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ABSTRACT

This theme issue of "The International Journal of Social Education" contains 11 articles all concerned with efforts to promote civic education in post-communist countries, particularly former Soviet-Bloc nations, including Latvia, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Russia. Described are international partnerships for civic education and democratic citizenship that have developed. One prominent example is Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, which is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the United States Department of Education. Among the major articles are: (1) "Civic Education and the Advancement of Democracy in Latvia" (John J. Patrick; Valts Sarma); (2) "Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program" (Charles N. Quigley; John N. Hoar); (3) "Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland" (Richard C. Remy; Jacek Strzemieczny); (4) "Implementing New Civic Education Programs in Indiana and Post-Communist Countries" (Robert S. Leming; Thomas S. Vontz). This collection of articles expresses a global mission, shared by the U.S. contributors with their partners abroad, to act together to spread commonly desired blessings of liberty as extensively as possible among the diverse peoples of the world. (RJC)

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The International Journal of SOCIAL EDUCATION

Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana Volume 12, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1997

International Partnerships for Civic Education and Democracy

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INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

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Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program is a consortium of leading organizations in civic education in the United States and other nations. The Center for Civic Education, directed by Charles N. Quigley, Executive Director, coordinates and administers the Civitas program. The United States Department of Education supports the program, which is conducted in cooperation with the United States Information Agency (USIA) and its affiliated offices in participating nations in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. Civitas enables civic educators from the United States of America and cooperating countries to learn from and help each other in improving civic education for democracy.

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FOREWORD

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor John J. Patrick of Indiana University, whose efforts made this issue on international partnerships for civic education and democracy possible.[1] In the Guest Editor's Foreword, he provides an excellent summary of the articles. This important issue should be of special significance to those interested in the developments in civic education in the former communist countries of central and eastern Europe. Included in the study are Latvia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia.[2]

The next issue of the *International Journal of Social Education* will focus on two key themes, i.e., the development of historical thinking and curriculum standards in the social studies. During the next several years, issues of the journal will deal with such topics as civic education in the Pacific Rim, re-envisioning the social studies, rethinking world history, thematic social studies for the next century, teacher education, law-related education, universal significance and local relevance in teaching about societies, and teaching psychology. Manuscripts concerning any of these topics would be especially welcomed and forwarded to the appropriate guest editors to be refereed. Manuscripts dealing with other topics as well as suggestions for additional themes also would be welcomed. Finally, a cumulative index for volumes 6–10 is forthcoming.

John F. Weakland
Editor

NOTES

1. See the following issues of the *International Journal of Social Education* for citizenship and democratic education: 3 (autumn 1988), 11 (spring/summer 1996), and 11 (fall/winter 1996–97). See also Thomas M. McGowan, ed., "Special Section: Telling the Story of Citizenship," *Social Education* 60 (April/May 1996):203-15; and the entire issue of *Social Education* 60 (October 1996) on votes, issues, and citizenship.

2. See Wayne Dumas, Alesia Dumas, and William B. Lee, "Restructuring Schools for Democracy in the Former East Germany," *International Journal of Social Education* 11 (fall/winter 1996–97): 98–107; Ron Wheeler, "Post-Cold War Social Studies: Some Ideas for Changing the Way Students Think about the World," *Social Education* 58, no. 5 (September 1994): 284–89; John J. Cogan, "The Pain of Change," Ibid. 58, no. 6 (October 1994): 335–38; Gar Alperovitz and Kai Bird, "A Theory of Cold War Dynamism: United States Policy, Germany, and the Bomb," *The History Teacher* 29, no. 3 (May 1996): 281–300; and Gregory Wegner, "In the Center of the Cold War: The American Occupation of Berlin and Education Reforms, 1945–1952," *Journal of Curriculum Supervision* 11, no. 1 (fall 1995): 39–66.

GUEST EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Democracy is on the march throughout the world. From Central and South America to Central and Eastern Europe and beyond, diverse peoples express common aspirations for constitutional government by consent of the governed. And with this global interest in democracy has come a corresponding concern about the education of citizens. If there would be "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," then there must be civic education of the people about the principles and practices of democracy and the skills and dispositions of democratic citizenship.

In response to the worldwide surge of desire for democracy, international partnerships for civic education and democratic citizenship have been developed. One prominent example is Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, which is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the United States Department of Education. Civitas, initiated in the spring of 1995, is affiliated with Civitas International, a consortium begun in June 1995 at the Civitas@Prague conference, sponsored by the United States Information Agency, which brought together representatives from more than fifty countries. They affirmed the global resurgence of democracy and the concomitant need for democratic civic education.

Albert Shanker, the late president of the American Federation of Teachers, was a prominent speaker at the Civitas@Prague conference. He addressed the need to promote education for democratic citizenship throughout the world. Shanker's speech, included in this collection of articles, is an emphatic endorsement of universal human aspirations for liberty and the rule of law, the compelling concepts at the core of constitutional democracy. It also urges effective education for democratic citizenship to sustain democracy in nations where it is established and to bring it about in nations hoping to achieve democracy. The originators of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program were among the many listeners to Albert Shanker's speech at Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic.

The design and organizational structure of Civitas is discussed by Charles N. Quigley and Jack N. Hoar in the article following Shanker's piece. Subsequent articles report on partnerships between American civic educators and their counterparts in five post-communist countries of Civitas: Latvia, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Russia. The five articles were developed cooperatively by Americans and their colleagues in each of the post-communist countries represented here,

reflecting the spirit of partnership in each component of Civitas. These five articles report on civic education projects and trends in the post-communist countries and the international partnerships of Civitas.

The next two articles in this collection, one by Charles F. Bahmueller and the other by Dawn M. Shinew and John M. Fischer, discuss special projects associated with Civitas. Bahmueller discusses the Center for Civic Education's project to develop an international framework about education for democratic citizenship. In this piece, he distinguishes "liberal democracy" from "illiberal democracy" and argues that only the liberal model is worthy of our support because it alone involves constitutional limits on majority rule in order to secure the rights of individuals. By contrast, illiberal democracy stresses majority rule to the point of jeopardizing the rights of individuals who are at odds with the majority. In their article, Shinew and Fischer describe a project to develop and publish lessons for high school students that compare institutions and processes of constitutional democracy in the United States and the five post-communist countries of Civitas: Latvia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia. By using these lessons, students have the opportunity to learn how common principles of constitutional democracy can be practiced variously through the different institutions of diverse countries.

The concluding articles of this collection offer practical examples of materials for teaching democratic citizenship. Robert S. Leming and Thomas S. Vontz discuss pedagogical applications of Center for Civic Education publications in Indiana and in post-communist countries, such as Hungary, Russia, and the Czech Republic. Finally, Vontz presents a select annotated bibliography of civic education materials in the database of ERIC, the Educational Resources Information Center, that includes various international perspectives.

This collection of articles treats a single theme: international partnerships for civic education and democracy. This theme frames every aspect of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, and it expresses a global mission, shared by Americans with their partners abroad, to act together to spread the commonly desired blessings of liberty as extensively as possible among the diverse peoples of our world.

John J. Patrick
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana
June 1998

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP: WHERE WE STAND

ALBERT SHANKER

The late Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), AFL-CIO, from 1974 to 1997, devoted his professional life to the union's motto "Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy." Under his leadership, the AFT championed the cause of civic education in America. In 1987, the AFT joined political, civic, religious, and educational leaders in publishing "Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles," a pamphlet that provided guidelines for strengthening the teaching of democratic values. The union created its own Education for Democracy project in order to promote the principles embodied in the document. After the fall of communism in 1989, educators from emerging democracies increasingly requested the support of the AFT as they introduced programs to teach democracy. This interest resulted in the creation of the union's Education for Democracy/International project. As civic education initiatives took hold around the world, Mr. Shanker continued to lend support to civic education. In 1995, he delivered the following speech to a group of more than 450 civic educators from around the world who had gathered in Prague to inaugurate the Civitas international civic education movement. This paper is published here with the permission of the AFT, AFL-CIO.

June 3, 1995
Prague, Czech Republic

We live at a time of triumph and peril.

Some of you live in countries recently liberated from the tyranny of communism or some other form of dictatorship. Others come from countries where democracy is now well established. However, we all face a common question: What role can education play in building and strengthening democracy?

Why this is a time of triumph is clear to everyone.

We meet here today, citizens from the East and West, to freely discuss how best to assure that our children inherit a common future, a democratic future. Before the events of 1989, this meeting would have been inconceivable. And even a few years ago, the time for this meeting would

not have been opportune. Then, many of you were busy taking the first steps on the road to democracy. A meeting at [illegible] time might have seemed to be a one-sided affair, with the West tell[illegible] East what it had to do in order to build stable democracy.

This meeting is very different. We meet here as equals, to share ideas and experiences as we confront challenges that have much in common.

We meet at a time of peril as well.

The early euphoria of the "revolutions of 1989" have given way to serious questions about the ability of some of the nations of what was once termed the "Soviet Bloc" to achieve democracy. Questions concerning democracy's health are also being raised in America and Western Europe. Consider the following events: war in the Balkans, the bombing of a government building in America, xenophobia in Germany, the rise of Zhirinovsky in Russia. Or consider the almost universal trend, East and West, of decreasing voter participation and increasing cynicism about government expressed by citizens of democracies.

There is much to worry about.

The end of the Cold War has revealed not only the widespread and deep-rooted appeal of democracy but also its fragility. The nineteenth century observer of America, Alexis de Tocqueville, once noted that, among democratic nations, each new generation is a new people.

As educators, this observation forces us to the conclusion that if we are going to build or strengthen democracy, we must teach democracy.

It is ironic that, at a time when democracy is in ascendance around the world, it is showing signs of weakness and potential decay in societies where it has been thought to be well established. Building democracy in newly free societies and preserving it in established democracies, although different challenges, have much in common.

One of our Polish colleagues always poses the challenge faced by new democracies as a rhetorical question: "What does democracy mean to an inhabitant of a small town or village in my country?" His answer is, "Schwarzenegger movies, pornography, unemployment, and not much else." These are the first and most visible changes taking place in his country as a result of newly won freedoms. Convincing people of the importance of democracy will be difficult if this is all it means to them.

The challenges faced by established democracies have more to do with reinvigorating democracy and ensuring the transmission of its ideals as well as a sense of its rights and responsibilities to a new generation. For proof of the concern for the health of democracy in the United States, one need only look at the titles of books published on the subject in recent years: *The Disuniting of America, The Culture of Complaint, Democracy on Trial, The Twilight of Democracy,* and, ominously, *Before the Shooting Begins.*

So, we in America have a problem.

The American Federation of Teachers has long recognized that part of the solution to this problem is the development of effective school-based programs that teach democracy. In fact, the AFT's motto is "Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy"—a motto created by one of our founding members, John Dewey, one of this century's greatest democratic philosophers and educators.

Now, I know that when I espouse the importance of civic education to the building of democracy, I am preaching to the converted. Those of us gathered here are already committed to education for democracy. However, the AFT's experience in promoting civic education in the United States has shown us that developing programs that teach democracy well can often be a struggle in itself.

By focusing on the formal educational process, I do not mean to slight the many worthy efforts being undertaken by other groups in society to educate citizens—young and old alike—about the principles and practices of democracy. Indeed, the trade union that I represent helps educate its 875,000 members about democracy by involving them in the running of the organization at the local, state, and national levels. Trade unions throughout the world help perform this function. In the same way, other organizations, by involving their members in the betterment of society and through the management of their own affairs, help to foster the skills and knowledge necessary to build civil society.

I will, however, limit my comments to the role that formal education can play in building and maintaining democracy. It is something our organization has been involved in for many years. Therefore, I would like to share some of the experiences the AFT has had in promoting education for democracy in the United States, in the hopes that it will help others to identify and overcome some of the challenges that you are likely to face—or may already be facing—as you champion these types of programs.

I will focus on three challenges that the AFT has faced that I think apply beyond the United States and may, therefore, already be familiar to many of you.

The first of these is the accusation that education for democracy is not education at all but really a form of indoctrination. It seems to me that there are two ways to answer this charge. The first is to say, "So what?" Even if it is indoctrination, it is a different form than one practiced by authoritarian and totalitarian systems. That is, "democratic indoctrination" differs in such a significant way from other forms of indoctrination that the bad odor associated with the word is removed. The second way is to deny that education for democracy is a form of indoctrination at all. Let's start with the second in the hopes that this argument will suffice.

We may begin with the simple observation that all societies have some mechanisms in place, formal and informal, for making sure that the

young in society inherit what is most valued by adults in that society. Rightfully labeled, this is not indoctrination, but enculturation.

Let's take the example of an advanced technological society. These societies value the development of the skills and knowledge associated with the fields of mathematics and science. Parents, therefore, encourage children to become interested in these areas by a variety of means: by taking kids to science museums, engaging them in simple experiments, going hiking in the woods and describing flora and fauna, buying them jigsaw puzzles, etc. They are introducing their children into the culture of science and math. And no one sees the harm in it. Quite the contrary, these parents are praised for caring about their children's education.

Now, democratic societies presumably highly value democracy and would definitely want their children to grow up to be informed and committed citizens. Thus, it seems natural that they would want to promote programs that introduce their children to the practices and culture of democracy.

Even if you think that education for democracy programs are indoctrination, they may still be distinguished from other forms, thus making them immune from rejection because of the charge. The American philosopher Sidney Hook made a number of observations about this issue that are worth repeating at length.

He begins by making the distinction between open democratic societies and closed non-democratic ones. According to Hook, the difference between them "lies not in the presence or absence of indoctrination, but in the presence or absence of the critical, questioning spirit." He adds that indoctrination is the "process by which assent to belief is induced by non-rational means, and *all* education in *all* societies at home and in the school *in the tender years* is based on it." This changes over time however. Because, "In a free society, . . . such methods are, and always should be, accompanied by, and gradually become subordinate to, the methods of reflective, critical thought at every appropriate level."[1]

In ending this discussion of indoctrination, I will quote a well-known passage by Hook on the subject:

> In a closed society, indoctrination induces assent by irrational as well as non-rational means beyond the early years, and throughout the entire course of study in all except certain technical areas. . . . The unfree society regards its subjects in a permanent state of political childhood . . . The free society can live with honest doubt and with faith in itself short of certainty. . . . In contrast with [the] closed society, it can live with the truth about itself.[2]

The second challenge to sound education for democracy programs is posed by the contention that what matters in teaching democratic citizenship is the teaching of "critical thinking" skills and little else. Closely related to this is the attitude that considers all curricular content to be equal and champions the proposition that all that is required of students

to be good citizens is that they "learn how to learn." Proponents of this position often argue that since the pace of knowledge is expanding so rapidly, it quickly becomes "obsolete," and by extension, not worth learning.

We have argued

> on the contrary, . . . the central ideas, events, people, and works that have shaped our world, for good and ill, are not at all obsolete. Instead, the quicker the pace of change, the more critical it will be for us to remember them and understand them well. We insist that, absent this knowledge, citizens remain helpless to make . . . wise judgments.[3]

Unfortunately, the proponents of teaching skills and little else offer a false dichotomy between "content" and "process." I do not wish to fall into the same trap, so let me be clear; both are important. Of course, developing thinking skills is a major goal of education in a democracy. How else can one make a wise choice between alternatives—whether it be taking a position on a political issue, deciding whom to vote for in an election, or avoiding the manipulative techniques used by some political figures—if one has not been equipped with and had practice in this area?

Nevertheless, content matters.

The impulse to teach skills over content, at least in the American case, can be traced back to the efforts of the Progressive Movement in education, which sought to reform what was at the time a very formal content-based approach. Similarly, some civic educators in Eastern Europe and newly independent states seem to be neglecting the teaching of important material as a reaction to the overly rigid and content-heavy approach that existed in the communist era.

There are some fundamentals that must be learned. At the AFT, we argue that at the very least, the content of American civic education should focus on three areas. I list them here in adapted form, because they may have relevance to your own needs.

What must citizens of a democracy know?

> First, citizens must know the fundamental ideas central to the political vision of the eighteenth century [Enlightenment thinkers]—the vision [of democracy and human rights that inspires] people of many diverse origins and cultures.
>
> Second, citizens must know how democratic ideas have been turned into institutions and practices—the history of the origins and growth and adventures of democratic societies on earth, past and present. . . . [I]t is indispensable to know the facts of modern history, dating back at least to the English Revolution and forward to our own century's total wars; to the failure of the nascent liberal regimes of Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain and Japan; to the totalitarianism, oppression, and mass extermination of our time.[4]

Think about this only, for many of you the memories of the major crimes and petty humiliations inflicted by communism are still very fresh. The imprisonments, fears of speaking freely, even the long lines for food and other goods are still remembered by you. But how about your

children? Who will remind them of the past and help them learn to love freedom?

Finally, and related to this point, "citizens . . . need to understand the current conditions of the world and how it got that way and to be prepared to act upon the challenges to democracy in our own day."[3]

The last challenge that education for democracy programs face is posed by what in America goes by the name of "multiculturalism." I should be clear about what I mean when I use the term. As practiced by some, "multiculturalism" takes the shape of something approximating a new ideology of separatism. It challenges the idea of a common identity and rejects the possibility of a common set of values. The groups espousing "multiculturalism" claim "group rights" that conflict with the notion of living in "a nation based on a firm core of commonly held values."

In multiethnic societies attempting to create or maintain democracy, this is especially troubling, as it encourages people to think of themselves not as individuals, but *primarily* in terms of their membership in groups. Excessive promotion of allegiance to groups, instead of to ideals such as democracy, human rights, and justice, encourages the breakdown of civil society. Signs of this breakdown are evident and range from the troubled race relations in the United States to fighting in the Balkans.

In arguing against the type of multiculturalism I have described above, I do not want to imply that groups in American and other societies have not been treated badly nor that the historical record needs to be corrected to more accurately reflect the contributions of minorities to our societies. I also wish to make clear that I am in no way criticizing the type of multicultural education pursued by many European civic educators. These programs are aimed at creating increased tolerance, as opposed to the programs that I have discussed, which often promote increased intolerance, by focusing on differences instead of commonalities.

One last related point deserves mention.

Often, the claims of multiculturalists and other separatists reflect the attitude that no one group may make a judgment on any other, since all "depends on your point of view." This extremely relativistic viewpoint conflicts with the need that all societies have of establishing some basic values, guidelines, and beliefs. When I think about the people who hold this viewpoint I am reminded of the American poet Robert Frost's observation that "a liberal is someone who can't take his own side in an argument." And, it should be pointed out that those who reject this claim are ironically making an *absolute value* of tolerance, for in *its* name they are unwilling to make any other value judgments.

This unwillingness to make value judgments about practices in our own societies or about those of others is a mistake. It can also make us seem foolish. As the AFT pointed out several years ago,

> Some states that deny freedom of religion, speech, and conscience nonetheless define themselves as free. But we need not accept their Orwellian self-definitions as if words had no meaning. Were we to use (some people's) definition of freedom—government provision of a job, medical care, and ample food—many of history's slaves and today's prisoners would have to be called 'free.'[6]

Fear of promoting jingoism in the United States prevents many educators from saying that they are proud that America does stand for something. It has stood for many things in its history, but at its best, it has stood for a vision of human dignity, equality, fair play, and liberty that are all encapsulated by the term democracy. Democracy does stand for something, both in the United States and around the world. And undervaluing it is harmful and puts us in jeopardy.

Not everyone in America agreed with us in 1987 when we joined with others to issue a pamphlet, *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles.*[7] It outlined our position that American society was suffering because the history, principles, and practices of democracy were not being well taught in the schools. The statement was signed by more than 150 Americans from diverse backgrounds, including former United States Presidents Carter and Ford, Republican Congressman William Goodling, and Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell, as well as a number of prominent United States civic educators who are in this audience today—among them Todd Clark, Chuck Quigley, and Diane Ravitch.

While many praised the document, it also had its strong critics.

Despite this criticism, we continued to believe and feel justified in our efforts to promote education for democracy. When the statement was issued, we expressed a series of concerns. The statement pointed to disturbing evidence that far too many students are ignorant of the important people, ideas, and events that have made our country what it is. In an article written in support of the pamphlet, I pointed out that if a youngster has to take a wild guess that Stalin is either an Olympic athlete or a Renaissance painter, he can't have much of a grasp of the terrors of a totalitarian society as a basis for comparison to his own life. At the time there were also disturbing signs that the challenges facing America were straining our ability to maintain a democratic society.

Almost ten years later, these concerns have not diminished. In many ways, they have increased. Jean Bethke Elshtain, in her recent book, *Democracy on Trial,* writes that in America,

> A major concern for all who care about democracy is the everyday actions and spirit of a people. Democracy requires laws, constitutions, and authoritative institutions, but it also depends on what might be called the democratic dispositions. These include a preparedness to work with others different from oneself toward shared ends; a combination of strong convictions with a readiness to compromise in the recognition that one can't always get everything one wants; and a sense of individuality and a commitment to civic goods that are not the possession of one person or of one small group alone. But, what do we see when we look around? We find

> deepening cynicism; the growth of corrosive forms of isolation, boredom, and despair; the weakening, in other words, of that world known as democratic civil society, a world of groups and associations and ties that bind.[8]

And, as Elshtain adds later in the book,

> A number of contemporary observers . . . see such signs of civic and social trouble even in the long-established democracies of Western Europe and Scandinavia. It is, alas, the now familiar story: the loneliness of the aged, the apathy of the young, the withering away of communal organizations, the disentangling of family ties, and the loss of family rituals and rhythms.[9]

And returning to my thesis, part—a very important part—of the solution to the problems posed by Elshtain, is the improvement of school-based programs that educate for democratic citizenship. Benjamin Barber, in *An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America,* makes the point well. Borrowing an observation from Alexis de Tocqueville, he argues that ". . . the fundamental task of education in a democracy is the apprenticeship of liberty—learning to be free."[10] He goes on to explain why this is so:

> Democracy is not a natural form of association; it is an extraordinary and rare contrivance of cultivated imagination. Empower the merely ignorant and endow the uneducated with a right to make collective decisions and what results is not democracy but, at best, mob rule: the government of private prejudice and the tyranny of opinion—all those perversions that liberty's enemies like to pretend (and its friends fear) constitute democracy. For true democracy to flourish, however, there must be citizens. Citizens are women and men educated for excellence—by which term I mean the knowledge and competence to govern in common their own lives. The democratic faith is rooted in the belief that all humans are capable of such excellence and have not just the right but the capacity to become citizens.

What should we teach our youngsters about living in a democracy? Adapting the points that we made for the United States in 1987, I would argue that what we teach should be based on three convictions:

First, "democracy is the worthiest form of human governance ever conceived."

Second, "that we cannot take its survival or its spread—or its perfection in practice—for granted. . . . Indeed, . . . the great central drama of modern history has been and continues to be the struggle to establish, preserve, and extend democracy. . . ."

Third, "that democracy's survival depends upon our transmitting to each new generation the political vision of liberty and equality that unites [democracies]—and a deep loyalty to the political institutions . . . put together to fulfill that vision." And that the patriotism it seeks to inculcate not be based on "blood and soil," but rather on a set of shared values that are liberal and humane.[11]

In closing, I would like to call your attention to the anniversary of an event that serves to remind us all of what a difficult struggle it is to gain democracy, in the hopes that we will cherish it even more.

This is the eve of the sixth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. On June 4, 1989, the Chinese government crushed the country's emerging democratic movement. By now, corporations from my country, and perhaps yours as well, have comfortably returned to doing business and making profits from the labor of Chinese workers who are daily denied the kinds of rights that we too easily forget are ours.

Apparently, some Chinese have not given up, since the democracy movement continues.

On May 16th, a group of forty-five prominent Chinese intellectuals called on the Communist Party to release all political prisoners. In their own words, they expressed a hope that "the authorities will handle different views on ideology, political thinking, and religious beliefs with tolerance." Predictably, the government responded by beginning to arrest the prominent democracy activists in the country. With this move, the Communist Party hopes to avoid the embarrassment of any public demonstrations on the anniversary of the massacre.

Six years ago, the world was very different. When events occurred in China, many of you still lived under Communist dictatorships. In the West, what took place in China stirred strong emotions of outrage and sympathy. And so did the events in Hungary in 1956, the Czech Republic in 1968, and in Poland in the 1980s. In the East, the effects must have also been profound. I know that in Bucharest, at a spot where the Romanian Communist Party fought its citizenry in late 1989 one can still see a large, spray-painted sign declaring the square "Tiananmen II."

Clearly, Romanians hungering for freedom and democracy had made the connection --the Chinese struggle is the Romanian struggle.

And I would add, it is an American struggle as well, one that we have in common with the more than fifty countries represented in this hall. Establishing and sustaining democracy is now recognized as a universal desire and a universal struggle. This point was perhaps most eloquently made by Fang Lizhe, a Chinese scientist who escaped the Tiananmen massacre by taking refuge in the United States embassy. In 1989 he spoke the following words, reproduced in the *Democracy Reader*, a collection of readings on democracy edited by Diane Ravitch and Abigail Thernstrom.

> Chinese people are no different from any other. Like all members of the human race, the Chinese are born with a body and a brain, with passions and with a soul. Therefore, they can and must enjoy the same inalienable rights, dignity, and liberty as other human beings. . . .
>
> Recent propaganda to the effect that "China has its own standards for human rights" bears an uncanny similarity to pronouncements made by our eighteenth century rulers when they declared that "China has its own astronomy" . . . They refused to acknowledge the universal applicability of modern astronomy. . . . The reason . . . was that the laws of astronomy, which pertain everywhere, made it quite clear that the "divine right to rule" claimed by these people was a fiction.
>
> By the same token, the principles of human rights, which also pertain everywhere, make it clear that the "right to rule" claimed by some today is just as

baseless. That is why rulers from every era, with their special privileges, have opposed the equality inherent in such universal ideas. . . .

In the field of modern cosmology, the first principle is called the "Cosmological Principle." It says that the universe has no center, that it has the same properties throughout. Every place in the universe has, in this sense, equal rights. How can the human race, which has evolved in a universe of such fundamental equality, fail to strive for a society without violence and terror?

How can we fail to build a world in which the rights due to every human being from birth are respected?[13]

In order to build this world, "in which rights due to every human being from birth are respected," we must build a democratic world.

And in order to do so, we must teach democracy.

Thank you.

Notes

1. Sidney Hook, "Education in Defense of a Free Society," *Commentary* 78 (July 1984): 22.

2. Ibid.

3. Education for Democracy Project, *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers Educational Foundation, 1987), 15.

4. Ibid, 15–16.

5. Ibid, 16.

6. Ibid, 11.

7. Ibid.

8. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Democracy on Trial* (New York: Basic Books), 2.

9. Ibid, 19.

10. Benjamin Barber, *An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992), 4.

11. Ibid, 5.

12. Education for Democracy Project, 5.

13. Fang Lizhe, "Human Rights in China," in Diane Ravitch and Abigail Thernstrom, eds., *The Democracy Reader* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 276–78.

CIVITAS: AN INTERNATIONAL CIVIC EDUCATION EXCHANGE PROGRAM

CHARLES N. QUIGLEY AND JACK N. HOAR

At the time of democracy's apparent triumph in the war of ideas, it is increasingly clear how vulnerable democracy is, not only in the post-communist states but also in established nations such as the United States. In order to strengthen democracy in the United States and in recently totalitarian states, a cooperative group of leading organizations in civic education developed Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program.

Civitas Exchange Program Background

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program is administered by the Center for Civic Education, funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the United States Department of Education, and conducted with the cooperation of the United States Information Agency (USIA), its affiliated offices in Eastern Europe, and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. The program pr· ·ides for a series of exchanges among leaders in civic education in the U ·ited States and nations of the former Soviet bloc.

Civitas is affiliated with Civitas International, a consortium initiated in June 1995 at the Civitas@Prague conference sponsored by the United States Information Agency. At the close of that conference, participants representing more than fifty nations signed a declaration pledging to "create and maintain a worldwide network that will make civic education a higher priority on the international agenda." Members of Civitas International include leading civic education organizations from throughout the world dedicated to strengthening civic education and constitutional democracy.

Civic education is understood to play an important role in the development of the political culture required for the establishment, maintenance, and improvement of democratic institutions. Civitas gives civic education leaders opportunities to learn from and assist each other in improving ed ·cation for democracy in their respective nations.

The National and International Significance of and Need for the Program

Democracy has triumphed in many parts of the world, only to display its vulnerability in others. In the East, new democrats struggle against great odds to build a culture of citizenship on the rubble of totalitarianism. In the West, democracy strains under ethnic and religious conflict, irresponsibility, crime, and apathy. In worlds so different, the challenges to civic development have much in common.

Much concern has, understandably, been given to the objective conditions in which constitutional democracy takes root—the economic circumstances, the social and political institutions, and the formal processes through which democracy becomes securely established. Much attention is also now being paid to what diplomats describe as a new architecture of relations among the democratic and democratizing nations of Europe and North America.

But what about the spirit of democracy that must animate these institutions and processes: the subjective conditions, the knowledge, the understandings —what Tocqueville called the "habits of the heart"? As much as anything, democracy is a culture - a culture sometimes taken for granted. What are we doing together to strengthen this culture of democracy?

In fact, in both the East and West, teachers, community workers, and others committed to the future of democracy are today engaged, in many different ways and without great fanfare, in reviving and strengthening the skills and values of democratic life—the civic culture. Those involved in this work are now reaching out to one another across national borders to learn, to gain strength, and to win wider recognition of the need for education for effective and responsible citizenship.

But since the "fall of the wall" educators and government officials from the former Soviet bloc countries have increasingly sought the assistance of American civic education organizations in creating educational programs conducive to the development of responsible and effective citizens in free societies. Educators in these countries—many working in new, non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—have turned to the United States for curricular models, texts, and training models that they could translate and adapt for use in their schools.

During the course of the past seven years, American organizations have consulted with educational ministries and new civic organizations on curriculum development and teacher training in nearly all of the Eastern European and newly independent states (EEN/NIS) of the former Soviet Union. Not only have selected American materials been translated and adapted - in nearly every case with funding from United States non-governmental and government agencies-- but American curricular frameworks have been put to direct use. The Civitas model civic education curriculum framework, published by the Center for Civic Education in

1991, has been widely distributed by the USIA and private foundations and translated for use by educators in new democracies.[1] The USIA printed and is distributing throughout the world five thousand free copies of, as well as unlimited Internet access to, the *National Standards for Civics and Government*,[2] which was also developed by the center. In addition, American organizations have helped colleagues in EEN/NIS countries develop their own texts specifically addressed to their needs.

In the course of this work the American organizations have well understood that such interactions are not one-sided, and that what they have learned about the history and government of other nations has great value in the development of civic education programs for the United States. Particularly in times of declining attachment to the institutions and values of government within established democracies, the insights offered by work with EEN/NIS educators have been deeply instructive.

Certain agencies of the United States government, such as the USIA and its United States Information Service posts in EEN/NIS, have been invaluable in facilitating these activities. And, for the past two years, the United States Department of Education has been, through this exchange program, at the center of international civic education reform.

Yet for all the mutual benefits to Europeans and Americans and despite the pressing need to strengthen the culture of democracy in established and new democracies, the lack of systematic support before 1995 for civic education exchanges hampered these enterprises. Funding was piecemeal, the flow of information was haphazard, and coordination across organizations and continents was meager. Given the former Soviet bloc's need to buttress new democratic institutions and the United States' need to support democratic principles and practices, coordinated action and sustained support were urgently required. Fortunately, Civitas was instituted in 1995, allowing a great deal of excellent work in the field of international civic education.

Civitas Goals

The goals of the program are to acquaint educators from EEN/NIS with exemplary curricular and teacher training programs in civic education developed in the United States; assist educators from EEN/NIS in adapting and implementing effective civic education programs in their own countries; create instructional materials for students in the United States that will help them better understand emerging constitutional democracies; facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences in civic education among political, educational, and private sector leaders of participating countries; and encourage research to determine the effects of civic education on the development of the knowledge, skills, and traits of public and private character essential for the preservation and improvement of constitutional democracy.

These goals will be accomplished through seminars for civic educators on the basic values and principles of constitutional democracy and its institutions; visits by civic educators to school systems, institutions of higher learning, and nonprofit organizations that have exemplary programs in civics and government education; translations of basic documents of constitutional government and significant works on political theory, constitutional law, and government; adaptations or development of exemplary curricular and teacher education programs; joint research projects in the areas of curricular development and teacher education; and evaluation to determine the effects of civic education programs.

At the most fundamental level, this program is devoted to the accomplishment of the many tasks in participating nations that will contribute—step by step—to the establishment and/or improvement of constitutional democracy and the realization of its ideals, and the consequent benefits to be gained not only by the peoples of participating nations, but by those of all nations as a result of the contributions democratization has the capacity to bring to world order, peace, and justice.

Elements of Systematic Implementation of Civic Education

The goals of Civitas are set in the context of the identified "Elements of Systemic Implementation of Civic Education" outlined below. The overarching goals are to improve teaching, to improve students' mastery of advanced knowledge and skills in civics and government, and to establish a reasoned commitment to the fundamental values and principles of constitutional democracy.

Introduction to the "Elements of Systematic Implementation of Civic Education." The following describes tasks to be accomplished that will institutionalize effective programs in civics and government in public or private schools. Also presented are steps necessary to fulfill each task. The purpose of this outline is to provide a guide for activities under the Civitas project and a means of evaluating progress.

The full achievement of all of the tasks specified is not expected or possible under this program in any of the nations involved including the United States. Tasks are undertaken that pertain to the assessed needs of EEN/NIS partners and based on the circumstances in each nation and the resources and time available under this project. Depending on the circumstances in a nation it might be reasonable, for example, to focus attention solely on a single task such as the development of standards or a curriculum framework or a teacher education program. In other circumstances, a set of tasks might be addressed such as the implementation of a pilot program including development of curricular materials, teacher training, classroom instruction, and evaluation. Finally, since programs in a number of participating nations are also being supported by other

sources, it should be useful to use this outline to insure that civic education improvement efforts are well-coordinated and form a comprehensive and rational approach to the improvement and institutionalization of effective programs in civics and government in each nation.

Tasks and Indicators of Achievement. Eight tasks and their indicators of achievement are listed below. These tasks and indicators constitute the "Elements of Systematic Implementation of Civic Education."

Task 1. Standards: Development and establishment of content and performance standards in civics and government. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of standards
  - -participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
  - -presentations of standards to educational policy makers
- Institutional adoption of standards

Task 2. Curriculum Framework: Development and adoption of a K–12 curriculum framework in civic education. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of curriculum framework
  - -participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
  - -presentations of curriculum framework to educational policy makers
- Institutional adoption of curriculum framework

Task 3. Required Courses: Formal requirement for instruction in civics and government in the school curriculum. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of course outline frameworks
  - -participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
  - -presentations of course outlines to educational policy makers
  - -pilot programs of courses (with supportive teacher training programs and curricular materials) accompanied by evaluations
  - -demonstrations of courses
- Institutional adoption of course outlines

Task 4. Instructional Materials: Provision of instructional materials aligned with the standards and curriculum framework. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of instructional materials

-participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
-presentations of instructional materials to educational policy makers
-pilot programs using instructional materials (with supportive teacher training programs and materials) accompanied by evaluations (as noted above)
-demonstrations of the use of instructional materials (as above)

- Institutional adoption of instructional materials

Task 5. Teacher Education: Establishment of preservice and inservice education programs to develop teachers' abilities to provide high quality instruction in the use of the instructional materials in order to promote attainment of the standards. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of teacher education programs
  -participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
  -presentations of information on teacher education programs to educational policy makers
  -pilot teacher education programs accompanied by evaluations (as noted above)
  -demonstrations of teacher education programs (as above)
- Institutional adoption of teacher education programs

Task 6. Leadership and Network Training:. Establishment of training programs to enhance the capacities of leaders of civic education programs in program planning, budgeting, networking, administration, implementation, curriculum development, evaluation, and tasks related to systemic implementation of civic education. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development, distribution, and promulgation of leadership and network training programs
  -participation of gatekeepers and others influential in the development process
  -presentations of information on training programs to educational policy makers
  -pilot leadership and network training programs accompanied by evaluations (as noted above)
  -demonstrations of leadership and network training programs (as above)
- Institutional adoption of leadership and network training programs

Task 7. Assessment: Establishment of assessment programs to determine student attainment of standards. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development of assessment programs, procedures, and instruments
  - -implementation of assessments of the existing state of student knowledge, skills, and attitudes in civics and government, of pilot programs, etc.
  - -promulgation of results of assessments
- Institutionalization of assessment programs

Task 8. Credentialing: Establishment of licensure to insure that all teachers develop the subject matter and pedagogical expertise needed to prepare all students to meet the standards. Indicators of achievement are:

- Development of credentialing requirements in civics and government
- Promulgation of requirements
- Adoption of requirements
- Institutionalization of supportive educational programs for teachers

Civitas Organization

Civitas has established primary and secondary sites in the United States and international sites in EEN/NIS. A list of these sites follows.

