

Education and Democracy

A Compendium of Lessons Learned, Analytic Tools, and Resource Listings

compiled by

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for

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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
Section 1: Recommendations from the Global Forum on Education and Democracy	3
1.1 Topic One: Classroom Instruction and Democratic Behavior	4
1.2 Topic Two: Education System Governance	7
1.3 Topic Three: Community Participation	9
1.4 Topic Four: Equity in National Education Policies	11
Section 2: Education and Democracy Planning and Evaluation Investigative Questions	14
Section 3: “Whither Thou Goest” Education, Democracy, and the Building of a <i>Common Future</i> – an analytical “think piece” by Beryl Levinger	17
Section 4: An Education and Democracy Resource List	30

INTRODUCTION

The inter-connectedness of education and democracy can be seen at several levels. First, the ways in which classroom instruction is designed and delivered can affect the learning and practice of democratic values and behaviors. Second, the ways in which schools are organized and managed can contribute to the building of civil society. Finally, how a country's education policies address such issues as resource equity and public accountability reflect the nature of its political system.

However, to date there have been few systematic attempts to collect and analyze the diverse body of experience related to education and democracy issues. There also has been little formal dialogue between educators and democracy and governance specialists around an agenda of mutual interest. Such an education and democracy agenda might focus on the following four topics:

- *Classroom instruction and democratic behavior:* How do classroom teaching and learning practices contribute to democratic behaviors and values?
- *Education sector governance:* How can the organization of effective schools and educational administration systems model the best organizational practices of civil society?
- *Community participation:* What roles can communities play in shaping the democratic character of children, schools, and the larger educational system?
- *National education policies:* What is the role of constitutional bodies, such as legislatures and courts, in framing democratic education principles and practices?

These four topics were the focus of a global education and democracy on-line forum that took place from March 6 - April 3, 2000. The forum was sponsored by USAID's Improving Educational Quality (2) Project, and involved more than 603 education and democracy and governance specialists in 82 countries around the world. Section 1 of this Compendium contains a summary of the forum and its recommendations.

Section 2 contains a set of Education and Democracy Planning and Evaluation Investigative Questions that build upon lessons learned from the global on-line forum. These questions are intended as a resource for program planners and researchers concerned about building democratically responsive educational systems.

Section 3 contains an analytical think piece -- *Wither Thou Goest: Education, Democracy, and the Building of a Common Future* -- by Beryl Levinger. Dr. Levinger points out the contributions that the education sector can make to a country's democratic capital. Such contributions include school systems with policies and practices that foster, sustain or model democracy; students with beliefs, values, skills, and knowledge and foster or sustain democracy; and communities who participate in the education sector in ways that reflect and strengthen democratic values and skills.

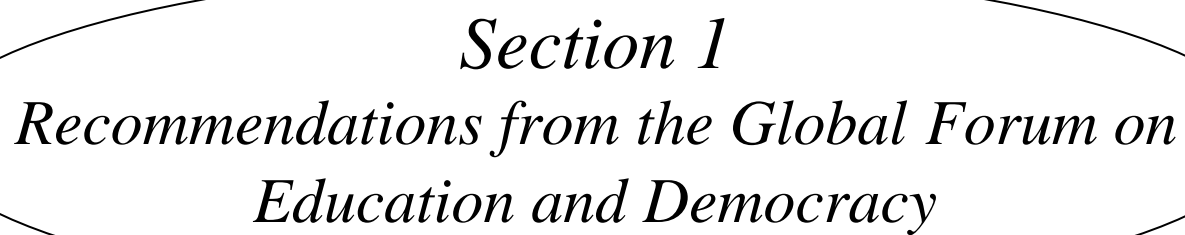
Section 4 provides a useful reference list of books, articles, and websites related to the topic of education and democracy. This reference list was compiled based upon the recommendations of participants in the IEQ-sponsored Global Forum on Education and Democracy. Annex A of this Compendium contains a short piece by Frank Elbers on how the Forum's listserv was organized. We include "Tips for Starting and Moderating a Listserv," as a resource tool for those interested in starting education and democracy listservs in their own countries or regions.

The IEQ Project welcomes comments and observations on the materials in this Compendium from those interested in the issue of education and democracy. A major question for all concerned is how to move this agenda forward. What is the role of the education sector in doing so? What role can experts in the field of democracy and governance play? How can the two sectors collaborate more effectively to deal with the important recommendations made by the contributors to the education and democracy forum and to this compendium.

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Section 1
Recommendations from the Global Forum on
Education and Democracy

Section 1: Recommendations from the Global Forum on Education and Democracy

The following recommendations reflect the views and experiences of over 600 educators and democracy and governance specialists from around the world, who participated in a four week global education and democracy on-line forum. The forum was sponsored by USAID's Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project, a worldwide initiative to improve educational effectiveness in developing countries.

<p>1.1 Topic One: Classroom Instruction and Democratic Behavior. How do Classroom teaching and learning practices contribute to democratic behaviors and values?</p>

Discussion Issues: Can pedagogy affect democracy? How can the content of curriculum and educational materials influence attitudes and practices about democracy? How can the classroom environment best address the needs of girls and minorities? In what ways can students be effectively involved in classroom and school governance, and does such influence democratic behavior? What data do we have that documents the impact of classroom practice on democracy?

Recommendations:

- Participants made recommendations regarding the content and pedagogy of classroom instruction that promotes democratic behavior.

Recommendations about content focused on the analytic and inter-personal skills that students need to learn to become effective citizens of democratic societies. Critical thinking skills were emphasized as a primary objective for classroom-based education and democracy programs. Critical thinking skills are defined as "the ability to analyze and evaluate ideas and situations from a variety of perspectives in order to come to a well reasoned and substantive position." It was emphasized that the teaching of critical thinking skills can be incorporated into any kind of subject matter.

The teaching of affective skills also was recommended, such as communication and everyday inter-personal skills, i.e. genuine caring for others and respect for diversity of thoughts and opinions. Affective skills are needed since the practice of democratic values needs to take place at many different levels including the home and community.

Recommendations about content also focused on the need to provide students with the knowledge and the ability to practice specific civic responsibilities, such as voting, holding elective office, and advocating for human rights.

Discussions about content seemed to reflect divergent views about the nature of democratic values and practices. Emerging from the discussion is the need for educators to better understand how values and practices of governance and democracy are defined in different countries, before embarking on civic education or related classroom activities. (see also recommendations from Levinger in Section 2 of this compendium)

Discussions about pedagogy focused on what kinds of instructional delivery systems are most effective for promoting democratic values and behaviors. Almost all participants agreed on the need for "active learning" pedagogical methods, such as questioning, class discussion, cooperative learning/small group work, role plays, games/simulations, debates, et al. There also was general agreement that "democracy in the classroom is in part based on an ability to treat pupils differently according to their needs and skills." For example, special teaching strategies may be needed to ensure that girls and minority students feel included in classroom activities.

Some participants emphasized the need for the development of experiential activities that allow students to experience the nature of real political democracy, such as the establishment of student government or simulated elections or judicial proceedings. Several participants reported that their programs greatly benefit from having students participate in a civic action project in their communities.

Additional Comments

- Teacher training and preparation need to emphasize participatory pedagogies since teachers tend to teach as they have been taught.
- Several participants commented that effective classroom-based civics education requires a supportive political and social environment; and that it is difficult for students to internalize classroom knowledge and skills if they cannot see what they learn being practiced in their communities.
- There was general agreement that curriculum-based strategies alone don't work; that any instructional effort to have students learn democratic values and skills needs to be mirrored in the ways in which classrooms are organized, the nature of the relationships between teachers and students, between students and students, and related variables in the students' social environment.
- There were few concrete examples of how the impact of classroom education/democracy programs on student behavior/values is being measured. One participant uses the number of students who have gone on to do work in human rights law or teach human rights in their own countries.

