. As the country's Sub-Secretary of Education Gómez Morín explained in his presentation, Mexico's program emerged in response to evidence that 70% to 75% of students in disadvantaged zones– particularly along the U.S. border– drop out of school to become part of organized crime and drug trafficking.

To help address the problem, the Inter-American Development Bank conducted a research study on gangs in Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Panama and Colombia²⁷. One of the study's concluding recommendations was

²⁶ Mettifogo, D, 1998, Participación juvenil y promoción de salud: opciones de política, PAHO, Washington, DC.

²⁷ Regional Seminar "Alternatives to Following the Path of the Maras", June 2005, the Inter-American Development Bank, Panama.

that Ministries of Education should revise curriculum, focusing in particular on prevention of violence and strengthening of citizen skills. The study pointed out that school failure is one of the factors driving youth to participate in gangs and maras.

As evidence shows, education clearly has an influential and preventive role. Schools offer a contained space, and given the variables involved in the emergence of youth violence, ECD can undoubtedly be a crucial tool to strengthen the social fabric that could force effective responses from the relevant public institutions.

8. The Content of this Document

This document includes two IDB-sponsored studies, as requested by members of the Dialogue, that were presented at the VII Meeting of the Education Network in February 2005. It also includes progress reports on ECD in Chile, Colombia and Mexico presented by Dialogue participants from these countries. Together these studies offer a comprehensive overview of the current state of ECD in Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. Comparative perspectives between regions provide elements that enrich the analysis and contribute valuable ideas to redefining ECD in the region.

The first study, by British academics Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, presents an updated summary of advancements in several European countries and other developed nations in the world. The wealth of information reveals the importance of ECD in the European context, as well as the fact that implementation of new ECD programs in the education system began more than a decade ago, so diagnostics and comprehensive and reflexive evaluations are now available. They address key concepts such as ECD's positioning in curricular structure, in terms of both pedagogic practices and evaluation. Also included is an in-depth anal-

ysis on the role of teachers and requirements of teaching ECD. They conclude the report with concrete recommendations for education policy leaders and school directors and administrators. It is interesting to note that they also include a practical instrument to "evaluate" ECD programs from the perspective of democracy and diversity— a crucial issue in Europe. This instrument comprehensively reviews all key aspects addressed by a good ECD program.

The authors of the second study, Fernando Reimers and Eleonora Villegas-Reimers, map out the official ECD policies in high schools in the region. The analysis is based on a survey administered to the authorities and responsible technical experts responsible for EDC in the Dialogue member countries. This idea arose during the previous Dialogue meeting, when it was decided that EDC would be the topic of the 2005 meeting. Twelve of the 26 member countries responded, representing 46%. Results showed that EDC is on the schooling agenda in all 12 countries that answered the survey; the differences are in the way EDC is understood, its position in the curricular structure and relation with the global framework of the country's education policy. The authors complement the analysis with a conceptual framework that provides solid guidelines for designing and implementing ECD programs.

Finally, in the presentation of case studies from Chile (by Cristián Cox), Colombia (by Rosario Jaramillo), and Mexico (by Education Sub-Secretary Lorenzo Gómez-Morin), the authors add to the previous analysis the richness provided by practice and experience. They examine the progress of ECD programs in their countries, from inception to discussion with relevant stakeholders, negotiations to achieve consensus and valuable lessons learned from experience, including trials, mistakes and successes.

Study on the Advances in Civic Education in Education Systems: good practices in industrialized countries

Audrey Osler ¹

Hugh Starkey ²

1. Executive Summary

The aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive overview of the progress made by industrialized countries in the area of school-based civic education, which identifies the lessons learnt and effective practices which may be applied in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Why is CE being introduced?

At the beginning of the twenty-first century there is a renewed interest in citizenship education (CE) at both national and international levels. International bodies, such as UNESCO, present CE as a response to the global challenges of injustice and inequalities. A number of countries make strong links between CE and human rights education and there is a growing consensus internationally that human rights principles underpin education for citizenship in multicultural democracies.

The processes of globalization and consequent migration are having a direct impact on communities and schools, and are increasing diversity in local communities. Within multicultural democracies there are tensions between the need to promote national unity or cohesion and the need to support a diverse range of cultural communities within the nation-state. These tensions demand an educational response. Citizenship education in schools is recognized as a means of addressing both unity and diversity.

There is a concern in a number of democratic nation-states about levels of political engagement, particularly among the young. This is cited as a reason for strengthening citizenship education. Citizenship education programs are also de-

veloped to address perceived youth problems and youth behavior. Finally, and importantly, there are concerns in a number of countries, notably in Europe, about the growth of anti-democratic movements with racist agendas. Citizenship education is promoted by the European Commission and the Council of Europe as an important means of challenging racism as an anti-democratic force.

Citizenship education is recognised as critical by a number of international organisations and the UN Convention the Rights of the Child provides an agenda which has been endorsed by member states.

How is CE being introduced in schools?

An international consensus panel of scholars who examined the research evidence, identified four key principles and 10 key concepts for teaching for citizenship in multicultural democracies. The key principles are:

- Students should learn about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation and the world.
- Students should learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation and region are increasingly dependent upon other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental and technological changes taking place across the planet.

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- The teaching of human rights should underpin citizenship education courses and programs in multicultural nation-states.
- Students should be taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions as well as be provided opportunities in which they can practice democracy.

The key concepts are:

1. Democracy
2. Diversity
3. Globalization
4. Sustainable Development
5. Empire, Imperialism, Power
6. Prejudice, Discrimination, Racism
7. Migration
8. Identity/Diversity
9. Multiple Perspectives
10. Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism

Learners are expected to engage with this considerable body of knowledge in spite of the fact that usually only one or two hours a week are allocated to citizenship education. One response is to find additional time and there are examples of foreign language curriculum time being used. Another response is to ensure that the time is used most effectively and this can be achieved where democratic methodologies are used and formal democratic structures are in place to support this approach.

How does citizenship education enhance the school curriculum?

Citizenship education is uniquely placed to:

- help young people and adults be better prepared to exercise the rights and responsibilities stipulated in international human rights instruments and in national constitutions
- help them acquire the skills required for active participation in the public arena and in civil society as responsible, critical citizens
- increase interest in educational change, stimulate bottom-up innovation and grassroots initiatives of practitioners and students
- encourage a holistic approach to education by

including non-formal and informal learning in education policies.

- establish productive partnerships with NGOs to encourage understanding of the inter-relationship of local and national as well as global and international perspectives.

What evidence is there of successful practice?

Citizenship education is successful where there is clearly identifiable curriculum time and where it is given status, for instance by being offered as an examination course.

Citizenship education also requires a school climate of openness to debate and discussion. This in turn implies the explicit adherence to a set of common values based on democratic ideals of freedom, equality and human rights. Where this is in place, citizenship education is often a very positive experience for teachers and learners.

Successful citizenship education involves active learning and opportunities to undertake open-ended investigations of issues that have real social and political significance. Where teachers are skilled in using active methods and confident in their own understanding of human rights as international standards, learners engage readily with citizenship issues and develop confidence and skills for participation.

Evaluation of programs is particularly important in a dynamic and developing field such as citizenship education. The success of a program of citizenship education may be evaluated by looking for positive indicators on the following dimensions.

- Is there a focus on specific information about democracy and human rights?
- Does it explore/affirm various identities?
- Does it promote intercultural development?
- Does it prepare participants for social/economic inclusion?
- Does it have an equal opportunities focus, or one which addresses the specific needs of women/girls in claiming their citizenship rights?
- Does the project have active methods/encourage participation?

- Does it have an anti-racist focus?
- Does it develop skills for democratic participation?

What difficulties have been identified?

The main challenges to be addressed when implementing a program of citizenship education are to:

- articulate clearly what citizenship education is about and what it is expected to achieve
- secure its position and status in the curriculum
- ensure that the whole school community, including parents, supports citizenship education
- create a political climate at national, local and school level that encourages citizenship education
- train and support teachers so that they can help young people to explore political issues
- have in place a system of inspection or self-assessment to ensure that the implementation matches the expectations of the policy

What resources and support, including teacher training, are required for successful citizenship education?

The first and essential requirement for successful citizenship education is a clear policy framework. Policy frameworks need to be developed at all levels from the school through to national levels.

It is helpful to involve all public and private, official and non-governmental, professional and voluntary actors in designing, implementing and monitoring policies on education for democratic citizenship. This is likely to require specific funding.

Flexibility in timetabling is particularly helpful to citizenship education. For example, organizing a whole-school event on a citizenship theme may require a block of time, such as half a school day.

Teacher training for specialists in citizenship requires a firm grounding in international normative standards and expectations, particularly human rights. This is essential but not sufficient. Teachers are also required to put these values into practice and teacher education needs to

provide opportunities for this. One context where such experience is particularly important is in helping students to combat racism and promote both unity and diversity.

Recommendations:

suggested measures that have proven effective for developing and updating of civic education, with particular reference to measures which might be applied to the context of Latin America and the Caribbean.

2 Why is CE being introduced?

- 2.1 During the last decade of the twentieth century and at the very beginning of the twenty-first century we have seen a renewed interest in citizenship education. This renewed interest, at both national and international levels, among international organisations, government agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), can be explained by a number of factors.
- 2.2 First, there is internationally, a broad recognition of a need to address, through education, the challenges presented by continuing injustice and inequalities in the world. This perspective has been strengthened since 11 September 2001 because of a growing awareness of the links between poverty, injustice and inequality in the world on the one hand, and terrorist movements. International organisations and individual nation-states have responded by reviewing how citizenship education and human rights education might be strengthened and renewed. Citizenship education and human rights education are two distinct areas but their aims also converge and overlap, as this section explains. This report indicates a growing consensus internationally that human rights principles underpin education for citizenship in multicultural democracies (see section 3 below).
- 2.3 The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (HRE) 1995-2004 aimed to mobilize governments to develop specific plans and programs in this field. The UN Human Rights Commission plans to establish a World Program and an inter-

national cooperation and government-civil society framework of cooperation on HRE which will build upon the achievements of the Decade:

- 2.4 Convinced that human rights education is a long-term and lifelong process by which all people at all levels of development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies, and that human rights education significantly contributes to promoting equality and sustainable development, preventing conflict and human rights violations and enhancing participation and democratic processes, with a view to developing societies in which all human rights of all are valued and respected.

(UN Human Rights Commission Resolution 2004/71)
The aims of the World Program are therefore:

1. developing respect for human dignity
2. promoting equality and sustainable development
3. preventing conflict and human rights violations
4. enhancing participation and democratic processes.

- 2.5 These aims are in keeping with the aims of programs of education for democratic citizenship, which are also being developed by international organisations and nation-states. At the 47th session of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) UNESCO International Conference on Education in September 2004, 'education for active and responsible citizenship' was identified among the proposed priorities for action to improve the quality of education for all young people:

In particular, this Conference has allowed us to agree at an international level on several fundamental aspects relative to the construction and reinforcement of our educational policies. There appears to be a need to:

- ensure that all young people acquire the competencies required for personal autonomy and for citizenship, to enter the world of work and social life, with a view to respecting their

identity, openness to the world and social and cultural diversity.

- reinforce -through education for active and responsible citizenship- the willingness and the capacity to live together and to build peace in a world characterized by inter-state and internal armed conflicts and by the emergence of all forms of violence and war.

(IBE, 2004)

- 2.6 IBE thus identified an international consensus on the need for citizenship education which will equip young people with skills attitudes for:

- personal autonomy
- employment
- living together
- respecting social and cultural diversity in their communities and globally
- peace-building and peaceful conflict resolution.

- 2.7 Secondly, the processes of globalization and consequent migration are having a direct impact in local communities around the world. Most significantly, in the context of this report, there is increasing diversity and increasing recognition of diversity in industrialized countries across the globe. Certain tensions exist within multicultural democracies concerning the need to promote national unity or cohesion and the need to accommodate, and indeed support, a range of cultural communities within the nation-state (Taylor, 1994). The tensions between diversity and unity require an educational response and a need to re-think the aims and processes of citizenship education in schools:

Increased diversity and increased recognition of diversity require a vigorous re-examination of the ends and means of citizenship education. Multicultural societies are faced with the problem of creating nation-states that recognize and incorporate the diversity of their citizens and embrace an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens are committed. Only when a nation-state is unified around a set of democratic values

such as human rights, justice, and equality can it secure the liberties of cultural, ethnic, language, and religious groups and enable them to experience freedom, justice, and peace. Citizens who understand this unity-diversity tension and act accordingly do not materialize from thin air; they are educated for it.

(Banks et al., 2005)

2.8 A meeting of education ministers from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries, on the subject of 'Raising the Quality of Education for All' noted the need not only for skills directly relevant to the workplace, but also skills which would support democracy and social cohesion. They addressed the tensions between diversity and unity (nation-building), and the importance of citizenship education which addressed both these dimensions:

The issue for education is how to develop not only successful individuals with good workplace skills, but also 'democratic citizenship'— an outcome both linked to, and supportive of, social cohesion. Defining the qualities we might wish to see in citizens of democratic societies remains a political and context-dependent task. It might include qualities such as fairness, tolerance and a co-operative approach, recognition of the value of social norms, and a civic spirit. While education and informal learning, in isolation, cannot create model citizens, they can, alongside other factors, make a constructive contribution.

- Devising a policy response will require clear objectives, keeping a balance between the "nation-building" role of civic education and its role in valuing and recognising social diversity. At the same time, choice and diversity in educational provision may have to be increased to meet individual needs.

(OECD, 2004 www.oecd.org/edumin2004)

2.9 Thirdly, there is a concern in a number of democratic nation-states about levels of political engagement, particularly among the young. Citizenship education is seen as a response to this. For example, a Korean educator notes how:

Most people today find the greatest happiness in their family life, work, religion or leisure, not in politics. Political participation is seen as an occasional, often bur-

densome, activity necessary to ensure that government respects and supports people's freedom to pursue their personal projects and attachments. The assumption that politics is primarily a means to protect and promote private life underlies most modern views of citizenship. This attitude may reflect the impoverishment of public life ... it also demonstrates the enrichment of private life, given the increased prominence of romantic love and the nuclear family; increased prosperity; and modern beliefs in the dignity of labor. The call for active citizenship must compete with the powerful attractions of private life.

(Park, 2001: 124)

The writer goes on to argue that 'nothing is more important to citizenship education than proper schooling, but schooling is no longer enough' and advocates engagement in the organisations of civil society, including co-operatives, professional organisations, environmental groups, neighbourhood and charitable organisations and support groups as a way of learning for citizenship. Interestingly, the government-commissioned report to support the introduction of citizenship education into schools in England also expressed concerns about 'worryingly low levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life' which unless addressed, threatened the security of British democracy. One of the proposed solutions, in addition to providing space in the formal school curriculum for citizenship education, was 'to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves' (QCA, 1998: 7-8).

2.10 Fourthly, the emphasis on citizenship education is closely linked to a tendency, in many countries, to blame youth for the problems and challenges facing society as a whole (Griffin, 1993; Osler and Vincent, 2003). Thus, citizenship education is often seen as a means of addressing a perceived deficit among the young (Osler, 2000), whether this relates to low levels of voting (inevitably interpreted as political apa-

thy), violence or anti-social behaviour. In France, for example, the government has placed a renewed emphasis on citizenship education in response to public concerns about anti-social behaviour and violence in schools (Debarbieux, 1999; Osler and Starkey, 2005c).

2.11 *Fifthly*, and finally, there are concerns about the growth of anti-democratic and racist movements which serve to undermine democracy. Citizenship education is seen as a means of strengthening democracy by challenging such anti-democratic movements and attitudes and promoting antiracism. This perspective is particularly strong in Europe, where there is a historical consciousness of the legacy of Fascism. The Council of Europe is particularly mindful of its responsibilities to prevent, through the democratic means at its disposal, a resurgence of racist ideologies.

2.12 In this spirit, the Council of Europe, working with the European Commission, convened a number of preparatory meetings before the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism. The governments of the member states of the Council of Europe made a formal declaration at the European conference *All Different All Equal: from principle to practice* held in Strasbourg in October 2000. The Declaration makes a strong case for antiracism as an essential element of democracy:

Europe is a community of shared values, multicultural in its past, present and future;

...Full and effective implementation of all human rights without any discrimination or distinction, as enshrined in European and other international human rights instruments, must be secured;

Racism and racial discrimination are serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all lawful means;

Racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance threaten democratic societies and their fundamental values;

Stability and peace in Europe and throughout the world can only be built on tolerance and respect for diversity;

...All initiatives aiming at greater political, social and cultural participation, especially of

persons belonging to vulnerable groups, should be encouraged.

2.13 Among specific measures recommended, education is seen as having a leading role. Governments committed themselves: to give particular attention to education and awareness-raising in all sectors of society to promote a climate of tolerance, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, including introducing and strengthening such measures among young people.

(Council of Europe, 2000)

2.14 Nation-states have responded to the need to educate citizens to challenge racism and promote democracy. For example, under the Swedish Education Act 1999 there is a specific requirement on headteachers to draft, implement, monitor and evaluate an action plan to prevent and combat all forms of offensive treatment of pupils and their staff in schools (for further details see section 3 below).

2.15 The policy documents of international organisations, endorsed by member states, affirm the need for citizenship education. Indeed, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1989, in its article 29, identifies the broad aims of education. These aims, which have been agreed by member-states of the UN through the process of ratification, can be read as an agenda for citizenship education:

States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

- (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
- (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
- (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
- (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality

of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;

- (e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

(UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989: Article 29)

2.16 At a European level, the Council of Europe's recommendation by the Committee of Ministers of Education (R 2002 12) on education for democratic citizenship begins by providing a rationale for EDC:

Concerned by the growing levels of political and civic apathy and lack of confidence in democratic institutions, and by the increased cases of corruption, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, intolerance of minorities, discrimination and social exclusion, all of which are major threats to the security, stability and growth of democratic societies;

Concerned to protect the rights of citizens, to make them aware of their responsibilities and strengthen democratic society;

Conscious of the responsibilities of present and future generations to maintain and safeguard democratic societies, and of the role of education in promoting the active participation of all individuals in political, civic, social and cultural life.

(Council of Europe, 2002)

It then observes the key role which EDC is already playing in the education reform programmes in many member states, before outlining the actors who necessarily work alongside school in realising EDC and the contribution which EDC makes to cohesion in contexts of diversity, to gender equality and to enhancing curricular and pedagogy:

Noting the central role already accorded to education for democratic citizenship in the educational reforms under way in many member states, and its key position in international co-operation for peace and stability in several European countries or regions.

Education for democratic citizenship is fundamental to the Council of Europe's primary task of promoting a free, tolerant and just society, and that it contributes, alongside the Organisation's other activities, to defending the values and principles of freedom, pluralism, human rights and the rule of law, which are the foundations of democracy.

Education for democratic citizenship should be seen as embracing any formal, non-formal or informal educational activity, including that of the family, enabling an individual to act throughout his or her life as an active and responsible citizen respectful of the rights of others;

... it is a factor for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, and solidarity, that it contributes to promoting the principle of equality between men and women, and that it encourages the establishment of harmonious and peaceful relations within and among peoples, as well as the defence and development of democratic society and culture.

Education for democratic citizenship, in its broadest possible sense, should be at the heart of the reform and implementation of educational policies;

Education for democratic citizenship is a factor for innovation in terms of organising and managing overall education systems, as well as curricula and teaching methods.

(Council of Europe, 2002)

2.17 UNESCO, analysing the results of a survey of member states on the subject of education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance concludes:

Progress has been achieved in fostering a greater awareness of, on the one hand, the importance of such education for the harmonious development of countries and, on the other, the need to integrate all the aspects of such education in an overall strategy for citizens' education and training at all levels. However, there is not always an observable match between the commitments made and the means allocated for their implementation (in particular in the field of training and the production of textbooks and educational materials). Efforts should be made to allocate greater resources to developing this type of education.

(UNESCO, 2001: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001239/123933e.pdf>)

3 How is CE being introduced in schools?

3.1 This section addresses the processes of introducing citizenship education and of strengthening its place in the school curriculum. A useful and brief definition of education for democratic citizenship

(EDC) is provided by a Council of Europe study: 'EDC is a set of practices and principles aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society' (Birzea, 2004: 10). The section begins by reporting on the findings of an international group of scholars who examined the research evidence to identify key concepts and principles for citizenship education in multicultural democracies, before examining practices in a range of industrialized countries.

3.2 Principles

An international consensus panel of scholars, convened by the University of Washington's Center of Multicultural Education from 2003-2004, drawing on international research on education for citizenship and democracy in schools, identified four key principles and 10 key concepts which should underpin education for citizenship in multicultural democracies (Banks et al., 2005). The first principle in the consensus panel's Democracy and Diversity report is that 'Students should learn about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation and the world.' The report suggests that students should examine how nation states address the limits of both unity and diversity as well as how the status of citizenship is defined and obtained in their own country and others. There is the assumption within the report that diversity and unity are indeed linked. Students are expected to consider how nation states address inequality, and how members of different nation states have dealt with the multiple identities of individuals, considering major social categories such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender and sexual orientation. The report states:

Citizens in democratic multicultural nation-states endorse the overarching ideals of the nation-state such as human rights, justice, and equality and are committed to the maintenance and perpetuation of these ideals. Democratic citizens are also willing and able to take action to close the gap between these ideals and practices that violate them, such as social, racial, cultural,

and economic inequality. Consequently, an important goal of citizenship education in a democratic multicultural society is to help students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to make reflective decisions and to take action in order to make their nation-state more democratic and just.

(Banks et al., 2005)

3.3 The second principle is that: 'Students should learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation and region are increasingly dependent upon other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental and technological changes taking place across the planet.' It is acknowledging the increasing interdependence which is taking place as a result of globalization. This principle includes enabling students to examine the power of individuals and, particularly, groups to effect change through collaboration and co-operation. The goal is for students not only to grasp the complexity of the world but also to provide them with a sense of agency and to enable them to acquire skills and knowledge to help shape their communities, the nation and the world (Osler and Starkey, 2005a).

34 Since diversity and interdependence exist at all levels from the local to the global it is important that they are addressed at all these levels. Inequality and injustice also exist at these different levels. There has sometimes been a tendency for teachers to stress cooperation and interdependence at the level of the classroom and local community without acknowledging (and addressing) inequalities at this level. Similarly, when we move to the global level there has been the tendency to emphasise others' problems or lack of human rights, without examining how global relationships are based on power differentials (Osler and Vincent, 2002). What is needed is education for cosmopolitan citizenship, which addresses diversity at local, national and international levels while at the same time engaging with the concerns of young people themselves (Osler, 2005; Osler and Vincent, 2002; Osler and Starkey 2005a). The need for education for cosmopolitan citizenship, which involves exploring these

interconnected and complex issues, has in our post 11 September world, become all the more urgent.

