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# Civic Education when democracy is in flux: The impact of empirical research on policy and practice in Latin America

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International Journal

## Citizenship Teaching and Learning

Special Issue: Reflections on the IEA Civic  
Education Study (1995-2005)

Guest Editor: Judith Torney-Purta,  
University of Maryland

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In collaboration with CiCea

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## *Guest Editor's Introduction*

JUDITH TORNEY-PURTA, *University of Maryland*

### **An introduction to IEA and its history**

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has multiple identities. Concretely it is a consortium of educational research organizations from more than 60 countries. Its small Headquarters staff (in Amsterdam) and its governing body (the General Assembly) parallel other organizations, but IEA has a spirit that goes beyond those entities, in part because of its history. In the 1950s a small and tightly knit group of European and American scholars envisioned an empirically based science of comparative education and established the organization. They were disillusioned with descriptive work restricted to the inputs of education (for example, how many students were enrolled across countries) and chose instead to develop tests of outcomes that would be valid cross-nationally. Torsten Husen's two volumes published in 1966, describing the results of IEA's first study of mathematics in 12 countries, credited the success of this effort to competent leaders in educational research across Europe and North America, and cooperation at all levels. Because of its commitment to the ideal of international collaboration with the goal of understanding education in all its dimensions, IEA has always been more than the sum of its publications, as impressive as they are. I believe that this is especially true of its studies in civic education.

In the late 1960s IEA's research infrastructure was sufficiently strong that the General Assembly decided to survey six subject areas including science, reading in the mother tongue, and civic education. In 1971 a Civic Education Study organized by IEA tested 32,000 students in ten countries. Among the innovations were the inclusion of both a measure of civic knowledge and internationally reliable attitude scales. One assessed the extent of support for women's political rights, a relatively new idea in 1970. That study concluded that an open climate for classroom discussion of controversial issues fostered greater civic knowledge and less authoritarianism (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). Research in the field known as political socialization, conducted from 1955 to the early 1970s, formed part of the background for the IEA Study. As one example, Jennings and Niemi's work following secondary school students into adulthood was pivotal for political scientists (1974). As other issues and theoretical models became central in political scientists' research agendas, however, there was a decline in this research in the late 1970's (Cook, 1985).

A few psychologists and educators continued to study politically relevant attitudes building on early studies using interviews (Connell, 1971), and interviews followed by surveys (Hess and Torney, 1967, reissued 2005). There was a gap of about 15 years in research on the developmental perspective in political

socialization, however. Civic education as a subject for IEA studies also went into eclipse for 25 years.

The IEA organization moved into the educational research spotlight in the late 1980s with TIMSS (the Third International Mathematics and Science Study). The National Education Goal of making the United States first in the world in science and mathematics by the year 2000 had been announced, and IEA's methods and structures were well designed to measure the extent of this progress. IEA still had the competence and cooperation that had ensured its success three decades earlier.

During the 1980s IEA focused its large-scale data collections on mathematics and science along with reading literacy. In the early 1990s some member countries asked IEA to organize a study of civic education that would have a strong knowledge test as well as measures of young people's attitudes and behaviours. Some supporters of this study hoped it would bring attention to the subject area and increase interest in reform.

In the context of the early 1990s, with the establishment of new democracies, there was broad interest in adolescents' preparation for citizenship. The IEA Civic Education Study was initiated as these issues were being revisited by educators and researchers in many countries.

### **The IEA Civic Education Study**

From the beginning of the CIVED Study in 1993, it was clear that it would differ from much of IEA's previous work. The Study's aim was to look at the effects of schools on civic education outcomes, but the researchers had to consider the context of other institutions and the political culture of each participating country. Civic Education was not a designated subject in the curriculum of many countries, even well established democracies. It was essential to gather information about the expectations in different countries for what students should know and believe about citizenship. There was considerable scepticism about whether it would be possible to carry out a study that would be informative to educators in newly established as well as long standing democracies. A cross-national consensus building process was essential.

The Study's first phase consisted of national case studies from 24 countries conducted from 1995 through 1997. This was an extensive in-depth comparative analysis of current practices and expectations for what students should know and understand about citizenship. It served as the basis for a consensus process to develop content specifications for a test of civic knowledge (with right and wrong answers) and also a survey of political attitudes and civic behaviour. These case studies also provided contextual information for interpreting the test and survey data collected in 1999–2000. For analysis within and across countries of the data collected during Phase 1 see Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo (1999) and Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta, and Schwille (2002).

The second phase of the IEA Civic Education Study began in 1997. An International Steering Committee, together with National Research Coordinators, constructed and pre-piloted items and then piloted an instrument that would be suitable for early and late adolescents and would take about two class periods. There was a 38-item test of civic content knowledge and skills; the attitude survey included some items especially constructed for adolescents and other drawn from political scientists' surveys. Nationally representative samples of students in the modal grade for 14-year-olds (a total of about 90,000 students from 28 countries) were tested in 1999; students ranging in age from 16 to 19 (a total of about 50,000

students from 16 countries) were tested in 2000. See Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz (2001) and Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova (2002) for a description of scaling and analysis of the early and late adolescent samples, respectively, and Torney-Purta (2004) for a reflection on the process.

Once a study has been approved by the IEA General Assembly, each member country is invited to participate. Twenty-eight countries responded by testing 14-year-olds in the IEA CIVED Study: Australia, Belgium (French speaking), Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Data from this age group is the focus of this special issue.

Because of limited resources the extent of primary analysis that could be undertaken was relatively minimal when compared to the amount of information available from the students and teachers tested and surveyed during CIVED. Some important sections of the student survey were not included in IEA reports at all, for example, perceptions of educational inequality, expected future participation in community or charity activities, and political efficacy. Some items included in the report were limited to descriptive data (e.g., percentages of students joining different organizations or experiencing school learning objectives) but little was included about the correlates of this participation or of teaching with these objectives. Secondary analysis has special importance in the CIVED study and in the approximately 5 years since the data were released on the IEA webpage, several articles and chapters have appeared reporting these analyses (list of publications on <http://www.wam.umd.edu/~iea>). It was hoped that dissemination of a well-documented data set would further improve the quality of research on civic knowledge and engagement of youth and place it into an international perspective. The CEDARS Project (Civic Education Data and Researcher Services) at the University of Maryland took further steps to make the data useful to researchers (including developing new scales and preparing the data for the ICPSR archives at the University of Michigan, used extensively by political scientists).

### **The special issue**

In Australia and England large-scale projects of civic and citizenship education have been implemented since 2001; in the United States an effort to reinvigorate the Civic Mission of Schools is underway; and in the post-Communist countries and parts of Latin America educational reform is taking place. There has been little opportunity, however, for reflection on what the Study has meant for civic education and educational reform (at the country or regional level) and what its lessons are for the future of preparation for citizenship. This is the aim of this special issue. It includes five articles containing reflections about what both phases of the IEA Civic Education Study have meant for civic and citizenship education practice, policy and research. The authors who were invited to submit articles were not directly responsible for conducting the study in participating countries and bring a fresh but informed point of view. Two articles concentrate on specific countries (the United States and Australia) while two concentrate on particular regions (Latin America and the Post-Communist countries); one article deals with publications from the qualitative first phase of the Study. Some of the articles deal with national policy or its implementation and others present examples of school level civic engagement

programmes. Two reviews cover books that are focused on the role of civic education broadly conceived. Each article in the issue relates the CIVED process and findings to political and educational reform taking place during the decade and a half that began in the early 1990s. Some of the articles present empirical data about civic knowledge and attitudes in a new perspective, while others make suggestions for future surveys or call for more comparative qualitative research resembling the first phase of the study. A common theme is the irrelevance of education for democratic citizenship when it is narrowly defined to include only abstract concepts or concrete facts. These authors argue that assisting students in wrestling with issues in their classrooms and looking at everyday interactions in their own communities are essential components of successful education for citizenship.

This special issue comes at an opportune time, since IEA has begun planning for the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) to collect data in 2008-2009. A series of reflections on the qualitative and quantitative data collected and analyzed from 1995-2005 can provide background and an opportunity for reflection as this new study is designed and implemented.

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## NOTES

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## *Civic Education When Democracy Is In Flux: The Impact Of Empirical Research On Policy And Practice In Latin America*

FERNANDO REIMERS, *Harvard University*

**ABSTRACT** This paper examines the impact of the IEA International Civic Education Study on policy and practice in Latin America. It documents significant influence on curriculum revision in the two countries that participated, Chile and Colombia, as well as indirect impact in regional policy discussions. The provision of solid comparative descriptive analysis of nationally representative samples of students was especially influential. The article describes the integration of Latin American education policy leaders in international professional networks in citizenship education. It discusses the limited impact of these studies on teaching practice and school culture. This can be attributed first, to the study's organization along the top down institutional lines that also characterize policy making in Latin America, which may have lessened impact on teacher education institutions or teacher organizations, and second to the design of the study, which could not assess the contribution of specific programs of citizenship education to civic knowledge and skills.

### **Introduction**

This paper examines the politics and policies relating to the reform of civic education in Latin America during the last decade. I review in particular the impact on policy and practice of the IEA Civic Education Study (abbreviated CIVED) in Chile and Colombia, and in other countries in the region, and discuss some ongoing challenges in the study of citizenship education and their implications for research utilization and impact on practice.

The IEA Civic Education Study contributed to focusing attention on citizenship education as a purpose of instruction particularly in the two countries where students were surveyed in 1999-2000, Chile and Colombia. It also contributed to the expansion of understanding regarding civic education from a narrow definition focused on the acquisition of factual knowledge about the institutions and processes of government, to a broader definition that incorporates the ability to utilize knowledge (skills), as well as to participate and engage in various organizations and the broader community. It moved the field from a focus on the opportunity to learn in a single curriculum subject, to a more encompassing view of opportunity to learn through multiple subjects of instruction and school culture (Torney-Purta, Lehman, Oswald, & Schultz, 2001, p.176).

The reports generated from the study directly contributed to curriculum revision and, in the case of Colombia, to advancing an interest in student learning outcomes (knowledge and skills) as essential to discussions about educational quality. The reports also contributed indirectly to regional policy dialogue about civic education. They were often cited in reports and conferences convened to discuss the civic purposes of schools as among the few empirical studies documenting students' skills and knowledge. The study contributed least to discussions of programs and pedagogies largely because the survey instruments were not designed to assess the relative effectiveness of modalities of civic education. A major contribution of the study was to set the stage for the next IEA international study of civic education (ICCS) in which six countries of Latin America are participating with testing taking place in 2009 and in which there will be a Latin American module with questions designed to address regional issues.

The study had its impact through two principal mechanisms. The first was the generation of comparative descriptive empirical knowledge. The second mechanism was the professional development and integration of key individuals into educational networks. These individuals then took a prominent role in reforms in civic education in their countries. A series of contextual conditions in the region, including a growing emphasis on educational quality and student assessment, facilitated this process.

In recent years, two factors have encouraged attention to citizenship education. The first is a growing interest in the stability of democracy in the region. The second is a renewed attention to consolidating institutions that permit a transition from electoral democracy towards democracy as a way of life. International institutions and professional networks of educators have played central roles in supporting initiatives to sustain interest in democratic citizenship education.

### **Political context and shifts in Latin America.**

During the last twenty years Latin America has experienced significant political change. The early 1980s marked a return to democratic rule for the majority of Latin American nations, which had experienced periods of military rule. Before 1978 only Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela elected their leaders through competitive and free elections. Between 1978 and 1990 democratic transitions took place in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay (Payne, et al. 2007). With the exception of Cuba all Latin American nations have had competitive elections since this most recent democratic transition. Civil freedoms, human rights and democratic institutions have expanded since these transitions in most countries, with the exceptions of Cuba and Venezuela. The impact of recent presidential elections in Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela on democratic institutions is still an open question.

Increased political participation and representation have brought new questions about the way to deepen democracy, in the sense of moving from electoral democracy to democracy as a way of life (UNDP 2004). This is particularly true in the Latin American context in which deep seated economic and social institutions reproduce high levels of social inequality and poverty. Public opinion polls in the region reveal high levels of dissatisfaction with democratic institutions, and limited support for democracy as a form of government. While slightly more than half of the population prefers democracy over other kind of governments, such support has been declining. About a third of the population thinks either authoritarian

government is better or that there is no difference between types of government. Of particular interest are the tradeoffs that Latin Americans make between freedom and economic security. In Mexico, for instance, 60% of the population prefers democracy over other form of government; however, 67% of the population would not mind an authoritarian government if it was able to address the economic needs of the population (Latinobarometro, 2004).

More than half of the population in Latin America believes that politics are so complicated that they can't understand them (Latinobarometro 2005). Participation in political activities, beyond electoral participation, is infrequent. On average in Latin America only 27% of those surveyed talk about politics with friends, 19% work for an issue that affects them or their community, 17% try to convince someone of their political ideas and 6% work or have worked for a political party or candidate (Latinobarometro 2005). Of particular interest is that 29% percent of the younger generation (ages 16 to 29) have non-democratic orientations (UNDP 2004). Given that the great majority of the population is young, these attitudes toward democracy are consequential for the future of democracy in the region.

Current issues with significant consequences for democratic citizenship include: first, persistent poverty and inequality, which constrain the opportunities for social and economic participation for large segments of the population; second, the reappearance of authoritarian forms of government in a few countries in Latin America, constraining open political competition; third, the fact that Venezuela, one of the States now exhibiting a return to authoritarianism is using its vast oil resources to facilitate the acceptance of those practices domestically as well as to support like-minded regimes elsewhere in the region; fourth, the expansion of criminality and violence associated with drug trafficking, which undermines the rule of law and of democratic institutions in some countries in the region; and, fifth the persistence of various forms of capture of public institutions to serve the private interests of political parties, politicians, bureaucrats or unions and other forms of corruption which undermine the effectiveness of social service provision and the trust of the public in public institutions.

### **Educational contexts in Latin America and major reform initiatives.**

Public schools in Latin America were established in the early 1900s, but high levels of educational inequality continue to reproduce high levels of social and economic inequality. The approximately 40% of the population that is poor in Latin America has initial access to elementary instruction, but usually in schools of low quality, which leads many children to drop out. Access to secondary education is constrained and only the most privileged attend higher education (Reimers 2006).

During the 1980s the education systems in the region suffered the impact of economic adjustment resulting from large macro-economic imbalances, and a debt crisis. This constrained the level of education funding, limiting educational expansion and the improvement of education quality (Reimers 1991). The 1990s represented an inflection point marked by a consensus among policy elites on the importance of improving the quality of education to increase countries' economic competitiveness. Some countries in the region used education to strengthen democratic citizenship. A milestone was the 1992 publication of a report by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, 'Education and knowledge: Basic pillars of changing production patterns with social equity'. Its central thesis was that in order to enhance economic competitiveness in ways consistent with political democratization and growing social equity, it was necessary to modernize education.

Specific proposals focused on increasing resources to education, decentralizing educational management and increasing educational accountability (United Nations ECLAC, 1992).

In the early 1990s most countries of Latin America advanced education reforms along the lines suggested in the UN ECLAC document. Education expenditures increased and governance was decentralized. In some cases nations transferred responsibilities to states or municipalities, in other cases they experimented with school based management. Many countries established national testing systems. Education quality was increasingly understood as reflected in student learning assessments based on the curriculum. Paradoxically, concerns with the content of the curriculum, the preparation of instructional materials, pedagogy, and teacher preparation were by-products and not central to these reforms.

Consistent with this emphasis on student academic achievement as an indication of quality, most countries in the region developed national systems of assessment, and a few participated in international studies of achievement. In 1995 Argentina, Colombia and Mexico participated in the Third Mathematics and Science Study. Chile began to participate in TIMSS in 1999 and El Salvador and Honduras participated in 2007 (<http://nces.ed.gov/timss/countries.asp>).

In 1997, UNESCO's regional office for education in Latin America organized the Latin American Laboratory for the Assessment of the Quality of Education, which assessed the literacy and math skills of third and fourth grade students in thirteen countries. In 2006 there was a follow-up study in eleven of these countries and four additional ones. The growing interest in the assessment of student knowledge and in international comparisons facilitated the participation of Chile and Colombia in the IEA Civic Education Study which took place starting in 1994 with case studies of civic education in twenty-four countries, followed by testing of nationally representative samples of 14-year-old students in 1999 (28 countries) and of upper secondary students in 2000 (16 countries). This participation in comparative studies complemented the growing use of national assessment systems to inform policy making. In Colombia, for instance, the definition of national standards and the implementation of a system of student assessment in the early 2000s was a cornerstone of policies aimed at improving education quality. The assessment of civic knowledge and skills remains an integral part of these reforms. In Chile, a national system of student assessment has existed since the late 1980s. Since 1990 it has been used for policy purposes, initially to target the schools where students had the lowest levels of student achievement and subsequently to assess the impact of various interventions targeted to the improvement of educational quality.

### **Civic education and the IEA studies.**

The overall results of the IEA study of Civic Education for 14-year-olds were released in March of 2001 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz, 2001) and for upper secondary students were released in July of 2002 (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova, 2002). These results allowed for comparison across countries of student knowledge and skills in a range of core concepts about democracy. Chilean and Colombian students were at the bottom of the distribution of scores from 28 countries testing 14-year-olds and the average scores in these two countries were significantly below the international mean (Torney-Purta, et.al., 2001). A detailed analysis of the data from Chile, Colombia, Portugal and the United States (including an examination of responses to individual items) was funded by the Organization of American States and conducted by Torney-Purta and

Amadeo (2004). The deficits in civic knowledge were of approximately the same size among the lower secondary and the upper secondary students, suggesting that the problems may lie in the education provided before the age of 14 and may include deficits in reading comprehension of complex texts, as well as in content knowledge.

To give one example, only half of the students in Chile correctly answered a question about who should govern in a democracy by choosing “popularly elected officials” (many students choosing instead the incorrect answer that experts in politics ought to govern). A reasonable proportion of students in Colombia were able to answer questions about the ideal features of democracy (on some questions a higher percentage than in Chile). The Colombian students, however, performed very poorly when questions dealt with the rights of citizens to dissent, or with dictatorships and non-democratic government. Chilean students also scored very poorly when questions required understanding these threats to democracy (Torney-Purta, 2005, Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004). The results of the IEA Study also showed that youth in Colombia and Chile did not trust their national government institutions, though they expressed a higher level of trust in their schools than students in many other countries. The study found that, in spite of relatively low levels of knowledge and skill, the majority of young people in these countries participated in community and solidarity groups, even as they expressed distrust and detachment from formal political institutions (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004).

A survey including and augmenting the publicly released questions of the IEA study administered in Mexico in 2002 found that less than half of the respondents understood that in a democracy popularly elected representatives should govern (Guevara and Tirado 2006). Equally low was the knowledge of the Constitution, the function of civic organizations and of laws, the ability to identify corruption, the function of regularly held elections, political parties, or Congress. These authors found that nearly 90% of students confused the different levels of government. Further, 53% agreed with the statement: “if the law is against your interests it is legitimate not to abide by it”.

The CIVED Study in Chile and Colombia has directly impacted the professional development of individuals who have subsequently played leading roles in advancing efforts to strengthen civic education. This increased professional capacity resulted from the direct experience of organizing the research to meet IEA’s criteria, but also from engagement in the international network of scholars that participated in the study. In Chile, the national director of curriculum was an active participant in meetings convened by the IEA and other international organizations (Cox, 2003). He both contributed to and learned from this cross-national enterprise. He played a leading role in the design of a new curriculum of civic education. The new curriculum was not directly informed by the results of the study because it was designed between 1996 and 1999, and the results of CIVED were only available in 2001. An examination of the poor performance of Chilean students did generate awareness among top ministry officials that they had failed to modify the 1981 curriculum of civic education in a timely fashion. The targeted analysis of the CIVED results conducted by Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2004) did have direct influence on the proposals developed by the Commission of Citizenship Education established in 2004. The significant curriculum changes the Commission recommended have not yet been implemented, however [2].

In Colombia, a senior national advisor to the Minister of Education on citizenship education, and a leader spearheading numerous initiatives to advance citizenship education in the country, was involved with the IEA team after 2001 and is involved in the design of the current ICCS. The most direct impact of the IEA

CIVED Study in Colombia was in the development of the national system of assessment for civic education, rather than in the redesign of curriculum. When asked what impact the study had in Colombia, the current national coordinator of citizenship education reported:

*[The study] taught us how to assess and has influenced many of the assessments we have developed in Colombia. It is at the basis of how we defined citizenship competencies. However, few people talk about the study in Colombia... Those who know about the study include the professionals in the testing agency, but not the teachers. (Rosario Jaramillo. Personal Communication. May 2007).*

The impact of the study has been mostly at the policy level, and so in spite of growing interest in citizenship education in Latin America little has changed in classroom practice in this area. Challenges to the pedagogy of civic education exist in most countries in the region. In Mexico, a recent study of students in their senior year of high school showed that while 24 percent of the students indicate that they liked the Spanish language course very much; only 13 percent responded positively for the civics course (Guevara and Tirado 2006).

In addition to its direct impact in capacity building, curriculum revision and development of civic education assessment systems in the two participating countries, the IEA Civic Education Study provided empirical grounding to numerous policy discussions across Latin America about the need to explicitly focus on the civic purposes of schools. As the only study to have directly measured civic knowledge and skills using a comparative framework, the IEA study remains a singularly important referent in discussions about the cognitive dimensions of civic education (and to some extent about attitudes).

As would be expected, impact of the study has been smaller in the countries which did not participate. The reports contributed more to establishing the case for explicit attention to civic education, especially focusing on students' civic knowledge and skills, than to discussions about particular approaches to advance civic knowledge or engagement. The study was not designed to establish the 'value added' by teachers and schools in the civic knowledge and skills of their students, nor was it designed to assess the impact of specific programs or approaches to civic education. Thus its impact has been limited in stimulating specific interventions at the classroom level, and in closing the gap between policy and practice. Most of the impact of the study was with policy elites and with highly specialized education communities, not with the vast majority of teachers, teacher educators or the larger public. This may reflect the top down nature of institutions and processes of educational reform in Latin America. It may also be a result of IEA's emphasis on studying nationally representative samples rather than sampling in a way to make it possible to contrast specific policies or pedagogies. Further, the Colombian coordinators were unable to administer the teacher questionnaire, meaning that data from teachers was available in only one Latin American country. There has been limited observable impact of the study in teacher discourse about pedagogy or practice in civic-related subjects.