Priorities for Further Research/Action

- Further work needs to be carried out to assess the impact of school-based programs on student behavior; democracy experts in particular are interested in learning more about what kinds of instructional strategies affect student behavior, knowledge, and values. There seems to be a finding that impact is greater when training is more frequent, when participatory methods are used, and when participants have a high regard for the instructor. This finding seems to hold regardless of socio-economic status, gender, or other demographic variables.
- Further dialogue needs to take place on this topic between educators and political scientists and democracy and governance experts. Educators need to gain a better understanding of the indicators for democratic values, knowledge, and skills; democracy and governance specialists need to have a better understanding of effective teaching/learning strategies that promote democratic values and behavior.
- Further analysis needs to be done to assess the impact of different pedagogical approaches that promote education and democracy. For example, are formal civic education courses more effective than a curriculum-wide pedagogy that promotes critical thinking skills and affective skills such as conflict resolution and tolerance of others?
- What priority should be given to civic education in an official curriculum filled with many academic requirements, such as basic skills?
- What role do literacy programs play in promoting citizenship?

Notable Quotes from Participants

"It is striking how similar are the issues and concerns across borders regarding the relationships between classroom instruction and democracy."

"People will act as democrats only when they are educated in a democratic way during the whole time of schooling. If they are just told about democracy, or if they just collect information on democracy, the educational effort is redundant."

"The most important interpersonal and democratic behavior that I witnessed was students learning the value and difficulty of compromise; an attitude that is so essential to democratic behavior."

1.2 Topic Two: Education Sector Governance. How can the organization of effective schools and educational administrative systems model the best organizational practices of civil society?

Discussion Issues: How should responsibility and authority best be distributed between central, regional, and local educational governing structures? What organizational principles and practices have proven to be most effective for the operation of schools in different settings? How have participatory forms of school governance had an impact on educational quality?

The dialogue around Topic Two -- Education Governance -- was initiated in response to a facilitator message regarding the issue of centralization/decentralization. This message set off a lively exchange of information regarding the experiences of different countries.

At the moment, many countries around the world are attempting to decentralize their educational systems. Participants from Peru, Ghana, Senegal, South Africa, Indonesia, Israel, Bosnia, and the Czech Republic all commented on this trend.

Recommendation # 1: An important recommendation was that decentralization of educational authority, if it is to work well, needs to be accompanied by organizational principles and practices of management transparency and accountability at the local level.

It was pointed out that decentralization itself does not ensure more efficient services, nor more accountability. Decentralization can create intermediate levels of power which are still accountable to centralized authority. In such case, the location of power has not really shifted from the center to the periphery but has reinforced the center by a better control of the periphery. Some generalized and well accepted social practices make it hard, if not impossible, to initiate an effective system of decentralization. Clientism, nepotism, and the implied corruption they bring are viewed in many places as the normal way to go.

Participants pointed out that there are many forms that decentralization can take. At one end of the spectrum are "top-down" public sector coordinated models that devolve levels of responsibility for schooling from a central ministry of education to regional and provincial level structures. At the other end are "bottom-up" approaches that derive from initiatives of NGOs and community-based organizations to start and manage their own schools. Communities can and do play varied roles in these different approaches to educational decentralization. (Topic Three explores the role of communities in education in a more in-depth way.)

Country Experience

Benin, Mali, Malawi, Ethiopia, and South Africa were pointed out as African models for the "bottom-up" approach to decentralization. In these countries, NGOs

-- both national and international -- have broken apart from the government structures and are initiating schools at the grassroots level. These "community schools" are founded on the principle of local management of the education process. Many develop and implement their own curriculum. Participants described their impact as one of "altering people's attitudes of expecting everything to come down from the central government." Accountability also is enhanced, which makes for better use of scarce resources.

A participant from Senegal shared the results of his country's recent experience with educational decentralization. In Senegal, decentralization has been led by local civil servants who have designed and implemented regional education development programs based on their beneficiaries' needs. Priority issues intended to be addressed through decentralization include access, girls' enrollment, adaptation to cultural trends, and participation of parents and local authorities in schooling. Experience to date has been both positive and negative. Decentralization efforts are helping to increase the access rate to schooling, and improve and increase the availability of school books and training programs at the primary school level; However, efforts to decentralize education in Senegal have been constrained by inequalities in the resource allocations for schooling, contradictory decision-making processes as a result of donor interventions, insufficient availability of information to inform the decision-making process, and lack of effective procedures for communication between education stakeholders at different levels.

Several participants from Eastern European countries commented on their experiences with issues of decentralization. Slovakia, for example, five years ago had a highly centralized system, with a national curriculum, national textbooks, and schools financed only by the state. Today, it is shifting to a system where more and more responsibility for schooling is being exercised at the local level. The EDU-DEMOC participant from Slovakia viewed this trend as a healthy development. "In my view, education governance should be as decentralized as possible, particularly with regard to curriculum, pedagogy, materials development, and relations with parents. Headmasters and teachers know the educational needs of their students better than anyone else."

A participant from Bosnia made reference to the way in which decentralization first helped and then hindered the effort to improve education. During the Bosnian war, when the formal education system all but collapsed, dedicated ministry professionals, teachers, and parents created self-governing educational networks to care for their children. These networks created an effective shared curriculum that emphasized principles of ethnic tolerance. However, the Dayton accords resulted in responsibility for education, and other areas of governance, being located at the cantonal level, that had little experience in educational sector governance. As a result, the curriculum of tolerance was replaced by pro-ethnic materials that each canton produced; and financial support for schooling collapsed due to the absence of an effective tax support system at the local level.

One participant made reference to a private network of affiliated schools, known as the Waldorf Schools. This network includes 700 schools in 37 countries. Its approach to decentralization extends down to the local school site which is organized around consensus decision-making principles, operating usually without a headmaster or principal.

A participant from Indonesia pointed out the challenges that this large country will face if, as it now appears likely, it makes the decision to decentralize its educational system. Traditionally, in Indonesia all curriculum and classroom practices have come down from the central Ministry of Education. The only avenue for addressing regional or local need is in a small part of the central curriculum called local content.

Recommendation # 2: Efforts to promote greater decentralization and local control of education also must address issues of educational inequities, e.g. between different regions, ethnic and social groups.

Several participants addressed this problem. For example, in Peru there are great differences in the quality of schooling between rural and urban areas. Girls in many countries face obstacles to schooling that are not always ameliorated within the context of a decentralized system.

A participant from the United States pointed out the dangers and inequities that can occur within the context of highly decentralized systems. "It was only through direct national government intervention in state governance, first in the juridical form of *Brown v. Board of Education* and then in the form of armed forces to enforce that decision, that de jure racially segregated schooling was ended in America.

Summary: Perhaps the most important educational governance issues which democratic countries need to address are (a) which powers go where; (b) what are the human resource requirements for effective local management of schools; and (c) what are the organizational characteristics, such as transparency of operations, that characterize effective schools.

1.3 Topic Three: Community Participation. What role can communities play in shaping the democratic character of children, schools and the larger educational system?

Discussion Issues: How can parents play effective roles in schools and education? What does it take to get parents involved in schooling? How does what children learn at home and in their communities influence their beliefs and practices about democracy and governance? How can we best measure the effectiveness of community participation in education?

Recommendations

- Community participation in education is an important priority for an education and democracy agenda.
- Parents and community members need to be involved at many different levels of the education process – as transmitters of democratic values in their homes and communities, as resource providers to local schools, as participants in school management, and as knowledgeable advocates for education reform.
- Training programs in many countries are needed to help strengthen the role that communities play in education.

It was generally agreed that community participation in education is an essential element of political democracies. However, many community-based approaches in their eagerness to succeed ignore the reality of conflicting interests among members or groups of members of the community (or, alternatively, conflicting interests between the community at large and higher levels of government). In addition, many communities lack awareness about how to effectively engage in school management, or lack the information to make informed decisions about school effectiveness.