- 3.5 The third principle is that: 'The teaching of human rights should underpin citizenship education courses and programs in multicultural nation-states.' As the report states:

It is important when teaching for citizenship in contexts of diversity that the values which schools promote should have wide acceptance and legitimacy from an authority higher than any individual government or particular religion. Internationally agreed human rights standards provide a set of principles from which a school community can establish a set of shared values. These standards have an authority beyond any code of ethics at the national level and are consistent with the objectives of education for citizenship in societies, nations, and a world community characterized by diversity.

(Banks et al., 2005)

- 3.6 In many multicultural democracies teachers will have students in their classrooms who do not hold citizenship status. The practice and teaching of citizenship cannot depend on status but on respect for others on the basis of our shared humanity and as equal holders of rights.

- 3.7 The fourth and final principle directly addresses pedagogy: 'Students should be taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions.' For instance they should learn about: the history of democracy, the forces which have frequently caused its demise (such as tyranny of the majority, apathy, war), and about the struggles of peoples for equal rights and inclusion. However, the emphasis is on both knowledge and experience. This principle echoes the Council of Europe's (1985) recommendation which notes that

Democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers, and where there is fairness and justice. An appropriate climate is, therefore, an essential complement to effective learning about human rights.

(Council of Europe, 1985, quoted in Osler and Starkey, 1996: 183)

- 3.8 The report therefore stresses that students

should be participating in democracy at school: decision-making about school life, school governance and policy making. The report addresses the importance of deliberation or decision-making discussion, weighing up alternatives to decide the best course of action (Hahn, 1998; Parker, 2003). Examples are given in section 5 below.

- 3.9 *Key concepts*

The University of Washington International Consensus Panel suggests the following 10 key concepts to be taught within programmes of education for citizenship in multicultural democracies:

- i. **Democracy**
The emphasis is on democracy as a way of living together as well as a means of government. Democracy is acknowledged as a fragile concept and one which needs to be reinforced through education.
- ii. **Diversity**
Diversity addresses the wide range of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious variation that exists within and across groups within multicultural nation-states. Diversity variables also include class, sexual orientation and abilities/disabilities. International migration is the major reason for increasing diversity at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
- iii. **Globalization**
Globalization has a number of both positive and negative features. For example, on the one hand it may give new access to freedom and democracy. On the other, many feel threatened by cultural hegemony. Globalization processes undermine less commonly spoken languages.
- iv. **Sustainable Development**
This is the kind of social and economic development that meets the needs of present generations without undermining the ability of future generations to meet their needs.
- v. **Empire, Imperialism, Power**
An examination of these concepts allows students to consider inequity between nations and to further consider how relationships between nations can be effectively, democratically and equitably managed.
- vi. **Prejudice, Discrimination, Racism**

- Racism, prejudice and discrimination act as barriers to democracy. In order to protect democracy, students need to consider how they can effectively change such barriers.
- vii. Migration
Historically, migration is an established feature of human behaviour. Students need to understand the movement of people through voluntary migration, as well as the movement of refugees and asylum seekers, as a result of conflict, terror or persecution.
 - viii. Identity/Diversity
Students need to understand how identities are fluid and not fixed, how they can be asserted or ascribed. Genuinely multicultural societies need to be inclusive of all citizens.
 - ix. Multiple Perspectives
Enabling students to understand multiple perspectives on events is essential to citizenship education.
 - x. Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism
Patriotism implies pride in one's country. Critical patriotism involves examining national structures and cultures and a readiness to address injustices and inequalities. Critical reflection is most easily achieved through a study of other contexts and cultures. Cosmopolitanism is openness to those beyond one's own community, locality, religion, ethnicity and or nationality.

3.10 This section now reflects on ways in which education policies and schools are addressing key concepts in EDC. In many comparative studies, including global education (Osler and Vincent, 2002) and democratic school practice in Europe (Davies and Kirkpatrick, 2000) there are numerous examples of good practice, but no evidence that there is anywhere a comprehensive programme which covers all the above principles and concepts systematically. We provide further examples under selected headings.

3.11 Democracy

In most countries where there is a prescribed curriculum for citizenship education, resources are provided in the form of textbooks that follow the official programme of study and resources for teachers

that support the teaching of key concepts. In France, the programme of study for citizenship education in the secondary school starts with a consideration of the school rules and this is followed by the election of class delegates to the school council, conducted during lesson time and with support and explanations from the teacher. Thus participation in the formal democratic structures of the school provides an opportunity for learning about the concept of democracy (Martinetti, 1999).

Further up the school students learn about the democratic institutions of France and these are clearly situated within a framework of human rights. Democracy is thus presented in an international context with students also learning about the European Union and the United Nations as democratic structures (Osler and Starkey, 2005d).

In England, the official curriculum agency has produced model schemes of work to accompany the programmes of study for the national citizenship curriculum. Learning units include: human rights, government, local democracy and developing skills of democratic participation (Great Britain. QCA, 2001). These materials are available on the internet <http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/schemes2/citizenship/>.

3.12 Valuing diversity

The British government's Department for Education and Skills (DfES) funded the creation and distribution of a CD Rom *Trial and Error: learning about racism through citizenship education* (Dadzie, 2003) that was distributed free of charge to all schools. It provides detailed resources including lesson plans, pictures and documents in four units covering: Rights and Wrongs; Differences and Similarities; People and Politics; Countries and Communities. Students are invited to explore and resolve, through case studies, the many different problems in the world that arise because of racism, stereotyping and fear of religious, cultural or ethnic difference.

The DfES, through the Teacher Training Agency also funded a website *Multiverse* for those involved in teacher training. It is intended to provide resources and materials to help improve understanding of the

implications for education of the increasing diversity in British society (see list of websites in Appendix B).

3.13 A study of intercultural education in Europe, examining both curricula and legislative frameworks, highlights three approaches to intercultural education which address many of the elements of EDC, notably: diversity, sustainable development, power relationships, prejudice, discrimination and racism, and migration. The approaches are:

- learning about cultural diversity, which is expected to develop values of respect and tolerance among pupils. In some countries, the fight against racism and xenophobia is an integral part of this aspect;
- the international dimension which – through study of the economic and social concerns that underlie international relations (and particularly North/South relations), as well as of the history of migration and its causes – provides for an understanding of contemporary cultural diversity in its historical and social context;
- the European dimension which focuses on insight into the cultural characteristics of European peoples, the history of European integration and the overall significance of the country concerned within Europe, and enables pupils to develop a sense of European identity.

(Eurydice, 2004: 57)

The report noted that in a number of European countries the intercultural approach is also included in lessons concerned with knowledge and understanding of society, such as those devoted to civics and political education, sociology or ethics. It concludes that intercultural issues figure among the major concerns of citizenship education.

3.14 *Sustainable development*

This is an area of the curriculum where there are examples of good practice and resources from a range of countries, with schools in a number of western European countries beginning to work effectively with non-governmental organisations (see, for example, Osler and Vincent, 2002).

3.15 *Prejudice, discrimination, racism*

In Sweden, a 'national action plan to combat racism, xenophobia, homophobia and

discrimination' was agreed in February 2001. The Swedish government asserts that this action plan is amongst its highest priorities. It presents antiracism as an essential element in protecting and promoting democracy (Osler and Starkey, 2002).

3.16 Sweden requires schools to *promote* race equality:

The Education Act (1985:1100) states that educational activities shall be carried out in accordance with fundamental democratic values and that everyone who works in schools must promote respect for the worth of the individual and respect for our common environment. The Education Act was strengthened and sharpened in 1998. Everyone in the school system must now work actively to combat all forms of offensive treatment such as mobbing and racist behaviour (Government of Sweden, 2001: 34).

There is a specific requirement on headteachers to draft, implement, monitor and evaluate an action plan to prevent and combat all forms of offensive treatment of pupils and their staff in schools. However, the national action plan paper admits that not all schools and local authorities have presented 'quality reports' that evaluate the implementation of their antiracism action plan. There is a similar duty imposed on British schools under the UK Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 although the same concerns about non-compliance have been noted in England (Osler and Morrison, 2000).

3.17 One important initiative by the Swedish government was to declare 1999 as Basic Values Year and to launch a Basic Values Project. A handbook for schools was produced, stressing the need to listen more to children and young people. It also provides guidance on the role of the school in promoting common values and directly combating those values that are inimical to democracy:

Schools should not be value-neutral but should clarify basic values and tolerance limits. The principle of the equal worth of all people is a democratic value that cannot be interpreted away. In interpersonal relations there should be no distinction between the worth of different groups of people and attitudes which deny this principle - such as Nazism, racism, sexism, and the glorifi-

cation of violence - shall be actively brought out into the open and combated.

(Government of Sweden, 2001: 36)

3.18 *Migration*

It is difficult to find examples of where this topic is approached well, and some evidence to suggest that when taught badly, the results may be counter-productive, reinforcing students' prejudices about migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Rutter (2005) provides recommendations on how this area of the curriculum might be addressed more effectively. She concludes that the most effective teaching begins with the personal experiences of refugees, through the use of refugee speakers or video testimonies. She also notes that the allocation of time resources appears to be a key factor that determines if a curricular initiative about refugees is successful or not. She recommends that at least 15 hours of teaching needs to be devoted to a topic such as refugees in contexts where there is hostility in the community.

3.19 *Organisation of the curriculum*

In practice, citizenship education is implemented through a variety of different subjects. The IEA Study on Civic Education, analysing data from respondents in 28 countries, concluded that there were four different approaches among the sample:

- a strong focus on history
- a strong combination of history and civic education
- a pattern with no clear emphasis among subjects or disciplines (without religion/ethics)
- a pattern with no clear emphasis among subjects or disciplines (but including religion/ethics).

3.20 In most countries, civic education drew from a variety of subjects (Losito and Mintrop, 2001: 160). The researchers noted that civic education may be structured as a single definitive subject, as a field integrated into the social sciences or into the curriculum, or primarily as an extra-curricular activity. They observed that the extra-curricular model is the least popular among teachers, and that a model that in-

tegrates civic education into other social sciences was most popular. A study of EDC in Council of Europe member states identified a similar range of models:

- a specific timetabled subject
- integration across all subjects (special programmes curriculum and cross-curricular themes)
- a combination of EDC as a separate subject, integrated programmes and
- cross-curricula contents.

(Birzea, 2004: 20)

3.21 The allocation of teaching hours for EDC in Council of Europe member states is generally 1 - 2 hours weekly. It is known by a range of names within the school curriculum. These include:

civics or civic education
civic culture
citizenship education
civic and legal education
social studies
social sciences
social subjects
science of society
man and society
life skills
living together
social personal and health education
personal and social development
knowledge about society
social education
civic social and political education
civic legal and social education
democracy and human rights
education for human rights and democratic citizenship
political education
political system
law education
principles of civic society
constitutional studies

3.22 The following combinations of subjects are also noted:

history and civic education
history, civic education and economics
history and social studies
anthropology and social studies
religious and moral education

study of man and ethics
civic education and ethics
ethics, social sciences, geography and history

(Birzea, 2004: 20)

3.23 There is increasing interest in teaching citizenship through the medium of a foreign language, taking advantage of the relatively open opportunities provided in language learning classes as well as the well-defined affiliations with intercultural learning. In one project, a textbook designed for schools in Romania that offer intensive English classes, is based entirely on human rights education (Brown and Popovici, 2005). This is developed in paragraph 4.7 below.

3.24 *Democratic methodologies*

There are, inevitably, variations in the use of methodologies within as well as between countries. Nevertheless, the Swedish curriculum framework provides an example of good practice:

It is not in itself sufficient that education imparts knowledge of fundamental democratic values. It must also be carried out using democratic working methods and prepare pupils for active participation in civic life. Pupils should be given experience of participating in the planning and evaluation of their daily education, and in exercising influence and taking responsibility. (Curriculum for the compulsory and non-compulsory school in Sweden, quoted in Birzea, 2004: 61)

3.25 This approach is also supported by the Council of Europe, which considers that the knowledge, attitudes, values and key competencies for citizenship education cannot be truly and effectively acquired without diversified educational methods and approaches in a democratic environment, for instance:

- through active participation of pupils, students, educational staff and parents in democratic management of the learning place, in particular, the educational institution;
- through the promotion of the democratic ethos in educational methods and relationships formed in a learning context;
- by promoting learner-centred methods, including project pedagogics based on adopting a joint, shared objective and fulfilling it in a

collective manner, whether such projects are defined by a class, a school, the local, regional, national, European or international community, or by the various civil society organisations involved in education for democratic citizenship (non-governmental organisations, enterprises, professional organisations);

- by promoting research, personal study and initiative;
- by adopting an educational approach closely combining theory and practice;
- by involving learners in the individual and collective assessment of their training, particularly within the aforementioned project-based methods;
- by encouraging exchanges, meetings and partnerships between pupils, students and teachers from different schools so as to improve mutual understanding between individuals;
- by promoting and strengthening education and awareness-raising approaches and methods throughout society, and particularly among pupils and students, that are conducive to a climate of tolerance, and to the respect of cultural and religious diversity;
- by bringing formal, non-formal and informal education closer together;
- by setting up civic partnerships between the school and the family, the community, the workplace and the media.

(Council of Europe, 2002)

3.26 Democratic methodologies are also judged to be most effective within the IEA study:

Civic education should be cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of societal diversity and co-constructed with parents and the community (and with non-governmental organisations) as well as the school.

(Torney-Purta et al., 2001: 30)

3.27 The Euridem project (Davies and Kirkpatrick, 2000) studied formal democratic systems in Denmark, Germany, Netherlands and Sweden. The study noted that in these countries there is firm and wide-ranging legislation to ensure that pupils are involved in school decision-making. This legislation states not only that schools should have structures such as student councils,

but that pupils should be represented on major boards and committees in the school and also locally, regionally and nationally. The study found that pupil councils often had a designated room in the school, with a computer and telephone, where they could network within and outside the school and produce reports and newsletters. There are also very active school student unions, receiving financial support from the government, local authorities and schools. These unions provide training and guidance on improving pupil participation. There is a European office of school student unions (OBESU) which coordinates activities and provides advice (see list of websites).

The existence of these unions, and of regional and national systems of pupil representation, means that pupil associations, or education committees with pupils on them, are routinely consulted by government whenever educational change is proposed. Pupils can also lobby for educational improvement.

The researchers found that linked to this culture of giving pupils a voice, relationships between teachers and pupils in schools were mainly warm, respectful and non-confrontational. Pupils felt they could give their opinions and that teachers listened to them. Teachers and headteachers felt that pupil democracy aided in academic achievement. Pupils interviewed were mostly articulate and confident, even in English – a second language for them. They could define democracy, knew about human rights, and knew how to create change if necessary.

4. How does CE enhance the school curriculum?

4.1 Citizenship education provides opportunities for learners to reflect on their own values and identities in the context of the society in which they live. This is rarely possible in other parts of the curriculum. Osler and Starkey summarise key features of this approach to education for citizenship and the relationship between its components in a diagram (Osler and Starkey, 1996, 1999, 2005a). It is shown here as figure 4.1. Figure 4.1 is based on a grid with two vertical and two horizontal dimensions.

In the vertical axes citizenship education is represented as having a structural/ political dimension and a cultural/personal dimension. The structural/ political strand corresponds to citizenship as status. It includes an institutional element. It may emphasise cognitive skills and understandings such as acquiring knowledge of the structures of society and politics. The other strand focuses on the cultural/ personal dimension, or citizenship as feeling, linked primarily to cultural choices. The two dimensions are complementary rather than in tension. Both may involve action or citizenship as practice. This approach to citizenship education is about personal development and about recognition of students' own identities as a key aspect of citizenship education programmes. (Figure 4.1)

4.2 This model of citizenship education suggests that at a minimal level citizens need to have knowledge and understanding of their responsibilities, their rights and their various (multiple) identities. This implies both human rights education and a learning environment where feelings and choices about identity are explored and developed.

4.3 This is however the minimal entitlement. Rights cannot be claimed unless there is genuine inclusion in society, implying such things as a basic income, security and active participation. The educational implications are that schools and other learning environments need to be developed as models of the good society, if the structural and political aspects of citizenship education are to be achieved. At a cultural and personal level the development of multiple identities needs to be complemented by the development of various competencies, including political literacy and skills to effect change (Osler and Starkey, 1996)

4.4 Because citizenship education provides an opportunity to engage with learners' feelings and identities, as well as provide them with important knowledge to equip them for living in society, research shows that learners and teachers consider that this is an important dimension to the curriculum and one

FIGURE 4.1

COMPONENTS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

	Structural/political	Cultural/personal
	Rights understanding and experience of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • human rights • democracy 	Identities feeling of belonging <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • either/or (tension)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diversity 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • both/and (hybridity)
Minimal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • civil society, e.g. NGOs 	
	implies:	implies:
	human rights education	feelings and choices
	Inclusion	Competence
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • security: physical, social, psychological, financial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political literacy • cosmopolitan worldview
Maximal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • active participation • commitment to democratic citizenship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • skills to effect change, e.g. language, advocacy, mobilisation
	implies:	implies:
	building a more inclusive democracy	skills for democratic participation

(from Osler and Starkey, 2005a)

where the democratic mission of schools is expressly articulated. For instance, the IEA study of civic education in 28 countries noted that:

Fairly uniformly across countries, students are taught by teachers who strongly affirm that schools are places where civic education ought to be taught and can be taught effectively...For large proportions of respondents, civic education matters a great deal in facilitating students' civic development, and teachers therefore fulfill an important role for their country... They agree that students learn to understand people, to cooperate, to solve problems, to protect the environment, to develop concern about the country, and to know the importance of voting.

(Losito and Mintrop, 2001: 169)

4.5 Another way of looking at what citizenship education adds to the curriculum is to ascertain what policy makers consider to be the added value of citizenship education.

The Council of Europe study found that citizenship education is uniquely placed to:

- help young people and adults be better prepared to exercise the rights and responsibilities stipulated in national constitutions;
- help them acquire the skills required for active participation in the public arena as responsible and critical citizens as well as organised citizens (in civil society);
- increase interest in educational change, stimulate bottom-up innovation and grassroots initiatives of practitioners;
- encourage a holistic approach to education by including non-formal and informal learning in education policies.

(Birzea, 2004: 13)

4.6 According to Otsu (2001), in countries such as Japan civic education has tended to privilege propositional knowledge over active engagement and it therefore largely fails to

connect with the present lives of the students. This has also been observed in Taiwan (Liu, 2001). However, there is growing interest in both countries in internationalizing the curriculum and helping schools to respond to diversity in local populations and to migration, both of which are increasingly recognized (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2004). In Japan, there is a particular national emphasis on development education and global responsibilities. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been particularly active in promoting global and world development perspectives in schools, and this has been taken up by a number of teachers both as a way of making the curriculum more international and as an opportunity to introduce more active learning approaches. See, for example the website <http://www.dear.or.jp>. In Taiwan, human rights education was introduced to the formal school curriculum in 2004, following a process of lobbying and campaigning by NGOs.

- 4.7 There is increasing interest in the ways in which citizenship education can enhance the teaching of language in schools and of the ways in which foreign language teaching in particular can also enhance citizenship education. This has been recognised by a number of organisations including the Council of Europe (Byram et al. 2002; Starkey, 2002a, b) and by the British Council, which is making links between its governance programme and its long-standing commitment to the promotion of English language teaching (Brown and Popovici, 2005; Green, 2005). Citizenship is essentially about belonging, about feeling secure and being in a position to exercise one's rights and responsibilities. Education for democratic citizenship therefore needs to address learners' identities and to promote and develop skills for communication and participation. Since these aspects of education are also central to language learning, language teachers are particularly well-placed to make a significant contribution to education for democratic citizenship. Both language learning and learning for democratic citizenship within a globalized world imply openness to the other, respect for diversity and the development of a

range of critical skills, including skills of intercultural evaluation (Starkey and Osler, 2003; Osler, 2005; Starkey, 2005; Osler and Starkey, 2005b).

5. What evidence is there of successful practice?

- 5.1 The first requirement for successful citizenship education is that it must have status and some clearly identifiable curriculum time. A summary of research on the acquisition of basic civic knowledge by American students concluded that the 'civic knowledge of...secondary students is increased through direct instruction' and that 'civic knowledge is related to the number of courses taken...and the amount of time spent on civics lessons in the classroom and on homework' (Patrick and Hoge, 1990: 432, quoted in Wraga and Hlebowitsh 2000: 11).

- 5.2 One way in which citizenship education can be given enhanced status is by ensuring that it is included as an examination subject. An international study noted:

In some countries, citizenship was only taken seriously as a recognised and valued part of the curriculum when it became an examination subject. This was the case in the Netherlands with the use of end of year written exams at national school level alongside assessment of practical or experiential components (often in project form). There may be a need for more formal, written examinations as part of the assessment of citizenship education in order to raise its status in the curriculum.

(Kerr, 1999: 25)

A case study of the introduction of citizenship education into one London school illustrates how teachers recognized the importance of giving it status through introducing an examination course in citizenship (Hudson, 2005). The research notes that not only was an examination course developed but that the subject was made particularly relevant to students' lives by ensuring that an important part of the assessment was through project work, allowing students to focus on issues of their choice. By focusing on issues of local concern, such as street crime, and examining solutions to the problems and presenting them to people in power, students developed skills in re-

search, evaluation, action for change, and presentation. Their studies brought them into contact with people of influence, such as their Member of Parliament, other political representatives and the police. Not only did their work enhance their self-esteem but it also helped build trust with agencies of which they had previously been suspicious. Consequently, some students developed what Hudson refers to as more politicized identities, and were ready to take on representative roles at school (for example in the school council) and in a community forum.

5.3 The success of democratic classroom climates in promoting the goals of citizenship education is confirmed by successive IEA studies over three decades:

Educational practices play an important role in preparing students for citizenship. Schools that model democratic values by promoting an open climate for discussing issues and inviting students to take part in shaping school life are effective in promoting both civic knowledge and engagement. In three quarters of the countries surveyed, students who reported having such experiences in their classrooms show greater civic knowledge, and they are more likely to expect to vote as adults than other students. This finding, that an open climate for classroom discussion enhances civic knowledge and engagement, is consistent with results from the 1971 IEA Civic Education Study.