## **Recent developments in citizenship education and impact of CIVED.**

### **Colombia**

In the early 2000's the Ministry of Education of Colombia undertook a long-term national program to develop citizenship and conflict resolution competencies, based on earlier small scale experiences in Bogotá. An aim of the program was to shift teaching of 'civic education' from an isolated subject in the curriculum (which had been in place for several years without much effect) towards organizing schools and instruction in all subjects in ways that continuously promote the development of democratic values and skills. The program involves defining standards, evaluating citizenship competencies, organizing training workshops throughout the country, organizing regional and national forums to identify successful teaching experiences including those coming from universities and nongovernmental organizations, promoting citizenship education for university students, and offering structured programs to promote citizenship. In the development of these programs, the Ministry combines a top-down strategy with identifying effective local efforts and disseminating them.

The Ministry has been putting together case studies of students learning to cooperate with each other to show teachers how others have resolved conflicts peacefully. With support from the program "Business Leaders for Education" (Fundacion Empresarios por la Educacion) the Ministry compiled case studies and engaged journalists in their dissemination. The Ministry then made use of reflections generated by teachers at regional workshops and connected them with the work of national and international researchers. In turn, the educators and researchers developed texts on these issues, and suggested ways to implement them. This resulted in 32 structured programs, including publications, methodologies and pedagogical proposals. Workshops were held in seven Colombian cities (including Bogotá, Cali, and Medellín) to create a diálogo de saberes [knowledge dialogue] to allow educators to gather reality based experiences with structured pedagogical programs based on research (Cox, Jaramillo and Reimers 2006).

The development of standards of citizenship competencies sought a change in behaviour. This meant acquiring knowledge and also engaging in action based on that knowledge. The focus is on cognitive, emotional, communicational and integrative competencies which allow citizens to act in constructive ways in a democratic society, enabling them to live together peacefully while valuing the human rights of all.

### **Chile**

Civic education has been taught as a separate subject in the curriculum in Chile since 1912. The focus has been on providing knowledge in law, politics and economics, along with values that promote the common good. Civic education was typically taught in the last grades of elementary and secondary instruction. In 1967 a curriculum reform replaced civic education with an introduction to economics and politics in the subject of social studies and history.

During the 1980's the military dictatorship, that ruled Chile from 1973 to 1990, re-established civic education as a separate secondary subject. However, the emphasis was not on developing democratic citizenship knowledge or skills. When the IEA CIVED test was administered in Chile in 1999, 8th grade curricula still

reflected the programs of study developed during the military government. About a third of the questions in the test covered topics not addressed in any of the school curricula in Chile. Table 1 presents the knowledge items in the test that were not covered in the curriculum in 1999. Chilean students scored significantly below their counterparts in the rest of the world on the topics referring to human rights, the purpose of political parties, who governs in a democracy, the purpose of having periodic elections and what characterizes a democratic government.

**Table 1. Performance of Chilean students and of students from the international samples on knowledge items in the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED 1999)**

Question in IEA test	International Percentage of Correct Answers ( 28 countries)	Chilean Percentage of Correct Answers
Purpose of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	77%	62%
Most serious threat to democracy	72%	57%
Illegal action of a political organization	59%	41%
Purpose of having more than one political party	75%	60%
Who governs in a democracy	71%	53%
What makes a government non-democratic	53%	44%
Result of monopoly of the press	57%	40%
Necessary condition for democracy	65%	61%
Most convincing action to foster democracy	54%	37%
Purpose of periodic elections	42%	16%

Source: Mineduc, Unidad de Curriculum y Evaluacion (1999). Analisis curricular estudio Internacional de Educacion Civica. 8<sup>o</sup> Basico. Cited in Ministerio de Educaci3n. Chile. Formaci3n Ciudadana en el Curriculo de la Reforma. 2004.

In 1997 the democratic government elected in 1990 began to modify the curriculum of grades 1 through 4. It was not until 2002 that all eight grades of basic instruction had a curriculum with a clear emphasis on democratic citizenship. Between 1990 and 1996 the Ministry of Education launched several programs to foster democratic citizenship, such as a Program of Democracy and Human Rights and a Program of Environmental Studies, in addition to fostering the operation of student centres as aspects of school governance.

The core objective of the current citizenship education curriculum is for students to develop into free and socially responsible men and women, competent in the practices of citizenship. Within the area of knowledge, the emphasis is on democracy, including concepts of citizenship, democratic institutions, sovereignty, legislation, and the characteristics of civic participation. Human rights, including the history of how they have come to be defined, their presence in national policies, international human right treaties, and how human rights relate to the rule of law in democracy are considered. The curriculum also focuses on the development of skills to manage information and to debate, leading and being part of a group, and conflict resolution. Likewise, the curriculum focuses on developing attitudes supportive of democratic values such as a sense of personal responsibility, acceptance of diversity and of different points of view, social integration of students of different economic classes, peaceful democratic coexistence, and the appreciation of freedom, justice and truth (Ministerio de Educacion de Chile 2004).

In summary, the current curriculum in Chile reflects three changes of emphasis. First, there has been a shift from Civic Education towards Citizenship Education, from knowledge about the state and political institutions, towards knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for democratic citizenship such as thinking skills, communication skills, understanding and working in the community, and values such as pluralism, solidarity, respect, and human rights. There is more emphasis on recent historical events, transition to democracy and environmental issues.

Second, the study of civic education as a subject in a single grade has been replaced with the integration of these contents across history and social sciences in several grades. There has also been an emphasis on the development of complementary democratic skills and attitudes in the subjects of Language, Guidance and Philosophy.

Third, basic educational objectives that cut across all subjects as well as in practical activities related to school governance and climate (such as school and class councils and student debates) have been given attention.

## **Mexico**

Until 1993, civic education in Mexico focused on fostering national unity. A curriculum reform in 1993 introduced values education. Until 1999 civic education in Mexico was a subject in grades 7 to 9 and emphasized the study of legal and government institutions in Mexico with relatively limited coverage of democracy.

With the 1999 reform the subject Civic and Ethics Education (“Formación Cívica y Ética”) was incorporated into both primary and secondary curricula with the purpose of developing student democratic competencies and skills. This new subject was designed in collaboration with the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), an autonomous institution tasked with instituting processes that would support free elections in Mexico: and widely credited with the first presidential transition from the party that ruled Mexico for 70 years to an opposition party. IFE developed and implemented several programs of citizenship education. In partnership with the Centre for Civic Education in the US, they prepared programs and a series of self-instructional materials for teachers suggesting activities that could be used to foster democratic skills. In cooperation with the Ministry of Education, they supported a program in which students participated in elections regarding issues affecting the life of the schools.

The new subject of Civic and Ethics Education focused on strengthening students’ thinking skills, setting the foundation for free and responsible actions for

their individual development and to benefit society. The program seeks to develop eight competencies (SEP, 2005). The first is personal knowledge. The second is the exercise of responsible freedom balancing individual and collective interests. The third competency is respect for diversity, encompassing equity, empathy and solidarity. The fourth is a sense of belonging to a community, nation, and humanity. This competency includes motivation to participate in community enhancement. The fifth competency is conflict management and the ability to formulate solutions that favour dialogue. The sixth competency is the ability to participate in social and political matters. The seventh competency refers to a sense of justice and respect for legality. This means understanding that no one is above the law, and laws are a product of community agreements. Finally, the eighth competency is comprehension and appreciation for democracy as a form of government and a way of relating on a daily basis.

Guiding the development of these competencies are several principles for classroom work. The learning environment should encourage dialogue that allows analysis, decision-making, and compromise. It is important to provide multiple sources of information for critical analysis. The teacher is to make the classroom and school into spaces for democratic learning, establishing opportunities for open communication and respect. Teachers design activities to present students' daily conflicts as problems to analyze, and solve. Civics and ethics are part of a particular subject, run transversally across the curriculum, and are addressed in the school environment through project-based learning.

The program highlights formative assessment that informs teachers about students' learning. Evaluation goes beyond a written test that determines a grade and is used to acquire information about student development in order to build appropriate student activities (Secretaria de Educacion Publica 2005).

In summary, changes in Chile, Colombia and Mexico evidence growing interest in citizenship education. Chile expanded the definition of civic education to develop a more encompassing curriculum establishing specific civic objectives for a range of subjects across the curriculum and reestablishing centres of student government. Colombia decided to supplement a formal curriculum of civic education with special programs to address pressing issues, and combined a top down strategy to disseminate promising programs with a bottom up strategy to identify best practices developed by teachers. Mexico expanded a curriculum focused on a very narrow definition of civic knowledge to one more inclusive of democratic values and skills. In all countries there is a shift to a broader view of democratic citizenship and a greater interest in skills as well as in knowledge, with a consequent emphasis in pedagogical opportunities to develop these skills.

### **Regional developments**

A number of activities focused on citizenship education with support from governments and development agencies in the region suggest that the topic has come of age as a legitimate and important topic for policy attention. This contrasts with the situation a few decades ago, when education policy was principally focused on getting children to school or teaching them the basics. That these basics now include citizenship competencies indicates that times have changed. This is both because Latin America is more democratic than it was twenty five years ago, and also because there is more contention about what democracy means and more concern about the future of democracy in the region. That education systems are reflecting

these larger conversations indicates that the institutions of education are also becoming more attuned to larger social goals and expectations.

In the early 1990's the United States Agency for International Development stimulated discussion of the relationship between education and democracy, including a study of civic education in the primary school curriculum of all countries in Latin America and a study of several educational innovations to improve the quality of education in high poverty schools. These studies and a review of existing empirical evidence found that civic education was largely an isolated subject in the curriculum, that it focused principally on factual knowledge about the political institutions of government and that school culture and teacher practice reflected authoritarian cultural values rather than democratic ideals (Villegas-Reimers 1993, 1994a and 1994b, Reimers 1994).

In 1999 the Inter-American Development Bank commissioned a review of research on civic education in Latin America, which was published by their education unit (Tibbitts and Torney-Purta 1999). This report included recommendations for program officers in the region about promoting education for democracy.

Recent activities at the regional level have contributed to placing the study and practice of citizenship education more centrally on the education reform agenda. From 2002 (soon after the release of the IEA international findings) until 2004 the Organization of American States (UDSE) supported and published a reanalysis of the IEA data from the three participating countries in the region (Chile, Colombia, and the U.S.) and Portugal. A detailed examination of this smaller group of countries and of students' responses at the item level to all the cognitive test items and many of the attitudinal items was especially informative (Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2004). A number of issues that provide challenges for a program of civic education in the region were identified: young people who lack basic literacy, teachers' preparation, societal violence, relations between the Ministry of Education and non-governmental organizations, and political traditions such as populism. These authors suggested that a Latin American study of civic education be planned to examine student outcomes, aspects of the school, policies and current programs (Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2004, p. 142).

In 2004 one of a multi-year series of meetings of Deputy Ministers of Education commissioned a survey of the curriculum of secondary schools to serve as input for further discussion (Reimers and Villegas-Reimers 2004). This paper was presented in early 2005 to the vice-ministers of education, who decided to commission a strategy paper that would make the case for explicit attention to citizenship education and outline policy options. That paper, published by the Inter-American Development Bank (Cox, Jaramillo and Reimers 2005) together with the OAS report (Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2004) served as the basis of discussion at a regional meeting of Ministers of Education in August 2005. Several Ministers decided to collaborate in setting up an observatory of citizenship education, which would coordinate a regional study. This eventually became a regional module of the ICCS civic education study being organized by IEA and received financial support from the Inter-American Development Bank. As a result six countries from Latin America (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay) are currently participating in the ICCS Civic Education Study. A network of scholars have agreed on a framework for the dimensions of democratic citizenship most relevant to the region and developed a regional module to assess both the knowledge, skills and attitudes of 15 year olds and the opportunities to learn these competencies in school. After pilot testing, these instruments will be administered

concurrently with the international data collection instrument of the IEA ICCS civic education study in 2009 (in parallel with a European Regional Module). It is expected that this project will further stimulate quality programming in the participating countries and visibility for civic education in the region.

Concurrent with this activity, the Education Unit of the Organization of American States launched the Inter-American Program for Democratic Values and Practices in 2006. This is a three pronged initiative to support democratic citizenship education through research, professional development and exchange of information and dissemination of best practices. The program builds on ongoing initiatives and examines both formal and non-formal education. Twenty-three countries from the Americas (Central, South and North) as well as the Caribbean responded to a survey designed to provide a description of policies related to education for democracy in the region. Respondents (most from Ministries of Education) indicated whether there was a national policy on the teaching of education for democratic citizenship, the extent to which the policies established national standards for students of different grades, as well as whether the policies promote a particular pedagogical approach.

### **Persisting challenges**

The recent changes in the curriculum reflect an emerging awareness in Latin America regarding the importance of the daily experience of students in the school in developing citizenship skills. However, there is little evidence that teacher practice and school culture are aligned with this goal. Even in contexts where the curriculum now explicitly focuses on developing democratic citizenship skills and knowledge, the daily experiences of students in schools frequently are of a different character. Teachers mediate the impact of changed curricula in their instructional practice. What teachers do is a function of their knowledge, beliefs, and competencies, as well as the incentives they face and the institutional culture and norms in which they work. For example, curricula emphasizing gender equity are meaningless in contexts where gender discrimination to staff or students is the rule. Schools where corruption takes place (including frequent unjustified teacher absenteeism, union intervention to prevent sanction of unprofessional performance, or charging illegal fees to enrol students) teach students forms of interaction inconsistent with democracy as a way of life. As a result, citizenship education is often disassociated from actual experience. The school's organization and the values that teaching staff hold and express contribute greatly to a school's hidden or unofficial curriculum (Reimers and Villegas-Reimers 2006). Part of the challenge is that teachers themselves live in a context where a significant number of adults hold views that are lukewarm about democratic institutions and practices.

Further, recent surveys of teachers in several countries of the region reveal that many of them hold attitudes that are not accepting of diversity. Homosexuals are the most common targets of discriminatory attitudes. Some teachers also discriminate on the basis of nationality, ethnic origin, or social condition: 11 percent of teachers in Uruguay, 15 percent in Argentina, and 38 percent in Peru discriminate against people based on their nationality or ethnic group. Discrimination against people who live in urban slums is shown among 16 percent of the teachers in Peru, 33 percent in Uruguay, and 52 percent in Argentina (Tenti-Fanfani 2003, p. 4).

A survey administered in 2002 to a representative sample of teachers in Mexico found that only a minority endorsed the obligation of a citizen to obey the law (29 percent) or respect the rights of others (18 percent). A striking 80 percent believed

that justice administration and law enforcement agencies are corrupt and that they would not receive fair treatment were they to be arrested for a crime they did not commit. Nearly 30 percent of Mexican teachers indicated little satisfaction with democracy. Just half stated that voting is a way to influence government action; even fewer endorsed other ways to influence government. About twenty percent of the teachers would not accept an indigenous person or a person of another race living in their home. Sixty percent of teachers acknowledge that teaching positions are illegally 'sold'. Eleven percent admit that parents are frequently asked to make illegal financial contributions to the school (Fundacion en Este Pais 2005).

This evidence suggests that Latin America education lives in two worlds apart: the world of policy governed by the idealized statements of the curriculum and the world of teaching practice and school culture. It appears that the results of the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) had more impact in the first of these worlds than in the second. One might hypothesize that policy and practice are always, to some extent, worlds apart (Tyack and Cuban 1995). In Latin America they appear especially far apart, in particular with respect to instruction that might empower the poor (Reimers 2006).

I hypothesize that three features of the way in which the CIVED study was conducted and organized in the 1990's contributed to its greater impact on policy than on pedagogy or practice. The first feature is that the organization of the study primarily involved policy elites; the second is that building long-term institutional capacity was a by-product rather than an explicit goal; the third is that the study was not designed to evaluate alternative approaches to citizenship education and their effects.

IEA is an international organization whose General Assembly is largely composed of individuals nominated by ministries of education. Most research teams conducting IEA studies are composed of individuals chosen in consultation with General Assembly members. These individuals are more likely to have ties to policy advisors, policy makers or national research organizations than to be representatives of educational institutions. There are many advantages to this process from the point of view of influencing policy. But in Latin America the hierarchical nature of much education policy-making often results in significant institutional discontinuities between central decision makers and implementing agencies, such as teachers, teacher education institutions, universities or teacher organizations. Even in countries where materials about the IEA studies' results are designed for and disseminated to teachers, it is often difficult to influence the content of teacher education programs or the agenda of teacher professional organizations. In Latin America top down governance represents a major institutional challenge with regard to all types of education policy and in particular limits the opportunity for research to have an impact on implementation (Reimers and McGinn 1997 and Reimers 2003).

The top down nature of education policy making also limits the opportunities for teachers to develop their sense of agency. It is optimistic to expect that teachers working in these kinds of organizations will be prepared to foster efficacy and a democratic spirit in their students. Many teachers either ignore the results of comparative studies or feel they are unfairly blamed for poor student scores. Often the programs implemented to address low achievement consist of lectures without opportunities for teachers to reflect about their practice, develop new instructional repertoires or receive coaching at their workplaces. In Mexico, for example, most teacher education in civics, as in other subjects, takes place though distance

education. Teachers who want to improve their knowledge of the subject sign up to receive printed materials which they study on their own, followed by a written test.

Congruent with its focus on policy elites, the CIVED study supported the creation of a professional network. It was largely a network of individuals, not of institutions, however. As a result, institutional capacity to support citizenship education in Latin America, both in terms of generating innovative programs and in terms of evaluating their effectiveness, remains limited. The repository of evidenced-based knowledge to support effective programming in this field is thin. This challenge is not unique to the citizenship education domain, but is particularly relevant here because the knowledge base is less developed than in other areas of instruction. This paucity of research accounts simultaneously for the importance of undertakings such as the IEA Civic Education Studies (including the specific reports based on Chile and Colombia) and also for the underutilization of these results. If stronger institutional research capacity had existed to generate more secondary analysis of the data set addressing targeted-policy related and practice-related questions, the impact of the study's results might have been enhanced.

Finally, because the study was not designed to assess the 'value added' by specific programs of civic education, its impact has been limited in stimulating specific interventions at the classroom level. This may reflect the stage of development of knowledge and efforts in this field in the region. Perhaps as the topic of citizenship education becomes established as legitimate and as more high quality programs are developed in this field, the evaluation of these natural experiments will be a logical next step. This was certainly not a possibility when the CIVED study was planned in the late 1990s, though some secondary analysis undertaken using data from a small numbers of countries (including Chile) has taken a step in this direction (Torney-Purta, Amadeo, and Richardson, 2007).

The reports produced from the IEA CIVED study include analysis of descriptive information as well as multiple regression analyses that test hypotheses about the relative contribution of various instructional conditions to students' civic competencies. In Latin America, the policy impact of the descriptive information, in some cases as basic as showing the percentage of students who answered particular items correctly on the test in each country relative to the students in the rest of the countries participating in the study, has been given more weight than the analyses that compute the effect sizes associated with various instructional conditions.

There are also some missed opportunities especially important for countries where educational access and basic literacy are endemic problems. There is indirect evidence in the study that reading resources at home are associated with civic knowledge and other aspects of competency. This evidence has largely been interpreted as demonstrating the role of cultural capital in developing civic competency, rather than as a plausible link between literacy skills or reading practice and civic skills. The evidence available from the study could not have established a definitive link, but it suggests further analysis of the existing data around this question as well as consideration of this link between literacy and citizenship in further research.

## Conclusions

In the Latin American context, where political developments have caused government officials, educators and citizens alike to think deeply about the meaning of democracy, the IEA Civic Education Study represented a significant contribution to regional conversations among education specialists about the importance of

citizenship education and the strategies to provide it. There are very clear and direct forms of impact of this study in Colombia and Chile, the two countries which participated in the study. In both national standards and curriculum were influenced by the study's broad definition of citizenship competency, and in Colombia the study supported further interest in evaluation of student knowledge and skills. There are also indirect forms of impact at a regional level and in countries which did not participate in the study, most notably Mexico. It is noteworthy that the knowledge which appears to have had most impact in policy and curriculum is descriptive comparative data about knowledge.

The fact that this study has been so useful and influential in framing the conversation about citizenship education in Latin America is a reminder that the relevance of a study may trump methodological orthodoxy when it comes to influencing policy. Descriptive information can be very valuable to understand a problem and to set the stage for further forms of inquiry, which may include program evaluation or experimentation. This reminder is useful at this time, when fascination with experimental research in the international development policy community may risk neglecting topics where the state of conceptual development is not ready for sensible experimentation.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the study has been to support the development of networks of specialists in citizenship education and to stimulate the interest of the greater number of countries who will be participating in the International Civics and Citizenship IEA study (ICCS) in 2009, including a set of regional questions.

There are many outstanding challenges regarding citizenship education in the region and some of them represent missed opportunities for impact from the IEA CIVED study. Because the study involved professionals in elite policy networks, in contexts where education governance is hierarchical and top down, it failed to engage teacher professional organizations, teacher training institutions, universities, non-government organizations and other grass root organizations which might have more directly worked at the intersection between policy and practice and in teachers' professional development.

A second outstanding challenge concerns the more precise identification of the effects of alternative forms of programming. The CIVED study was not designed to assess the contributions of 'opportunities to learn' civic education as intended in the curriculum of instruction in any of the countries included in the study. As a result the study generated valuable knowledge about general factors associated with various dimensions of civic knowledge and skills, but not specific knowledge about the results achieved by programs of instruction favoured in different countries.