United States. Principal civic education organizations

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)
American Political Science Association (APSA)
Center for Civic Education (CCE)
Mershon Center and College of Education of The Ohio State University
Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University (SSDC)

Affiliated civic education organizations of state and local levels

Council for Citizenship Education at Sage College (New York)
Florida Law-Related Education Association
Classroom Law Project at Lewis and Clark Law School (Oregon)
Center for Civic Education through Law (Michigan)
We the People . . . Project of Georgia and Northwestern Georgia
We the People . . . Project of Washington State
We the People . . . Project of Illinois
Boston University (Massachusetts)
Anchorage School District (Alaska)
Partners in Education, Inc. (Nevada)
Center for Law-Related Education, Arizona Bar Foundation

EEN/NIS. Affiliated civic education organizations at the international level

Civitas@Bosnia-Herzegovina
Civitas@Croatia
Czech Republic: Institute for the Development of Education, Charles University
Hungary: Civitas-Association for Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills
Latvia: Democracy Advancement Center
Poland: Center for Citizenship Education
Civitas@Republika Srpska
Russia (East): Sakhalinsk Department of Education, Culture, and Sport
Russia (West): Association for Civic Education

In addition to the above organizations, Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program enjoys the active assistance of the United States Department of Education, the United States Information Agency, and other United States federal agencies.

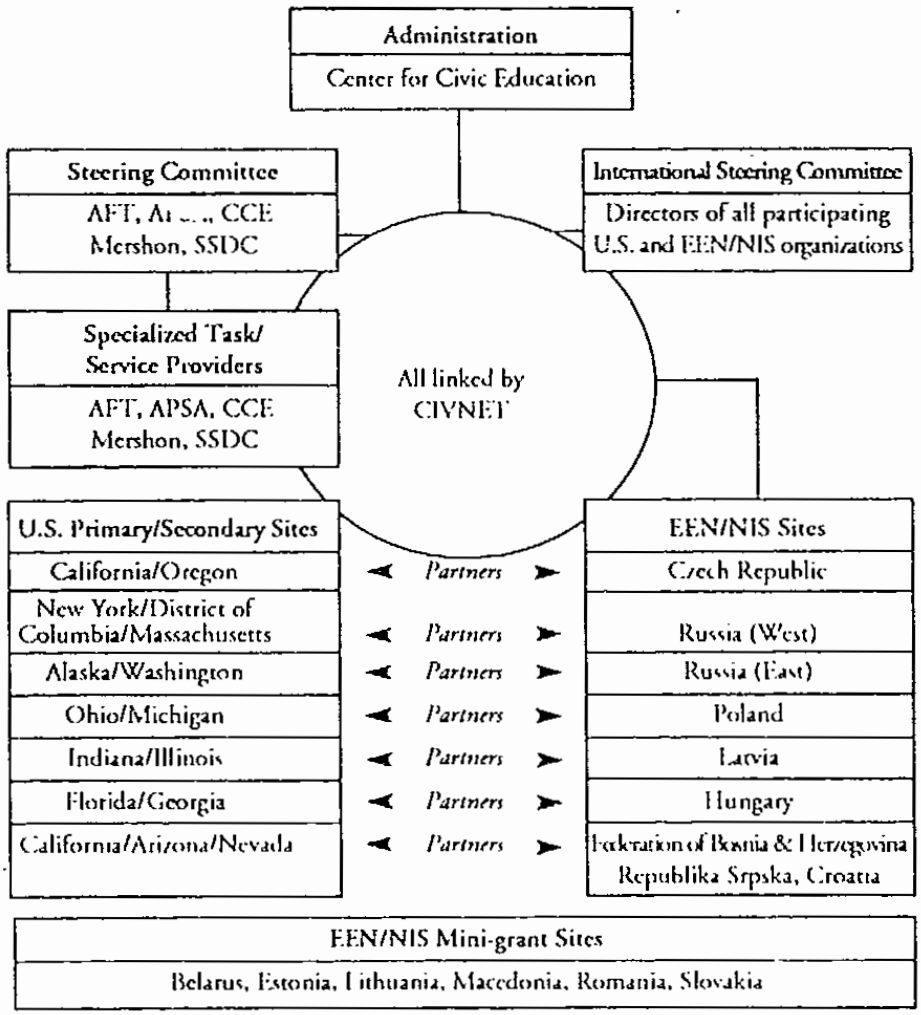
Products Resulting from the Civitas Program and their Potential for Effective Use

The accomplishments of Civitas are many and diverse in nature. Civitas has increased the available knowledge about successful educational exchanges between civic educators in the United States and EEN/NIS countries. The array of publications produced to date includes scholarly analyses and curricula developed for teachers and students. Knowledge about and skill in curriculum development, teacher education, and research and evaluation processes in American civic education has been shared with civic educators from the EEN/NIS. Information on the most innovative and effective civic education methodologies and pedagogical techniques has been exchanged.

Given that Civitas has a history of nearly two years of achievements, it seems reasonable to review some of these accomplishments and to extrapolate from them the nature of the products likely to result from the continuation of Civitas.

Civic education leaders are being exposed to content and teaching strategies central to high-quality civic education programs. Particularly for the EEN/NIS participants, exposure to these high-quality civic education programs is essential to stimulate development of similar programs in their countries. American participants have also had their perspectives deeply enriched by the exchange, as they encounter extremely capable teachers and scholars, many of whom acted heroically in the recent past in the advancement of democracy in their countries.

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program
Organizational Chart



Although it is not possible to judge the long-term effects of this stimulation immediately, clearly the civic education programs that have been developed in all of the participating countries have borne the hallmarks of the exchange experience. Not only will the teaching of these participants be affected for the remainder of their working lives, but their teacher education activities and the curricula they develop have been permanently enhanced.

Civic education curricula and instructional materials have been developed and are being refined. In every participating country—including the United States—these materials have the potential to improve civic education significantly.

Numerous resource documents for scholars and teachers have been published and distributed through the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and its Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for International Civic Education. These affiliated clearinghouses are located at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, which is a primary Civitas site. Their publications include *Resources on Civic Education for Democracy: International Perspectives, Yearbook Number 1* and *2*. Others include *ERIC Digest: Civic Education for Constitutional Democracy: An International Perspective; ERIC Digest: Civic Education for Democracy in Latvia: The Program of the Democracy Advancement Center; ERIC Digest: Internet Resources for Civic Educators; ERIC Digest: Global Trends in Civic Education for Democracy;* and *ERIC News Bulletin on International Civic Education.* These documents have the potential to improve social studies and civic education not only in the entire United States, but elsewhere in the world through the ERIC system.[3]

In a unique collaboration, educators from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Russia drafted a comprehensive set of lessons for American middle and high school teachers to use. This extensive document, *Comparative Lessons for Democracy,* is being distributed by the Center for Civic Education and United States and EEN/NIS partners to teachers throughout their respective nations.[4] Again, the effect of both the collaborative development model and the actual completed materials will be extensive.

Further reinforcing the extraordinary potential effect of the program, articles have been published in professional journals and newsletters reaching large target audiences. Civic education leaders and teachers in every state in the United States and in every participating EEN/NIS have been informed of the program through both regular and special publications of the participating organizations.

Illustrative Examples of Civitas Activities

All United States and EEN/NIS sites have participated in a wide range of experiences and activities. The kinds of experiences are listed below with illustrative examples.

Seminars on history and government and site visits to governmental institutions and public or private sector agencies and organizations involved in the political process. All delegations have participated in seminars on the history, government, and educational systems of their partner nations. The list of seminars conducted is extensive, and includes such topics as

The History of American Democracy
Cooperative Learning and Civic Education
Authentic Assessment and Civic Education
Teaching Civics and a Constitutional Culture through Literature
Building Non-Governmental Organizations
Concepts, Principles, and Resources of Civic Education
Russian Government and Politics, with Comparisons with other NIS Countries
Constitutional Principles: A Framework
Constitutionalism
The Role of Civic Education in a Democratic Society
Training in Evaluation and Assessment
Internet Training for Civic Educators
Lesson and Unit Planning
Law-Related Education
Introduction to Teacher Education Reform
Elementary Education: Multicultural Influence
Teaching Civic Education: Decision Trees
Research on Effective Teaching and Schooling
Teaching Controversial Subjects in Civic Education
Hypermedia Presentation on Models of Civic Education
Democracy and Economics

In every case, the FFN/NIS delegations visited not only American federal institutions in Washington, D.C., including the Congress and the Department of Education, but also state and local legislatures and, in most cases, state executive and judicial officials. For instance, the Hungarian delegation met with the speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives. And the Latvian delegation was involved in a program with justices of the Indiana Supreme Court.

Similarly, American delegations have met with FFN/NIS public officials. The Hungarian president, the lord mayor of Budapest, the deputy head of the Constitutional (Supreme) Court, numerous members of parliament, including the head of the Constitutional Committee, and many other elected officials have become patrons of the activities initiated during the exchange program and have met the Florida and Georgia delegates. The Polish parliament has issued an official proclamation endorsing the Center for Citizenship Education's work in Poland and the Ohio and Michigan delegations have met with parliamentary representatives.

As a general note on the delegation's visits, almost all of the delegations have included more than the originally planned number of five participants per visit. For instance, one American delegation to Hungary included sixteen participants and was partially supported by private sources.

Visits to school systems, institutions of higher learning, and organizations conducting exemplary programs in civics and government education. In every case, American and EEN/NIS delegations have visited school systems, institutions of higher learning, and non-governmental organizations conducting exemplary civics and government programs—many of which represent impressive associations of educators. The Russian Association for Civic Education, for instance, is a professional association and an umbrella organization of member NGOs and includes more than 9,800 members.

The school visits are always among the highlights of the trips, as they permit interactions with students, teachers, and administrators at various levels and in various circumstances.

Observation and participation in teacher training programs and activities involving elementary and secondary students. Almost all of the delegations' visits have included observation and participation in teacher training programs. Indeed, the American delegations usually were selected with an understanding that workshops and presentations would be a central feature of their visit. The last two and one-half days of the American delegation's visit to the Czech Republic, for instance, were wholly given over to a "trainer-of-trainers" workshop for educators from throughout the country. This workshop was so successful that more extensive workshops have been scheduled.

The presentations and discussions with elementary and secondary students have permitted programs and curricula to be viewed under "real world" conditions. Even when interpreters are necessary, these first-hand observations yield a remarkable amount of information and insight.

In the field of preservice education, new university-level courses for civics teachers were developed and included in the curricula of three Latvian pedagogical universities. And the Russian partnership is developing similar preservice courses of studies for Russian universities.

On-site demonstrations of curricula and pedagogy for educational leaders. Such demonstrations have been conducted not only in the "laboratories" of pedagogical institutions but have also been the foci of the school visits. These occur in every case. Increasingly, the American delegations have been involved as presenters and participants in intensive curricular and pedagogical workshops of several days' duration.

Numerous workshops have taken place involving thousands of teachers in the EEN/NIS and the United States. In Poland alone, 1,200 teachers have been trained. In Russia, four national workshops have trained 1,000 teachers. In addition, the Russian partners are, with American assistance, developing a regional inservice training capacity within Russia for the recertification of teachers that is required every five years. In Latvia, more than 2,000 teachers have been trained in civic education workshops in regions throughout the country.

Participation in presentations and discussions with public and private sector community groups. Such community groups are included in nearly every EEN/NIS visit. They include Junior Achievement; Arizona, Florida, and Indiana Bar Foundations; Florida State University's Center for Civic Education and Public Service; Rotary Club of Milledgeville (Georgia); Georgia Council on Economics; Henry County (Indiana) Youth Services Center; DuPage County (Illinois) Head Start Program; and Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Newspapers, Inc. Similar meetings were held by United States delegations with, for instance, private cultural organizations representing Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Working to develop curricular materials in civics and government for use in their own nations and in the United States. Curriculum development has occurred in all EEN/NIS delegations in cooperation with American participants. For instance, lessons have been developed by the EEN/NIS participants for use in schools in both the United States and their own countries and have been compiled in the volume *Comparative Lessons for Democracy.* Ninth grade civics curricula have been developed and disseminated to every school in Latvia—and both Estonian and Lithuanian civic educators now wish to join the exchange and to employ the Latvian curricular model for ninth grade civic education curriculum development in their countries. *Civic Education for Democracy in Latvia: Principles, Practices, and Resources for Teachers* has been published.[5]

The Czech delegation drafted a preliminary framework for Czech national standards for civics and government and is adapting and implementing the Project Citizen program on public policy development for Czech students.[6]

The Polish Center for Citizenship Education is developing a National Core Curriculum for Civic Education adopted by the Ministry of Education. Their center has also developed more than 100 lesson plans for elementary schools, with distribution to 6,000 teachers, and more than 140 lesson plans for secondary schools, with 3,000 copies to be distributed later this year. Thus far more than 55,000 students have received instruction based on their materials.

The Hungarian Civitas Association for Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills has adapted the *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution program and just completed holding a national academic competition for Hungarian students from throughout the nation hosted by the president of Hungary.[7]

Uchitelskaya Gazeta, the teacher's newspaper published by the Russian partners that reaches every school in Russia and has a circulation of more than 200,000 copies, has run at least ten articles and a Civics Supplement based on the delegation's American experience. A scope and sequence document and an elementary textbook has been developed by *Grazhdanin.* In

addition, Russian and American partners are collaborating on a 250-page methods book on teaching civics entitled *The Active Classroom.*[8]

Perhaps the most exceptional curricular document being developed under Civitas is *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Framework* modeled upon the *National Standards for Civics and Government* but intended to be useful in civic education programs in all emerging and developed democracies. Both the development process and the final product should be of great benefit to civic educators not only in EEN/NIS but also in other parts of the world.[9]

Translations and adaptations regarding American civics and government education curricular programs. Although it is recognized that ultimately each country's educators must develop their own curricula, translations and adaptations of American curricular materials can be completed relatively quickly, implemented in classrooms immediately, and can serve as resources for future curriculum development. Thus, in almost every case the EEN/NIS partners have translated and adapted United States texts and programs. For instance, *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* has translated into Russian and serialized—without adaptation to Russian culture—not only the *National Standards for Civics and Government* but also the center's *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution.

The center's *We the People . . .* Project Citizen and selections from *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution and *Foundations of Democracy: Authority, Privacy, Responsibility, and Justice* curricula have been translated and adapted into Bosnian, Croat, and Serbian versions and used by more than 12,000 students thus far in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As noted above, the Hungarian Civitas Association for Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills has translated and adapted the *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution text and academic program for Hungarian students.

The Czechs have translated the Project Citizen student book and teacher's guide as well as the *National Standards for Civics and Government.*

The Poles have started a Young People Vote program with 32,000 participants, mock trial competitions, and other law-related education programs.

The Latvians are starting to develop their own adaptation of Project Citizen.

Planning research and evaluation programs to determine the effects of civic education. Each of the EEN/NIS delegations has engaged in seminars or extensive discussions regarding civic education research and evaluation. These are areas of significant interest to the international participants, as there have been few resources devoted to them in the past and there is much for Americans to share.

The American partners have assisted EEN/NIS partners in the development and implementation of their own evaluation programs. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Pedagogical Institute of Sarajevo has been assisted by the center in the evaluation of the program being conducted in the Federation.

In the evaluations of the *National Standards for Civics and Government* and the center's *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution conducted by the Russian Association for Civic Education, the teachers asserted that these publications were very valuable even without adaptation, despite their having been written for an American audience.

Home stays. Nearly every delegation has participated in visits to homes and home stays that have deepened understandings of the host cultures.

This very abbreviated list shows that Civitas has already produced extraordinary results, results that have reached many students, teachers, scholars, and representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program is a very successful collaborative effort that deserves to be supported and expanded. This continuing exchange program has the potential to create and maintain a worldwide network that will strengthen education for democratic citizenship.[10]

NOTES

1. Charles N. Quigley, Charles F. Bahmueller et al., *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1991).

2. Charles N. Quigley et. al., *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1994).

3. ERIC, the Educational Resources Information Center, oversees sixteen clearinghouses funded by the United States Department of Education. The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC/ChESS) is located at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, a Civitas primary site. Through its participation in Civitas, the center created the Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for International Civic Education, which has acquired and entered documents on civic education into the ERIC database. It has also co-published several ERIC digests and other publications with ERIC/ChESS, with which it is affiliated at the Social Studies Development Center.

4. Dawn M. Shinew and John M. Fischer, eds., *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1997).

5. Guntars Catlaks, Daina Bara, and John J. Patrick, eds., *Pilsoniska Izglitiba Demokratijai Latvija (Civic Education for Democracy in Latvia)* (Riga, Latvia: Democracy Advancement Center in cooperation with the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, 1997).

6. Charles N. Quigley et al., *We the People . . . Project Citizen* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1997).

7. Charles N. Quigley et al., *We the People . . . The Citizen and the Constitution* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1997).

8. Stephen L. Schechter and Natalya Voskresenskaya, eds., *The Active Classroom: Ideas and Practices for Teaching Civics in Russia* (Washington, D.C. and Moscow: American Federation of Teachers with the Russian Association for Civic Education, 1997).

9. See the article by Charles F. Bahmueller on the "Framework" in this issue of the journal.

10. For more information and a descriptive brochure on Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program contact Jack N. Hoar, Director of International Programs, Center for Civic Education, 5146 Douglas Fir Road, Calabasas, California 91302, (818) 591-9321; fax (818) 591-0527, or reach him at international@civiced.org by e-mail.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN LATVIA

JOHN J. PATRICK AND VALTS SARMA

In 1991, after more than fifty-one years of foreign domination and exploitation, the Latvian people effectively restored their independent nation-state. They declared that their sovereign republic was neither a Soviet-successor state nor a newly independent country. Rather, the Republic of Latvia (*Latvijas Republika*) was free to restore the *Satversme*, the democratic Constitution of 1922, and continue its national development, which had been cruelly interrupted in June 1940 by Latvia's forcible incorporation into Stalin's Soviet Union. Latvia's Parliament (*Saeima*) effectively reasserted its sovereignty, reestablished traditional national symbols, and restored the Latvian language to primacy instead of Russian. By September 1991, Latvia's sovereignty was recognized by most countries, and it had been admitted to the United Nations.

During the 1990s, Latvia has been in transition to democracy in its government, society, and culture. From the outset, Latvians recognized that civic education for democracy in schools would be a critical factor in maximizing opportunities and overcoming obstacles in their long-term efforts to develop democratic institutions and competencies in a country emerging from the grip of totalitarian domination. What is the context of Latvia's transition to democracy? How has civic education in schools been developed to promote Latvia's transition to democracy? And how have Latvians and Americans cooperated to develop civic education for democracy in Latvia?

The Context of Latvia's Transition to Democracy

Latvia is located at the eastern end of the Baltic Sea, in the northeastern part of Europe. Its neighbor directly to the north is Estonia, and directly to the south is Lithuania. Belarus and Russia lie to the southeast and northeast of Latvia. The capital of Latvia is Riga, located at the Daugava River, where it flows into the Gulf of Riga and the Baltic Sea beyond.

The territory of Latvia is small, an area of 64,610 square kilometers (about the size of West Virginia). The population is about 2,500,000 but

only 1,422,395 (56.6 percent) are Latvians.[1] More than 850,000 people live in Riga, the capital, but less than 40 percent are Latvians in their primary language and ethnic identity.[2] Since 1991, the proportion of Latvians in Latvia has increased slowly and slightly.

Nearly 40 percent of the population of Latvia consists of Slavic peoples (Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Poles). About 30 percent are Russians. Thus, Latvians are barely a majority in their centuries-old homeland, in which they had constituted more than 77 percent of the population in 1935.[3]

The existence of Latvia and its culture have been at risk in modern times, especially since World War II. Between 1940 and the 1980s, more than 150,000 Latvians were expelled from their homeland or killed by authorities of the Soviet Union; there were mass deportations to various parts of Russia and Soviet territories in Central Asia. From June 1940 to June 1941, for example, the Soviets executed and deported more than 35,000 people.[4] Immediately after World War II, from 1945–46, Soviet authorities deported or killed about 60,000 people.[5] Further, from March 24 to March 30, 1949, about 50,000 Latvians were deported and resettled in various parts of the Soviet Union, including forced labor camps in Siberia.[6]

Soviet authorities replaced the murdered and deported Latvians with Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian settlers. In addition, they subordinated or repressed the language and heritage of Latvians, who were forced to conform to the Russian culture. Thus, policies of an alien regime based in Moscow, the government of the U.S.S.R., profoundly changed the demographic and cultural composition of Latvia and produced the current situation wherein Latvians are a slim majority in their homeland. According to political scientist Juris Dreifelds, "The Latvian nation was moving inexorably toward that point where national dissolution could become irreversible."[7]

Since 1991, Latvians have joyfully and emphatically acted to reverse the fifty-year Soviet led assault on their culture and nationhood. They have restored long-suppressed symbols of sovereignty, such as their national flag, anthem, insignia, and constitution. Adopted February 15, 1922, the restored *Satversme* proclaimed in Section 1, "Latvia shall be an independent and democratic Republic." Further, this opening part of the 1922 constitution declares, "The sovereign power of the Latvian State shall belong to the People (*Tauta*) of Latvia" (the Latvian folk).[8] Government by consent of the governed (popular sovereignty) and democratic republicanism are proclaimed principles of the basic law of the land, as is a commitment to preserve the Latvian heritage, the culture of the *Tauta*, in response to the ever-present threat of Russian cultural and political influence. Latvia's Declaration of Sovereignty in 1989 asserted that the territory of the Latvian Republic is the "only place on earth where the

Latvian nation can fully exercise its right to statehood and develop without hindrance the Latvian language, national culture, and economy."[9]

The restored 1922 constitution provides a parliamentary system of representative government that is accountable directly to the citizens. Central characteristics of the government, rooted in the *Satversme* and recently enacted legislation, are listed below.

- A one-house legislature (*Saeima*) with one-hundred members elected by the citizens for a three-year term of office
- A state president elected by the legislature for a three-year term of office
- A prime minister nominated by the state president and approved by a majority of the legislature
- A cabinet, consisting of the heads of twelve government ministries, selected by the prime minister and approved by a majority of the legislature (neither the prime minister nor the other ministers of the cabinet are required to be members of the legislature)
- A judiciary, consisting of a three-tier court system (district courts, regional courts, and the Supreme Court), with judges approved by the legislature and not subject to dismissal against their will until reaching a retirement age set by law; in 1996 the *Saeima* enacted legislation to establish a Constitutional Court with authority to review the legality of governmental actions
- An electorate consisting of all Latvian citizens who have reached eighteen years of age[10]

The *Satversme* distributes the powers of government among executive, legislative, and judicial branches. But the *Saeima*, the legislative branch or Parliament, is definitely supreme. The legislature selects the state president and members of the judiciary. And it approves or rejects nominations to key executive offices, such as the offices of prime minister and the ministers of the cabinet.[11]

The primary check upon the power of Parliament comes from the citizens. In their roles as voters and petitioners, the citizens of Latvia can determine the composition and general direction of policy making in their Parliament. So the regular triennial parliamentary election is a defining event of Latvian constitutional democracy.

Parliamentary elections must take place on the first Sunday of October and the preceding Saturday. Citizens vote for lists of candidates presented by the competing political parties, and candidates are elected on the basis of proportional representation. An electoral list must receive at least 5 percent of all votes cast to gain representation in the Parliament. In this system, the deputies do not represent a specific territory and their accountability is only to the members of their party. Thus, citizens vote for a party list, not for a specific deputy.[12]

Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the effective restoration of Latvian independence in 1991, the implementation of the constitution of 1922 has yielded genuine, if incomplete, democratic governance. The first criterion by which political theorists determine the authentic practice of democracy is the conduct of free, fair, open, and contested elections of the people's representatives in government. A second criterion, closely related to the first, is that freedom of expression, assembly, and association are constitutionally guaranteed and genuinely practiced. A third criterion is that suffrage should be broadly inclusive of the country's population, so that virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote in public elections of governmental representatives.[13]

By the three criteria stated above, which constitute a minimal definition of democratic government, Latvia has performed satisfactorily if not perfectly. Since 1991, there have been two parliamentary elections (1993 and 1995) followed by two presidential elections (1993 and 1996). In each case, the election was free, fair, and competitive. Information was freely communicated through an independent mass media. Several political parties competed for election to the Parliament; for example, twenty-three party lists competed in the 1993 election and nineteen in the 1995 election. Further, large majorities of eligible voters participated in the two parliamentary elections of the 1990s, 89 percent in 1993 and 72 percent in 1995.[14] Finally, a group of international observers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe certified that the election of 1995 was "free and fair."[15] However, the election observers also noted critically that many adults residing in Latvia are not eligible to vote because they do not qualify to be citizens.

Latvia has passed an acid test of democratic development. This test requires that in order to be an authentic democracy, a country must make two consecutive peaceful, lawful, and orderly changes of government by free, fair, and contested public elections.[16] Another parliamentary election is scheduled to occur in the autumn of 1998.

The 1990s parliamentary and presidential elections in Latvia indicate that the prospects for democracy are good. There is robust rivalry among several political parties, which compete freely and fairly for public support. There is sufficient, if not exemplary, political interest and participation among citizens. And there is an emerging civil society that offers opportunities for citizens to acquire the skills and dispositions of democratic behavior through participation in non-governmental organizations that "seek to defend human rights, promote economic initiative and development, prevent environmental degradation, and provide social assistance to some of Latvia's most vulnerable groups, such as children."[17] According to political scientist Juris Dreifelds, "In Latvia the key indicators of a democratic state have been put in place."[18]

Obstacles and challenges to democracy remain, however, stemming from the totalitarian legacy of Soviet rule. Many Latvians have had little opportunity to develop the resources necessary for effective democratic participation. A few years of freedom have not provided sufficient time to undo the damage of fifty years of totalitarian tyranny. Further, there is the problem of how to justly and practically include or otherwise deal with the sizable Slavic ethnic groups that came to Latvia by command of Soviet authorities. Most of these people are not citizens and thereby are unable to vote or otherwise participate fully in the political and civic life of Latvia.

At present, the total number of registered aliens and stateless persons in Latvia is approximately 720,000, nearly 30 percent of the population. The number of citizens is approximately 1,770,000 of which 79 percent are Latvians in their primary language and ethnic identity. The remaining 21 percent are members of more than ten minority ethnic groups, including Russians (288,217), Belorussians (20,765), and Poles (8,390).[19]

Any ethnically non-Latvian person who is descended from people living in Latvia before 1940 automatically is a citizen of Latvia today. And non-Latvian residents of Latvia may become naturalized citizens if they satisfy certain reasonable requirements, such as learning the Latvian language and history and pledging allegiance to the constitution and the Republic.[20] However, the continued existence in Latvia of a proportionally large population of non-Latvians, who do not become citizens either by choice or exclusion, is a political problem that could threaten or impede the consolidation of Latvian democracy in the twenty-first century.

The possibilities for democracy in Latvia appear to be greater than the obstacles. Latvians increasingly desire to become part of the West and to seek security and prosperity through membership in European transnational institutions. To achieve this objective, Latvia must continue its transition to democracy, which involves accommodating non-Latvian ethnic groups in their desires to enjoy equality in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. If Latvia cannot satisfactorily integrate or otherwise accommodate its Slavic minority groups, then it will not meet the standards of liberal or civic democracy required for membership in European institutions and full acceptance among the constitutional democracies of the West.

Civic Education in Latvia's Transition to Democracy

Throughout the 1990s, Latvians have used civic education in their schools to advance their country's transition to democracy and strengthen its links to Europe and the West. The Democracy Advancement Center (DAC) is Latvia's leading civic education organization. Located at the Ministry of Education in Riga, it is a non-governmental organization

dedicated to developing materials and methods for teaching democratic citizenship and governance. Since 1995, the center has been a partner of the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. What were the origins of the Democracy Advancement Center, and what has it achieved?

Recognizing the close connection between well-educated citizens and democratic well being, many Latvians have decided that reform of the curricula and teaching methods of their schools is at least as important as restoring their constitution of 1922 and reconstructing their political system. As a result, they have acted quickly to replace Soviet-era courses on citizenship with new teaching materials and methods appropriate for citizenship in a genuine constitutional democracy. They looked to the West for help, which came initially from the World Federation of Free Latvians, an international organization that nurtured the spirit of national independence and liberty during the long and harsh Soviet occupation of their homeland.

The Democracy Advancement Center was founded in 1993 with support from the American Latvian Association, a component of the World Federation of Free Latvians. Rusins Albertins, a retired Amoco chemical research engineer living in Naperville, Illinois, was the catalyst. He left Latvia in 1944, when his family sought freedom and opportunity in the West. After the restoration of Latvian independence in the 1990s, Albertins vowed to return to his former homeland in the cause of education for democratic citizenship. Albertins organized DAC and recruited a dynamic, indigenous staff led by Guntars Catlaks, a teacher at Draudzina Gymnasia in Riga. Funds to support DAC were granted by the National Endowment for Democracy, an agency of the federal government of the United States. Catlaks served as director of DAC from 1994 until November 1997, when he took a position at the Soros Foundation Office in Riga. The current DAC director is Valts Sarma, who assisted Catlaks while also serving as principal of the Sala Primary School in Jurmala.

Since 1994, the Democracy Advancement Center has designed and developed materials for a new course in civic education at the eighth and ninth grades. Key ideas about the subject matter, teaching methods, and intended learners of the new civic education program are discussed below.

The course's content emphasizes the interactions between citizens and their constitutional government. There are lessons on the Latvian constitution, institutions of government, and rights and responsibilities of citizens. But civic education also involves the society in which government functions; thus there are lessons on the family, educational institutions, social groups, and the economy. In particular, the relationship of civil society to democratic governance is stressed, because there can be no democratic governance if the society in general is not democratic. Finally, there are lessons on international relations so that Latvian citizens will

understand how they are connected to various regions and peoples of the world.

The method of teaching used in this new curriculum emphasizes active learning instead of the passive reception of information. Lessons require students to acquire and apply information and ideas rather than merely receive and repeat them. They are challenged to use higher-level cognitive operations involved in the organization, interpretation, and evaluation of subject matter. Various kinds of group work, such as role playing exercises, simulations, and political problem-solving tasks, are used to teach skills of democratic participation and decision making. These active teaching methods are most compatible with the educational goal of developing knowledge and skills necessary for effective and responsible citizenship in a constitutional democracy. In the development of curricula and instructional materials, DAC recognizes that intellectual and participatory skills and processes are inseparable from particular knowledge and that some ideas and facts are more significant or valuable than others. Thus, their classroom lessons conjoin basic content on principles and practices of democracy with fundamental cognitive and participatory processes and skills to enable students to learn content and processes simultaneously.

It is fundamentally important to emphasize civic education in the primary schools. Ideally, teaching and learning civics begins in the earliest grades so that children acquire a firm foundation of knowledge about democracy and citizenship. DAC staff is actively involved in promoting democratic civic education in the lower-primary grades. Given limited resources, however, DAC decided that the greatest effect could be achieved by concentrating its efforts at the upper-primary level — grades eight and nine. At this point, a formal course in civic education could be required of all fifteen- and sixteen-year-old students, thereby exposing them to the knowledge and skills of democratic citizenship before they finish compulsory schooling.

The educational ideas described above have guided the development of all curricular materials published by DAC. These materials include a teacher handbook on civics, a student workbook on civics, a textbook for ninth-grade students of civics, and a book on democratic teaching methods. These materials are used throughout Latvia in teacher education workshops and classrooms. In 1996, the civics textbook was made available to all ninth grade students in Latvia. Developers of this civics textbook include Guntars Catlaks, Valts Sarma, Aija Tuna, Gints Apals, and Vija Rudina. Materials developed by DAC are published in Latvian and Russian to reach the maximum number of teachers and students in Latvia.

From the beginning, DAC staff members considered the education of teachers a critical component of their work. Unless teachers understand

the content and pedagogy of civic education for democracy, DAC's mission will be unfulfilled. Thus, since 1994, DAC has conducted more than two hundred seminars and workshops for teachers in schools throughout Latvia. More than two thousand teachers have participated in these programs, which are based on the lessons and teaching methods of the teacher handbook and student workbook published by DAC.

A complementary component of teacher training for civic education has been directed to preservice education at colleges and universities. In 1994, a special one-semester course in civics was developed by a member of DAC, Professor Arijs Orlovskis, for students at Liepaja Pedagogical University. In 1995, Professor Liesma Lapina of the Riga Academy of Pedagogy instituted a one-semester course in civics for students preparing to be teachers. In 1996, this course in civics for the education of teachers was offered for the first time at Daugavpils Pedagogical College under the direction of Professor Irena Saleniece. Thus, as of 1996, civic education had become part of teacher education at three major pedagogical institutions in Latvia. DAC will attempt to influence other teacher education institutions in Latvia to include civic education in their curricula.

In its short life, since 1993, DAC has been very productive in promoting civic education for democracy in Latvia. Its mission, though well begun, is far from finished. Present and future challenges include further promotion and development throughout Latvian society of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are necessary for effective and responsible citizenship in the constitutional democracy of the Republic of Latvia.

DAC's International Partnerships: Cross-Cultural Achievements and Lessons

From its inception, the Democracy Advancement Center has been involved in international and cross-cultural relationships, especially with agencies and colleagues from the United States. DAC staff and associates have traveled to the United States to work with civic educators at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, directed by John J. Patrick; the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California, directed by Charles N. Quigley; and the Council for Citizenship Education of Russell Sage College, directed by Stephen Schechter. The civic education experiences of Latvians in the United States have been supported by the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the United States Department of Education.

DAC is a member of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program coordinated by the Center for Civic Education and funded by the United States Department of Education with support from the USIA and its United States Information Service (USIS) offices in former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In particular the USIS personnel in Riga, Latvia, have been very supportive of DAC and have aided its work in many ways. They have been especially helpful

in enabling scholars and educators from the United States to conduct activities practically and effectively in partnership with DAC and other Latvian colleagues. The USIS personnel have provided simultaneous bilingual translations to enable meaningful discussions of ideas between Americans and Latvians, guidance in avoiding cultural insensitivity and conflict, books and documents on Latvian history and government, and the use of meeting rooms at the American Center in Riga to conduct various kinds of civic education meetings and workshops.

The USIS personnel in Riga have greatly assisted the Social Studies Development Center (SSDC) of Indiana University in its collaboration with the DAC. This partnership of Latvia's DAC and Indiana University's SSDC is a component of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. SSDC, led by John Patrick and Robert Leming, is the primary American site in the Civitas program partnership with DAC. The secondary American site is the *We the People . . .* program of Illinois led by Patton Feichter and Alice Horstman. The American primary and secondary site leaders have organized exchange programs involving visits by Latvian civic educators to Indiana and Illinois and visits by their American counterparts to Latvia. Americans and Latvians have enhanced one another's capacities as civic educators through joint participation in seminars, workshops, classroom observations and demonstrations, curriculum development activities, and cultural enrichment activities. Further, since 1995, John Patrick has been a consultant for DAC in its curriculum development and teacher training activities.