(Torney-Purta, et al., 2001: 8)

54 An open and democratic climate has the advantage of creating positive working relationships and providing enjoyable learning experiences.

In teachers' views, civic education classrooms are a much happier affair than their countries' experts convey. Teachers in almost all countries say that discussion of controversial issues occurs more frequently than teacher lectures. The strength of oral participation bolsters the view of civic education in most countries as a pragmatic and highly communicative field of instruction.

Mintrop, 2003:450 – 451

5.5 Successful learning for citizenship also depends on participative and active teaching and learning approaches. These can only be undertaken where there is already a degree of openness and trust in the classroom. An evaluation of the Bill of Rights

in Schools initiative (BORIS) in Northern Ireland (Reilly et al., 2005) noted that initially a number of teachers were sceptical of the degree to which students would be able to grasp complex concepts related to constitutional and human rights. However, the more democratic and active teaching which were adopted by the BORIS project resulted in students showing enthusiasm for learning and demonstrating that they were capable of far more than their teachers expected.

5.6 From their research in schools in England where citizenship education has been successfully introduced, Wales and Clarke (2005) identify and exemplify the following active learning approaches:

- discussion
- formal debate
- investigations and projects
- role play
- group work
- preparing and making presentations
- simulations
- learning and communicating with technology
- participation and taking responsibility

Examples are also included on the website of the Nuffield Foundation UK project (see Appendix B).

5.7 The Nuffield secondary citizenship project also demonstrates how an investigation can be undertaken by teams, each working with a different main learning style. This has the advantage of providing variety, encouraging co-operation, and promoting inclusion. An investigation into the impact of a proposed building development was undertaken with five different tasks as follows:

- visual/ spatial—include the use of maps in your research
- logical deductive—prepare a clear argument using evidence
- interpersonal—work with another group to understand their concerns, prepare a joint presentation
- linguistic – prepare a case to persuade others, use Powerpoint or other visual aids

- kinaesthetic– play the role of journalists and move round the room conducting interviews (Wales and Clarke, 2005: 9)

5.8 Opportunities to discuss current issues in a classroom setting actually lead to better results in terms of learning and in terms of democratic attitudes. International comparative studies of citizenship education support assertions that those who participate in such discussions have a greater interest in politics, improved critical thinking and communications skills, more civic knowledge, and more interest in discussing public affairs out of school (Hahn, 1998; Ichilov, 2003; Pettersson, 2004).

5.9 Discussions are most likely to be lively and to engage students when they concern real political issues. This means that teachers have to be confident in their capacity to handle discussions of issues that are politically controversial. European guidance suggests that:

Human rights inevitably involve the domain of politics. Teaching about human rights should, therefore, always have international agreements and covenants as a point of reference, and teachers should take care to avoid imposing their personal convictions on their pupils and involving them in ideological struggles.

(Council of Europe, 1985, quoted in Osler and Starkey, 1996: 182)

O’Cuanachain (2005) argues that it is particularly important to refer to international human rights standards in contexts of rapid political, economic and social change, such as has been experienced in the Republic of Ireland. In such contexts citizenship education itself takes on a particular importance, and has the potential to contribute to a more open climate and to encourage greater respect for human rights and particularly for the rights of the most vulnerable, including migrants and minorities.

5.10 Teachers should be aware that, in many cases, their national constitutions also explicitly guarantee freedom of expression and political diversity. In facilitating the discussion of real political issues they are acting in the spirit of many international agreements and also, generally, in the furtherance of the formally expressed goals of their national constitution. To avoid politically sensitive issues may be to diminish

the impact of citizenship education. A US study concludes that:

The relative absence of such subjects as political parties and interest groups is a distortion rather than an accurate representation of American politics. The reason for these gaps may well be the desire to avoid controversy...we believe that it is a disservice to students to let them think that government ideally operates without conflict... Styles of teaching, too, are important and we recommend that interactive and expansive strategies of teaching be further utilised to maintain interest and to develop and enhance students’ critical analytic skills...Introducing or increasing the practice of discussing and analysing current events where possible is therefore another way to improve current civics teaching.

(Niemi and Junn, 1998: 150 - 2)

5.11 The authors of this study also recommend that schools try to treat the role and status of minority Americans and women in politics more prominently. They advise that ‘altering the civics curriculum so that it speaks more directly to the experiences of a diversity of students may well help reduce the differences in students’ levels of civic knowledge’ (Niemi and Junn, 1998:156).

5.12 Project work is particularly appropriate for citizenship education when it enables learners to devise their own questions, research answers and present their findings to others. Project work has been particularly successful in Australia (Print et al., 1999), Finland (Pentilla, 2005), Austria, France and Sweden (Osler and Starkey, 1996: 142-150).

5.13 Successful citizenship education goes much further than stereotypical civics classes which might involve a teacher instructing students on the minutiae of legislative procedures or election law. Citizenship education encourages learners to engage with larger public issues, underlying principles, and ways for them to participate. There is no single approach that will guarantee success as much depends on ‘the preparation and enthusiasm of teachers, the availability of resources (especially classroom time and money), the appropriateness of a curriculum and pedagogy for particular groups of students, the level of support in

the community, the interplay with the rest of the curriculum, and other such factors' (Carnegie Corporation, 2003:20).

5.14 A US study concludes that there are four common characteristics to effective approaches to civic education, namely:

- A deliberate, intentional focus on civic outcomes such as students' propensity to vote, to work on local problems, to join voluntary associations, and to follow the news.
- Explicit advocacy of civic and political engagement. In the process of teaching civic education, educators should encourage their students to participate personally in politics and civil society, including at the local level, although without advocating a particular position or party.
- Active learning opportunities that offer students the chance to engage in discussions of issues and take part in activities that can help put a "real life" perspective on what is learned in class. These activities can range from collaborative or independent research projects and presentations to simulations, mock trials and elections, service-learning projects, and participation in the student government.
- An emphasis on the ideas and principles that are essential to constitutional democracy, such as those found in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, and how they influence our schools, religious congregations, the workplace, and local, state, and national governments. Students should grasp the relationship between these documents and the problems, opportunities, controversies, rights, and responsibilities that matter to them in the present.

(Carnegie Corporation, 2003: 21)

5.15 A case study of citizenship education in a London school suggests that it may be over-ambitious to expect significant numbers of students to respond to a course of citizenship education by demonstrating higher levels of civic and political engagement in their communities. Nevertheless, the study does suggest that if students are introduced to issues such as fair trade and can see how their behaviour as consumers can have an impact on the quality of lives of people in other parts of the world, their awareness is raised and a number are will-

ing to take steps to influence the behaviour of others (Hudson, 2005).

5.16 Such approaches require an enabling school environment. School leaders need to ensure that the mission statement of the school and its policies reflect the intention of giving citizenship education prominence and status. This happens where schools:

- consciously promote civic engagement by all students, with special attention to those who might otherwise be disengaged.
- give students opportunities to contribute opinions about the governance of the school—not just through student governments, but in forums that engage the entire student body or in smaller groups addressing significant problems in the school.
- help students to understand how their own schools and school systems are run, who makes the policies that affect them, and what issues are being debated by local educational leaders and the community.
- collaborate with the community and local institutions to provide civic learning opportunities.
- provide teachers with access to professional development in civic education, foster collaboration and networking, and recognize teachers who are doing good work in this area.
- infuse a civic mission throughout the curriculum; offer an array of extracurricular activities; and structure the school environment and climate so that students are able to "live what they learn" about civic engagement and democracy.

(Carnegie Corporation, 2003: 21)

5.17 A European Commission evaluation of good practice used the model introduced in Section 4 (Figure 4.1) to generate questions through which it is possible to evaluate a programme of citizenship education. These evaluation questions are shown in Figure 5.1. Successful programmes are able to demonstrate positive responses to most of these questions. Ideally there should be at least one positive response within each section.

5.18 Evaluation of programmes of citizenship education is one of the key elements in ensuring successful and critical practice in this developing area of the school curriculum.

One model that might be adopted is that of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (IIHR) (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos). IIHR has undertaken a study of the curricula and textbooks of 19 countries in Latin America, all of which have either signed or ratified the Additional Protocol to the American Convention of Human Rights in the area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Protocol of San Salvador). IIHR has devised an instrument to examine the extent to which human rights have been incorporated into the administrative and programmatic elements which make up the school curricula, course plans and programmes of study for the subjects taught in elementary and high schools. The matrix used to evaluate these texts and programmes is shown in Appendix 3. It is available in both English and Spanish and provides a useful model which might be adapted to assess the degree to which current school curricula and text books address citizenship education. The

IIHR matrix forms the basis of what is known as 'friendly monitoring.' This is an attempt to assess the current situation as a means of supporting further curriculum development.

- 5.19 In the case of Latin America, both Chile and Columbia have participated in the IEA study (Rueda, 1999; Government of Chile Ministerio de Educación, 2004). This provides ministries of education with background data on student attitudes and civic values that can be used for benchmarking and evaluating the impact of new citizenship education programmes.

6. What difficulties have been identified?

- 6.1 Introducing a new subject, citizenship education, to the school curriculum is a major undertaking. It requires serious preparation and on-going support in the form of initial teacher training and continuing professional development and resources once the programme is introduced (O'Cuanachain, 2005). It is rarely possible to import programmes from other countries successfully. Local and national factors are always likely to be important in educational reforms and curriculum development. This means that the introduction of citizenship education requires careful planning and negotiation with many partners including teachers' unions. It also requires sufficient resources to be allocated. Teachers may initially be reluctant to adopt appropriate pedagogies. Parents, too, must be involved in the process of introducing citizenship education, otherwise their priorities may well be more instrumental and examination orientated.

Civic education is a low status subject and curricular aim in most of these countries. Civic goals are thought of as important, but much less critical than goals in subject areas such as science for example. For very few students is any civics-related subject part of an important exit or entrance examination. Many observers believe that unless civics can be tied to a high status subject, it will receive little support in countries with traditions of subject matter rigor, especially where parents judge the schools on this basis.

(Torney-Purta, 1999: 31)

FIGURE 5.1

EVALUATING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

<p>Information: Is there a focus on specific information about democracy and human rights?</p>	<p>Identities Does it explore/affirm various identities? Does it promote inter-cultural development?</p>
<p>Inclusion Does it prepare participants for social/economic inclusion? Does it have an equal opportunities focus, or one which addresses the specific needs of women/girls in claiming their citizenship rights? Does the project have active methods/encourage participation? Does it have an anti-racist focus?</p>	<p>Skills Does it develop skills for democratic participation?</p>

(From Osler, 1997: 27)

6.2 Raising the status of citizenship education is a concern in many countries. In Canada it is reported that maths and science subjects have high prestige whereas social studies, including citizenship education is perceived as marginal (Osborne, 1996; Sears et al., 1999). Across Europe there is the same concern. Although all countries claim that EDC is a priority goal, in practice a number of factors serve to weaken its status. These include:

- not being required subjects in terms of crucial examinations such as entrance examinations or school leaving certificates
- too little time allotted in the weekly timetable (1-2 hours)
- citizenship education as optional rather than mandatory in the curriculum
- lack of visibility where integrated and cross-curricular approaches are adopted.

(Birzea, 2004: 21)

6.3 As this evidence implies, a policy without a system of inspection, evaluation or checking on implementation can lead to further marginalization of citizenship education. This report from Canada is typical of the situation in many countries.

Although officially prescribed curricula and policy in all Canadian provinces are directed towards an activist and inclusive conception of citizenship, it does not necessarily follow that this is borne out in actual practice. There is little evidence as to what actually goes on in Canadian classrooms, the effectiveness of particular programs or what students know or are able to do. The evidence that does exist indicates that there is often a considerable gap between official policy and actual practice, with practice being much more conservative and traditional than policy mandates.

(Sears & Hughes, 1996 quoted in Sears et al. 1999: 128)

6.4 A conservative and traditional approach may be adopted by teachers when they feel insecure about teaching citizenship, for instance where they have not been adequately trained or prepared. Liu (2001) reports that in Taiwan although teachers believe that civic education should deal with controversial issues, in practice they were avoided at all levels. The same situation was reported

in Hungary (Kerr, 1999:18). A lack of adequate support for teachers can therefore lead to a gap between a policy to promote citizenship education and the classroom reality. For instance, the IEA study of 28 countries concluded that:

Despite the documented effectiveness of an open and participatory climate in promoting civic knowledge and engagement, this approach is by no means the norm in most countries. About one-quarter of the students say that they are often encouraged to voice their opinions during discussions in their classrooms, but an equal proportion say that this rarely or never occurs. Teacher responses across many countries confirm what students themselves say. Teacher-centered methods, such as the use of textbooks, recitation, and worksheets, are dominant in civics-related classrooms in most countries, although there are also opportunities for discussion of issues.

(Torney-Purta, et al., 2001:8-10)

6.5 It is not just teaching about controversial issues that causes teacher insecurity; it can also be pedagogical approaches such as project work, which requires time to achieve a satisfactory outcome. Sometimes these two concerns are combined. It is reported that many schools feel that they do not have the resources to invest in supervising projects, or they feel that such activities take student time away from the study of important disciplinary subject matter, or they are concerned about the possibility that these activities may take on partisan or otherwise unacceptable political overtones (Torney-Purta et al., 1999: 33). However, citizenship education inevitably involves teaching about controversial issues. Although teacher education and training can do much to support teachers in this area, training alone is insufficient. Teachers need know that they have the support of school authorities and national governments in addressing such issues. It is particularly helpful and reassuring for teachers, particularly those in multicultural and multifaith societies, to understand that there are agreed international standards and reference points, namely human rights principles.

6.6 Many difficulties may stem from a failure to articulate clearly what citizenship

education is about and what it is expected to achieve. Again, the Canadian example stands for many:

There is a lack of clarity concerning precisely what is expected of the school system in terms of civic education; there is a lack of professional knowledge concerning how the knowledge, skills and dispositions of citizenship are learned, and even less about how they might be taught; and, based on the foregoing, there is a lack of surety about how to monitor progress...All this puts teachers in the position of not knowing what is expected about citizenship education generally, and yet vulnerable to criticism for failing to achieve what society at large has been unable to articulate and unwilling to resource adequately. (Sears et al. 1999: 130)

- 6.7 A further difficulty arises when teachers of citizenship are isolated in their schools. It is particularly important for the whole school to support the work of citizenship teachers. Where this does not happen, the whole enterprise of citizenship education is jeopardised. Teachers in the USA reported that 'it was difficult to teach about democracy and freely expressing an opinion when the atmosphere of the school worked against that. They said that, although they encouraged their students to speak out, many of their colleagues told students to be quiet, listen and take notes or work on drill sheets at their seats. Furthermore, the students had to be quiet in the halls and a 'quiet lunch' policy was enforced' (Hahn, 1999: 593). This is a clear example of contradictions between the actual school ethos and the stated objectives of democratic participation (Harber, 2004).
- 6.8 One difficulty in a number of countries is that teacher education programmes have not kept pace with curriculum development in schools, leaving teachers ill-prepared for citizenship education (see for example, Osler and Vincent, 2002). In the case of Ireland, O'Cuanachain has identified a lack of appropriate teacher education as a huge barrier to the effective implementation of citizenship education.
- 6.9 The main challenges to be addressed when implementing a programme of citizenship education are to:

- articulate clearly what citizenship education is about and what it is expected to achieve
- secure its position and status in the curriculum
- ensure that the whole school community, including parents, supports citizenship education
- create a political climate at national, local and school level that encourages citizenship education
- train and support teachers so that they can help young people to explore political issues
- have in place a system of inspection or self-assessment to ensure that the implementation matches the expectations of the policy.

7. What resources and support, including teacher training, are required for successful CE?

- 7.1 The first and essential requirement for successful citizenship education is a clear policy framework. Policy needs to be developed at all levels. At the level of international organisations such as the United Nations, the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the Council of Europe, governments agree to implement programmes of citizenship education. These commitments need to be translated into national, regional and local terms and also feed into policy at the level of schools. At all these levels, the policy and its importance need to be reiterated by ministers, by elected and public officials, by education officers and by school principals. This articulation can take many forms, including: speeches, attendance at and support for events such as International Human Rights Day, mission statements, articles in newspapers, letters to parents. The key issue is that political support needs to be manifest and constant.

Society's contestations make it difficult, in the eyes of many teachers from many countries, to ascertain what should be learned in civic education, but official curricula and standards can rally consensus. Thus, despite much teacher discretion and autonomy, policy plays a crucial role in orienting teachers and forging a firm base for the field.

(Losito and Mintrop, 2001: 173)

- 7.2 As an example of a strategic approach,

when the Discovering Democracy programme was introduced from 1999 in Australia, the Federal Government allocated about 60 per cent of funding directly on schools and also provided about one third of funding for teacher professional development and provided a significant sum, about 10 per cent for awareness raising through stakeholder involvement (Print et al., 1999: 44). The allocation of funds to encourage stakeholder involvement is an important consideration when the intention is to develop support across the whole of society for a new initiative.

- 73 This approach is also endorsed in Europe: In order to ensure that education for democratic citizenship can help in the reinforcement of social cohesion and the development of a democratic culture, it would be useful: - to involve all public and private, official and non-governmental, professional and voluntary actors in designing, implementing and monitoring policies on education for democratic citizenship. For example, such a partnership could take the form of an advisory and consultative body assisting the authority responsible for implementing such policies.

(Council of Europe, 2002)

- 7.4 Even when a clear policy is in place, its implementation is in the hands of teachers and they require considerable support. Teachers themselves identify three concerns, namely: better materials, more subject-matter training, and more instructional time (Torney-Purta et al., 2001: 14).

- 75 The availability of sufficient curriculum time is a matter of policy and priorities. Realistically, the current European standard of 1–2 hours per week is likely to prevail in many countries, given other pressing demands of the curriculum. However, within this modest time allocation, flexibility is particularly helpful to citizenship education. For example, organizing a whole-school event on a citizenship theme may require a block of time, such as half a school day. A visit to a museum or civic facility may require a full day.

- 76 Teacher training is required for those about to begin their careers and for those in post who may require continuing professional

development. In England, where citizenship education was introduced in 2002, specialist teachers of citizenship have been trained and are now in post. Teacher training for specialists in citizenship requires a firm grounding in international normative standards and expectations, particularly human rights and an emphasis on active and collaborative learning (Osler and Starkey, 1996). This positive approach to promoting universal values is likely to be far more successful than an approach that denies the reality of conflicting views. As the IEA study's authors concluded: 'One cannot formulate clearly how to train teachers if one is much more certain about what they must avoid doing than what they should be doing' (Torney-Purta et al., 1999:33). This view is strongly endorsed from the United States:

Schools of education must help teachers and administrators understand the democratic and civic mission of schools and the first principles of our framing documents...It is impossible to model democratic freedom and constitutional principles if one doesn't know what they are. Teachers and administrators also need to understand methods and issues in the teaching of civic education.

(Carnegie Corporation, 2003: 34)

- 7.7 Teachers in training also require opportunities to put democratic values into practice. One context where such experience is particularly important is in helping students to combat racism and promote both unity and diversity. Drawing on research evidence from the Netherlands (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003), a European study concluded that:

the intercultural approach calls for ability on the part of teachers and indeed other school staff to react to ethnic or racist kinds of stereotyping by pupils. Initially, this presupposes that teachers themselves are capable of protecting their own behaviour from the influence of cultural stereotypes and that they then possess the arguments needed to discuss stereotyping by pupils. In short, they require a complex type of skill that should be acquired during initial teacher education or in-service training. It involves not just acquiring a theoretical body of knowledge but above all confrontation with real situations

and practical experience.
(Eurydice, 2004: 62)

- 78 Governments, NGOs, teachers themselves and publishers have produced and disseminated a considerable amount of materials and teaching resources to support citizenship. Much is available on the web and some key sites are listed in Appendix B.

8. Recommendations

To governments, national and regional education authorities

- 8.1 Establish a policy that expresses clearly for ordinary citizens why citizenship education is important and what schools are expected to undertake to promote it.
- 8.2 Ensure that the school curriculum addresses the diversity and equality of learners, and that it incorporates a global perspective.
- 8.3 Ensure adequate funding is allocated to support individual schools, teacher education and the involvement of stakeholders.
- 8.4 Promote the policy so that it is understood by teachers, parents and the wider community.
- 8.5 Work with teacher unions and a range of cultural communities when developing materials.
- 8.6 Train specialist teachers of citizenship so as to build a cadre of well-informed and enthusiastic professionals.
- 8.7 Support the continuing professional development of teachers from other disciplines, who may be required to teach citizenship.
- 8.8 Ensure that teaching and learning methodologies and teacher education for citizenship are based on the principles of democ-

racy and human rights, with international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child being central to the design and implementation of such curricula.

To school leaders and administrators

- 8.9 Take a lead in promoting human rights and democracy in your school.
- 8.10 Ensure that school mission statements and other school policies are in keeping with and refer explicitly to international norms such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
- 8.11 Establish a framework for behavior management that respects the rights and the dignity of students.
- 8.12 Work with local elected councils and with voluntary organisations. Value them as partners in the education your school provides
- 8.13 Encourage the participation of parents and work with them to ensure their support for and understanding of citizenship education
- 8.14 Provide opportunities for teachers to work together to develop new materials and methodologies
- 8.15 Enable teachers to undertake professional development
- 8.16 Promote classroom practices that are democratic and based on humane principles.
- 8.17 Develop structures to enable the participation of teachers, non-teaching staff and students in school decision-making.
- 8.18 Evaluate the citizenship program of your school.