Finally, the development of institutional capacity to conduct educational research and evaluation in this and other areas remains crucial if the region is to generate the knowledge necessary to boost the low levels of educational quality. While this cannot become the sole responsibility of comparative research efforts, it would be fruitful to design participation in those efforts to contribute to the development of institutional research and evaluation capacity in institutions beyond Ministries of Education.

Democracy is alive and in flux, if not clearly well, in Latin America. This flux constitutes one of the most consequential current political and social transformations in the region. By placing an interest in citizenship education more centrally among the purposes of instruction it appears that school systems have demonstrated an ability to shape fundamental changes in the social context of schools. There is no better time or place to study the contribution of education to democratic citizenship.

The IEA Civic Education Study raised that challenge in Latin America during the last decade. In all likelihood the years ahead will be even more promising and challenging for scholars and practitioners working to develop democratic competencies and also for the future of democracy at large in the region.

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## NOTES

- [1] I appreciate the feedback of Cristian Cox, Rosario Jaramillo and George Landau to a draft of this paper. The responsibility for the ideas contained in this paper is my own.
- [2] Cristian Cox. Personal Communication. September 3, 2007.

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## *Civic Education in the United States: Increased Challenges*

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**ABSTRACT** This article documents significant research and developments in U.S. citizenship education since the publication of the IEA Civic Education Study in 1999/2001. Six overlapping areas or themes are described: participation in electoral politics; trust in government-related institutions; support for immigrants' rights; developments in educational initiatives and policies; the civic achievement and engagement gap; and teacher preparation and civic-related student outcomes. I contend that two events—9/11 and the Iraq War—have had varying degrees of impact on each of these areas. While civic scholar Carole L. Hahn wrote of “challenges” to civic education in the United States in 1999, I conclude that those committed to developing an engaged and enlightened citizenry through the citizenship education of young people today face “increased challenges.”

### **Introduction**

In 1999, social studies scholar Carole L. Hahn wrote a chapter entitled “Challenges to Civic Education in the United States,” in which she described the social, political, and cultural contexts for U.S. civic education. The chapter was one of the country case studies forming the first phase of the IEA Civic Education Study, and was published in *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project* (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Eight years later, in 2007, I entitle this article “Civic Education in the United States: Increased Challenges” because the current context presents even more formidable challenges.

The year 1999 was described by some U.S. historians as “good, but uninteresting” (Online Newshour, 1999). In October of 1999 a representative sample of U.S. 14-year-olds participated in the second phase of the IEA Civic Education Study, a survey designed to assess young people’s civic knowledge and engagement (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Fourteen-year-olds in 28 countries, including the United States, participated. Results from the survey provided a vivid picture of the way in which young people think about democracy, and how they envision their roles.

I will examine six overlapping areas or themes, each of which is addressed in the IEA Civic Education Study: participation in electoral politics; trust in government-related institutions; support for immigrants’ rights; developments in educational initiatives and policies; the civic achievement and engagement gap; and teacher preparation and civic-related student outcomes. For each of these themes, I describe selected findings from the IEA Civic Education Study, and then document

significant developments in the United States and in the research since 1999. I close each section with questions that persist, some suggesting future research.

First, however, any reflections on the political and social context of the United States over the past eight years must necessarily be framed by the events of September 11, 2001. Some events in a country's history are so pivotal that they become part of the "collective memory." People's interpretation of the event may differ, but most Americans recognize its significance. Just as most persons living in the United States when Pearl Harbour was bombed or when John F. Kennedy was assassinated know where they were when they heard about the event, so too is "9/11" remembered.

## **9/11**

The events of September 11, 2001 are well known: four commercial U.S. airline jets were hijacked by members of an Islamic extremist group. Two of the planes hit the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City, and one crashed into the Pentagon in Virginia. The fourth plane is believed to have been diverted by passengers from its original target, the White House, and crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Almost 3,000 people, mostly civilians, died. It was the largest foreign terrorist attack on U.S. soil in the country's history, and "a day of unprecedented shock and suffering in the history of the United States" (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, 2003:6). Sympathy was extended to the United States from leaders and citizens of countries throughout the world.

Since these events the U.S. military has become involved in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq; the U.S. Congress passed and reauthorized the USA Patriot Act; a Department of Homeland Security was created by Congress to coordinate security efforts; and human rights advocates have denounced some actions of the Bush administration. As in other times of threat, debates about the degree to which civil liberties should yield to security interests have been prominent.

Perceptions of the United States from abroad have changed as well. There was an overwhelmingly sympathetic response from around the world immediately after 9/11. Support fell dramatically in many parts of the world in the ensuing years. In the summer of 2006, the PEW Global Attitudes Project reported that favourable attitudes toward the United States had decreased among traditional allies between 1999/2000 and 2006: in Great Britain (83% to 56%), in France (62% to 39%), and in Germany (78% to 37%). In the predominantly Muslim countries of Turkey and Indonesia, favourable attitudes toward the United States fell even further during this time period.

I describe these events because there is some evidence to suggest that critical historical events have an especially strong impact on the worldviews of youth and young adults (Sears, 2002). The 14-year-olds who completed the IEA Civic Education Survey in 1999 are now 22-years-old. They have had the opportunity to vote in one Presidential (2004) and one mid-term election (2006). The large majority will remember where they were on 9/11. The events of September 11, 2001, and the war in Iraq have had varying degrees of impact on each of the six themes.

### Participation in electoral politics

In the IEA Civic Education Study, U.S. 14-year-olds indicated that they saw elections and voting as central to democratic citizenship. They reported that the right of citizens to vote freely in elections was “somewhat good” or “very good” for democracy (87.7%) (Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg, & Hahn, 2001:54), and that voting in every election was “somewhat important” or “very important” for good citizenship (83.2%) (Baldi et al., 2001:59). A similar percentage (85%) expected that they would “probably” or “definitely” vote in national elections (Torney-Purta et al., 2001:124). These responses are similar to results from other studies that show adolescents’ overwhelming support for the act of voting (Conover & Searing, 2000), as well as analyses of U.S. history and civics textbooks (Avery & Simmons, 1999/2000) and observations of civics classrooms (Niemi & Niemi, 2007) that reveal a strong emphasis on voting and electoral politics.

In the year following the IEA Civic Education Study, one of the most controversial presidential elections in U.S. history took place. It was only the third time that a candidate won the votes in the Electoral College (and the office of the presidency), but did not win the popular vote. The 14-year-olds in the United States who participated in the IEA Civic Education Study in 1999 were not of voting age in 2000, but they were no doubt aware of the controversy. In January of 2001, however, they also saw a peaceful transition of power from one president to the next. Despite considerable concern over the way in which the votes were counted in some states, and debate about the wisdom of the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Bush vs. Gore*, violence did not erupt in the streets, as might have happened in a less stable democracy.

The 14-year-olds of 1999 were eligible to vote in the 2004 presidential election and the 2006 mid-term elections. Both elections saw an increase in voter turnout among young people. Among 18-24-year-olds, voting increased from 36% in the 2000 presidential election to 47% in the 2004 election (Lopez, Kirby, & Sagoff, 2005); in the 2006 mid-term elections, young people (18-29) were more likely to vote (25%) than in the 2002 midterm elections (22%), an increase attributed in part to dissatisfaction with the war in Iraq and increased get-out-the-vote efforts (Lopez, Marcelo, & Kirby, 2007). The increase in youth voting in this century begins to reverse a downward trend since a high of 52% of eligible 18-24-year-olds voted in 1972, a period characterized by a high level of youth activism focused on opposition to the Vietnam War.

The trend in the youth vote at the beginning of the 21st century is positive, but recall that 85% of the 14-year-olds queried in 1999 anticipated voting as adults. We need to have a better understanding of why so many young people who intended to vote did not participate in a major election five years later. We might begin by exploring how youth conceptualize voting. What meaning do young people attach to the act of voting? Do they see it as a race in which their vote could determine the outcome, a message often conveyed in schools and the media? Are they able to see voting as a means of holding public officials accountable, regardless of the outcome of the election? Interviews with young people (ages 18-25) who were eligible to vote in the 2002 election but chose not to vote suggested that they

*have not rejected the political system so much as they are indifferent to it.... [their] lack of involvement seems to be more due to a lack of relevancy than rejection*

(Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006:93).

How can educators make the electoral process more relevant to young people?

### **Trust in government-related institutions**

There is considerable debate among political scientists about what constitutes an optimal level of trust in government-related institutions in a democracy. A democratic system cannot survive if citizens have little trust in its institutions. On the other hand, if citizens have complete trust or blind faith in their government-related institutions, they may abdicate their responsibility to hold public officials accountable.

In the IEA Civic Education Study, U.S. 14-year-olds scored above the international mean in terms of trust in government-related institutions. The students reported that they “always” or “most of the time” trust local governments (72.7%), Courts (69.8%), Congress (67.2%), police (65.7%), and the national government in Washington, DC (65.1%).

More recent data suggest that confidence in other aspects of government among young people may have eroded since 1999. Part of the 2006 National Civic and Political Health Survey (CPHS), conducted in the spring of 2006, consists of interviews with a nationally representative sample of young people between 15 to 25 years of age. A similar survey conducted in 2002 allows for comparisons. The percentage of young people (15-25) who agreed that “government is almost always wasteful and inefficient” increased from 29% in 2002 to 47% in 2006 (Lopez, Levine, Both, Kiesa, Kirby, & Marcelo, 2006:23). However, across several studies of youth civic and political orientations, young people clearly see a role for the government in promoting a better society. In the IEA Civic Education study, for example, 87.6% of students reported that government should “probably” or “definitely” be responsible for “providing basic health care for everyone” (Baldi et al., 2001:65). In a National Civic Engagement Survey (NCES) conducted in spring of 2002, 64% of young people between the ages of 15-26 agreed that “Government should do more to solve problems” (Zukin et al., 2006:115). Thus, while many young people want their government to play a more active role in addressing societal issues, they appear sceptical of its ability to do so.

In both the IEA Civic Education Study and the CPHS, African Americans exhibit a lower level of trust or confidence in government institutions when compared with Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites. Their responses may reflect negative experiences with these institutions, particularly with the police and the court system. Gimpel and his colleagues (2003) found that

*African American students in the majority Black schools we visited guffawed with laughter at the idea that they might trust the police to protect them. Even their teachers laughed. (p.24)*

The federal response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 likely served to exacerbate African-American’s lack of trust in government-related institutions. It was widely believed that aid would have arrived more quickly had the majority of people needing assistance been White Americans.

How do young citizens interpret events such as the government’s response to Hurricane Katrina or other government decisions, such as those that led to the War

in Iraq? To what degree do adolescents differentiate between the decisions of a specific presidential administration and governmental institutions? Will the Iraqi War and Hurricane Katrina constitute “generation defining” moments for this youth cohort? If so, will these events promote greater political cynicism, activism, or both?

### **Support for the rights of immigrants**

The United States is an ethnically and racially diverse country. History and civics textbooks frequently refer to the country as a “nation of immigrants.” In the IEA Civic Education Study, U.S. 14-year-olds scored above the international mean in their support for the rights of immigrants. In response to five statements about immigrant rights, the statement receiving the highest support concerned children of immigrants having the right to the same education as other children (91.3% “agreed” or “strongly agreed”), and the statement receiving the least support dealt with immigrants having the opportunity to keep their language (79.1% “agreed” or “strongly agreed”) (Baldi et al., 2001:81). Other surveys of young adults have shown increasing tolerance for groups that have historically been denied rights in the United States, including homosexuals and African Americans, as well as immigrants (Olander, Kirby, & Schmitt, 2005).

Issues regarding immigration are likely to be increasingly important in the United States. In 2005, the U.S. population born outside the United States was 35.8 million, a 16% increase since 2000 (Hakimzadeh, 2006). Almost one in five (19.1%) students in public and private schools, kindergarten through grade 12, were either born in a country outside the United States or live in a home headed by an adult born outside the United States (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006: Table 21).

Since 9/11, the public has become less supportive of admitting immigrants into the United States, particularly persons from predominately Muslim countries (Public Agenda, 2006). More than two years after 9/11, 44% of adult Americans responding to a national survey indicated that the civil liberties of American Muslims should be restricted (Nisbet & Shanahan, 2004:1).

Immigration reform has been an ongoing debate over the years; many Americans are torn between a desire to place some limitations on immigration while taking pride in the country as a “nation of immigrants.” Advocates of increased legalized immigration have become more vocal as have groups that would build more barriers to illegal immigration. Secondary students have in many cases been involved in pro-immigrant demonstrations.

Far less research has examined the way in which immigrants’ conceptions of citizenship in the United States are integrated with their previous experiences as citizens of another country (for conceptual overviews of the topic, see Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002 and Stepick & Stepick, 2002 and for analysis of this issue using the IEA Civic Education data see Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfeld, 2006). How do multiple civic identities evolve? How do they vary by country of origin? How do the experiences of immigrants and refugees differ? How do U.S.-born citizens’ conceptions of citizenship change as a result of increasing interactions and relationships with persons born outside the U.S.?

### **Developments in educational initiatives and policies**

In describing the U.S. context in 1999, Hahn noted that many students had multiple opportunities to be involved in civic-related activities both in and out of

school. Student government, the school newspaper, debate clubs, mock trials, and the Model United Nations provide opportunities for students to learn how to analyze issues and advocate positions. The Centre for Civic Education (CCE) offers an array of popular programs for students, for teachers' professional development, and for teacher educators; CCE receives substantial funding from the federal government. International programs under the auspices of the CCE provide for the exchange of civic scholars, teachers, and curriculum materials among countries throughout the world.

Since 1999, there have been many important civic education initiatives in the United States, some of which have been prompted by the IEA Civic Education Study. A combination of events and circumstances has contributed to the rise in interest in civic education. In the past decade, research in addition to the IEA Study indicates that teachers and schools can impact students' civic and political lives (e.g., Conover & Searing, 2000; Fridkin, Kenney, & Crittenden, 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998), a finding that contradicts the political socialization research of forty years ago (Langton & Jennings, 1968). Second, the growing number of immigrant and refugee students in our schools calls attention to the need for civic and political experiences within American democracy. Third, the decline in youth voting since the 1960s has alarmed many civic educators, scholars, and activists. Fourth, events such as 9/11 and the Iraqi War bring to the fore civic identity, duty and dissent; in isolation they do not prompt the development of civic-related organizations, but they sustain those organizations by focusing the public's attention on civic issues. These four factors (among others) have converged to make this a time of intense interest in the ways in which our society is preparing young people for adult citizenship. I highlight here only a few of the efforts that have been initiated since 1999.

The Centre for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) (<http://www.civicyouth.org>), located at the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, was founded in 2001 to promote research on the civic and political engagement of Americans between the ages of 15 and 25. The Centre has become an important repository of current information about young people's civic participation. In addition to obtaining foundation funds to offer grants and commission research, the Centre regularly issues papers on topics ranging from young people's participation in electoral politics and service learning to their conceptions of democracy and use of the media (<http://www.civicyouth.org>). Two of these working papers and four fact sheets have presented analyses of IEA Civic Education Study data.

In 2003, CIRCLE collaborated with the Carnegie Corporation of New York to publish a significant document in civic education. *The Civic Mission of Schools* is a consensus report based on the deliberations of over 50 noted scholars and practitioners in the field of civic education. The report summarizes major research in civic education, and makes specific recommendations for educators, policymakers, and youth civic organizations.

The report reaffirms the important role of schools:

*Schools are the only institutions with the capacity and mandate to reach virtually every young person in the country. Of all institutions, schools are the most systematically and directly responsible for imparting citizen norms (Carnegie Corporation & CIRCLE, 2003:12).*

The report urges instruction in government, history, law, and democracy that actively engages young people in discussions of public issues, in making

connections between complex democratic concepts and their communities, in simulations of democratic processes, and in linking service learning experiences with civic outcomes. Although *The Civic Mission of Schools* does not advocate a particular teaching method or program, it notes that “teaching only rote facts about dry procedures is unlikely to benefit students and may actually alienate them from political participation, including voting” (p.20).

One of the more interesting and important contributions of *The Civic Mission of Schools* is a framework for thinking about civic education practices and their likely impact on young people’s civic development. The framework (Table I) can be used by educators and policymakers to match promising, research-based instructional practices with area(s) of civic competence; it illustrates that multiple approaches to civic education are required for an engaged and enlightened citizenry.

**Table I - The Civic Mission of Schools: Approaches to Civic and Political Engagement and their Most Likely Benefits**

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Civic and Political Knowledge</b>	<b>Civic and Political Skills</b>	<b>Civic Attitudes</b>	<b>Political Participation</b>	<b>Community Participation</b>
<b>Classroom Instruction in Social Studies</b>	X	X		X	
<b>Discussion of Current Issues</b>	X	X	X	X	
<b>Service-Learning</b>		X	X		X
<b>Extracurricular Activities</b>		X		X	X
<b>Student Voice in School Governance</b>		X	X		
<b>Simulations</b>	X	X	X		

Source: Carnegie Corporation and Circle. (2003). *The Civic Mission of Schools*. New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Campaign for the Civic Missions of Schools attempts to mobilize influential groups regarding the importance of citizenship education in line with the CMS report and provides links to lessons and programs (<http://www.civicmissionofschools.org>).

In 2003, the first of five planned annual Congressional Conferences on Civic Education was sponsored by the Alliance for Representative Democracy and funded by the federal government. Educators, legislators, jurists, and policymakers from each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia convened in Washington, DC to assess the status of civic education in their states, and then develop and implement plans to enhance civic understanding and engagement. Since their initial meeting,

state representatives have surveyed students' civic knowledge and attitudes, testified before state legislatures about civic education, held professional development conferences for teachers, and identified high quality civic curriculum materials. By meeting on an annual basis, representatives can hold one another accountable for making progress toward their state-level goals.

With support from the Carnegie Foundation of New York, the National Centre for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC) at the Education Commission of the States convened a series of meetings with civic policymakers and practitioners. The resulting background paper (Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004) identifies policy recommendations based on a review of state practices and current research related to citizenship education. The authors note that most state standards focus on the development of civic knowledge among young people; instead they encourage policymakers to conceptualize citizenship education as "strands" of civic competency that encompass civic-related knowledge, cognitive and participative skills, and civic dispositions. Equally important, there was agreement that these citizenship competencies are best developed through a coherent sequence of learning experiences that extend from kindergarten through twelfth grade. Civic-related instruction that is limited to the traditional ninth grade civics or twelfth grade government course ignores research showing that the middle grade student "is already a member of his or her political culture" (p. 2). Primary grade children can participate in voting on class issues, discuss the nature of "fairness," and create a better school environment. These experiences provide a foundation for civic education at the middle and high school levels.

Responding to the current emphasis on testing in schools, NCLC compiled a database of assessment items to correspond to the three strands of civic competency (knowledge, skills, and dispositions) (<http://www.ecs.org/qna>). The items were culled from publicly available items found in published research (including IEA and NAEP), surveys, journal articles, and civic-related websites of states and were vetted by a panel of civic education experts for clarity, relevance, and accuracy. The resulting database includes different types of questions (multiple choice, short answer, extended response, and rating scales) categorized by content, civic competency, and grade level. Although the database is not intended to provide items for high stakes tests, administrators and teachers should find it helpful for gaining insight into students' civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions or evaluating civic units or programs.

In 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a law designating September 17 as "Constitution Day," in commemoration of the anniversary of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787. All schools receiving federal funding are required to provide an educational program about the U.S. Constitution for students on that day. In a country with a wide range of diverse ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic groups, the values represented in the Constitution provide a common ground of understanding.

The major policy affecting U.S. public schools since 1999 is the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The Act, passed by the U.S. Congress and signed by President Bush in 2001, has had a significant impact on virtually every aspect of school life. One of its major goals is to ensure that all students who graduate from high school can demonstrate basic proficiency in reading and mathematics. As a condition of federal funding, states have been required to develop standards. Students in grades 3-8 are tested annually in reading and math, and schools are held accountable as to whether their students make "adequate yearly progress." The Act requires results to be reported by demographic groups, and to document that significant progress is

made among groups that have historically benefited less from the schooling experience (e.g., non-native English speakers). Schools that do not make adequate yearly progress toward state-determined goals over time are subject to corrective actions.

NCLB, while lauded for drawing attention to the “achievement gap,” is controversial. Among the major criticisms are that it is grossly under funded, does not provide sufficient assistance to underperforming schools, places undue emphasis on testing, and increases the dropout rate among low achieving students (Joint Organizational Statement on No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, October 21, 2004).

NCLB specifies that civics, geography, history and economics are “core academic subjects,” and requires that states develop standards for these subjects. According to a review conducted by the National Centre for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC), 49 states have developed state standards in civics and social studies. However, these standards are generally limited to knowledge and few incorporate civic skills and dispositions. All 50 states and the District of Columbia now require students to be instructed in civics and/or government for graduation from high school (Lennon, 2006).

Although these are positive developments at the secondary level, civics educators are concerned about the effect NCLB has had on teaching social studies in the elementary grades. Because school personnel and students are under intense performance pressure in the required reading and mathematics assessments, the time allotted to civics-related instruction has decreased substantially. In 2003, the Council on Basic Education (CBE) conducted a survey of 956 elementary and secondary principals from four states as well as focus groups with exemplary principals from states across the country. Principals of high-minority elementary schools were particularly likely to report decreases in civic-related instruction; almost half stated that the amount of time devoted to social studies had “moderately” or “greatly” decreased. These principals also anticipated greater decreases in civics-related instruction in the following two years (von Zastrow & Janc, 2004:18). In contrast, principals at the middle and high school levels indicated that instructional time was somewhat more likely to be increasing (von Zastrow & Janc, 2004:19).

Based on a survey of all the state departments of education and a nationally representative sample of school districts, the Center on Education Policy (CEP) found that elementary schools in almost three-fourths (71%) of all school districts across the country have decreased the amount of time spent on other subjects in order to devote more time to reading and math. The subject most likely to receive less instructional time is social studies (Jennings & Rentner, 2006).