Such obstacles can be overcome through community-based education and training programs, such as those currently being implemented in Uganda and Ghana. In Uganda, the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project helped community members, as well as teachers and students, use participatory action research (PAR) to assess and analyze local education needs, and then develop action plans that address these needs. In Ghana, the Community-School Alliances (CSA) Project is working across the country to strengthen the role that communities play in education. CSA's programmatic strategy includes participatory research (to raise awareness in communities of ways in which they can contribute to schooling), training for PTAs and School Management Committees, micro-grants to help communities implement school-based activities, and an awareness raising media campaign. The project also has developed an innovative monitoring and evaluation system that is tracking the impact of community participation efforts on educational quality in 110 districts.

The discussion helped identify the broad range of ways in which communities can contribute to schooling. These include:

- serving as tutors and home educators to reinforce what children have learned in school;
- helping children learn educationally appropriate behavior, e.g. regular attendance, personal hygiene, and nutrition;
- being resource providers (e.g. building schools, buying textbooks and school uniforms);

- serving on school management committees, parent-teacher organizations and other advisory groups;
- founding and managing community-based schools;
- contributing to school instructional design, e.g. through co-construction of curricula; and
- providing community-based learning resources, such as apprenticeships and internships.

Several participants described projects that exemplified the diverse roles that communities can play in education. The well known Colombia "Escuela Nueva" program seeks to actively involve parents in school management and as instructional resources; the Newspaper in School Program in Argentina, involved the newspaper industry in providing newspapers to schools and training teachers in /classroom civics education; the Fe Y Alegria Program, that operates in 12 Latin American countries involves communities in the construction and maintenance of schools; the West African TIPE Program (Training-Information Program on Environment) engages students and community members in environmentally-focused social action projects; and decentralization efforts in New Zealand and Australia are giving parents and teachers large roles in school management.

Finally, a participant described an education governance option called school-based management. School-based management means that a school not only implements national policies and programs but also serves as a unit of planning, decision-making, and management; thus the school is the basic unit of management in a school district. School-based management basically serves a structure to mobilize communities and channel their support for initiatives in education and community development.

1.4 Topic Four: Equity in National Education Policy. What is the role of constitutional bodies, such as legislatures and courts, in framing democratic education principles and practices?

Discussion Issues: How should governments address the tension between educational equity and excellence? Is universal access to education a good thing in all countries? How can policies in the areas of school finance, language of instruction, and student assessment best address equity and excellence?

Recommendations

- Democratic political systems need to develop effective governance mechanisms for addressing issues of educational inequities.
- Democracies should allow for educational pluralism, i.e. different approaches to schooling. However, all schools operating in a pluralistic environment should strive to have their students attain commonly agreed upon academic standards.

In Topic Four, participants exchanged information and lessons learned about issues of equity in national education policies. Questions of educational equity deal with the distribution of resources between rural and urban areas, and across racial/ethnic, religious, gender, and social class groups within a given society. They can affect access to schooling, language policies, school finance, curriculum content, and related topics. Educational equity issues also can be looked upon from a trans-national or global perspective, for example the great disparities in resource allocations for education that exist between developed and developing nations.

The term “equity” also has different meanings and interpretations. For example, equity can mean giving equal amounts of schooling to every individual; bringing every individual to a stipulated minimum level of academic performance; bringing every individual to the same level of academic performance; ensuring that each individual receives the schooling necessary to realize his or her full potentialities; providing equal opportunity for access to education, whether individuals use the opportunity or not; or ensuring proportional representation from every ethnic, social status, sex, and other relevant category.

Participants reacted to this framework in different ways. Some connected to it by referring to equity issues within their own countries. A participant from South India identified child labor as a major educational equity issue. The MV Foundation, an NGO working in the region, has a successful child labor program, which to date has helped 100,000 child laborers return to school.

In Finland, a major equity issue is minority education. It was pointed out that the government's decision to decentralize education decision-making has been harmful for ethnic and linguistic minorities. Existing educational laws in Finland do not place municipalities under any obligation to arrange for teaching in minority languages or about minority culture. Such arrangements are at the discretion of schools.

In many countries, the major educational equity issue relates to access to schooling for girls. The reasons why fewer girls enroll and complete primary school include: the need for girls to help with household chores, the long distances that children sometimes must walk from their village to school; the absence of girl-friendly curricula and pedagogical approaches; the absence of separate latrines and hygiene facilities for girls; and local cultural beliefs about the value of schooling for girls. Recently, with support from international donors, many new international, national, and local level initiatives have been launched to increase girls' access to primary school.

A participant from Senegal commented on the issue of international educational inequities. He described how the budget of a single Western university could be larger than the budgets of several African countries.

Few participants tackled the question of how to address educational inequities within the context of a democratic political system. The United States relied on its judicial system to address issues of racial segregation in the 1960s, e.g. the Brown versus Board of Education case. However, the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court needed to be enforced by the country's national guard, in order for it to be implemented in certain states.

A participant from Slovakia recommended what were described as "indirect methods" to address educational inequities, such as offering stipends to students from poorer families or asking local industry to aid resource poor schools.

The question of how to address international inequities in education was scarcely touched. Obviously, one approach would be to increase donor agency support for education in developing countries. The Education for All initiative (EFA), launched in Thailand in 1990, helped strengthen donor agency education programs particularly for basic education. The recently concluded EFA+10 meeting in Dakar may help to further increase donor education earmarks.

Finally, participants addressed the interesting issue of pluralism versus equality in education; does it conflict with democratic principles for a society to offer students access to schools that offer different approaches to educating young people. Most supported educational pluralism, believing that the alternative, i.e. of making all students fit into a uniform mold of schooling would be dehumanizing. However, commonly agreed upon standards of academic achievement were recommended as the basis for measuring school effectiveness in a pluralistic environment.

One participant suggested that public education needs to embody the concept of "complex equality," supplying a similar high level of quality education to all, but through a variety of different schools and educational philosophies. "The standard of providing a quality education to all should be fixed and invariable, but the means of meeting that standard should be plural." The real difficult task, noted the participant, is reworking public education so that it reflects the ideas of "complex equality."

Section 2

*Education and Democracy Planning and
Evaluation Investigative Questions*

Section 2: Education and Democracy Planning and Evaluation Investigative Questions

These investigative questions are offered as a tool for education and democracy and governance program planners and evaluators. They provide a frame of reference for assessing whether a planned or existing education sector program supports the principles and practices of democratic, open societies. The Guidelines were developed under the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project, and reflect lessons learned from experts in seventy countries who participated in a four week IEQ-sponsored on-line education and democracy forum.

Classroom Instruction and Democratic Behavior

- Does classroom pedagogy make use of teaching methods that promote democratic values, e.g. questioning, class discussion, cooperative learning.
- Does curriculum content focus on the analytic, critical thinking and inter-personal skills that students need to learn to become effective citizens of democratic societies?
- Does curriculum content provide students with the knowledge and ability to practice specific civic responsibilities, such as voting, holding elective office, and voting for human rights?
- Do the curriculum and classroom practices support the full participation of girls and minority groups of students? Does it value diversity?
- Do teachers and principals have access to democracy-related training and other resources?