APPENDIX A

DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY: PRINCIPLES AND
CONCEPTS CHECKLIST

Principles	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
<p>1.0 Are students taught about the complex relationships between unity and diversity in their local communities, the nation, and the world?</p> <p>1.1 Do students understand the nature of the relationship between unity and diversity in their local communities?</p> <p>1.2 Do students understand the nature of the relationship between unity and diversity in their nation-state?</p> <p>1.3 Do students have the opportunity to compare and contrast the nature of the relationship between unity and diversity in various communities and nation-states around the world?</p> <p>1.4 Do students discuss the ways in which their own countries and others have defined the criteria for citizenship and dealt with the multiple identities of individuals?</p> <p>1.5 Do students have the opportunity to consider the relationships between unity and diversity in various sites of identity, such as gender, race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and religion?</p> <p>2.0 Do students learn about the ways in which people in their community, nation and region are increasingly dependent upon other people around the world and are connected to the economic, political, cultural, environmental, and technological changes taking place across the planet?</p> <p>2.1 Does the curriculum offer multiple examples of global interconnectedness, demonstrating how events in one nation-state can have domino effects across the planet?</p> <p>2.2 Do students understand the dynamic and ever-changing nature of globalization as it is influenced by technology, conflicts and alliances, diseases and environmental changes?</p> <p>2.3 Do teachers help students to understand global interconnectedness by comparing local practices in different regions, and by connecting local events to global phenomena?</p> <p>2.4 Do students have the opportunity to discuss the power of international alliances in effecting change, and learn about the work of various global actors?</p> <p>2.5 Does the formal or informal curriculum recognize the importance of political, economic, and military power in world affairs?</p> <p>3.0 Does the teaching of human rights underpin citizenship education courses and programs?</p> <p>3.1 Do courses and programs increase understanding of the concepts, foundations, and practices of human rights?</p>			

Principles	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
3.2 Do courses explain how human rights concepts provide a set of shared values that is particularly important for diverse multicultural societies?			
3.3 Do courses introduce the major international human rights documents such as the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)?			
3.4 Do courses help teachers examine their professional practices in relationship to the provisions of the CRC, as well as at the levels of the school, local community, and nation-state?			
3.5 Can teachers distinguish between protection, provision, and participant rights of children?			
3.6 Do teachers understand how the CRC addresses children's identities, including the identities of minorities and migrants?			
3.7 Are teachers familiar with the ways in which the CRC addresses issues of patriotism and cosmopolitanism?			
3.8 Do teachers understand that human rights are rarely absolute, but provide a strong framework in which conflicts and moral dilemmas may be examined?			
4.0 Are students taught knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions as well as provided opportunities in which they can practice democracy?			
4.1 Are students taught about the history of democracy in its many forms, the obstacles to democracies, and the struggles of peoples to gain equal rights and inclusion?			
4.2 Do students engage in comparative studies of governments, civil rights movements, and democracy documents produced around the world?			
4.3 Are students involved in decision making in their school lives, deliberating across differences in face-to-face discussions?			
4.4 Do students learn about the optimal conditions for deliberation, which lead to the formation of a superordinate group that attempts to find solutions to shared problems?			
4.5 Do teachers pay sufficient attention to content, pedagogy, and climate when introducing controversial issues in their classrooms?			
4.6 Do teachers give up some of their authority in order to provide space for students to engage in making decisions that are important to them?			

Concepts	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
<p>1. Democracy 1.0 Do students develop a deep understanding of the meaning of democracy, and what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society?</p> <p>1.1 Can students articulate the differences between political democracy and cultural democracy?</p> <p>1.2 Are students encouraged to discuss a broad conception of democratic relations and the conditions in which such relations are possible?</p> <p>1.3 Do students have the opportunity to discuss the challenges and threats to democratic societies and democratic relations?</p> <p>1.4 Do students explore what it means to be a thoughtful citizen in a democratic society?</p> <p>1.5 Do students have opportunities to practice being thoughtful citizens and relating democratically within the classroom as well as outside of it?</p> <p>2. Diversity 2.0 Is the diversity of cultures and groups within all multicultural societies explicitly recognized in the formal and informal curriculum?</p> <p>2.1 Do students study diversity within their own communities, nation-state, and around the globe?</p> <p>2.2 Are students taught about the history of the interactions and intermixing between different groups, and the issues that surround contact between groups?</p> <p>2.3 Are students able to articulate the value of diversity and the richness of the perspectives it brings?</p> <p>2.4 Are students aware of the challenges that diversity can bring, especially when there are differences in power between groups or when groups must compete for limited resources?</p> <p>2.5 Do students understand that historically societies have tended to marginalize differences and that there have been movements in the past several decades to reclaim and value the diversity that was historically excluded or ignored?</p> <p>3. Globalization 3.0 Do students develop an understanding of globalization that encompasses its history, the multiple dimensions and sites of globalization, as well as the complex outcomes of globalization?</p> <p>3.1 Do students understand their connections to people around the world?</p> <p>3.2 Do students have the opportunity to consider both the positive and negative outcomes of globalization?</p>			

Concepts	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
3.3 Can students explain the reasons for increasing globalization?			
3.4 Can students identify how local contexts affect the outcomes of globalization?			
3.5 Can students trace the development and changes of globalization over time and space?			
3.6 Do students understand the political, cultural, technological, environmental, and economic dimensions of globalization?			
3.7 Can students explain why people across the planet may fear, resent, challenge, or support many of the outcomes of globalization?			
4. Sustainable Development			
4.0 Is the need for sustainable development an explicit part of the curriculum?			
4.1 Can students identify the ways in which many of the current forms of development taking place around the world are non-sustainable?			
4.2 Are students taught about the urgency surrounding the coming environmental problems humans face in light of non-sustainable development, such as the imminent water shortage or the gradual reduction of biodiversity?			
4.3 Do students understand how the unevenness of development between the global north and the global south is connected to human rights, power and global inequality?			
4.4 Do students engage in discussion and debate about possible solutions and changes that would make development in their own nations more sustainable?			
5. Empire, Imperialism, and Power			
5.0 Are students grappling with how relationships among nations can be more democratic and equitable by discussing the concepts of imperialism and power?			
5.1 Do students have opportunities to discuss how power is exercised in classrooms, schools, and communities?			
5.2 Do students understand that there are many different types of power?			
5.3 Does the curriculum help students think about the many ways that power and knowledge are linked?			
5.4 Do teachers understand why power is often illusive, complex, and limited?			
5.5 Do teachers understand why the ability to exercise power is fluid?			

Concepts	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
5.6 Do students learn about the various forms of imperialism both throughout history and in the contemporary world?			
5.7 Do students learn about the role of power in the spread of imperialism?			
5.8 Do students learn about how imperialism affects social relationships both among those inside a colonial country and between the colonizer and the colonized?			
5.9 Do students learn about the influence of imperialism on cultures?			
5.10 Do students learn about the roles the media play in sustaining imperialism?			
5.11 Do students learn about how imperialism has shaped global migration?			
6. Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism			
6.0 Does the curriculum help students to understand the nature of prejudice, discrimination, and racism, and how they operate at interpersonal, inter-group, and institutional levels?			
6.1 Do students have opportunities to speak openly about their own experiences with racism and other forms of discrimination, such as sexism?			
6.2 Are students able to articulate the different forms—both structural (institutional) and interpersonal—that prejudice and discrimination take in their society?			
6.3 Do students understand the complex connections among racism, imperialism, and power? (See Concept 3)			
6.4 Do students understand that race is a social construct with significant consequences?			
6.5 Are students taught about the history of scientific racism?			
6.6 Are students aware of how racism has been used by dominant groups to justify the exploitation and denigration of victimized groups?			
6.7 Are students taught about the ways in which racism intersects with other forms of discrimination, such as class, gender, sexual orientation, and religion?			
7. Migration			
7.0 Do students understand the history and the forces that cause the movement of people?			
7.1 Are students helped to understand the complex connections between migration and globalization?			

Concepts	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
7.2 Do students understand the various push and pull forces that lead people to leave their home countries?			
7.3 Do students have the opportunity to explore the legal issues and human rights issues that are important to the movement of people?			
7.4 Do students understand that people encounter different degrees of acceptance or rejection from receiving countries, and that this is an important factor in the adaptation of people into new societies?			
7.5 Do students discuss the negative and positive aspects of the movement of people from the perspectives of both receiving and sending nations?			
7.6 Do students understand how the increasing movement of people back and forth between countries is challenging traditional concepts of citizenship and national identity?			
7.7 Do teachers understand how the movement of people may directly influence their students and classrooms?			
7.8 Do teachers relate to immigrant students in culturally sensitive ways?			
8. Identity/Diversity			
8.0 Does the curriculum nurture an understanding of the multiplicity, fluidity, and contextuality of identities?			
8.1 Do students reflect on the differences and tensions between ascribed and asserted identities, especially in light of unequal power relations between groups, and the resistance and agency with which groups can respond?			
8.2 Are students aware of the tension between the state's aim for a monolithic national identity and the desires of subgroups to assert diverse identities?			
8.3 Do students understand the importance of the recognition (not subordination) of diverse identities in a democratic society?			
9. Multiple Perspectives			
9.0 Do students examine a range of perspectives on concepts and issues?			
9.1 Do teachers help students to develop the skills needed to navigate and assess the often conflicting viewpoints presented by the curriculum?			
9.2 Do students understand the limitations of having only one perspective on issues and the benefits of multiple perspectives?			
9.3 Does the curriculum offer global perspectives on issues?			

Concepts	Rating		
	Hardly at All	Somewhat	Strongly
9.4 Do students attempt the difficult but crucial task of sorting through conflicting arguments and interests to develop a nuanced view of issues of global concern?			
9.5 Does the curriculum present issues of global concern in a way that includes the voices of less powerful groups without presenting their perspectives in an overly deterministic or stereotyped manner?			
9.6 Do students develop strategies and skills to engage with diverse perspectives that may differ from their own?			
9.7 Do students understand that knowledge reflects the interests, cultural biases, power, positions, and histories of individuals and groups?			
9.8 Can students articulate issues in a way that avoids both ethnocentrism and cultural relativism?			
10. Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism			
10.0 Do students develop a rich and complex understanding of patriotism and cosmopolitanism?			
10.1 Can students articulate the major tensions between patriotism and cosmopolitanism and how these tensions might be ameliorated?			
10.2 Do students understand the differences between critical patriotism and intolerant nationalism or ethnocentrism?			
10.3 Do students engage in open and honest debates about their own identities and loyalties as patriots and cosmopolitans?			
10.4 Are students learning about cases in history which serve as examples of non-reflective patriotism that when taken to extremes led to events such as imperialism and war?			
10.5 Can students make connections between cosmopolitanism, global interconnectedness, and sustainable development?			

APPENDIX B**RESOURCES FOR CITIZENSHIP TEACHERS AVAILABLE ON THE WEB****Inter-governmental organisations and human rights instruments**

Council of Europe: Education for Democratic Citizenship
http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/education/E.D.C/

International Bureau of Education (UNESCO)
<http://www.ibe.unesco.org/>

International Institute of Educational Planning (UNESCO)
<http://www.unesco.org/iiep/>

UN Decade for Human Rights Education
<http://www.unhchr.ch/education/main.htm>

UNESCO
<http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/>

UNICEF: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
<http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights
<http://www.udhr.org/UDHR/default.htm>

World Policy Institute. Site contains texts of major human rights instruments including a section on the Inter-American Bill of Rights, including the Protocol of San Salvador
<http://www.worldpolicy.org/globalrights/ihrindex.html>

World Programme for HRE 2005 – 2014
<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/chr/docs/ga59/educationI.doc>

Reports and research studies

All-European Study On Policies For Education For Democratic Citizenship (EDC)
http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Cooperation/Education/E.D.C/Documents_and_publications/By_Subject/Policies/084_All_European_Study.asp#TopOfPage

Citizenship - made in Europe: living together starts at school. Report for Dutch Presidency of EU.
<http://eu2004.minocw.nl/docs/en/citizenship.pdf>

Civic Mission of Schools Report. Carnegie Corporation and CIRCLE
<http://www.civicmissionofschools.org/>

Crick Report (England) Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools. Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998)
http://www.qca.org.uk/ages3-14/downloads/crick_report_1998.pdf

Education and Active Citizenship in the European Union
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/archive/citizen/citiz_en.html

Education and Active Citizenship in the European Union: access to all studies

http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/archive/citizen/index_en.html

Eurydice information network on education in Europe

http://www.eurydice.org/accueil_menu/en/frameset_menu.html

IEA civic education study

<http://www.wam.umd.edu/~iea/>

Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe

<http://www.eurydice.org/Documents/Mig/en/FrameSet.htm>

Inter-American Institute of Human Rights

<http://www.IIHR.ed.cr/>

Manual to promote European Active Citizenship: study by European Association of Teachers (AEDE). Contains examples of projects.

http://www.aede.org/citeuract/citeuract_en.doc

National Foundation for Educational Research (UK) citizenship education studies

<http://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/citizenship.asp>

Citizenship and civics programmes of study and curricula

Canadian website for information about civics curricula in all provinces

<http://www.civicschannel.com/indexc.php>

Case studies of citizenship education for ages 16 – 19

<http://www.qca.org.uk/7043.html>

Citizenship site from QCA, England (includes links to national curriculum and some resources)

<http://www.qca.org.uk/citizenship/>

DfES and QCA Schemes of Work for Citizenship

<http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/schemes2/citizenship/>

National Curriculum site for England (also provides resources on Citizenship)

<http://www.nc.uk.net/home.html>

Teacher education for citizenship

<http://www.citized.info/>

Teacher education for diversity

<http://www.multiverse.ac.uk/index.aspx?menuId=583>

Resources for teachers of citizenship

Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT)

www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk

BBC Newsround. Includes lesson plans and resources
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/cbbcnews/hi/teachers/default.stm>

Another BBC website with citizenship resources for learners and teachers
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/citizenx/>

British Council site to promote international school linking
<http://www.wotw.org.uk/>

British Library
<http://21citizen.co.uk/live/citizenship/>

Children's Rights Information Network site
<http://www.crin.org/>

Citizenship Foundation
<http://www.citfou.org.uk/>

DfES Citizenship site for England.
<http://www.dfes.gov.uk/citizenship/index.cfm>

Discovering democracy. Australian project with materials
<http://www.curriculum.edu.au/democracy/teachciv.htm>

Global dimension website with many reviews of resources
<http://www.globaldimension.org>

Institute for Citizenship
<http://www.citizen.org.uk/>

Nuffield Foundation UK project on secondary citizenship education. Case studies
<http://www.nuffieldcurriculumcentre.org/go/minisite/SecondaryCitizenship/Introduction>

Questia on-line library with resources for teachers on teaching citizenship
<http://www.questia.com/Index.jsp>

UK government sponsored site with lesson plans and resource reviews
<http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/TeachingandLearning/resourcematerials/Resources/>

UN website for teachers and learners
<http://www0.un.org/cyberschoolbus/humanrights/index.asp>

USA civic education sites

Center for Civic Education
<http://www.civiced.org/index.php>

CIRCLE funded research studies
http://www.civicyouth.org/grants/past/hs_civic.htm

Civic education organisations

<http://www.apsanet.org/Cennet/organizations/index.cfm>

Civic education project supported by NCSS. Resources and links

<http://www.farmers.com/FarmComm/AmericanPromise/>

National Alliance for Civic Education

<http://www.cived.net/>

National Council for the Social Studies

Includes teacher standards for civic education. (US focused)

<http://www.ncss.org/>

Sites for young people

Christian Aid site

<http://www.globalgang.org.uk/>

Project 540. US project for high school students.

<http://www.project540.org/>

Organizing Bureau of European School Student Unions (OBESSU)

<http://www.obessu.org/>

UNICEF voices of youth site

<http://www.unicef.org/voy/>

World Bank website for young people

<http://youthink.worldbank.org/>

Non-governmental organizations with materials for teachers

Charter 88

<http://www.citizen21.org.uk/index.html>

Commission for Racial Equality

<http://www.cre.gov.uk/>

Development Education Association citizenship portal

<http://www.citizenship-global.org.uk>

Development Education Association and Resource Centre, Japan

<http://www.dear.or.jp>

Human Rights Education Associates

<http://www.hrea.org/>

Oxfam Education teachers' site

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/coolplanet/teachers/index.htm>

Politeia: European portal with a global reach. Links are especially comprehensive.
<http://www.politeia.net/7>

Runnymede Trust
<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/>

Save the Children UK
<http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/>

UK Committee for Unicef:Teacherzone
<http://www.unicef.org.uk/tz/index.asp>

United Nations Association UK
<http://www.una-uk.org/citizenship/citizenshipconts.html>

University research centres

Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights Education, University of Leeds. (Resources for sale and carefully selected links)
<http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/research/cchre/>

Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education, University of Leicester (provides a useful portal with links)
<http://www.le.ac.uk/se/centres/citizenship>

Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington
<http://depts.washington.edu/centerme/home.htm>

Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement at the University of Maryland
http://www.civicyouth.org/staff_advisory/index.htm

Human Rights Center, University of Minnesota
<http://www.hrusa.org/>

UNESCO Centre, University of Ulster
<http://www.ulst.ac.uk/faculty/shse/unesco/>

APPENDIX C

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION EVALUATION TOOL

Curriculum

Variables

- a. Incorporation into the official document that directs the objectives and content of the curriculum
- b. Incorporation of the contents into programs of study
- c. Incorporation of the contents into textbooks

Indicators: explicit reference in the content to:

- 1. human rights and constitutional guarantees
- 2. justice, State institutions and the rule of law
- 3. democracy, voting rights, elections, political and ideological pluralism
- 4. education in values (solidarity, human dignity, peace, tolerance, international understanding)

Cross-curricular perspectives

Variables

Gender equity

Indicators

- 1. highlighted in official documents, course programs, textbooks
- 2. appropriate language used in textbooks
- 3. illustrations in textbooks show women in positive roles
- 4. numbers of illustrations of women and men in textbooks

Ethnic diversity

- 1. highlighted in official documents, course programs, textbooks
- 2. illustrations in textbooks show indigenous peoples in positive roles
- 3. presence of indigenous peoples in illustrations in textbooks
- 4. provision of bibliography on intercultural issues and bilingualism

Interaction between civil society and the State

- 1. Civil society given role in process of preparing the curriculum
- 2. Course programs and textbooks include recognition of NGOs, valuing their knowledge and the participation of civil society in government and voluntary activity

(Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (IHR), 2003: 17 - 18)

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Acronyms and abbreviations

BORIS	Bill of Rights in Schools initiative
CE	Citizenship Education
CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989
DEAR	Development Education Association and Resource Centre
DFES	Department for Education and Skills
EDC	Education for Democratic Citizenship
HRE	Human Rights Education
IBE	International Bureau of Education, UNESCO
IIHR	Inter-American Institute of Human Rights
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OBESSU	Organizing Bureau of European School Student Unions
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

A note on terminology

The terms of reference for this study use the term 'civic education'. In this report we use the terms 'citizenship education' and 'education for democratic citizenship' rather than 'civic education' or 'civics', except when referring to, or quoting from, sources which use the latter terms. 'Civics' is commonly used to refer to a school subject that addresses, at a minimal level, knowledge and information about government and political institutions. 'Citizenship education' and 'education for democratic citizenship' have a broader meaning, and encompass skills and attitudes for participation in democratic processes as well as knowledge necessary for citizenship. The terms include elements of schooling which extend beyond the formal curriculum, such as the development of a democratic school ethos, democratic school structures, community service and extra-curricular activities. Even in those nation-states which retain the subject 'civics' in the formal school curriculum, there is a growing tendency to use the broader terms 'education for citizenship' or 'education for democratic citizenship' in educational debates to encompass these broader goals and activities.

Education for Citizenship and Democracy: Policies and Programs in Latin American and Caribbean Secondary Schools

*Fernando Reimers**
*Eleonora Villegas Reimers***

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 21st century the democratic governments of Latin America face the challenge of making democracy work for the common good of the people.

This challenge is in part the result of the of the Region's democratic evolution, which has brought about an expansion of the expectations on what it means to be a citizen. It is in regards to these broader expectations over the meaning of citizenship that the democratic governments face the challenge of making public institutions and social norms to effectively allow for a frequent, multi-level participation of all the people.

Among all of the institutions that facilitate the acquisition and development of necessary skills for democratic participation and coexistence, the school is the one that can most equitably distribute among all the citizens the competencies to effectively participate in a democracy.

In this document, we present an analysis of the results of a survey on education for democracy administered by the Inter-American Development Bank to the member countries of the Regional Policy Dialogue. In response to a request from the Members of the Dialogue's Education Network, the Bank commissioned a study to provide information on the current state of education for democratic citizenship in secondary schools in the Region. The primary source of information for this study was a survey, designed for the purpose of obtaining a quick profile that would allow for an understanding of which spaces exist for education for citizenship and democracy within the secondary school curriculum. This sur-

vey should be understood as a first approach to the understanding of the current situation, which attempts to fill an informational gap on the subject. Thus, during this first stage, the contents of specific programs of study, instructional material, classroom practices or their results on the competencies acquired by students were not included but may form part of future research endeavors.

The survey consulted the Ministries of Education on the extent to which the efforts of education for democracy are concentrated in a particular subject or are integrated throughout the curriculum. The application of the survey to Ministry of Education officials makes the information obtained more descriptive of the intentions and goals of policies, and in some cases of the understanding of government programs as perceived from the "center". In this sense, the analysis represents a recent effort to make a consultation, at the top level of education policy-making, on the aims in terms of education for democratic citizenship and opens questions on the real implementation of such programs, on the decentralized initiatives of the private sector or other civil society corporations, and on the results of official programs and private initiatives. This study is a first informed initiative, through

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empirical evidence, on the extent to which secondary schools are preparing Latin American youth for democracy, and allows for suggestions on future areas of development.

We frame the survey analysis results within a conceptualization of what educating for democracy means. We complement the discussion with information from additional sources that shed light on different aspects of the conceptual framework that we propose here.

1. The competencies to be citizens are learned

Making democracy work for all people requires the consolidation of democratic institutions based on meanings and values that are widely shared by the majority of the population, as well as in competencies to participate more effectively in a political manner; in other words, it requires the consolidation of a democratic culture in the broadest sense. A democratic culture rests in part on the competencies and skills of the majority of the population: in valuing freedom for oneself and others, in giving value to justice, in the internalization of a sense of responsibility for one's destiny, in understanding that the preservation of individual freedoms requires institutions that serve the common good, in the generalized knowledge of the fundamental rights and obligations of the citizens, in the knowledge of the constitution, laws, political institutions and their history, in the disposition to participate in the diverse spaces that affect the destiny of the people—those of the family, neighborhood, community, and local and national governments—and in the competencies to deliberate and participate effectively.

The competencies for democratic participation require abilities and skills to think individually and in a critical way, to communicate adequately, to have access to and utilize available knowledge about diverse subjects, to learn continuously, to work with others, to understand the importance of and mechanisms for such participation, and to understand and assess the differences that distinguish closed and totalitarian societies from open and democratic ones. To know political institutions as well as the spaces and ways of participation, to be able to get informed on and understand the principal themes of discussion in the public agenda and understand the historical context that gives them meaning, to develop high degrees of tolerance for diversity and the ca-

capacity to reason about complex subjects in which it is essential to be able to put oneself in the place of the other, and to recognize that there are legitimately diverse interests and points of view that should be reconciled in an agenda of collective action.