What impact does a decreased emphasis on civic-related instruction in the elementary grades have on students’ civic knowledge and engagement in later years? How will middle and high school teachers compensate for students’ lack of early foundational civics instruction? Will initiatives and organizations such as the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools and CIRCLE be able convey to the public the critical need for meaningful civic education in an era characterized by an intense focus on basic reading and math skills?

### **The Civic Achievement and Engagement Gap**

When U.S. educators and policymakers talk about the “achievement gap,” they are usually referring to the disparity in literacy and mathematics achievement among students by race/ethnicity, native language, and socioeconomic status. There is

another gap that receives far less attention, but has at least as much potential to shape society: the civic achievement and engagement gap.

In the IEA Civic Education Study, U.S. students demonstrated a higher level of civic knowledge (comprised of both content knowledge and skills in interpreting civic-related material such as election leaflets) than the average student internationally; on the items measuring civic skills, they scored higher than students from any other country, and on the items measuring civic content knowledge, the U.S. national mean did not differ significantly from the international mean. Thus, from an international perspective, U.S. fourteen-year-olds performed well. This is impressive since the students completed the survey at the beginning of the academic year (October) when many students had not completed any classes devoted to civics (although most students would have been exposed to U.S. History).

A breakdown of the civics knowledge scores by demographics, however, reveals disturbing trends. White and multiracial students, higher income students (as measured by home literacy resources), and U.S.-born students significantly outperformed Black and Hispanic students, students who lacked home resources, and students born outside the United States. Why is political knowledge important? A basic schema of the formal political sphere helps interpret current events, imparts confidence to participate in political discussions, and helps navigate the political system when voicing opinions. Political knowledge is one of the best predictors of adult political participation (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). In the IEA Civic Education Study, U.S. students' scores on civics knowledge were good predictors of their expectation that they would vote when they were legally eligible (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

In a further analysis of the U.S. data from the IEA Civic Education Study, Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfeld (2007) compared Latino students with their peers. Latinos demonstrated less civic knowledge, and were also less likely to report that they expected to vote. The fourteen-year-old Latinos were also less likely to perceive an open classroom climate for discussion, or to report the explicit study of political topics—two ways in which schools fosters political knowledge. Across ethnic groups, the IEA data reveal that lower income students perceive a classroom climate that is less supportive of discussion than their peers (Baldi et al., 2001:34).

An important development in studying youth political socialization over the past decade has been the increased emphasis on understanding the social, cultural, historical and political context in which young people become engaged, enlightened citizens. These studies suggest that the “civics gap” exists not just in terms of political knowledge, but similar to the IEA Civic Education data, also in terms of opportunities within and outside the school to develop social and political capital. For example, Conover and Searing (2000) interviewed 100 adolescents from each of four communities: rural; urban, blue collar; suburban, and an urban Hispanic setting. Students in the immigrant and urban communities were significantly less likely to engage in political discussions in school (34% and 25% respectively) than were rural (68%) and suburban (50%) students. Immigrant and urban students were also much less likely to be civically engaged, as measured by participation in in-school and out-of-school activities and organizations.

Hart and Atkins (2002) examined the opportunities youth had to develop civic competence in two New Jersey cities less than two miles from one another—one a predominately poor, African American and Hispanic urban community (Camden), and another a suburban community in which over 80% of the residents were non-Hispanic Whites and less than 2% were living in poverty (Cherry Hill). The authors present a vivid contrast between the two cities in the opportunities that are available

to youth to see adults actively involved in the political process, to participate in extracurricular group activities inside and outside school, to engage in volunteer activities (or see an adult engaged), and to attend safe schools. On every dimension, the adolescents in Cherry Hill have substantially greater opportunities than their peers in Camden. In Camden day-to-day issues related to poverty and safety consume parents' and teachers' attention. The authors conclude with a grim prediction:

*it is likely that the obstacles to civic development for urban youth—to the extent to which they are yoked to poverty and educational failure, for example—are likely to grow. (p.235)*

Rural communities have been studied less than urban and suburban settings. Lay's (2006) comparison of rural and urban youth, however, suggests that the close social networks characteristic of rural settings offer opportunities for young people to engage in political discussion and develop greater political knowledge. Most significantly, African American adolescents and children of poverty in rural areas demonstrated greater political knowledge than their urban counterparts.

In a survey of 439 middle grade students, Fridkin and her colleagues (2006) compared Anglos (middle and working class), Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans' knowledge and views of the formal political world. Consistent with previous studies, the Anglos from middle class families had greater opportunities to practice democratic activities in school (e.g., give speeches, try to persuade others of their views) and at home (e.g., read the newspaper, watch the news). Native Americans, a group that has received very little attention, scored lowest in terms both political information and political attitudes (trust, efficacy, civic duty, and partisan attachment). Even after controlling for school and home resources, race and ethnicity played a major role in shaping students' political attitudes, a finding that may be attributed to discrimination that young people experience in their daily lives or hear about from their elders.

Studies that embed survey findings within a contextual framework suggest some ways that educators might provide better experiences for all students. For example, in Camden, New Jersey researchers found that Black youth were very interested in helping improve their community and issues of social justice. Latino youth report a significantly higher level of participation in public protests than do any other ethnic group, most likely because of the intense debate on immigration policies in the United States (Lopez et al., 2006:19). Both of these examples are consistent with Sanchez-Jankowski's (2002) theory that groups who have a history of racial exclusion in the United States are likely to be motivated to help their own communities. Finally, Conover and Searing (2000) found that when political discussions in schools *did* take place among immigrant and urban youth, they were likely to promote discussion at home and with peers.

Another disparity exists which has only recently garnered public attention. Teachers who are inexperienced, teaching out of their field, and/or lacking teaching credentials are more likely to be found in high-poverty and high-minority schools than are their more experienced, better prepared counterparts. Thus, the very students who tend to have fewer opportunities to develop social and political capital are more likely to have teachers who are less experienced (Peske & Haycock, 2006). Although many beginning teachers are excellent, the research evidence strongly

suggests differences in the way in which “novice” and “expert” teachers approach instructional and classroom environment issues. The former quickly identify a single approach, while the latter draw on a repertoire of possibilities. Gimpel and his associates (2003) observed 120 civics or government classrooms, and although they were frequently discouraged by the lack of high quality instruction, they found that the best teachers tended to be in communities that already provided their young people with many of the opportunities to be civically and politically engaged. They wryly noted that

*it is hard [for teachers] to fail in a classroom in which all of the students have aspirations to attend Princeton (p. 210).*

Thus, the “civics achievement gap” is more complex than student demographics, or even cultural, social and political contexts. A range of questions remain. What kinds of civics curricula are most likely to engage youth, particularly those at risk for non-participation? A number of political scientists and educators have argued that the civics curriculum needs to be more context-based and issues-oriented, with a stronger recognition of the previous civic and political experiences (both positive and negative) that students bring into the classroom (Conover & Searing, 2000; Gimpel et al., 2003; Niemi & Junn, 1998). Can we develop curricula in which issues that are of concern to youth (e.g., social justice, immigration) serve as the core, and then embed essential political concepts within those issues-based units? Why are political discussions least likely to take place with students who have few other opportunities for the exchange of ideas? We need more evaluations of the impact of innovative curricula on students from various socio-political and economic backgrounds. Traditional “outcome” measures (political knowledge, trust, efficacy) may need to be expanded to encompass “multiple civic subcultures” (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). Every classroom of students requires a teacher who has the appropriate civic knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, and dispositions to develop engaged and enlightened young citizens. How can experienced teachers be encouraged to teach in what many consider “more challenging” schools?

### **Teacher preparation and civic-related student outcomes**

NCLB’s focus on student achievement has led to increasing scrutiny of the way in which teachers are prepared by colleges and universities. Recent research indicates that teachers play a very important role in student learning over and above the home background of students and that high quality teacher professional development can have a positive impact instruction (Smith, Lee & Newmann, 2001).

An analysis of the IEA Civic Education Study data collected in a survey of teachers of civics-related subjects supports the contention that well prepared teachers do have an impact on students’ civic knowledge (Torney-Purta, Richardson, & Barber, 2005). In the United States, students taught by teachers who reported having civic-related in-service experiences scored significantly higher in civic knowledge than did students of teachers who had neither a civic-related degree nor any professional development experiences (mean civic knowledge score of students 117.33 as compared to 106.31).

It is clear that teachers’ professional development or in-service experiences can have an impact on students’ preparation for citizenship. In the United States, a substantial amount of recent research on professional development provides

evidence that the generic, one afternoon workshop is unlikely to produce changes in teacher instruction or student knowledge. Sustained, content-focused professional development experiences that provide teachers with support and opportunities to learn, practice, and reflect on new instructional methods with peers and knowledgeable facilitators can be very effective (Garet, Porter, Desimone, Birman, & Yoon, 2001).

Programs for in-service teachers, such as those provided by law-related education networks, the Constitutional Rights Foundation, and the Centre for Civic Education, to name just a few, tend to exemplify the characteristics of strong professional development. Content-based and aligned to state and national standards, these programs provide teachers with the type of “pedagogical content knowledge” that equips them for the classroom.

Lee Shulman (1986) first defined “pedagogical content knowledge” as “ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others [It] includes an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult; the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons” (pp. 9-10). Preparatory teachers are unlikely to be exposed to such knowledge in college political science or history courses.

Further, we know little about what transpires in the typical social studies methods course. In a review of research on the impact of methods courses and field experiences, Clift and Brady (2005) found that very few studies have been conducted in social studies methods classes, and none followed the students into their first year of teaching to assess the impact on practice.

Elsewhere I have considered the types of experiences in social studies methods courses that enhance pre-service teachers’ civics-related pedagogical content knowledge (Avery, 2004). For example, methods instructors can give their pre-service teachers assignments that will help them understand how young people conceptualize important political ideas and behaviours, such as freedom of expression and voting. Pre-service teachers can interview young people, asking questions such as: What does the term “freedom of expression” mean to you? Can you think of any times when freedom of expression might be a good thing or a bad thing? Why do you think people vote? Suppose I know my candidate will not win, should I still vote? Responses from students of various age levels and backgrounds can be shared in class, along with ideas about how to teach young people who hold particular views.

Pre-service teachers can become familiar with tools such as concept mapping and graphic organizers that help young people see connections among concepts (e.g., equal protection, minority rights) with institutions (e.g., courts). Similarly, having young people map a concept such as “democracy” can give teachers a sense of the depth of students’ understanding and their misconceptions.

Perhaps most important, pre-service teachers can be helped to appreciate that young people in their classrooms have already had positive and negative civic and political experiences. Delving into these experiences prior to diving into the first chapter of the civics or government textbook may be fruitful.

The evidence suggests that teachers need more practice in conducting controversial issues discussions and creating an open, supportive climate in which these discussions take place. One of the most important findings of the IEA Civic Education Study is that explicit instructional experiences in civics are more effective in classrooms characterized by an “open and supportive climate.” In classrooms where students reported they felt free to express their opinions and exchange

different viewpoints, students demonstrated higher civic knowledge and were more likely to report that they intended to vote as adults. This finding was consistent across the majority of countries (Torney-Purta et al., 2001:151-155).

U.S. students were above the international mean in reporting positive responses to classroom climate items. For example, 85% of the students reported that they were “often” or “sometimes” “encouraged to make up their own minds about issues,” and 78% indicated that they felt free to express opinions in class. These findings are consistent with a cultural context that values everyone’s “right to an opinion.” Students were somewhat less likely to report that “teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions” (Baldi et al., 2001:34). Most researchers, however, find that they seldom observe in-depth discussions of controversial public issues in U.S. classrooms (Gimpel et al., 2003; Niemi & Niemi, 2007). What explains the apparent contradiction?

One possible explanation comes from research conducted by Conover, Searing and Crewe (2002) with U.S. and British adults. In focus groups and surveys U.S. adults reported that they liked to share their opinions, and to hear the viewpoints of others. They rarely wanted to go beyond sharing opinions to engage in the type of discussions that require persons to provide evidence to support their opinions or to consider the possible consequences of their viewpoints. Citizens’ reasons for disliking truly contested discussions included fear of being excluded due to unpopular opinions, genuine uncertainty about their opinions or knowledge about a topic, and the desire to maintain friendly relationships. Underlying U.S. and British adults’ avoidance of truly deliberative discussions was a belief that “we all have a right to our opinions, and are not required to defend them.” Thus, it may be that students’ reports of expressing their views on social and political issues in class in the IEA Civic Education Study should be taken at face value: students *do* express their opinions, but without the corresponding in-depth discussion.

Civic scholar Diana Hess offers another possible explanation, but the same conclusion. In a study of 260 high school students in 15 schools, Hess and Ganzler (2006) found that students were likely to characterize their classrooms as “open and supportive,” but this did not necessarily mean engagement with in-depth issues discussions. Hess (in press) concludes that

*the current scale researchers use to assess an open classroom climate does not distinguish between students who are in issues-rich discussion classes and those who are simply in classes with student talk.*

This might explain, in part, the difference in the percentage of students in the IEA Civic Education Study who reported that their teachers “respect our opinions and encourage us to express them during class” (79.3%) and that “teacher encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions” (68.7%) (Baldi et al., 2001:34).

The ability to lead in-depth discussions about controversial issues requires a high level of skill on the part of teachers. The events of 9/11 and the Iraq War present two complex subjects for discussion in social studies classrooms. Few textbooks address the topics, but supplemental resources are available on the Internet. There are anecdotal reports that students do not discuss these topics in school. After interviewing middle and high school students and finding that the Iraqi War was not discussed in their classrooms, Flinders (2006) wrote:

*Philosophical considerations (such) as the inevitability of war or over such practical considerations as the impact of the Iraq War on our national image are easy to dismiss as a distraction from the school's academic mission. (p. 12)*

When McDevitt and Kiouisis (2006) conducted focus groups with students who had participated in KidsVoting and asked them what had increased their interest in politics, the researchers reported:

*A clear consensus emerged—classroom discussion with peers along with exposure to political issues that resonate most strongly with youth....Many students seemed passionate about the opportunity to freely discuss political issues with peers in a classroom setting. (p. 27)*

How have teachers dealt with 9/11 and the Iraq War in their classrooms? How are pre-service methods classes and in-service professional development experiences preparing teachers to lead discussion? How do teachers create “open and supportive” classroom climates and move beyond student expression of opinions to a culture of deliberation? How does that culture of deliberation sustain itself with pressures for curriculum coverage?

### **Increased challenges**

Few U.S. citizens would describe the current social, political, and cultural context as “good, but uninteresting.” There have been many positive developments in U.S. civic education and civic life. Young people are voting at a higher rate in this century, and indications are that youth are more supportive of the rights of groups that have traditionally been marginalized in society. Newly created national organizations are drawing attention to the critical need for meaningful civic education. The “bear market of political socialization research” that political scientist Timothy Cook described in 1985 appears to be on the verge of a “bull market.”

Yet the challenges are formidable. The increased emphasis on testing and accountability is taking significant time from civic-related education, particularly at the elementary grades. National and international events make it both more critical and more difficult to provide meaningful civic education experiences.

It may be decades before we understand how 9/11 and the war in Iraq have impacted American democracy. But we know a lot about the types of educational experiences that help to develop engaged, enlightened citizens. We also know about many practices that continue to create inequalities of social and political engagement among youth.

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# *Looking Back, Looking Forward: Critical Citizenship As A Way Ahead For Civics And Citizenship Education In Australia*

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**ABSTRACT** This article looks back over the past decade and a half to assess and critique the implementation of the civics and citizenship education (CCE) policy in Australia, and to suggest future issues in CCE teaching and learning to be addressed. It examines how the IEA Civic Education Study results were used to shape teacher professional development and practice, and curriculum and assessment. Using a 'critical citizenship' framework the study analyzes current civic education practice and suggests steps for making CCE more relevant to the civic realities and mega trends facing youth. In particular, we suggest how ideas from a 'critical citizenship' framework can inform the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) by including items related to immigration and refugees, globalization and environmental sustainability, and realities facing young people, such as youth violence.

## **Introduction**

### **The revival of Civics and Citizenship Education in Australia**

Civics and citizenship education has been officially revived in Australian schools through the development of the Discovering Democracy (DD) resources supporting classroom teaching and learning (Curriculum Corporation, 1997, Print, 1996, 1997), nation-wide teacher professional learning programs, and the inclusion of Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE) in curriculum frameworks across the nation. Print (1997) referred to the Discovering Democracy initiative as creating a critical mass of support for a renaissance of interest in this topic. One indicator of the potential for reaching a critical mass is the overwhelming support given to the topic by Australian teachers participating in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Mellor, Kennedy, & Greenwood, 2001). Ninety-eight percent of Australian teachers surveyed in 1999 believed that "teaching civic education makes a difference for students' political and civic development" and "matters a great deal for our country" (Mellor et al., 2001, p. 7). Another indicator is the many documented cases of schools across the nation implementing innovative CCE in classrooms, through whole school practices and

links to community, especially during the period of the Discovering Democracy initiative (1997-2004) (see for instance, Holdsworth, et al., 2000).

The progress achieved in civic and citizenship education together with the future steps to be taken requires further examination, in light of new developments in Australia and worldwide. The Erebus consulting group's (2003) national evaluation of the DD program found that from 1997-2003, considerable achievements were made in the use of the Discovering Democracy materials within well-structured whole school CCE programs that could demonstrate improved student learning outcomes. However, these programs had been fully implemented in no more than half the schools nationally. The CIVED Australian National Report, reporting students' civic knowledge and engagement, concluded that Australian 14-year old "scores are significantly below the international mean on three of four scales (Conventional Citizenship, Social Movement Citizenship, and Expected Participation in Political Activities) which make up the Civic Engagement dimension" (Mellor et al., 2001, p. xix referring to results in Torney-Purta, et al., 2001). One conclusion from these studies and other more recent assessments is that further work is required to promote depth and breadth in citizenship education through the school years. In particular it is necessary to encourage young people to understand civic realities and confront demographic and cultural megatrends facing Australians today (Kennedy, 1998, p.8-10; Kennedy, 2008).

The purpose of this article is to provide some discussion of the IEA study in relation to national efforts to reinvigorate civics and citizenship education in Australia, from the perspective of scholars who were not part of the original study. We first briefly review the process of conducting the IEA study in relation to the changing policy environment for civics and citizenship education in Australia. We then summarize key findings from the IEA CIVED study and describe how these findings influenced subsequent activities in Australia. We then introduce elements of 'critical citizenship', as a broader approach to CCE that addresses the civic realities and megatrends that Kennedy (2000) describes as essential but inadequately addressed in Australian curriculum. Examples from schools illustrate the changes occurring in how CCE is being taught, which in part reflect a critical citizenship perspective. Critical citizenship is then discussed in terms of specific ideas related to teaching and learning. Finally, we utilize a critical citizenship perspective to bring attention to these ideas in citizenship education in Australia and elsewhere, and suggest how it could inform the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) and future research in general.

### **Looking back on CCE initiatives: the curriculum policy context in Australia**

CCE has been emphasized in Australian curriculum policy debates since the Senate Inquiries into Active Citizenship (Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training 1989, 1991) (See Table 1). The Civics Expert Group's (1994) report identified a civic deficit. There were clear inadequacies in relevant programs in schools and teacher training institutions, and evidence of ignorance and apathy concerning core structural, legal and procedural aspects of mainstream political life among school leavers and the wider community. The education system was failing to adequately engage young people in active and informed participation in the civic life of the nation and the wider world, and failing to provide them with knowledge and participation skills to empower them as citizens. Subsequent Labour and Liberal federal government policies stimulated renewed interest in CCE at the national and state levels (CEG, 1994, Keating, 1995,

Kemp, 1997, Nelson, 2002). For example, in 1995, the Keating government committed \$25 million to a Civics and Citizenship Education program. In May 1997, the *Discovering Democracy* program for all schools was launched (Kemp, 1997). The program was developed largely in response to the identified civic deficits of young Australians, but also in recognition of the fact that “civics and citizenship education is central to Australian education overall, and to the maintenance of a strong and vital Australian citizenry” (Curriculum Corporation, 1997).

Since 1997, CCE has been redefined in a range of national and state policy documents as a priority area. *Australia’s Common and Agreed Goals for Schooling in the Twenty-first Century* developed by Ministers of Education from all states and territories includes the challenge for schools “to develop in their students the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, to enable them to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic Australian society, within an international context” (MCETYA, 1999).

Since the late 1990’s, all states and territories have included CCE in curriculum policy and documents, albeit in differing ways. As a means of achieving greater national consistency in curriculum outcomes across the eight States and Territories, in July 2002 Ministers of Education requested that *Statements of Learning* be developed in civics and citizenship that would describe essential skills, knowledge, understandings and capacities that all young Australians should have the opportunity to learn by the end of Years 3, 5, 7 and 9. In the state of Victoria, CCE is now defined as essential learning, and there has been a broadening of the relevant goals and standards. The curriculum includes a critical focus on students appreciating “the uniqueness and diversity of Australia’s multicultural society, and the efforts of individuals and groups to achieve political rights and equality;...students are expected to consider human rights and social justice issues at local, national and global levels” (VCAA, 2006).