Education Sector Governance

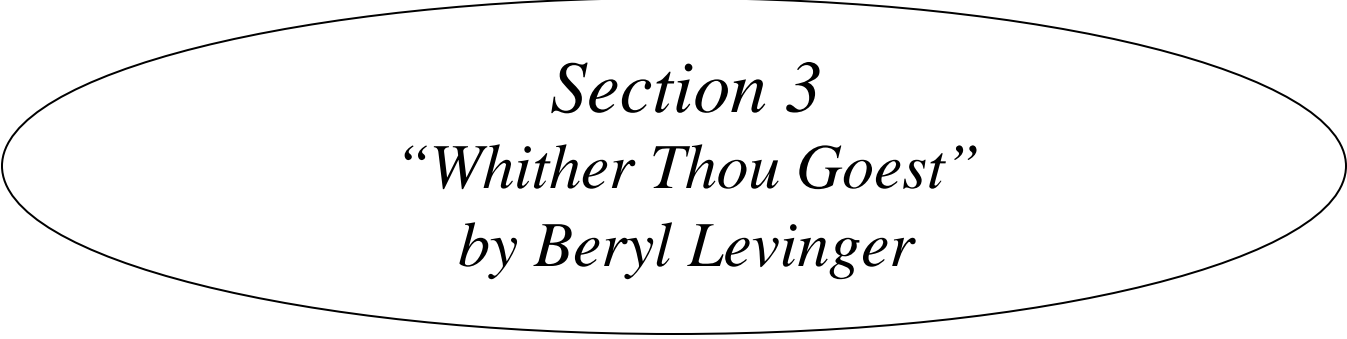
- To what extent do regional and local institution share in education sector decision-making?
- To what extent to regional and local education sector institutions have access to relevant data and information?
- To what extent does the educational system provide for school-based management?
- To what extent do educational institutions at all levels practice organizational principles and practices of management transparency and accountability?
- To what extent do teachers participate in school and education sector governance?
- Is there access to effective management training and other resources for school administrators, principles, teachers and others?

Community Participation

- Are parents playing effective roles in school management?
- Are parents practicing behaviors that promote student participation and achievement in schools?
- Are parents practicing behaviors that encourage students to adopt democratic values and practices?
- Do parents have the skills needed to play effective roles in education?
- Do communities have access to training and other resources to strengthen their ability to contribute to schooling?

National Education Policy

- Who participates in and benefits from the shaping of national education policy?
- Does the political system provide effective mechanisms for addressing educational equity issues, such as issues of access, school finance, language of instruction?
- To what extent does the political system allow for educational pluralism, i.e. different approaches to schooling? Are there educationally relevant, effective standards of accountability in place that all schools should seek to achieve?
- Is there accountability for performance at all levels, including policymakers and senior decision-makers?



Section 3
“Whither Thou Goest”
by Beryl Levinger

Section 3

Whither Thou Goest: Education, Democracy, and the Building of a *Common* Future

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The author is indebted to all those who contributed to the Global On-line Policy Dialogue on Education and Democracy that took place between March 10th and April 10th, 2000. That provocative and inspiring forum was sponsored by USAID's Improving Educational Quality II Project and USAID's Democracy Center. Over 400 people from 60 countries around the world participated. Their insights stimulated many of the ideas presented in this paper.

Preface

This essay is addressed to education sector policy-makers, planners, curriculum specialists and professionals from other sectors charged with the task of strengthening civil society. It offers a conceptual model and framework that can be used to assess the degree to which a country's formal education system furthers the establishment of democratic values and behaviors. The aim of such an assessment is, of course, to ensure that formal education systems nurture—to the maximum extent feasible—vibrant democracies.

What is the constellation of attitudes, values, beliefs and knowledge that citizens need in order to sustain democracy? What obstacles do education systems and schools face as they endeavor to imbue diverse populations of learners with the knowledge and mindset needed to make democracies work? What more can education systems and schools do to promote democracy? These are the questions that this essay seeks to answer.

Once readers have engaged in a thoughtful consideration of these matters, they should be able to develop broad-based plans for assessing the degree to which a nation's schools help citizens maintain a highly functional democracy. Specifically, readers should feel equipped to engage a broad range of education sector stakeholders in determining whether:

1. Students acquire and apply beliefs, values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes that foster or sustain democracy
2. A school system's key policies and practices (including those bearing on finance, access, equity, and curriculum) are consistent with democratic values
3. Community members improve the quality of education by working together in ways that are consistent with democratic values, skills, and behaviors

On the basis of the ensuing dialogue, essay readers should also be able to engage stakeholders in formulating action steps to strengthen ties between a nation's schools and its democratic institutions. Illustrative actions steps that readers will surely consider include the following:

- Aligning the hidden and official curricula through administrative reforms, teacher training, consciousness-raising, and effective supervision
- Sponsoring and support outreach activities that bolster household demand and support for schooling
- Creating and strengthen community-based mechanisms for exerting influence on education-related decisions
- Enforcing or promulgating laws, regulations, and constitutional principles that bring about educational excellence and equity
- Formulating democratic criteria to guide the financing and administration of schools

Preparation of this essay was funded by USAID's Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project, which promotes the discussion of "theoretical and applied aspects of the development, testing, and adaptation of educational innovations within learning systems." In keeping with this vision, the present essay is intended to further one important innovation: the introduction of whole systems thinking to the question of how a society should organize learning systems in order to achieve democratic ideals.

Whither Thou Goest: Education, Democracy, and the Search for a *Common Future*

Ultimately, democracy is about citizens who see their lives as so intertwined that they have no choice but to commit to shaping and sharing a common future.

"Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people...." (The Book of Ruth)

Introduction

A researcher recently investigated internationally funded projects designed to promote democracy in a Caribbean country where decades of dictatorship, corruption and abuse had only lately been eclipsed by a new phenomenon: free and fair elections. The projects under scrutiny had been launched because local citizens, along with the global human rights community, were committed to doing something more than merely watching and waiting to learn whether a ballot box overture could be transformed into a full symphony of democracy.

In her first few days of fieldwork, the researcher managed to conduct some twenty interviews with project managers; field staff; participants; municipal government officials; and representatives of sponsoring corporations. Surprisingly, one theme—a theme not included or even contemplated in the investigator's questionnaires and research protocols—emerged over the course of each and every interview she conducted: the question of garbage!

Each respondent had a different tale to tell about rubbish removal (or the lack thereof), refuse disposal, and litterbugs. In real, tangible ways the crucible of democracy had become the garbage can. Why?

True democracy means more than a constitution, elections, and the rule of law. It is also about widespread acceptance of a social contract that entails responsible actions, good citizenship and a belief that no one is above the law (even if it's only a law about littering). Democracy entails empathy and respect for others as well as a deep-rooted conviction that individual actions often carry communal consequences. Cooperation and a willingness to consider issues from perspectives other than one's own are democracy's life forces. Democracy's sustenance comes from citizens who, recognizing their interdependence, seek to achieve an appropriate balance between their personal interests and those of the greater good. And, democracy's longevity depends on citizens who strive to create a common future that transcends differences of ethnicity, religion, race, class, gender and lifestyle.

There are several factors that describe the nitty-gritty of democracy as much as they determine how much grit will clog the streets: a citizenry's commitment to live every day mindful of the fact that individual actions ramify into societal consequences; the respect that citizens accord one another; and, the willingness of individuals from diverse backgrounds to cooperate in the building of a more rewarding common future.

The unexpected link between garbage and democracy that emerged from the researcher's interviews underscored an essential truth: democratic ideals are not abstract. Rather, they are lived

and made manifest in citizens' most seemingly trivial, quotidian behaviors as well as through such lofty pursuits as voting and engaging in local governance.

Behaviors are products of a complex web of attitudes, values, beliefs and knowledge. Most well established democratic societies expect their schools to play an important role in helping citizens to develop a set of attitudes, values, beliefs and knowledge that are conducive to the maintenance of democratic institutions. However, an astonishing number of countries across the globe have only recently entered into the ranks of the world's democracies. In many cases, their schools and educational systems are not yet geared to the task of fostering democracy.

This essay addresses a question of paramount concern to those who work in or offer support to such countries: how can education best promote democracy? Specifically, what are the *attitudes, values, beliefs* and *knowledge* that citizens need in order to sustain vibrant democracies, and what is the role that education can play in their transmission?