In 1997, DAC and SSDC jointly developed and published a book for civics teachers in Latvia: *Pilsoniska Izglitiba Demokratijai Latvija: Pamatjedzieni, Prakse, Uzzinu Materiali Skolotajiem (Civic Education for Democracy in Latvia: Principles, Practices, and Resources for Teachers).* The book's developers were Guntars Catlaks, formerly head of DAC, Daina Bara, professor of political science at the University of Latvia, and John J. Patrick. Published in the Latvian language, this book includes key documents on government, law, and citizenship plus guides to resources in libraries, archives, and on the World Wide Web or Internet. It also contains short essays by Catlaks, Bara, Patrick and others on principles and practices of civic education and democracy. This book is designed for use in professional development workshops and preservice teacher education programs in Latvia.

The Latvian participants in Civitas have collaborated with its American partner, SSDC, to develop lessons on the constitution and parliamentary democracy of Latvia. These lessons have been made available to American high school students and teachers of government. They enable Americans to compare their democratic institutions with those of another country.

In addition to its American partnerships, DAC has cooperated since 1995 with various European organizations, such as the Institute of Curriculum Development at Enschede, Netherlands. Using Dutch examples, teaching materials in social studies have been developed and tried out in twenty schools. Civic educators from other European countries such as Poland, Estonia, the United Kingdom, Lithuania, and Russia have also cooperated with DAC. Finally, DAC has participated in the PHARE Democracy Program of the Council of Europe.

DAC's international partnerships have taught participants important cross-cultural lessons about reciprocity, mutual understanding, cultural diversity, and human commonality. Both Latvians and Americans in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program have learned the benefits of a two-way flow of knowledge and opinions about democracy and civic education. Latvian participants in Civitas, for example, have learned the American perspective on constitutional limits in democracy that protect rights of individuals and minority groups against the threat of the tyranny of the (democratic) majority. By contrast, Americans have learned the Latvian perspective on parliamentary democracy, which strongly emphasizes participation by citizens to hold the government accountable to the country's civic standards. This kind of exchange enriches understanding of viable cultural variations on the principles and practices of democracy. The exchange of knowledge and opinions has also generated classroom lessons that teach Latvian students the principle of constitutionalism in democratic governance more effectively and that illuminate for American students parliamentary and participatory alternatives to their own democratic traditions.

Civitas, through its emphasis on cross-cultural reciprocity, enhances mutual understanding and respect for political and civic diversity among American and Latvian participants. But it also increases their appreciation of human commonality. Both Americans and Latvians in Civitas have become more aware of their common need across cultures for government by consent of the governed as the surest means to their common desire for liberty.

NOTES

1. Richard Crampton and Ben Crampton, *Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 249.

2. Andrejs Plakans, "Democratization and Political Participation in Postcommunist Societies: The Case of Latvia," in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., *The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 249. Plakans notes that in 1997 Latvians were 38 percent of the population of Riga and only in Jelgava, among the seven largest cities in Latvia, were Latvians a majority of the population (51 percent).

3. Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), 158.

4. Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 42.

5. Ibid, 73.

6. Plakans, 156.

7. Juris Dreifelds, *Latvia in Transition* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 50.

8. A copy of the Constitution (*Satversme*) of the Republic of Latvia can be obtained through the World Wide Web from the Saeima website (www.saeima.lanet.lv).

9. Graham Smith, ed., *The Baltic States: The National Self-Determination of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1996), 190.

10. Ole Norgaard, *The Baltic States after Independence* (Chetenham, England: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1996), 69–72.

11. In the future, the new Constitutional Court may enhance the power of the judiciary to check the legislature, but this remains to be determined.

12. Additional information about the structure and institutions of Latvian government can be obtained directly through access to the *Saeima* website on the World Wide Web; see the address listed in note 8.

13. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 7.

14. Ilze Ostrovska et al., "Participation and Strengthening Civil Society," in Nils Muiznieks, ed., *Latvia: Human Development Report* (Riga, Latvia: United Nations Development Program, 1996), 88–92.

15. "International Observers Satisfied with Latvian Elections," *Baltic News Service* 1 (October 1995).

16. Huntington, 9.

17. Ostrovska et al., 93.

18. Dreifelds, 175.

19. "Data of the Residents' Register," an unpublished report of the Latvian Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 6 February 1996. This unpublished report was given to John Patrick during a visit to an office of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in Riga, Latvia, 20 June 1996.

20. Jeff Chinn and Lise A. Truex, "The Question of Citizenship in the Baltics," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (January 1996): 137.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN POLAND

RICHARD C. REMY AND JACEK STRZEMIECZNY

Poland presents an important, complex, and rapidly changing setting for building civic education for democracy. With 38,600,000 people, it is the largest nation in Central Europe. Geographically, it stands at a crossroads of Europe, and at the same time it has strong historical and contemporary ties to Western Europe and North America. Economically, the nation has quickly embraced market economies and boasts one of the fastest growing economies in Europe. Politically, since 1989 Poland has managed to hold successive rounds of free elections at national and local levels, and in May 1997 Polish citizens approved a modern, liberal constitution through popular referendum. At the same time, the legacies of communism and Poland's more distant history remain and continue to pose significant challenges for civic education and democratic consolidation.

Since the Roundtable talks and subsequent June 1989 elections that signaled the end of communist rule in Poland, a number of civic education reform projects have been making contributions to the democratization process. For example, the Education for Democracy Foundation was created as the result of long-term cooperation between the American Federation of Teachers and the Solidarity-sponsored Independent Education Group, an underground organization of the 1980s. The foundation conducts training for teacher trade unionists as well as other teachers and students and has published dozens of booklets written by both Polish and American authors on such topics as decision making, negotiation, conflict resolution, and group organization.

This article analyzes the largest, most comprehensive civic education project undertaken to date, Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland (EDCP). EDCP was created in early 1991 at the request of the Polish Ministry of Education as a cooperative effort of the Mershon Center, The Ohio State University, and the ministry. In May 1994 the Center for Citizenship Education in Warsaw—an independent, non-partisan NGO (non-governmental organization)—was created to succeed the ministry as the major Polish actor and motivating force of EDCP. In

1995 EDCP became a participant in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. The co-authors of this article initiated EDCP and serve as co-directors.[1] Descriptions of EDCP's creation and key assumptions, summaries of its major activities, and brief assessments of its effect on civic education in Poland follow.

The Context of Civic Education Reform

The context for building civic education in Poland today is defined by the turbulent history of Poland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the structure of the Polish educational system inherited from the communist era, and new issues resulting from the country's rapidly changing circumstances following the collapse of communism in 1989.

The historical legacy. Between 1772 and 1795 Poland was erased from the map of Europe as Austria, Russia, and Prussia partitioned the country among themselves. This situation continued until 1918. Although the experience in each of these partitions differed, the "majority of contemporary Poles are the descendants of [Poles who were] Russian subjects."[2] The Russians enforced passivity; "under the Russian rule Poles had no chance whatsoever of political self-organization and very limited opportunity for economic activity."[3] Andrzej Janowski, the Deputy Minister of Education in Poland's first noncommunist government in autumn 1989, recently concluded that these nineteenth-century influences have "proved to be very persistent."[4]

After a brief period of independence during the interwar years (1919–1939), Poland suffered from six years of Nazi brutality followed by nearly half a century of Soviet supported communist domination.[5] Andrzej Korboński explains "that Poland in the 1970s and 1980s was characterized by the predominance of private values and virtues at the expense of public ones . . . this was a reaction to Stalinism . . . which two decades earlier had managed effectively to destroy and atomize the public sphere."[6] A key legacy of communist rule in Poland remains widespread alienation towards public life and serious underdevelopment of "public virtues"—that constellation of attitudes and values related to people's ability to work together and participate effectively in the political system and civil society.

Reflecting on his efforts to initiate civic education reform since 1989, former Minister Janowski concludes,

> Nearly half a century of totalitarian rule, together with the complex experience of the last few centuries, have marked Polish society [with the following characteristics: the perception that society is divided] into 'we-ordinary, decent people' and 'they-in power,' [a] poor awareness of the need for legal order [and the belief that the legal system is] for 'them,' whereas 'ordinary people' should learn to bypass the law, [and an] unwillingness . . . to self-organize in the name of shared, group interests accompanied by a lack of organizational skills.[7]

The Polish educational system. Under communism the main features of the Polish school system were uniformity and centralization through the national ministry. Educational goals were uniform across all schools, aimed at "creating a good, socially minded member of a 'classless, egalitarian, and collective' society," and were to be achieved through a uniform curriculum for all schools of a given type.[9] There were uniform textbooks for every subject at every grade level, and students across Poland were to master the same knowledge. In theory, parents and local authorities were to have almost no influence over the schools and the education of their children.

As for daily classroom practice, Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz notes, "The model of communist pedagogy, with slogans of progressivism notwithstanding, had much in common with the traditional, authoritarian model of the Eastern European school of the past."[10] Thus, students were expected to be obedient to the teacher, not ask challenging questions, and memorize as much factual information as possible. Survey data from the time clearly show that students and parents (more than 80 percent in most surveys) perceived school as a closed, hostile environment where interesting subjects were not discussed and the well-being of the student depended totally on the whims of the teacher.[11]

During the communist years, teacher education became totally dependent upon Soviet pedagogy and was used at the universities, teacher colleges, and other teacher training institutions "as an instrument of indoctrination and a tool of political selection by the communist regime."[12] This teacher education agenda was combined with the widespread appointment of school administrators based on political grounds. Thus, in 1989 educational reformers inherited a system with no classroom instructional materials on democracy and market economics, teachers with little or no understanding of democracy and no training in appropriate pedagogical techniques, teacher educators who themselves were ill-equipped to teach about self-government, and educational administrators with no professional training and little understanding of the implications of democracy for the operation of schools.

Reform efforts, however, were given some impetus by legislation drafted by the first non-communist government and passed by Parliament in 1991 as the Educational System Act.[13] The act ended the state monopoly on education and envisioned a major decentralization of decision-making and educational activities that has now been implemented. Further, the act emphasized student rights and gave local authorities the right to control their own schools, parents access to their schools through participation in school councils, and students the chance to participate in authentic student self-government.[14]

New civic education challenges. As Poland moves toward democratic consolidation several new challenges for civic education have arisen alongside those inherited from the past. First is the need for intensive attention to education on constitutionalism and Poland's new constitution. The new constitution was narrowly approved by a low turnout of voters in 1997.[15] Constitutional scholar Tomasz Merta notes that the referendum process was highly politicized and missed a significant opportunity to educate the public about the fundamental importance of such a document for constitutional government.[16] There is a pressing need to teach young people not only about the new document itself but also about the critical importance of constitutionalism and citizen participation in the rule of law for the future of Polish democracy.

Second, educational reform started by the Education System Act in 1991 has moved ahead in a very piecemeal fashion. Local government officials are eager to assert their new authority to govern schools, but they have little understanding of the key role schools can play in education for democracy and little experience regarding what they can do as educational policy-makers to promote this role. Civic education presents an opportunity to give educational reform in Poland significant new impetus. Civic education curricula presently being developed and disseminated embody democratic content, skills, and pedagogical techniques that can open classroom and school climates and empower both teachers and students with participatory competencies. The newly empowered local governments are in an ideal position to support the use of these new programs in their schools, and they have already demonstrated considerable interest in doing so.

Finally, Poland's invitation to join NATO, eventual membership in the European Community, and growing participation in the global economy means educators need to address thoughtfully difficult conceptual questions regarding the central focus and purpose of Polish civic education. To what extent, for example, should Polish civic education be synchronized with European or other western standards? How much emphasis should be given to "universal" as opposed to "national" values and traditions? Can civic education programs in a country that was stateless for more than a century find ways to rekindle national identity and patriotism while simultaneously preparing students for the global future? In a nation starting with a near *tabula rasa* in modern civic education, these are not merely academic questions.

The Project: Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland (EDCP)

EDCP exemplifies a cooperative method for promoting civic education for democracy in post-communist societies. It is based upon developing partnerships between organizations from both donor and recipient

countries in order to achieve clearly specified goals.[17] This approach stands in contrast to top down, "institutionalist" approaches where United States government or foundation money is given to American organizations to carry out projects overseas or philanthropic, "localist" approaches that give money directly to personnel and organizations in the post-communist society. The cooperative model "assumes that, as the oldest constitutional democracy, the United States has more to contribute to post-communist societies than just dollars."[18] This approach requires a long-term relationship that is built on commitment, trust, and mutual effort to make cooperation a real priority in planning and fund-raising.

Project origins and goals. EDCP began in February 1991 when Richard Remy visited Poland at the request of Jacek Strzemieczny, then director of teacher training for the Ministry of Education, to consult with officials on the possibilities for civic education in Poland. At the time, the ministry had identified civic education as one of the top educational priorities in Poland. By spring 1991, a long-term plan for EDCP had been devised by Remy in close collaboration with Polish colleagues, and efforts to secure funds to implement the plan were underway.[19] In August 1991, Dr. E. Gordon Gee, then president of The Ohio State University, visited Poland and formally initiated EDCP when he presented a proclamation to the Minister of Education pledging the university's commitment to the effort.

The original plan set forth the following long-term goals, which still define the major purpose of our collaborative work:

- to enhance the capacity of Polish educators to develop their own civic education programs in the future;
- to use American expertise and resources in civic education to help Polish educators meet immediate needs they have identified;
- to contribute to a national dialogue among Polish teachers, educational leaders, and university scholars on democratic citizenship and civic education;
- to build strong and continuing linkages between leading civic educators in the United States and Poland; and
- to institutionalize civic education in all schools in Poland during the next decade.[20]

EDCP institutional partners. The Ohio State University's Mershon Center and College of Education are the American partners in EDCP. The Mershon Center is an interdisciplinary organization concerned with research and education on national security, construed broadly to include such problems as democratization, economic development, political culture, and conflict resolution. Since 1994 the Polish partner has been the Center for Citizenship Education (CCE) in Warsaw. CCE was created as an independent non governmental organization in 1994 by Jacek

Strzemieczny when he left the Ministry of Education to continue the work started by EDCP and to initiate new civic education projects.[21] CCE has its central office in Warsaw and works closely with a network of teachers across Poland and affiliated centers in Krakow, Wrocław, and Olsztyn.[22] Recently, CCE has been responding to requests to apply the expertise it has developed through EDCP to assist with civic education initiatives in other Eastern European countries such as Lithuania, Romania, and Bulgaria.

The relationship between the Polish and American partners in EDCP is synergistic and complementary. The partners work together to plan, raise money, and conduct EDCP projects that promote their five common goals. Concurrently, both partners engage in separate educational activities while maintaining close contact as they look for new opportunities to promote their common EDCP agenda. The most recent opportunity came with the chance to participate in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. In 1995 the EDCP partners were able to bring hard-earned expertise to the new Civitas program while benefiting enormously from Civitas funding for exchange activities as well as from the chance to work with the other American and European Civitas partners.

Funding for EDCP projects. At the start of EDCP the Polish Ministry of Education covered in-country expenses for Polish and American participants. For its part, the Mershon Center pledged to secure American financial support for EDCP. No agency was able or willing to provide the funds needed to undertake simultaneously all the projects proposed in EDCP's original plan. Hence, we sought funding from different sources for each project and proceeded as best we could with the resources available to us at any given time.

The United States Information Agency, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the Pew Charitable Trusts have been the major American sources of financial support for EDCP projects. In addition, the Mershon Center has provided financial support through graduate research assistants, secretarial staff, computer word processing, travel expenses, and office and conference facilities.

The Stefan Batory Foundation in Poland, the European Community, and most recently Polish local government authorities have also contributed financial support for EDCP projects. In addition, the National Inservice Teacher Training Center, an independent agency within the Polish system of teacher education overseen by the Ministry of Education, has provided invaluable technical support in Poland including assistance with the publication of EDCP's instructional products.

Curriculum Development Activities

EDCP assumes that the preparation of conceptually sophisticated, easy-to-use instructional materials with interactive strategies is an absolutely necessary, if not totally sufficient, condition for building civic education in Poland. Further, the instructional materials are likely to help students learn democratic ideas and skills and increase the knowledge and skills of the teachers using the materials. Elliot Eisner, a notable curriculum theorist, calls this process amplification. He explains, "The major function of creative curriculum materials is to amplify the teacher's skills, not to constrain them. . . . Amplification contains the idea that good curriculum development not only teaches students, it helps the teachers learn as well."[23]

Creating instructional materials to achieve amplification has been especially important in Poland where teachers are untrained and inexperienced with civic education and lack support services for civic education in their schools. With this assumption in mind, our strategy was not to wait for the next generation of teachers who might or might not be better equipped to teach about democracy, but rather to educate the teachers already in place through the materials we created for their students and through inservice professional development workshops.

A complex array of classroom lessons and supporting materials for teachers and students have been developed by EDCP and by CCE alone to complement the EDCP products. At the heart of these curriculum products are a primary school course, *Citizenship Education: Lesson Scenarios,* and a secondary school course, *Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary Schools.*

Curriculum guide for civic education. EDCP's first project was the development of a curriculum guide package for civic education in primary and secondary schools.[24] The guide was developed by a group of Polish teachers working in Poland with the assistance of American and Polish consultants and was published in September 1993.

In Poland, the road from developing a school curriculum to its implementation faces three barriers: a legal barrier; only curricula officially accepted by appropriate educational authorities may be used in schools; a financial barrier; teachers must be paid for teaching additional courses; and a professional barrier; teachers need to be trained in the content and pedagogy of new materials. Of course, the development of new materials and subsequent teacher training costs additional money.

The plan for civic education as set forth in the EDCP curriculum guide was accepted by the Ministry of Education as an alternative curriculum for the pre-1989 course of study in Polish schools called "Knowledge about Society." This approval, however, did not require the ministry or local education authorities to provide funds for implementing the new

curriculum plan. The approval only provided formal grounds for incorporating selected parts of the new curriculum into the existing social science courses or, if sufficient funds were found, for introducing a new course in its entirety. The official acceptance, however, did enable us to begin talks with authorities, possible sponsors, teachers, and other educators about the actual introduction of civic education into schools. The curriculum guide also stimulated interest among the more ambitious and active teachers of social sciences and served to alert them that a project to create new materials was underway.

Primary school civics course. Eight Polish educators in residence at the Mershon Center from September 1992 to February 1993 developed draft lessons for *Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios,* for primary schools (grades seven and eight).[25] Field-testing, critical review, editing, and some additional lesson development was then completed in Poland. The first edition of the course published in 1993 contained eighty-two lessons. In 1995 a second edition of the course containing one hundred lessons was published and further refinements were made in a 1997 edition. Each lesson in the course contains detailed, step-by-step instructions for the teacher and materials for students such as primary sources, case studies, maps, charts, or election data. Every lesson also embodies one or more active teaching strategies such as decision trees, role plays, simulations, discussion and debate, and the like. The lessons are organized into eight units: Basic Citizenship Competencies, Local Government, Basic Principles of Democracy, Human Rights and Freedoms, Institutions of the Democratic State, Citizen Participation and Public Opinion, the Free Market Economy, and Challenges for Poland and the World. The course has been approved by the Ministry of Education as a replacement for previous courses at both the primary (grades seven and eight) and secondary school (grades nine through twelve) levels.

The step-by-step lesson format accompanied by content-rich student materials is especially valuable when teachers are insufficiently trained in the new subject matter and totally unfamiliar with active teaching and learning methods. Fewer than 50 percent of the civic education or social science courses in Polish primary schools are taught by teachers who have the requisite formal qualifications required by the educational authorities. Those with training usually have backgrounds in history and, in some cases, political science. The remaining courses are taught by teachers completely untrained in a relevant subject area. These teachers possess some sort of general training, often in physical education, or are "head teachers" filling out their required number of teaching hours. This unfortunate practice is a relic of the days when a recommendation from the Communist Party was a basic qualification for teaching a social science course.

Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios was a truly pioneering work in Poland. Polish curriculum materials are often presented in the form of a list of subject matter topics to be covered during the instructional process. Thus, no similar publications with detailed methodological suggestions for teachers of civics or other subjects existed in Poland before the development of this course. As a result the lessons have proven to be hugely popular with Polish teachers and in great demand.

Secondary school course. Five Polish educators in residence at the Mershon Center for three months in 1996 developed the core draft lessons for *Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary School*, a comprehensive, two-year course focusing on the essential elements of constitutional democracy and the rule of law.[17] This course was then developed and completed by CCE in Poland working with the Polish educators who had been at Mershon as well as other Polish teachers and constitutional scholars who are part of the CCE network. The first edition of this course, published in late 1997 in two volumes, contains 130 original lessons organized into 12 units on these topics:

Fundamental Citizenship Competencies
The Individual, Society, Nation, State
Introduction to Constitutionalism
The Path to Constitutional Democracy
Models of Democracy
Constitutions without Constitutionalism
Rights, Freedoms, and Duties
Civic Society
Local Government
The Political System of the Polish Republic
The Legal System of the Polish Republic
Free Market Economy
Threats to Democracy
Constitutionalism in International Relations

The lessons in this course follow the same format used in the primary school civics course and embody a wide range of active teaching and learning strategies.

The curriculum seminar process. Creation of the two courses described above involved resolution of an apparent dilemma: Polish educators were not ready to develop such new courses by themselves, the Americans were not able to do it for them, and the Poles did not want them to do so. We created the curriculum seminar process to deal with this conundrum.[18] A curriculum seminar places a group of participants in an enriched environment that brings together, over an extended period of time, the resources necessary to help the participants develop a new educational product designed to improve instruction in schools.

As part of EDCP we have conducted three curriculum seminars at the Mershon Center, one for each of the courses described above and one to create the course plan "The School in a Democratic Society." In addition, in 1996 a curriculum seminar modeled after the Mershon Center process was used successfully by Gregory Hamot at the University of Iowa with a group of educators from the Czech Republic to develop a new secondary school civics course for that country.[29]

Five steps constitute a curriculum seminar. The first is on-site training in the target country to insure seminar participants fully understand their task and collect as many materials as possible to bring with them. The next three steps occur at the host site in the United States. These steps are in-depth professional development for participants on the subject matter of the materials to be developed and on interactive pedagogical techniques; writing instructional materials by the seminar participants in their language; and weekly meetings of the participants with the seminar director and consultants for feedback and reflection upon progress in accomplishing the task. The fifth step is completed when the participants return home and field-test, critically review, revise, and edit the materials before publication.

Additional supporting materials. CCE has also developed five supplementary books for teachers and students (totaling 1,750 pages) to enrich the two books of original classroom lessons, *Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios* and *Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary School,* that form the core of the primary and secondary school courses.[30] These supplementary books contain a wide array of materials including primary sources, extensive readings from scholars and journalists, social science data as well as additional classroom lessons, and other teaching suggestions. In addition, a sixth book for use by history teachers has recently been prepared.[31] This book contains classroom lessons, background materials on constitutionalism, and suggestions for using interactive teaching strategies in history education.

Dissemination of New Courses

Widely disseminating new instructional materials in a country the size of Poland has been a major challenge, particularly when the Ministry of Education was not available to publish new materials and distribute them to the schools. In addition, we wanted to avoid using a top down model that had as its driving force a central ministry issuing orders on civic education to those in the schools. Further, we hoped to find ways to disseminate the new courses that would not be forever dependent upon funds from external agencies.

Creating a network of centers. In early 1993 we established five Centers for Civic and Economic Education in Warsaw, Gdañsk, Lublin, Wrocław,

and Krakow to serve as a continuing support network for the teachers and schools that would be asked to try civic education innovations.[12] These centers were later followed by two more located in Olsztyn and Krosno. Upon reflection we were correct in assuming that it was essential to create a network of local organizations across Poland to disseminate and support national implementation of innovations in civic education. Further, the American model of economic and law-related education centers has proven useful as a guide to the kinds of organizations we needed to create. At the same time, we underestimated the difficulty of maintaining such centers with the very limited financial resources and numbers of qualified personnel that have been available to us for this kind of activity. The Warsaw Center developed at the fastest pace and, in addition to working with Warsaw teachers, began running extensive inservice programs on a national scale.[13] In 1996 the Warsaw Center, with significant support from the European Commission, became the European Center for Civic Education and Information.

As it has turned out, the creation of the Center for Citizenship Education in May 1994, an event we could not have foreseen in 1992, has helped sustain the centers. Three of the original Centers (in Krakow, Wrocław and Olsztyn) continue to operate and work closely with CCE as part of a network of local organizations that help conduct inservice workshops, seminars, courses, and other professional development activities for teachers and schools across Poland.

Dissemination through local governments. The decentralization of education in Poland created a great opportunity for CCE to enlist the support of local governments across the country in disseminating the EDCP primary school course to the schools and teachers in their jurisdictions. Thus, in the spring of 1994, CCE initiated a major new project called "Civic Education in Local Government Schools."[14] Through this project CCE enters into contracts with local governments to introduce EDCP's primary school civics course, *Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios,* into grades seven and eight of their schools. The local governments pay teachers to teach the additional hours required for the course and cover part (and in some cases all) of the costs for inservice training. In return CCE, working in cooperation with its network of centers and trainers, instructs the teachers on how to use the course and provides course materials.

The program was successfully pilot-tested in fifty-one schools run by nineteen local governments during the 1994–95 school year. Moreover, the center received applications from an additional 250 local governments for the 1995–96 school year. Currently, nearly 70,000 students in more than 3,000 primary school classrooms in 600 schools are participating in the EDCP primary school civics course. A similar program involving the secondary school course is being initiated as the course materials become available.

In the long-term, the involvement of local governments in civic education reform in Poland is especially important for two reasons. First, it provides one answer to a serious problem facing national implementation of civic education reform generally and the primary school civics course specifically—finding a sponsor who will pay for the extra hours of teaching required to implement the new course. Second, local governments can provide independent support for civic education reform in Poland, thereby lessening financial dependence on international assistance.

Teacher Education Activities

Unlike other great revolutions of the past, for instance France in 1789 or Russia in 1917, the largely peaceful revolutions of 1989 that marked the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe have required policy makers in those countries to build new societies on top of, rather than in place of, the old.[15] Nowhere are the implications of this fact more evident than in the need for teacher education and professional development in Poland as well as the other nations of the region. As for Poland, Malak-Minkiewicz observes, "A majority of teachers simply do not see any need for change at the school or in their behavior. . . . There is widespread lack of understanding among teachers concerning the foundations of a democratic system."[16] This obstacle is compounded in civic education, where the subject matter and appropriate pedagogy is entirely new for teachers and for most teacher educators. Thus, in addition to the dissemination activities described above, EDCP and CCE have conducted additional teacher education activities as opportunities have become available.

Inservice courses and workshops on constitutionalism. In 1995, CCE began a major three-year inservice teacher education and curriculum development project on teaching about constitutionalism in secondary schools.[17] The inservice education component, undertaken in collaboration with the American Council of Learned Societies, is conducting a detailed, one-year course, as well as shorter seminars and workshops for secondary school teachers of civics, history, and Polish language, on such topics as the meaning of constitutional democracy, the application of democratic principles to school life, and interactive pedagogical strategies. Each year more than five hundred teachers participate in these professional development activities. This project is also sponsoring local, regional, and national student debates on constitutional issues.

The curriculum development component of this project, undertaken in part through EDCP, has produced the two-year secondary school course, *Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary School,* described earlier. The two components of the project reinforce each other as the courses and workshops not only develop teachers' understanding of

constitutionalism but also prepare them to use the new course materials being produced.

Preservice teacher education course plan. From the beginning we have believed it was important to work not only on inservice teacher education but also on preservice teacher education, especially since the curriculum is even less well developed and methodologically impoverished in Polish higher education institutions than in the case of primary and secondary schools. In addition, preservice teacher education provides an invaluable opportunity to institutionalize civic education by influencing successive generations of teachers who will be in the schools for decades to come.

The first chance to address this problem came in 1992 when funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts allowed us to bring five Polish teacher educators and university professors to the Mershon Center in September 1992 for a four-month curriculum seminar to prepare a detailed syllabus for a two-semester preservice teacher education course, "The School in a Democratic Society."[58] The course examines how principles of democracy apply to the organization and operation of schools. The course plan is organized around seven topics including Student Rights and Responsibilities, Schools and the Local Community, and The Role of Schools in a Democratic Society. The plan includes goals, background information, suggested readings, and sample teaching strategies for each topic.

Widespread dissemination of the course plan to teacher training institutions in Poland will depend upon professional development programs as well as other kinds of support for the teacher educators who could implement the course plan. Unfortunately, the grant that funded this project contained no support for dissemination activities. In 1998, however, the Soros Foundation will translate portions of the course plan into Russian for inclusion in a forthcoming book that will be used for teacher training and distributed within their network of National Foundations in twenty-four countries.

Professional development schools (PDS). Our most recent and successful efforts at preservice teacher education have been initiated as a result of EDCP's participation in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. Since 1995, we have focused our annual exchange activities on strengthening preservice teacher education. This initiative draws upon two streams of work by the EDCP partners. In the United States, The Ohio State University's College of Education has pioneered new approaches to preservice teacher education based on school-university collaboration. This approach, called the professional development school (PDS), involves master classroom teachers as true partners with university faculty in the preparation of future teachers.[59]

One outcome of the collaboration between university professors and classroom teachers through professional development schools has been an emphasis on the integration of theory and practice in preparing future civic education teachers. This focus offers an interesting model for Polish teacher education as well. The exchanges completed to date have involved teams of Polish teachers and teacher educators working with American counterparts from The Ohio State University to plan projects that would, for the first time in Poland, have master teachers working with university educators on teacher education. As part of this effort, exchange participants have also planned and conducted in Poland two international conferences on "Teacher Education for Democracy" in which teacher educators from the major universities and pedagogical institutes across Poland convened with Polish teachers and American colleagues to hear reports on fifteen Polish school-university partnership projects. Examples included university preservice teachers interacting with primary school students in one of the first ever "field-experience" methods courses in Poland and a team that used portfolio assessment for both their primary school and university level students.

For EDCP's 1997–98 Civitas exchange, Polish and American master teachers are working collaboratively to develop Polish and English versions of the *Handbook for Teaching Methods for Democratic Classrooms*. The handbook will center around "how-to-do-it" chapters that address specific active teaching methods including role-plays, simulations, discussion and debates, cooperative learning, and civic participation.

Civic Participation Projects

A growing literature in social studies education on service learning is calling renewed attention to the time-honored notion that students can derive great benefits from direct participation in civic activities.[9] EDCP and CCE have established three projects that involve students directly in civic participation activities.

Civis Polonus: A close-up look at Polish politics and government. Several members of the Polish team who developed EDCP's primary school civics course have worked with Polish educators and politicians to create a program that brings students and their teachers from across Poland to Warsaw annually to meet government leaders and observe political activities first-hand.[10] A first for Poland, *Civis Polonus* (Polish Citizen) is modeled on programs like those conducted by the Close-Up Foundation in the United States. The first program took place in July 1994 with students engaging in discussions with policy-makers, visiting key institutions of national government, and participating in a simulation on the role of the Polish Senate.[11]

Young People Vote. CCE established this program to get students more involved in the nation's elections and to express their views on crucial public issues. "Young People Vote" was inspired by the American Program "Kids Voting."[4] The CCE program has two components: educational and practical. Before actual elections, the program teaches lessons that emphasize voter participation and the citizen's role in presidential, parliamentary, and local elections. It also organizes national, regional, and local youth committees that conduct parallel electoral activities for students at elementary and secondary schools on the candidates in state elections. The students administer the election, tally the votes, and report the results to the National Youth Electoral Committee. The results of the student elections are reported in the national press with the results from the actual state elections.

In the Polish presidential election of 1995, CCE involved 32,000 students from approximately 300 schools in nationally recognized mock elections. In conjunction with Poland's September 1997 parliamentary elections, more than 200 schools with 40,000 students participated in mock parliamentary elections. In addition, during Poland's 1997 constitutional referendum, CCE organized a series of three constitutional debates in secondary schools across the nation culminating in a national referendum for youth on "Should the new constitution be adopted?"

Mock trial program. In cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Justice, CCE is developing a mock trial competition designed to increase students' knowledge of the law and legal procedures. The program is patterned after similar programs in the United States with competitions occurring at the local school, regional, and national levels. The 1997 competition involved thirty schools and three hundred students with the regional and national finals taking place in courthouses with Polish judges presiding.

"The River Speaks" project. As part of EDCP participation in Civitas, we are pilot-testing in 1998 a project in which middle school and secondary school students collect and analyze data on the history, environmental condition, and future of a river in their community and communicate the results of their work to policy makers in public forums. This interdisciplinary project links teachers to social studies, science, the arts (for example, through botanical drawings and photography), and writing in order to develop students' environmental literacy and ability to analyze and take action with respect to a complex public issue. Teachers and their students in sixteen Polish and seven Lithuanian schools will collaborate with two Columbus, Ohio, schools to develop plans for their research and share information about results through e-mail and a project website.

Training for local government officials. The decentralization of education in Poland is creating new relationships between local governments, parents, and their schools as well as a significant opportunity to promote civic education and school reform. There are 2,500 local governments in Poland and each is governed by a council composed of locally elected officials. Each council, in turn, has an Education Commission composed of selected council members. The Education Commission prepares school budgets for approval by the council. The executive arm of the local governments consists of a mayor or president (in large cities) or an executive in villages. These officials are appointed by the council.

EDCP is conducting a project to design, field-test, and conduct several workshops on "Governing Schools in a Democratic Society" for local government officials across Poland.[45] These workshops will test training materials developed by CCE staff working closely with local government officials from several test sites as well as with Polish experts on local government. The workshops aim to teach local officials how to develop new education policies that apply democratic principles to organizing and operating the schools in their jurisdiction. The Ohio State University is providing access to the American experience with school governance through technical assistance in project design, American consultants for key events in Poland, and training activities in the United States for the Polish leaders of the project. We hope this project will lead to a continuing, self-supporting training program that will insure local resources are committed to the implementation of the primary and secondary school civics courses and simultaneously promote a climate hospitable to civic education for democracy in Polish schools.

Assessment of Project Effectiveness and Impact

Assessing the impact of long-term, cross-cultural civic education development projects is a complex task involving a wide range of questions.[46]

- To what extent does the program promote the national interests (to the degree they can be identified) of the countries involved?
- Has the program attained the goals of the funders?
- Has the program achieved its own stated goals and objectives (which may or may not be coterminous with those of funders)?
- How has the program affected the lives and careers of the participants, including those conducting the program?
- What kind of positive or negative unintended consequences has the program had?
- To what extent do the program's curriculum and professional development components meet criteria for effective teaching and learning established in educational research?

- To what extent has the program affected outcomes defined as important by civic educators?
- To what degree has the program affected variables identified as important by social scientists doing research on political attitudes, participation, and socialization?

Useful and fair assessments will define clearly which questions they are addressing, will employ appropriate measurement strategies, and will be careful not to draw conclusions about program effectiveness beyond the questions identified or examined.[46]

Assessment also costs money. To date, we have been unable to identify a funder willing or able to provide support for systematic, continuing assessment of program effectiveness. However, all EDCP projects include, to the extent funds allow (and sometimes beyond), various evaluations of specific project activities such as workshops and seminars. In addition, EDCP leaders, staff, and consultants regularly consider the programs evolution in terms of questions such as those noted above. We conclude with some brief observations on the effect of EDCP in terms of its previously noted goals.

Impact on political socialization. We have been able to make a modest attempt to examine the effect of EDCP activities, particularly the primary school course, on variables of interest to political socialization researchers.[47] Activities have included an analysis of existing Polish data sets on political socialization in conjunction with a survey of a sample of teachers and students using the EDCP primary school civics course. The results of this work indicate that

> Students' engagement in democratic games and market simulations, as well as intensive discussion of democratic and market principles, produced more moderate support of these principles than did much less active participation characteristic of the traditional curriculum.[48]

Network of civic education leaders. One goal of EDCP is to enhance the capacity of Polish educators to develop their own civic education programs in the future. Introducing civic education for democracy into schools depends, in part, on whether there are people within the educational system who possess the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes—including a strong personal commitment to educational reform. As different EDCP projects were successfully completed, an informal but extensive national network of Polish "civic education leaders" has been developed. These have been typically teachers and teacher educators who have acquired new knowledge and skills as a result of taking on significant, often leadership, roles in EDCP projects. Basic competencies acquired by these individuals include knowledge and understanding of civic education, the ability to design educational materials and prepare

lessons, and the ability to organize and run professional development workshops for teachers, teacher education, and local government officials. In addition, although management training has not been an explicit goal of EDCP, developing such skills has occurred naturally through experience and in the course of close collaboration with American colleagues. Polish participants have become familiar with the organizational procedures introduced by the Americans and gradually learned to use similar procedures themselves. The process has allowed them to learn a great deal about international cooperation, draft project proposals for potential sponsors, generate budgets, and account for project funds.