**Table 1: Timeline of IEA CIVED 1999 Study and CCE Policies and Initiatives in Australia**

IEA CIVED Study Timeline	Timeline of Policies and Initiatives related to Civics and Citizenship Education in Australia
	1989 <i>Active Participation in Citizenship Education Report</i> (Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education, and Training) assessed schools’ roles in preparing young citizens, making recommendations to strengthen civics and citizenship education
	1989 <i>Hobart Declaration: Ten Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia</i> Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA). Goal 7 explicitly addressed citizenship education 1999 <i>Adelaide Declaration: National Goals for Schooling in the 21st Century</i> Ministerial Council (MCEETYA) (re-evaluation of Hobart Declaration)

1994 Planning begins for the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED)	1994 <i>Whereas the People: Civics and Citizenship Report</i> Civics Expert Group (CEG) Strategic plan for public education programs, including the integration of Civics and Citizenship education (CCE) in the Studies of Society and Environment Learning Area (SOSE)
1996-1997 Australia (in parallel with 23 other countries), gathered data from documents and interviews in order to write a qualitative and contextual case study on civic education within Australia 1999 CIVED case studies published (Torney-Purta et al., 1999, Print, Kennedy, & Hughes, 1999)	1994 <i>National Statement and National Profile Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE)</i> , Australian Education Council (AEC) New learning area statements; includes Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE) goals and content, as well as multicultural education, indigenous education, global education, and environmental education 1994-2001 Australian states undertake revision of the SOSE (or related) curriculum/syllabi based on the <i>National Statement and National Profile for SOSE</i>
	1997 - 2004 <i>Discovering Democracy Program</i> initiated Development of curriculum materials distributed to all teachers and schools
1999 CIVED knowledge test and attitudinal and behavioural surveys conducted with students; Survey on teachers' perspectives and schools also carried out	1998 <i>Discovering Democracy Professional Development Programs</i> initiated in Australian states and territories
2001 Australian results compared performance to an international mean in the international report , <i>Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen</i> (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001)	<i>Discovering Democracy Program</i> School based grants
2001 Australian National Report on CIVED results released (Mellor, Kennedy & Greenwood, 2001)	2003 Mid-term Evaluation of DD program published (Erebus, 2003)
Since 2001 Publications reporting secondary analysis of the international IEA data set, some including Australia (Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2004, Kennedy, Hahn, & Lee, in press).	1999-2004 Development of National Assessment for CCE, first national assessment results released in 2007
	2005 National Initiative for Values Education, integrated with citizenship education

In the state of Queensland, CCE is integrated into the Studies of Society and Environment area as “investigations of controversial and challenging issues.” It promotes critical thinking in the development of an optimistic future vision and encourages young people to be active participants in their communities (Queensland School Council, 2000, p. 1). The inclusion of the values of social justice, ecological

and economic sustainability and peace in curricular documents has broadened the content of citizenship education, from the DD materials.

A new national initiative for values education has encouraged schools to make connections between values and CCE (Nelson, 2002). There is an expectation from the Federal government that these policies will be implemented across all states and territories. In Victoria, students are expected to “learn about, contest and enact the values that are important to be an engaged citizen within a community” and should be “provided with opportunities to investigate and participate in activities that support sustainable practices, social justice and underpin the future wellbeing of societies from a local to a global level” (VCAA, 2006).

Some scholars argue that CCE is being implemented for narrow political and economic reasons (e.g., Kennedy, 2008), while Kennedy (2005) concludes that the focus in the DD materials is overwhelmingly Australian. DeJaeghere (2002) found in her analysis of curriculum documents in five states, that in some like New South Wales, the emphasis is on the history of Australian democracy. However, the diverse nature of the intended curriculum in the various states and territories, and the interpretation of that curriculum by educators, suggests that an expanded conceptualization of citizenship education is being enacted in many schools. In Victoria, for instance, CCE is now located in the personal and social learning area of the curriculum, so students are being encouraged to engage in activities including local community programs. The next section describes how the IEA CIVED study influenced the way in which the official CCE policies and curriculum documents were enacted.

### **Looking back: Influence of the findings from the IEA CIVED study**

The IEA Civic Education Study took place between 1994 and 2004, with data collected from students and teachers in 1999, before DD and the national program of teacher professional learning in CCE had been substantially implemented, and before many states had completed a curriculum revision integrating related topics. Subsequent widespread reporting of the IEA Civic Education Study findings for Australia have informed changes in pedagogy and programs for student engagement, teacher professional learning strategies, and the development of a national assessment in CCE. First, we will consider programs for student engagement. Kennedy (2003) argues that the IEA study shows that citizenship education needs to be based on active and authentic learning and student engagement. He argues, “This is not mere advocacy for progressivist pedagogy. The IEA study demonstrated empirically that the latter kind of participation [active and authentic learning] has a direct, positive, and significant relationship to civic knowledge” (p. 64). A change in pedagogy toward authentic learning and student engagement is particularly important in light of somewhat disappointing results of the IEA study for Australian 14 year olds. Australian students' civic content knowledge was at the international average, similar to Germany and Bulgaria (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 63). Furthermore, civic knowledge was not correlated with expected volunteering or social movement participation (Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2004). The findings also indicate a disassociation from, and even a disdain for, political parties. For example, a majority of Australian students did not indicate an intent to participate in conventional political activity, other than voting, which is mandatory. Eighty-nine percent did *not* expect to join a political party, 76 percent did *not* expect to write letters to newspapers about political or social concerns, and 87 percent did *not* expect to be a candidate for a local or city office (Mellor, et al., 2001, p. xix). In

particular the disinclination of Australian young people to see participation in political discussion as important for adult citizens is sobering. In contrast, many more students thought it important or very important to help the community (80 percent), take part in activities to protect the environment (74 percent) or promote human rights (69 percent), than to engage in the conventional citizenship activities noted above (Kennedy, Hahn & Lee, 2008; Mellor, 2003).

Despite this apparent disengagement from formal political activities, a key finding of the study is that encouraging students to join school councils and voice their opinions is an important part of learning how a healthy democracy works (Mellor et al., p. xix). It appears that engagement in school democratic practices has a meaningful relationship to civic knowledge and participation in Australia, and this engagement could be further emphasized in CCE programs. Holdsworth (2002) and Prior and Stephens (1998) both agree that emphasis on student participation in school governance, decision-making, and community issues can help to address the lack of political engagement. These scholars have prepared nation-wide teacher professional development to promote student participation and they maintain that students need to see that their involvement can make a tangible difference. In many schools, Student Action Teams working on issues relevant to their local communities provide models. For instance, some schools have successfully tackled the issue of truancy while other schools have worked effectively with local police on lessening youth crime (Holdsworth, 2002). This illustrates how student engagement in school can be linked with engagement in community issues.

Australian students scored at the international mean for several of the attitude scales, including attitudes toward the nation (similar to Lithuania) and toward immigrants (similar to the Czech Republic) (Torney-Purta, et al, 2001). Within the attitudes toward immigrants' scale, considerable variation exists, however, in the extent of support for various immigrant rights (e.g., education, customs and language) (see Kennedy, et al., in press; Kennedy & Mellor, 2006). These issues receive minimal attention in CCE programs. These matters are part of a critical citizenship perspective, described later.

In a second area of action, IEA findings from Australia have been used to inform the planning of programs to increase teachers' professional strategies. The IEA study volume (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) notes that contemporary issues in the world should be analysed through integrated approaches to learning combining social, political, economic and cultural studies. One of the challenges in the Australian CCE curriculum is to integrate the *Discovering Democracy* materials, primarily focused on Australian history, with other goals within CCE. One problem is that many teachers have a weak inter-disciplinary background (Mellor et al., 2001). Criddle et al. (2004) interviewed policy makers, professional development specialists and teachers in Western Australia, examining how DD policy documents have been used in professional development and in curricular practice. They found that Commonwealth policy makers expected DD materials to be used as a unified package. The trainers, however, used the materials to emphasize a pedagogy of active participation and innovative use of materials; teachers indicated that in their classroom practice they selected parts of the DD materials to integrate into a broader curriculum. The DD professional development encouraged teachers to utilize multiple materials and perspectives in their teaching of civics and citizenship, but it did not directly address disciplinary knowledge.

In another effort to promote teacher professional learning strategies, advisory committees including parents, universities, and education authorities were formed. In Victoria, for instance, a comprehensive state-wide program that operated from

1997 to 2004 included the development of teacher networks, extended professional learning programs facilitated by university faculty, and provided funding for school based action research projects on civic-related topics. The challenge in these professional learning programs was to allow teachers to bring their experience with active citizenship and learning to the DD materials, which are largely focused on historical knowledge (Criddle, et al., 2004). In the Victorian Extended Professional Learning Program for example, teachers developed strategies to implement environmental citizenship in their schools and to encourage global perspectives, through active engagement with Amnesty International projects (Tudball & Forsyth, 2001). These were opportunities for young people to experience active modes of enacting citizenship through authentic learning.

In an attempt to integrate the recent Values Education initiative with CCE, the Lance Holt School, a small primary school in West Australia that lies within the traditional country of the indigenous community of Whadjuk Nyungars, developed a program integrated around the theme of sustainability. Teachers wanted the students to learn from indigenous locals whose traditions date back tens of thousands of years. The school is located close to the mouth of the Swan River in an area experiencing economic, social, cultural and environmental pressures, so the goals include students developing “a wonder of the natural world, and encourage a care of the environment which reflects a global stewardship that allowed them to make a tangible difference in their community” (Netherwood & Stocker, 2004, p. 11). This program has received national recognition for linking CCE and values education in an authentic and meaningful way through valuing the environment. an emphasis that is common in schools.

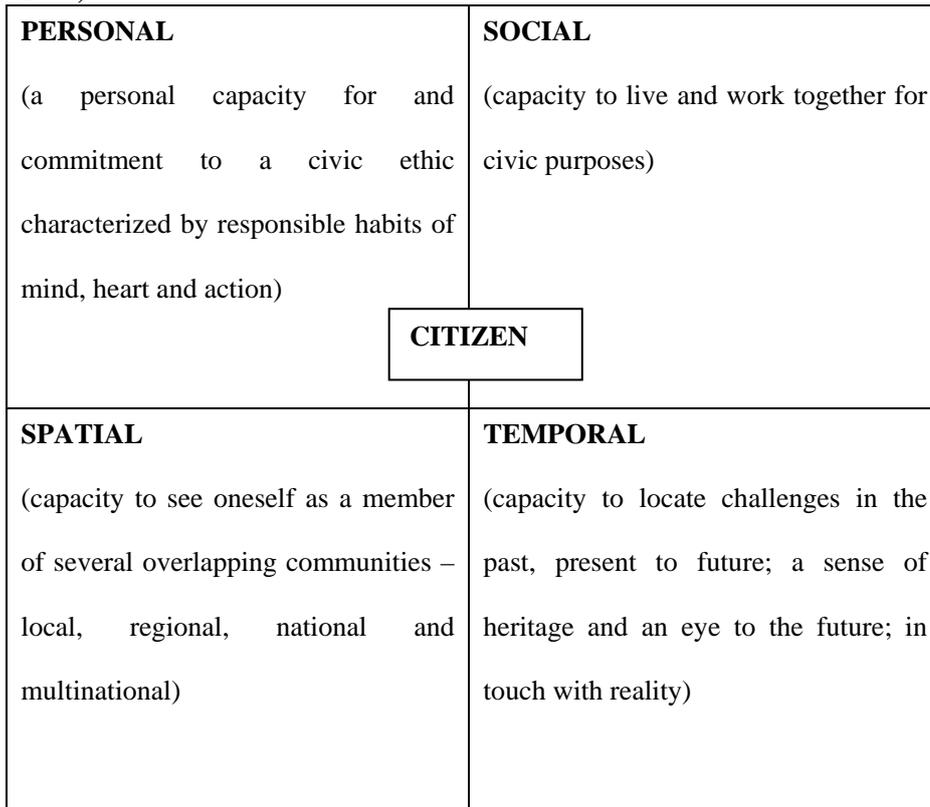
In a third major set of initiatives, the IEA CIVED study results have informed the development of a national assessment for CCE (Mellor, 2003) for students in Years 6 and 10. This assessment makes a clear distinction between civics and citizenship. Performance measures for civics emphasize knowledge and understanding of civic institutions and processes, while performance measures for citizenship address levels of dispositions and skills for participation. In the latter, the focus is less on questions with keyed correct answers, and more on how students explore their convictions and gain competency in engagement. Including performance measures for levels of competency in knowledge, dispositions and participation skills is an attempt to challenge teachers’ and students’ ideas and attitudes about citizenship (Mellor, 2003). Mellor suggests these performance measures incorporate a constructivist view of civic learning informed by beliefs and values, drawing from the IEA CIVED conceptual model, in contrast to a minimalist view of civics and citizenship that emphasizes acquiring civic knowledge. This participatory approach to citizenship education relates to the findings noted about Australian students’ participation in political and civic activities, and to debates among educators. We now turn to calls for expanded models of citizenship education.

### **Looking forward: issues and frameworks for citizenship education**

The IEA study and responses to it show that internationally there is an interest in developing broader conceptualization and practice of citizenship education. In recent years, there has been a call for expanded models and approaches to address current realities of citizenship (Cogan & Derricott, 1998, 2000; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Using a Delphi approach with policy experts and futurists in nine countries, Cogan and Derricott’s research identified the key issues for citizens in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They called for a multi-dimensional model of citizenship (See Figure

1). The four interconnected dimensions include the personal, the social, the spatial, and the temporal. In particular, these dimensions address the integration of personal knowledge, attitudes and identity as a citizen, with the civic/community roles of a citizen. The spatial dimension draws attention to the identity and roles of citizens in local, regional and global arenas. The temporal dimension addresses the understanding of past, present and future perspectives.

**Figure 1. Dimensions of Citizenship (adapted from Cogan & Derricott, 1998, 2000)**



Cogan and Derricott’s model (1998, 2000) makes suggestions for curriculum (see Parker et al., 1998), and for the school as a community and within the community (Cogan, 1998). In particular, an interdisciplinary and whole school approach is emphasized that utilizes a deliberation-based curriculum. The study also recommends eight characteristics (knowledge, attitudes and skills) to be addressed by the curriculum, and as outcomes of a multidimensional citizenship education (See Cogan & Derricott, 1998, p. 132).

In addition to research that calls for expanded models of citizenship education, Kennedy (2000, 2008) has called for attention to current geo-political realities, civic mega trends and civic realities. Geo-political realities include the pressure for environmental protection, and global conflicts. Economic and cultural globalization in their impact on individuals and nation-states are also geo-political realities. Civic mega trends in Australia refer to multiculturalism, indigenous peoples’ rights, and immigration. Civic realities include the manifestations of the problems confronted by citizens, particularly by youth (Kennedy, 2008).

Research in Australia on students in the middle years (grades 5 -8) has found that many are disengaged from schooling (ACSA, 1996). The civic realities that slightly older youth face include unemployment and rising alienation. Young people also confront social realities that include environmental issues and inter-group conflict. The riots in Cronulla and across eight suburbs in Sydney in December 2005, when gangs of young 'white' Australians clashed with youths of Middle Eastern descent, shocked the Australian public, and increased conversations in the education community about the need for more consideration of these issues in school. In January 2007, a media furore arose surrounding the proposed banning of the Australian flag by the organizers of the 'Big Day Out' Australia Day celebrations concert, due to concerns about possible civic disturbances. These civic realities connected to young people's identity are at the heart of their ability to operate effectively as citizens in their local communities. These debates once again demonstrate the important role CCE can play in developing insights into issues such as multiculturalism and ethnic tensions.

Scholars are starting to call for models and practices that address these mega trends, geo-political realities, and civic realities for youth more explicitly than most CCE programs do. In the next section, a framework for critical citizenship is proposed as one model for dealing with these issues within citizenship education.

### **A way forward: A framework for critical citizenship**

Studies of the civic-related curriculum (Cogan & Morris, 2001; DeJaeghere, 2006), of textbooks (Davies & Issitt, 2005), and of the *Discovering Democracy* policy (Criddle *et al.*, 2004), have all found that CCE in Australia incorporates both minimal and maximal approaches to citizenship education (McLaughlin, 1992). Minimal citizenship education includes preconceived notions of what citizenship is, often in exclusive or elitist terms (McLaughlin, 1992; Kerr, 1999), without the possibility of public debate and discourse (Gutmann, 2004). Minimal citizenship education tends to be content-led and focuses on civic knowledge, with little attention to citizenship participation and processes. It is often confined to promoting the "good" citizen who is law-abiding, works hard, and possesses a good character, but does not discuss problems or issues found in societal structures creating inequalities among citizens. This minimalist approach corresponds to Australian young people's preferred citizen role, identified in a re-analysis of IEA CIVED data from Australia, Hong Kong, and the U.S. data by Kennedy, Hahn and Lee (in press 2008). Maximal forms of citizenship education promote values, attitudes, and behaviours related to participation in democracy and citizenship at all levels.

Extending McLaughlin's (1992) minimal and maximal approaches to citizenship education, DeJaeghere (2006) argues that *critical citizenship education* can address civic realities and mega trends in multicultural societies, such as Australia. Critical citizenship education includes several dimensions that extend the dimensions of knowledge, values, and participation in minimal and maximal forms of citizenship. These critical citizenship dimensions draw on ideas from Westheimer and Kahne's study of three forms of citizenship (responsible, participatory and justice-oriented) enacted in the curriculum, and from Cogan and Derricott's (1998, 2000) multidimensional model. Critical citizenship aims to create a citizenry prepared and motivated to address societal problems and to create social change, particularly related to injustice. To address this goal of citizenship, both knowledge and participation are used to empower learners by helping them to understand the underlying causes of social problems. Knowledge refers to critical and structural

social analysis including the examination of asymmetries in power and the effects of colonization/decolonization, from a variety of perspectives. Students and teachers are involved as proactive agents of change by connecting citizenship education with engagement in the public sphere, relating to what Kennedy (2005) calls “teachers’ civic professionalism”. Students and teachers take part in decision-making processes together, and critically analyze knowledge and what happens when that knowledge is put into practice. Participation goes beyond a personal responsibility or a duty to society, and is conceptualized as including an examination of the relationships between the individual’s behaviour in society and structures of social injustice. The goal of critical citizenship is to provide the conditions for collective social change. These dimensions of critical citizenship are explained in relation to the implemented curriculum and to assessment in subsequent sections.

### **Moving forward: Teachers’ changing perceptions and enactment of the CCE curriculum**

Teachers’ knowledge of and attitudes to Civic and Citizenship Education and how they enact it in the curriculum have evolved in the past decade to address concerns raised in research conducted with young Australians. Change is also taking place in response to realities in Australian society, such as concerns about climate change and the nation wide extended drought. In 1998, soon after the launch of *Discovering Democracy*, the Deakin University baseline study of Victorian schools showed that for approximately 50% of schools, CCE was a “low priority,” and teachers reported low levels of understanding and enthusiasm for related subjects (Prior and Stephens, 1998, p. vi). This is different from the positive view towards civic education found in 1999 when teachers were questioned in the CIVED Study. Four years later, in the Erebus 2003 report evaluating the *Discovering Democracy* program, nearly 80 percent of selected secondary schools reported integrating units into specific learning areas, suggesting a new awareness and utilization of civics education materials (Erebus Consulting Group, 2003, p. xvi). In addition to teachers’ change in awareness and knowledge of CCE, their attitudes toward its importance and implementation have also changed. In another study on teachers’ attitudes, over 500 urban and rural teachers involved in Extended Professional Development programs (1999-2004) were asked to contribute their views on why CCE should claim space in the curriculum. The study found a strong consensus among teachers that schools have a core responsibility to encourage the development of both civic knowledge and active citizenship in young people. Teachers suggested that the tolerance, respect, cooperation, open-mindedness, compassion, fairness, and responsibility are fundamental values and should be addressed in citizenship programs (Tudball & Forsyth, 2002).

The study also revealed that teachers believe students need learning opportunities to empower them as citizens in local, national and international contexts. They are firm in the view that these experiences do not only take place in formal classes, but that opportunities must be provided in extra-curricula activities, student leadership programs, whole school programs and community activities that require active involvement.

In addition, teachers place a great deal of emphasis on the links between CCE and students’ well being in their communities of peers, and see these connections as important reasons for claiming space for CCE in the curriculum. Many agreed that related programs can help students where there is social dislocation in school communities, including family breakdowns, disengagement with community, and a

sense of youth powerlessness. This corroborates Kennedy's argument for a focus on civic realities. Teachers also note that students' self esteem and active participation can be enhanced through engaging in democratic practices at school, peer support programs, and community service programs. They assert that student leadership programs are important, particularly where the learning experiences are "real and lead to positive outcomes and social action... and take account of students' opinions" (Tudball & Forsyth, 2002).

These attitudes of teachers are also reflected in the way schools are addressing the engagement of students as citizens, particularly in relation to critical issues. Examples are found in case studies of implementation of the DD materials (see for instance <http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/cce/default.asp?id=9750>). Included in these case studies, is the story of Kalkadoon State High School, a government, coeducational school, with a one-third indigenous Australian student population, in the outback mining town of Mount Isa. With a population of approximately 23,000 people, drawn from over 50 nationalities, including Europeans and Asians, Mount Isa is the most multicultural community in Queensland. Many of the non-indigenous students have poorly developed understanding of their indigenous peers, and there has been evidence of discrimination and harassment in the community. The school decided to develop a unit on *Law and Rights*, adapted from the *Discovering Democracy Lower Secondary* units "Law" and "Should the People Rule?" A major focus is to critically inquire into the local history of contact between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and the development of self-governing indigenous communities within the context of the Australian system of government. Teaching and learning activities include visits of tribal elders, field visits to communities, a court visit, creating a set of rules specifying rights and responsibilities for all students, and reading and interpreting a range of texts. While evaluations of the program admit that it is ambitious, it led to greater understanding between the indigenous and non-indigenous groups.

In another example of curriculum change, the *Erebus* study (2001), which evaluated the initial implementation of the *Discovering Democracy* program, found that the most effective use of program materials is when the social/historical content is firmly connected to students' current real world experiences. Leading edge schools have ensured the sustainability of *Discovering Democracy* by integrating it into a broader civic-related focus across the school's curriculum, reinforced by many aspects of classroom and school community life including greater participation of students in school governance. These schools take a sophisticated approach to 'un-crowding the curriculum' by linking CCE to other school curriculum priorities such as values education. Many schools have begun to adopt a cross key learning area approach, so that civic-related program material is included in English, (debate, written exposition), to take one example. In these schools, *Discovering Democracy* is not just a program, but a holistic approach to developing students' understanding of critical concepts.