Beliefs, Values, Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills for Democracy

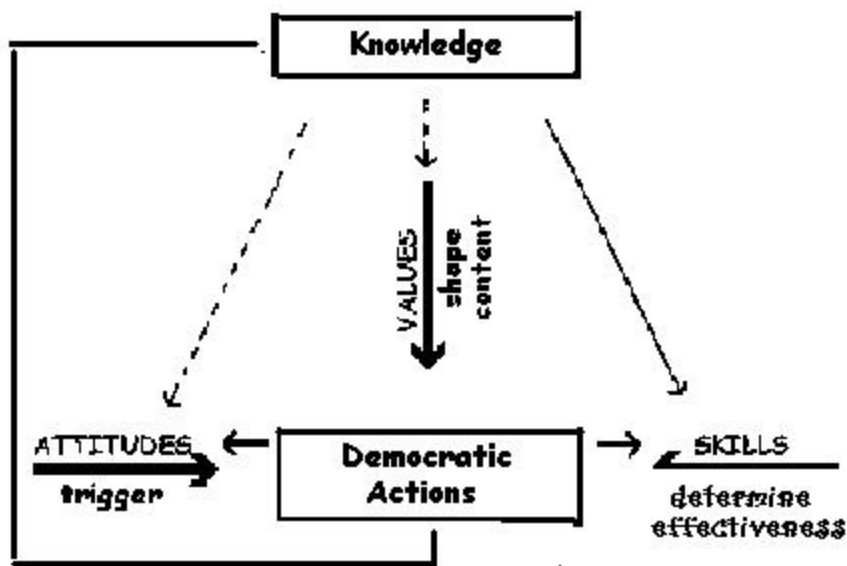
Let's begin our analysis with definitions of some key terms.

- **Beliefs:** *propositions an individual holds to be true.* Illustrative beliefs that are critical to the maintenance of democracies include the following: no one should be above the law; the law must be applied fairly to all; and that individuals can influence the course of events (i.e., the notion of personal efficacy—individuals are not powerless bystanders in the drama of their own lives).
- **Values:** *convictions and principles that serve as guideposts for an individual's ethical and moral choices.* Illustrative values that are particularly conducive to democracies include the following: citizens have both rights and responsibilities; people should be treated with respect; diversity is a societal asset; people should practice fair play (i.e., the notion of equity).
- **Attitudes:** *thoughts, feelings, and opinions that serve as guideposts for choices individuals make in matters where they perceive themselves to be stakeholders.* Examples of attitudes that are conducive to democratic institutions include the following: a willingness to compromise; a willingness to fulfill civic obligations; a desire to consider diverse viewpoints before taking decisions; a desire to participate in the political process; a willingness to question authority; a willingness to formulate options independently; an ability to feel empathy for others and then take action based on that feeling; and, a willingness to volunteer.
- **Knowledge:** *an individual's inventory of facts, data, information, and understandings about phenomena occurring in natural or social contexts.* Democracy is promoted through specific fact-based knowledge concerning history; political systems; constitutional provisions related to rights and responsibilities; laws governing corruption and redress; legislative and judicial processes; and competence in official and local languages.
- **Skills:** *an individual's ability to take the actions needed in order to achieve a democracy-related objective.* Examples of skills that strengthen democracy include the following: the

ability to gain access to information needed in order to arrive at informed views on matters of public policy; the ability to think critically; the ability to assess information quality (by evaluating the reliability of information sources, the accuracy of content, and use of propagandistic rhetoric); respectful listening to views expressed by others; turn-taking; and, an ability to achieve consensus.

These definitions suggest a high degree of interdependence among the terms presented. Specifically, *attitudes trigger democratic action*, while *values shape the content of that action* and *skills determine the action's effectiveness*. While knowledge may contribute to the development of attitudes and values, attitudes and values can also exist absent supporting knowledge. In contrast, skill sets are knowledge-dependent. These relationships are depicted in Figure One.

Figure One. How Knowledge, Values, Attitudes and Skills Shape Democratic Actions



Some Key Ideas Related to These Definitions

- Knowledge alone does not lead to democratic behaviors. Indeed, while knowledge greatly informs skills, knowledge is considerably less influential when it comes to fostering attitudes and values.
- Democratic actions—immersion by individuals into the democratic process itself—shapes knowledge, attitudes, skills and values. Indeed, such experiential encounters with democracy exert more influence on attitudes and values than knowledge removed from a context of action.
- Schools are best equipped to impart knowledge and develop skills. They are less suited to the task of imbuing students with attitudes and values although this job is (and certainly should be) part of their mission.

What limitations do schools face in their ability to impart the attitudes and values most conducive to democracy? First of all, in many communities, parents and religious authorities choose to retain exclusive control over processes linked to the transmission of society's core attitudes and values. In such settings, schools do not enjoy a mandate to introduce values and attitudes in conflict with longstanding tradition.

In countries where pedagogical traditions favor rote learning, conditions also mitigate against an effective, school-based approach to the acquisition of new attitudes and values that can reverse longstanding, undemocratic practices. Rote instruction leaves little room for active learning. Yet it is active, socially mediated, experiential learning that is most likely to create the foundation for democratic values and attitudes.

Another factor that thwarts school-based efforts to nurture democratic attitudes and values is the significant gap that exists between the official, "manifest" curriculum and the so-called "hidden curriculum." Entrenched in school culture and daily life, the "hidden curriculum" is never set down in writing. Often, the hidden and manifest curricula are at odds with each other, and nowhere is this more so than in the realm of values and attitudes. For example, the manifest curriculum may include content on the importance of treating all people with respect and dignity. But, the hidden curriculum sends an entirely different message to young learners when, for example, girls are seldom if ever recognized by their teachers, when bullying and aggressive behaviors are tolerated, or when blatant favoritism is shown to children from socially advantaged backgrounds.

The most important implication that arises from this analysis is that schools are only partially equipped to do the job of imparting the knowledge, values, attitudes and skills that learners must acquire in order to ensure the perpetuation of democratic ideals and behaviors. If schools alone can't perform this vital transmission task, than how will the void be filled? What is called for is a holistic approach that examines education in the broadest possible range of contexts in which it occurs. Let's now turn to the task of creating a framework for this holistic approach.

A Framework for Strengthening Democracy through Education

To understand how education can strengthen democracy, three factors—and the relationships among these factors—must be clearly understood. The first of these is what we will call *democratic capital*, the inventory of a country's institutions, traditions, laws, cultural practices and behaviors that serve to sustain or foster democracy. Clearly, education can contribute to the creation of democratic capital in many ways. Schools, for example, are essential in imparting specific, fact-based knowledge of history, political systems, constitutional provisions related to rights and responsibilities, laws governing corruption and redress, as well as legislative and judicial processes.

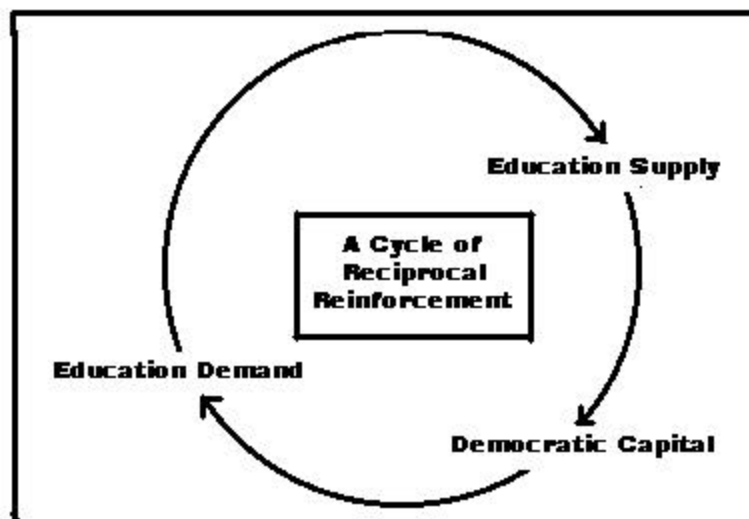
The second factor that governs the degree to which education will strengthen democracy is *demand for schooling*. Demand is a byproduct of many considerations including cultural norms, economic production systems, and household resources. To the extent that demand for schooling is low, the potency of education as a force for nurturing democracy is also limited.