These competencies are not innate; they are to be acquired and enhanced in distinct social institutions: families, work, and religious and educational institutions. In certain families, for example, children learn by observing the adults around them how to participate politically, how to contact elected officials to demand their rights, or communicate their own ideas and organize others to advance common interests. It is also possible to develop these competencies in certain occupations. For example, teaching is a profession in which it is possible to enhance the capacity to communicate ideas to groups, organize groups and negotiate diverse interests. Practice with students makes it possible for teachers to develop abilities and skills that are easily transferable to the political sphere. It is due to these competencies, which allow educators to participate effectively, that they are a politically important group in many countries, not only through the number of votes they represent in elections, but also through communication and organization tasks they facilitate. In certain institutions it is feasible to learn to recognize and appreciate diverging points of view and develop tolerance through such diversity. Similarly, in other institutions one might learn to discriminate against people on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, social condition of origin, religion or culture, all forms of intolerance that are incompatible with democratic coexistence.

The Latin American societies are highly unequal and the way in which the education system frequently reflects and reproduces this inequality—for example with different achievement expectancies for different groups of students, by offering different learning conditions to students of different social conditions—it is important to recognize that education for the development of citizen competencies is not an alternative or complementary focus to the emphasis of the curriculum in the development of conventional academic skills. On the contrary, promoting the development of competencies for democratic citizenship includes and guides, gives meaning to, the emphasis on the development of conventional aca-

democratic skills. Thus, for example, in several Latin American societies, students whose parents have the lowest level of income, learn to read in a very inefficient manner, or develop very limited math or science competencies.

This segmentation of the education system in terms of development of fundamental competencies should be an essential concern in citizenship efforts, since citizenship competencies surely include these forms of cognitive fundamental competencies for participation in the 21st century. This emphasis in such fundamental competencies for the conceptual model we propose in this work gives shape to a proposal to develop citizenship in Latin America. In the most renowned literature on what it means to develop citizenship in the OECD countries, the focus on fundamental competencies is not observed; we think that this is due to the fact that the social segmentation is greater in the case of Latin American countries.

The inequality in terms of school-based educational transmission has historical roots that have a strong impact in our contemporary societies. For instance, for the most part during the 19th and 20th centuries, different groups of people, such as women, indigenous people, racial minorities and on occasion religious minorities, didn't have the same political rights that white or mestizo men belonging to the catholic majority. These inequalities can be widely seen from the aspirations of the most democratic societies of the 21st century, as simply unacceptable. It is in the face of these new standards of fundamental equality to all people, in the face of this more modern conception of citizenship, that excluding and intolerant attitudes towards the political rights of some groups are regarded as alarming. In Mexico, for instance, 59% of 14 year-old students who are completing secondary school education agree with the idea that the women should not participate in politics, in comparison with 15% of youth in other OECD countries¹.

Opinion polls demonstrate that support for democracy in Latin America is fragile, and that satisfaction with democracy is even lower, as shown in Table 1. On average, support for and satisfaction with democracy in Latin America is lower than in the European Union, Africa, Asia and India, and at comparable levels to countries in Eastern Europe². Similarly, surveys on the tolerance of diversity, a requirement of the proper

functioning of a democratic society, reveal worrying signs of intolerance.

In this document we suggest that the development of competencies for democratic citizenship requires thinking about the contents and purposes of education in the broadest sense—in all subjects and in the set of processes that the curriculum seeks to develop. It requires thinking about how to distribute students across educational institutions—how many opportunities students in particular educational centers will have to interact with diverse groups. It entails balancing the role of parents, students and the State in the management of the educational system and it calls for civic spaces where different groups in society can express and negotiate their interests with regard to the purposes of education.

Education for democratic citizenship training should be based on a wide vision different from the common distinction made when discussing whether it should be a subject included in the curriculum (civic education) or if it should be a transversal axis that crosses through different subjects within the curriculum. Education for democratic citizenship should be, surely, both things, in that the development of knowledge and skills as a result of a deliberate focus in the curriculum is a fundamental aspect of educating for citizenship. But such education much more than an explicit focus in the curriculum, should also reflect itself in the classroom ambience and in school—it should reflect itself in the active teaching methodologies that promote competencies required for participation—it should reflect itself in the management and organization of schools—given that the way in which teachers and directors relate to one another as well as with other members of the community constitute important civic lessons—it should address the assignment of students to different schools—since in education systems in which lower-income students, indigenous people or immigrants are segregated in institutions where they are taught by the least educated or experienced teachers, send a very clear message in regards to justice in resource allocation and efforts of public servants. Overall, we

¹ Tirado, F and Guevara, G., Educación Cívica: *Un estudio complementario*, México, Mimeo, 2004 p. 13

² Informe de Prensa Latinobarómetro 2002. www.latinobarometro.org

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO INDICATE THAT DEMOCRACY IS PREFERABLE TO OTHER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND WHO ARE SATISFIED WITH DEMOCRACY³

	Democracy is preferable to other forms of government							Satisfaction with Democracy
	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	2001	2002	2002
Argentina	76%	71%	75%	73%	71%	58%	65%	8%
Bolivia		64%	66%	55%	62%	54%	52%	24%
Brasil	41%	50%	50%	48%	39%	30%	37%	21%
Chile	52%	54%	61%	53%	57%	45%	50%	27%
Colombia		60%	69%	55%	50%	36%	39%	11%
Costa Rica		80%	83%	69%	83%	71%	77%	75%
Ecuador		52%	41%	57%	54%	40%	47%	16%
El Salvador		56%	66%	79%	63%	25%	40%	38%
Guatemala		51%	48%	54%	45%	33%	45%	35%
Honduras		42%	63%	57%	64%	57%	57%	62%
México	49%	53%	52%	51%	45%	46%	63%	18%
Nicaragua		59%	68%	72%	64%	43%	63%	59%
Panamá		75%	71%	71%	62%	34%	55%	44%
Paraguay	52%	59%	44%	51%	48%	35%	41%	7%
Perú	52%	63%	60%	63%	64%	62%	55%	18%
Uruguay	80%	80%	86%	80%	84%	79%	77%	53%
Venezuela	60%	62%	64%	60%	61%	57%	73%	40%

propose that education for a democratic citizenship requires an integral way of thinking and a deep and complete organization of the education system. At the same time, we propose that education for democracy should be a sustained effort that transcends the level of secondary education (beginning before and ending after secondary education) and certainly that transcends the objectives and contents of a specific subject such as civic education, even if civic education remains an excellent opportunity to develop certain skills and knowledge that promote tolerance, critical thinking about complex issues, communication and negotiation.

2. School and Democratic Citizenship

Three reasons justify studying the actions to develop a sense of democratic citizenship in secondary school. The first is that democratic culture in Latin America is currently undergoing transformation. The expectations of growing sectors of

the population are that democracy become more deep-rooted and function to reflect the interests of the majority of the population.

The legitimacy of democracy rests partly in achieving a deepening of democratic culture. The challenge of achieving this change in culture cannot be underestimated. How can schools train young people that are committed to democratic values when other institutions (the justice system, the electoral system, the system of political parties, productive institutions, families, religious institutions, for example) reflect and reproduce authoritarian values and practices? How is it possible to promote democratic attitudes in contexts

³ Source: Latinobarómetro. Cited in *The Economist*, July 28, 2001, Vol. 360, Number 8232. 2002 figures from the Latinobarómetro, "Informe de Prensa Latinobarómetro 2002." Support for democracy is the percentage of people that were in agreement with the statement: 'democracy is preferable to any other form of government.' Satisfaction with democracy is the percentage of people who said that they were 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied' with the manner in which democracy functions in their countries. www.latinobarometro.org

where the government or the political opposition to the government does not self-regulate their participation using standards based on democratic practice? It is clear that the action of schools can only partially contribute to the formation of a democratic culture, accomplished through broader processes of social change in which other institutional changes will be essential.

However, schools can facilitate and support these changes even if they cannot produce them on their own. When facing this challenge, the response of educational institutions will be fundamental: policies that are not part of the solution will be—by omission—part of the problem in not advancing toward strengthening a democratic culture.

A second reason to propose the contribution of the secondary school to a new democratic culture in Latin America is due to the fact that secondary school reform is at the center of the contemporary educational agenda in the region. It is foreseeable that during upcoming decades the efforts of Latin American societies and governments will focus on the universalization of access to secondary school, and along with this, on the deliberate discussion of the questions of what, for what and how to educate young people at this level. The discussion of the citizen function of secondary school is part of the broader discussion of what to do with secondary school in Latin America, which is on the agenda at this time. It is appropriate that this debate, upon proposing universalization of access to and completion of secondary education, consider in the broadest manner what the objectives of such an education, once universalized, should be. It is congruent with the political development of the region to propose that these goals have to be aligned with the construction of democratic citizenship.

A third reason to examine how secondary school contributes to the creation of a new democratic culture rests in that the subject of the development of social and citizen identity in young people represents a recent and growing concern for societies in the Region. Extramural institutions such as the communications media, new information and communication technologies, social movements, and organized criminal groups, for example, present abundant opportunities and incentives that compete with schools for the attention and interest of young people. It is in the presence of young people that obsolete and defi-

cient educational institutions and practices show their failure in the most palpable manner. Where ineffective pedagogies in primary school result mainly in students' academic failure and high retention rates, the response of adolescents to such deficiencies is dropping out of school. Upon asking many of them why they do it, the response is simple: 'because it doesn't interest me.' For a young person it is easier to discover the lack of synchrony, irrelevance, and separation between antiquated school practices and curriculum and the world and society in which he is immersed. Given the growing assertiveness of youth, the secondary school can renew itself or risk disappearing, to be replaced by other institutions in which young people find adequate preparation and the recognition or acceptance to face the changing demands of their world.

To the extent that one of the dimensions of this world is the political one, which requires the definition of citizenship among young people, a secondary school disconnected from the tensions and dilemmas of forming citizen identity in a context of changing political culture in Latin America will be increasingly perceived as more irrelevant and disconnected from the demands of the real world in which adolescents live. If school does not help them answer the questions 'Who am I?' 'What are ways of advancing my interests in this society?' 'What are the spaces in which I can participate?' and if school does not address the complex problems faced by the citizenship in democratic societies, it will be increasingly outdated from the concerns of young generations at a time when intergenerational cultural gaps are increasingly important. It is fundamental that the school prepare the youth to take themselves seriously historically and understand the relationship between the development of public affairs and their own personal responsibility.

3. Education for democracy in the secondary school curriculum

In the following section we examine the results of the survey, which as indicated, refers only to the specific experiences of education for democracy in the curriculum (represented in our model as one of the components of the integral system of citizenship education. The survey on education for democracy in the school curriculum that we analyze here had as a goal the application of

a rapid survey to collect basic information about the state of practices in the region related to this issue, primarily from the standpoint of educational specialists and administrators in the Ministries of Education.

The survey requested information on the official curriculum in use through ten basic questions:

1. Is there a specific subject focused on education for democracy in the secondary education curriculum?
2. In which years is it taught?
3. How much time is dedicated to this subject?
4. In what way is education for democracy integrated across the curriculum?
5. How are educators trained on this subject?
6. What type of teaching materials, texts, and guides are utilized in democracy education activities?
7. Have you conducted some type of study to guide or modify the democracy education curriculum?
8. What mechanisms are used to implement education for democracy programs in educational centers and in the classroom?
9. What mechanisms are used to measure and evaluate the impact of democracy education?
10. What do you personally think of the education for democracy that is provided in secondary school and what its results should be?

This survey was administered between September and December 2004 through the Regional Policy Dialogue's Education Network to all of the Dialogue member countries. Every Vice-Minister delegated completion of this survey to a responsible person.

The following countries returned the survey: Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Uruguay. Chart 1 synthesizes the information on the curricular structure, grade and amount of instructional school hours assigned.

The first result of the application of the survey is the differentiation between countries that returned the survey and those that did not. Given the high level of the staff members from all of the countries that participate in the Regional Dia-

logue, it could be inferred that the countries that responded to the survey are those where interest in this subject is more visible on the educational agenda. We obviously cannot conclude, however, that interest in civic education is lower in those countries that did not respond to the survey. Possible alternative explanations include difficulties in coordination or excessive demands within the institutions.

Subjects vs. Transversal Axes

There are several modalities in which education for democracy is taught. In Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Guatemala, education for citizenship is an explicit aim of Social Studies courses. Furthermore, in Argentina, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay, there is a specific subject for civic or citizenship education. Additionally, in Belize, Colombia, El Salvador, and Mexico, education for democracy is one of the cross-cutting themes of the curriculum.

Grades and Number of Instructional Hours Assigned

There is great heterogeneity across countries in terms of the grades in which education for democracy is taught and in the number of instructional hours that are dedicated to the subject (ranging from 2 hours one day a week to almost one hour 5 days a week).

Chart 2 presents the information on pedagogical resources and the evaluation of education for democracy programs.

Pedagogical Strategies

There is also variability in the pedagogical strategies utilized to integrate education for democracy across the curriculum. Among the strategies utilized are classes and research projects, visits to Parliament, and group activities that include dialogue, decision-making and conflict resolution.

Teacher Training

In the majority of cases, the training of teachers to develop their competencies to carry out such strategies is in-service teacher training courses. Only in the cases of Mexico and Uruguay is there

CHART I
CURRICULAR STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Subject or transversability	Grades or levels	Hours per year	Integration in transversal axes
Argentina Ethical and citizenship education	Primary and Secondary	Varies in different provinces (Buenos Aires, 2:40 per week)	In majority of provinces as transversal
Barbados Social Studies	6°, 7°, 8° grades	104 hrs.	Classes, research projects, simulations, visits to Parliament
Belize Social Studies	9°, 10° grades (required) 11°-12° grades (elective)	160 –200 min./week	Through government and citizenship issues
Bolivia Social Studies	First and Second cycle (Humanities)	80 hrs.	(info in survey not relevant)
Colombia Social Studies, transversal axis	all	4 hours, varies	Decision-making participation, meta cognition, conflict resolution
Costa Rica As subject	School, subject?	80 hours	Competency development
Ecuador Social Studies, Civics and National Culture	4°, 5°, 6° grades	Social Studies: 150 hrs. Civics: 53 hrs.	Elective processes of student councils
El Salvador Morals and Civics, Social Studies, transversal axis	Elementary and Secondary	Civics: 70 hrs. Social Studies: 148 hrs.	Transversal, related to “Values Education” topics
Guatemala Social Studies, Seminar (focus on democracy)	1° – 5° grades	Social Studies: 135 hrs. Seminar: 54 hrs.	Through curricular areas organized in different subjects; area of education for democracy
México Civics and Ethics. Citizenship Ed towards a culture of legality (optional)	Civics: 1°, 3° grades; Citizen Ed: 3° grade (optional)	Civics: 80 – 120 hrs. Citizen Ed: 86 hrs.	Dialogue, critical comprehension, decision-making, moral judgement, classes
Uruguay Citizenship education	3° grade, elementary	2 hrs/week	(no answer)

PEDAGOGICAL RESOURCES AND EVALUATION OF EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY				
Teacher Training	Resources	Program Evaluation	Implementation Mechanisms	Evaluation Mechanisms
Argentina In teacher training institutes, in service training	Minister Programs: National Program of Cohabitation, Solidarity Schools, books, guides, videos	Not directly	(No answer)	Nothing directly
Barbados In teacher training institutes	Books, Internet resources	Data on curriculum not analyzed	Through the curriculum	None
Belize Social studies courses, curriculum program	Modules, books, supplements	Oral History project	Student council, discussions, interviews	Debates, presentations, national contests
Bolivia	Nothing in secondary school	(unclear)	(unclear)	In preparation
Colombia In-service, fora, workshops, etc	Books (produced in private), virtual forums	Yes in the last 5 yrs in Bogotá	With assistance of MoE and other institutions	IEA Study, assessments in the MoE portal.
Costa Rica University, in-service	Texts, modules, guides	(no answer)	Advisor visits, conferences, updating services	Cuantitative and cualitative
Ecuador University, pedagogic	Texts	No	Elections of: Boards, parent committees, student councils	Sessions and meeting minutes of different groups
El Salvador Initial on course: Education and society; in service	Books, guides, videos, conferences (teleconferences and in person)	No, but in process	Workshops, competencies, problem discussions students help solve problems	Monitoring of education centers, evaluation of student projects
Guatemala In-Service (Ministry and NGO)	Books, guides, experiences, newspapers, news, documents, etc...	In process: Citizenship education, Project Building Citizenship	In subject: school government, workshops, seminars	Specific: listen, participate, auto-evaluation, knowledge of rights and responsibilities, etc...
Mexico In-Service: Bachelor's Degree in civics and ethics education, in culture and legality	Guides, books, videos, bios, Constitution for kids	Yes, in 2003 (Center for Education Studies); Now MoE	inter-institutional actions: agreements with institutions	Application of learned content, dedication or interest, creativity, comprehension
Uruguay Specialty: Civics Ed---Law	(no reply)	Independent Projects	(no reply)	(no reply)

mention of a degree program in basic education that specializes in civics and ethics, culture and legality, and civic education and law, respectively. In the case of Mexico it is noteworthy that the teacher development courses for civic education have been included in the program of teacher career, which gives teachers economic incentives to take such courses.

Instructional Materials

The educational materials that are utilized to support the instruction of education for democracy include, in the majority of countries, textbooks, study guides, and other documents such as biographies or material from the Internet. In Argentina, there are two programs prepared by the Ministry of Education, the National Program for Cohabitation and the Solidarity Schools Program, which focus specifically on education for democracy. It is noteworthy that Bolivia reports not having specific resources for instruction on this issue in secondary schools. Mexico distinguishes itself for having produced high quality materials, particularly the pamphlets “Educate for Democracy” prepared by the Federal Electoral Institute, which provide teachers with specific guidelines on how to develop activities for the education for democratic citizenship integrated in the curriculum.

Program Evaluations

In the majority of countries, studies or evaluations about the effects of these programs have not been carried out in a systematic manner. The exception is Colombia, where information is periodically collected about standards of civic mindedness, and where the country participated in the recent international study on civic education (only Chile and Colombia participated in this study)⁴. Another country where studies have been conducted is Mexico, where an educational research center carried out a study on civic education and more recently an institution in charge of administrating standardized tests to high school graduates (ninth grade students) incorporated a series of adapted questions from the international civic education study carried out by AIE.

Integral Perspective

In global terms, surveys that offer a more comprehensive view of democracy education are

those from Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico. In Colombia, there is a clear emphasis on the formation of democratic competencies, as reflected in the national standards and measurement tests, in specific subjects for developing democratic competencies, and in studies that have been carried out on the subject. In Guatemala, there are numerous innovations in this area, such as a project for building citizenship. In Mexico, there are two subjects that deal specifically with the subject. There is a degree program for teacher training, there are studies that have been done on the subject, educational material for students and teachers has been prepared and there have been concrete actions between the Ministry of Education, the State Education Offices and the Federal Electoral Institute.

Official Curriculum and Practice

It is necessary to point out that the information obtained through the survey is indicative of the goals and programs as they are proposed and viewed by the Ministries of Education. Given that in other competency areas, such as reading, mathematics or science, there are large gaps between the objectives of the curriculum, the curriculum that is implemented in the classroom and the learning achieved by students, it is reasonable to presume that in the field of developing competencies for life in democracy—a more recent focus of educational policies and curricula and with less institutionalized knowledge and good practices—there are probably also gaps between the intentions designated in the surveys of the Ministries, the practice observed in educational centers, and the learning achievements of students. Establishing with precision what occurs in the centers where these programs are implemented, as well as the competencies of the students, is one of the priorities for a research agenda that will make it possible to improve policies aimed at strengthening education for democracy.

Another type of information that would be useful to obtain in future research is the participation of educational organizations from civil society and organizations from other arenas with

⁴ International Study on knowledge and civic compromise carried in 28 countries. The International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievements (AIE), in Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz 2001; and Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt and Nikolova, 2002.

experience in this issue to support the design of programs, educational materials, and teacher training. For example, in Colombia they are experimenting with programs that have achieved more significant changes in the development of moral thinking in the United States. This includes the program based on the study of historical cases of democratic rupture and human rights violations, Facing History and Ourselves, as well as programs inspired by those at the Center for Civic Education. In Mexico, the Federal Electoral Institute has also received the collaboration of the Center for Civic Education for the preparation of instructional material. In the near future, it would be useful to know if there are other similar experiences being implemented in the region⁵.

We also have information on small-scale experiences in the region that promote the development of competencies for life in democracy, such as programs to promote the critical reading of the press by young people, and programs for youth journalism and student governments. In the survey utilized in this study, a question to explore whether these initiatives are being carried out in each country was not included; and in the responses provided by the ministries there is no indication of whether these programs have been evaluated or documented to make them available to a greater number of teachers. As indicated previously, the identification of these innovations at the central level, as was recently done by the Ministry of National Education in Colombia, is a necessary first step for identifying how the curriculum is put into practice⁶. A second step is to evaluate the effects of the diverse experiences that are being carried out.

4. A model to conceptualize education for democratic citizenship

In what follows, we describe a conceptual model that will allow to guide future research on policies and practices of the education system for education for citizenship and democracy.

From the definition of competencies and aptitudes for democratic citizenship that we presented in section 1, follows a conceptualization of school-based experiences that contribute to this process. The education for democratic citizenship should be integral and systemic, cumulative, and centered on the daily experiences of young people attending school⁷.

Education for the Integral and Systemic Citizenship

The comprehensive nature of education for democracy refers to the mobilization of all school-based spaces in order to affect all domains of youth development: cognitive, social, emotional, value-based, and attitude-based. This is only possible when thinking about education in a broad sense, that is, not only as contents or processes that are developed in a limited sense in a subject area, but as the set of experiences that take place in the school in its entirety, which derive from the school culture in a broader sense, the sociodemographic composition of the student universe, the role models constituted by the teaching and administrative faculty, and the manner in which time is utilized and interpersonal relations are organized in the academic institution⁸. This means that it is difficult to teach democratic relations—even if discussion of these relations is an explicit subject in the curriculum—in institutions characterized by authoritarian relations. Teaching respect for human rights as a subject will not be effective if the school is characterized by disrespectful gender relations. It is not possible to promote a culture of commitment to legality, incorporating contents into the curriculum in order to

⁵ We know of several organizations in the US that have programs with these objectives, such as: Center for Civic Education; Civic Mission of Schools www.civmmissionofschools.org; Facing History and Ourselves www.facinghistory.org; Civitas International www.civnet.org; Center for Social and Emotional Learning www.csee.net; Character Education Partnership www.character.org; Creative Responses to Conflict www.ccreglobal.org; Human Rights Education Association www.hrea.org; Fund for Global Awakening www.ffga.org; Peace Games www.peacegames.org; Resolving Conflict Creatively www.esrnational.org; Seeds of Peace www.seedsofpeace.org; Voices of Love and Freedom www.naschools.org; Workable Peace www.workablepeace.org

⁶ National Ministry of Education and Entrepreneurs for Education Foundation, 2004, Fifteen Experiences to Learn Citizenship and One More, Bogotá, Colombia.