These changes in teachers' attitudes and curricular programs illustrate that much has been achieved in developing civics and citizenship education in Australia in consonance with the IEA recommendations that civic education should be multidisciplinary, participatory, related to life, and co-constructed by educators in a collaborative process (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999, p.30). Despite this progress, more could be done in the implemented curriculum to achieve outcomes for students that address the critical civic and geopolitical realities facing young people in Australia today. The next section further elaborates on the framework of

critical citizenship implemented in the curriculum and classroom teaching to address these realities.

### **A way forward: critical citizenship education in teaching and learning**

Cogan and Derricott (1998, 2000) provide a multidimensional framework to guide the intended curriculum, and Kennedy (2005) suggests a broader framework for implementing citizenship education. Critical citizenship education extends the ideas from these models to suggest pedagogy – teaching, learning and assessment – that addresses causes of discrimination and inequalities, power asymmetries (Mouffe, 2000), hybridity of identity, and collective social action. Merryfield (2001) and Merryfield and Wilson (2005) suggest three critical pedagogical approaches to integrate global and multicultural dimensions into citizenship education. Westheimer and Kahne’s work (2004) adds a fourth pedagogical approach. These approaches include:

- 1) Contrapuntal pedagogy, or the inclusion of unrepresented voices and experiences in the curriculum by “moving the centre” (Ngugi, 1986) to allow for more perspectives and forms of knowledge;
- 2) Double consciousness, or examining one’s self and identity through the eyes of another, and understanding the complexities of identity affected by discrimination and oppression;
- 3) Cross-cultural competence that results from learning in intercultural experiences;
- 4) Strategies for collective social action such as a collaborative engagement of students, teachers, schools and communities to create social change.

Contrapuntal pedagogy is the inclusion of non-mainstream literature, history and ideas that create new knowledge and understanding in contrast to dominant discourses. It uses a pedagogical stance in which students and teachers enquire about and understand how imperialism shapes mainstream knowledge. This pedagogical practice allows for the views of marginalized people to be incorporated in teaching and learning. Students learn from taking the perspectives of people who are poor, oppressed, or lacking in power. Such a pedagogical approach can address the civic realities of many Australian students; it also challenges a majority of young people to consider perspectives they may not have encountered. It does not replace mainstream ideas about citizenship, cultural groups, or rights; rather it allows for a diversity of perspectives to be contrasted and debated in the classroom. The inclusion of indigenous knowledge, voices, and history, is one attempt at integrating marginalized perspectives in the curriculum.

Double consciousness (DuBois, 1989) goes beyond Hanvey’s (1983) notions of perspective consciousness, which aims to understand how others view the world. When teachers and students acquire double consciousness, they aim to see the “world both from the mainstream and from the margins” (Merryfield, 2001, p. 189). They understand themselves and others by examining how privilege and power shape awareness. An example of facilitating double consciousness utilizing intercultural and indigenous perspectives is stated in Western Australia’s Society and Environment curriculum: “students understand that factors such as gender, race, and socioeconomic status may influence personal, group and cultural identity. . . and can identify discrimination and/or disadvantage” associated with these different identities (Western Australia 1998, Cultural Strand).

The third pedagogical process is cross-cultural experiential learning within different contexts of power. This learning goes beyond the usual intercultural learning experience to one in which teachers and students experience, understand, and address issues of power and marginalization. For example, in the text *Australia Kaleidoscope*, (Hamston & Murdoch, 2004) commissioned by the Asia Education Foundation, the authors aim to introduce challenging pedagogies for teachers to increase cross-cultural learning and competence. All students are asked to read authentic stories and view images based on diverse stories of Asian Australians, whose points of view and cultures are not mainstream, for example, stories of Islamic young people. Hamston and Murdoch (2004) comment that the stories encourage all students to “challenge stereotypes and culturally determined ways of seeing “Australianness” and “Asianess”: this involves a shift to viewing Australian identity as something complex, dynamic and multifaceted” (p.2). The authors also aim to help students understand how to respect difference, and how to critique narrow representations of other groups.

Strategies for collective social action involve collaborative mobilization with groups of people around an issue. Knowledge and awareness of issues are used to examine structural inequities and the effects of these inequities on individuals’ lives. These pedagogical strategies also aim to engage young people and teachers in developing solutions and enacting them. In Australian curriculum documents, both global and environmental education goals focus on social action in citizenship education. An example from the Queensland SOSE curriculum document illustrates the expectation that young people will develop collective social action through being “critically informed about privilege and injustice and enable[d] to effect change through participatory and consultative processes, particularly with those experiencing these injustices” (Queensland School Council, 2000, p. 9).

Implementing these strategies in the curriculum has the potential to allow students to acquire critical knowledge, skills and attitudes related to citizenship. The following section explores how knowledge, skills, and attitudes could be assessed taking a critical approach.

### **The future IEA ICCS: implications of critical citizenship for assessment**

In this final section, we examine some of the existing items and scales from the CIVED Study, which tested in 1999, and make suggestions for the 2009 ICCS Study (IEA International Civics and Citizenship Study).

A key assumption of critical citizenship education and a reality today is that citizen identity is multi-faceted. Therefore, useful data can be gained from demographic questions such as characteristics of identity including ethnicity, immigrant or refugee status, language spoken at home, religion, race, and gender. Although analyses are regularly conducted using these factors, they are seldom nested within each other (e.g. gender differences within different racial groups, or differences between those speaking the language of the country at home within immigrant and non-immigrant groups). This could assist in mapping the diversity of civic knowledge and engagement among the youth population in a country. Edwards, Saha and Print’s (2005) report on youth, family and learning about politics and voting in Australia, as part of the Youth Electoral Study (YES), has found that the immigrant status and language interact in affecting young people’s understanding of and engagement with the political process. However researchers

need to be cautious not to use the analyses to target groups from a “deficit” paradigm.

From a critical citizenship approach, knowledge of civic megatrends and realities, such as effects of globalization, environmental issues, international relations and wars, including an understanding of non-dominant group perspectives about these issues, is important to enact citizenship today. The IEA ICCS study’s outcome measures could address more of these areas, particularly student attitudes about environmental issues and globalization. Indigenous issues and rights is another civic reality in Australia, and many other countries. Knowledge questions about indigenous rights and peoples from particular regions could be a valuable addition. Furthermore, questions could consider the perspectives of indigenous (or non-dominant) groups about issues such as land rights.

Given the possible relationship of participation in social movements, or civic engagement as opposed to political engagement, this scale might be expanded to assess additional forms of social movement particularly relevant to youth in addition to volunteering or participation in organizations (Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2004) and voting (Saha, Print, and Edwards, 2005). From a critical citizenship perspective, items on the social movement scale could assess how young people are engaged in fostering change and working explicitly for equality and social justice.

The ‘social movement’ and ‘trust in institutions’ scales, used in the IEA CIVED study might be augmented for the ICCS study in 2009 to include social networks within which youth operate. Questions in these scales could address trusting neighbours or teachers. They could also include the networks that are not defined by traditional boundaries, for example through the internet. In their report from the Australian Youth Electoral Study (YES), Edwards et al., (2006) find that teachers, friends and the internet are all sources of information about politics for young people, in addition to family and media.

The scale, ‘positive attitudes toward one’s nation’, could be expanded to address civic mega trends and civic realities. Questions in this area could include perceptions about how the state protects people who are disenfranchised, how it supports and engages young people, whether diverse cultural identities are respected, and how it protects the environment.

In the scale regarding attitudes about immigrants, questions might address how non-immigrant as well as immigrant students understand the immigrant experience, and how they perceive immigration as affecting the meaning of citizenship.

Finally, questions about participation in school and the curriculum and school environment might address social issues more relevant to youth. Questions could deal with how the curriculum and school environment relate to their roles as citizens; and whether the school reflects, supports and allows for expression of students’ multiple identities. For example, students could be asked if in school, they have been involved in solving a classroom or school problem, such as harassment or bullying

Using a critical citizenship approach, assessment of young people’s knowledge, beliefs and skills could reflect a more holistic sense of who they are as citizens and how they enact their roles, given the changing civic realities and mega trends that affect their lives. To the extent that assessment influences curriculum and classroom pedagogy, a critical approach in assessment can foster greater attention to implementing critical citizenship education in schools.

## Conclusion

This article has discussed how civics and citizenship education in Australia can be conceptualized, taught and learned within a broader framework of critical citizenship education, capable of addressing civic realities and mega trends. The paper first described how the findings for Australia from the IEA CIVED Study have been used to promote changes in how civics and citizenship education is implemented, and in particular, to address the knowledge and participatory skills that research has demonstrated Australian students require for engaged citizenship. We then discussed how teachers' understanding and implementation of CCE have developed, during the time of the evolution of the *Discovering Democracy* program. It has been argued that current civic realities, including student disengagement and violence, as well as civic mega trends, such as environmental issues, conflict and terrorism, invoke the need for expanded models of citizenship education. Critical citizenship provides a framework for teaching, learning and assessing civics and citizenship education that addresses these civic realities and mega trends. Scholarship supports the need to frame civics and citizenship education around developing students' knowledge and understanding of key societal issues, their ability to participate as active citizens in multiple communities, and the development of critical skills that matter for citizens of a globalizing world (O'Loughlin, 1997; Kennedy, 1997, 2000, 2003; Cogan & Derricott, 1998, 2000; Hebert & Sears, 2003, Tudball, 2005). Just as the earlier IEA studies have led scholarship and practice in CCE in Australia and elsewhere, we hope that future studies will reflect a critical conceptualization of citizenship. This paper concludes with several suggestions about how the IEA ICCS study could incorporate such an approach. Teaching, learning and assessment of civics and citizenship education should reflect the complex nature of societies and citizens' lives, and the critical approach has a role to play in addressing in meaningful ways the present realities and the future focus of young peoples' lives in the changing democracies of the world.

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## *Civic Education In Times Of Change: The Post-Communist Countries*

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**ABSTRACT** Looking in depth at the 11 post-Communist countries who participated in the IEA CIVED study shows a diversity of histories and extent of reforms in place at the time of the 1999 student testing. There were similarities across countries in the extent to which newly established civic education programs emphasized concepts and theories rather than everyday experience, the existence of a vacuum in political identity, and the difficulties faced in teacher preparation. The article presents the civic knowledge scores of students from these post-Communist countries as well as their concepts of government responsibilities, attitudes of trust in government, attitudes toward women's rights, and expectations of voting. Several of these eleven countries scored quite high on civic knowledge, but the level of trust in government and support for women's rights was low in almost all of them when compared with Western European countries.

### **Introduction**

When in 1994 the IEA [1] General Assembly approved a new study in the area of civic education, many saw this as more than simply fulfilling the Association's mission to conduct large scale comparative studies of achievement in education. There was also hope that this research in civic education would provide data that would contribute to the transition of former communist countries from totalitarian regimes to democracy and free market economy. Five years after the downfall of the Soviet empire, this transition process was difficult and painful for people suffering from the "homo Sovieticus" syndrome and unprepared for new challenges (Malak-Minkiewicz, 1994). How members of the younger generation would view and define their citizenship identity, how they might become carriers of new ideas in their societies – such questions were of great relevance. It also seemed important to understand the role that schools might play in the development of those young people into good citizens of and for democracy, especially because their parents had received a very different kind of civic education.

Eleven former communist countries participated in the CIVED study: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia [2]. Also Eastern Germany participated but as a part of the recently unified country. A common assumption about all these countries in the late 1990s was that they were highly similar with respect to where they were coming from and where they were going. Many believed that after being coerced for forty years to organize their political systems on the now discredited Soviet model,

these countries could quickly build liberal democracies of Western style and orientation.

In the early 1990s, when the CIVED project was under development, all these countries had succeeded in creating democratic institutions and initiating economical reforms. However, the new democratic institutions were rather weak and inefficient. Many sectors of public life were deteriorating and needing reform. In their early stages the economic reforms created or deepened unemployment and polarization within society. While a few citizens enjoyed the first fruits from reforms, including improvement of quality of life, many others experienced the opposite. In this rapidly developing division within society, people concentrated on their own wellbeing. Moreover, they felt entitled to benefits. In their eyes they had accomplished the difficult overthrow of Communism. People were tired of hearing about obligations and sacrifices for the benefit of future generations. Neither the political, the social-psychological nor the economic context was favourable toward further sacrifices to build a new order.

There were also differences between the former communist countries going back to before World War II and with respect to particular characteristics of dependency in relation to the Soviet Union. The three Baltic States participating in the CIVED study were part of the Soviet Union, though their national feeling remained strong and the Russians were considered occupiers. Some other countries were not part of the Soviet Union but had remained under its strong rule, which in different periods they had tried to lessen or eliminate (Czechoslovakia 1968, Hungary 1956, and Poland 1956 and 1980). Those attempts became part of people's collective memory in which the Soviet Union was identified as an enemy. Bulgarian relations with the Soviet Union were somewhat more positive and based on cultural and political ties, especially because of the Russian role in creating an autonomous Bulgarian state in 1878, after victory over the Ottoman Empire. Slovenia as part of Yugoslavia and Romania implemented their own versions of the "socialist" state: tyrannical in the case of Romania and quite open to Western neighbours in the Yugoslavian case.

Different histories and positions in the framework of communist states led to different starting points after the collapse of the Soviet economic, social and political systems. Some countries had economies in better shape than others; the infrastructure for reform was somewhat developed or hardly existed. Cultural proximity to the Western European countries (including democratic experience) was higher or lower. There were also cultural differences related to the histories of the nations. Democracy as a concept meant something closer to communitarianism than liberal democracy in some countries. For example, in Poland a debate between liberalism and communitarian nationalism was prominent. Communitarianism, or collective thinking about the common good, was also characteristic of the Soviet republics.

There were other dimensions that differentiated the countries, such as the tempo of changes and reforms after the collapse of communism. Poland, the Czech Republic (at that time together with the Slovak Republic), Slovenia, and Hungary were richer countries with better infrastructures. They were also of more interest to Western investors interested in supporting new economies and developing markets. The greater the possibilities for systematic change, the more areas of life became reformed. This included reforms in educational systems. In some cases new teaching about democracy could be rooted in strong school structures with well developed instruction in subjects like history and philosophy. By 1999 when the IEA testing took place, educational reforms were well underway in some countries and only beginning in others.

Finally, one of the participants of the CIVED study was Russia itself – proud of its march to the democracy and capitalism, initiated by Gorbachev’s “glasnost and perestroika”, but also humiliated by the collapse of its empire with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

### **Changes in civic education after the collapse of communism**

In the period 1996-97 Phase 1 of the CIVED Study was conducted and began by collecting documentary evidence and expert opinion describing the circumstances, content and process of civic education in a set of case studies (Torney-Purta, Schwille and Amadeo, 1999). The data collected in this phase in all the former communist countries showed that civic education was recognized as needing reconceptualization and reconstruction soon after the political change, often before more systematic educational reforms were undertaken. It was obvious for the majority of educators that this subject could not remain untouched. Under different names it had been used for ideological indoctrination of children in all communist countries. Revisions were also necessary in related school subjects: literature, history, and geography. Nobody seemed to object at that time to the statement that public school has the right and responsibility to transmit to children knowledge about democracy and capitalism as well as associated patterns of behaviour. There were also more pragmatic reasons leading to consensus that many aspects of citizenship preparation should be left to schools. There was a lack of alternatives since other sources of civic and democratic culture in society were maimed during the communist regime. Across the region these institutions, including youth organizations, were having great difficulties in recovering.

In this context school-based civic education in the former communist countries became the preparation of young generations for citizenship in a society that was yet to be built. The striking similarities in the new civic education in this group of countries in spite of differences between them were to some extent the result of its linkage to the hoped-for rather than the existing or likely reality. Several of these similarities are worthy of mention.

First, a package of theoretical information about democracy, its history, nature, institutions and functioning became a dominant element of citizenship education. This information, however, often lacked anchoring in the actual life of students and was not related to concepts that were meaningful to them. To change this state of affairs required both a developed democratic society to draw from and extensive resources to invest in civic education projects, both of which were unavailable.

Second, the strong desire to reconstruct a sense of national identity in the post-communist societies also became an important motive in civic education. Once the old identity (either as a Soviet citizen or as someone who resisted that identity) was gone, there was a vacuum. Often, the search for inspiration for this identity was in the pre-war and pre-communist history of the nation. This resulted in programs rooted in traditional, conservative societies that contradicted some aspects of the democratic way of life in a modern sense, especially regarding respect for diversity in the society.

Third, while reformers of civic education in former communist countries appreciated the role of the democratic culture of the school environment in principle, it was evident from the case study data (and from other observations) that the task of freeing schools from the corset of despotic rule was staggering. There was a call to Western educators for assistance. At first textbooks used in some former Communist countries were simple translations of Western textbooks. Various

helping projects contributed however to better understanding of nature and teaching civic and citizenship. Consortia growing out of these teams of educators who participated in such programs provided better (and more acceptable) advice than Westerners could. An example is the cooperation of Polish civic educators with their colleagues from Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and other former republics of the Soviet Union on the development of local democracy through workshops for teachers and members of the local administration (Education for Democracy Foundation 2007)

So-called active learning came to this part of Europe through civic education. There were enclaves of the new in the midst of old authoritarian schools. In some classes in a school students would be asked to debate or to look critically at the statements of teachers or in text materials, while other classes in the same school were limited to hearing lectures and reciting. Schools were not different from other institutions. Reform stirred up debate and required much more time than some enthusiasts had expected.

Fourth, in all countries an effort was made to prepare teachers for their new tasks. Those who taught citizenship or national history before 1990 were often not allowed to continue to teach the subject, or obliged to receive a short training. This often grouped these teachers with teachers originally qualified for other subjects, in some cases not civic-related. In many cases however this training was insufficient to make educators ready for a series of new requirements: first, to introduce new content, second, to apply new student centred methods of instruction, and third, to select from different programs, text books and other educational materials (or to create their own). Many teachers in the post-Communist countries were not confident about democratic teaching, as they had been socialized for many years in a different mode. They were being required to do something different and were not sure what it was. Teaching was dominated by women, who didn't have much time for professional development (and sometimes held second jobs in addition to full-time teaching, which was poorly paid).

Collecting Phase 1 case study material during CIVED raised many questions about the effectiveness of the plans for a new civic education for democracy among researchers from former communist countries. On one hand, those who had known schools in the communist states in depth could recognize the educational revolution that had taken place. On the other hand, identifiable shortages in educational content, structure and implementation made many educators anxious about the outcome of reform efforts.

### **Results from the IEA Civic Education Survey**

Test and survey data were collected in 1999, and were expected to provide an answer for some educators' questions. In this second phase of CIVED nationally representative samples of 14-year-old students were surveyed on their knowledge of democratic principles and skills in interpreting political information, attitudes toward government and willingness to participate in civic activity. In other words, youngsters who were only four years old when the totalitarian regimes in their countries were defeated presented their thoughts and feelings about Western type liberal democracy and its numerous facets (Torney-Purta Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz, 2001).

The major finding of CIVED Phase 2 for the former communist countries was that the students from the "new" democracies shared the same political ethos with students from the "old" democracies. Appendix Table 1 [3] shows, they had similar knowledge about the principles and rules of functioning of democratic systems.

In general, the differences between countries in the mean performance on the cognitive test are not large. Twenty-five of the 28 countries differ by less than half a standard deviation from the international average (of 100). With respect to the basic understanding of fundamental democratic values and institutions, students from former communist countries can be found in all three groups: above the international mean (Poland, Slovak Republic, Czech Republic), at the international mean level (Hungary, Slovenia, Russia, Bulgaria) and below the international mean (Estonia, Lithuania, Romania, Latvia). Interestingly the higher scores in the knowledge test were found in the countries in which young people also demonstrated a somewhat more positive attitude toward political changes taking place in their country. For example, among six countries which participated in the module of questions about these changes [4] Polish students were of the opinion that changes “brought more good than bad things” with a ratio of positive to negative assessment of 5:1. In contrast, in Latvia and Lithuania the ratio of positive to negative answers was 2:1. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia were in-between.

A very important discovery from this phase of CIVED was that students from new democracies in the former communist countries were part of the political culture of their societies, little different in their levels of integration than young people from long-standing democracies. An example of awareness of what is actually happening in their countries is their view of the responsibility of governments for the economy such as guaranteeing a job, keeping prices under control, providing for the unemployed, and reducing income differences. Young people from all the former communist countries thought it was the responsibility of government to be active in the economy: they all reached the international mean on this scale (or surpassed it). Much less differentiation between old and new democracies was found concerning government responsibility for social issues: providing health care, providing for old people, providing education, ensuring political opportunities for women, controlling pollution, guaranteeing order, promoting moral behaviour Appendix Table 2

Economic difficulties in the political transition period as well as the legacy of communist rule help explain the fact that both adults and adolescents held government responsible for their economic situation. A review of other research shows that many people in former communist countries expected that the new regimes would eventually give what communists promised, but never provided (Malak-Minkiewicz, 1992). In Western countries a similar understanding was found in countries with a strong social-democratic tradition (e.g. Finland) in comparison to countries where there is a strong liberal free-market orientation (e.g. United States). As for governmental responsibility for social issues, young people in the former communist countries seemed to share the ambivalence of their parents, who on one hand longed for the paternalism of the old system, on the other resented its coercive presence in people's life (Król, 1994, Malak-Minkiewicz, 1994).

Although 14-year olds in the former communist countries have more opportunities than their parents had, they still live in a somewhat different reality than their Western peers. They are a “transition-period” generation. This is confirmed by the CIVED results.

For example, in all new democracies except the Slovak Republic student responses placed their countries at or below the international mean with respect to trust in the national government. Also government-related institutions (such as

national legislature, political parties, courts, and police) were observed with scepticism. Appendix Table 3

These results point to both the undemocratic past and the tensions associated with the transition. The majority of the countries where 14-year-olds show trust in governmental institutions above the international mean, are well-established and wealthy democracies. Interestingly almost reversed patterns were found for attitudes towards one's own nation. Although scepticism towards governmental institutions was widespread in the new democracies, positive feelings towards nation and patriotism (assessed in a separate set of questions) were below the international mean in only two of them. In contrast, young people in the older democracies seemed more cynical about their country or nation than about its political institutions. (For these data see Torney-Purta, et al., 2001, p. 101).