A third factor that determines the influence of schooling in the development of democratic behaviors is *education supply*. *Quantitative* dimensions of education supply include the enrollment capacity of schools (i.e., the ratio of the number of students for whom school places exist to the total number of school-aged children); the size of student catchment areas; per pupil expenditures; student repetition rates; and the ratio of teachers to learners. *Qualitative* dimensions of education supply include teacher characteristics, availability of textbooks and other learning aids; the content of both the manifest and hidden curricula; the medium of instruction; the timing and duration of instruction; and the degree to which girls and students from stigmatized backgrounds (e.g., ethnic and religious minorities; the poor; and others deemed to be “outsiders”) are made to feel wanted and included.

Many studies have concluded that when the education supply is perceived to be of low quality, demand for education is also low. Parents often give voice to this relationship between supply and demand. When asked why their children are not enrolled in school, they frequently reply, “I don’t send my children because they don’t learn anything there. It’s better for them to stay at home and help out here.”

In summary, then, these three factors are reciprocally related as depicted in Figure Two. Education *quality* is both influenced by and, in turn, influences *demand* for education. Both *supply* and *demand* for education help determine a country’s *democratic capital*. *Democratic capital* creates a culture of participation that, in turn, leads to higher *demand* for schooling. Of course, this demand will be dampened if parents perceive that the quality of schooling is poor. However, if the stock of democratic capital is abundant, then these same parents will be able to take the actions needed to improve school quality—thereby introducing a change in the *education supply*.

Figure Two. How a Nation’s Democratic Capital, Education Supply and Education Demand Influence One Another



What outcomes should we expect in a country where the education system and supporting institutions have performed optimally to support democratic ideals, principles, values and behaviors? In such countries, *a school system's key policies and practices (including those bearing*

on finance, access, equity, and curriculum) would be consistent with democratic values. The value that people should be treated with respect would be lived in schools through curricular and pedagogical choices that value what children know and do outside of school, by individualizing teaching strategies to recognize differences among learners, and by creating learning environments in which all children can succeed so that no child is stigmatized by failure.

The value that diversity is a societal asset would be lived through schools where students' ethnicity, home language, social class, and gender mirror the heterogeneity found in the community. Textbooks and lesson plans would explore these differences in positive terms without presenting or contributing to stereotypes.

The value that people should practice fair play (i.e., equity) would be lived by eliminating differences in per pupil outlays that cannot be explained by differences in pupil needs. And, there would be a widespread recognition that equity does not entail providing all students with the same set of resources (equality of inputs without equity of outcomes). Instead, attention would be given to marshaling the wherewithal needed to ensure that all learners meet the same high performance standards (equity of outcomes without equality of inputs).

Another outcome we would expect in a country where the education system and supporting institutions are doing well at democracy-building is that *students acquire and apply beliefs, values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes that foster or sustain democracy*. In such countries, for example, learners *believe*, whether because of their experiences inside or out of the classroom, that no one is above the law; that the law is applied fairly to all; and that individuals are empowered to shape their personal and communal destinies. Such students hold *attitudes* that favor the practice of compromise; fulfillment of civic obligations; consideration of multiple perspectives before taking decisions; participation in political processes; and the questioning of authority. These are settings where learners have good *knowledge* of their history, political system, and constitution. They know the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and comprehend legislative and judicial processes. And, in these countries learners are proficient in a number of important *skill areas*. They have the ability to gain access to information needed in order to arrive at informed views on matters of public policy. They assess information and think critically while routinely demonstrating an ability to listen respectfully to the views of others. These are students who are gifted in achieving consensus.

A third outcome we would perceive in countries where the education system and supporting institutions strengthen democracy is that *community members shape the education enterprise in ways that reflect and strengthen democratic values, skills, and behaviors*. Parents from diverse backgrounds would be involved in school governance and would contribute to decision-making around such critical issues as resource generation and allocation. They would have both the mandate and the skills to monitor school performance against explicit quality standards. Furthermore, they would have the means to hold school authorities accountable when expectations are not met.

When does education enhance the capacity of a society to live democratically? When three conditions are met:

- Students acquire and apply beliefs, values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes that foster or sustain democracy
- A school system's key policies and practices (including those bearing on finance, access, equity, and curriculum) are consistent with democratic values
- Community members improve the quality of education by working together in ways that are consistent with democratic values, skills, and behaviors

These three conditions characterize an environment with enormous potential for harnessing the energy of education to support democracy. However, if this potential is to be realized, education sector actors must be able to perform the following tasks competently:

- Where democracy is thwarted by the hidden curriculum, align the hidden and manifest curricula through administrative reforms, teacher training, consciousness-raising, and effective supervision
- Sponsor and support outreach activities that bolster household demand and support for schooling (including parental decisions about which children to send to school; when to enroll children; and household investments that enhance children's learning capacity)
- Create and strengthen community-based mechanisms for exerting influence on education-related decisions
- Enforce or promulgate laws, regulations, and constitutional principles that bring about educational excellence and equity
- Apply democratic criteria to the financing and administration of schools (including decisions about quality, per pupil expenditure, coverage, teacher deployment, school plant siting, credentialing, and in-service training)

Putting A Framework for Strengthening Democracy through Education to Work

What is the utility of a framework for examining how the education sector is strengthening a country's civil society? How can such a framework be used to further enhance education's contribution to democracy?

The principal value of the framework lies in its suitability for such tasks as the following:

- Evaluating the extent to which education's potential as a vehicle for strengthening democracy has been realized in a given country
- Applying a "whole systems approach" to the redesign of educational initiatives
- Planning and launching strategic partnerships to fortify civil society
- Helping teachers and administrators to think creatively about how to enhance the relationship between classroom instruction and democratic behavior
- Examining education system governance practices in light of both education system performance and broader societal goals
- Building consensus among education sector professionals concerning the importance of broad-based community participation in education

- Systematizing the collection of best practice cases to improve the state of the art for strengthening democratic institutions through education sector activities

To illustrate the framework's versatility, let's use it to generate some thumbnail sketches of best practice drawn from diverse countries around the world.

Examples of best practice school-based teaching and learning activities that lead students to acquire beliefs, values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes that nurture democracy include:

- Development of critical thinking skills in all areas of the curriculum so that students can analyze and evaluate ideas and situations from a variety of perspectives in order to come to a well reasoned and substantive position
- School-based experiences with voting, holding elective office and advocating positions
- Use of active learning pedagogical approaches that involve open-ended questioning, cooperative learning, and problem-solving
- Opportunities for students to engage in civic action projects

These practices have been observed in a wide variety of country contexts including the Escuela Nueva of Colombia, the community school movements of Egypt and Malawi, and in the Nueva Escuela Unitaria schools of Guatemala.

Best practice examples of how a school system's policies and practices are contributing to democratization include:

- Efforts to decentralize education by placing more resources in the hands of local people and creating new avenues of accountability for performance
- Efforts to make education sector decision-making more transparent to stakeholders result in greater stakeholder participation
- Creation of community-based schools to meet the special needs of underserved populations

Many countries are now decentralizing their education systems. Benin, Mali, Malawi, Ghana, Ethiopia and South Africa are among the African nations engaged in this course of action. Elsewhere, Peru, Indonesia, Israel, Bosnia and the Czech Republic have recently embraced decentralization. Often, as in the cases of Senegal and Ghana, decentralization is linked to broad-based education reform that also addresses questions of equity quality, and coverage.