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this model, see Reimers, F and E. Reimers, Educating Democratic Citizens in Latin America, in Harrington, L. and J. Kagan (eds) Developing cultures: essays on cultural change, Routledge Press, in press.

⁸ This differentiation between the minimalist focus of traditional civic education and the maximalist focus of citizen formation is discussed by David Kerr (2002) An international review of citizenship in the curriculum, in Steiner-Khamsi, G., Torney-Purta, J., & Schwilole, J. (Eds), New paradigms and recurring paradoxes in education for citizenship: An international comparison. London: Elsevier Science Ltd.

do so, if the students know that a proportion of the teachers obtained their positions as a result of paying bribes or peddling influence. In particular, when teaching adolescents, it is fundamental that there be good alignment between the goals of the school and the curriculum at the different organizational levels within the academic institution.

The systemic nature of education for democratic citizenship refers to the interdependence and synergies that arise from simultaneous action in the different spaces that were previously identified. Thus the conceptions of gender equality that young people may learn are influenced concurrently by the explicit contents of the curriculum, by the curriculum hidden in teaching practices—the time, attention and stimulus that young men and women receive—by the role models they have in the proportion of teachers, administrators and supervisors that are men and women, by the gender relations that exist between teaching staff, and by the school culture in its broadest sense⁹. Educational institutions where advances of a sexual nature by professors and administrators on female and male students is not severely restricted and sanctioned, for example, in combination with existing opportunities for female and male teachers, and with the curriculum and instructional processes, shape a powerful moral lesson on acceptable gender relations in the academic institution.

Education for the Cumulative Democratic Citizenship

The cumulative character of education for democracy refers to the degree to which learning throughout the students' continuum of development rests on previous learning, thus forming chains of opportunities where what is learned at a certain time facilitates, or hinders, subsequent learning. For example, one of the most basic and fundamental lessons for valuing freedom itself is that each person be able to discover his or her own "voice", his or her own individuality, and the capacity to organize and express ideas. Very early experiences, such as having opportunities to be listened to, the power to write essays that reflect one's own point of view, the power to read texts that reflect one's own interests, in short, receiv-

ing attention as a person, facilitate the discovery of this voice.

To the extent that children and then young people can find experiences at schools that communicate to them that they are valued as an individual person and that they are respected in their individuality, it will be easier for them to discover that voice and learn to respect the individuality and freedom of others. The absence of these early experiences will make it more difficult to discover one's own capacity to think, develop original ideas or value freedom. This concatenation and cumulative character of school learning has a clear expression in regards to the acquisition of the basic competencies of reading and writing. Without the capacity to read with high levels of comprehension, it will be impossible for the youth to study in depth history in posterior moments of their educational trajectories; it will be hard to follow deliberations about public issues, without the fundamental competencies of communication it is not possible to build more advanced opportunities of citizenship education.

Education for the Daily Citizenship Education

Although we share John Dewey's thesis that one teaches in the way in which one is taught, we think that the purposes of school, including the extent to which they promote a democratic culture, are also expressed in who they teach, what they attempt to teach, how well they teach it, who teaches it, in what school climate and in what sociocultural context. The civic aims of the school are expressed in all of these aspects of the educational process, not only in the open and specific objectives of educational policies and curriculum or in the contents of textbooks. Accordingly, in order to examine to what extent schools prepare young people for democratic citizenship, it is necessary to take a broad, concentrated look that goes beyond the analysis of the contents of civic education subjects.

⁹ For an analysis on the role of gender inequality in school management in Mexico, see Reimers, F, Principally Women, Gender in the Politics of Mexican Education. In Randall, L. (Ed). *The Changing Structure of Mexico*, M.E. Sharpe. In press.

An integrated system of opportunities

Below, we explain the components of this conceptual framework for analyzing the relationship between education and the development of democratic culture. In doing so, we will present information derived from the aforementioned survey, as well as complementary information coming from additional sources, when pertinent.

School experiences that help students to develop the skills and aptitudes that are consistent with participating in and maintaining democratic societies result from an interrelated system of opportunities, in which every level of opportunity facilitates subsequent opportunities to develop the capacities and aptitudes to be free.

At the center of this integrated system of opportunities, at a micro level, are opportunities for social interaction and experiences between students, and between students and teachers, which present young people with opportunities to choose their short- and long-term aspirations in a congruent manner. Together with multiple opportunities to learn to choose, there are opportunities to develop skills that are essential to functioning in a complex modern society. Young people need, for example, to develop the capacity to read at high levels of comprehension, since this is essential to being able to participate effectively in the majority of modern societies in the 21st century, and since this capacity leads to other opportunities¹⁰. Learning to read and write, and to maintain and improve this ability, offers broad opportunities to promote the exercise of freedom. Children and young people can read diverse materials and have the opportunity to write based on their interests, or choose not to do so.

In one visit that we carried out in 2003 to middle schools in Southern Chile where the Links (Enlaces) program supported classrooms for technology instruction, several of the students expressed that for them the most valuable aspect of the time dedicated to this activity was that it was the only one in which they could do research projects that corresponded to their interests. In this context, learning to use the Internet or simple platforms for word processing and presentation of ideas is an instrument for innovation that permits students to learn based on their interests. In visits to that we made to San Luis Potosi schools in Mexico during 2005 we confirmed how the implementation of the National Reading

Program, that offered children stories and diverse literature to public schools allowed in some cases that each student had an opportunity to choose which textbooks to read, constituted an important way not only of stimulating the practice of reading, but also of recognizing and legitimizing the diverse interests of children in regards to which texts to read.

The pedagogical climate and the types of methodologies used in schools, the academic standards in use and the quality of education in the achievement of these standards are fundamental aspects of an agenda of education for democracy. As mentioned before, the development of competencies for democratic citizenship is not an alternative for the development of academic competencies; on the contrary, the competencies required to practice citizenship in complex societies require academic skills.

In addition to these daily experiences to develop the capacities to be free and make choices, the teaching curriculum can develop skills and aptitudes for democratic citizenship, creating specific moments in which students can reflect on or learn contents that help them understand what is necessary for democratic societies or relations to function. Students can learn about which rights are universal human rights, can learn to what extent these are or are not protected through laws and institutions in their society in the present and the past, can learn to think about diversity, can learn and discuss participation at the local, state and national levels, can discuss the performance of elected leaders, and know their political institutions and their history either directly through a subject explicitly aimed at this objective or integrated across throughout different subjects. These constitute the most traditional contents of civic education centered on the study of democratic institutions. Other contents can focus on the study of cultural diversity

¹⁰ In this sense it is notable that reading competencies represent a moving objective, depending on the level of competence that allows participation in society. The old-fashioned conception that defines reading ability as the ability to read and write one's own name and a simple paragraph, perhaps appropriate to the demands of citizenship two centuries ago, clearly does not correspond to a knowledge-based society. This is the justification of the comparative study by the OECD, the PISA study, which measures advanced levels of reading comprehension, which are low in all OECD countries, and particularly low in the 5 Latin American countries that participated in the study.

in a country, of gender relations and sexuality, and of complex subjects that affect identity, individuality and their interpersonal relationship.

Democracy as a model of conduct

In order to guide these opportunities for students, their teachers should be well educated and prepared to model for students what it means to think on their own, to value freedom of research and independence of thought, and to value and respect diversity and the rights of others.

There are indications that the teachers in various Latin American don't constitute models of particularly tolerant or democratic roles. In a teacher survey of public schools undertaken in Mexico, it was discovered that only 29% of them mention as an citizen obligation the respect to the law and only 18% the respect for the rights of others. Only 41% consider that the people should obey the laws¹¹. One of give of such teachers would not accept an indigenous person or a person from another race to live in their house, a third would not accept that someone from a different religion to live in their house and two out of five teachers would not accept a homosexual to live in their house. These attitudes of the Mexican teachers reflect, and contribute to reproduce, intolerant attitudes similar to the ones reflected in society in general. A national survey on discrimination in the Mexican society shows that nine out of ten women, handicapped, indigenous people, homosexuals, the elderly, religious minorities and foreigners perceive that there is discrimination due to their condition. One in every three reports having been discriminated against during the last year, and one in every three has been discriminated against in his/her job¹².

Recent teacher surveys in Argentina, Peru and Uruguay also illustrate high levels of rejection against diversity. The highest percentages of discrimination are, as in the Mexican case, against homosexuals. In Uruguay, 20% of teachers would not accept having homosexuals as neighbors, and this figure is 34% for Argentina and 55% for Peru.

There is also a strong rejection based on nationality, ethnic background, or social class; 11% of the teachers in Uruguay, 15% of the teachers in Argentina and 38% of the teachers in Peru discriminate against people based on their nationality or their ethnic origin. There is also discrimination

against people who live in poor villas among 16% of teachers in Peru, 33% of teachers in Uruguay and 52% of the teachers in Argentina¹³.

There is rejection against people coming from neighboring countries and also those coming from other latitudes or belonging to different religions. Between 19% and 20% of teachers in Peru discriminate against Arabs, Jews, Asians, Chinese, Ecuadorians, Paraguayans and Chileans. The levels of discrimination for this basis are lower in Argentina and Uruguay. In Argentina, 9% of the teachers discriminate against Bolivians, 6% against Chileans and 4% against the Arabs, Jews, Japanese, Ecuadorians and Paraguayans.

In this sense, the direct development of the knowledge of civic attitudes, is the most commonly identified with the citizenship education. This dimension is without a doubt important although, as previously explained, insufficient. The development of cognitive competencies, expressed for instance through the deep knowledge of a country's history, its social movements and political changes with consequences on the democratic character of society, is a fundamental part of citizenship education. The disciplinary areas that are more directly related with the development of these cognitive competencies are history, political studies and civics. However, the competencies that make citizenship can and should be developed transversally throughout the rest of the subjects of the curriculum, as well as through complementary activities that stimulate the disposition to action and are related to the attitude and value spheres. The service learning approach, for instance, is a way of involving students in the analysis and solution of local challenges and to integrate these forms of service and participation with their academic learning.

Citizenship in Theory

There is no systematic information on the degree of knowledge pertinent to the democratic

¹¹ Fundación En Este País, 2003. *Congruencia y Comportamiento Institucional, Encuesta a Maestros de Educación Pública*, México, Mimeo

¹² Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, México 2005. *Nacional Survey on Discrimination*.

¹³ Tenti Fanfani, Emilio. 2003. *Les inmigrés à l'école. La xenophobie des enseignants en Argentine, Perou et Uruguay*. Buenos Aires, Instituto Internacional de Planificación de la Educación. Página 4.

citizenship in all the Latin American countries. The partial information that exists, however, suggests that it is necessary to increase the efforts that exist in this topic. In 1998 Chile and Colombia participated in an international study on knowledge and civic attitudes of high school students. Only half of the Chilean students and 77% of the Colombian students were able to correctly identify, among four answer choices, who should govern in a democracy. Recognizing that it is possible to obtain the correct answer even without knowing 25% of the time, it is worrisome that only a low percentage of students know that in a democracy it is the representatives elected by the people who govern. It is also worrisome that a third of Chileans students consider that in a democracy, experts should govern¹⁴. In Mexico, the percentage of high school graduates (9th grade) that thinks that experts should rule in a democratic regime is 50% and only 41% identify as correct the option that signals the popularly elected representatives¹⁵. The level of knowledge of the content of constitutions, the function of civic organizations, the operation of laws, the ability of identification of corruption examples, the function of periodic elections, of public parties, Congress and the diversity of the press. In Mexico, one out of three teachers indicates that high school graduates are persons who try to evade norms (37%), prefer to compete than to cooperate with others (33%) and value more their interests than those of the community (27%)¹⁶.

The survey analyzed in this report indicates that the clearest efforts to introduce specific subjects for education for democracy are in Colombia and Mexico. In Chile, a high-level commission revised in 2004 the extent to which the education system was developing democratic citizenship competencies.

In Colombia, there is a program on citizen competencies that cuts across all areas of the curriculum and receives special attention in subjects related to the social sciences. This program “aims for the entire educational community to make a commitment to the development of cognitive, socio-affective and communication abilities to improve peaceful coexistence, participation, and democratic responsibility and the valuing of differences.”

The definition of standards for citizen competencies, the inclusion of such competencies in the national evaluation system, the emphasis on

citizenship education as a policy priority and the support of these priorities with identification strategies of local experiences and diffusion of international experiences have stimulated a variety of promising actions in the schools in this country. Recently, the Colombian Ministry of National Education, in collaboration with the Entrepreneurs for Education Foundation, published a report that disseminates some of the best practices in this area: “Fifteen experiences for learning citizenship and one more” is an excellent example of a way to recognize and disseminate the pedagogical innovation that groups of teachers have developed at the school level in this area¹⁷.

In Mexico, education for democracy is reflected in a compulsory subject, Civic and Ethics Education, and in the subject Citizenship Education Towards a Culture of Legality, which is implemented in six entities in the country at this time. The Federal Electoral Institute has played an important role in the development of the curriculum for the education of democratic citizenship in schools preparing materials—in collaboration with the Center for Civic Education—which have been distributed throughout the country and integrated into the national systems of professional development of the teachers. Such professional development courses are part of the national system of professional development and thus, contribute to the professional promotion of teachers.

The objective of Civic and Ethics Education is “to provide conceptual and critical elements so that young people develop the capacity for analysis and discussion that is necessary for making personal and collective decisions that contribute to the improvement of their performance in society. It is intended that students learn to consider and assume their social environment as a propitious environment for the exercise of community and civic attitudes¹⁸.”

¹⁴ Torney-Purta J., J. Amadeo, (2004) Fortalecimiento de la democracia en las Américas a través de la educación cívica.

¹⁵ Tirado, F and Guevara, G. 2005, *Ibid*, Page 23.

¹⁶ Fundación en Este País.

¹⁷ Ministerio de Educación Nacional and Fundación Empresarios por la Educación. 2004. *Quince experiencias para aprender ciudadanía... y una más*. Bogotá. Colombia

¹⁸ Response from the Ministry of Education of Mexico to the Regional Policy Dialogue survey.

The citizenship education program “Towards a Culture of Legality” was launched as an initiative by those responsible for the education sector in the state of Baja California to confront phenomena such as corruption, delinquency, and organized crime. The program supported the introduction of an optional subject in the plan of studies that permitted students to reflect on and adopt a culture of legality.

In Mexico, efforts to train teaching staff exist, but are still modest given the dimensions of the country and the challenges of consolidating a democratic culture. There is a degree in secondary education with a specialization in Civics and Ethics Education, but the majority of the teachers who teach this subject in secondary schools are not graduates from this program degree specialization.

In Chile, the high-level National Commission gave its evaluative judgment on the citizenship education curriculum to a wide spectrum of actors, including the Ministry of Education, private education stakeholders, both national and international research experts, teacher trainers and parliamentarians. The main proposals of the Commission were:

- a) a definition agreed upon by all sectors of a concept of democratic citizenship, that integrated concepts and put emphasis on the liberal tradition (entitlement to rights valid in front of the State) democratic tradition (citizenship as belonging to a community that is self-governed) and the republican tradition (citizenship as a context of specific virtues);
- b) the need of adjustments to the proposed sequence for citizenship education in the new curriculum valid since 1998—emphasizing a closure at the end of high school centered in democratic institutionalization;
- c) repair of two empty spaces observed in the curriculum—educate on democracy risks, on antisocial conduct, and basics of the penal system; as well as the enrichment of contents on economics, noted as being insufficient; and
- d) methodological suggestions on citizenship school-based learning, centered on an approach that combines elective classes and traditional formal study, with debates and

experiences of community service and participation in student council activities”¹⁹.

In addition to these specific opportunities in the curriculum to form competencies for life in democracy, it is necessary for these opportunities to be introduced in an institutional context that respects young people and their families. Although there are incipient efforts in the region to promote the linkage of the community with the schools, these efforts are concentrated on primary education. In secondary education, the opportunities for young people to participate directly in activities that make it possible for them to develop negotiation, consensus-building, and management skills are limited.

Secondary education reforms in progress in several countries in the region are an excellent opportunity to invite young people to participate in the definition of the goals of the school in achieving the development of competencies that permit effective democratic citizenship.

At the same time these relationships between young people, educators, and communities are involved in a system of institutional standards that govern school management, influencing the selection of teachers, appointment of directors, and the social climate of the school. On some occasions, these standards openly contradict a culture of respect for legality and democracy, for example where teachers purchase positions, where directors or supervisors demand sexual favors from teachers or students, or where unions or political parties require the participation of educational professionals in activities that are very different from school-specific activities in exchange for support to be able to carry out their work.

In the contexts in which schools undertake illegal practices—for example, selling qualifications, charging illegal quotas—the institutional culture of the schools thus reflects the tensions between trying to strengthen modern democratic values while it displays traditional authoritarian values that are contrary to democracy. It’s hardly surprising then that the survey on civic education administered to young people 14 to 17 years

¹⁹ Response from the Ministry of Education of Chile to the Regional Policy Dialogue survey.

of age demonstrated their inability to recognize 'some threats to democracy, such as corruption, nepotism, and control of the media'²⁰. This study repeatedly points out that students experienced civic knowledge as theoretical and disconnected from their immediate reality. The study finds the greatest gap between Chilean and Colombian students, in relation to those from the United States, not in knowledge of basic facts that characterize democracy in theory, but in the capacity to interpret civic principles represented in daily concrete situations such as newspaper articles, pamphlets, or comic strips²¹. That the educational institution is governed by non-democratic codes that contradict the explicit contents of the civic education curriculum probably explains why Latin American young people learn to be citizens 'in theory,' but not in practice.

Institutional Culture at School

In a recent survey that took place in El Salvador, for example, on the ways in which common citizens most frequently experience corruption, the majority of respondents indicated that their most significant direct experience with corruption-related situations focused on the request for illegal payments at public schools, two times greater than the request for bribes at health centers, and three times greater than the request for bribes in ministries or by the police²². In total, 16% of survey respondents reported being direct victims of bribe requests in public schools. This finding does not necessarily indicate that corruption is higher in the educational system in El Salvador than in other countries, but perhaps that this is one of the few countries that attempted to empirically study the manifestations of corruption in the management of education and other public services. In this survey, people with higher levels of schooling are more inclined to think that corruption is necessary in order to get rich. Indeed, 33% of university graduates are in agreement with the statement 'To get rich, it is necessary to be corrupt,' in comparison with 30% of those who completed secondary school education, 25% of those who completed basic education, and 22% of those who completed primary school²³. This study clearly points to the existing relationship between the expansion of corruption and disillusion with democracy²⁴:

"A direct consequence of corruption is the disillusion with democracy that it generates in its citizenship. The millennium 2000 survey by Gallup International, which interviewed nearly 57,000 people in 60 countries, confirmed that wherever there is greater corruption, there is greater disillusion with democracy."

Schools that respect students and their families, and that model respect, openness and transparency for them, are strong communities, focused on learning, administered transparently for the achievement of public objectives. In turn, schools that are strong communities and allow opportunities for all children to learn at levels of excellence, and above all to choose operate, if they are going to contribute to the development of a democratic culture, within a larger system of social institutions and aspirations committed to providing similar experiences to all students.

It was not part of the goal of the survey analyzed in this report to explore these aspects of the school's institutional culture in a broader sense. The study of these standards, specifically of how the administrative practices of educational management reflect or distort democratic aims, should be a priority on the region's research agenda on this subject.

Education for democracy as social responsibility

The interdependent system that we have described includes high-quality experiences that are consistent at the micro level, that make it possible to internalize the capacity to choose, and that permit students to discover and develop their own voice. This includes opportunities in the curriculum to learn about democracy and freedoms, and also requires that teachers be well prepared to model and value the freedom to carry out their own research

²⁰ Torney-Purta, Judith and Jo-Ann Amadeo. 2004. Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through CivicEducation. Washington, DC. Organization of American States, page 66.

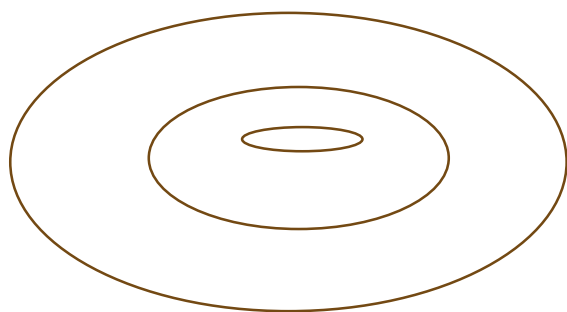
²¹ Ibid.

²² Jose Miguel Cruz and Alvaro Martin de Vega. La percepción sobre la corrupción en las instituciones de El Salvador. Los ciudadanos hablan sobre la corrupción. San Salvador. Universidad Centro Americana. Instituto Universitario de Opinión Pública. Page 58. Sixteen percent of those surveyed reported having been direct victims of bribery in public schools.

²³ Idem. Page 45.

²⁴ Idem. Page 17.

and the independence of criteria, that schools interact with young people and their communities in a respectful way. Teachers and school directors who demonstrate that they themselves can interact respectfully, honestly and openly in the microcosm of the school and in the management of school micro-politics. It also requires a greater social commitment to educating everyone at levels of excellence and for life in democracy. These interdependent conditions form a system of concentric circles of influence, at the center of which are the experiences of young people in the school, and with the most external circle representing the commitment of society to educate everyone at levels of excellence.



The relationships between the components of this system are interdependent, more than unidirectional, because there are feedback cycles through which each element of this system impacts the rest of the elements and the results at each level influence other levels over time. For example, as young people have experiences in school that make it possible for them to assess differences and freedom, they will become more committed to supporting high-quality education for all of their fellow-citizens. In turn, this greater social commitment to quality education makes higher quality experiences at the micro level possible.

5. Conclusions and suggestions for continuous strengthening of education for democracy

The survey gathers valuable information on the curriculum of the education for citizenship and democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean countries. This preliminary effort allows to have a mapping—though general—of the current state of the situation on those countries who replied. In this sense, the survey represents a point of

departure, a baseline upon which it is possible to advance in a way to get closer to the integral, cumulative and daily citizenship education like we propose in this study. At the end of these conclusions, we present a series of concrete options that will permit an advancement in the citizenship education within the school context.