Over time the growing number of EDCP projects and the many tasks associated with completing each project led to the establishment of a variety of formal relationships between participants, consultants, project coordinators, and CCE staff. At the same time, informal relationships were formed, binding the new Polish civic education leaders to each other and to other teachers. This synergistic process of creating networks of people connected with civic education and the continuing acquisition of new skills by the members of this group may be one of EDCP's most important achievements.

Trust among international partners. Another long-term goal of EDCP is to build strong linkages between American and Polish civic educators. The indispensable foundation for such linkages is trust. The successful completion of EDCP's original projects promoted the development of deep, very strong levels of mutual trust between the Americans and Poles involved. Such trust does not come automatically in cross-cultural civic education projects.

In post-1989 Poland, for instance, the view prevailed that, despite real appreciation for foreign aid, much of the expert advice and consultations offered by Western specialists were of dubious value. In a few cases, in fact, reports developed by Western experts were overly simplistic, and time-consuming contacts with such specialists failed to produce valuable results for Poland. According to the stereotype that soon developed, it was the intention of the foreign "helpers" to make money on "naïve" and "incompetent" Poles.

A key reason for the development of trust in EDCP has been open communication that allowed Poles and Americans to identify those areas in which the Poles were competent to act independently, and those areas in which they wanted suggestions or training from foreign advisers. Receptivity by American participants to the Poles' judgments in this regard proved very important, as did EDCP's strategy wherein the Poles created the principal materials of the project and the Americans assumed consulting and collegial roles.

Acceptance from Polish educators. EDCP projects have gained approval in teacher and academic circles in Poland. All of EDCP's instructional materials have been teacher-oriented and have been developed by teachers with assistance from scholars and other civic education specialists. This focus is based on the assumption that any real changes in Polish education must start with teachers and, ultimately, only teachers can insure new ideas are used in the classroom.

The practical nature of the instructional materials developed by their peers and the widespread use of interactive teaching strategies in those materials have been of particular importance to Polish teachers. Although some have found it difficult to adjust to interactive methods, for Polish teachers such materials have numerous advantages over the curricula traditionally developed by academics. For example, a survey of three hundred teachers using the primary school civics course recently conducted for the Ministry of Education found,

> The main feature[s] of [the] . . . lessons' popularity are the methods in which they are conducted which are different from other traditional methods. About 40 percent of teachers have stressed that the new methods have a particularly stimulating effect on weak students whose participation in traditional classes is usually poor.[9]

Eliciting a positive reaction from certain members of the Polish academic circles initially proved much more difficult. Although most scholars expressed their unswerving support for the project, contributing to it in numerous ways, some felt slighted and threatened by the fact that the effort was oriented more towards teachers rather than towards them. Most academics regarded the process of curriculum design as falling within their domain. Some were also critical of the participation by American experts instead of Polish specialists. Getting Polish academics involved in EDCP as consultants to professional development workshops and seminars and as reviewers of instructional materials has proved very successful in insuring their voice is part of the civic education process. Ultimately, the quality of the materials produced and the Polish perspective reflected in those materials have gained the support of academics. Widespread acceptance of the new materials by scholars and teachers has contributed significantly to EDCP's goal of fostering a continuing dialogue among Polish teachers, educational leaders, and scholars on democratic civic education.

Impact on National Education Policy. EDCP's most ambitious goal is to institutionalize civic education in all schools in Poland. Given the decentralization of education noted earlier, EDCP's work with local governments across Poland represents a major step towards reaching that goal. This initiative has been reinforced by CCE's efforts to simultaneously promote civic education through new national level policies. These efforts

culminated on May 15, 1997, when the Ministry of Education adopted a new core curriculum plan for general education in primary and secondary schools. This plan includes, for the first time, civic education as a required academic subject at all grade levels equal to other academic subjects such as math and science. While maintaining their newly won autonomy, all Polish schools must insure their local curriculum fits within the ministry's new core curriculum guidelines by the year 2000.

In October 1996 the Committee on Education, Science, and Technical Guidance of the Polish Parliament held special hearings on civic education. Because of the work of EDCP and CCE in civic education since 1991, Jacek Strzemieczny was asked by the committee to testify and to draft an opinion that would form the basis of the hearings. As a result, on November 5, 1996, the committee published a formal "Opinion" calling for the inclusion of civic education at all grade levels in the core curriculum. The committee states in part:

> After hearings and discussions of] the opinions of the Minister of National Education and Center for Citizenship Education experts, the Committee agrees that one of the main goals of the school education should be the preparation of youth for participation in procedures and institutions of a democratic state and for citizenship activity. In the Committee's opinion, accomplishment of such goals calls for changes in the hitherto existing educational policy. . . [T]he Committee recommends . . . organizing appropriate training for teachers in the field of civic education . . . including in the core curriculum for each school level the knowledge, skills, and educational experiences which students should acquire during their civic education at school.[v]

The Ministry of Education then asked CCE to establish a small working committee to develop the civic education curriculum requirements for the new core curriculum. The civic education component of the core curriculum set forth by the ministry in May 1997 was prepared by this working committee and is based on materials developed by CCE and EDCP, especially the goals, objectives, lessons, and teaching strategies embodied in the primary and secondary school civics courses described earlier. Writing in early 1998 about progress in civic education reform, Irena Dierzgowska, Deputy Minister of Education, referred to these materials and their impact:

> It is precisely in the face of such difficult challenges that the results of Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland . . . are so important. This collaborative effort produced excellent civic education programs and extensive educational materials which have been very well-received by educators. In addition, effective training seminars have been conducted as an integral part of curriculum and materials development. All of these achievements are part of the much needed response to the challenges faced by Polish society and its educational system.[vi]

Thus, the efforts and achievements of the project on Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland have been recognized.

NOTES

1. In the early years of EDCP, John J. Patrick served as the project's senior consultant and provided invaluable guidance on all aspects of our work.

2. Andrzej Janowski, "Specific Nature and Objectives of Civic Education in Poland: Analysis and Reflections," in Adam Fraczek, ed., *State and Perspectives of Citizenship Education in Poland* (Warsaw, Poland: University of Warsaw and Ministry of Education, 1997), 119.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Linz and Stepan explain that complete Soviet military domination in Poland was established only after the defeat of Polish resistance forces in the civil war of 1945–47. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 258.

6. Andrzej Korboński, "Po' .d" in Zoltan Barany and Ivan Volges, eds., *The Legacies of Communism in Eastern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 143–44

7. Ibid., 143. See also, Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* 256-92; Raymond Taras, *Consolidating Democracy in Poland* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), 206–12. Public virtue is defined and discussed in Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967), 31, 299–311. For civic education implications of the concept see Charles N. Quigley and Charles F. Bahmueller, eds., *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1991), 11–35.

8. Janowski, "Specific Nature and Objectives of Civic Education in Poland: Analysis and Reflections," 122.

9. Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz, "A Teacher Education Course: The School in Democratic Society" in Richard C. Remy and Jacek Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996), 94.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. "The Educational System Act," *Government Gazette of the Republic of Poland* 7 (September 1991): 425.

14. Peter Szebenyi, "Change in the Systems of Public Education in East Central Europe," *Comparative Education* 28 (November 1992): 21; Malak-Minkiewicz, "A Teacher Education Course: The School in Democratic Society," 95.

15. The vote was 52.7% for and 45.8% against with a turnout of 43%.

16. Tomasz Merta, "Rights and National Identity," (paper presented in Colloquium on Comparative Constitutionalism, The Ohio State University, Columbus, October 9-11, 1997), 11.

17. Alden W. Craddock, "A Cooperative Model for Aiding Post-Communist Societies," *Problems of Post-Communism* 44 (September/October 1997): 63.

18. Ibid.

19. Richard C. Remy, "Education for Democracy Project," a proposal from the Polish Ministry of National Education and the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University, (Columbus: Mershon Center, June 1991), 2–3.

20. Ibid., 16.

21. For more information on the reasons for creating CCE, see Jacek Strzemieczny, "Polish and American Collaboration through EDCP: Accomplishments from the Polish Perspective," in Richard C. Remy and Jacek Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996), 171.

22. For more information see, Philip J. VanFossen, Jacek Kowalski, and Richard C. Remy, "Establishing Polish Centers for Civic and Economic Education," in Remy and Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland*, 79–90.

23. Elliot W. Eisner, "A Development Agenda: Creative Curriculum Development and Practice," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 6 (Fall 1990): 67.

24. Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Projekt programu nauczania ksztalcenia obywatelskiego dla szkol podstawowych i srednich* [Proposed Civic Education Curriculum for Primary and Secondary Schools] (Warsaw: Centralny Osrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 1993); Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Projekt programu nauczania ksztalcenia obywatelskiego dla szkol podstawowych i srednich: przyklady scenariuszy lekcji* [Sample Lessons for Proposed Civic Education Curriculum for Primary and Secondary Schools] (Warsaw: Centralny Osrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 1993); Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Wybor tekstow pomocniczych dla nauczycieli ksztalcenia obywatelskiego* [Selected Supplementary Materials for Civic Education Teachers] (Warsaw: Centralny Osrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 1993).

25. Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Ksztalcenie obywatelskie: scenariusze lekcji* [Citizenship Education: Lesson Scenarios] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1997).

26. Strzemieczny, "Polish and American Collaboration through EDCP," 165.

27. Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Edukacja prawna i obywatelska: scenariusze lekcji dla szkol srednich, czesc pierwsza* [Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary Schools, Vol. 1] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1997); Pacewicz, Alicja, ed., *Edukacja prawna i obywatelska: scenariusze lekcji dla szkol srednich, czesc druga* [Law and Civic Education: Lesson Scenarios for Secondary Schools, Vol. 2] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, expected 1998).

28. For a complete description see, Richard C. Remy, "The Curriculum Seminar: A Strategy for Developing Instructional Materials," in Remy and Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland*, 165.

29. Radmila Dostalova, Bohuslav Dvorak, Vera Dvorak, Marie Homerova, and Kristina Vaclavikova, *Vychova k obcanstvi* [Education for Citizenship] (Prague: NS Svaboda, 1997).

30. Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Ksztalcenie obywatelskie: materialy pomocnicze* [Citizenship Education: Supplementary Materials] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1995); Pawel Spiewak, ed., *Konstytucjonalizm, Demokracja, Wolnosc* [Constitutionalism, Democracy, Freedom] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1996); Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Ksztalcenie obywatelskie: wybor tekstow dla nauczycieli* [Citizenship Education: Selected Readings for Teachers] (Warsaw:

Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1996); Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Kształcenie obywatelskie: materiały pomocnicze dla uczniów, część pierwsza* [Citizenship Education: Supplementary Materials for Students, Part I] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1997); Alicja Pacewicz, ed., *Kształcenie obywatelskie: materiały pomocnicze dla uczniów, część druga* [Citizenship Education: Supplementary Materials for Students, Part 2] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, expected 1998).

31. Tomasz Merta, et al., eds., *W stronę konstytucjonalizmu: ustrój, prawo, konstytucja na lekcjach historii* [Towards Constitutionalism: Political System, Law, Constitution for History Lessons] (Warsaw: Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1997).

32. This project was supported by the National Endowment for Democracy. For a full description see VanFossen, Kowalski, and Remy, "Establishing Polish Centers for Civic and Economic Education," in Remy and Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland*, 79-90.

33. The great success of the Warsaw Center was because of solid support from the National Inservice Teacher Training Center, *Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli*, an independent agency within the Polish system of teacher education overseen by the Ministry of Education and also because the co-directors had participated in EDCP from the very beginning and had spent nearly six months at The Ohio State University as members of the team of eight Polish teachers who developed EDCP's primary school civics course.

34. The National Endowment for Democracy, United States Information Agency, and the PHARE and Tacis Democracy Programme of the European Union have provided major support.

35. David S. Mason, *Revolution in East-Central Europe: The Rise and Fall of Communism and the Cold War* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992), 69.

36. Malak-Minkiewicz, "A Teacher Education Course," 96.

37. The Pew Charitable Trusts and United States Information Agency have provided major support.

38. The Pew Charitable Trusts provided support. For a full description of the course and its development, see Malak-Minkiewicz, "A Teacher Education Course: The School in Democratic Society'" and Gregory Hamot, "The Role of Cross-Cultural Experience in Developing a Teacher Education Course," in Remy and Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland*, 110-24.

39. Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Schools: Principles for the Design of Professional Development Schools* (East Lansing, Michigan: Holmes Group, 1990); Linda Darling-Hammond, *Professional Development Schools: Schools for Developing a Profession* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1994).

40. Richard D. Lakes, *Youth Development and Critical Education: The Promise of Democratic Action*. (New York: SUNY Press, 1996); Carol Wiechman Maybach, "Investigating Urban Community Needs: Service Learning from a Social Justice Perspective," *Education and Urban Society* 28 (February 1996): 224–36; Mary A. Hepburn, "Service Learning in Civic Education: A Concept with Long, Sturdy Roots," *Theory Into Practice* 36 (Summer 1997): 136–42; Todd Clark, Marshall Croddy, William Hayes, and Susan Philips, "Service

Learning as Civic Participation," *Theory Into Practice* 36 (Summer 1997): 164–69.

41. Jacek Kowalski, Jacek Krolikowski, Tomasz Masny, and Cezary Trutkowski, *Civis Polonus: Propozycja Aktywnosci Obywatelskiej wsrod Mlodziezy,* [Civis Polonus: Proposal for the Civic Involvement of Youth] (Warsaw, Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, 1994).

42. The Mershon Center and United States Information Agency have provided partial support.

43. For a description of the program, contact Kids Voting, Inc., 398 South Mill Avenue, Suite 304, Tempe, Arizona, 85281. See also, Matthew Gandal and Chester E. Finn Jr. "Teaching Democracy," in Wayne Hall, ed., *Freedom Papers Series* (Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency, 1992), 6.

44. The United States Information Agency is providing support.

45. For a classic discussion of assessment in the social sciences see Harold D. Lasswell, *A Pre-View of Policy Sciences* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), 34–98.

46. See, for example, Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods,* (London: Sage Publications, 1990); Herbert J. Walberg, ed., *Evaluating Educational Performance* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1974).

47. Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Goldie Shabad, "Support for Democracy and a Market Economy among Polish Students, Teachers, and Parents," in Richard C. Remy and Jacek Strzemieczny, eds., *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996), 125–45.

48. Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Goldie Shabad, "Can Support for Democracy and the Market Be Learned in School? A Natural Experiment in Post-Communist Poland," The Ohio State University, December 1997, (unpublished paper), 21.

49. Marta Zahorska, "KOSS- -A Democratic Programme in an Authoritarian School: Evaluation of the Civic Education Project Commissioned by the Ministry of National Education," Educational Sociology Department, the Institute of Sociology, the University of Warsaw, December 1997, 6.

50. Expertise No. 11, The Committee of Education, Science, and Technical Development of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) to the Minister of National Education, 5 November 1996.

51. Letter to Penn Kemble, United States Information Agency, from Irena Dierzgowski, Polish Ministry of Education, 14 January, 1997.

CIVIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN HUNGARY

HELEN S. RIDLEY, BALAZS HIDVEGHI,
AND ANNETTE PITTS

Civic education is important to the development and maintenance of all governments, but in democratic systems it is critical that citizens understand and believe in the process, for they are the decision makers. In democratic systems, civic education represents a constant challenge to both established and emerging systems. In established democracies, each generation must be "re-infected" with the spirit and the understanding of the relationship between rights and responsibilities, freedom and license; the critical role of the citizen; the role of tolerance; the duty of participation; the meaning of limited government; the role of a free press, free speech, and freedom of religion, petition and assembly; and the requirements of due process. In established democracies such as the United States, democracy is a continuing process—never a "done deal"—it is an evolving process. "Can a people rule themselves and remain free?" This question is asked every day in many ways, and the answer has not always been "yes."

For newly emerging democratic nations, the question is no less complex. The magnitude of the problem for a nation such as Hungary is articulated by Gandal and Finn,

> Children in emerging democracies, having previously attended schools dedicated to ensuring that democratic ideas did not take root, can be expected to understand and prize democracy only if their education system is rapidly and thoroughly transformed. Yet where teachers and principals have not themselves lived in democracy, nor even been allowed to study it, and where textbooks and other instructional materials have been designed to suppress and undermine democratic ideas, such a transformation is an immense undertaking.

This "immense undertaking" is underway in Hungary. Contributing to the effort is the Hungary-Florida-Georgia Partnership in Civic Education—participants in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. The partnership represents a commitment by citizens and organizations in two nations who believe that, working together, their efforts will strengthen democracy in both Hungary and the United States of America. The context of civic education, the challenges and the principal approaches to civic education in Hungary, and the roles of the civic education partners are the topics of this article.

The end of communism in Hungary. Before 1956, because of the willingness of the Soviet leadership to interfere using military force, there was little opportunity for reform in any of the satellite nations. The revolution of 1956 in Hungary, however, brought about a softening of the dictatorial rule of that country. The ruling communist elite realized they had to ease the controls in order to restrain a populace that so strongly expressed its discontent with the Soviet-type political and economic systems. Modest economic reform began; a limited private sector re-emerged. Within the Warsaw Pact nations, Hungary began to be referred to by both fellow communists and Westerners as the "merriest barrack"—a term denoting the relatively liberal nature of Hungarian Communism.

Even so, central control was retained by the government. Politically, Hungary was, by all measures, a Soviet satellite. Ideology, however, gradually lost significance in the real life and operation of the Hungarian state. Citizens who were obliged in the 1950s to attend communist seminars at their workplaces and present short, written assignments (often about the latest party directive) were no longer harassed as they had been in the 1970s and 1980s. Although it was still an advantage to be a member of the Communist Party, those who chose not to join were not formally punished. However, there were repercussions; for example, advancement and promotion at the workplaces remained tightly linked to party membership. The diminishing power of ideology, of course, influenced the educational system, and it was especially noticeable in the arts and in social studies.

Civic education during communism. Whereas communists tried to forcefully educate people about ideology in the early 1950s, they took the opposite approach after 1956; they purposely ignored as many ideological matters as possible in an effort to avoid confrontational issues. The underlying attitude of the Kadar Administration (1956–1988) was to leave people alone and not interfere with their affairs as long as they did not question publicly the legitimacy of the communist system and did not stand up openly against the regime. This tacit agreement between the people and the government became the fundamental characteristic of post-1956 Hungary, and indeed was the cornerstone of the "merriest barrack" phenomenon.

Consequently, civic education during this period played an insignificant role at all levels of Hungarian education. Although teaching about liberal democratic principles was not allowed, teaching about communism was no longer a priority. University students continued to attend dry lectures about Marxism and Leninism—but these lectures were increasingly detached from the reality existing outside the auditoriums. These courses eventually were abandoned and instruction about citizenship in

higher education ended. At the primary schools and high schools there was a subject called "Social and Citizenship Knowledge" (one lesson per week in grades eight and then twelve) taught by history teachers. A standard textbook for the entire country was available. Needless to say, these classes, with few exceptions, ended up as an extra history class every week.

Although people in Communist Hungary were relieved that they were spared rigorous political indoctrination, the price they paid was the development of a pattern of non-participation and non-interest in public and state affairs. The legacy of non-involvement is one of the most difficult challenges democratic Hungary faces today, and it plays a role in the serious debate about the content and implementation of civic education.

The Transition in Hungary: 1989 to the Present

Following the first democratic parliamentary elections in the spring of 1990, the modernization of the educational system began. This paper cannot give a thorough analysis of this undertaking, but can discuss some aspects directly related to civic education.

The National Core Curriculum. Widespread consensus emerged after 1990 about the need for a new National Core Curriculum (NCC); there was less agreement, however, regarding its contents. The new political parties and their educational advisors debated the issue for several years. As Eva Foldes Travers notes:

> The fact that a new Public Education Act was not passed for three years after the first democratic elections, after numerous amendments had been suggested to it, and that a proposed National Core Curriculum, in its fifth draft since 1990, is still awaiting official approval of the Parliament, reflect the political discord that has affected the reform of the educational system during the early years of the democratic transition.[1]

The prolonged political debate about the NCC was not necessarily a bad thing. It did delay educational reform, but teachers and schools have used the time to adjust and react to the new frameworks. Although not always productive, the debate provided an opportunity for sophisticated academic dialogue about long-term components of Hungarian education.

The new NCC is an innovative document. In a country with a long-standing tradition of detailed and discipline-oriented education, it introduced a completely new academic approach. The document gives much more freedom and leaves important academic decisions to the schools and the individual teachers. Instead of talking about mathematics, history, or literature, it introduces the category of "cultural domains." These domains (ten in the last version of NCC) cover all important subjects that are recognized today, but do not specifically prescribe how each of these academic areas should be taught in schools. Also, the approach is multidisciplinary. The ten domains are loosely defined areas that all include

more than one existing subject. The NCC specifies basic content goals, developmental standards, and minimal levels of performance at certain age levels. However, how the ten domains should be translated into a specific school program or timetable is not stated. The NCC constitutes about one-half of the program of a school; the remaining fifty percent is to be determined and specified by the individual school and its teachers. As reported by Travers, "The goal [of the NCC] was to specify basic knowledge goals in broad domains at the national level and give authorities at the local level the power to determine specific school programs and choose curricular materials."[3] According to one observer, the thrust of the NCC is thoroughly democratic.

> The most important characteristic of the National Core Curriculum is that it breaks with the former one-sided ideological approach and allows the functioning of schools with different ideologies within the constitutional framework. . . . [S]pecial importance is attributed to education for respecting fundamental human rights, to preparation for a democratic individual and public life, and to the development of sensitiveness to the vital problems of humankind.[4]

Man and society. Civic education is included in the domain Man and Society as a sub-field labeled Societal and Civic Knowledge. This sub-field contains knowledge goals specific to civic education: understanding the democratic governmental systems, the election system, local government, Parliament, rights and responsibilities of citizens, human rights, and social problems. The inclusion of civic education in the NCC is significant because it assures that schools will have to find a way to include it in their programs, as required by law.

Challenges for the Emergence of Civic Education

Place in the curriculum. Perhaps the greatest difficulty related to civic education is that it has no long-established place in the curriculum. Consequently, it is difficult for advocates to add it to what are already crowded school programs. Teachers and principals committed to civic education often report that their efforts fail because of the strong opposition of their own colleagues in staff meetings where school curricula are developed. This reluctance has little to do with any political consideration; in fact, ideological opposition to the idea is so insignificant that it plays next to no role in these discussions. What matters, however, is the share of the curriculum each subject gets, and that is precisely why it is so difficult to realize any significant change, let alone introduce a new subject.

Teacher training. A significant obstacle to civic education, in addition to the lack of an established place in the curriculum, is the inadequacy of teacher training. (The two are, of course, interrelated.) Now that the old history curriculum has undergone drastic revision, the need for systemic teacher training in the field of civic education is clearly apparent. Indeed,

during the last two years, an increasing number of educators and educational managers recognized this need and spoke out in favor of it. Several inservice training courses for teachers were organized in the last few years to supply the necessary information, skills, and methodology for effective civic education teaching. Usually taught as weekend courses and seminars, these courses are playing an important role in facilitating the evolution of civic education programs in various schools. They, however, cannot substitute for the lack of substantive teacher training in civic education at the undergraduate level.

The new role of the teacher. Teaching civics and democracy clearly is a special task even for a well-qualified teacher. To do so in a newly established democracy, such as Hungary in the 1990s, with no clear curriculum and few if any resources or textbooks, is a challenging task. Consequently, one of the key issues civic educators must address is the training of the teacher.

Traditionally the Hungarian education system has been highly academic and discipline-oriented. This orientation is reflected in the very high academic requirements in grades nine through twelve (high school), and increasingly in grades seven and eight. This is a general phenomenon all across the countries of Europe, probably most visibly in Central Europe, and it partly explains the many Central European students among the winners of international academic competitions.

Given this environment and background, lecturing, correcting, and, in most cases conveying a scientifically correct and irrefutable answer has been, and remains, the norm for many teachers. With a prodigious amount of material to be covered, no significantly different methodologies have developed. Introducing fundamentally new and different information, concepts, and techniques into teacher training and teaching practice is an immense task. Especially in civic education, new techniques such as facilitating a debate, discussing political issues without indicating a subjective opinion, and indeed ending a class at times without a "correct" answer require skills and attitudes many teachers lack, having had no previous need to develop these skills. Fortunately, for the development of civic education, there are teachers who recognize a need for change and who look for ways to become better informed and trained. The success of inservice training initiatives over the past few years is a clear indication that many teachers are interested in learning both new content and pedagogy and in taking advantage of the opportunities that do exist.

The accessibility of higher education. Related to the rigorous academic requirements in high schools is the highly competitive nature of Hungarian higher education. About two-thirds of higher education applicants are rejected each year. Consequently, the last years of the public education

system are really about who will qualify for a university or college. Obviously, in such an environment, it is difficult to raise the prestige of subjects that are not required at the final exams (maturity examination at the end of high school) or at the entrance exams of higher education institutions; and civic education has not been required on these exams.

Three Models for Civic Education in Hungary

Three relatively autonomous projects have emerged since 1989 that indicate the direction civic education appears to be taking.

The Jo Polgar *approach (1993).* The *Jo Polgar* (Good Citizen) approach was the first serious project aimed at creating both an academic source book and a pool of committed educators and educational experts (researchers, academics, educational managers) with the exclusive goal to promote civic education in Hungary. With the help of several Hungarian educational researchers, a Fulbright fellow set up a center, the Joint Eastern Europe Center for Democratic Education and Governance. A series of workshops for teachers introduced and promoted the cause of education for democracy. A source book funded by the USIA entitled *A Jo Polgar* was published in 1994. The book was modeled on *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education,* a publication of the Center for Civic Education of the United States.[3] It is a collection of essays written by leading Hungarian academics and researchers, and in it various aspects of civil society are explained. Coverage of civic education in the source book is comprehensive. It includes an historical perspective, descriptive civic information, and a completely new component, civic skills and attitudes. The approach and structure of the book are also important as this publication served as the basic academic example for the creation of a Hungarian NGO (non-governmental organization), the *Jo Polgar.* The Joint Eastern European Center for Democratic Education and Governance continues to be active in Hungary today, mainly producing handbooks on topics related to education for democracy.

Key players in the activities of the center and in the creation of the *Good Citizen* source book decided at the end of 1994 to establish a NGO, the Civitas Association. In Hungary, it was the Civitas Association that won support for its project proposal from the American Council for Learned Societies, funded from The Pew Charitable Trusts, for three years for teacher-training activities in Central Europe. This formal organization provides an opportunity to further coordinate efforts in the field. It is essential to emphasize, in relation to this and other activities of the association, that the leaders of Civitas have always emphasized the need to build on the existing structures of the educational system, notably with teacher training. In line with this philosophy, the Civitas Association approached the five leading universities in the country (Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc,

Pecs, and Szeged) and, following painstaking negotiations and detailed arrangements, established programs at the teacher-training institutes of these universities. Funding for the programs is expected to be renewed. Several newly graduated teachers are now starting their careers with the joint certificate of their university and the Civitas Association, certifying that they have completed a specialized course in civic knowledge and skills. The long-term success of the teacher-training project will depend, to a great extent, on the willingness of the teacher-training institutes and their affiliated universities to adopt civic education as a permanent part of their programs.

Originally, a one-project organization, the Civitas Association has expanded its focus. It is a key participant in the evolution of Civitas International, a new international consortium for civic education. In that context, the association has become involved in an international exchange program and has sent and welcomed teachers and curriculum developers to and from the United States.

Modeled on the *We The People. . .* competition in the United States, the Civitas Association launched a national high school competition in Hungary in 1996, "Citizen in a Democracy," funded by the USIA and the United States Department of Education. It is important to note that the competition is uniquely Hungarian, both in terms of its developers and its contents. Now in its second year, with a steadily growing number of schools and students involved, the "Citizen in a Democracy" competition is an overwhelming success. Regarding the long-term survival of these and other projects, it is essential for Hungarian NGOs, like the two mentioned above, to secure domestic funding. Unfortunately, corporate philanthropy in Hungary is not comparable to American standards, but it is a trail NGOs must blaze in order to ensure their success.

The Szanticska *Project (1993).* The purpose of this program was "to involve students in socio-political and moral studies" not a part of their regular curriculum. It involved students in the history and redevelopment of a village that had been abandoned during the period of collectivization in Hungary. It is a type of service learning and also a response to people who believe that "authoritative textbook-centered teaching methods" are too prevalent. The project was not continued after the first class graduated but is seen as a possible model for future participatory involvement by students.[6]

The Isokolapogar *(School Citizen) Project.* The School Citizen initiative represents a particular aspect of civic education. The goal of the program is to increase democracy in schools and to promote students' rights. So-called "Days of Truth" are organized at schools where internal conflicts and disagreements are brought before a body of the school community

and some kind of a resolution is reached. The project has also included the translation of various children's rights documents.[7]

The lack of a clear definition. Different approaches to civic education enrich the subject both from a methodological and substantive point of view. However, the existence of numerous and diverse approaches poses problems. Without a clear and commonly accepted definition of what constitutes civic education, its integration into school curricula and university programs remains problematic especially when difficult decisions and compromises have to be reached at a faculty meeting of a high school, for example, about the allotted number of hours to which each subject is entitled.

Academic debate about the definition is most likely to continue. The fact that civic education does include elements of several scholarly fields (e.g., constitutionalism, history, communication skills), often in a comparative manner, is generally undisputed. The conclusions regarding the best way to teach it, however, vary considerably. Since the teaching of civic education in Hungarian schools will soon be mandated by law, the resolution of the issues of content and implementation is a high priority for proponents of civic education in the school curriculum.

The Partnership: Hungary-Florida-Georgia

A reciprocal relationship. Since 1995, a reciprocal relationship has evolved between Hungary's Civitas Association, the Florida Law-Related Education Association, Inc., Kennesaw State University, and *We the People . . .* Georgia. Florida is the primary site and Georgia the secondary site in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program. Making partners of these organizations led to an innovative exchange of civic education ideas, models, materials, and leaders. Gatekeepers of democracy from both the United States and Hungary have been actively engaged in the implementation of the program since its inception.

Although the institutional mechanisms for democracy were in place in Hungary before Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, the partnership contributes to the development of a strong civic infrastructure through civic education initiatives that focus on teachers and students. One of the tangible and more visible results of the partnership is the "Citizen in a Democracy" competition. Other activities of the partnership include teacher-training exchanges and seminars in core democratic values and human rights. Lessons for Hungarian and American classrooms exploring a variety of issues in the areas of constitutionalism, politics, and human rights, as well as core democratic values and economics, have been written. Collaboration between university faculty, education officials, and government leaders, as well as consultations

between NGOs, provide numerous opportunities for strengthening civic education in both nations.

The focus in 1998 extends to preservice education as delegates from Florida and Georgia will explore pedagogy and content in constitutionalism, politics, and human rights. A delegation of Civitas preservice teachers from Hungary will join university methods professors, constitutional law and political science faculty, and master teachers in this year's reciprocal program. Translation of curriculum materials, teacher training opportunities, assessment, and expansion of the "Citizen in a Democracy" program are also included in the current priorities for the third year of the partnership.

An example of partnership: Citizen in a Democracy—Polgar A Demokraciaban *Academic Competition.* A unique component of the Hungary-Florida-Georgia partnership has been the emphasis on student involvement in academic endeavors.

Civitas-Hungary officials, in the first year of the partnership, attended the Florida *We the People . . .* the Citizen and the Constitution Program as well as the program's national finals in Washington, D.C. A decision to create a simulation for Hungarian students was made by the Civitas delegates. In less than twelve months, a pilot "Citizen in a Democracy" was established. More than three hundred students participated in the regional programs. Required readings of five hundred plus pages were assigned including *The Good Citizen.* The performance-based model included readings, pre-election campaign speeches, written evaluations, parliamentary speeches, debates on constitutional issues, and a game modeled after Jeopardy.

Polgor A Demokraciaban (Citizen in a Democracy) brought together high school students from six regions throughout the country including teams from Szeged, Pecs, Budapest, and Debrecen, among others. Participating students represented both academic and vocational schools.

A highlight of the competition was a meeting of the delegates with president of the Republic, Arpad Goncz, at the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament. Each team introduced their members and told about their participation in the program. The students thanked Civitas in their presentations for furnishing them with a forum to develop and express their views on democracy and constitutional issues. When someone brought the president a glass of water, he asked the students, "Do you think this is democracy that only I get a glass of water?"

In closing, a student from one of the teams told the president, "Hungary can count on us." The president responded that he hoped Civitas would move all over the country and involve more youth. "Parliament is for the people," he said. "Learn to express yourself."

Training. Another unique element of the partnership is the opportunity for the Florida and Georgia participants to interact in the university-based Civitas regional training centers. Civitas-Hungary developed a series of civic education courses for preservice teachers. More than 150 preservice and inservice teachers were combined in classes at these centers. Practicing teachers (master civics teachers) are now becoming mentors to the preservice teachers. Civitas standards have been developed as a framework for university training programs in civic knowledge and skills. American teachers also presented lessons in conjunction with the Civitas Teachers Club workshops.

A host of training and related experiences are offered throughout Florida and Georgia including sessions at major universities on the American education systems, preservice education, distance learning, and classroom methodology. Direct classroom experiences or on-the-job training provides the most beneficial exposure to civic education in Florida, Georgia, and Hungary.

Conclusion

The student competition in Hungary illustrates how a successful partnership should work. Initial interest in an interactive national student contest for Hungarian students was sparked by observation of the American *We the People. . .* program. The idea took root in the fertile civic education climate in Hungary and produced, not an American clone, but a program that meets the needs of Hungarian students and teachers, a program that is distinctly Hungarian. Hungarian educators are justly proud of their creation; and Americans have learned that there are many paths to the same end and appreciate the opportunities for collaboration with Hungary in developing relevant civic education programs.

Building a democracy is a complex process for countries that develop democratic practices and traditions over time and for countries that are just beginning the task. Concerns voiced by Hungarian educators early in the democratic transition in their country should be heeded in all democracies, no matter their stage of development:

> If we let democratic political socialization processes take their own spontaneous course, we may not be sure of the results, for this reason we must think thoroughly through how a democratic political education is to be implemented. This is not an impossible task. In democratic countries political education is part of the school curriculum.[8]

It is, however, necessary to remind ourselves that there is a difference between political education and political indoctrination—political indoctrination is the tool of a totalitarian state; political education is the tool of a democratic nation.

NOTES

1. Matthew Gandal and Chester E. Finn Jr., "Teaching Democracy," in Wayne Hall, ed., *Freedom Paper Series* (Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency, 1992).

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3. Ibid., 186.

4. Ibid., 186–87.

5. Charles N. Quigley and Charles F. Bahmueller, eds., *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1991).

6. Eva Foldes Travers, op. cit., 203.

7. Ibid., 204.

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CIVIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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Since its inauguration in 1995, Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program has involved a vigorous partnership of civic education programs that h[a]s benefited both the Czech Republic and the states of their American [col]laborators. In this article we discuss some of the complex backgro[u]nd factors to this partnership in the Czech Republic, some of the civic edu[ca]tion projects underway in the country, and a program successf[ul] i[n]troduced into Czech civic education as a result of the American par[t]ners[h]ip. Finally, we discuss the effects of American involvement with civic education in the Czech Republic.

The Context of Civic Education Reform in the Czech Republic

Geographical factors. The context of civic education reform in the Czech Republic includes several geographical factors such as location of the Czech Republic at the heart of Europe and its relatively small territory and population compared with its larger neighbors (e.g. Germany and Poland).