Interestingly young people from former communist countries were relatively low in their support for women's rights. A majority of the former communist countries scored below the international mean. Students in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovenia reached the level of the international mean. This is a paradoxical result given that one of the banners of the communist parties was equality of women in all aspects of social and political life. This suggests a rather low impact of ideologies on conservative societies: traditional beliefs about the role of women were transferred from one generation to another, communist preaching notwithstanding. Appendix Table 4.

These results may be evidence of interaction between school and out-of-school factors in shaping the civic knowledge and attitudes of students. On the one hand, since the content of teaching about democracy was to a great extent similar across countries, independent of how advanced their democratic reforms were, we would expect the results to be similar. Even if knowledge about democracy taught by schools was idealistic and superficial, its transmission seemed effective. Good teaching about democracy, however, does not automatically generate democratic perceptions and postures. In this area, young people from the new democracies seemed to lag behind their colleagues from the old democracies who had more relevant real life experience and role models. While teachers could be convinced to embrace a program of education for democracy, parents and grandparents often had only their own undemocratic experience to share.

The third aspect of preparation for active democratic citizenship, in addition to political knowledge and democratic attitudes, is readiness for democratic political action. Fourteen year olds cannot act politically by voting or running for office, thus the CIVED survey focused on their expectations of political behaviour in the future, including conventional political obligations (such as voting), conventional political engagement (e.g. joining political parties), social engagement (volunteering or raising money for a good cause), peaceful protest behaviour (collecting signatures for a petition or participating in a non-violent march) and illegal protest (blocking traffic, occupying public buildings, spraying protest slogans on walls).

A majority of students from all participating countries showed readiness for democratic engagement. Voting in national elections was the most likely future political activity, charity work was the second, and peaceful protest was the third most frequently reported activity. Only a minority of students were ready to engage in illegal activities like spray-painting protest slogans, blocking traffic and occupying buildings. Among all measured forms of political behaviour, voting seems to have a similar status in all democratic countries, as highly desirable behaviour and may be less dependent on historical and cultural context than other activities.

The results show a high percentage of students expecting to participate in national elections when they become adults, and students from former communist countries are not an exception. The countries where 80 percent or more of students intended to vote (above the international mean) included the following: Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia. These figures were comparable to those in Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Norway, and the United States, for example. However, among countries below the national mean, there were four former communist countries with different histories and cultural traditions: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia and Latvia. Bulgaria had fewer than 60% of students reporting that they would be voting in future.

The comparison of 14-year-olds with the upper secondary students surveyed in 2000 in sixteen countries (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova, 2002; Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2003) shows that in every country except three a higher percentage of the upper secondary students (16-19 years old) stated that they expected to vote in national elections. In former communist countries significant growth was registered in Czech Republic (from 65 to 80 percent), Estonia (68 to 87 percent), Latvia (71 to 79 percent), Poland (88 to 92 percent) and Russia (82 to 93 percent). Among the three countries that did not follow this pattern, Cyprus and Slovenia had almost the same percentages for the younger and older students (95 percent and 93 percent in Cyprus and 84 percent and 85 percent in Slovenia). In Switzerland a lower percentage of the upper secondary students expressed its intention to participate in voting (42 percent versus 55 percent of the younger group).

The results from young people in 1999 and 2000 indicating readiness of youth to participate in the democratic process in former communist countries seemed to be good news. While voting in national elections is only one means of political participation, it is key in democracies. In combination with a good (or very good) levels of knowledge about democracy, with somewhat positive democratic attitudes and appreciation of changes after 1989, these results suggested that the young generation had been prepared to meet and deal with challenges of the transitory period even if its "democratic profile" was weak in some aspects when compared to youth from the Western democracies.

Unfortunately, such optimistic predictions were not confirmed by the situation in former communist countries in the years which followed. There has been a general decline in voter turnout at national elections in Europe since the early 1990s, and former communist countries participated in this trend. The average turnout in those which held parliamentary elections in 2005 or 2006 (when the CIVED population was 20-21 years old) was around 57 percent with the highest for Hungary in 2006 (67.8 percent) and lowest for Poland in 2005 (40.6 percent).

Even more dramatic were results for the European Parliament elections in 2004 when the turnout for the new European Union members was about 31.2 percent with the highest for Lithuania (48.2 percent) and the lowest for the Slovak Republic (16.7 percent). In contrast, the turnout in this first election for the two new non-communist members Cyprus and Malta was respectively 71.1 and 82.4 percent (European Election Studies, 2004).

Predictors of voting behaviour in Western countries are political trust, satisfaction with economy and satisfaction with government (Franklin et al. 1992). A number of researchers confirm that in post communist countries there is widespread disenchantment with political and economic developments since the collapse of communism (Reykowski 1993). High levels of unemployment, political and economic corruption and a sense of exclusion are contributing factors. These

conditions influence everyone in the region, but they appear especially significant for the younger generation. Expectation of assistance from the state associated with a lack of satisfaction of economic needs and resolution of social problems served to increase the distrust and alienation of youth. The world of democracy as taught at school seems parallel and not linked to the world of real life.

Low institutional trust, which is associated with dissatisfaction with the economic or social provisions of government, is often destructive for developing democracies. It can lead to political cynicism and withdrawal on one hand and to political clientism and erosion of ethical standards in politics on the other. When government institutions are weak and patron-client relationships strong, citizens are more likely to support corrupt leaders from whom they expect to receive tangible benefits (Manzetti & Wilson, 2007).

### **Specific challenges**

The challenges for civic education in such circumstances are of a special nature. Since 1999/2000, when the CIVED data were collected, civic education in former communist countries has evolved. It has become more country specific, at the same time including elements important across countries. Economic education has been introduced to schools, while civic programs put more emphasis on positive democratic experiences in schools and in communities in relation to specific local problems. Teachers have also gotten better preparation for teaching civics and citizenship (including a more student-oriented approach), while schools in many places have gone through a process of democratization. In that sense, the lesson from CIVED, suggesting the need for anchoring civic education in students' lives, was taken to heart. However, the impact of this education on young people entering adult life seems to be limited. In part this is because the educational reforms didn't reach certain types of schools (e.g. vocational) or regions (e.g. distant rural areas).

### **The future**

In 2009 IEA will take a new study of civic education into the field, collecting data on the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a range of countries, including their achievement in a test of knowledge, conceptual understanding and competencies, dispositions and attitudes relating to civics and citizenship. The new International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) should permit investigation of changes in civic and citizenship education since 1999 and a better understanding of its limitations. Relatively few of the former communist countries have decided to participate in this new project. No former communist countries that were absent from the 1999 study have chosen to join the new project, even though several have participated in IEA studies in reading literacy and in mathematics and science. At the same time ICCS has attracted more Western European countries than CIVED. Many practical and financial arguments could explain this. It may also be that some post-communist countries are still on the fringes of the democratic world, not sharing its concerns about the civic education of youth.

For schools in former communist societies developing a sense of civic responsibility and the acceptance of the democratic way of life is important. The democracies in which they function are still very fragile with relatively weak party systems in which the voters fail to identify with parties and voting patterns change drastically from election to election. Young people leaving schools each year have

the potential to contribute to the democratic growth of their societies or the opposite – to their slipping down into political chaos or authoritarianism [5].

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## NOTES

- [1] International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (see: [www.iea.nl](http://www.iea.nl))
- [2] Estonia, Latvia and the Slovak Republic participated only in Phase 2 of CIVED
- [3] Source for all tables: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-years-olds tested in 1999
- [4] Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovenia
- [5] Good example was Polish parliamentary election 2007: according to common opinion it was mobilization of young voters responsible for victory of liberal, pro-European “Civic Platform” over conservative, anti-European and presenting some authoritarian tendencies “Law and Justice” party

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## Appendixes 1 - 4

Table 1. Civic Knowledge among students in “old” and “new” democracies

Country	Mean Scale Score	Tested Grade	Tested Age
<b>Poland</b>	▲ 111 (1.7)	8	15.0
<i>Finland</i>	▲ 109 (0.7)	8	14.8
<i>Cyprus</i>	▲ 108 (0.5)	9	14.8
<i>Greece</i>	▲ 108 (0.8)	9	14.7
<i>Hong Kong (SAR)</i>	▲ 107 (1.1)	9	15.3
<i>United States</i>	▲ 106 (1.2)	9	14.7
<i>Italy</i>	▲ 105 (0.8)	9	15.0
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	▲ 105 (0.7)	8	14.3
<i>Norway</i>	▲ 103 (0.5)	8	14.8
<b>Czech Republic</b>	▲ 103 (0.8)	8	14.4
<i>Australia</i>	● 102 (0.8)	9	14.6
<b>Hungary</b>	● 102 (0.6)	8	14.4
<b>Slovenia</b>	● 101 (0.5)	8	14.8
<i>Denmark</i>	● 100 (0.5)	8	14.8
<i>Germany</i>	● 100 (0.5)	8	n.a
<b>Russia</b>	● 100 (1.3)	9	15.1
<i>England</i>	● 99 (0.6)	9	14.7
<i>Sweden</i>	● 99 (0.8)	8	14.3
<i>Switzerland</i>	● 98 (0.8)	8 & 9	15.0
<b>Bulgaria</b>	● 98 (1.3)	8	14.9
<i>Portugal</i>	▼ 96 (0.7)	8	14.5
<i>Belgium (French)</i>	▼ 95 (0.9)	8	14.1
<b>Estonia</b>	▼ 94 (0.5)	8	14.7
<b>Lithuania</b>	▼ 94 (0.7)	8	14.8
<b>Romania</b>	▼ 92 (0.9)	8	14.8
<b>Latvia</b>	▼ 92 (0.9)	8	14.5
<i>Chile</i>	▼ 88 (0.7)	8	14.3
<i>Columbia</i>	▼ 86 (0.9)	8	14.6

( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses

▲ Country mean significantly higher than international mean

▼ Country mean significantly lower than international mean

**Table 2: Ratings of Government's responsibility for economic and social issues among students in "old" and "new" democracies**

Country	Mean Scale Score (Economy)	Country	Mean Scale Score (Society)
<b>Bulgaria</b>	▲ 10.6 (0.05)	<i>England</i>	▲ 10.8 (0.04)
<b>Russia</b>	▲ 10.6 (0.05)	<i>Greece</i>	▲ 10.8 (0.05)
<i>Finland</i>	▲ 10.4 (0.05)	<b>Poland</b>	▲ 10.8 (0.06)
<b>Poland</b>	▲ 10.4 (0.04)	<i>Chile</i>	▲ 10.5 (0.04)
<b>Romania</b>	▲ 10.4 (0.06)	<i>Portugal</i>	▲ 10.5 (0.04)
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	▲ 10.4 (0.05)	<i>Finland</i>	▲ 10.4 (0.06)
<i>Sweden</i>	▲ 10.4 (0.04)	<i>Italy</i>	▲ 10.4 (0.05)
<i>Cyprus</i>	▲ 10.3 (0.03)	<b>Slovak Republic</b>	▲ 10.3 (0.06)
<i>Portugal</i>	▲ 10.3 (0.04)		
<b>Hungary</b>	▲ 10.2 (0.04)	<b>Russia</b>	• 10.2 (0.06)
<i>Italy</i>	▲ 10.2 (0.04)	<i>Australia</i>	• 10.1 (0.04)
<b>Lithuania</b>	▲ 10.2 (0.04)	<i>Cyprus</i>	• 10.1 (0.04)
		<b>Czech Republic</b>	• 10.0 (0.04)
<i>Chile</i>	• 10.1 (0.03)	<i>Norway</i>	• 10.0 (0.04)
<i>England</i>	• 10.1 (0.04)	<i>United States</i>	• 10.0 (0.05)
<b>Estonia</b>	• 10.1 (0.05)	<b>Bulgaria</b>	• 9.9 (0.14)
<i>Colombia</i>	• 9.9 (0.05)	<b>Hungary</b>	• 9.9 (0.04)
<b>Czech Republic</b>	• 9.9 (0.04)	<b>Slovenia</b>	• 9.9 (0.04)
<b>Slovenia</b>	• 9.9 (0.05)	<i>Sweden</i>	• 9.9 (0.03)
<i>Australia</i>	▼ 9.8 (0.05)	<i>Colombia</i>	▼ 9.8 (0.05)
<i>Greece</i>	▼ 9.8 (0.04)	<i>Hong Kong SAR</i>	▼ 9.8 (0.05)
<b>Latvia</b>	▼ 9.8 (0.06)	<b>Estonia</b>	▼ 9.7 (0.05)
<i>Norway</i>	▼ 9.6 (0.03)	<b>Romania</b>	▼ 9.7 (0.09)
<i>Switzerland</i>	▼ 9.6 (0.04)	<b>Lithuania</b>	▼ 9.6 (0.04)
<i>Belgium (French)</i>	▼ 9.5 (0.08)	<i>Belgium (French)</i>	▼ 9.5 (0.07)
<i>Germany</i>	▼ 9.5 (0.04)	<b>Latvia</b>	▼ 9.5 (0.06)
<i>Hong Kong SAR</i>	▼ 9.5 (0.03)	<i>Switzerland</i>	▼ 9.5 (0.04)
<i>Denmark</i>	▼ 9.4 (0.03)	<i>Germany</i>	▼ 9.4 (0.04)
<i>United States</i>	▼ 9.2 (0.04)	<i>Denmark</i>	▼ 9.1 (0.03)

() Standard errors appear in parentheses

▲ Country mean significantly higher than international mean

▼ Country mean significantly lower than international mean

**Table 3: Ratings of Trust in Government related institutions among students in “old” and “new” democracies**

Country		Mean Scale Score	
<i>Denmark</i>	▲	11.4	(0.04)
<i>Norway</i>	▲	10.8	(0.04)
<i>Switzerland</i>	▲	10.7	(0.04)
<i>Cyprus</i>	▲	10.5	(0.04)
<i>Greece</i>	▲	10.4	(0.05)
<i>United States</i>	▲	10.4	(0.07)
<i>Australia</i>	▲	10.3	(0.06)
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	▲	10.3	(0.05)
<i>Hong Kong (SAR)</i>	●	10.2	(0.05)
<i>Sweden</i>	●	10.2	(0.06)
<i>Finland</i>	●	10.1	(0.05)
<b>Hungary</b>	●	10.1	(0.05)
<i>Italy</i>	●	10.1	(0.03)
<i>Chile</i>	●	10.0	(0.05)
<i>England</i>	●	10.0	(0.04)
<i>Germany</i>	●	10.0	(0.04)
<b>Romania</b>	●	10.0	(0.08)
<i>Colombia</i>	▼	9.9	(0.09)
<i>Belgium (French)</i>	▼	9.9	(0.07)
<b>Poland</b>	▼	9.9	(0.05)
<b>Czech Republic</b>	▼	9.7	(0.05)
<b>Estonia</b>	▼	9.7	(0.04)
<i>Portugal</i>	▼	9.6	(0.04)
<b>Latvia</b>	▼	9.5	(0.06)
<b>Lithuania</b>	▼	9.5	(0.05)
<b>Russia</b>	▼	9.4	(0.06)
<b>Bulgaria</b>	▼	9.2	(0.07)
<b>Slovenia</b>	▼	8.6	(0.05)

() Standard errors appear in parentheses

▲ Country mean significantly higher than international mean

▼ Country mean significantly lower than international mean

**Table 4: Support for women's political rights among students in "old" and "new" democracies**

Country	Mean Scale Score		
<i>Denmark</i>	▲	10.9	(0.05)
<i>Norway</i>	▲	10.9	(0.04)
<i>Australia</i>	▲	10.7	(0.05)
<i>England</i>	▲	10.7	(0.05)
<i>Germany</i>	▲	10.5	(0.05)
<i>United States</i>	▲	10.5	(0.09)
<i>Finland</i>	▲	10.5	(0.05)
<i>Switzerland</i>	▲	10.5	(0.07)
<i>Sweden</i>	▲	10.4	(0.06)
<i>Cyprus</i>	▲	10.3	(0.04)
<i>Colombia</i>	●	10.2	(0.07)
<b>Poland</b>	●	10.1	(0.07)
<i>Belgium</i>	●	10.1	(0.10)
<i>Portugal</i>	●	10.1	(0.05)
<i>Greece</i>	●	10.0	(0.05)
<i>Italy</i>	●	10.0	(0.07)
<b>Czech Republic</b>	●	9.9	(0.05)
<b>Slovenia</b>	●	9.9	(0.06)
<i>Chile</i>	▼	9.8	(0.04)
<b>Hungary</b>	▼	9.8	(0.04)
<i>Hong Kong SAR</i>	▼	9.6	(0.05)
<b>Lithuania</b>	▼	9.5	(0.04)
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	▼	9.5	(0.05)
<b>Estonia</b>	▼	9.4	(0.04)
<b>Russia</b>	▼	9.2	(0.04)
<b>Romania</b>	▼	9.1	(0.05)
<b>Latvia</b>	▼	9.1	(0.05)
<b>Bulgaria</b>	▼	9.0	(0.10)

() Standard errors appear in parentheses

▲ Country mean significantly higher than international mean

▼ Country mean significantly lower than international mean

## *Qualitative Comparison In Civic Education: An Ethnographic Perspective*

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**ABSTRACT** The comparison of qualitative data across a large number of cases has great potential for research into civic education worldwide. The IEA study made important strides in collecting appropriate data and in developing techniques to analyze that data. The Octagon Model used in the study captures the complexity of political socialization, but systematic research into all of its dimensions is virtually impossible. Ethnography has different emphases, but has great flexibility to adapt to many contexts, while research designed for comparability often excludes important differences. Together, they can provide a rich set of perspectives on the development of citizens around the world.

### **Introduction**

“A common response to new trends is to ignore them,” wrote Gerald LeTendre, prophetically, at the beginning of his chapter in *New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison* (LeTendre, 2002a, p.239). *Paradigms*, published in 2002 and edited by Gita Steiner-Khamsi, Judith Torney-Purta, and John Schwille, was the culmination of the qualitative phase of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement’s (IEA) Civic Education Study. It presents nine comparative analyses of the study’s qualitative data, most of which was published in *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999). Five years after its publication, *Paradigms* merits reexamination both for its contribution to scholarship on citizenship education and for its methodological innovation. This essay will concentrate on the latter contribution.

As a foray into large-scale, comparative study of qualitative data, *Paradigms* constitutes a landmark. Like any research methodology, comparison of qualitative data across many cases has strengths and limitations, particularly in a field as diverse as citizenship education. When new methodologies are first being developed, their potential and limitations are not yet fully understood. *Paradigms* sheds light on what we can and cannot learn from large bodies of qualitative data collected in a parallel way across countries and from the approaches used to analyze them. *Paradigms* and the data collection on which it was based may not be sufficient to justify further large-scale qualitative cross-national research, but I believe that we have not yet tapped the full potential of this approach, which remains under-utilized by comparative scholars.

This article considers the large-scale comparison of qualitative data on civic education from an ethnographic perspective. Large-scale comparisons and ethnographic work often have divergent goals, and I approach this task as an interested and sympathetic, if somewhat sceptical observer. Together with anthropologist Bradley Levinson, I edited two recent books that are compatible with this approach: one sheds light on how diverse societies in twelve countries form democratic citizens (*Reimagining Civic Education*, 2007) and the other explores American influence and democracy promotion in education (*Advancing Democracy through Education*, in press) through a wide range of qualitative and ethnographic approaches. The first book differs from the IEA study in four important ways: it does not focus on the country-level of analysis; it is ethnographic, not simply qualitative; it includes less frequently examined countries (e.g., El Salvador, Indonesia and South Africa), and it extensively addresses the civic education of teachers and other adults as well as young people. Because civic education has become an arena of international ideological competition and of borrowing and lending, the second volume explores the transnational dynamics of civic education policy and practice.

### **The IEA Civic Education Study and the question of inclusion**

The IEA Civic Education Study applied mixed-method approaches in a large-scale international comparison. The phase I qualitative data were collected by researchers appointed by representatives of the member countries of IEA that decided to participate in the research. The study was conducted primarily in European countries. Twenty-four countries were included in this phase, during which scholars from each country gathered qualitative and documentary data about civic education. Six documents were developed by each country team: a research proposal describing how data were to be gathered, answers to fifteen initial policy questions, responses to eighteen closely related “framing questions,” which led to the identification and investigation of three core domains (democracy, national identity, and diversity/social cohesion), a case study chapter based upon these documents constructed to conform to a common outline, and a report on the methods used (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, pp. 9-11). *Paradigms’* contributors were able to draw upon this material, but only the case study chapters were published. When the Phase I data collection was nearly complete, several other countries requested to take part in the quantitative survey phase; Canada, which provided a case study, did not participate in the survey.

To conceptualize the research, the IEA team developed the Octagon Model of the Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999, Steiner-Khamsi et. al., 2002b, p. 9). It captures clearly the complexity of the relationship between society and political socialization. The octagon itself represents the macro system, and is closely related to the IEA’s country level of analysis. It includes such considerations as religion, economics, language, history, law and the media. The transnational level is not particularly well accounted for in this study. The Octagon Model’s micro system identifies five “carriers of goals into action:” the formal community, informal community, family, peer group, and school.

The octagon’s equal sides are not intended to imply that each domain is equally significant, and data-gathering across all of these domains is scarcely feasible. In fact, for a field as diverse as civic education, each country’s model would display different shapes and ratios. The main (though not exclusive) emphases of the Civic Education Study were the school and the peer group, meaning that large swaths of

the model did not receive detailed analysis. Ethnography offers more flexibility than the IEA study (with its quest for comparable data) could; ethnographers can adjust their research design to the particular configurations of a particular context.