In Latin America, recent educational reform efforts during the last decade are inspired largely by the desire to respond to the democratic aspirations of providing all citizens with equal opportunities to participate in economies and societies that are increasingly knowledge-based. Efforts to provide universal access to secondary education, positive discrimination policies aimed at reducing the gaps in the quality of education that different social groups receive and emphasis on improving the core competencies of primary and secondary school graduates, all reflect the aspiration towards a preparation at a basic level in order to participate and deliberate in democratic societies.

This approach to understanding the relationship between education and democracy is justified partially by empirical studies. A study of the relationship between education and democratic attitudes based on a survey administered in 48 countries, including Chile, Costa Rica, and Mexico, found that people with more years of schooling had more democratic attitudes²⁵. Another study of the same data, for only the three Latin American countries, concluded that although the majority of adults surveyed did not trust other people (suggesting a low level of civic culture), the 30% that trust others had higher educational status and greater probability of having completed secondary and university level studies²⁶. A similar relationship between education and interpersonal confidence was found by Robert Putnam in the United States²⁷. In these three Latin American

²⁵ Moreno, A. (2001) Democracy and Mass Belief Systems in Latin America. In Roderick Ai Camp (Ed) Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America. Pittsburgh. University of Pittsburgh Press, 27 - 50. page 35.

²⁶ Power, T. and Clark, M. (2001) Does Trust Matter? In Roderick Ai Camp (Ed) Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America. Pittsburgh. University of Pittsburgh Press, 51-70. page 59.

²⁷ Putnam, R. (1995). Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America. Political Science and Politics, 27(4), p. 665. Cited in Power and Clark 2001, Ibid.

countries, the level of interpersonal confidence is low, but it is lower among those who have less schooling and in countries whose populations have a lower level of schooling. In a survey administered in 17 countries in 2002, on average only 19% said that they could trust the majority of people; these figures vary from 3% in Brazil—the country that has the lowest educational indicators in the region—to 36% in Uruguay—the country with the highest educational indicators in the region²⁸.

Despite the recognition that educating all people at a high quality level is a necessary condition for democratic citizenship, certain issues—including recognition of the specific need to further explore the definition of the essential competencies for democratic citizenship, identification of the methodologies that are most appropriate to developing them, and systems of support and evaluation to take it to scale—constitute a more recent debate. In the majority of countries, this represents more of a debate by specialists than a debate that is generalized to all communities of educators in a broad sense, and much less to the diverse interest groups that converge around educational issues. Education for the formation of democratic citizenship is, in Latin America, a budding issue that is minimally based on the analysis of empirical evidence about what works with and what results. In this context, the analysis of the survey presented in this study represents a contribution that offers evidence from an important number of countries of what is being done in each of them in terms of education for democracy.

Some Ministries of Education have formed studcommissions to analyze the subject and formulate proposals. The results of the work of these commissions regarding innovative teaching practices are still unknown, and even lesser known are their results on student competencies that have proved to be particularly promising. On the other hand, the analysis of the civic competencies of young people 14 to 17 years of age in Chile and Colombia and of 14 year-olds in Mexico indicate important deficiencies, which are greater in the case of Chile and Mexico than in that of Colombia. Although Colombian students, and to a lesser extent Chilean and Mexican ones, know the ideal characteristics of a formal democracy, they tend to see this knowledge as alien to

their own reality²⁹. In particular, this study identifies deficits in primary school civic education. It also designates the inability of young people to recognize practices such as corruption or nepotism as impediments to democracy. The study indicates that teachers, both in Colombia and in Chile, are inadequately prepared to provide education on democratic citizenship. Teachers consider that an integrated approach throughout the entire curriculum, not in a specific subject, would be much more effective. These teachers tend to base their instruction primarily on the study of original documents such as countries' constitutions, which suggests a traditional, limited form of supporting the acquisition of knowledge about democratic institutionalities, but not the capacity to participate democratically.

Taking into account the survey's limitations, the information provided through it allows to outline with more clarity that which is possible to perform to educate an effective citizenship, with hopes on the future.

What options would make it possible to move forward in education for democratic citizenship from within the school?

1. Define the competencies that make democratic citizenship effective. It is necessary to continue to develop and promote discussion about the competencies that make citizens competent. The evaluation of democracy and its quality is a process. In Costa Rica, there is an interesting project being carried out, the Citizen Audit on the Quality of Democracy, whose purpose is to weigh citizens' expectations of democracy in that country³⁰. It will be possible to operationalize the necessary competencies and aptitudes for effective citizenship on the basis of this type of studies. Mexico has recently conducted a very important study on Discrimination, and the results

²⁸ Latinobarometro, 2002. Press Report. www.latinobarometro.org.

²⁹ Torney-Purta, Judith and Jo-Ann Amadeo. 2004. Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education. Washington, DC. Organization of American States. page 48. See also Tirado, F y Guevara, G., 2005, Ibid.

³⁰ Proyecto Estado de la Nación. Auditoria Ciudadana sobre la Calidad de la Democracia. San José.

have been widely disseminated through the press. These types of initiatives are highly valuable for stimulating the public discussion on specific components of the democratic citizenship.

2. Identify the gaps between the competencies for effective citizenship and the knowledge, abilities and attitudes of students and graduates of the school system. Research projects such as the International Study of Civic Education yield very valuable information on students' knowledge and skills in civics. Unfortunately only two Latin American countries, Chile and Colombia, have participated in these studies and more recently Mexico has incorporated some questions of the study to an evaluation of high school student graduates. These, as well as periodic surveys like the Latinobarometro, or opinion studies like the study on corruption in El Salvador that was discussed in this paper, make it possible to understand to what extent there is a connection between the demands that democracy makes about effective citizenship and the competencies and visions of the particular citizens in each country. Recognizing the gaps between the demands of democracy and the results that the educational system produces will make it possible to define specific objectives for citizen education in the school.
3. Promote democratic forums to negotiate the purposes of secondary education. As theorists who study education for democracy have indicated, there is no single way of defining how to educate for democracy³¹; it is for this reason that democratic theory is directed at democratic approaches for defining the purposes of the school. Current efforts to expand the secondary school in Latin America are an excellent opportunity to capitalize on such expansion in order to advance open and broad approaches to defining and discussing the purposes of the school.
4. Identify the in-school experiences that contribute to the development of competencies for democratic citizenship in the Latin American context. This requires an ambitious conceptual and research-based undertaking. Similar to the thesis that we proposed in

this paper that citizenship education transcends a subject in the curriculum, it will be necessary to study the pedagogies and forms of and opportunities for student participation being used in schools, and their effects on the development of competencies, abilities and social capital.

5. Conduct comparative research and comparatively analyze the empirical evidence—between several countries and over the course of broad historical periods—that allows a major conceptualization about the effective forms of citizenship education.
6. Prepare specific programs for citizenship education and educational materials that can support educators and students in activities that have proven effectiveness. In particular to go study more in depth the subject of history, of government incorporating comparative content that document ways that social and individual participation and action have promoted democratization of societies—for instance through the study of the US civil rights movements, or the fall of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Study historical processes that have resulted in the reduction of liberties and citizen rights, such as the rise of Nazism in Germany and the recent genocides in Rwanda and Darfur. Equally incorporate the comparative study on authoritarian regimes in Latin America and the effects on the liberties and human rights of the people.
7. Develop training programs for professors and school directors and administrators to develop competencies that make it possible for them to support high-quality citizenship education.
8. Develop and evaluate specific experiments for the creation of innovative citizen education programs that can be tested in the framework of secondary education reforms, which various countries in the region implement with the aim of providing more up-to-date knowledge about the material,

³¹ Amy Gutmann. 1987. *Democratic Education*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

and which make it possible to evaluate the feasibility and costs of scaling up such experiences. For instance, evaluate models of service learning, study of history.

9. Create research and practice networks that connect investigators and broad communities of educators from several countries in the region with those from countries in other parts of the world, for the purpose of exchanging knowledge based on practice in

this field.

10. Plan and implement continuous professional development programs for teachers with a focus on education for citizenship and democracy. No innovative program will be a complete success unless the teachers who are going to implement it are well-trained in the area.

The Experience of Chile

Cristián Cox *

Thank you very much for this opportunity to share with you the recent experience of Chile in citizenship education through the school system. In this occasion I will cover three topics: 1. Challenges for the citizenship education in the contexts of globalization and 'reflective' modernization; 2. objectives and contents of the curriculum of the ongoing reform in Chile and 3. evaluation and public deliberation on citizen education: experience from a National Commission on Citizenship Education in Chile, year 2004.

Before doing so, I am going to make some clarifications. In regards to the first topic, the question for the historical relevance of the citizenship education taught by the school system today seems central to me. Part of what is discussed today has an absence of time and a degree of generality that is worrisome: it is like it could be applied to the circumstances of our region after World War II; or during the beginning of the 20th century. The same concepts and aspirations would have been repeated... I believe that a first challenge for actors and interpreters in this topic, in this first decade of the 21st century, is to adequately identify the current specific characteristics of the topic. I think this should be the starting point of this analysis.

Subsequently, I will refer to, in a concise way, to Chile's answer to the question of why the citizenship education is relevant to the school system in the new century.

Finally, I will refer to an experience that took place in my country between July and December of last year (2004) regarding a national commission on the topic of citizenship education. It is an exercise of public deliberation that is val-

uable and filled with consequences for a curricular reform that is in its initial implementation stage.

1. Characterization of Citizenship Education in our Region at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Five Challenges

Five challenges faced by the 'citizenship education' in the Latin America and the Caribbean region in this first decade of the 21st century, according to my judgment constitute the center of the historical relevance of the of the topic: (i) tension between a larger political community and immediate reference groups; (ii) tension between cosmopolitan education and education for national identity; (iii) tension between loyalty to a political order and its criticism; (iv) implementation: intra or extracurricular emphasis?; (v) education for an active citizenship and its high management requirements.

(i) Tension Between a Larger Political Community and Immediate Reference Groups

The first challenge is in regards to the profound tendencies of our modern times and that the specialized literature addresses in terms of a displacement of the public sphere, subordination of politics to economics, individualization, and weakening of the sense of belonging and loyalties

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towards a political community that is larger than immediate reference groups.

“People no longer belong, once and for all, to a country, a region, a social class or to a political party. The identity of each person transforms into an individual and permanent construction, in what Giddens calls “a reflective process”. “The central character of our times—notes Ulrich Beck—is the human being capable of choosing, deciding, and creating, one who aspires to be the author of his life, creator of an individual identity”. Well, this individual does not look forward to integrate himself into society, but to “live his own life”. One does not belong to society; it is a space through which one navigates to carry about own individual projects”. “The traditional sources of collective identity, such as ethnic or class identity lose value. The individuals “are” not, once and for all, workers, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, ecologists, liberals. Nobody is from one country, one class, one religion, not even one gender: this is chosen, and not once but many times”.

(Eugenio Tironi, in an analysis offered to the Commission of Citizenship Education, Session 2, 9 August 2004, Santiago de Chile).

We can discuss the extent to which these sociological, post-modern tendencies affect our societies in its entirety, or only its sectors that are most integrated to global circuits. But what cannot be doubted is the fact that they specially have an impact on the youth and their perceptions, and that the truth is that we cannot effectively work in citizenship education without responding to these characteristics of a larger cultural and social sector.

ii) Tension between cosmopolitan education and education for a sense of national identity

The whole national education system and its actors face the second challenge on a daily basis, and it is based on the need to educate people to live within the context of a tension between globalization and the nation; educate within a context of a new simultaneity of a global, national and local identity. The question is, very concretely: how to educate citizens who are simultaneously open to the requirements of globalization

and who have their roots and identity in their community and nation?

iii) Tension between loyalty to a political order and its criticism

The third challenge is in regards to another type of tension: the need to work in a double front manner, or by pointing simultaneously at two aims at a time: the value of, and loyalty to, a society with its laws and customs, and that of its criticism. This challenge is very difficult. If you gather educators to organize in a curricular and pedagogical way the world of politics, institutions and authority, what is going to emerge naturally is its criticism. Notwithstanding, the scholarly experience has to communicate, along with critical capacities, a loyalty to an order and its laws. The elementary school in particular, cannot be a playground of doubts and ironies, and at the same time, however, should set the foundations of critical capacities crucial for innovation and democracy.

iv) Implementation: intra or extracurricular emphasis?

The fourth challenge is specific to the Ministries and political designers in this field, and posed as a question, would be: How to avoid falling into “programitis” in this area? Is the citizenship education a topic of special programs, or is it a topic that is at the heart of the curriculum, and of the daily school activities?

v) Education for the active citizenship and its high management requirements

Fifth challenge: if the citizenship education sought gives a big value to participation practices and community service of students, in the extent that is possible, to the community outside the school, -as shown through the experiences of more advanced education systems, specifically described today through the teleconference presentation made by Cecilia Braslavsky- the massive organization of such learning opportunities evidently has management requirement that is higher than the one in conventional civic education classes. Time, spaces, networks and external relations require management conditions that are more demanding and considerably different than

the now predominant ones, if they are to operate for education purposes in an effective way.

2. Curricular Reform of the “90s: from Civic Education” to “Citizenship Education”

The curricular reform of the 90s signified a change in the paradigm related to the traditional civic education in Chile. The principal dimensions of such a change are categorized in the following table. (Table 1).

The change can be described in terms of a triple expansion of traditional civic education (although this is a drastic simplification because it is about a change of quality, not only of quantity): expansion thematic, quantitative and educational.

Thematic, because the focus of the contents of knowledge expands from the political institutionality (Nation, State, Government, Law) to current problems areas of society, such as equity, human rights, environment, science and technology in the context of societies that deliberate their aims and means. *Quantitative*, because the presence of citizenship education is redefined in a substantial way: from being placed at the end of the school sequence—the last grades of high school education—, to being incorporated throughout the sequence, from kindergarten to twelfth grade; from previously being part of a specialized subject, its contents now get to be distributed among several subjects, aside from what it is understood as ‘transversal objectives’. And *formative*, through the consideration of learning objectives

that, together with knowledge, refer to skills and attitudes.

The expansion I referred to, in its presence dimensions throughout the school sequence, distributed among several disciplines, can be seen in Table 2, which specifies the weekly school hours assigned (45 minutes) corresponding to each subject that has direct incidence with citizenship education.

It is worthwhile to highlight the role of the subject Language and Communication in the new curriculum of citizenship education, where the achievement of interpretation skills, the use of information of massive means of communication, expression in public and argument capacities are included as goals.

Contents

I am unable in this brief presentation to cover more than the titles of what constitute the objectives and contents of this ‘expanded’ citizenship education’ that I have attempted to show you through the corresponding study plan, and that has three educational dimensions: knowledge, skills and values.

Knowledge

In the dimension of knowledge, the thematic axes of the contents—for the most part addressed through History and Social Studies—are: State, Democracy and Human Rights; National Identity and International Relations; Social Cohesion and

TABLE 1

FROM CIVIC EDUCATION TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

CIVIC EDUCATION

- Focus on political institutionality
- Assigned to the last courses of secondary school
- Oriented towards the acquisition of knowledge—focus on contents--

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

- Double focus: political institutionality and expansion of issues to ‘actual social problems’
- Present throughout the school sequence
- Oriented towards the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes

TABLE 2

STUDY PLANS IN EFFECT IN CHILE DURING 2004, WITH DIRECT INCIDENCE TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (WEEKLY HOURS)

Learning Areas	1° Primary	2° Primary	3° Primary	4° Primary	5° Primary	6° Primary	7° Primary	8° Primary	1° sec.	2° sec.	3° sec.	4° sec.
Language and Communication					5°	5°	5°	5°	5°	5°	3°	3°
Understanding of the Natral, Social and Cultural Envi-ronment	5°	5°	6°	6°								
Study of Un-derstanding of the Society					4°	4°	4°	4°				
History and Social Sciences									4°	4°	4°	4°
Philosophy and Psychology											3°	3°
Orientation/ Course Coun-seling					1°	1°	2°	2°	1°	1°	1°	1°

Source: Ministry of Education (2004) *Plans and Study Programs* ¹

Diversity; Political Economy, Environment and Sustainable Development.

Skills

In the dimension of skills that are necessary for the active, contemporary citizenship, –where the key subjects are History and Social Sciences, Language and Communications and Philosophy—the axes are the following: Public Information Management (distinction deed/judgment); Expression and Debate (argumentation, persuasion, seduction); Critical Thinking and Moral Judgment (ethics and power); and Organization and Participation (collective coordination for action).

Values

Finally, in terms of the values that guide the disposition for action as well as the capacity for global judgment, that the citizenship education

addressed in the curriculum of the Chilean reform proposes, the following thematic axes are highlighted: Personal Values (responsibility, autonomy, honesty, initiative), Inter-Personal Values: vision of others (respect, value, diversity); Values of Social Integration (solidarity, social compromise) and Values of Democratic Cohabitation (pluralism, collaboration, responsible participation).

¹ No todos los contenidos de cada una de las áreas de aprendizaje señaladas corresponden directamente a “formación ciudadana”. Lengua-je y Comunicación tienen un eje importante de literatura; Comprensión del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural, en los primeros años de básica, abarca contenidos de ciencias naturales, etc. En forma aproximada, se puede afirmar que el 100 por ciento del tiempo de las asignaturas Estudio y Comprensión de la Sociedad, e Historia y Ciencias Sociales, corresponden directamente a oportunidades de aprendizaje de conocimientos, habilidades y valores para la ciudadanía activa. En contraste, se puede estimar que el 50 por ciento del tiempo de Lengua-je y Comunicación, como de Filosofía y Psicología, corresponden directamente a “formación ciudadana”.

3. Evaluation of the Curriculum in Effect and Adjustment Proposals: National Citizenship Education Commission, 2004.

The last topic of this presentation is the Chilean experience of evaluation and deliberation on the curriculum that I have just described to you.

During 2004, the Minister of Education Sergio Bitar, in response to issues of concern expressed over a long period of time by the political class—especially through the Senate—in regards the non-electoral inscription of the youth and its supposedly educational cause (poverty of their school-based citizenship education), assigned an ad-hoc high-level Commission with the purpose of evaluating the curriculum in effect and propose adjustments, as deemed necessary.

The Commission was made up of 17 persons, representatives of the educational, judicial, political, media, religious, student, human rights and teacher unions. It was supported by a four-member technical secretariat of the Ministry of Education. The group met weekly between July 27 and December 13, 2004. The Commission gave its evaluative judgment on the citizenship education curriculum to a wide spectrum of actors, including the Ministry of Education, private education stakeholders, both national and international research experts², teacher trainers and parliamentarians.

The main proposals of the Commission were:

- a) a definition agreed upon by all sectors of a concept of democratic citizenship, that integrated concepts and put emphasis on the liberal tradition (entitlement to rights valid in front of the State) democratic tradition (citizenship as belonging to a community that is self-governed) and the republican tradition (citizenship as a context of specific virtues);
- b) the need of adjustments to the proposed sequence for citizenship education in the new curriculum valid since 1998—emphasizing a closure at the end of high school centered in democratic institutionalization;
- c) repair of two gaps observed in the curricu-

lum—educate on democracy risks, on anti-social conduct, and basics of the criminal legal system—, as well as the enrichment of contents on economics, noted as being insufficient; and

- d) methodological suggestions on citizenship school-based learning, centered on an approach that combines elective classes and traditional formal study, with debates and experiences of community service and participation in student council activities”.

I want to highlight, during the closing of this brief presentation, the political and educational value of the National Commission on Citizenship Education. Its political value is to have agreed, with the participation of the entire partisan-ideological spectrum, a definition of the required citizenship education, as well as its fundamental valuable orientations. In a society such as the Chilean one, with a recent past of deep and violent politics and a prolonged break of its democracy, this signifies an important achievement and it is full of consequences for education. Teachers will be able to work with confidence within the school context on the issues that give tension to society, backed by the definitions of the citizenship education agreed upon by the Commission. Its educational value is to have produced, through a long deliberation and test of evidences, proposals for the improvement of the recently established curriculum, that with no doubt gives it strength, contributing to the provision of learning opportunities that are more relevant and effective for the active democratic citizenship that is sought.

² La Comisión contó con la participación de la coordinadora del estudio mundial de Educación Cívica de la IEA, Judith Torney-Purta, y su colega en el mismo, Jo-Ann Amadeo, ambas académicas de la University of Maryland, College Park. Las académicas y expertas internacionales presentaron a la Comisión, las conclusiones de un estudio comparado de conocimiento y actitudes cívicas de jóvenes de Chile, Colombia y Estados Unidos, correspondiente a un análisis especial de la base de datos del estudio mayor de la IEA. Ver, Judith Torney-Purta, Jo-Ann Amadeo, (2004) Fortaleciendo la democracia en las Américas a través de la Educación Cívica: Un análisis empírico de las opiniones de estudiantes y profesores. OEA, Washington.

The Experience of Colombia

*Rosario Jaramillo*¹

As I was saying the other day, I think that the only advantage to a situation with high levels of violence such as the one we live in Colombia is that there is no need to justify a program of citizenship competencies. Everybody immediately agrees and this is why, perhaps, we have had such an enormous support, and we have been able to develop a program that transcended throughout the country. It is fundamental to educate people with a sense of solidarity, sensitiveness, respect, justice, freedom, autonomy and critical sense, with a sense of belonging to a community, capable of resolving conflicts through peaceful ways, but accepting that conflict exists and that it remains important for the construction of a participatory and democratic society that recognizes differences.

What we have attempted to build is a structural and long-term program in the education sector that offers a concrete response to the problem of violence in Colombia, that really has an influence on the action, and that can impact culture itself. We would like to see if even though we live in a culture that is often vertical, authoritarian, intolerant and discriminatory, it is possible to transform this culture and change the way we look at ourselves. In that regard, I believe that all the sectors agree that this is not about a civics lecture—not even a human rights lecture—but about a program of competencies, of skills for life, that aims for a true change in the social and political behavior of all the persons in each educational institution, framed in the promotion of Human Rights. It is about seeking ways to effectively transform the institution itself and, if possible, from there also have an impact on the family and community.

The program seeks a change in the role of the school in terms of citizenship education,

that entails thinking about these issues from the standpoint of a subject of civic content taught for one hour, once a week, to a school that organizes itself in function of the democratic values it intends to form and that also has to impregnate all the decision and social interaction affairs.