Throughout its history the Czech nation has been at the intersection of the imposing ambitions of powerful states of the East (Russia/USSR) and West (Germany). As a result of foreign threats, invasion, and occupation, especially in the twentieth century, the self-confidence of the Czech nation suffered. For example, at Munich in 1938 the nation was betrayed by the two most important powers of Western Europe when Britain, supported by France, agreed to the takeover of Czech territory by Nazi Germany. Just thirty years later, in 1968, Soviet tanks rolled into Prague while NATO stood by and did nothing.

As a result of victimization by the international politics of larger nations, Czech political attitudes have sometimes revealed an inferiority complex, which has a negative influence on civic behavior. At the same time, however, the Czechs, having from ancient times been situated along the East-West trade routes of Europe, take pride in the rich cultural traditions developed as a consequence of their central geographical position.

Czech writers and composers have received accolades from the West; Antonin Dvorak's *New World Symphony* reached the moon via American astronauts. The historic center of the Czech capital, Prague, is the envy of Europe for having preserved centuries of superb architectural monuments. Thus, Czechs can, with reason, assert that if they are numerically small and geographically vulnerable, their cultural heritage is deep and rich.

Historical factors. In 1918 the democratic Czechoslovak Republic was established in the wake of World War I. Before this momentous time, the Czech and Slovak peoples were ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Habsburgs. During its twenty years of existence, the first Czechoslovakian republic exemplified ideas of government and civic education that were very similar to those in the United States. Here it is relevant to recall the relationship to the United States and to American ideas of democracy of the first Czechoslovak president, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, who held office from 1918 until 1935, and his successor Edward Benes.

The formal institutions of democracy arrived in the Czech nation after World War I, when Czechoslovakia was formed. The political alliance of the Czech and Slovak peoples followed Masaryk's trip to the United States, where he gained the support of Czech and Slovak leaders as expressed in the Pittsburgh Convention of May 1918 calling for the political union of the two peoples. Later that year Masaryk and Benes issued jointly from Washington, D.C. and Paris a "declaration of independence" from the Habsburg monarchy. A new constitution drafted in 1920, despite opposition by the German-speaking minority, placed the new Czechoslovakian state on a firmer footing and guaranteed democratic rights for all citizens.

Before the establishment of the new republic, traditional education included moral education, but not civic education *per se*, as befitted a non-democratic political order. In 1920, however, the new Czechoslovakian Republic introduced civic education as a school subject, viewing it as especially significant, the equivalent of religion. Still, by 1938, when it was interrupted by Nazi occupation followed by five decades of communism, civic education had not yet received the strong support of experts and the public. Given this background, it is not surprising that civic education currently has weak public support.

Civic education today is also affected by emphasis in the past on moral education. A civic education curriculum written shortly after the Velvet Revolution states that "[e]thics is not a special component of civic education as it forms an innate part of the whole subject."[1] Although ethical considerations have deep relevance to citizenship, an insight as old as Aristotle, educational traditionalism, especially in methods, may be a force against salutary innovation. The influence of tradition nevertheless

remains strong and true in Czech education, where civic education is defined as an integrative subject but is not taught in an integrative way, and new projects and changes that are arguably progressive are resisted as contrary to Czech tradition.

A further, and far-reaching, historical influence on Czech civic education today is the inheritance from the totalitarian regimes of the recent past. The post-World War II victory of communism in 1948 meant the forcible interruption of the free, democratic development of Czech society. The inheritance from the communist era is manifested in a wide range of behaviors and attitudes such as work habits, lack of initiative on the job in the absence of detailed instruction "from above," a feeling that the individual cannot contribute to change, a lack of interest in public life, public passivity, and, of particular relevance to the subject of this article, outdated teaching content and methods. Of course, these problems were not universal among Czechs. Many intellectuals, such as those in the Charter 77 movement, overtly rejected communist ideology and practices. And although the social sciences were polluted by Marxist-Leninist ideology, the "hard sciences" were free from indoctrination into the ideology and became a silently and broadly recognized zone of free thought. Moreover, by using certain metaphors in the arts, many Czech artists expressed dissident ideas.

Among the public there is general agreement on the excellence of the educational system in the Czech Republic. This perception is backed by the favorable results of Czech students' performances as measured in international studies and in foreign high schools and universities. Consequently, there is resistance to change; for example, there is reluctance to alter the emphasis in Czech education on authoritative transmission of knowledge (as opposed to critical thinking and inquiry), and polls indicate that Czechs do not consider education an urgent issue on the public agenda.[2]

Moreover, many fear a return of civic education as a form of indoctrination, as occurred continuously under communism; others fear inroads of ethical relativism from fashionable Western educational trends. At the same time, education is thought to be in a transitional period from a directed, vertical model of curricular policy to a liberal and participatory model.

The curriculum of the totalitarian past was uniform for all subjects. Moreover, the whole curriculum, but especially history and civics, was geared to the ideological aims of a communist society. After 1989, the system centrally directed mandatory curricula and textbooks, and schooling was modified in curricular matters. Thus, three basic programs are approved at present by the Ministry of Education; schools are to choose one program and may change up to 30 percent of the content.

Another feature of the recent past that continues to influence the present is the schools' task to prepare students to be subordinated, manipulated, and, in the socialist way, disciplined citizens. The demands of the new situation are inner discipline and commitments, not imposed ones; but most teachers are not educated for the new situation. Nevertheless, it is true that under communism many teachers attempted to teach according to their convictions and did not dogmatically fulfill curriculum objectives. This fact is a positive influence on the present. Finally, civic education cannot help but be affected by the break-up of Czechoslovakia in 1993 into separate Czech and Slovak states and the change in "national identity" that necessarily followed.

Sociocultural factors. A variety of sociocultural factors influence education in the Czech Republic today. First, there is the relative homogeneity of the Czech population. This means that the public has little experience with finding and implementing solutions to problems of minorities or with xenophobia and racism. Long apparent to the discerning citizen, warning clouds are now clearly on the horizon, and instances of nationalist extremism—most of them assaults on Romanis ("Gypsies")—are now more frequent and visible than was the case under communist autocracy.

Second, low unemployment means that there is often scant pressure for changing communist work habits, policies to increase productivity, and so on. Czech teachers have often fallen into this mold. Czech observers believe that too many teachers do not work very hard and are not interested in their professional development; low unemployment means that teachers are not under pressure to improve themselves. There are, however, many innovative teachers. Others believe that teachers are interested in high quality teaching but are handicapped by an education oriented to facts and their transmission and lacking in leadership training. Moreover, no economic incentives are offered for the considerable effort needed for continuing professional development, no promotion after inservice training and no reward for extra effort. Moreover, with salaries relatively low, the best teachers leave the profession for other more lucrative positions.

Third, decentralization in the management of the education system has resulted in the delegation of decision-making powers to municipalities, schools, and their directors. But if there is a distrust of centralization, there is also lack of experience in self-direction among regions, lack of leading personalities, and a lack of interest in civic life. Schools wish to be more independent of the ministry but find it difficult to take advantage of independence to increase educational quality.

Political factors. There is a lack of public interest in education. As already noted, the Czech population is satisfied with the nation's education

system and therefore sees no urgent need to reform it. Moreover, the public lacks an understanding of the necessity of civic education, especially in light of a general discrediting of the very idea of civic education by the experience of communism. Under communism, "civic education" meant indoctrination of state propaganda; this stigma weighs heavily on civic education today. A recent survey of public opinion found that only 18 percent of a nationally representative sample of Czech respondents think that civics is an essential school subject.[3] Added to a general distrust of civic education among the public is a distrust of the influence of foreigners, however well meaning, including Americans. This distrust often entails the rejection of foreign educational models, including civic education models and new pedagogical methods of foreign origin.

Forces For and Against Democratic Civic Education Reform

The situation is complex in the Czech Republic with regard to the possibility of reform. One factor is that Czech political culture is highly legalistic. Only what exists through law, or is backed by law, is recognized. Hence the crucial importance of the legislative framework for almost any important education reform. At the same time, any lags or gaps in legislation often make reforms and change impossible.

Against this background, negative and positive forces for reform can be discussed. One significant fact is that Czech public opinion believes that the Czech education system is quite good and requires no overall reform. Moreover, the public does not understand the importance of civic education. Parents expect schools to equip their children with knowledge and most ask schools to develop disciplined individuals. They do not ask schools to make citizens of their children. Most parents expect the school to concentrate on its cognitive tasks and have little understanding for teachers who opt for a broader approach aimed at the full development of the child's personality. Finally, parents tend not to be involved in the school life of their children.

As a result of these circumstances, civic education is not a high priority item on the agenda of Czech political parties, nor is the subject of interest to the communications media. Civic education projects are seldom part of a real and comprehensive educational program. Instead, they often reduce the potential richness of civic education to only one dimension—the purely political one, ignoring the wider range of civil society.

Since the formal qualification for teaching civics before 1989 is no longer valid, and since teaching this subject is not particularly popular, civics teachers are missing from many Czech basic (grades one through nine) schools. Therefore, civics is usually taught by homeroom teachers rather than by specially trained teachers. This fact is evidence that school

principals do not see civic education as an important subject. Estimates report that at least 40 percent of civics classes are taught in this manner. Moreover, efforts to retrain teachers in civic education face grave obstacles. Continuing education programs are deplorable; they lack co-ordination, direction, and quality control.

Other negative factors are that teachers are not well-prepared for the new challenges faced by schools in the democratic, pluralistic, advanced market-economy their country is becoming in the wake of the political changes of 1989.[4] To make matters worse, a majority of schools have been unable to produce significant curricular innovation, and they lack an information system about innovative projects and trends, external resources, and outside guidance.

Balanced against this bleak picture are positive factors. There is a strong movement for innovation among teachers and there are a growing number of innovative schools. Such innovation has been facilitated by a political decision, made after 1989, to end the former centralized, unitary, and mandatory curricula and textbooks. Instead, schools have been granted a degree of freedom, large by Czech standards, in curricular matters. Under the present sharing of responsibilities, the Education Ministry in Prague decides on 90 percent of the school subjects (civic education being one) and the schools decide on the other 10 percent. Within subjects, the ministry specifies 70 percent of the subject matter and the schools 30 percent. This degree of decentralization in the management of the education system has been achieved mainly by delegating decision-making power to municipalities, schools, and their directors.

Further, teachers in the Czech Republic have substantial preparation in certain subjects, though not in civics.[5] Many new civic education textbooks have been published since 1989, and there has been a de-politicization of education and training, as compared with the old communist regime, in which political doctrine was omnipresent and inescapable. Indeed, one powerful force for change is that the society rejects totally the curricula influenced by Marxism-Leninism and the dogmas of communism.

Still, changed practices and innovative approaches alone are not enough to profoundly transform Czech education. New value systems must be developed that embody the principles of a new society in the making. Schools still have a long way to go before reaching these goals. Values are absent from their programs, and there is no place for them in the philosophy of most teachers. On the contrary, in the wake of the rejection of communism, there is a widespread reluctance to engage in a fundamental overhaul of ideals and principles. Mistrust of the past undoubtedly plays a role in this rejection of anything resembling indoctrination, but perhaps the absence of values in schools is also due to the lack of a "societal project" commanding consensus.[6]

Key Civic Education Projects and Trends in the Czech Republic

After the fall of communism in 1989, the content and quality of civic education had to be changed considerably in all Czech schools. This change has brought new projects to all types of schools. The most important projects involve

- the democratization of the teaching process (the idea that democracy should not be taught by non-democratic means);
- civic education curricular frameworks and standards for teaching and learning;
- procedures for evaluating results achieved and the creation of evaluation standards;
- the democratization of the school environment;
- new textbooks and workbooks for students in various types of schools;
- inservice teacher training on general teaching methods, school management, and particular elements of civic education, such as conflict resolution, decision-making processes, and roles of citizens; and
- the general education of civics teachers in content and methodology, since civics is now taught by teachers who graduated in various social sciences rather than specifically in civics.

The PHARE Program. The project implemented by the Institute for Research and Development in Education of Charles University in Prague, within the PHARE Program, was of great overall importance. It is estimated that three hundred to four hundred teachers from throughout the Czech Republic were engaged in this project. As a result of the project, teachers' manuals and student textbooks for grades six to nine (middle school) were written, and seminars and workshops on the application of these written materials for the teachers were organized simultaneously. This project also included seminars and workshops for school directors and school boards that informed them about the changes occurring in civic education so that they were able and willing to support these changes. The project concluded with a national conference attended by nearly three hundred teachers as well as by notable individuals from the public and political life of the Czech Republic and guests from the Council of Europe.

Project on Civic Education for the Czech Republic (CECR). The Civic Education for the Czech Republic project, funded by the United States Information Agency, is jointly conducted by the Institute for Research and Development in Education, Charles University, Prague, and the University of Iowa College of Education. This project developed a teacher's manual and instructional materials (lessons and activities) for students (ages seventeen and eighteen) in the third form of secondary schools.

These materials provide systematic civic education for various types of secondary schools. This project concluded with the publication of instructional materials, workshops for teachers, a final conference, and dissemination of the project publications.[7]

The Civitas Partnership

The Civitas@Prague conference in June 1995, sponsored by the United States Information Agency, launched a partnership or consortium called Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, funded by the United States Department of Education in cooperation with the United States Information Agency. Civitas gives civic education leaders opportunities to learn from and assist each other in improving education for democracy in their respective nations. One of the partnerships developed through Civitas is between the Institute for Research and Development of Education at Charles University in Prague, the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California, and the Classroom Law Project in Portland, Oregon. Projects within this exchange include seminars for civic educators on the basic principles of constitutional democracy and its institutions; reciprocal visits by civic educators from the Czech Republic and the United States to schools, institutions of higher learning, and nonprofit organizations to observe exemplary programs in civics and government education; translations of American materials into Czech; contributions by Czech educators to a collection of lessons for American teachers; and development of curricular and teacher education programs.

A major curriculum and teacher training project launched in the Czech Republic in 1997 was *We the People . . .* Project Citizen. This program was translated and adapted for use in the Czech Republic from a program developed by the Center for Civic Education. Targeted at middle school children, it is a civic education program designed to foster the development of student interest in and ability to participate competently and responsibly in local and state government.[8] By the end of 1997, teacher training had been conducted, field testing had begun in schools, and approximately 1,100 copies of the Czech version of the materials were disseminated. Indicative of the project's success is that the most progressive schools have adopted this program.

Project Citizen exemplifies the teaching strategies and methods generally recognized by Czechs as innovative and democratic. Project Citizen is structured so that teachers are the guarantors of the project's method, not of the truth of it's findings, which lie in the hands of students who take responsibility for achieving objectives they authentically can claim as their own projects; teachers understand and acknowledge that neither they nor the textbooks are exclusive sources of information for students, who go into the community to research issues; and teachers

must rely on pupils' initiative to inquire, cooperate, and respond successfully to a publicly prominent civic problem in the community outside the classroom.

Several other salient features of Project Citizen are worth noting. First, students must use cooperative strategies, both within and among teams, in order to accomplish their aims. A positive attitude of interdependence is especially required within student teams. If the teams that compose a classroom compete among themselves, class performance as a whole suffers. The same is true on a smaller scale for individuals within each team. Second, students are both personally and collectively accountable in Project Citizen; the program's structure requires them to use and improve interpersonal and team skills. Third, Project Citizen fosters reflection by students and teachers on both the process of accomplishing goals and project results. Thus, both the students and the teacher improve understanding of essential components of cooperative behavior by practicing them. Finally, and most important, Project Citizen teaches children to become responsible and effective participants in civic life; it teaches them that their involvement is beneficial both to society as a whole and to themselves.

Project Citizen meets student needs to encounter the real world; students choose the topic that is interesting both to them and to the public--the problem is topical and socially relevant. Moreover, the program is interdisciplinary in that it connects civics, Czech language, and, almost always, mathematics, plus the relevant subject according to the problem selected. The project must be accomplished by teams, and students are responsible for the realization of the team object – it is *their* project. Further, the program is oriented toward a concrete result. A particularly valuable component of this project is that no feature of it is imposed upon the Czechs by their American partners. Quite the contrary, the teachers and students have been constantly challenged to suggest improvements.

In the early nineties the American projects in the Czech Republic could be described as attempts to implement American approaches, traditions, and experiences in Central Europe. In these circumstances, the projects could not be very successful. During 1995, Czech civic educators found that their American partners began to show greater respect for Czech cultural traditions and educational needs. American partners seemed to have acquired a better theoretical background to the problems of civic education in the Czech Republic. That is why recent projects have been much more successful.

Effects of Key Czech Civic Education Projects on American Civic Educators

American civic educators from California and Oregon involved in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program have been

eager to learn the perspectives of their Czech counterparts on the political history of the Czech Republic and how the Czechs are meeting the challenges of change. They benefit from learning about civic education in the Czech model and particularly value the opportunity to visit Czech schools.

One American educator pointed out that "it was very interesting as well to discover that many of the challenges we face as educators are the same . . . insufficient funding, the need to use different methods to reach today's students, [and] the difficulty many teachers have with the changes needed when adopting new methods or curriculum." Another educator believed that the exchange program "reaffirmed the commonality of mankind."

In California and Oregon educators who participated in the exchange program shared their experiences and impressions widely within their school districts. They have written articles about what they learned by hosting Czech educators. One elementary school class in Oregon has written letters to students in a Czech village.

The willingness of Americans to form partnerships with Czechs has been one factor in recent efforts by Czechs to refashion education for democracy after a decades-long hiatus under dictatorial rule. The aid of Americans was not always effective, however, because they tended to ignore Czech traditions and ideas in favor of their own. In the last several years, however, a willingness to achieve fuller partnership between American civic educators and their Czech counterparts has brought about the introduction of innovative programs that have given Czechs greater control of their implementation and at the same time have had an effect on their American partners. The continuing story of the Czech and American alliance for innovation in civic education is one of mutual learning by each about the cultural and historical experiences of the other. It may be an exacting process, but there are positive signs that such an alliance can be an effective force for establishing richer, more productive education for democratic citizenship in both countries.

NOTES

1. P. Pitha et al. for the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Czech Republic, *Curricula for the Sixth to Ninth Grades of Compulsory Education and Respective Grades of the Eight-year Secondary School Civic Education* (Prague: AVED, Czech Association for Audiovisual Education, 1991).

2. A comparative study of social attitudes from 1992–97 shows consistently that far less than a majority believe education to be an urgent social issue. See *Bulletin* (Prague: Public Opinion Research Institute, 1997).

3. *Reviews of National Policies for Education in the Czech Republic* (Paris: OECD, 1996), 135.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 124.

7. Gregory E. Hamot, *Civic Education in the Czech Republic: Curriculum Reform for Democratic Citizenship*, ERIC Digest, EDO-SO-97-5 (Bloomington, Indiana: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1997).

8. Charles N. Quigley et al. *We the People . . . Project Citizen* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1997).

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

PYOTR POLOZHEVETS, STEPHEN L. SCHECHTER, AND RIMMA PERELMUTER

The last presidential election represented an important watershed in Russian history, and though the future is uncertain, one thing is clear. The victory of Boris Yeltsin has proven to be a factor in the transition from the realities of authoritarianism to the possibilities of democracy. In that election, 40,000,000 citizens registered their votes for president and their desire to realize how to live in a non-authoritarian society based on a healthy respect for the rights of all members. Quite possibly, Russia has reached a turning point in its transition to democracy. Certainly, the preference for democracy as a way of life has been strengthened in the civil consciousness of the Russian people. If, to paraphrase Nobel prize winner Octavio Paz, democracy is a system in which people do not kill one another over political disagreements, then the last election provides further encouragement about Russia's transition to a democratic society. The fact that 30,000,000 votes were cast for Communist candidates, however, poses a serious issue for future political and economic stability that can complicate the process of democratic reform.

The Need for Civic Education Reform in Russia

Most Communist voters are members of the older generation, and their influence on the emerging democratic culture of young people can be substantial. Eighty percent of history and civics teachers are members of the older generation, and only 20 percent of social studies teachers take inservice courses where they have an opportunity to acquire new content and develop new teaching methods.

The school can become an ideal place for acquiring real experiences in democracy through lessons on equality, respect, and tolerance as well as exercises encouraging participation and the search for peaceful solutions to conflict. However, civic education for democracy depends on the willingness and capability of teachers to teach it. The paucity of new teaching methods and the persistence of old teaching principles and practices impede the successful development and dissemination of civic education in Russia.

Further, most adult citizens have had little or no experience living in an open society. This lack of democratic experience makes it difficult for parents to educate their children about life in their new society. It is, therefore, increasingly important that schools play a major role in providing members of the new generation with what they need to function effectively in a democratic society. It is a task that goes beyond resources, curriculum, and pedagogy. It requires helping Russia students to think in a whole new way; it requires the same of its teachers of civics.

Last year, the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Newspaper*) interviewed Russian teachers about civics and civic education. According to the results of this survey, 73 percent of Russian teachers said that the teacher should help students understand and analyze issues and events. Ninety-three percent believe that students need to obtain information on civics and government in schools, while 34 percent expect teachers themselves to be well educated on political issues. The majority of those interviewed, however, believe it is possible for every teacher to give lessons in civics; the only qualifications they believe teachers need to teach civics are interest and desire. There was no articulated concern about whether teachers are qualified to teach civics. The majority of interviewed teachers believe civics should be "taught in the early grades and studied properly."

Based on our analysis, one of the highest priorities facing the Russian educational system today is the need to recognize and develop civic education as a professional field of teacher education and an academic subject in the students' curriculum. This priority needs to be addressed in several interrelated ways: the formation of support by all levels of government from local to regional to federal; the development of civics standards; the acceptance of civic education by fellow teachers; recognition by the higher education community in the form of new preservice and inservice teacher education courses and programs on civic education; and the preparation of high-quality accessible teaching materials on civics and government.

International Cooperation in Meeting the Need for Civic Education Reform

To help meet their educational and professional needs, a group of Russian and American partners joined forces in 1995 to support the development of a nongovernmental professional association named the Russian Association for Civic Education (ACE). The formation of ACE is based on self-government and the role of grassroots organizations in this process; if we are to practice what we preach, the civic education community must build a critical mass of educators who will address their problems through self-help. Unless interested practitioners develop the tools and build capacity, civic education will not develop or flourish in Russia.

At each stage in its growth, and along each dimension of its development, ACE has made prudent use of international resources and partnerships.

Civitas@Russia is the American-Russian partnership in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, and it has six partners:

- the American Federation of Teachers Education Foundation (AFTEF) directed by David Dorn with the assistance of Joe Davis and Rimma Perelmuter in Washington, D.C. and Zhenya Belyakov in Moscow,
- the Council for Citizenship Education of Russell Sage College directed by Stephen L. Schechter,
- the School of Education of Boston University, a partner center directed by Robert Sperber with the assistance of Charles S. White,
- the Russian Association for Civic Education (ACE),
- the *Grazhdanin* (Citizen) Training Center directed by Jacov Sokolov (described in the next section), and
- the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Newspaper*) with Pyotr Polozhevets serving as editor in chief (described in the next section).

Learning Democracy, a Russian-Canadian project sponsored by the Canadian government and the University of Western Ontario and co-directed by Douglas Ray and Natalya Voskresenskaya, was one of the first international partners in civic education in Russia and has worked closely with many of the Russian educators who later played a central role in ACE.

Four non-Russian organizations have played a sustained role in this process:

The Council of Europe has its own civic education initiative in Russia under the direction of Ulrike Scholl and has undertaken projects both on its own and in cooperation with Civitas, working through the staff at its Strasbourg office and drawing on civic education specialists from such member countries as Austria, Belgium, and the United Kingdom.

The Maxwell School Project of Syracuse University directed by Joseph Julian was another early partner in civic education with *Grazhdanin* and regions such as Nizhny Novgorod and Bryansk.

The National Endowment for Democracy has played a significant role in funding two important ACE initiatives—*Grazhdanovedenie (Civic Education Supplement)* and the Student Olympiad in Civics.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) has provided assistance in the form of funding, expertise, and networking to various civic education programs in Russia including initiatives by AFTEF, the Sage Council, and Maxwell School undertaken outside the Civitas partnership yet in concert with it.

It is a truism worth noting that Russia is a very large and diverse country, and it stands to reason that its international partnerships must be commensurate in size and diversity yet somehow concerted if they are to have a significant effect on educational developments in Russia. The pop-

ulation of the Russian Federation is more than 148,000,000 people (nearly four times more than in Poland) spread over 6,600,000 square miles, which is nearly twice the size of the United States.

Russia today is an evolving federal system, and, as in most federal systems, education in general, and civic education in particular, are shared functions between the general government and constituent governments and often involve local governments. This arrangement further complicates the development of a new subject like civic education and a new professional association like ACE, especially so in Russia, where there are eighty-nine constituent member governments, including republics, oblasts, federal cities, and various other designations.

Exchange resources and opportunities most effectively used by the Civitas partners in support of ACE purposes have included:

- study institutes in the United States for Russian educators on themes mutually agreed upon by the partners for their future importance in the development of curriculum and teacher education projects;
- a recent study tour on strategic planning, membership recruitment, and organizational development for ACE staff;
- regular visits to Russia by American partners for the purposes of planning and participating in workshops and conferences;
- targeted visits to Russia by American teachers and specialists who have participated in curriculum development and teacher training workshops;
- collaborative projects in which a small American and Russian team get together in the United States or Russia to work intensively on a particular project, such as the production of the civics methods book, *The Active Classroom*;[1]
- translation of American civics materials including *The National Standards for Civics and Government*, *We the People. . .*, *Project Citizen*,[2] and the American readings for *The Active Classroom*; and
- conferences and workshops in Russia that bring together civic educators from various regions in Russia with American participants.

The partners have maintained constant contact by e-mail, supplemented by face-to-face meetings and telephone conversations involving bilingual staff on both sides, to determine exactly how a limited amount of exchange resources and opportunities could be best applied to particular needs.

The Origin and Development of ACE

In his *The Laws*, on the founding of polities, Plato observes "Well begun is half done." Polities that begin with a strategic location, essential resources, good laws, and good leaders are more than halfway down the

road to a viable future. This rule certainly applies to non-governmental organizations as well as polities, and there are few better examples in the world of civic education than ACE.

The seeds of ACE were sown in November 1994 when the American Federation of Teachers Educational Foundation and the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* held the first Russia-wide conference for Russian teachers of civics. Although numerous civic education initiatives were taking place throughout Russia, a basic lack of information stymied cooperation among them. The organizers of the conference felt it was crucial for Russian groups and civics teachers to learn from each others experiences, as well as to gain exposure to Western models.

As participants began to share information and experience, a certain momentum and consensus began to build. Several participants voiced the need for a national organization that could coordinate the regional efforts taking place throughout the country. Two of the major educational organizations in Russia—the *Grazhdanin* and the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*—stepped forward to take the lead in turning this expressed need into reality. In May 1995, these two organizations supported an independent group of concerned citizens (mainly civic educators) in their establishment of the Russian Association for Civic Education (ACE).

The *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, with a circulation of 200,000 individuals and schools, is a highly respected, independent Russian-language weekly newspaper devoted to the dissemination of information on education and educational reform. It was a major vehicle and voice for educational reform in the 1980s. Under the direction of its current editor in chief, Pyotr Polozhevets, the *gazeta* has continued that role in the 1990s as a voice for educational reform and vehicle of educational dissemination. It functions somewhat like the American weekly, *Education Week*. Every school in the Russian Federation gets a copy; and in remote areas, the newspaper is the sole source of information on new teaching techniques and education for democracy. The newspaper already addresses issues of democracy in society and within schools on a regular basis.

The *Grazhdanin* Training Center is a non-governmental organization that emerged following the fall of the Communist regime. *Grazhdanin* publishes textbooks and conducts inservice teacher training workshops for civics courses taught in grades five through nine. To date, *Grazhdanin* has published five textbooks covering a wide range of civics topics, including an introduction to human rights, free market economics, and principles of democratic governance. Specific chapters address such social issues as the rights and responsibilities of youth under the law; the prevention of drug, alcohol, and smoking abuse; and AIDS education.

In 1997, the Russian Ministry of Education officially recognized and recommended all five *Grazhdanin* textbooks. At present, they are used in sixty regions from Moscow to the Far East. Teachers have received

training in the use of these textbooks through 230 workshops. In all these ways, *Grazhdanin* plays an important role in developing civic education in Russia.

Over the past two years, the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* has provided ACE with already established methods of dissemination—the newspaper itself, a special civics supplement, and a web site discussed later in this article. The *gazeta* also provided ACE with a base of operations including office space and staff assistance. This continuing support has insured that ACE could begin its existence as a credible educational organization with a built-in membership base and dissemination vehicles.

Today, only two years after its creation, ACE has more than 9,800 members, including teachers, administrators, scholars, and journalists. ACE provides teachers, students, and parents with Russian and international information about civics through an extensive web site and a weekly newspaper supplement. ACE is developing a publications program of teaching materials including teacher guides, lesson plans, and a teaching methods book. ACE trains teachers and has conducted nearly two dozen teacher seminars in all parts of the country since 1995. ACE also involves parents and children in civic education through an annual Civics Olympiad for Students and other activities. ACE now has regional offices in the Greater Volga, the Urals, Tatarstan, Siberia, and the Russian Far East.

ACE Governance and Organization

ACE is governed by a board of directors elected to two-year terms. Most board members are civics teachers representing different regions of the country; however, the board also includes journalists and staff of inservice teacher education institutes.[3] Many members from the regions are involved in developing regional branch offices of ACE. Each September, the board meets to set its plans for the upcoming year.

In its two years of planning and organizational development, ACE has worked with its Civitas partners and selectively utilized Civitas resources. For example, ACE board members have received advanced training as participants in the annual Civitas institutes in the United States. Board members have returned to their home regions with ideas and materials for the development of regional ACE branches and teacher education workshops. They have also developed regional curricular and co-curricular projects, which are discussed elsewhere in this article.

Toward the end of the second year, in the summer of 1997, both ACE and Civitas reassessed the organizational development of ACE and their roles in the partnership. An important decision was made to dedicate Civitas resources to this process, which has resulted in significant initiatives.

Civitas funds have been used to hire ACE staff. The new executive director, Irina Dimova, will continue to work as deputy editor of the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta;* the new director of research and publications is Natalya Voskresenskaya, who also serves as vice president of ACE and continues to work as director of comparative education at the Russian Academy of Education.

In October 1997, Dimova and Voskresenskaya came to the United States for a two-week study tour on strategic planning and organizational development. They met counterpart staff at the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California; the New York State Council for the Social Studies and the Council for Citizenship Education in Albany, New York; and the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Federation of Teachers in Washington, D.C. The purpose of this tour was to share ideas and experiences in the areas of: strategic planning, membership recruitment, membership services, fund raising, public relations, program development, and publications.

The Dissemination of Information on Civic Education

Two early dissemination initiatives by the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* have proven to be essential in the development of ACE and civic education in Russia. The first was the development of a specialized web site; the second, a special civic education supplement to the *gazeta*. Each is discussed below.

REDLINE. The success of democratic change in Russia depends, in part, on the development of a technological capacity and culture that will enable the free and open flow of information directly among individuals and institutions without the need for government as the sole source of that information. Nowhere is this more important than in the educational system where teachers need to learn new information technologies in order to better organize educational processes; teach students to gather, process, and apply information; and become part of the worldwide network.

In 1994, the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* and the Russian Ministry of Education founded an educational telecommunications network, the Russian Educational Line, known as REDLINE. This network provides Russian educators with Internet services and resources (including e-mail, fax, USENET, WWW, gopher, telnet, FTP, talk, IRC, etc.). These services have helped to create a nationwide information database, "All in Education," which includes information on Russian schools and educational organizations, biographies, bibliographies, an index of major educational journals, material on teaching methods, educational laws, and more.

Within REDLINE, ACE has its own web site, "The Civic Russia," which can be accessed at *www.redline.ru/civicnet*. This site offers informa-

tion n the leading organizations and individuals involved in civic education in Russia, an index of books and other educational material on civics, and news and other information concerning civics. The Civicnet Russia Home Page includes links to the Civnet Web Server, the National Endowment for Democracy Web Server, and to other sites containing information on civics.

Civic Education Supplement. In 1996, with the financial support of the National Endowment for Democracy, the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* began publication of *Grazhdanovedenie (Civic Education Supplement)*—a weekly supplement devoted to civic education. Subscription to the supplement is independent of the *gazeta*, and a supplement subscription entitles the subscriber to ACE membership. Today, the supplement has more than 9,800 individual subscribers who are concurrently members of ACE.

The purpose of the supplement is threefold: to acquaint teachers with new civics curricula, textbooks, teaching methods, assessment practices, and inservice training opportunities; to conduct opinion surveys of teachers; and to provide a forum where civic education teachers and specialists can share their ideas, best practices, and new resources, including those gained from international exchange programs such as Civitas. In this way, the supplement provides a wonderful opportunity for educators participating in Civitas exchanges to share a wide range of information from personal impressions to formal educational techniques. The *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* promotes the supplement in every issue with a content summary of the next issue and instructions on how to subscribe. The supplement is also available on the web site to Internet users and was disseminated at forty-three seminars of civics teachers in Yekaterinburg, Ryazan, Moscow City and Region, Alma-Ata, Astrakhan, and other regions.

Examples of regular features in the supplement include practical information about elections, legislation, human rights, and tolerance that teachers can use in their lessons; announcements and reviews of newly published and forthcoming materials on civics; articles on teaching methods such as simulation and role playing; regional programs in civic education; foreign material on civic education; supplementary materials that can be used in extracurricular activities; and reference information including a listing of organizations that award educational grants in the areas of civics, democracy, human rights, and tolerance education.

Letters from readers provide an opportunity for feedback including a better understanding of which materials arouse special interest among supplement readers. For example, School 11 in Odintsovo, Moscow Region, is a federal experimental site for the teaching of human rights. Their teachers recently wrote:

> *Grazhdanovedenie* helps us to improve our existing curriculum and to develop new courses connected not only to human rights but also to relations between people. The materials published in the supplement . . . are very important since they acquaint us with what is going on in civic education. We hope *Grazhdanovedenie* will remain as interesting and useful as it is now.

Teachers and students from School 16 in Pavlov Posad, Moscow Region, write that the supplement is very popular in their school. They use articles, lesson plans, and other materials in courses in civic education, history, literature, and geography. They conduct debates, discussions, and roundtables based on articles in the supplement. They also reprint them in their school newspaper.

Maria Komieva, the principal of Moscow School 199, offered this evaluation of the practical need for the supplement:

> In most schools in the Russian Federation, civic education is a part or a whole course in such subjects as "Man and Society," "Foundations of Civilization," "Law," "Civics," "Human Rights," or "The Constitution of the Russian Federation." Schools decide themselves which issues connected with studying human rights, democracy, government, etc., should be included in the teaching process at different stages. Lacking a national definition of civic education, standards, and applications contributes to the difficulty in working in all regions.

Development of national standards. Mindful of the need for the development of national standards in Russia, the *Grazhdanovedenie* editorial board decided to publish the first Russian translation of the American *National Standards for Civics and Government.*[4] Russian readers enthusiastically reviewed these American civics standards and suggested that they be published as a separate book. Additionally, this translation of American civics standards is already part of a beginning national discussion on the development of Russian standards for civics. Former Minister of Education Eugeny Tkachenko said at a meeting in the ministry, "American Standards have become a good impulse for the search of our own way." American civics standards in Russian and in English can now be accessed through RFDLINE.

Curriculum Development and Teacher Education Projects

The Elections Project. In June 1995, ACE and the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*—in cooperation with the Council of Europe and with the assistance of Civitas partners (AFTEE and the Sage Council)—initiated their first curriculum project for Russian secondary school educators. Mindful of the impending Duma and presidential elections, the project focused on Elections in Democratic Societies in an effort to prepare teachers to teach about the forthcoming elections.