In Uganda, the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project helped community members, as well as teachers and students use participatory action research to assess and analyze local education needs and then develop action plans that address these needs. In Ghana, the Community-School Alliances (CSA) Project is working across the country to strengthen the role that communities play in education. CSA's programmatic strategy includes participatory research (to raise awareness of how community members can contribute to schooling), training for PTAs and School Management Committees, micro-grants to help communities implement school-based activities, and an awareness-raising media campaign. The project also has developed an innovative monitoring and evaluation system that is tracking the impact of community participation efforts on educational quality in 110 districts.

Examples of best practice community participation strategies that lead to changes in household behaviors known to influence education outcomes include:

- Recruitment of parents and other community members to serve as tutors or home educators who reinforce what children have learned in school
- Parental encouragement of educationally appropriate behavior (e.g. regular attendance, personal hygiene, and good nutrition)
- Enlisting parents to contribute their personal (household) resources to enhance the educational enterprise (e.g. school construction or maintenance, purchase of textbooks and school uniforms)

These practices can be observed in diverse settings including the Colombian Escuela Nueva Program, the Fe Y Alegria Program, which operates in 12 Latin American countries and involves communities in the construction and maintenance of schools; and in the West African TIPE Program (Training--Information Program on Environment) engages students and households in environmentally focused social action projects.

The framework is also useful in identifying gaps—opportunities for action in areas where little has been done to date. Here are some examples:

- There are few documented cases of student involvement in activities to enforce regulations that affect education or of student participation in the administration of schools other than through the mechanism of school government
- Cases of student involvement in outreach and mobilization activities that influence behaviors and values at the household level are not well known. One notable exception to this generalization is the highly acclaimed Child to Child Program.
- There are few instances of systematic, routine monitoring practices that focus on the hidden curriculum when determining the extent to which school-based teaching and learning practices mirror a school system's equity and access policies

Conclusions

We began our consideration of the linkages between education and democracy with a tale of garbage disposal in the Caribbean to illustrate a key point: democratic ideals are not abstract. Rather, they are lived and made manifest in the ordinary, everyday behaviors of citizens. Routinely tossing one's rubbish into public spaces suggests that some important preconditions for achieving a thriving democracy have not yet been met. Democracy does not flourish unless citizens are vitally aware that their individual actions ramify into societal consequences. Democracy will not blossom if citizens fail to accord one another respect. The seeds of democracy will never take root unless citizens routinely balance personal interests against the common good.

In short, democracy depends upon a citizenry imbued with a constellation of beliefs, values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills that are conducive to its maintenance. Knowledge alone does not lead to democratic behaviors. Indeed, while knowledge greatly informs skills, it is considerably less influential when it comes to fostering attitudes and values.

This is why strategies that rely exclusively on civics education approaches to strengthen democracies are doomed to failure. Democratic values and skills must also be mirrored in how classrooms are organized, in the essence of teacher-student and student-student relationships, and in an alignment of the hidden and manifest curricula around issues vital to democratization. Experiential encounters with democracy will always exert more influence on attitudes and values than knowledge transmitted outside a context of action.

Schools are well suited to impart knowledge and develop skills. Unfortunately, they are less well equipped to imbue students with attitudes and values. For schools to develop more effectiveness in this arena it will be necessary for them to form closer partnerships with parents, to introduce more effective systems of support for active learning, and to develop techniques to minimize those conflicts between the manifest and hidden curricula that have a bearing on democratic values and attitudes. What is called for is a holistic approach that examines the education enterprise in the broadest possible range of contexts where it occurs: in schools, in ministries of education, in the household, in teacher training institutes, in supervisory meetings, and in community-based groups concerned with education.

Some next steps to pave the way for such a holistic approach to education and its role in promoting democracy might include the following:

- A set of country assessments that focus on needs in relation to the specific knowledge, skills, values and attitudes required for maintaining or strengthening democratic institutions. Such studies would then examine how schools and related institutions could build on strengths to address the shortfalls identified
- Development of a toolkit to assess the degree to which the manifest and hidden curricula achieve congruence in transmitting values and attitudes essential for democracy
- Systematic, country-specific research by collaborating political scientists and educators on the values, attitudes, knowledge, and skill sets that matter most at different stages of democratic development (e.g., emerging democracies; fragile democracies; well established democracies)

True democracy goes beyond a constitution, elections, and the rule of law. It is also about widespread acceptance of a social contract that entails responsible actions, good citizenship and a belief that no one is above the law. It rests on empathy, respect for others and the willingness of citizens who cooperate with one another to consider issues from perspectives other than their own. But, above all, democracy depends on individuals who, recognizing their interdependence with others, seek to achieve an appropriate balance between their personal interests and those of the greater good. Schools can contribute to democratic transformation, but far more will be accomplished when countries adopt a holistic approach that takes into consideration the widest possible variety of actors and settings involved in the education enterprise. When that happens, it will be routine for citizens to live the words that Ruth spoke more than two millennia ago: “...whither thou goest, I will go; ... thy people shall be my people...”



Section 4

An Education and Democracy Resource List

Section 4: Resources about Education for Democracy

Classroom Instruction and Democratic Behavior

Almond, G, *et al.* Political Socialization. Comparative Politics: System, Process and Policy (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978, second edition)

Seminal study on political socialization.

Bratton, Michael, and Joseph Temba, "Effects of Civic Education on Political Culture: Evidence from Zambia," World Development, May 1999

Results of a study in Zambia.

Davies, I., I. Gregory, and S.C. Riley. Good Citizenship and Educational Provision (London: Falmer Press, 1999)

Dewey, John. Democracy and Education (New York: MacMillan, 1916)

The classic study on education and democracy.

Hahn, Carole L. Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1998)

Using a comparative perspective, *Becoming Political* describes alternative forms of education for democracy and points to consequences of various alternatives in diverse settings. This study of civic education and adolescent political attitudes contains rich descriptive information from interviews with students and teachers and classroom observations in England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. Such qualitative information gathered over the past decade complements findings from surveys administered to students ages fifteen through nineteen in fifty schools in the five countries.

Hooghoff, Hans. "Evaluation of education in citizenship and moral judgement", SICI-workshop, Vedbaek (Denmark), May 19-21, 1999.

Report of a recent civic education conference.

Mistrik, Erich. Aesthetics and Civics. Cultural Dimension of Civic Education (Senica: HEVI Publishing House, 1996)

This book is about the necessity to include cultural studies into civic education and has strong focus on teacher training. [Full text is also available in Rich Text format at: <http://www.fedu.uniba.sk/~mistrik>]

Niemi, Richard G., and Jane Junn. Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn (New Haven: Yale Univ Press, 1998)

This book takes a look at what youth in the United States know about government and politics and how they learn it. Based on the most extensive assessment of students' civic knowledge to date, the authors find that secondary school civics courses significantly enhance understanding of the workings of democracy. The authors then offer specific suggestions to improve civics teaching.

Spiro, Jody, *Active Learning in Central and Eastern Europe* (Newton: Education Development Center Inc, 1998)

Describes impact of civic education initiatives in postcommunist classrooms.

Torney-Purta, Judith, John Schwille, and Jo-Ann Amadeo. *Civic education across countries: twenty-four national case studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. (Amsterdam: IEA and Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1999)

What are adolescents expected to know about democratic practices and institutions? How do societies convey a sense of national identity? What are young people taught about diversity and social cohesion? In short, what expectations do democratic societies hold for the development of political knowledge, skills, and attitudes among young people? And how does a country's political or economic situation influence these notions of citizenship and democracy? These questions were examined by researchers from countries in Europe, North and South America, Asia, and Australia.

Tibbitts, Felisa. "Prospects for Civics Education in Transitional Democracies: Results of an Impact Study in Romanian Classrooms." Paper presented at Comparative International Education Society Conference, 14-18 April, 1999, Toronto, Canada.