The program has sought to place citizenship education at the same level of the basic traditional areas of math, language, natural sciences and social sciences. This was an explicit decision from the Education Minister since the time when she was the Secretary of Education in Bogotá. Even when there was not enough money to evaluate all subjects she chose citizenship competencies next to math and language over natural sciences and social sciences, because she thought it was fundamental to communicate the message that educating for citizenship mattered. She also wanted to send the message that the evaluation of citizenship competencies could transform into a guide on how to address these types of problems and give a high status to the reflection of human relations and the role of emotions in the disposition to action of the human behavior. This is how the message that this should be a reflection exercise for the school, was passed. It was about insisting that it was not only about knowledge and development—also of cognitive structures, such as the descentration and the coordination of perspectives, or the creativity of solutions to conflicts—but of learning to handle all that has to do with improving the relationships in school to learn to live together as Colombians in the middle of our differences.

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It is evident that it has to be necessarily a transversal area related to all the decision spheres in the school institution and it has to do with the environment that can be created in the classroom and throughout the whole institution. It is a real opportunity to participate, to explore true reasons through which action and decision-making take place and to be able to act accordingly. It is about being able to revise among all the participants, the decisions that have been made, look at the consequences and redirect the decision, if necessary.

All the teachers can contribute to citizenship education by integrating it to their teachings in their academic areas and to the practice of citizenship competencies as part of school projects, even though specific spaces for learning should also be created, for example in the areas of social sciences or ethics. In this issue I believe we also agree upon, and that we should work with families and with the community whenever possible.

In this sense, we understand that citizenship competencies covers a set of knowledge—because of course having sets of knowledge matters, they are not enough but not having them does guarantee an absence of participation, as the AIE study showed us—and it does matter to have a good understanding on the State or the Constitution or the laws, for instance, because it permits to share ideals that are common to that society. But also know, for example, what factors contribute to conflict or what alternatives are available to solve them in a creative and intelligent way. This is also knowledge that should be incorporated to the thematic areas that we want to develop.

Therefore, we define the citizenship competencies as a set of knowledge, attitudes and cognitive, emotional and communications skills that, when interrelated (all of them are needed), carry about citizenship action.

First, we organized some standards that took into account this type of cognitive competencies, emotional, communicative and integrating, that combined with knowledge would work in three spheres: peace and coexistence (everything that is related to conflict resolution); participation and democratic responsibility (everything that is related to understanding the democratic system, being able to participate in it, and understand what the Constitution tell us—for example on which instances we can and we should participate); and with a problem that has appeared

throughout this meeting in all interventions: plurality, identity and respect to diversity, especially in countries like Colombia and throughout Latin America, that posses a significant ethnic diversity that should be considered. We need to learn to enrich ourselves through diversity because the social differences bring about differentiations and exclusions of such magnitudes that, if they are not worked on and understood, it will be very difficult to solve our problems. This is why all of this should be framed within a culture of respect and promotion of Human Rights.

The Citizenship Competencies Program

It is a program of competencies and skills for life that seeks a true change in the social and political behavior of people. The activities that have been carried out so far include:

1. Formulation of standards and evaluation

Although Bogotá started through work with evaluation, in the Ministry we could begin by working with standards, given that in the rest of the basic areas there were already efforts of developing standards, so we were able to elaborate a test directly related with these standards. In Bogotá we had already done a series of tests that attempted to look at different aspects of citizenship competencies. We had looked, for instance, at the development of moral judgment, attitudes, political perspectives and knowledge. But unlike Bogotá, in the case of national assessments, we had the advantage of having defined the fundamental elements that allow us to know which were the dimensions that we needed to evaluate. We made a census test that we were able to apply to all the children of 5th and 9th grades throughout the country. This is why we were able to give information to all the schools on how the kids were doing and what plans could be created taking into account the results of the evaluation. In addition, a very important feature of these tests is that, by being based on standards, we are by all means looking to convert them into a useful tool so that the teacher can know better which thoughts, attitudes, reactions, imaginaries he has that will enable him to better understand his students and know how to work better with them. Teachers are not always able to understand if a person is capable of coordinating one, two or

more different perspectives other than his own and how he can generate new pedagogical alternatives that will teach the kids to incorporate points of view of different people in the solution of problems.

To the extent that we show that there are many things that can be evaluated—things that a lot of people thought could not be evaluated, like the level of development of moral judgment, or attitudes—we were showing that the test was not trying to emit judgments to point out with a finger who is right or who is wrong, but who is handing a tool to teachers, so that they themselves could think about the things that they can develop more in their students.

At the same time, and this is something that we have worked very closely with Chile, by being able to create the possibility of communication networks in the school and between schools, we are trying to see what to do so that the use of these tests as well as those of standards will allow for communication between teachers, that will allow them to interchange information on how they are addressing their students, how they develop their classes, and, eventually, that they will send us that information as a team work practice. This will allow us to know whether the standards are working properly, what is too complicated or too easy. Through the use of these instruments they can send the information to the Ministry so that it can redo the test and redo the standards according to what really goes on in the classrooms. We believe that this can become a very powerful tool because it allows for the possibility of making public policies according to what goes on in the classrooms.

2. Workshops on the Socialization of the Program

We also developed socialization workshops of the program all around the country, especially through the Secretariats of Education and have been inviting some teachers to the workshop. Needless to say that we never got to the totality of the population, nor to most significant part of the population. This is why we decided that it was important to see how we could work with the universities, the NGOs, with people who were working in the regions, to see what they have been working on and how we could work on these topics together, to accompany the teach-

ers in their daily tasks. Because in order for the competencies to reach the classrooms and the educational institutions, collaboration is needed; collaboration in the planning of classes, in the observation of what really happens in terms of relations, in the evaluation, etc. And this is a labor of titans. I think everybody understands the difficulty and the enormous cost of this initiative.

3. Local and Departmental Forums for Successful Experiences

The third point, and perhaps one of the most important initiative done in Colombia, was to identify what teachers have been doing so far, and start from there. As Fernando Reimers mentioned some time ago: we need to identify the most significant practices, discuss them in local forums, select the best ones for a departmental forum and from there to the national forum. This forum which took place in October last year, gathered the experiences of all the teachers in the country who have been participating in local forums towards and we invited researchers or experts, both national and international, so that they could listen these experiences, give feedback and identify which were the most powerful topics and the most effective methodologies being presented in order to disseminate it even more.

4. National Education Forum

During the first two days of the forum there were simultaneous presentations of these experiences in different rooms. During the last three days there were workshops carried out by the researchers, with the same teachers who shared experiences and many other who registered. We sent these researchers- thirty national and twenty international- to seven different cities in Colombia to develop workshops in different regions on the topic of citizenship, which nationally placed the theme throughout all Colombia in an important way because everybody was interested in understanding what was going on in the forums. In addition, the success of the forum was due to the participation of people, whose minds were completely active after their presentations, after understanding what other colleagues were also doing. Besides, people were interested in the topic because they felt recognition of their efforts and because they

had many questions that had emerged from the experience of presenting their ideas and combining them with those of the experts—or better yet let's call them researchers (because in reality they were all experts). This is why the opinion of the experts fell swiftly on a fertile ground that allowed for a productive and interesting dialogue on both sides.

Now, naturally, the problem is to figure out how this initial impulse continues to be promoted, and how not to lose the momentum generated at the National Forum.

5. Citizenship Competencies in the Universities: A University Colloquium

We also worked on the citizenship competencies in the universities to see how to interrelate the university education in citizenship competencies with what is being done at the primary and secondary level. We are beginning to obtain a very interesting working zone given that universities are interested in this work and certainly, in the work with the community—that is part of what has been done in other parts of the world. Furthermore, the universities work more with the communities than for the most part, high schools do and in this regard, they have been working on citizenship participation issues by prolonging the university within the community and the political life. However, there are not many of them doing this. We are also trying to see if it is possible to change the fact that the university is usually a place in which theoretical reflection is prioritized and practice is minimized—because in schools this has changed to some extent, but not in universities. This is why we want to see how we can incorporate a higher degree of student participation in the university logic and how these actions can have an influence in the theoretical reflection promoted in those institutions.

6. Identification and Promotion of Structured National and International Programs

The last point is what I mentioned that happened in the Forum with the identification and promotion of Structured Programs of both the national and international researchers. We are identifying them to be able to offer them to schools and to the Secretariats of Education, so they know what is available and depending on the needs of the

different educational institutions, they can make use of these programs. We have identified 32 programs that are very powerful and can help the institutions to work in any of the three spheres of citizenship competencies. We have identified some particularly good programs that work on improving relationship among people and on coexistence practices, such as teaching people to apologize, play peace games or strengthen interpersonal intelligence, or the program on competencies of *Fe y Alegría*. For the field of democratic participation and responsibility, we can name the *Fundación Presencia* worked upon by the people of *Civitas* or the Curriculum of Legality that works well on the notion of State right. For the sphere of enrichment through diversity, the program *Facing History and Ourselves* is especially powerful, or there is another on moral dilemmas that help to understand those who think differently.

In addition, we have made interinstitutional alliances with all the national and international agencies working on the same topic. For instance, the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace, or the Vice Presidency that has an anti-corruption program. We seek to coordinate the efforts of different institutions to obtain some common ideas. For instance, to agree that it's not enough to listen to the speeches on the importance of human rights, but to see how to work them in practice and make them have true impact on action.

In this regard, we are doing maps on who is doing what and where so we can coordinate work with them. And finally, I would like to mention the use of the portal, all we are doing with networks and with educational TV. It is in this way that we believe that an educational revolution will emerge, given that it will allow research and classroom practices to come together and create a true praxis.

What we have seen in Colombia is important not only so that Colombia can resolve its violence problems, but the experience can serve as “a laboratory” for the rest of the world, given that in all parts of the world there are conflicts and violence, low levels of participation in political decisions, discrimination and social exclusion, in all schools there are hidden curriculums and so on. For this reason, in all parts of the world we can all learn from one another and build this world on a more humane soil.

The Experience of Mexico

*Lorenzo Gómez-Morín**

Traditionally in Mexico the education for citizenship had been worked in secondary education through a required subject in the curriculum called Civic and Ethics Education, in the three grades of secondary basic education (12 to 14 year-old students) with a total of 320 hours in the package of these three grades. Beginning two years ago, there is an optional subject called Citizenship Education Towards a Culture within Legality.

Mexico is immersed in the process of a secondary education reform that is mainly oriented towards a project of articulation of primary education with the preschool education reform and the ongoing secondary education reform. Its aim is to have an informative path for kids since preschool to high school; a path with curricular and pedagogical continuity. This has pushed us, among other things, to make a revision not only of contents, but also of pedagogical approaches and teaching strategies. This last one is an idea that, just as we have been seeing throughout this meeting, consists on working with an orientation towards competencies.

The case of the Civic and Ethics Education or the Citizenship Education becomes one of the main programs, one of the dean, explicit, most important programs of the reform of basic education, from preschool to secondary. We work on it with an integral vision.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK IN WHICH CIVIC AND ETHICS EDUCATION CIRCUMSCRIBES

The construction of these components and of all of this conceptual model for civic and ethics edu-

cation has been a product of a wide debate, of a participated discussion, in which not only have the academic bodies have been involved, but also the institutional entities.

In Mexico, there is something specific which is an autonomous public entity in charge of the organization, among other things, of the federal elections of the country: The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). In the decree of its creation established in the Constitution, it is specified, among other things, that it has faculties for the citizenship education of the country. Also, through constitutionally assigned faculties, the Secretaría de Gobernación and the Secretaría del Interior have responsibilities related to the education of a citizenship conscience and for the education for democracy. For its part, the Secretaría de Educación Pública is responsible for contents, study plans and programs, teacher training and so forth.

Therefore, in this country we face a situation in which each institution assumed its responsibilities and designed school programs. The IFE had a civic education program for primary school kids, the Secretaría de Gobernación had a program for education for democracy in primary school, the Secretaría de Educación Pública managed the subject of Civic and Ethics Education. In addition, a number of NGOs designed education programs for peace, education for democracy and the like; what we had was an enormous amount

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of programs that were not organized around the realities or the possibilities of work in the classroom.

Thus, we established an interinstitutional agreement after a long process of discussion and debate that took place and which resulted in the following conceptual framework (see chart).

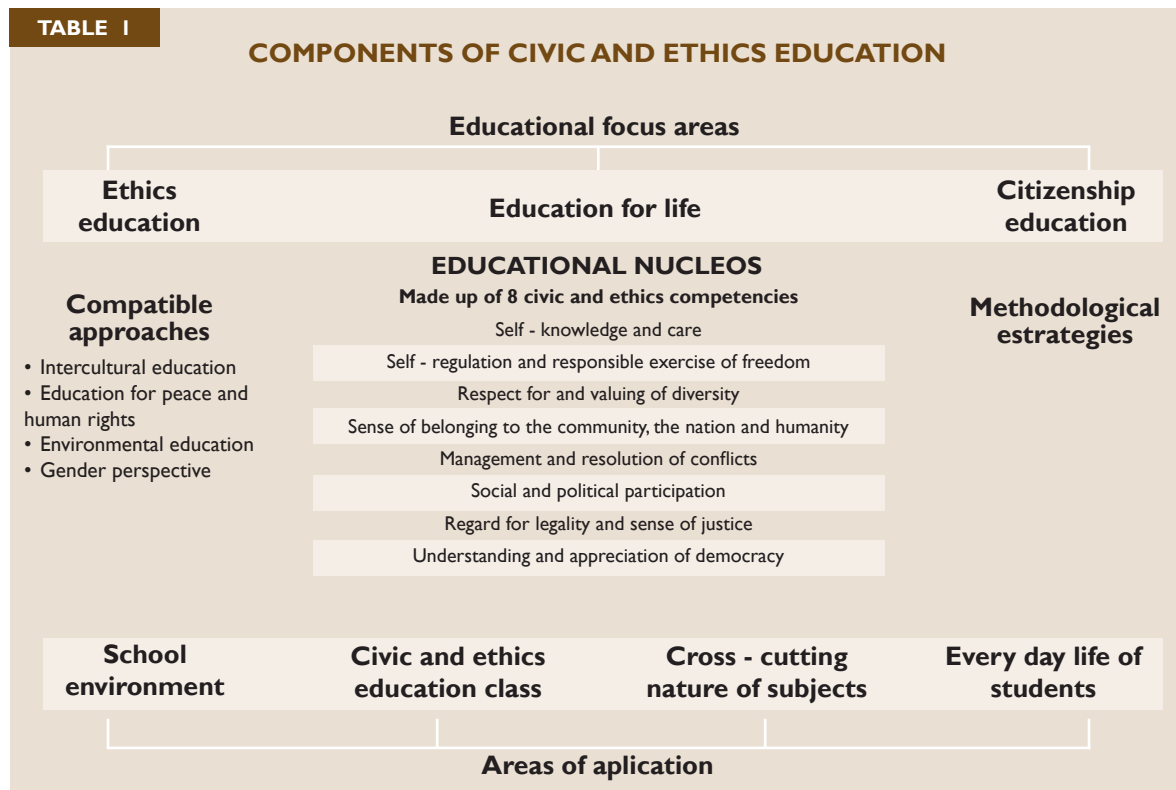
1. Educational Axes

In the conceptual framework, three big educational axes in the civic and **ethics education** are presented: The first is the ethics education, which goes from the first year of primary to the last year of secondary school. It is related with all the process of knowledge and acquisition of values that enrich the persons and social groups and that give a base to the democratic coexistence. The second axes is the **education for life**, and involves all of the issues related to the personal and social dimensions, with the intention of developing and expanding capacities for facing the challenges of daily life. In addition, it involves the aspects related to the possibility of formulating

life-long projects in which the needs, potentials and aspirations of the people are considered.

Finally, as an educational axis inside the entire program, **citizenship education**; this has as an objective, that our children, in this path, are recognized as integrating elements of a culture, of a community that is social and political. It is important that they know their rights; assume their responsibilities to participate in common interest issues in an informed and constructive manner, in a way that their actions contribute to the strengthening of a plural, democratic society in permanent transformation.

These three educational axes finally explain themselves in what we call the educational nucleus in which, following our Colombian colleagues, we worked in civic and ethics competencies, or on the citizenship competencies that Mexican students should have. The important thing is that in this conception of civic and ethics competencies, the process of building or defining these competencies has to be done through democratic means, that may not satisfy all, but that at least represent a consensus.



Which are the competencies? I won't get into details for each of them. The knowledge and care of oneself, that begins since the first year of primary school, when the children begin to develop the knowledge of their own bodies, of their personalities, and the acknowledgement from early years of their dignity as persons and consequently of the need to take care of themselves and secondarily of others.

Self-regulation and the responsible exercise of freedom is an element that emerged frequently from teacher contributions. The term school discipline, as it is called in works undertaken in Trinidad and Tobago, or in Barbados, in Mexico refers to the term self regulation and responsible exercise of liberty in respect and value of diversity. This is due to the fact, as you all know, Mexico is a pluriethnic, pluricultural and plurilinguistic nation. In Mexico there are more than 72 languages and dialects. To teach to different dialect languages aside from Spanish is complex, and the work in the education of our citizenship or the future citizens is related to this competency of respect and value to diversity. In addition, the senses of belonging to the community, to the nation and to humanity, are elements that evidently also appear in other programs analyzed in this meeting. The management and conflict resolution as fundamental elements of coexistence in the social and political participation are very important for us, as are the compliance to the legality, sense of justice, and the comprehension and appreciation for democracy.

The development of this core of competencies has some approaches that are common throughout all of these conceptual framework; the focus on intercultural education, the focus for education for peace and human rights, the focus on environmental education and the focus on gender perspective. With this I want to say that such competencies are developed with these approaches. I would not get into details regarding the methodological strategies, because there are many, and several of them have already been commented during this meeting.

What I do want to comment is that, just as we have seen in the previous presentations, it is important to highlight that the project of Citizenship Education does not necessarily have to do only with a curricular space. By doing a revision,

for the most part of school teachers' and directors' contributions, we realized that there was heterogeneity in terms of opinions on towards which direction we should work in the civic and ethics education, or citizenship education areas. This gave the working group that was carrying out this revision, a guide to reach the conclusion that we didn't have to choose between one and the other

2. Fields of Application

In the models of higher degree of autonomy and management for public schools, that allow the school to give greater or lesser emphasis in different fields of application for the citizenship education, we recognized four fundamental areas of focus. One of them is the school environment, and it alludes to how these competencies and areas of focus can be worked to transform or modify the school environment through methodological strategies that are not curricular; this entails the organizational environment, the teachers' working environment, the **school environment**, as well as the environment within the classroom. By environment, I mean the area of interpersonal relations. A series of strategies to favorably modify the communication, the school work, the discussion of school-based problems beyond the classroom is very important and opens a space for citizenship education.

The second one is the subject of civic and ethics education. In this field, we have a curriculum space where the subject can also serve as a conductor axes, the moment of conduction of all the rest fields of application.

The third is the cross-cutting **component of the subjects**. There has been a change in the approach of the teaching of the Spanish language in secondary education that moves towards an approach based more on functional terms. Thus, one of the three blocks of the Spanish subject in secondary education is the use of the language for the democratic development of a country. This has to do with the fact that through the teaching of Spanish, competencies for the deliberation, argumentation, and discussion are developed, to agree with a base within the best reason and within the framework of the State of right. This is how the focus is not necessarily like it is in the

subject of Civics and Ethics education, but the focus is on the development of competencies, of basic communication competencies that are related to the development of reading, critical analysis, etc. Overall, these activities are developed around topics that in the end are also oriented towards the acquisition and the development of the eight civic and ethics competencies.

The other field of application is the one that links us to the family and the community, the daily life of students. We understand that the development of these civic and ethics competencies cannot be carried about from a theoretic abstraction of what is democracy, of what is ethics. It should be made taking into account the conditions of the diversity of our country, **the life conditions of our students** and through being able to use these dilemmas, at times daily, in which our students are involved, as a vehicle for the education in civic and ethics competencies.

I mentioned before that in this school-related work, we require giving the school a series of conditions that will allow these components to be implemented effectively. For example, through opening legal communication channels as well as channels that allow for the participation of parents in the school educational decisions, in order to create a stronger link between family and school. This is an educational decision. In order to educate children in the respect and value for diversity, it is required that the cultural traditions of certain ethnic indigenous groups of the country participate actively and become integrated into the school life, in the cases where the school belongs to, or is located in an indigenous community.

This implies that, among other things, the implementation of a series of structural changes related to the school supervision, the mechanisms of access to the educational service and towards a reevaluation of teachers, should take place. So in order to educate our children as future citizens with these competencies, we require a complete revision and transformation of some of the conditions related to the teacher career. In the Mexican system of education we have a million teachers, of which 60% recognize that in order to enter into the system of education, they need to buy a position. This indicates that the problem of corruption and respect of law is a big, complex, deep

problem that requires structural changes so that teachers can effectively exercise leadership in citizenship education.

When the Mexican teachers were asked to mention what is the most important value in a spontaneous way, not one of the teachers responded that the respect of the law is an important value. When they were asked to name the main values in order of importance, the respect of the law was placed last. It is evident that when there is a corporate-political-institutional scheme, in which the teacher knows that the access and promotion within the system does not depend on his capacity but on political agreements, of corruption strategies through which he can progress, the law becomes a decorative instrument or a rhetoric one in the best of cases.

This is why the civic and ethics education and citizenship education go hand in hand with a project of training for a culture within legality. In the first stages, this training program will be offered to all the teachers. In addition, we have implemented a series of changes, such as a national test of access into the education system, just as Colombia recently developed. It has been implemented in some states of the Nation, but we would like to do so on a national level. A contest of director and supervisor vacancy positions has also been introduced. This is to say, we have implemented a series of institutional measures that guarantee that the professional development or teacher training for civics and ethics is offered in different structural conditions.

To conclude, I would like to mention that we have a subject that we call *Citizen Education Towards a Culture of Legality*. We started to work specifically with third year secondary students on a culture of legality, given that we detected that in some states of the Republic the secondary schools located in marginal areas, mainly in the North border zone, 70% or 75% of the students who dropped out did so to form part of organized crime bands, particularly those dealing with drug trafficking. The youth do not see that secondary school is of any use for them, for their future; there was no life project for them in secondary school. To work with them on culture of legality has allowed us to: first, combat the desertion rates in these schools and secondly, to open possibilities of improving the climate of the com-

munity, because these kids stop becoming part of organized crime.

Since this beginning of the operation of this program three years ago, we have incorporated 1,000 secondary schools and more than 100,000 students have already participated in it. In terms of citizenship education, the training scheme in the program *towards a culture of legality*, has allowed us to guarantee that the teachers

do have institutional spaces to participate, they have developed a greater sense of trust in their work and have responded with a high degree of compromise. The importance of this project in Mexico is huge, given that, as you know, drug trafficking is one of the most severe risks, not only for Mexico and our democracy, but also for the rest of the world, since drug trafficking is an international crime