The project involved three stages: development of a draft teacher guide; field testing, revising, and publishing the guide; and disseminating the guide and providing training to teachers to use the guide through a

series of workshops. This multi-stage approach has served as one of several models for future projects. Especially important is the commitment to develop curricula that draw on the combined expertise of an international team composed of practicing teachers and curriculum specialists; expand the circle of highly involved teachers through field testing and independent reviews, which also serve to improve the quality and accessibility of the material; publish the material as a vehicle for professional development as well as curriculum development through teacher workshops; and view those workshops as a way to engage regional branches of ACE in various parts of the country with programs that can be used to widen their own membership bases.

The first stage of the elections project began in August 1995 with a curriculum development workshop held in Moscow under the auspices of the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*. The participants included a team of ten Russian educators with strong backgrounds in civic education and curriculum development. They were joined by five curriculum specialists from Canada, Europe, and the United States. The team reviewed international materials as well as Russian materials on teaching elections. At the workshop, participants blocked out a curriculum composed of four teaching modules related to various aspects of the electoral process in democratic societies. Over the next two months, the Russian team produced a draft curriculum for field testing in the form of a teacher guide.

In late October 1995, ACE began the field-test phase with a four-day conference co-sponsored by the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, Civitas, and the Council of Europe to prepare twenty teachers to test the project material in their classrooms. Teachers who were trained during this stage formed the core of a subsequent train-the-trainers program conducted in January 1996. Lessons were field tested during the Duma elections in December 1995.

After the elections, the field testers and curriculum writers gathered together to begin the third stage of the project. Twenty Russian educators were selected to revise the material and become teacher-trainers. Over the next two to three months, teacher trainers conducted several one-day, weekend training workshops for teachers who intended to use the material in conjunction with the presidential elections held in the summer of 1996. Since then, approximately one thousand teachers have received training in the material. Lesson modules with additional supplementary materials were published in special supplements to the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* and as a separate teacher guide.

The Elections Project is only one model of curriculum development and teacher education. It will be replicated next in the development of a curriculum for teaching "The Constitution of Russia in Comparative Perspective." This project will be completed during the third year of the Civitas partnership (1997–98). Other particularly important models and their results are briefly presented below.

The Active Classroom Project. The team-based model of curriculum development has also been used successfully to prepare a methods textbook that is intended for preservice and inservice teacher education in workshops and courses on teaching methods. Time after time, Civitas partners heard teachers bemoan the lack of high-quality training material on teaching methods. With the support of a USIA grant to AFTEE, supplemented by Civitas resources, Stephen L. Schechter was commissioned to edit a reader of American and Russian articles and lesson plans that introduced a wide range of methods for using traditional teaching techniques in conjunction with nontraditional methods (such as cooperative learning and simulation), primary source material, and alternative forms of assessment intended to help teachers develop an active civics classroom in which students have an opportunity to build higher-level thinking and communications skills while widening and deepening their knowledge of democracy.

International cooperation made possible the completion of this project. An international editorial advisory board was established; Natalya Voskresenskaya joined the project as co-editor; and Charles White of Boston University and Andrei Ioffe (an ACF vice president as well as a teacher of history and law at Gymnasium 16 in Mytischi, Moscow Region) joined the editorial team.[5]

The team communicated by fax, e-mail, and periodic short-term visits until it became apparent that the only way to complete the book would be for the team to steal away for a week so that team members could sit down together and dedicate themselves entirely to the project. This was accomplished in April 1996. A draft was prepared for field testing at the Tenth Annual *Grazhdanin* Conference for Civics Teachers held on the Black Sea in July. Three workshops were offered there by Stephen and Stephanie Schechter, Charles White, and Rosie Heffernan (a civics and history teacher at Our Lady of Lourdes School in Miami, Florida, whose class won the 1997 National *We the People . . .* Competition). Selected conference participants were also invited to review the draft. These and other reviews, along with workshop evaluations and the continuous feedback solicited from editorial advisory board members, were helpful in making the final revisions to the book. The next phase currently underway is the scheduling of inservice workshops and the identification and design of university courses where the book can be effectively used in teacher education.

A regional cornucopia. The Elections Project, the Constitution Project, and *The Active Classroom* are examples of team-based projects that are predetermined and planned as carefully as possible. At the same time, Civitas partners agreed that international exchange opportunities should also be provided for individual civics teachers, school administrators, and inservice institute staff who are active ACF members and educational leaders

in their regions and who could bring back ideas and resources for curriculum development and teacher education in their regions. Each year, beginning with Russia school vacation in late March, nine to ten regional educational leaders are selected through intense national competition to participate in a Civitas institute in the United States.

As noted earlier in this article in the section on ACE governance and organization, partners designed the institute programs and selected their participants with two goals in mind—there should be participant-driven organizational development of ACE regional branches and participant-driven curriculum development and teacher education programs in those regions. It is never clear in advance how effective participant-driven initiatives will be, but the partners were able to draw upon considerable shared experience on how to maximize the potential for effectiveness. And based on this experience, we focused on the selection of good participants, the demonstration of replicable projects, the provision of adequate resources for replication, the provision of opportunities for dissemination through *REDLINE* and the *Civic Education Supplement*, and sustained follow-through work with the participants on their return.

A full discussion of post-institute participant accomplishments in their regions would be beyond the scope of this article, but the following examples are illustrative: Natalya Kuzmina is currently writing a teachers' manual for the sixth-grade civics course; Elena Popova worked with Ms. Kuzmina in conducting a three-day training workshop for one hundred teachers from the Moscow Region; Galina Romanova from the city of Sizran in the Samara Region has been awarded a grant from the Eurasia Foundation to launch a local version of *Project Citizen* developed by the Center for Civic Education; Andrei Ioffe has designed an inservice program on civics for the Moscow Academy for Higher Qualifications, which provides annual retraining to nearly 1,500; and Sergei Olenin is exploring the possibility of developing a Youth Court in Tatarstan.

Greater Volga Project. Over the last two years, a growing consensus among Russia development experts has called for greater technical assistance outside of Moscow that focuses upon regional capacity building in areas such as economic development, democratization, and educational reform. In planning sessions with past Civitas@Russia participants, it became clear that many of the cities and regions that have been represented in our partnership are located along the Volga River. Three Civitas@Russia participants who attended the spring of 1997 United States Institute raised the possibility of an inter-regional Volga project as a way of gaining understanding and support for the teaching of civics. In the summer of 1997, our United States partnership held a meeting with nearly thirty participants from the Volga region to discus this prospect. After significant discussions of possible collaboration with Volga-based educators, it became apparent that there was strong interest in developing a

concentrated regional approach to civic education reform. Several of the cities in this Greater Volga region have been identified by both American foreign policy and educational specialists as linchpins to socioeconomic and political reform in Russia. In the education sphere, these regional governments have united into two alliances called the Greater Volga Association of Governors and the Greater Volga Association of Education Ministers. Together, they represent seventeen regions that contain 20 percent of Russia's population.[6] A Civitas delegation of Rimma Perelmuter (AFTEE), Stephen Schechter (Russell Sage), Galina Smirnova (ACE), and Jacov Sokolov (*Grazhdanin*) appeared before the September 1997 meeting of the Greater Volga Association and reached agreement with the ministers that a co-sponsored working conference would be convened to bring together civic education specialists from member regions and from Civitas partner organizations to assess regional needs and opportunities for international cooperation and exchange in the field of civic education.

The Greater Volga Working Conference was held in November 1997 and brought together civic education specialists from nearly a dozen member oblasts and republics along with three American specialists. The conference identified three priorities for future collaboration. The first of these will be the creation of a higher education partnership to develop and institutionalize model preservice programs in civic education at participating state universities, pedagogical universities, and pedagogical colleges in cooperation with regional inservice institutes and Civitas partners. The partnership will begin in the Nizhny Novgorod and Samara regions, which have both made significant progress in the development of such programs. In a second phase, those models will be disseminated to and shared with other regions that will be part of the process from its inception.

The second Greater Volga priority centers on the development of extracurricular and co-curricular activities specifically designed to stem the rising tide of drug abuse, school violence, and cynicism, which is one of the most serious negative developments in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Russia. A third priority is the development of a civic education curriculum for students in vocational training programs. As a next step, study tours are currently being organized for small teams of Russian educational specialists who would visit the United States for the purpose of gathering ideas and resources for the advancement of each of the three agreed-upon priorities.

The Student Olympiad in Civics

National student competitions can be an exciting way to engage both teachers and their students in subjects like civics and government. These activities can also be highly visible, which will draw public attention to

subjects like civics and government. Importantly, such activities can be an effective way to build higher-level thinking skills and improve communication skills. Equally important, there is reason to believe that students participating in such activities (especially those involving simulation and role playing) are more likely to retain what they have learned.'

With these goals in mind, ACE and the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* decided to hold Russia's first Student Olympiad in civics. The event was sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy and the *Grazhdanin* Training Center.

In the first round, students were invited to submit public policy essays addressing important social issues facing Russia today and recommending creative ideas for dealing with those issues. The student response was much greater than expected; 1,800 students submitted essays from sixty-eight regions. The quality of the essays was also a pleasant surprise. There was a high level of understanding of the use of original sources and historical examples and a convincingly articulate manner of presentation. Forty-five finalists were selected to participate in the second round.

In the second round, finalists were invited to a three-day competition in an attractive conference center outside of Moscow. Students were divided into three age groups. They first responded to a series of multiple choice questions on essential principles of democracy, founding documents such as the Russian Constitution, and historical questions.

During the third round, students were arranged by age group to make oral presentations on simulated or hypothetical situations. For example, students were asked to prepare a three-minute presidential address to the people of Russia. In another situation, students were asked to formulate a position in response to the slogan, "People need an iron hand." A third situation was a legislative role-playing activity in which students were asked what points would be emphasized in writing a law for youth.

All participants received diplomas, and winners were awarded a trip to Artek, a children's summer camp on the Black Sea. The first-place winner, an eleventh-grade student from the city of Ufay, received an exemption from entrance examinations and automatic admission to the prestigious Moscow Law School.

The olympiad did indeed re-energize the efforts of teachers and students while raising the visibility of civic education both nationally and regionally. As a sign of this, the Russian Ministry of Education has since approached ACE with a proposal for cooperation in the next olympiad.

Observations on the Impact of Civitas in the U.S.A.

What has been the effect of Civitas on the American side of the partnership? A classification of the effects follows.

Professional development. For those who have been pioneers in the field of international education and civics, Civitas has provided a welcome opportunity to apply their craft to a positive and constructive goal that would not have been possible ten years ago. Among the leaders of this effort has been AFTEE Since 1989, AFTEE has actively recruited and trained classroom teachers as overseas volunteer trainers. These relationships are sustaining and enduring; they have provided great momentum for the project and inspiration for individual teachers. One social studies teacher, Jeff Carroll, who received his undergraduate degree in Slavic and Russian Studies at Yale University, served as an AFTEE Volunteer Trainer in this project and has decided to pursue graduate work in this field. A second AFTEE trainer, Ken Sigas of Shaker High School in Colonie, New York, looks first to the humanistic benefits of the project, observing:

> The lessons to be learned are almost too many to be listed. First is humility. When one sees the obstacles that our colleagues face, the time we spend on trivial matters is embarrassing. Second is professionalism. Not all the American teachers I know are anything but very professional, but none of us has been forced to develop our professional ethos in relative isolation (and perhaps hostile circumstances) while coping with extremely trying societal conditions. Third would be hope in that one can't work with these dedicated and optimistic professionals without being reawakened to the potential within ourselves and our democratic institutions

Curriculum development. This dimension has not yet been a high priority in terms of reciprocal developments in the United States. However, like other Civitas partners, we participated in a Mershon Center project to develop a curriculum of lesson plans on Eastern European and Russian politics and government for use in American schools.

School exchanges. Participation in the ACE Civitas Elections Project brought together two veteran educators: Stephanie Schechter who is a social studies teacher at Iroquois Middle School in Niskayuna, New York; and Irina Ahkmetova, Vice Principal of School 199, a UNESCO-designated school in Moscow. Out of their professional friendship grew an exchange program between their two schools. The first step in that exchange was an International Youth Conference on Comparative Constitutional Change in Niskayuna, which brought a group of Russian students to this small American town for a week-long conference in March 1997. This event transformed the Niskayuna school community into an international conference site. Participating American students formed an exchange club in 1995 under Stephanie Schechter's guidance to plan and study for this event, and they involved their families, community, and school in making plans and in hosting their visitors.

Concluding Observations on Civic Education in Russia

One essential question has driven the work of the Civitas partnership in Russia, and it is probably not unlike the question that other Civitas

partnerships have faced. How can a small yet experienced group of American educators with limited funding join forces most effectively with Russian colleagues who are working for the long-term reform of their educational system and its civic education curriculum?

After much deliberation and experimentation, the partnership decided to follow an organizational approach that focused on the development of a viable professional association known as ACE. The future of democracy in Russia and elsewhere rests on the strength of a people's cultural and institutional capacity for self-help through self-government. And what better group than civic educators who teach democracy to demonstrate this great democratic principle by virtue of their good conduct and example?

When we began our efforts it was apparent that Russian educators were more inclined to address organizational challenges of process and structure and pedagogical methods than to tackle content issues. Active methods of instruction, from problem solving to decision making to role playing and simulation, have been enthusiastically embraced by civic education innovators in Russia. But the educational power of these methods has yet to be realized because they have not been married to substantial civics content. For most social studies teachers, civics is still probably defined most comfortably as an attitude that cuts across disciplines.

For some, there is the long shadow of an authoritarian past that still hampers most teachers' ability to take ownership of their classrooms. Are we—teachers and friends of liberty—now to make those decisions for everyone? Will the democratic content of our decisions somehow make the difference between our educational standards and the educational standards of the past? These questions haunt civic education reform in Russia.

For others, the current transitional situation is still too fluid to make uniform content choices where there are so many different curriculum advocates and so many new things to be learned. Here, civics, much like economics, is really quite different from other disciplines. Some have made *their* choices for their classes or schools or regions, and more often than not that choice at the middle school level has been for materials that are quite basic, relatively content free, and easily engage students in animated debate about their rights, their bodies, and their pocketbooks. Others have sought other material, or they are developing their own, or they are still searching for the right mix.

Within this environment, the development of a membership-based professional association—which happened to be supported by the largest teacher's newspaper and civics textbook publisher in Russia—appeared to be a sensible and constructive course of action that could be swiftly supported with much potential benefit, little opposition, and few impediments. The next few years will tell the tale whether or not we, the Civitas

partners, made the right choice for civic education and the future of democracy in Russia.

NOTES

1. Stephen L. Schechter and Natalya Voskresenskaya, eds., *The Active Classroom: Ideas and Practices for Teaching Civics in Russia* (Washington, D.C. and Moscow: American Federation of Teachers with the Russian Association for Civic Education, 1997).

2. These instructional materials have been published during the 1990s by the Center for Civic Education, directed by Charles N. Quigley at Calabasas, California.

3. Russia has a network of regional inservice teacher education institutes throughout the country alternatively known as pedagogical institutes, continuing education institutes, or enrichment institutes. These institutes offer courses for teachers who must be recertified every five years. These courses can provide teachers with enrichment or retraining opportunities. Regional institute staff are able to attend national conferences where they are able to share in new developments in content knowledge and teaching methods. This represents a powerful commitment to continuing professional development that is still beyond the reach of most state educational systems or local school districts in the United States.

4. Charles N. Quigley et al., *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1994).

5. Schechter and Voskresenskaya, op. cit.

6. This association represents the educational ministries of seventeen regions and republics along the Volga River from Nizhny Novgorod to Astrakhan comprising 20 percent of the population of Russia.

7. Janet Alleman and Jere Brophy, "Teaching That Lasts: College Students Reports of Learning Activities Experienced in Elementary School Social Studies," Parts I and II in Stephen L. Schechter and Stephanie A. Schechter, eds., *Social Science Record* (fall 1993 and spring 1994): 36-48 and 42-46, respectively.

A FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP: AN INTERNATIONAL PROJECT

CHARLES F. BAHMUELLER

Is it possible to develop an international cross-cultural consensus on the central meanings and character of the ideas, values, and institutions of democracy and which common elements of these ideas, values, and institutions should constitute education for democratic citizenship? A new project is attempting to answer this difficult and thorny question. Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Framework, administered by the Center for Civic Education, is an international project with a global reach—with advisors and critics from every inhabited continent.

The Framework project, which began in 1996, is expected to continue well into 1999, when the last in a series of drafts will be published. In the interim, teachers, educators, and other interested parties from around the world are invited to participate by commenting on successive versions.[1] Review of the Framework's first draft began in autumn 1997; a second draft was released during the winter of 1998.

Among those reviewing Framework drafts and advising the project's developers are individual scholars, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), and national ministries of education from more than three dozen countries, including China (Hong Kong), Mongolia, Thailand, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan in Asia; Benin, Ethiopia, and Ghana in Africa; Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Serbia, Latvia, Croatia, Hungary, Germany, and Russia in Europe; and Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Mexico, and the United States in the Americas.

Comments on the first draft were overwhelmingly favorable. For example, "I believe this framework is a very good achievement" (Costa Rica). "The document I thought was excellent" (Dominican Republic). "I find the project an important one. It will be of much use for democratic education in many parts of the world" (Hong Kong). "This Framework meets our interest and will be very useful for all institutions dealing with civic education" (Mongolia). "I am very impressed by [your] careful and thorough approach to the subject. This is a well-balanced outline" (Serbia). "It is already obvious that the final variant of this document will be very useful and widely used . . . in different countries" (Tajikistan).

One Framework, Two Versions

At this writing, the Framework is presented in two versions. One is known as the Five-Part and the other as the Seven-Part Outline. While many of the reviewers favored the seven-part version, a significant minority favored the five-part version (some strongly), and a number favored both. Consequently, both will probably be published. Giving readers a choice rather than a single version carries its own message, a democratic, or better put, a "liberal" message. The majority has not, as in a liberal democracy itself, decimated the minority; a plurality of voices is heard, not a monotone.

The roots of this liberal message are nearly as old as democracy itself. In this presentation of plural voices some will hear an echo of Aristotle's famous criticisms of the notorious unity—and consequent decimation of liberty—found in Plato's *Republic*. In Aristotle's view, Plato erred in searching for social harmony by driving out all dissident sounds from his "closed society," mistaking a single note for a chord. Real harmony consists of more than one note. By the end of the twentieth century, we have come to believe that, like musical integrity, the fabric of liberal democracy is undiminished by dissonance. Be this as it may, the message of the Framework is conveyed in part by its form, not by its contents alone.

The Five-Part Outline. What is the substance of the Framework? The Five-Part Outline is a logically constructed whole that begins with "The World" and ends with "The Citizen":

I. The World: the transnational context of human rights, the open society, and political order
II. The People: the foundation of political community and government
III. The Polity: the ordering of civic life, politics, and political systems
IV. The Government: the formal institutions and processes for public affairs
V. The Citizen: the principal actor

This arrangement of topics forms a unity that pleases some reviewers, but disturbs others, since any alteration of the topics fatally disrupts the flowing logic of its structure.

The Seven-Part Outline. By contrast, the Seven Part Outline is not a closed whole nor an unalterable process of reason. It is composed of a series of questions and opens with the germane query, "What is democracy?" and closes, in its October 1997 version, with a question about the roles of democracies in world affairs:

I. What is democracy?
II. Why choose democracy?

III. What makes democracy work?
IV. How does democracy work?
V. What is citizenship in a democracy?
VI. How do societies become and remain democratic?
VII. What roles do democracies play in world affairs?

Since most topics covered under these headings are dealt with in each version, for brevity's sake only the material covered by the Seven-Part Outline, preferred by reviewers, will be examined in some detail.

Before proceeding it should be noted that the Framework is not intended as a course or textbook outline, nor is it intended for students. Rather, it attempts to outline the common elements that any program of civic education should include to prepare youth or adults for democratic citizenship. How and when this material might be taught is beyond the Framework's scope.

The Structure and Content of the Framework

The Framework seeks to lead the reader from the most elemental, protean aspects of human self-government—from the question of why there should be government at all and why politics is found in any human group—to a knowledge and understanding not simply of *any* kind of democracy but specifically of *liberal* democracy, the regime of choice of the world's most economically and socially developed countries from Japan in Asia to Australia and New Zealand in Australasia to many nations in Europe, North America, and elsewhere.

The Framework first describes what liberal democracy is, carefully distinguishing it from other kinds of democracy, that is, from illiberal versions (see below). It seeks to articulate an international consensus on democracy's values, principles, and essential characteristics. These include, for example, such "liberal-constitutional" elements as respect for and protection of individual freedoms, the rule of law, the equality of citizens before the law, limited (constitutional) government, an autonomous civil society, and the maintenance of the open society, as well as such elements of "democracy," narrowly conceived, as the conduct of free, fair, and regular elections; the secret ballot; and universal adult suffrage.

The Framework's concern with the ideology of liberal democracy, its underlying philosophy and view of human nature, is apparent from the outset. Inherent in this ideology is liberal democracy's refusal to take a stand on the ultimate human condition, man's destiny and salvation, considering them as matters outside its purview. Such questions must necessarily be left to religion and speculative philosophy, excluded from the inherently *limited* vision required by liberal freedoms. In this view, it is not accidental that enlarged visions of the human condition are officially held by theocracies, by twentieth-century communism, and by certain

varieties of illiberal democracy. Such regimes sharply circumscribe religious liberty and attempt to direct the inner world of the individual; privacy, essential to liberties protected by liberal regimes, is curtailed or abolished.

This is not to say that liberal democracy has no public philosophy. Openly or implicitly, democracy requires an assumption of the possibility of man's self-responsibility and matur[illegible]y. [illegible] precondition of successful liberal democracy was described by Ha[illegible] Kant in 1784 as man's "coming of age," the autonomous though[illegible] adult citizen, undirected by the State. Other regimes, by con[illegible] individual in child-like submission to the authority of an elit[illegible]e understand sufficiently to govern and direct the thinking of the [illegible]cts.[2] Recent political philosophy argues forcefully that the liberal sta[illegible] is not simply neutral among all values and that certain ideas of human virtue are inherent in the public philosophy of liberal democracy.[3]

Distinguishing Liberal from Illiberal Democracy. The central focus of the Framework is the moral and formal substance of democracy and the conditions that allow it to be established, to be maintained, and to flourish. First, what is meant by "democracy"?

The term democracy means little in itself other than free, fair, and regular elections. In the recent past certain scholars and democratic activists around the world were content to conflate democracy—a term heavily freighted with moral legitimacy and uplift—and free elections. But experience has delivered this identification mortal wounds. In Sub-Saharan Africa, elections, not necessarily free and fair, but sometimes accounted "free enough" by observers, often meant dictators assumed or maintained power. To the north in Algeria, it was clear that planned elections would mean the death of democracy. Paradoxically, the elections were scuttled in the name of democracy.

It is now clear to those concerned with democracy in Africa, as well as to others, that the equation of democracy and elections is unwarranted insofar as democracy is assumed to bring to power a decent, humane regime that respects what are regarded as the fundamental rights of citizens. At the same time, prominent political scientists such as Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard University regard elections as the heart if not the soul of democracy. "Elections, open, free, and fair," Huntington writes, "are the essence of democracy, the inescapable *sine qua non.*" Huntington remarks that although the governments produced by such elections may be corrupt and irresponsible, their bad qualities only make them undesirable; "they do not make them undemocratic."[4]

Whether one accepts this argument, however, depends on acceptance of its premise that elections are the "essence of democracy." This premise is a matter of philosophical judgment, not a matter of fact. The problem here is that identifying regimes as "democratic" in Huntington's narrow

sense *does not tell us enough:* in particular, it does not tell us *what kind* of democracy is in question. In the end, the implicit view of the Framework is that discussing democracy in the narrow sense of multi-party electoralism is not sufficient or even very interesting. Instead, varieties of democracy must be clearly distinguished. And what kinds are there?

The term democracy is often intended, especially by those who are not professional scholars, to mean morally decent governments that not only hold free elections but also protect fundamental rights. "Undesirable democracy" in this usage is a contradiction in terms. Thus, when the California *History-Social Science Framework* recommends that students ask themselves "Is our society democratic?"[5] it asks far more than whether free elections are held; indeed, the context makes it clear that it would consider the reduction of democracy to free elections alone to be absurd.

This dispute is reminiscent of the argument between positivists and anti-positivists about what constitutes law. A centuries-old adage has it that *lex injustia non lex est* (unjust law is no law). In this view, what might otherwise be a legitimate law loses its legitimacy if it is morally tainted. Therefore, it need not be obeyed. For some democrats, the same is true for fairly elected governments: if they turn on those they rule, they lose the right to be called democratic.

Opponents argue that the moral substance of a law and the obligation to obey it are issues separate from what can or cannot be called a law. What a law is depends on certain objective criteria: was it passed by both houses of parliament/congress and signed by the monarch/president? If so, however morally tainted, it is a law. Similarly, under the elections-as-democratic-essence criterion, political systems with fairly elected illiberal governments are democracies.

The difference in these two positions can be effectively bridged by admitting that in itself democracy means little, that it must always be qualified. Taken literally, there is never simply democracy; rather, democracy is always, as we have said, a *kind* of democracy. Those that limit the ends and means of government and respect individual rights and that also hold free elections have for generations been called *liberal* democracies. Regimes based on free elections that neither practice limited government nor consistently respect fundamental rights are best described as *illiberal.*[6]

By adopting consistent descriptors for the varieties of regimes that are elected through free elections, one preserves both Huntington's insistence on elections as a characteristic of any democracy, whether desirable or undesirable, and other democrats' attributions of moral qualities to democracy, to which the qualifying "liberal" must now be added. On the question of elections, it can be said that free elections are common to *all forms* of democracy.[7]

A consequence of this discussion is that "liberal" can be detached from democracy; not only are all forms of democracy not necessarily

liberal, but all constitutional-liberal governments are not necessarily democracies. The United States was not a democracy in 1789,[8] but it was in most respects a liberal regime, with the glaring anomaly of chattel slavery. Constitutional monarchy in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was also a liberal regime although not a democracy. It may be pointed out, however, that in today's world it is difficult at best to sustain liberal freedoms in the absence of democratic controls on power.[9]

The fact that liberal and democracy can be separated both conceptually and actually is not unimportant. Some potential users of the Framework may find full-fledged liberal democracy a utopian dream given their country's circumstances; but they can demand and may be able to implement progressive liberalization as a step toward liberal democracy. And, perhaps more important, citizens of countries where governments fail to meet the standards of liberal democracy, but which hold free and fair elections, can use the electoral process to demand liberal freedoms.[10]

The morphology and infrastructure of democracy. As the Framework proceeds from topic to topic, it is clear that its authors believe citizens should be familiar with the *morphology of democracy* in its varying forms and procedures; the relationships of government with civil society, including religious institutions; the function of mass media; the functions of a civil service; and other matters (e.g., IV. How does democracy work?). The Framework is equally concerned with the *infrastructure of democracy,* its soft underbelly of networked relationships and civic trust and of other emotional ties, such as patriotism (as opposed to extreme nationalism or xenophobia) and loyalty to constitutional values. These latter ties signify adherence to a constitutional morality that places limits on the action of both public officials and ordinary citizens. All of this and more compose section III. What makes democracy work?

Democratic citizenship. Perhaps the climax of the Framework is its treatment of citizenship (V. What is citizenship in a democracy?). There can be no democracy without democrats, without those who are self-conscious *members* of a self-governing sovereign people. The Framework discusses the meaning and significance of citizenship for liberal democracy; the kinds of opportunities for participation that democracies offer citizens; the roles, rights, and obligations of democratic citizens; and how they differ from those of other forms of government.

To distinguish citizenship from the roles of individuals' under other types of regimes, the Framework contrasts citizenship with communal membership and the status of subjects. To sharpen its focus on the unique character of democratic membership, the Framework examines how the idea of democratic citizenship differs from other concepts of the relationship between the individual and the political system, such as subservient or passive versus active, dependent versus independent, or childlike versus adult.

Finally, the Framework asks what civic dispositions and traits of public and private character, such as self-discipline, skepticism, compassion, and civility, strengthen liberal democracy; and it treats at length the importance of citizens' attitudes and dispositions to their civic relationships. In sum, it may be said that if the Framework as a whole attempts to articulate the core meanings of liberal democracy, the section on citizenship forms the heart of education for democratic membership.

The viability of liberal democracy. It should be apparent even to casual readers of the document that the Framework makes no assumption about whether liberal democracy is viable in every part of the world. Thus, section II. Why choose democracy? discusses disadvantages as well as advantages of democracy and the conditions under which other systems might be preferred. The Framework asks if democracy is always desirable and does not assume a positive answer. It would be easy to answer that democracy is undesirable if it empowers certain illiberal governments. It is also true that when social disorder reaches a certain level, threats to survival may suggest the necessity of some form of illiberal regime. The Framework is, therefore, far from an unrealistically optimistic or missionary document seeking to indoctrinate nonbelievers into a new dogmatic political faith that is applicable indiscriminately without regard to place and time.

Moreover, section six, which asks how societies become and remain democratic, speaks of *stages* of democratic development, suggesting that societies do not become liberal democracies overnight, but as a result of a complex and sometimes lengthy process. It also makes the important caveat that democracies are rarely black or white, that political systems may embody a mixture of democratic and nondemocratic features. And it discusses at length the social, economic, and political conditions that threaten the democratic order.

In its last section, the Framework examines the roles that democracies play in world affairs. It does so since, to make responsible judgments, democratic citizens need some knowledge of international politics and the place of their nation within the international order. To be knowledgeable and effective, citizens should be aware of how the world is organized politically, how nations influence each other, the role of international institutions and transnational civil society, and more.

Democracy as Western "Imperialism"

The spread of democratic practices by the West has been attacked in recent years as a new form of "imperialism." The idea of imperialism necessarily includes some form of *coercion*. The Framework project, however, in no way forces itself on potential users. It has no means of coercion. Its only armies are its adherents, who are free to pick and choose among its

wares, selecting only what they approve, adopting and adapting what they please, ignoring the rest. If, in its final form, the Framework has any force, it will be solely because of the compelling force of its persuasive power, to which no one can object.

The only "empire" here is a liberal empire of ideas or, better put, a "republic of freely chosen ideas." This is a "republic" into which interested persons anywhere may enter and leave at will. Moreover, participants in the project know that the Framework's pages, when published, will be permanently incomplete, since the conversation of democracy, like the search for justice, is by its nature forever unfinished.

The suggestion by skeptical voices that "Western" democracy is out of place among other civilizations is an argument to which only history will supply a definitive reply. In the meantime, those from every inhabited continent taking part in the development of this Framework spurn the notion that it constitutes a form of "imperialism"—Western or otherwise. It is an exercise of free men and women and nothing else.

Further, not only scholars and educators but statesmen as well reject the notion that democracy can be legitimately considered culture-bound, that it means whatever governments of the day say it means. That is what in 1997 Chilean President Edwardo Frei retorted to Fidel Castro, who repeated the claim, made for more than half a century, that communists have their own form of democracy. Clearly, to Frei democracy means *liberal* democracy, since to him the democracy worthy of the name is the kind that protects fundamental rights, not the ersatz charades practiced in Cuba and elsewhere.

Thus, democracy does not mean whatever is politically convenient. It has an inner core of ideas and practices, however they may be adapted and reformulated in varying places and times. Democracy may fail—*will* fail—in some places (but not necessarily permanently), though just as surely it will succeed in others. Although basic democratic ideas have long since spread throughout the world, misunderstandings of their meanings are not uncommon. Before the Framework project, no attempt had ever been made to state these ideas in a systematic form through a process of international consensus.

Skeptical Voices

There are other skeptical voices about the enterprise of a world-wide democratic movement. After all, ideas, especially political ideas, are notorious for the tendency to be culture-bound. Attempts to export political values, such ideas as the freedom of the individual, undeniably an idea invented by the West, have met stern opposition from prominent Asian figures, such as Singapore's senior strongman, Lee Kuan Yew, and Malaysia's bitterly anti-Western prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad. Lee is the most articulate spokesman for "Asian values," excoriating the West

for attempting to apply Western standards to Asia, which, he argues, has its own standards.[11] These standards place authority before liberty and family before the individual. Lee argues, in effect, that the West should mind its own business.

Responses to these arguments did not take long in coming. Chris Patten, former British governor of Hong Kong, and others have pointedly asked why anyone should take the strictures of authoritarians such as Lee or Chinese communists to be the authentic voices of Asian values rather than those of Burma's Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Philippines' Cory Aquino, the thousands of Chinese students who raised the standard of a universal "lady liberty," or famed Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng. These are only a few of the most outstanding exponents of rather different Asian values than those espoused by the "benevolent despots" of Southeast Asia.[12]

Moreover, India, indisputably an Asian country, has long been considered a democracy (though of the "fragile" or "frozen" variety), and India's political values are at odds with the authoritarian expressions cited above. Although India's values must surely count in the Asian values debate, little is heard of them from Lee and his ilk. Finally, if Lee and his successors are so confident that they represent the real values of their people, why have they never been willing to test them in free elections, rather than the sham events held in Singapore?

What is occurring in Asia, as well as elsewhere, is a political struggle among those of opposing views, not the inexorable continuation of tradition in the context of impenetrable cultural unity. Asian values differ both within and among countries of the region: from the liberal democrats of Japan, India, Taiwan, and Mongolia to the suppressed democrats of mainland China, the people of Hong Kong, and the opposition in Burma, Indonesia, and elsewhere.

Opposed to this line of thinking is Samuel P. Huntington, who articulates the hotly contested view that the world's major civilizations must be seen as remaining separate in their central values and institutions, including political values and arrangements. He argues that as these civilizations modernize it cannot be expected that they will adopt Western values and institutions. The image of "an emerging homogeneous, universally Western world" is "misguided, arrogant, false, and dangerous."[13]

Among Huntington's arguments is that only a relative handful of first-generation leaders, especially in Asia, who were educated in the West adhere to liberal democracy. Newer-generation leaders educated at home with a few often badly translated texts on democracy adhere to traditional, anti-liberal politics.[14] This may be true in various cases today, but it strains credulity to believe that rejection of liberal democracy will continue indefinitely. Non-Western students still flock to Western universities; new generations rise to challenge the values and practices of parents and paternal states.

New generations need not abandon such key Asian values as family, work, thrift, and social harmony to embrace liberal freedoms and liberal democracy itself. Japan, the world's second largest economy, stands as a living refutation of the notion that liberal democracy is incompatible with Asian values.

Still, the rise of a number of authoritarian Asian nations to economic prominence is often cited as a challenge to the relevance of liberal democracy in developing countries. The degree to which the corporate mentality of Asian neo-mercantilism, (summed up in the terms Japan, Inc. and Asia, Inc.), will be retained, abandoned, or transformed as the next millennium begins remains to be seen. The financial and economic crisis of 1997–98 appears to be hastening fundamental economic structural change in much of the region.[15] The political consequences have yet to become apparent.

The economic suffering of Indonesia, where, at the outbreak of the crisis, the regime of aging patriarch Suharto was rife with corruption, nepotism, and cronyism, points out the dangers inherent in authoritarianism not only in Asia but everywhere. It also points out the need for the cleansing effects of the transparency prescribed by liberal notions of the open society. Rulers may claim to be wise, but are they?

The ancient question, "Who guards the guardians?" reverberates not only through centuries, but across cultures and civilizations as well. Those attempting to cope with this question may find the ideas of liberal democracy fully germane to their situation, even if they must be adapted to non-Western settings. It is difficult to deny that the evils of unchecked power are universal.

In this context, a view of Zbigniew Brzezinski should be considered. Brzezinski argues that contemporary accounts of Asian values express differences in the stage of socio-economic development, not evidence of unbridgeable cultural divides in a world of relative values.[16] Contrary to Huntington, he believes that economic development will lead to a convergence of certain core political values, and that if and when countries in Asia and elsewhere approach the level of development of the West, they, too, will abandon authoritarianism and demand fundamental liberal freedoms. Ironically for this debate, Lee Kuan Yew himself appears to hold some variation on this view, since he foresees the future adoption of liberal freedoms in East Asia — the only question seems to be *when*.[17]

Finally, as already stated, the Framework makes no claim that the nondemocratic world is now ready for liberal democracy; it implicitly insists, however, that bastardized illiberal versions of democracy not be confused with liberal-constitutional varieties, a confusion that can only be avoided through a careful examination of the meaning of democracy, which is precisely what the Framework attempts.