The selection process inevitably left out much that was distinctive about the different countries. In one of the few published reviews of *Paradigms*, Buk-Berge (2006) notes that little attention was given to religion, despite its central importance in countries such as Poland (other recent studies investigating the implications of religion for civic education include Gaylord, 2007, Alsayed, 2007, Huff 2007). This example illustrates one of the central challenges of qualitative comparison: the need to reduce the complexity of the picture without losing sight of critical elements of cultural variation. While the particulars of cultural variation are a central concern for ethnographers, who are sensitive to the varying sources of meaning in different contexts, they can make comparison beyond two or three cases unmanageable. Although the IEA study excluded important sources of cultural variation from consideration in the name of comparability, most authors in *Paradigms* relied upon differences that remained in order to draw their conclusions through the use of contrastive analysis (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, p. 26).

The IEA team struggled to craft common points of reference: “it cannot be overstated how important it was to discuss and sometimes argue at length about differences in the meaning of such concepts as ‘democracy’, ‘minority’, ‘national identity’, ‘human rights’, and the many other politically and socially highly charged terms that are indispensable for describing civic education” (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002b, p. 25). As an ethnographer, I am at least as intrigued by the differences that emerged in these conversations as by the constructs that ultimately prevailed.

It should also be noted that this reference to the internal workings of the project is one of the book’s strengths. The authors and editors are quite forthcoming about the research process, the dissension among members, the large number of decisions that were made and the frustration of some that the conceptualization of the research was too narrow. This book will be an invaluable resource for anyone who attempts to pursue cross-national qualitative research at any scale.

### **Taking culture seriously: Civics experts and ethnographic methods**

The editors reject the overdrawn distinctions often made between qualitative and quantitative research and attempt to integrate the contributions of each set of approaches. Among the concerns of ethnographers that are too seldom addressed by quantitative research is culture. The IEA researchers take culture seriously, integrate it throughout the research process, and innovate methodologically. Still, crucial differences remain even within qualitative and ethnographic approaches. Some cultural anthropologists are firmly rooted in positivism and aspire to make anthropology a science on the model of the natural sciences. Robert C. Hunt’s 2007 book, *Beyond Relativism, Rethinking Comparability in Cultural Anthropology*, is an important statement of this position, aiming to construct language free from “cultural contamination” and ambiguity so that we can conduct valid observations of events that belong in categories whose objective dimensions can be compared. It is unfortunate that he was apparently unaware of the IEA study, because it fits into his framework. However, ethnographers would argue that rather than working with the unambiguous and culturally uncontaminated definitions of the sort that Hunt endorses, one needs to clarify both common cores of meaning and dimensions on which there is variation.

In fact, the IEA study is not ethnographic, as LeTendre notes (2002a, p. 269), even though there was “exploration and clarification of how civic education is actually conceptualized and understood within each participating country” (LeTendre, 2002a, p. 245). Such questions of meaning are central to ethnographic research within cultural anthropology. The IEA Study selected civic education specialists, rather than people trained in ethnographic research methods, as data-collectors and authors for the national case studies. Nine of the IEA case studies came from the former Soviet bloc, where ethnography, qualitative research and critiques of positivism scarcely had a toe-hold even by the late 1990’s.

In places, authors seem to equate ethnographic thick description with providing context. For those who haven’t been forced to grapple with Geertz’s famous phrase about thick description, its complexity and meaning may be lost: “to thickly describe social action is actually to begin to interpret it by recording the circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies, motivations, and so on that characterize a particular episode. It is this interpretive characteristic of description rather than detail per se that makes it thick” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 296). Ethnography is distinct from case-study research in ways the IEA authors do not always recognize. Another confusion arises when authors misconstrue their selection of cases for analysis as a form of sampling parallel to that in quantitative research.

Although expert commentary has a prominent role in several chapters, some authors noted its limitations (Mintrop, 2002, pp. 62-3; Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, p. 30). Such experts have important knowledge and insights to offer, but also have commitments and expectations that shape their perspectives. Finally, although individuals can conduct research on their own societies, outsiders often see and perceive things that insiders take for granted. When these observations are used to create a cross-cultural dialogue between insiders and outsiders, through such techniques as member checks, a richer multi-perspectival view can emerge. Even with these weaknesses, the twenty-four national case studies from the first volume, *Civic Education across Countries*, remain a repository of information on civic education in the countries in question in the mid-1990s and provide crucial historical context for anyone interested in exploring civic education from the point of view of educators within these societies.

### **Civic education, qualitative research and comparison**

Paradoxically, the nature of civic education itself both justifies the qualitative, comparative approach and tests the approach’s boundaries. Of all the prominent fields of study in schools, civic education likely takes the most diverse forms and is most influenced by local, national and cultural variation. Qualitative approaches are well equipped to represent this diversity. This very diversity, however, complicates the task of finding comparability, making civic education a problematic proving ground for this methodological approach.

This is also true because large-scale qualitative comparisons do not have a long history or a developed set of methodological principles. *Paradigms* does not fit neatly into any particular pre-existing methodology. The book attempts to bring different traditions into dialogue and to chart new methodological ground, “as LeTendre’s essay, “Cross-national Studies and the Analysis of Comparative Qualitative Research,” suggests, 2002b).” In the introduction, the editors try to bridge the research traditions of quantitative and qualitative approaches: “the group of authors presented in this volume attempt to seriously challenge the contention that those who compare are unable to understand, and those who understand are unable

to compare” (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, p. 2). While this argument is something of a straw man, the gaps are real and significant. We could also include gaps between researchers and practitioners, social studies and social philosophy specialists, and European, American and Asian specialists in civic education.

Qualitative work struggles both with timeliness and with representing ongoing change, and the IEA study is emblematic of these challenges. Most of the data were gathered between 1995 and 1997. The national qualitative case studies were published in 1999, but the *Paradigms* volume did not appear until 2002. These were eventful years especially for the post-Communist countries. One Estonian civics teacher expressed a common sentiment: “For us, the Second World War ended when the Russian troops finally left in 1994” (Stevick, 2007, p. 231). By the end of the year in which *Paradigms* was published, Estonia had been guaranteed admittance into both the European Union and NATO. The educational system was no less active during this period. Indeed, during the decade and a half preceding the publication of *Paradigms*, citizenship education had been perhaps the most dynamic and contested field in education across the former Soviet bloc.

Qualitative, comparative research is not an efficient method for identifying emerging trends. Once a trend has been identified, however, the large qualitative database permits scholars to explore variations in its meaning across countries. Lee’s methodologically innovative chapter, “The Emergence of New Citizenship: Looking into the Self and Beyond the Nation,” shows how two well recognized patterns in civic education can generate new insights when a large qualitative database is subjected to fine-grained analysis. “The most striking finding, although not entirely unexpected, was the great variety of subjects used for civic education” (Lee, 2002, p. 39). Similarly “deideologization...in citizenship education is particularly obvious in the post-1989 Eastern European countries” (2002: 48).

Although these insights are not new, the qualitative database permits additional comparative analysis. Despite the variety of subjects used for civic education, for example, the “self” emerged as a pervasive theme, including “self definition,” “self-respect”, “self determination” and “self-realization” (Lee, 2002, 39). With respect to the second pattern, it is fascinating to discover that deideologization and depoliticization were not restricted to Central and Eastern Europe (contrary to the editors’ assertion, Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, p. 13), but were occurring in other countries, particularly ethnically diverse countries. Lee singles out Belgium, Israel and Switzerland, where depoliticization and neutrality are priorities (Lee, 2002, p. 47). The extent of the data permitted Lee to look deeply and conclude that the causes of depoliticization vary: some countries embrace it for the sake of peace between their “diverse cultural groups, religious groups and political groups,” while other countries feel that “internal political debates and party politics are...only a minor concern for citizens” (Lee, 2002, p. 47).

### **Unexpected company: Clusters of cases**

Qualitative databases help to uncover unexpected clusters of countries that share characteristics for comparative analysis. Lee’s insight about Belgium, Israel and Switzerland is compelling in part because it emerges from an analysis of data gathered independently in the three countries. It would also be possible to test expected differences: Do predominantly Catholic countries show differences with Orthodox countries that cross-cut Western and Central & Eastern European countries? Do different themes emerge in small countries and larger countries?

Some intriguing groupings also emerge in Matrai's chapter on national identity, which considers minority issues and the political/cultural nation continuum. She explicates clearly the concepts of nation, nation-state, and state, terms too often used loosely in comparative education (Matrai, 2002). She groups Germany and Hong Kong as countries that first split and subsequently reunited; Palestinians in Israel are a group that aspires to transform their cultural nation into a political nation.

### **Additional contributions**

It is worth briefly describing each chapter, because their subject matters and empirical basis make them indispensable for scholars whose work touches these areas. Mintrop examines civic education teachers and their pedagogy, by drawing upon seven diverse case studies. He uncovers a paradox: although great importance is attributed to civic education in each country, teachers and policy makers do not make it a real priority (Mintrop, 2002). Schwille and Amadeo, the only authors besides Lee to make use of most or all of the cases, help us to think more concretely about the significance of the Octagon Model by identifying policy areas that are critical to successful reform in civic education, including curriculum, pedagogy, student participation, school organization, and the responsiveness of schools to external issues (Schwille & Amadeo, 2002).

Kontogiannopolou-Polydorides (2002) engages post-colonial and modernist frameworks to explore the divergent paths of countries that she groups according to another promising set of clusters: postcommunist countries, democracies with active citizenries and democracies with apathetic citizenries. Steiner-Khamsi's chapter is one of the most intriguing of the book for its theoretical work, which builds upon Hannah Arendt to conceptualize four spheres of citizenship--the moral, constitutional, civic and economic. However, her attempt to link those four spheres to countries that seemed to be prototypical cases of each sphere fails. This failure may actually be more enlightening than success would have been (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). Finally, Kerr's chapter is notable for integrating the comparative, qualitative material collected by the IEA-associated researchers with the comparative curriculum archive known as INCA in the U.K. (Kerr, 2002).

### **Unexpected limitations**

One of the most surprising themes to emerge in *Paradigms* is the pervasive sense that, despite the masses of data available, the authors nevertheless felt restricted in the types of analysis they were able to undertake. We noted above that significant dimensions of the Octagon Model were not covered, and that the eighteen framing questions could not be considered separately. The net effect of these negotiated decisions was to limit some possibilities for analysis. As a result, Lee observes that,

*A further grouping and analysis of these subjects [used for civic education] would doubtless uncover an even greater richness of meaning attributed to civic education. However, I was unable to do this analysis, mainly because the country reports provided little detail on the subjects....Several other themes with potential for more in-depth analysis, such as teaching approaches, teaching and learning activities, teacher training, and national identity, similarly were not further developed, [some] because of a lack of detailed information in the reports. (Lee, 2002, p. 39).*

Lee, Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Steiner-Khamsi “found the original conceptual framework of the IEA Civic Education Study too narrow” (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b, p. 33). Some case studies did emphasize issues beyond the selected domains, in particular, the economic dimensions of civic education curricula and the emergence of supranational citizenship questions (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2002b: 34), but some authors felt limited by the parameters set for the research.

## Conclusions

Perhaps this qualitative study could only have been conducted as part of a larger mixed-methods research project that had a quantitative component. A danger, of course, is that the quantitative may overshadow the qualitative (as happened to some extent here). Still, it prompts one to think about how a comparative study would look if the qualitative research were the end instead of functioning primarily as “context” or as the “first phase” for something else. Perhaps more refined research questions would have been addressed. It might have been more valuable in bridging the quantitative/qualitative divide to have a volume that explored the integration of the qualitative and quantitative phases. Such a volume might have provided a better demonstration of the potential contributions of qualitative research. To the extent that is happening with this project, it is through secondary analysis and through some IEA project leaders writing for other volumes (Torney-Purta, 2007).

Phase 1 of the IEA CIVED study as a whole made important contributions to the conceptualization of large-scale qualitative and comparative research and to data collection for that purpose. *Paradigms and Paradoxes* grapples with the critical issue of how to analyze the data produced by Phase 1, an approach with few if any available models. More systematic exploration of the methodological dimensions of comparative, qualitative research, both in terms of data-generation and data analysis, is warranted.

Finally, LeTendre laments that there has not been substantive interaction between comparativists and qualitative researchers during the previous two decades (2002a, p. 239). To some extent, this is a result of different goals. Each group tends to focus upon the data and questions that the other group is ready to dispatch without much deliberation. This gap, however, can be bridged, and the dialectic between the two can only expand both perspectives.

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## *Book Reviews*

### **Civic Service Worldwide: Impacts and Inquiry**

Edited by Amanda Moore McBride and Michael Sherraden. Published 2007 by M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, N.Y.

Deeply rooted in the ideals of democracy, civic service has recently become a focus of international attention. In the United States voluntary civic service seeks to both develop individuals and benefit communities. In countries such as Nigeria and Mexico youth are required to participate in civic service to build a sense of national identity or contribute to the country's development. Some organizations promote civic service to connect diverse groups of people across nations. *Civic Service Worldwide: Impacts and Inquiry*, edited by Amanda Moore McBride and Michael Sherraden of Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri (USA), is an invaluable resource for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

The book explores different forms of civic service and examines its impact on individuals, communities, and institutions. It demonstrates the potential of psychological and sociological theory in framing this area and considers the role of historical, political, economic, and cultural forces. In the foreword, Amitai Etzioni situates civic service within the worldwide context as a potent vehicle for change, yet one with many challenges. *Civic Service Worldwide* focuses throughout on the need for solid research that informs policy and program development. The book's relation to this special issue is both direct (one chapter uses IEA CIVED data to relate civic service participation to students' civic engagement) and indirect (other chapters suggest new lines of research).

The book has five sections. The first section sets the context and includes a thoughtful conceptualization of civic service. Questions posed as guideposts to help readers consider the implications of civic service deal with contextual features, the role of individual characteristics, and long-term impacts in the community. The evolution of national youth service from roots in military service in countries such as China, Germany, and Israel is described. The second section examines civic service from a national perspective, including a review of research in the United States.

The third section examines civic service across the life course. It includes an empirical analysis relating volunteering and studying about the community in school in Chile, Denmark, England, and the United States to civic outcomes from the IEA Civic Education Study. Psychological theories such as Erikson, Bandura, and Lave are examined. A descriptive analysis covers community service in educational settings in Latin America. The section concludes with a thoughtful review comparing youth service and elder service.

The fourth section examines international civic service in relation to transnational social policy and as a way to bring together diverse cultures in furthering global cooperation. The last section focuses on advancing civic service research through different types of inquiry (e.g., surveys, qualitative description, and policy analysis). This section argues for refined terminology and new ways to

conceptualize the impact of civic service. An operational definition of the common features and mediators of civic service is offered. An institutional theoretical framework for civic service is advanced, including expectations, incentives, facilitation, information, and access.

Civic service is examined in admirable breadth (across nations and institutions) and depth (through educational, psychological, sociological, and human development perspectives). The work also illustrates how civic service is situated within contestable local, national, and international public arenas and influenced by socio-cultural and organizational contexts, political crises, economic challenges, and globalization. This book contributes to the debate about whether civic service is a viable option for civic engagement.

In addition, the book advances new constructs. Civic service is conceptualized as a distinguishable aspect of volunteerism. Sherraden's previous definitions of civic service as including engagement that is organized and substantial, valued by society, and associated with minimal monetary compensation, is a starting point from which terminology is evolving. The book argues for indicators that both respect the uniqueness of culture and provide universal measures to compare civic service across nations or programs. This argument would have been more convincing if examples had been provided. The 1999 IEA CIVED Study and subsequent studies using the IEA dataset illustrate how comparative data can be developed and what information it can provide. The IEA study developed its measures through a process to which all participating countries contributed and could serve as a model for the development of civic service indicators. It may be that civic service broadly conceived is a field ready for its own rigorous cross-national study.

The theoretical frameworks in several chapters provide a foundation for future research in civic service and voluntary activity, as well as for civic engagement more broadly. For an emerging field theory is critical in framing and addressing research questions, and in legitimating the work within the academic and policy community. The authors who identified one or more theories as central were better positioned to offer a convincing analysis. If the goal is influential research on civic service, both effective indicators and well developed theory are essential.

Across the nations covered, service-learning emerged as a key component of civic service within educational institutions. We learn, for example, about the importance of service-learning in Central and South America, the role that schools play in the development of student service, and how volunteering combined with study about community problems in school can promote political efficacy and tolerance. The work's greatest contribution is an institutional theoretical framework for civic service that can expand the conversation comparatively across diverse countries. Refined indicators fit within this framework. It is important to move beyond identifying the impacts on participants, those served, or the institutional host to examine civic service within broader contexts. For example, studying the relationship of various dimensions of school climate and civic service within and across countries could help create the structures and processes necessary to sustain a supportive environment.

*Civic Service Worldwide: Impact and Inquiry* successfully weaves together research demonstrating the potential and challenges of this area internationally. It is a resource for those interested in the impact of civic service on individuals and the communities in which they live, how civic service is enacted nationally, and the reasons nations create and institutionalize civic service. The book makes a powerful case for high quality research and indicators. It also identifies intriguing issues, including service fatigue, the sense of civic obligation, and the inevitable occurrence

of both positive and negative impacts of programs and policies. Civic service is too often presented as a panacea for the ills of society. High quality research has the potential to critically examine what works, under what conditions and for whom, what doesn't work, and how civic service can be improved. This type of research will allow policymakers and practitioners to ensure a robust and influential future for civic service.

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### **Reimagining Civic Education: How Diverse Societies Form Democratic Citizens.**

Edited by E. Doyle Stevick and Bradley A. U. Levinson. Published 2007 by Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Plymouth, UK

In the introduction to *Re-imagining Civic Education*, the editors, Doyle Stevick and Bradley Levinson, note that discussions about the education of democratic citizens have been spirited and ongoing since the days of the ancient Greeks. It is the editors' desire to add to that long conversation by exploring questions about the education of democratic citizens, through both informal and formal practices, in specific sites within specific cultures at specific times, using the theories, concepts, and methods of cultural anthropology. Focusing on meanings within diverse cultures, the authors in this volume report on studies conducted in smaller and lesser-studied societies, looking at micro level socio-cultural processes in schools, as well as macro level processes of policy making and policy implementation, with the goal of depicting the "maximum diversity" of democratic citizenship education.

Part I, titled "The View from the School," contains three chapters based on ethnographies conducted in secondary schools: one serving Spokane Indians in the North-western United States; the second a school in Indonesia; and the third a private Pentecostal School in El Salvador. The authors, Whitman, Gaylord, and Huff, provide valuable contextual and historical information for each setting, having conducted their field work over extended periods of time and writing "thick descriptions" of the particular sites. In the fourth chapter of this section, Philippou reports on an evaluation of a curricular change designed to teach children in a Greek Cypriot school to be less xenophobic through studying about stereotyping, migration, and pluralism in Europe.

Though occurring in unique settings, which I found to be fascinating, the phenomena these researchers unveil will be familiar to citizenship education scholars and teacher educators who are readers of this journal: students from a minority cultural community receive mixed messages about citizenship from home and school; teachers find it difficult to implement democratic pedagogy in a test-driven system; teachers act as gatekeepers as their own values and beliefs lead them to mediate the ways in which they implement civic education curricula; and carefully designed instructional programs can have a modest impact on students' attitudes that are firmly established by family and other socio-cultural influences outside of school.

Part II of the book consists of three chapters focused on adult citizenship education. Souto-Manning describes the ways in which Friirian “culture circles” are used in a rural Brazilian community to teach civic skills. Foley and Putu describe a program in South Africa to develop local leadership capacity by equipping groups of adult citizens with necessary skills in problem framing, deliberation, conflict management, alliance building, and mobilizing resources. Both programs seek to empower citizens: the first focuses on promoting social justice and the second on building a strong civil society. In the third chapter in this section, the author, Skukauskaite, conducts a discourse analysis of documents and interviews with teachers about educational reforms in Lithuania. As with some school choice programs in the United States and England, funding followed students when parents could move their children from one school to another. The researcher found that the so-called “democratic” reforms had unintended consequences, such as increasing teachers’ sense of powerlessness, a theme not unknown in other settings when professional educators have been left out of the policy-making process. This is one of the few chapters that provides details of how the researcher systematically analyzed the data.

Part III consists of five more macro-level studies of societal discourses that influence civic education, particularly as they are perceived differently among groups with differential power. Reed-Danahay, Stevik, Levinson, Motani, and DeJaeghere, respectively, report on studies: of the idea of European citizenship in varied media and among differing social classes in France and the wider Europe; Estonian perceptions that the Russian occupation of Estonia was a genocide comparable to the Holocaust; differing discourses influencing a new civic education curriculum for secondary schools in Mexico; the roles of differing discourses of traditional conservatism, progressive education, and global citizenship education on educational reforms in Japan; and a study of minimal and critical conceptions of citizenship in curriculum documents in Australia. In a final commentary, Judith Torney-Purta discusses how findings from this book of qualitative and interpretive studies complement findings from the 30-nation study of civic education conducted by a team of researchers for the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (the IEA CIVED Study).

I believe that teachers and teacher educators concerned about education for democratic citizenship will be interested in reading about the many different settings in which educators confront similar challenges, such as how to use participatory or learner centred instructional approaches when the teachers did not experience such approaches in their own education and they have received insufficient pre service or in-service teacher education to master the new methods. Similarly, in reading about how educators in diverse contexts struggle with how to connect their instruction to both local cultures and global realities, teachers and teacher educators may gain fresh insights into how they might approach a similar challenge.

This book will be especially useful to researchers—beginning and experienced—who want to capture the meanings of diverse aspects of civic education to the students, teachers, parents, and policymakers who experience it. However, my one disappointment was that there is not an appendix in which authors provided more details about their research methods. Nevertheless, from the wide range of case studies scholars will get many ideas for conducting socio-cultural studies of civic learning.

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- HAHN, C. L. (1999) Citizenship: an empirical study of policy, practices and outcomes. Oxford Review of Education, 25, 1&2, 231-250.
- McLAUGHLIN, T. (2003) Teaching Controversial Issues in Citizenship Education. In Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (eds.) Education for Democratic Citizenship: issues of theory and practice. Aldershot, Ashgate.
- RATCLIFFE, M. and GRACE, M. (2003) Science Education for Citizenship: teaching socioscientific issues. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

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