In this paper results are presented of a study into the impact of an alternative civics curriculum for the 7th and 8th grades in Romania. [Also available on-line in full-text at: http://erc.hrea.org/Library/research/RPaper_4991.html]

Education System Governance

Bray, Mark. *Decentralization of Education: Community Financing* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1996)

This study focuses on ways in which community financing can support formal and primary education in the wake of decentralization. The report considers not only monetary financing, but community contributions of materials, labor, expertise, and land as well. An examination of the volume, nature, and mechanics of community financing in a range of settings is followed by a discussion of policy issues facing governments, specific strategies from various countries, and the importance of monitoring and evaluation. Country case studies and best practices are provided. [Also available in full-text Word format at: http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/educ/edu_eram/deced_cf.htm]

Epstein, Erwin, and Noel F. McGinn (eds.). *Comparative Perspectives on the Role Of Education in Democratization. Part 1: Transitional States and States of Transition* (Hamburg: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999)

However important the school may be as a vehicle to institutionalize and perpetuate democracy, it has been largely ignored by contemporary scholars of democratization especially in developing and former socialist countries. This book draws on new research as well as established classics in helping to fill the gap and map out useful directions for comparative inquiry on the role of education in democratization and transitions from centralized authority.

Epstein, Erwin, and Noel F. McGinn (eds.). *Comparative Perspectives on the Role Of Education in Democratization. Socialization, Identity, and the Politics of Control* (Hamburg: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000)

This book, the second of a two-volume set, addresses issues of democratization by viewing the place of education in government designs for dealing with change, especially in terms of the character of the society being governed: its quest for a national identity, its ethnic composition, its religion(s), and its empowerment of women.

Fiske, Edward. *Decentralization of Education: Politics and Consensus* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1996)

The global phenomenon of school decentralization is a highly political process. It involves substantial shifts in power, affecting the influence and livelihood of groups such as teachers and their unions. School systems are also vehicles for enhancing political influence and carrying out the programs and objectives of those in power. This report identifies the political dimensions of school decentralization and discusses the methods and problems of building a broad public consensus to support it. Country case studies and examples of best practices are provided.

[Also available in full-text Word format at:

http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/educ/edu_eram/deced_gc.htm]

Gaynor, Cathy. *Decentralization of Education: Teacher Management* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1996)

This report explores what can be learned in decentralizing teacher management from international experience. In particular, it examines what has prompted governments to decentralize teacher management functions, how they have done so, and which decentralization mechanisms have been most effective. The report aims to help guide policymakers in refining strategies that will improve teaching and learning in the classroom.

Snauwaert, D.T., *Democracy, Education, and Governance: A Developmental Conception* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993)

Author concludes that a participatory system of school governance is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for educational excellence.

Community Participation

Bowman, Mary Jean. "Education and Opportunity: Some Economic Perspectives", *Oxford Review of Education* 1 (1975): 73-89.

A few of the interactive effects between schooling and patterns of options in life before and after experience in schooling are singled out for comment in their relation to education in economic terms.

Demaine, Jack, and Harold Entwistle (eds.). *Beyond Communitarianism: Citizenship, Politics and Education* (London: Macmillan, 1996)

This book investigates different notions of communitarianism and citizenship, and their application within a number of fields; in particular politics, social welfare and education. The chapters of the book are concerned to look beyond communitarian ideology and to investigate in a more detailed discussion about citizenship.

Highland, J. *Democratic Theory: Philosophical Foundations*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

Overview of theories of democracy.

Kanyike, Lawrence, Modesta Omona, Vincent Birungi, Denis Nuwagaba, Patience Namanya, Imelda Kemeza, and Joseph Carasco. *Participation as a Method to Improve Educational Quality: The Principles* (Kampala, Uganda: Marianum Press, 1999)

This illustrated manual provides step-by-step guidance for stakeholders, stakeholder groups, and facilitators at the school level who want to learn how to design and carry out participatory action research and to make the results of such research available to communities. The aim of such skill-building is to increase the ability of stakeholders to solve local school problems by making them researchers. Group members learn to collect, analyze, and disseminate information, and use the research results in designing activities to improve student learning. [Also available in full-text in PDF format at: <http://www.ieq.org/pdf/Participation.pdf>]

Murchland, B., *Higher Education and the Practices of Democratic Politics: A Political Education Reader* (Dayton, Ohio: Kettering Foundation, 1991)

This book is a collection of essays on political education for democratic citizenship on higher education developed out of meetings over 5 years of a small group of faculty, administrators and students who gathered to discuss the way academia was educating young people for political responsibility.

Tyler, William. *The Sociology of Educational Inequality*. (London: Methuen, 1977)

Seminal work on educational inequality.

Walzer, Michael. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

Walzer's framework provides a powerful tool for non-philosophers to understand, and then speak-up directly and intelligently for equality and democracy.

Equity in National Education Policies

Benson, P. and R. Openshaw (eds). *New Horizons for NZ Social Studies*. (Palmerston North, NZ: ERDC Press, 1998)

Describes the debate over the reform of the Social Studies Curriculum in New Zealand.

Carasco, J., N. Clair and L. Kanyike. *Initiating a participatory process to improve education quality in Uganda*. (Washington, D.C. Improving Education Quality Project, American Institutes for Research, in press)

IEQ Uganda Core Team. *Perspectives of quality learning: From research to action*. (Kampala: Uganda: Improving Education Quality Project. Ugandan National Examinations Board, 1999)

Available in full-text in PDF format at: http://www.ieq.org/pdf/Uganda_CaseStudy.pdf

Limage, Leslie (ed.) *Democratizing Education and Educating Democratic Citizens: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. (New York: Falmer, 2000)

Historical and comparative study on democratization of education systems and civic education.

Tibbitts, Felisa, and Judith Torney-Purta. *Preparing for the Future: Citizenship Education in Latin America* (Cambridge, MA/Washington, DC: HREA/Inter-American Development Bank, 1999).

Survey of education programmes teaching democracy and human rights, their effectiveness and proposed strategies. [Full text available at: <http://www.hrea.org/pubs/IDB-monograph/index.html>]

World Bank. *Priorities and Strategies for Education*. (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1995)

This book reviews the literature and data on the contribution of education to development and on the financing of education in developing countries. It outlines policy options and reforms for increasing access to education and for improving equity and efficiency in educational services.

Useful Web Sites

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

Elaborate web site with articles and resources on civic education in the United States and elsewhere.

Civnet/Civitas: <http://www.civnet.org>

Includes many on-line manuals, curricula and calendar related to civic education worldwide.

Education Development Center: <http://www.edc.org/edu-democ>

Provides information about the EDU-DEMOC On-line Policy Dialogue, as well as archives of EDU-DEMOC messages.

Electronic Resource Centre for Human Rights Education: <http://erc.hrea.org>

Includes hundreds of full-text curricula, lesson plans, textbooks and training manuals for educating about and for democracy and human rights at K-12 level and for community groups and professionals.

Global Information Networks in Education (GINIE): <http://www.ginie.org>

A comprehensive resource centre on education for democracy and education in emergency situations.

Improving Educational Quality Project: <http://www.ieq.org>

Many resources on instructional methods and lessons learned.

International Tolerance Network: <http://www.tolerance.uni-muenchen.de>

On-line newsletters, bibliographies and databases about education for democracy, human rights and tolerance.

Network for Citizenship and Democracy in Europe: <http://www.politea.net>

Includes full text issues of the Newsletter Political Education towards a European Democracy.

Orava civic education project: <http://www.uni.edu/coe/orava>
Information on civic education project in Slovakia.

Peru's Virtual Parliament: <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/parla/par-tele.htm>
Includes a distance learning course on the functioning of parliament [in Spanish].

USAID Center for Democracy and Governance: <http://www.info.usaid.gov/democracy>
Contains materials and links to education and democracy and governance.

USAID Human Capacity Development Center: http://www.info.usaid.gov/educ_training
Description of worldwide initiatives and on-line global education database.