The jury is out regarding liberal democracy as the end point,[8] as it were, of the age-old human quest for dependably decent and effective government. It will remain out for a very long time, perhaps permanently. As a precondition for choice, the world needs a shared understanding of its core meaning. The Framework is a giant stride in making the meanings of democracy the common intellectual property of everyone. As such, it deserves the support and participation of democrats everywhere.

NOTES

1. The Framework is available at the Center for Civic Education site on the World Wide Web (*www.civiced.org*). Comments should be sent directly to the center by e-mail (*center4civ@aol.com*), Fax (818) 591-9330, or mail to 5146 Douglas Fir Road, Calabasas, California 91302, U.S.A..

2. See Immanuel Kant, "What is Enlightenment" (1784), in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *The Philosophy of Kant: Immanuel Kant's Moral and Political Writings* (New York: The Modern Library, 1949), 132-39.

3. William A. Galston, *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State* (Cambridge and New York: The Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Stephen Macedo, *Liberal Virtues: Citizenship, Virtue, and Community in Liberal Constitutionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

4. Quoted in Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (November/December 1997): 24–25.

5. History-Social Science Curricular Framework and Criteria Committee, *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten through Twelfth Grade*, Updated Edition (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1997).

6. See Zakaria, op. cit. It is sometimes suggested that illiberal regimes be called "non-liberal," but this term is unsatisfactory. Regimes that trample fundamental rights are more than merely "not" liberal; they are diametrically opposed to liberal values—they are *anti*-liberal. "Non-liberal" at best soft-pedals and fails to capture this defining characteristic.

7. It may be asked if under this regime of definitions "peoples democracies" is a legitimate use of democracy. The answer is no, because all forms of democracy require free elections, with all that this key term means, not simply elections such as the sham elections held under communism.

8. Not all features of *American democracy* today are democratic, since the United States Senate is not elected according to the idea that all votes are to count equally, the Benthamite notion that each is to count for one and no more than one. That is, two senators are elected by the voters of Wyoming whose population is approximately 450,000; but California, whose population exceeds 30,000,000, also elects just two senators. Thus, a senatorial vote is weightier in Wyoming than in California. Nevertheless, Americans find these arrangements completely legitimate, not problematic.

9. It should also be pointed out that liberal freedoms under enlightened despots such as Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia in the eighteenth century or Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore in the twentieth are

in the eighteenth century or Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore in the twentieth are notoriously uncertain. Educated, "progressive" despots need not be liberal at all, as in the case of the Shah of Iran, whose methods of rule included a notoriously brutal secret police.

10. See Marc F. Plattner and Carl Gershman, "Democracy Gets a Bum Rap," *The Wall Street Journal*, 26 January 1998. Among the authors' arguments is that although elections are "not enough" for the establishment of liberal democracy, regimes that hold free and fair elections "arouse citizens to insist upon their rights and upon the accountability of elected officials. The process makes government more subject to public scrutiny."

11. Fareed Zakaria, "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (March/April 1994): 109–14.

12. Eric Jones, "Asia's Fate: A Response to the Singapore School," *The National Interest* 35 (Spring 1994): 18–28.

13. Samuel P. Huntington, "The West: Unique, Not Universal," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (November/December 1996): 28–46; and see his *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

14. Ibid, 38-39.

15. The crisis may materially alter perceptions of the relative performance of certain Asian and Western, especially American, economies. As recently as 1995, the anti-Western prime minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad, wrote that "Americans must accept that the prosperity they once enjoyed is a thing of the past. . . ." Angered at negative publicity in the United States about palm oil, a principal Malaysian export, Mahathir, a trained physician, also wrote that palm oil is "wholesome," but that ". . . in the United States, palm oil was blamed for virtually all the heart disease there." See Mahathir Mohamad and Shintaro Ishihara, *The Voice of Asia* (Tokyo, New York, and London: Kodanshi International, 1995), 40–41. It remains to be seen whether the crisis and economic and political fallout from it will alter perceptions in Asia and elsewhere of the desirability of authoritarian neo-mercantilist regimes. For an analysis of changes in the relationship between government and markets in Asia and elsewhere, see Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle between Government and the Marketplace That Is Remaking the Modern World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 156–91 and *passim*.

16. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "New Challenges to Human Rights," *Journal of Democracy* 8 (April 1977): 3–7.

17. At various times, Lee has said that it might be one hundred years before Asians might be entrusted with liberal freedoms, and that it might be only thirty years. See Jones, op. cit., 21–22.

18. Francis Fukayama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

COMPARATIVE LESSONS FOR DEMOCRACY: AN INTERNATIONAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

DAWN M. SHINEW AND JOHN M. FISCHER

Civic educators throughout the world face a fundamental question: How can we prepare students for active participation in democratic societies, particularly in an interconnected world? This article describes the content and development of a cross-national curriculum development project designed to help educators in the United States respond to the need for effective civic education. *Comparative Lessons for Democracy (CLD)* is the culmination of a twenty-one month effort from educators and scholars in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States. CLD contains more than 560 pages of materials, including 35 original lesson plans, student handouts and readings; an instructional guide for additional resources about the region; and the constitutions of the six countries involved in the book's development. CLD was designed for use by secondary social studies teachers in the United States to supplement existing courses of study.[1]

The development of CLD offers one model for international collaboration on curriculum development. The process for developing this teachers' resource book highlights both the challenges of cross-cultural cooperation and the advantages of such opportunities—particularly in developing curriculum materials for comparative analyses. In addition, the process poses interesting possibilities for future development of similar cross-cultural curriculum development projects.

Major Features of Comparative Lessons for Democracy

Comparative Lessons for Democracy was developed for Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program with support from the United States Department of Education in cooperation with the United States Information Agency. Civitas offers civic education leaders from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States "opportunities to learn from and assist each other in improving education for democracy in their respective nations."[2] *CLD* was developed to meet two goals of Civitas: to "create instructional materials for students in the United States that will help them better understand emerging

constitutional democracies," and to "facilitate the exchange of ideas and experience in civic education among . . . participating EEN/NIS [East European Nations and Newly Independent States], the United States, and other established democracies."[3]

The major features of *CLD* are original classroom lessons developed through a process of international collaboration, a focus on Eastern Europe and Russia, the use of active teaching and learning methods, and an emphasis on comparative analyses.[4]

Lessons and supporting materials. The structure of these lessons is intended to provide teachers with as much information as possible, but recognizes the importance of the teacher as the decision maker in his or her own class.[5] These lessons are not intended to be of the "cookbook" variety in which eliminating one step ruins the entire dish. Instead, teachers have the option of picking and choosing those activities and/or materials that are most useful for their students.

The lessons begin with one or more quotes that may be used as part of the lesson, provide a writing prompt for an essay, or add another commentary on the issues covered in the lesson. Each lesson also gives teachers a Summary of the Lesson in which key ideas and concepts are identified so that teachers may easily note the subject matter and see connections between various lessons. Objectives identify specific outcomes for each lesson.

In many cases, Background Materials for the Teacher are also included. These materials are often longer or more sophisticated than materials that might typically be used with students. The background materials establish a foundation for understanding the subject matter, which makes them appropriate for teachers as well as students who might be interested in more breadth or depth related to the content in the lesson.

The Lesson Plan follows a basic pattern of Opening, Developing, and Concluding the Lesson. Designed to take from one to three periods to complete, teachers have the flexibility to decide what to include, how to include it, and in what order. Introductory activities are designed to set a context for issues that arise later in the lesson and to stimulate students' interests. Although subsequent parts of the lesson build on one another it is also possible to use only one or two of the activities contained in each lesson. Based on the needs of their students, teachers may pick and choose the materials and activities most appropriate for their classrooms.

Finally, suggestions for Extending the Lesson are described. This section includes additional information that expands the focus of the lesson (including references to other countries or historical events for comparative analyses) and activities that support, reinforce, or evaluate the concepts presented in the lesson. Some of these suggestions may also provide teachers with a basis for designing alternative forms of assessment.

Each lesson includes copy-ready handouts for student readings and activities. Student materials are designed to present conceptually sophisticated ideas in interesting formats full of rich content. For example, student materials include excerpts from novels, a readers theater, primary source documents, poetry, fables, and case studies. In addition, original maps of the region are included at the beginning of the book indicating the area's historical, political, and social changes. A "Guide to Instructional Support Materials" provides teachers with hundreds of references for additional literary, audio, and visual materials for use in supplementing and enhancing the lessons.[6] An appendix includes the constitutions of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States.

A focus on Eastern Europe and Russia. Comparative Lessons for Democracy presents a rare opportunity to strengthen education for democracy in the United States through the use of curricular materials about the history and government of several Eastern European nations and Russia. The revolutions of 1989 left American educators in need of materials that could help them teach about the historical events that laid the foundation for the toppling of communist regimes. In addition, the difficult periods of transition raised important issues about establishing and maintaining a democratic state.

Analyzing issues and events related to these emerging democracies encourages American students to clarify some of the basic assumptions and principles upon which democracies rest. The content of the lessons contained in this resource book was designed to raise questions not only about countries in Eastern Europe and Russia but also about how these same issues relate to American society and politics. In this manner, students are able to identify the elements common to democracies everywhere and those dimensions that are unique to the United States.

Educators and scholars from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Russia contributed many of the materials included in these lessons. These materials proved to be essential in insuring accurate information and the inclusion of multiple perspectives. Users of the resource book have the chance to analyze events not only from an American perspective but also from the viewpoint of those directly involved. This analysis promotes a deeper understanding among students and provides a strong foundation for building comparisons.

The materials are divided into four major sections. The first section, Historical Connections, contains lessons that emphasize the links between the past and present. In order to begin to comprehend the events from 1989 to the present, it is essential to consider key events in World War II, the rise of communist regimes, and the earlier protests that planted the seeds for the changes in 1989. Periods of Transition, the second section, includes lessons that analyze the role of a free economy in

promoting change, as well as the vehicles used to promote political transformations. The third section contains lessons that focus on Constitutionalism and Democracy; for example, the role of a constitution in establishing a state, comparing and contrasting the role of the executive in various states, and how affirmative and negative rights might be addressed in a democracy. The final section is entitled Citizens' Rights and Civil Society. These lessons encourage teachers and students to consider a variety of relationships inherent in a democracy: minorities and the majority, nation and state, military and civilian society. Several activities in these lessons ask students to analyze the role of the individual in a democracy, including the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Active teaching and learning methods. One important way that educators can prepare students for participating in a democratic society is through the use of active methods of teaching and learning. The challenge to every teacher—American, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Latvian, and Russian—is to create an environment in which students are encouraged to think critically and interact with subject-matter, peers, and teachers in ways that promote democratic behaviors and attitudes as well as mastery of academic content. Students who are asked only to be passive recipients of knowledge will not develop the skills necessary for engaging in the public discourse so essential to a successful democracy.

The lessons contained in *CLD* use a variety of interactive teaching strategies. The purpose of these strategies is to provide students with opportunities to be actively involved in the lesson and to increase students' interest in the lesson. Teachers in virtually all countries complain that students are not prepared to participate in lessons that require active involvement. At a conference in May of 1996, a Polish teacher raised a question that seems to plague all educators: "How can we expect students to act in cooperative, democratic ways when all around them society is wrought with examples of authoritarian policies and an apathetic public?" The question reminds us that, in addition to presenting the content necessary for students to become critically minded citizens, educators must also provide students with opportunities to develop the skills necessary for active participation in a democracy.

Comparative analyses. As indicated by the title, the materials in *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* are designed to facilitate comparative analyses by students and teachers. Comparison provides students with a basis for describing similarities and differences, analyzing and evaluating the nature of these characteristics, and making connections and distinctions across units or within units over time.

Kermit Hall, a prominent constitutional scholar, offers three "virtues" of a comparative approach in civic education.[8] First, he suggests that "comparison creates an awareness of alternatives, showing [the significance of] developments . . . that without a comparative analysis might

not appear so."[9] The recognition of alternatives is particularly important for students in the United States who often lack an adequate understanding of other systems of government. Second, Hall states that comparison "serves as a primitive form of 'experimentation' . . . which allows students to test the relative impact of various social, economic, demographic, political, or intellectual factors [as represented by] different nations' civic cultures."[10] Finally, Hall posits that the comparative approach allows students "to identify common patterns of action and behavior."[11] In addition to identifying ways in which the history and traditions of the United States contrast with those of emerging democracies, it is important for American students and teachers to consider issues that are common to all democratic societies.

To illustrate the power of comparative analyses, consider the issue of constitutional rights. As members of a long-standing, stable democracy, students in the United States are often required to know the rights included in the Constitution. American students are rarely asked to create alternatives to the rights that exist in the American Constitution, nor do they have many opportunities to hypothesize about how our society may have been shaped differently if other rights had been included. Using the comparative method, students might also be asked to identify which rights appear in virtually all democratic constitutions and which of these might be universal rights.

A Process for Cross-Cultural Curriculum Development

Any project that involves persons from different cultures presents numerous challenges, as well as exciting possibilities. In developing *CLD*, we faced two potentially conflicting issues. We needed to produce a book that would be useful to American teachers and students, and we wanted to be sensitive to the perspectives and experiences of our Central and Eastern European colleagues. To balance these two needs, we devised a four-phase process for collecting, developing, reviewing, and revising the materials incorporated into the text, allowing the opportunity for a variety of perspectives to be presented.

Phase I: Collecting Materials from EENIS Partner Sites. Many American teachers recognize the serious shortage of materials about this region, due in large part to the fifty-year reign of communist governments that limited and censored information. The materials that have been available in the past have often over-simplified the complexities of the region. In order to more fully understand the impact of contemporary developments in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia, American teachers need to have access to materials that illustrate important concepts and events. This project rested on the assumption that such information should come from educators and scholars in those countries.

Consequently, instead of simply asking American participants in Civitas to develop lesson plans for their peers in the United States, we requested that materials and lesson plans be initiated by our colleagues abroad. In order to facilitate this process, specifications about materials and lesson plans were distributed to teams from each of the participating EEN/NIS countries. These specifications provided guidelines that educators and scholars in each country could use to develop drafts of materials for inclusion in the resource book. Materials were submitted in English, though in many cases the original drafts were developed in the writer's native language and then translated.

The materials received from our colleagues abroad proved invaluable. These contributions helped us understand more about the issues relevant to specific countries and those issues that seem to transcend state boundaries. The level of detail and personalized nature of the information simply could not have been accomplished without contributions from the participating EEN/NIS countries.

Phase II: Producing the Initial Draft. During the next phase of the process, we created a development team comprised of five teachers from the United States and two editors. The teachers, selected because of their expertise in the classroom and their interest in the project, worked under our supervision to edit, revise, and develop lessons for inclusion in *Comparative Lessons for Democracy.*[7] Throughout the winter and spring of 1996, this development team met with the editors and engaged in professional development experiences designed to deepen their understanding of the histories and current events in the countries involved in the exchange. The group gained a better understanding of the seismic changes in Eastern Europe and Russia by reading the works of Timothy Garton Ash and scholars in the fields of constitutionalism and emerging democracies. These seminars also encouraged the group to start to question what are important things to teach American students, both about this region of the world and about democratic principles.

In June 1996, the development team received draft lessons and materials from our Eastern European and Russian colleagues. Latvians sent lessons on the parliament, the differences between the concepts of "nation" and "state," and the struggle to define Latvian citizenship. Czechs sent information rich in historical detail, including the important roles played by individuals and groups: T. G. Masaryk, Vclav Havel, and the reform-minded organizations in the Prague Spring of 1968. Hungarians contributed powerful narratives about the battles over control of the media and freedom of the press in democratic societies. Educators from Russia sent materials on the problems of federalism, presidential power, and the right to an education. Polish lessons included information about the principles of democracy, the concepts of patriotism and equality, and a role-play about the challenges of establishing a state.

During the summer of 1996, the development team and editors refined materials, elaborated on ideas, combined readings, investigated additional sources, and revised lessons so they would be accessible to American teachers and students. The team worked with the editors to function as an "editorial group" that assumed responsibility for the first draft of the lessons. Several key issues emerged almost immediately in this process.

First, and perhaps most disturbing to all involved in the process, were the obvious differences between what our Eastern European and Russian colleagues knew about American history and government and what American teachers and their students know about the histories and governments of Eastern Europe. In many cases, it was apparent that contributors from EEN/NIS assumed that Americans possessed a much richer knowledge of their countries than was actually the case. This recognition, while reinforcing the need for the resource book, posed a problem: how could these materials be made useful for teachers and students who lacked the necessary background information to understand the lesson? We were unwilling to omit interesting and informative materials and, instead, opted to develop, when necessary, a section in the lesson entitled "Background Materials for the Teacher." This section included readings, summaries, and references that provided teachers with the information most necessary to understand and subsequently teach the lesson.

A second issue involved the concepts of objectivity and perspective. Clearly, many of the materials that were submitted dealt with controversial, emotional, and sometimes very personal issues for our Eastern European and Russian colleagues. The American tradition of promoting lessons that are "objective" or that include numerous perspectives on an issue made some of these materials problematic. Again, the editorial team was reluctant to eliminate these pieces—particularly because many provided valuable insights into perspectives not often presented in American classrooms. To a great extent, this dilemma was eliminated when the group centered its attention on the resource book's emphasis on comparative analyses. The original materials were reconsidered based on their value in providing a basis of comparison for other perspectives. Materials from both American and EEN/NIS contributors were integrated into lessons, giving American teachers and students not one position or experience, but several. In many cases, lessons were revised numerous times before being considered appropriate for the next phase of development.

Phase III: Reviewing the Draft Lessons. The unique cross-cultural nature of CLD required a complex, formative review process. This process extended over a period of seven months and entailed several steps. Beginning in the fall of 1996, twenty-two classroom teachers agreed to review and pilot teach the draft lessons; their reviews identified problems with directions

to the teachers and issues related to our intended audience and students' ability levels.[13]

Next, we shared the materials with teachers from the United States and other countries during a series of presentations at the national and four regional annual conferences of the Council for the Social Studies. Participants in each session received draft copies of the resource book and were invited to share their comments and suggestions; many of their observations were integrated into the final edition of the book. In particular, teachers at these sessions identified new lessons that needed to be added to the draft lessons already completed. As a result of this dialogue, five additional lessons were developed and included in the final edition.

Concurrently, all lessons and materials related to a particular country were sent to the partner center in that country for review and comment.[14] For example, all materials and lessons related to Latvia were sent to the Democracy Advancement Center in Latvia, the center that organized the submission of the original materials. Each center recruited an individual to read, review, and comment on the lessons. Their comments identified a few factual inaccuracies but were generally quite positive. In some cases, these reviewers provided additional materials to enrich background information for teachers and students. Improvements in lessons are, in many cases, the result of their contributions.

Two additional groups were involved in the review process. Several American law-related education centers identified teachers to review lessons.[15] Most of these reviewers applauded the development of curriculum materials about this region and identified ways in which the lessons might be used to supplement curriculum mandates and courses of study in their states. Many of these teachers also reminded us of the realities of American classrooms, which lead us to question how to maintain the complex nature of the issues without alienating students with overly difficult materials.

This group of reviewers frequently commented on the sophisticated nature of several pieces identified in the lessons as "student" readings. Many expressed doubts about the abilities of their students to comprehend the materials. One obvious option was to rewrite these essays in order to make them more understandable for the average American high school student. However, we feared that in simplifying the language we would lose the nuances and complexities of the situations described in the essays. In addition, many of these pieces were original and had never been published in the United States. Instead of rewriting the essays, we added "Editor's Notes" to the student readings in the final edition. These footnotes provide definitions and background information that make the readings more understandable and less intimidating.

Finally, we identified four scholars with expertise in the region, constitutionalism, and history.[16] In addition to insuring that the materials

were *teachable;* we wanted to feel confident that the materials were factually and conceptually sound. Each of these scholars provided extensive comments that affected the lessons in critical ways. Seen in concert with the comments from classroom teachers, these reviews directed the revision process that followed.

Phase IV: Preparing the Final Product. Having collected critiques of the lessons from a variety of sources, the final revision process began. At this point, we reduced our editorial team to four persons: two editors and two staff members at Mershon Center.[17] As editors, we believed it was important for the lessons to be consistent in format, quality, and content; the smaller working group made it possible for each of us to be familiar with virtually every lesson.

All reviewer comments related to each lesson were compiled and synthesized.[18] These compilations allowed us to identify trends in the critiques. The editorial group discussed the reviews of each lesson in detail. We did not attempt to address every comment on each lesson. As experienced teachers, we evaluated the comments on the basis of our objectives for CLD and the consistency of issues identified as problems. One of the most frequent comments, particularly from our scholar reviewers, was the need for additional background materials for the teacher. In the final revision we expanded and added materials to this section.

Another conclusion was obvious: the lessons varied considerably in quality. Although many lessons received very high praise from all reviewers, a few were described as "average" or not motivating for students and teachers. Our goal from the beginning was not the quantity of lessons included, but their quality. Consequently, six lessons were eventually omitted from the final edition because of fundamental flaws consistently identified in the reviews that could not be reconciled in a reasonable period of time.

Once the review comments were synthesized and the final group of lessons identified, we established a process for the final revisions. Each lesson was assigned a "primary reviser" and a "second reader." The primary reviser was responsible for addressing the review comments and making the final changes in the lesson. Once the lesson was considered complete, the second reader evaluated the lesson for clarity, content, and consistency with the identified format. The lesson was returned to the primary reviser for necessary corrections and changes. This process was initiated in late March and continued through the beginning of June 1997.

Finally, as editors we assumed responsibility for insuring the overall quality of all materials. In addition to conducting a final review on every lesson, the guide to instructional support materials and constitutions needed to be collected and reviewed.[19] In addition, we wanted to identify as many connections between individual lessons and materials as possible.

By cross-referencing one lesson to others in the book with related topics and/or concepts, we hoped to make it easier for teachers to combine two or more lessons to meet their specific needs.

In this final phase it became obvious that, while dozens of people played important roles in developing the book, one or two individuals ultimately assumed responsibility for making the book a reality.[20] Our role as editors encompassed virtually every dimension of the book's development, including revising and creating lessons, making conceptual decisions about the content and format of the materials, identifying reviewers and soliciting their comments, synthesizing all of the critiques, and copy-editing. While the work was rewarding, the effort was considerable.

Conclusions and Prospects

The process for developing *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* was complex and challenging. The task of collaborating with educators from five European countries as well as with teachers in the United States sometimes seemed overwhelming. Participants in this collaboration shared the same purpose (the production of the resource book) but were severely limited in terms of communication because of language barriers and distance. However, throughout the process, the developers of the book continued to be acutely aware of our Eastern European and Russian counterparts.

Consequently, numerous issues arose during the project. What are the similarities and differences regarding the expectations of students from among these different contributors? How do our various experiences and histories affect the ways we define such fundamental principles as human rights, open society, and free press? How can we maintain the voices of the contributors from Eastern Europe and Russia while still meeting the needs of American teachers and students? Many of the answers to these questions remain incomplete. However, the process forced us at least to raise the issues, and sometimes the greatest learning takes place not in finding the answers but in asking the questions.

The five American centers that served as primary sites for visits from Czech, Hungarian, Latvian, Polish, and Russian civic educators facilitated the creation of the materials and ideas in this resource book.[21] Participants' experiences with the lesson development process varied widely. However, educators from each country communicated that which may be the most difficult to convey—their thoughts and beliefs about freedom, democracy, and the relationship between the state and the individual.

For the American educators involved, this project forced us to analyze our assumptions about life in a liberal constitutional democracy. In the initial stages, the editorial team was prepared to simply edit and elaborate on the materials we were provided. Instead, this project encouraged us to re-examine what it means to teach democracy. Reading about the histories

of this region, the courage of individuals striving to make a difference, and the struggle of dealing with almost fifty years of communist rule served to revitalize what we wanted to teach in our classrooms. The power of comparison does much to illuminate our own existence and our future in a world where the struggle for justice, freedom, and an open society continues.

Comparative Lessons for Democracy provides an example of how international networks might be used to develop curriculum materials. Although *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* was intended for use in secondary schools (primarily high schools) in the United States, a similar process may be used to develop both elementary and middle school resource books. One key to creating materials developmentally appropriate for younger children is to make the intended audience clear from the beginning and involve teachers at the targeted grade levels at various stages of the review process.

In addition, the focus of such efforts could be widened to include other parts of the world. Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program focuses on Eastern Europe and Russia. However, regional networks could be cultivated for similar curriculum development projects in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Western Europe, Pacific Rim countries, or others. This process may be facilitated by electronic correspondence, making the exchange of ideas, reviews, and materials more efficient and the process even more collaborative.

The possibilities for improving civic education through international collaboration seem endless. The process described above offers just one example of the ways in which such efforts enrich our knowledge of one another, as well as our lives as professional educators.

NOTES

1. *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* is not intended to serve as a comprehensive course of study. Instead, the lessons and materials are designed to supplement existing curriculum materials. Teachers who reviewed the lessons deemed them most appropriate for high school current events, American government, American and world history, and advanced placement comparative government courses. With adaptations, some of the lessons might also be used at the middle school level.

2. Center for Civic Education, information pamphlet, *Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1997), 2.

3. Ibid.

4. There is considerable debate regarding the appropriate label for the region that includes the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. For the purpose of this article, we refer to the countries included in Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program as Eastern Europe and Russia. For a thorough discussion of this issue, see *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 119 (winter 1990).

5. The organization of these lessons follows that successfully used by John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy, *Lessons on the Constitution* (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1986).

6. The "Guide to Instructional Support Materials for Russian and East European Studies" was provided by the Russia and East European Institute (REEI) at Indiana University. REEI offers an invaluable service to classroom teachers by making materials listed in their guide available for the cost of postage and insurance.

7. For a discussion on the ways in which schools cultivate civic habits, see Walter Parker, "The Art of Deliberation," *Educational Leadership* 54 (February 1997): 18–22. For a case study analysis of how to use curricular materials to enhance the knowledge and skills young people need to be incorporated as citizens, refer to Kathy Bickmore, "Learning Inclusion/Inclusion in Learning: Citizenship Education for a Pluralistic Society," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 21 (fall 1993): 341–84.

8. Kermit Hall, "The Power of Comparison in Teaching about Democracy" in Andrew Oldenquist, ed., *Can Democracy Be Taught?* (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1996).

9. Ibid., 113.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. The teachers in the initial group of "lesson developers" included James Reinker, Rudy Sever, Ben Trotter, and Doreen Uhas-Sauer.

13. The names of these twenty-two teachers are too numerous to list here. However, their contributions were notable and their names are listed in *Comparative Lessons*, iv.

14. International reviewers from the five partner sites include Radmila Dostalova, Czech Republic; Guntars Catlaks, Latvia; Balazs Hidveghi, Hungary; Pyotar Polozhevets, Russian Federation; and Tomasz Merta, Poland.

15. Identified in *Comparative Lessons*, iv.

16. Content reviewers for the book included Dr. Ewa Busza, College of William and Mary; Dr. Katherine David-Fox, The Ohio State University; Dr. Donald Lutz, University of Houston; and Dr. John J. Patrick, Indiana University.

17. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Lisa Cary and Shannon Tuzzi-Paletti, our colleagues at Mershon Center. Their contributions during this final phase of development were essential.

18. Each lesson was subject to at least four external reviews: an international reviewer, a scholar reviewer, and two classroom teachers. In addition, a majority of the lessons were reviewed internally before the initial dissemination of the pilot lessons.

19. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland caused the editors a great deal of consternation during the final review process. After considerable debate, which lasted for more than a year, the Polish Constitution was passed by the National Assembly on April 2, 1997, and by referendum on May 25, 1997—just one week before the deadline for our publication. An "unofficial" translation of the newly ratified Polish Constitution is included in *CLD*.

20. Even after this extensive review process, the publication was not complete. Theresa Richard and Michael Connelly, from the Center for Civic Education, deserve special recognition for their work on the final publication.

21. During 1995–96, primary sites of Civitas included The Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California; The Mershon Center, The Ohio State University; the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University; the Florida Law-Related Education Association; the Council for Citizenship Education, Russell Sage College; and the American Federation of Teachers.

IMPLEMENTING NEW CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN INDIANA AND POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

ROBERT S. LEMING AND THOMAS S. VONTZ

Although democratic principles and institutions might manifest themselves variously throughout the world, commitment to fundamental democratic concepts and our own humanity make possible the sharing of educational ideas that foster and support democratic citizenship. An understanding of individual liberty and the rule of law, for example, are significant components of an education for democratic citizenship the world over. However, the development of essential democratic concepts, although important, represents only one fundamental component of a sound civic education program. An effective civic education program must also include instructional methods that allow students to learn principles of democracy and skills of democratic citizenship concurrently in the classroom and in the larger community.

Two innovative programs, *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution and *We the People . . .* Project Citizen, developed by the Center for Civic Education, are examples of civic education materials that emphasize key principles of democracy, skills of democratic citizenship, and sound instructional methods that enable their adaptation and use in various societies and educational systems.[1] This article briefly describes these two programs and the current efforts to implement them in Indiana and in many post-communist countries, such as Russia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

We the People . . . *The Citizen and the Constitution*

Developed in the United States and administered nationally by the Center for Civic Education through a network of 50 state and 435 congressional district coordinators, *We the People . . .* is a civic education program that encourages elementary and secondary students to develop a reasoned commitment to the principles integral to sustaining a democratic society. Since 1987 more than 20,000,000 students and 70,000 teachers have been involved with the program in the United States. Leading scholars and educators helped to develop the *We the People . . .* curriculum at the upper elementary, middle, and high school levels. The content of the program parallels the essential questions guiding the

National Standards for Civics and Government and is designed to complement and enhance teaching and learning in history and government classrooms.[7] Financially, the program is supported by appropriations from the United States Congress as well as public and private funds from various state and local agencies.

At all levels, students explore the historical and philosophical development of the United States Constitution, how constitutional principles have been used through time, the relationship of those principles to public and private institutions, and the contemporary relevance of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The high school textbook, similar in content to the elementary and middle school textbooks, contains the following unit titles:

1. What are the philosophical and historical foundations of the American political system?
2. How did the framers create the Constitution?
3. How did the values and principles embodied in the Constitution shape American institutions and practices?
4. How have the protections of the Bill of Rights been developed and expanded?
5. What rights does the Bill of Rights protect?
6. What are the roles of the citizen in American society?

Upon completion of the curriculum, students can demonstrate their knowledge by taking a test on the history and principles of the United States Constitution and by participating in the program's culminating activity—a simulated congressional hearing. Before the hearing, the class is divided into six groups, one for each unit of the text. During the hearing, students testify before members of the community who act as members of Congress and ask the students constitutional questions. Each three-judge panel (one for each of the six units) selects and asks questions chosen from a pool of potential questions each group of students receives in advance of the hearing. The students have four minutes to deliver a prepared response before the judges. At the conclusion of the prepared statement, the judges engage the students in follow-up questions relating to their unit and their prepared statements. They conclude the activity with a systematic, standards-based evaluation of the students' performance. At the elementary and middle school levels, the congressional hearings are non-competitive. At the high school level, congressional hearings are either competitive or non-competitive and conducted at the district, state, and national levels.

Research confirms positive effects of the We the People . . . *program.* In 1994, Stanford University political science professor Richard Brody found that high school students taking part in the *We the People* . . . program develop stronger attachments to political beliefs, attitudes, and values essential to

living in a democracy than other students and most adults.[3] The Brody study, based on 1,351 student responses, suggests that students participating in the *We the People . . .* program exhibit more political tolerance.[4] After participating in the program, students tend to place fewer restrictions on individual liberties (e.g., freedom of speech, press, and assembly as well as due process rights) than students enrolled in traditional government and civics classes.[5] In addition, the study revealed that students participating in the competitive legislative hearings are more interested in politics, feel more politically effective, and perceive fewer limits on their own political freedom.[6]

A 1993 study sponsored by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University compared 375 students enrolled in the *We the People . . .* program with 477 students attending traditional civics classes.[7] Both groups were given a sixty-item test on the history and principles of the Bill of Rights. The results of the study indicate that 79 percent of the students enrolled in the classes using the *We the People . . .* program outperformed students enrolled in the traditional government classes.[8] This "suggests that students participating in the *We the People . . .* program gained knowledge and understanding of the Bill of Rights that is superior to students in government classes using traditional textbooks."[9]

In addition to studies that compare students' civic knowledge or attitudes, Dr. Ruth Mitchell, an evaluation specialist, has analyzed the simulated congressional hearings as a means of student assessment. After examining the materials and attending a congressional hearing, Mitchell writes:

> The competition and preparation for it have lasting effects on student's learning. Teachers assert that the knowledge learned from the curriculum and competition is drawn on all year. . . . The competition has enormous potential as a model for the evaluation of history/social studies and government classes. It is the most imaginative and well-organized assessment I know of—more impressive than current ideas at the state level. It promotes students' responsibility for their own learning, makes teachers into guides rather than authorities, gives the subject a "real-life" importance for students, and allows the students to experience the stimulation of healthy risk.[9]

We the People . . . *The Citizen and the Constitution in Indiana.* Participation in the *We the People . . .* program is voluntary in Indiana and throughout the United States. One challenge to implementing such a program is in publicizing its existence and benefits to teachers, administrators, community members, and students. Through a network of committed people and organizations, the *We the People . . .* program has attracted broad participation throughout Indiana. Each year thousands of students and more than a hundred teachers participate in the program at the elementary, middle, and high school levels. At the high school level, competitive simulated congressional hearings are held in each of Indiana's

ten congressional districts. The winners of each district competition meet in Indianapolis at the state competition. The winner of that competition represents Indiana at the national competition held each April in Washington, D.C. The 1997 Indiana representative, Castle High School (Newburgh, Indiana), placed fourth in the nation.

The success of the program in Indiana has developed gradually and through the efforts of many organizations and people. The program is administered centrally through the Indiana Program for Law-Related Education at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University. The program is also supported by the Indiana State Bar Association, Indiana Bar Foundation, and the Indiana State Department of Education. These organizations help to ensure the success of the program in Indiana through both financial and organizational support. They are instrumental in helping to locate and attract interested teachers to the program; provide community members to serve as district coordinators, judges, or guest speakers; and support the program administratively.

Another reason for the program's success in Indiana is related to the creation of the *We the People . . .* Summer Institute held each year at the School of Education of Indiana University and conducted by the Social Studies Development Center. Again, to offer the week-long Summer Institute at no cost to teachers would not be possible without the assistance of the organizations mentioned previously. The Summer Institute brings thirty-five interested elementary, middle, and high school teachers together with constitutional scholars from a variety of disciplines. The scholars give lectures and lead discussions on constitutional themes related to the curriculum units of the program. The teachers are divided into teams, each of which cooperatively prepares answers to constitutional questions that are a part of the program.

At the conclusion of the Summer Institute, teachers participate in a congressional hearing identical to the ones their students will participate in during the school year. Teachers leave the institute with increased constitutional knowledge, a wealth of resources related to the study of the Constitution, and the ability to implement the *We the People . . .* curriculum in their own classrooms.

We the People . . . *in post-communist countries.* Although developed in the United States, the format and instructional methods that are a part of the *We the People. . .* program are being adapted for use in former communist countries of Europe and the Soviet Union. The support of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, an organization whose purpose is to strengthen effective civic education in new and established democracies, has been critical to the adaptation and translation of both the *We the People . . .* and Project Citizen materials for use in civic education programs in post-communist countries.[11]

Through the efforts of Civitas, the format of the *We the People . . .* program is being used as a model for effective civic education in Russia.[12] In 1997, a translation of the *We the People. . .* textbook was published and used in teacher seminars throughout Russia. Nearly 70 percent of Russian teachers who reviewed the materials indicated "the text was a good basis for creating a course of study of their own Constitution."[13] In 1998, the Russian Association for Civic Education is publishing and distributing at least 10,000 translated copies of the *We the People . . .* textbook.

After visiting *We the People . . .* competitions in the United States and teachers who use the program in the United States, Hungarian educators decided to create a simulation exercise, similar to the one used as the culminating activity for the *We the People . . .* program, as a part of their own civic education program.[14] In the first year of the program's existence, more than three hundred students participated in what Hungarian civic educators call "Citizen in a Democracy," and this program has even earned the support of Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Additionally, lessons from the *We the People . . .* textbook have been featured in teacher workshops in Bosnia and the Czech Republic and are being adapted for use in those countries.

We the People . . . *Project Citizen*

Project Citizen, also developed in the United States and administered by the Center for Civic Education, is a portfolio-based civic education program that focuses on state and local governments and is designed for upper elementary and middle school students. Emphasizing citizen interaction with local and state governments, the curriculum actively engages students in learning how to monitor and influence public policy and encourages civic participation among students, their parents, and members of the community. As a class project, students work together in small groups to identify and study a public policy issue and eventually develop an "action plan" for implementing a chosen policy. Divided into four groups, the class produces a portfolio demonstrating their work on the issue.

Working in cooperative teams, students learn to interact with each other and their government through a five-step process that includes:

1. identifying a public policy problem in their community,
2. gathering and evaluating information on the problem,
3. examining and evaluating solutions,
4. selecting or developing a proposed public, and
5. developing an action plan.

Each team's work is displayed in a class portfolio containing a four-part (one part for each group) exhibit and a documentation binder. Similar to the culminating activity of the *We the People . . .* program, stu-

dents are encouraged to demonstrate their knowledge through a simulated legislative hearing. During the hearing, each of the four portfolio groups prepares and presents a statement on its section of the portfolio before a panel of community representatives who ask questions and judge the quality of each team's work. The format offers students an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of how public policy is formulated while providing teachers with an excellent means of assessing performance.

Project Citizen in Indiana. Efforts to implement the Project Citizen program in Indiana are in the early stages of development. Using the success of the *We the People. . .* The Citizen and the Constitution program as a model, the Indiana Program for Law-Related Education has elicited the same network of organizations that support the *We the People . . .* program to assist in promoting Project Citizen. Five classes participated in the first state-level legislative hearings held in Lafayette, Indiana, in May 1997. Some classes selected more general issues (e.g., juvenile delinquency) on which to develop their projects while others chose problems specific to their own circumstances (e.g., keeping the school courtyard clean). Their portfolios were judged by a team of community members who engaged the students in conversations about their portfolios. The portfolio of Franklin Township Middle School (Indianapolis, Indiana) represented Indiana at the first national-level Project Citizen competition and placed among the top five schools in the nation.

Like the *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution program, one of the challenges to implementing the Project Citizen program is informing teachers of its existence and of how to successfully incorporate it into their classes. To assist in overcoming these difficulties, a series of one-day teacher workshops, set to begin in the spring of 1998, will be held throughout Indiana. During the workshops, teachers review Project Citizen materials and explore possibilities for implementation in their own classrooms. In addition, teachers have the opportunity to interact with others who have successfully implemented the curriculum.

Project Citizen in post-communist countries. The adaptation, translation, and use of Project Citizen materials in newly established democracies is somewhat more natural than that of *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution. Because of its focus on community problems and student interaction with state and local government (as opposed to the focus on the United States Constitution in the *We the People . . .* program), the program may be adapted with only slight modifications. Some form of the Project Citizen program currently is being used in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Russia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.[5]

Over the past two years Bosnia-Herzegovina has developed a Project Citizen program involving hundreds of teachers and thousands of

students. In 1997 the first Federation-wide Project Citizen competition was held and included eighteen classes, nineteen teachers, and more than three hundred students. Although many of the public policy issues selected by students in Bosnia-Herzegovina were unique to their own situation (e.g., addressing the needs of refugees), many others were similar to ones selected by students in other countries (e.g., environmental concerns).

The Project Citizen program is a major part of the civic education program in the Czech Republic as well.[16] By the end of 1997, more than 1,400 copies of the Czech version of Project Citizen were distributed to teachers. Contributing to the success of the program in the Czech Republic is the widespread belief among educators and scholars that the program supports important democratic ideals through creative teaching methods.

Conclusion

Civic educators in the United States, Europe, and throughout the world benefit from the exchange of ideas and materials that have been a part of Civitas. Both the *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution and Project Citizen programs, although developed in the United States, are examples of effective civic education programs adapted and welcomed in various countries that value teaching and learning the principles and skills of democratic citizenship. In some instances major changes in the content have been necessary for successful implementation, but in others, mere translations of materials have been adequate to supplement existing civic education programs. The exchange of ideas about teaching methods and the development of curricular materials between educators in the United States and post-communist countries have expanded the opportunities for students around the world to learn more about government, how it works, and the responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society.

The examples of the *We the People . . .* The Citizen and the Constitution and Project Citizen programs suggest that good ideas about education, democracy, or indeed any topic, can and should be shared throughout the world. Countries, cultures, educational systems, political systems, or, perhaps more accurately, human beings, have enough in common to exchange and use principles and practices of democracy. Schools, teachers, students, and ultimately countries and the world will reap the benefits of this process.

NOTES

1. These instructional materials were published by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California.

2. Charles N. Quigley et al., eds., *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1994), 87–88. For grades nine through twelve, development of the standards was guided by the following organizing questions: What are civic life, politics, and government? What are the foundations of the American political system? How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy? What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? What are the roles of the citizen in American democracy?

3. Richard A. Brody, *Secondary Education and Political Attitudes: Examining the Effects on Political Tolerance of the* We the People . . . *Curriculum* (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1994), 10–12.

4. Ibid., 12.

5. Ibid., 12.

6. Ibid., 15.

7. Robert S. Leming, *An Evaluation of the Instructional Effects of the* We the People . . . The Citizen and the Constitution *Program Using "With Liberty and Justice for All"* (Bloomington, Indiana: Social Studies Development Center, 1993), 8.

8. Ibid., 8.

9. Ibid., 8.

10. Ruth Mitchell, *Testing for Learning: How New Approaches to Evaluation Can Improve American Schools* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 98.

11. See Charles N. Quigley and Jack N. Hoar, "Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program" in this journal issue for a detailed account of Civitas.

12. See Pyotr Polozhevets, Stephen L. Schechter, and Rimma Perelmuter "Civic Education and the Future of Democracy in Russia" in this journal issue for further information regarding civic education in Russia.

13. Center for Civic Education, "Center Materials Published in Russia," *Center Correspondent* 10 (fall 1997): 11.

14. See Helen S. Ridley, Balazs Hidveghi, and Annette Pitts, "Civic Education for Democracy in Hungary" in this journal issue for further information regarding civic education in Hungary.

15. In addition, efforts to implement *Project Citizen* in Latvia are currently in the planning stages.

16. See Pavla Polechova, Jana Valkova, Radmila Dostalova, Charles F. Bahmueller, and Beth Farnbach, "Civic Education in the Czech Republic" in this journal issue for further information regarding developments in the Czech Republic.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES IN ERIC ON METHODS AND MATERIALS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

THOMAS S. VONTZ

Although important throughout the history of democracy, the relationship of schooling, democracy, and citizenship recently has attracted increased attention throughout the world. Entering a centuries-old and continuing discussion, newly formed or reinstated democracies join others in attempting to formulate educational experiences that are consistent with and supportive of democratic principles. As the world's largest educational database, the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) provides a valuable resource for those interested in obtaining information and materials specifically related to education for democratic citizenship. The ERIC database, ERIC documents on microfiche, and other ERIC system resources are accessible in more than one thousand institutions in twenty-seven countries. The following annotated bibliography is a small sampling of the many materials on civic education available through ERIC and is representative of a variety of international perspectives.

ERIC is an information system of the United States Department of Education. Founded in 1966, ERIC consists of sixteen clearinghouses, each of which acquires current educational materials in specific subject areas (e.g., social studies/social science education). The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education is located at Indiana University's Social Studies Development Center and is directed by John J. Patrick. ERIC provides access to educational documents through its information storage and retrieval system. The ERIC system also maintains monthly print publications corresponding to the database records that publicize documents and periodical literature on education. *Resources in Education* (RIE) reports on documents in education, including lesson plans, curriculum guides, and research papers. A RIE record is denoted by a number preceded by the letters "ED," such as ED 375 048. The Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) reports on periodical literature published in approximately 830 major education and education-related journals. Each CIJE record is denoted by a number preceded by the letters "EJ," such as EJ 500 257. Both RIE and CIJE print records

provide the author, title, publisher, and sponsoring organization as well as a summary of the thesis, purpose, and content of the document.

ERIC documents may be accessed in a number of ways. Unrestricted public Internet access is available through the World Wide Web. (For more information contact ACCESS ERIC toll-free at (800) 538-3742 or use *http://www.aspensys.com/eric* to visit the system-wide ERIC World Wide Web site. In addition, ERIC retrieval systems are available at large public and university libraries.

The full text of many of the international civic education RIE documents referenced in this bibliography may be accessed through ERIC microfiche collections available at major libraries, purchased through the World Wide Web (electronic image format copies of documents with copyright clearance) through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS) webpage (*http://edrs.com/*), or ordered (paper copies) through EDRS: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 7420 Fullerton Road, Suite 110, Springfield, Virginia 22153-2852, telephone: (800) 443-3742.

CIJE articles annotated in this bibliography can be found in major library periodical collections or purchased from article reprint services such as at CARL UnCover, 3801 E. Florida, Suite 300, Denver, Colorado 80210, telephone: (800) 787-7979. To obtain articles from journals that do not permit reprints or ones not available in the library, write directly to the publisher. Addresses of publishers are listed in the front of each issue of CIJE, the monthly print publication available in many reference departments of libraries.

Since 1992 more than 1,300 documents and journal articles have been added to the ERIC database with "citizenship education" as a major descriptor. The annotated bibliography that follows is selective. The resources on civic education were chosen because of their relevance to an international audience, the degree to which they serve as examples of other types of resources in the database, and their timeliness in the continuing civic education dialogue. The list is by no means comprehensive. Rather, selected documents represent the best resources in the ERIC database that relate specifically to civic education for democracy from a variety of international perspectives. An ERIC search would yield a variety of other valuable resources in addition to the following selections.

Benavot, Aaron. "Education and Political Democratization: Cross-National and Longitudinal Findings." *Comparative Education Review* 40 (November 1996): 377-403. EJ 534 729. ISSN: 0010-4086.

This article evaluates the relative importance of educational, economic, and cultural factors in supporting the emergence and stability of democracy. Data from over more than one hundred countries on long-term changes in democracy, 1965–80 and 1980–88, support an institutional perspective that emphasizes the effect of elite higher education (as opposed to mass education and literacy) on political outcomes such as democratization

Birzea, Cesar. *Strategies for Interculturally-Oriented Civics Teaching at Primary and Secondary Level.* Final Symposium at Timisoara, Romania, December 7–11, 1994. Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1994. ED 395 920.

Birzea reports on the final symposium of the "Strategies for Interculturally-Oriented Civics Teaching at Primary and Secondary Level" pilot project, presents an overview of the various aspects of the project, and outlines the results of the experimental phase in which forty teachers representing sixteen European countries conducted civics education projects. Among the results were significant changes in the organization of civics education and in teacher/pupil skills, changes in curricula, improved arrangements for pupil cooperation and participation, and incorporation of the intercultural dimension into curricula and school life. The report closes with twelve conclusions and recommendations resulting from the symposium.

Butts, R. Freeman. *Analysis of Civic Education in the United States: National Standards and Civic Education in the United States.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Western Democracy and Eastern Europe: Political, Economic and Social Changes, East Berlin, Germany, 1991. ED 345 993.

Butts' paper discusses the status of civic education in the United States and the place of civic education in the current movement to establish national goals and standards for education. Most current reform efforts (e.g., America 2000) approach civic education by means of increasing the role of history and geography in the curriculum. Civics and government need to be established as core subjects in the curriculum. The seven hundred-page curriculum framework, *Civitas* (created by the Center for Civic Education), is described as one of the most important recent developments in civic education. The *Civitas* table of contents is appended.

Catlaks, Guntars. *Political Culture in Latvian Schools: Preparation for Democratic Citizenship.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Individualism and Community in a Democratic Society, Washington DC, 1996. ED 402 257.

Catlaks describes the history of Latvia's political culture in relation to the country's democratization, particularly in its schools over the last decade. Although many Latvian institutions have been slow to change, visible democratic developments have taken place in the classroom between teachers and students. The change has come mainly as an expansion in teachers' and students' freedom to make their own decisions. Prescriptions for Latvian teachers to continue the growth of their students' democratic citizenship include introducing new democracy education subject materials, teaching methods, and hands-on teacher training beginning with the primary level for teachers of all disciplines.

Chaffee, Steven H., and others. *Political Socialization via a Newspaper-in-Schools Program in Argentina: Effects of Variations in Teaching Methods. Final Report to the Spencer Foundation.* Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1997. ED 405 622.

This report examined the effects on political socialization of students in grades five and six, based on teachers' use of local newspapers in classrooms throughout Argentina (except in Buenos Aires) during the 1995 school year. Data were collected by self-administered questionnaires filled out by students, to measure educational outcomes, and by teachers, regarding teaching methods, throughout the country. Results indicated that use of the newspaper in the classroom significantly and positively affected students' political knowledge,

democratic norms, and communication behaviors. Strong effects were found on tolerance, support for democracy, the formation of political opinions, and on communication behaviors such as discussing politics with family members and reading the newspaper at home.

Cogan, John J., and Patricia K. Kubow, eds. *Citizenship Education Bibliography.* Minneapolis, Minnesota: Citizenship Education Policy Study, 1996. ED 405 283.

This bibliography cites more than three hundred publications on citizenship education. Sources, arranged alphabetically by author, include books, journal articles, conference papers, periodicals, reports, curricula, essays, handbooks, standards, teaching guides, research studies, and bibliographies from 1931 to October 1996.

Cogan, John J., and Patricia K. Kubow, eds. *Citizenship Theory Bibliography.* Minneapolis, Minnesota: Citizenship Education Policy Study, 1996. ED 405 282.

Cogan and Kubow cite more than 150 publications on citizenship theory. Sources, arranged alphabetically by author, include books, journal articles, essays, reports, conference papers, and periodicals from 1916 to October 1996.

De-Simone, Deborah M. "Educational Challenges Facing Eastern Europe." *Social Education* 60 (February 1996): 104-06. EJ 526 703. ISSN: 0037-7724.

De-Simone identifies three major educational problems facing Eastern Europe: the development of a new philosophy of education, new methodologies of education, and new methods of training teachers. She also examines the first tentative steps in these efforts and discusses education finance problems.

Dostalova, Radmila. *Humanistic and Democratic Goals in the Czech Secondary School (Aims and Outlooks).* Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1993. ED 372 021.

Dostalova argues that a tradition exists in the Czech cultural background for humanity and democracy in education, and that those values can be incorporated into the school environment again. The long-term isolation of Czechoslovakia from the developments in the social sciences that have taken place in the West since 1939 has resulted in an aversion to modern social sciences. Czech participants in discussions on the content of civic education agree that the central aim of civic education is to develop in students the skills for individual responsibility and social participation. The goal of social science teaching that developed from participant discussions is to provide pupils with an understanding of the principles of a democratic society and to identify the fundamental values of a democracy. Extracurricular activities based in the civics curriculum help the students to think critically, listen with discernment, and communicate with power and precision.

Feichter, Pat, and others. "Building Civic Education in Bosnia." *Social Education* 60 (November-December 1996): 426-27. EJ 536 761. ISSN: 0037-7724.

This work presents three brief articles recalling United States teachers' experiences conducting civic education workshops in Bosnia. Pat Feichter writes "Would I Return? In a Heartbeat." Gail Huschle examines "Beauty in the Midst of Devastation." Mary Bristol considers "Making Connections between Cultures."

Hanson, E. Mark. "Educational Change under Autocratic and Democratic Governments: The Case of Argentina." *Comparative Education Review* 40 (November 1996): 303-17. EJ 536 497. ISSN-0305-0068

The author compares the strategies, procedures, and outcomes of educational reform under Argentina's military autocratic government (1976-83) and the civilian democratic government that followed (1983-93). He points out that the harsh change strategies employed by the military regime proved ineffective, even disastrous, but the participative strategies of the democratic period also encountered numerous barriers.

Krauss, Ellis S. *Japan's Democracy. How Much Change? Headline Series No. 305*. Ithaca, New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1995. ED 392 697. ISBN: 0-87124-163-3. ISSN: 0017-8780.

This analysis of Japan's democracy focuses on changes in the postwar period and explores how the most recent changes are rooted in earlier transitions. It considers the potential future effects of those changes. After a brief introduction, four chapters follow Japan's democracy from the revolutionary changes of the American Occupation (1945-52) to the evolution that began with the Occupation and continued through the 1980s, to the upheavals of 1993-94, and finally, to the present and future of Japan's democracy. A final section presents suggested discussion questions for students and discussion groups.

Kuhmerker, Lisa. "The Foundations of Participatory Democracy." *Moral Education Forum* 20 (winter 1995): 35-43. EJ 533 765. ISSN: 0163-6480.

Kuhmerker's article summarizes the "Free to Learn, Free to Teach" program that draws linkages between considerate and compassionate behavior relevant to young children, and democratic values. Various charts and activities illuminating class, school, and safety rules also instruct the students in such democratic concepts as compromise and consensus.

Lazar, Mark, ed. *Fortifying the Foundations: United States Support for Developing and Strengthening Democracy in East Central Europe*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1996. ED 404 958. ISBN: 08-7206-236-8.

The East Central Europe Information Exchange collects and disseminates information on exchange and training programs undertaken with United States private and governmental funding. This study focused on programs related to democratization and civil society. An introductory section defines the parameters, background, and research methodology; lists the funding agencies involved; and summarizes some of the survey results and conclusions. Section one highlights assistance efforts devoted to legal reform; reviews the history of United States assistance to nongovernmental organizations in East Central Europe; illustrates with a case study many aspects of a program of assistance to local governments; and presents a model for assisting the development of nongovernmental organizations fostering human rights. Section two of the report includes a sample project survey and various types of program data, such as organization by primary field of activity, type of project, funding, and contact person. Appendixes contain a list of Soros Foundation and Democracy Network programs.

Mauch, James. *Civic Education in the Czech Republic. ASHE Annual Meeting Paper*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Orlando, Florida, 1995. ED 391 431.

Mauch describes aspects of the transition taking place in Czech educational efforts since the Velvet Revolution of 1989, particularly changes in the teaching of civic education in the schools. He takes the position that govern-

ments, no matter their type, find it important to mold new generations in areas of civic responsibility. His study is based on exploratory interviews with students, faculty, and administrators at the University of South Bohemia and at the Ministry of Education in 1992–94, and on a limited review of the literature.

Mistrik, Erich. *Aesthetics and Civics. Cultural Dimension of Civic Education.* Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1996. ED 400 222. ISBN: 80-85518-40-6.

This work reacts to the general neglect of cultural behavior education within civic education; illuminates particular problems, in the European context, of civic education in Slovakia; and concentrates on the main ideas of the PHARE project "Education for Citizenship and European Studies." Key ideas from the Department of Ethic and Civic Education in the Faculty of Education, Comenius University, in Bratislava (Slovakia), and also ideas about new concepts for civic education and teacher training are presented.

Oldenquist, Andrew, ed. *Can Democracy Be Taught?* Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1996. ED 401 207. ISBN: 0-87367-489-8.

This collection of essays was presented at a 1993 conference on Education for Democracy. All essays are concerned with aspects of the ideal of democracy: what it is, how it evolves, and the goals of democracy yet to be achieved. Contributors from the United States, South Africa, Germany, and Russia are experts in civic education, problems of minorities, the United States Constitution, the transition to democracy in former communist countries, and education and democracy in South Africa and Japan. Each essay implies that democracy has a concrete definition with a range of features and that, despite the imprimatur of "democracy" applied by a government, not all governments claiming to be democracies are true and genuine democracies.

Patrick, John J. "Civil Society in Democracy's Third Wave: Implications for Civic Education." *Social Education* 60 (November–December 1996): 414-17. EJ 536 756. ISSN: 0037-7724.

Patrick discusses civil society as a central idea in the recent global resurgence of democracy. Recent developments represent a turning away from state-centered conceptions of government and a renewal of voluntary, community-based, non-governmental organizations as a means of renewing democracy. As civil society has surged globally, it has sagged in the United States, its long-time exemplar. The time is ripe to seek a renewal of civil society in the United States through civic education and current educational reforms.

Patrick, John J. *Community and Individuality in Civic Education for Democracy.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Individualism and Community in a Democratic Society, Washington, DC, 1996. ED 403 205.

This work argues that inquiry into the relationship of community and individuality should be at the center of civic education and presents five recommendations that should help civic educators meet this challenge. (1) teach the analysis and appraisal of public issues about community and individuality and emphasize those issues that have been landmarks of public debate in United States history; (2) teach comparatively and internationally about public issues pertaining to community and individuality in different constitutional democracies of the world; (3) conduct the classroom and the school in a manner that exemplifies conjoining the community and the individual in a democratic civic

culture; (4) use service learning in the community outside the school to teach the civic virtues and skills needed to conjoin the community and the individual in civic life; and (5) teach the civic knowledge, skills, and virtues that constitute a common core of learning that will maintain the culture of a community and at the same time teach individuals to think critically in order to free themselves from unworthy traditions and seek the improvement of the community.

Patrick, John J. *National Standards as Reflectors and Directors of Practices in Civic Education in the United States of America.* Paper presented at the Civitas International Civic Education Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1996. ED 403 204.

The National Standards are examined here by the responses to three questions: What conception of civic education is conveyed by these National Standards? What notable trends in educational practices exemplify the implementation or operationalization of ideas in the standards? How have the National Standards influenced national assessment of student achievement? The report concludes that since 1994 the standards have become criteria by which to criticize constructively civic education programs and practices. It argues that the National Standards in Civics project should not be a "one-shot" project. Rather, constructive criticism directed at the standards should stimulate the next round of development of United States national standards for civic education.

Print, Murray. "The New Civics Education: An Integrated Approach for Australian Schools." *Social Education* 60 (November–December, 1996): 443–46. EJ 536 765. ISSN: 0037-7724.

This article describes the recent revitalization of civics education in Australian schools. The approach incorporates traditional citizenship education into a new curriculum that addresses environmental and multicultural issues. Print also delineates the guidelines and goals of this new curriculum.

Quigley, Charles N., and Charles Bahmueller, eds. *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education.* New York: National Council for the Social Studies Publications, 1991. ED 340 654.

Civitas is a curriculum framework that sets forth a set of national goals to be achieved in a civic education curriculum, primarily for K–12 public and private schools. It proposes to specify the knowledge and skills needed by people to perform their roles as citizens in the United States democracy. There are two major sections in the framework: a rationale that explains the basic philosophy, purpose, and nature of the framework and a statement of goals and objectives that civic education should foster. This second section is divided into three parts—Civic Virtue, Civic Participation, and Civic Knowledge and Intellectual Skills. The intended audience for the curriculum is educators at state and local levels who are concerned with the development of civic education curricula in the schools. Classroom teachers also may find the framework a useful resource and reference book. A six-page executive summary is appended.

Quigley, Charles N., and others. We the People . . . Project Citizen: *A Civic Education Project for Grades 6 through 9.* Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1996. ED 027 212. ISBN: 0-89818-156-9.

This project is designed to help students develop citizenship skills important for intelligent and effective participation in a self-governing society. Specific educational objectives include helping students learn how to express their

opinions; how to decide which level of government and which agency is most appropriate for dealing with the community problems they identify; and how to influence policy decisions at that level of government. The guide provides students with step-by-step instructions for identifying and studying a public policy problem and for developing a class portfolio, an organized cumulative collection of information (statements, charts, graphs, photographs, and original art work) that makes up the class plan for the public policy issue the class has studied.

Remy, Richard C., and Jacek Strzemieczny, eds. *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland.* Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996. ED 396 986. ISBN: 0-87986-069-3.

This book reflectively analyzes the effort since 1991 by Polish and United States educators to develop civic education programs for schools and teachers in Poland. There are thirteen chapters by authors from the United States and Eastern Europe. Appendixes include a list of Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland (EDCP) publications, a list of documents related to EDCP, and an overview of the education system in Poland.

Sayer, John, ed. *Developing Schools for Democracy in Europe. An Example of Trans-European Cooperation in Education.* Wallingford, England: Triangle Books, 1995. ED 402 258. ISBN: 1-873927-13-4.

Sayer and others describe the work of a Trans-European Mobility Schemes for University Studies (TEMPUS) project, directed by John Sayer and based in the Department of Educational Studies of the University of Oxford. The project's activities, concerned principally with the development of democratic processes in the elementary, secondary, and higher education systems of the Czech Republic and Poland, are illustrated through twenty papers. Taken together, these papers provide an extensive case study of a democratic collaboration by four European universities from very different social, economic, political, and cultural settings, working with local schools and authorities across disciplines in an attempt to develop schools for democracy in Europe.

Sears, Alan. "What Research Tells Us about Citizenship in English Canada." *Canadian Social Studies* 30 (spring 1996): 121–27. EJ 531 604. ISSN: 1191-162X.

Sears reviews recent research on citizenship education in Canada and discovers that, although citizenship education is widely promoted, little is known about actual classroom practices and wide disparities exist about the very definition of citizenship. Some evidence suggests improvement; however, more research is needed.

Slomczynski, Kazimierz M., and Goldie Shabad. "Continuity and Change in Political Socialization in Poland." *Comparative Education Review* 41 (February 1997): 44–70. EJ 539 943. ISSN: 0010-4086.

Polish teachers who volunteered to introduce civic education about democracy, parents, and students aged thirteen to fourteen were surveyed to examine individual levels of support for democracy and a market economy in relation to three psychological dimensions widely thought to affect political and economic attitudes: the valuation of self-direction, authoritarian conservatism, and resistance to change.

Smith, Duane F. *The Implications of the Individualism/Communitarian Debate for Civic Education: Observations and Prejudices.* Paper presented at the International Conference on Individualism and Community in a Democratic Society, Washington, DC, 1996. ED 403 201.

Smith evaluates how civic education in the United States is affected by the competing theories of liberalism and communitarianism. Each theory's intellectual history and meaning is explained briefly. The implications of the "debate between the defenders of liberalism and their communitarian critics for civic education," although few, include educators' excessive concern for the affairs of the community; students' ability to evaluate liberal and communitarian claims; students' comprehension of democratic theory and the history of democratic practice; students' behavior in terms of the requirements of basic civility and responsibility; and students' awareness of and desire to experience life's possibilities. Comparing democracy to the theater, civic educators need to prepare their students of democratic politics to be, when not acting, audiences of "enlightened and critical viewers, readers, a[illegible] listeners" who attend most performances.

Snauwaert, Dale T. "International [illegible]ics, Community, and Civic Education." *Peabody Journal of Education* 70 (summer 1995): 119–38. EJ 523 829. ISSN: 0161-956X.

This paper discusses community and morality in an international context, recommending a transnational ethic grounded in international custom and agreement and noting that the Nuremberg Obligation provides a foundation for such an ethic. Snauwaert maintains that this ethic provides the moral foundation for a civic education cognizant of global interdependence.

Spiecker, Ben, and Jan Steutel. "Political Liberalism, Civic Education, and the Dutch Government." *Journal of Moral Education* 24 (November 1995): 383–94. EJ 523 789. ISSN: 0305-7240.

Is the transmission of norms and values an appropriate function of liberal education as envisioned in a liberal constitutional state (The Netherlands)? This paper draws a distinction between the inculcation of intellectual virtues and indoctrination and presents a cogent analysis of the concepts and objectives of liberal education for citizenship.

Taylor, Anthea. "Education for Democracy: Assimilation or Emancipation for Aboriginal Australians?" *Comparative Education Review* 40 (November 1996): 426–38. EJ 534 731. ISSN: 0010-4086.

Taylor reviews teaching for and about democracy in Australia, and identifies key concepts embedded in the notion of democracy (representation, leadership, decision making, public criticism). The article draws on ethnographic data from settled and remote Aboriginal Australia to explore whether understandings and practices associated with these concepts are shared by the dominant society and the ramifications of this fit for citizenship education.

Theobald, Paul, and Vicky Newman. *The Implications of Communitarian/Liberal Theory for Public Education. Work in Progress Series, No. 4.* Seattle, Washington: Institute for Educational Inquiry, 1994. ED 399 217.

This paper outlines the debate between liberals and communitarians in the field of political theory, notes the individual orientation in traditional liberal theory, and contrasts it with the communal orientation in communitarian thinking, the distinction between the liberal emphasis on the right and the communitarian emphasis on the good; the liberal propensity for difference-blindness in policy formation against communitarian attention to particularity; and the liberal fondness for proceduralism against the communitarian allegiance to participation. The paper concludes that if schools move toward more emphasis on the communitarian ideal of the good with due concern for funda-

mental individual rights, the result will be a greater degree of democracy than traditional liberalism has allowed.

Thompson, J. D. Ekundayo. *Political Literacy and Civic Education Curriculum. An Integrated Approach.* Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1996. ED 395 139.

The Political Literacy and Civic Education (PLACE) project in Kroo Bay, Freetown, Sierra Leone, was developed to enable people, through functional literacy and civic education, to participate in the processes of good governance by exercising their rights, duties, and obligations in an informed and responsible manner. The project suggests a curriculum based on knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be acquired, in the context of the need for political development and in the face of previous poor economic development policies. A framework for developing a political literacy and civic education curriculum is suggested, with the concepts to be taught related to instructional and possible lesson topics in an integrated approach. A model for facilitating curriculum is provided.

Tschoumy, Jacques Andre. *Montee en Puissance d'une Europe des Citoyennetes Composees (The Coming into Force of a Europe of Compound Citizenships).* Neuchatel, Switzerland: Institut Romand de Recherches et de Documentation Pedagogiques (IRDP), 1993. ED 395 885.

Tschoumy examines the changes occurring in French-speaking Switzerland as represented by the nearly thirty Children's Parliaments that have emerged in the past few months. Specialists agree that European societies are experiencing a period of decomposition/recomposition, a political and cultural process that will lead to a social renaissance of unknown proportions. Previously, citizenship was a simple process. The new citizenship will change from the state domains to the infra-state and supra-state levels, and will feature new compound citizenships that are more socially appropriate for mobile young people. Basic questions emerge. Will education for citizenship contribute to the development of compound citizenships in Europe? What education is needed for compound citizenships?

Valdmaa, Sulev. *Civic Education Curricula for the Forms IX and XII. An Extract from the Frame Curricula for the Basic School of the Estonian Education Center, Tallinn, Estonia.* Alexandria, Virginia: EDRS, 1994. ED 374 054.

This paper discusses the framework for civic education in Estonia. Objectives of civic education in Estonia come from the traditional beliefs of Estonian society, the new demands of social change, standards established by the Council of Europe, and experiences of neighboring countries. The main objective of civic education is to teach a new generation, regardless of its nationality, to become citizens of the world and to be loyal to the democratic Republic of Estonia. The civic education curriculum of the basic school for the ninth form is divided into thirty-five lessons in five areas. The curriculum for the twelfth form consists of seventy lessons in two areas. The first focuses on society from the aspects of political, social, and cultural life. The second discusses the economy of societies and the contemporary world.

White, Patricia. *Civic Virtues and Public Schooling. Educating Citizens for a Democratic Society.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1996. ED 399 209. ISBN: 0-8077-3499-3.

White examines the role teachers and schools can and should play in educating young people to become good citizens in a democratic society. She concentrates on becoming and being civil in the everyday world and how certain

virtues and values of ordinary people stand out as important to the maintenance and flourishing of a democratic ethos in an open, pluralistic society.

Wong, Suk Ying. "The Evolution of Social Science Instruction, 1900–86: A Cross-National Study." *Sociology of Education* 64 (January 1991): 33-47. EJ 430 548. ISSN: 0038-0407.

This cross-national study examines how social science, social studies, and civics instruction have evolved in public education and finds that countries frequently adapt social science curricula independent of local conditions. Wong suggests that this practice produces a homogeneity of curricula over time and national boundaries, and illustrates curriculum's central role in modern integrated societies through study of curriculum development in the Philippines and Nigeria.

Yildirim, Ali. *Teaching and Learning in Middle School Social Studies in Turkey: An Analysis of Curriculum Implementation.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, 1996. ED 402 245.

Yildirim assesses curriculum implementation in social studies courses at the middle school level from the perspectives of teachers and students. This study included eighty-eight middle schools in twenty-two provinces representing the seven geographic regions in Turkey. Separate questionnaires were designed for the two groups to explore their perceptions of the teaching and learning process in social studies courses. Results are organized under three parts: teachers' perceptions of the curriculum guidelines they use; teachers' and students' assessments of the teaching and learning process in social studies courses in terms of teaching/learning activities, instructional materials, types of assignments and evaluation methods used; and the impact of social studies courses on students from their point of view.

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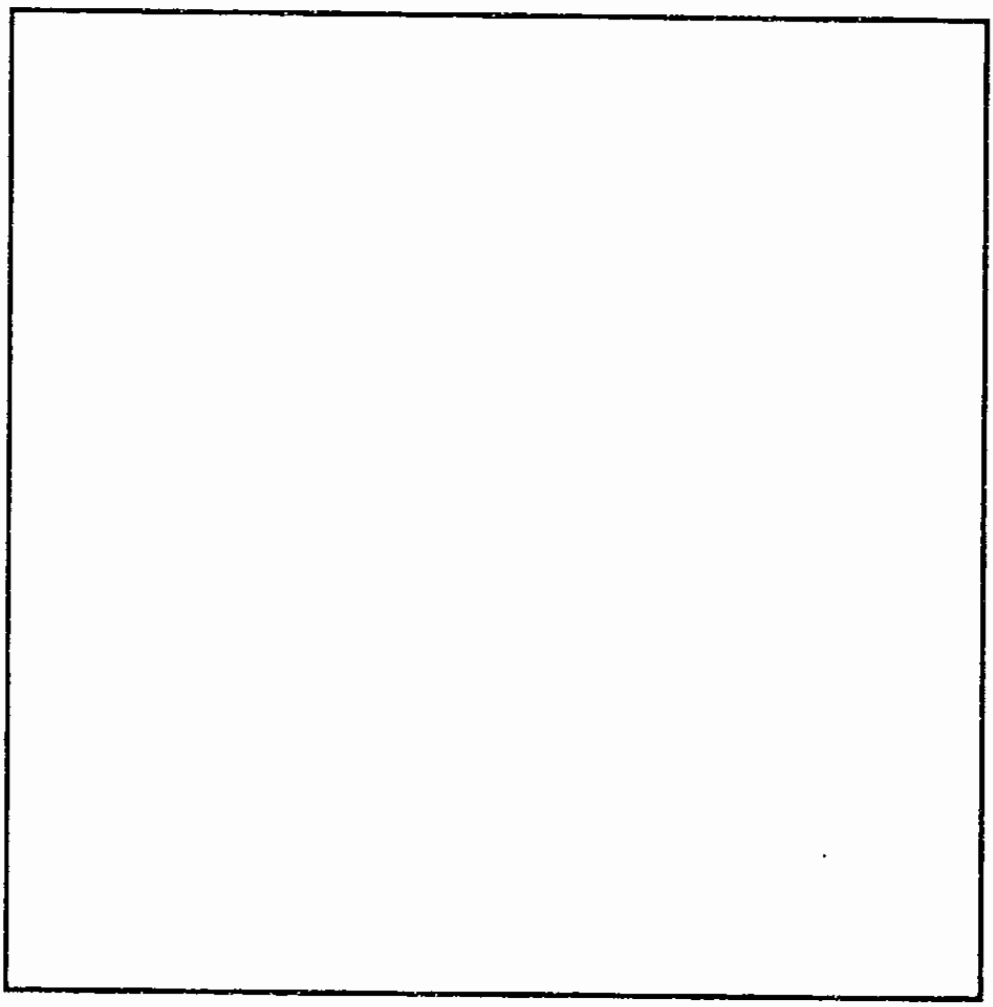

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