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ABSTRACT

This report considers lessons learned from a multi-part research investigation into United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) civic education programming. To better understand how and under what conditions civic education contributes to the development of a more active and informed democratic citizenry, USAID initiated the study in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa to measure the impact of adult and school-based civic education programs focusing on participants' democratic behaviors and attitudes. Results show that civic education programs for adults can have a significant, positive impact on certain key aspects of democratic behaviors and attitudes. Civic education appears to contribute to greater rates of political participation among program participants, particularly at the local level. Civic education programs appear to have minimal effect on changing democratic values, such as political tolerance, and, in fact, appear to have a negative impact on some values, such as trust in political institutions. Findings for school-based civic education programs mirror those for adult programs, although the impact of civics training was generally weaker and more inconsistent for students than for adults. The key finding to emerge, applying to both adult and school-based programs, was that course design and quality of instruction are critical to the success of civic education programs. The report has six parts: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Civic Education, Democracy, and USAID's Approach" (School-based Civics Programs; Adult Civic Education; USAID Programs; Key Variables in Civic Education Programs); (3) "Report Findings" (Adult Findings; School Findings); (4) "Recommendations and Lessons Learned"; (5) "Conclusion"; and (6) "Want to Know More?" (BT)

OFFICE OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

"...promoting the transition to and consolidation of democratic regimes throughout the world."

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APPROACHES TO CIVIC EDUCATION: LESSONS LEARNED



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Technical Publication Series

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Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance
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ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION

This document reports on lessons learned from a multi-part research investigation into USAID's civic education programming. In order to better understand how and under what conditions civic education contributes to the development of a more active and informed democratic citizenry, USAID initiated the study to measure the impact of both adult and school-based civic education programs on participants' democratic behaviors and attitudes.

Comments regarding this publication and inquiries regarding USAID's civic education programming should be directed to

Gary Hansen, Director
Civil Society Division
Tel: (202) 712-1524
Fax: (202) 216-3231
ghansen@usaid.gov

Office of Democracy and Governance
Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance
U.S. Agency for International Development
Washington, DC 20523-3100

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ABOUT THE DG OFFICE

The Office of Democracy and Governance is the U.S. Agency for International Development's focal point for democracy and governance programming. The DG Office's role is to provide USAID and other development practitioners with the technical and intellectual expertise needed to support democratic development. It provides this expertise in the following areas:

- C **Rule of Law**
- C **Elections and Political Processes**
- C **Civil Society**
- C **Governance**

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Sharon Morris

Sharon holds a Ph.D. in political science (international/comparative politics) from the University of Chicago. Before joining the DG Office, she worked as a research associate both with the Program on Global Security and Sustainability at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and with Marvin Zonis and Associates, a political consulting firm specializing in the area of international political economy. She has been a program assistant at The Asia Foundation and has also held positions at CARE and Asian Survey. Sharon is a member of the civil society division, where she is focusing on the relationship between democracy assistance and conflict prevention.

Approaches to Civic Education: Lessons Learned was built on the scholarship and hard work of many people, but eight in particular deserve special mention and thanks. Gwen Bevis, Stephen Finkel, Chris Sabatini, and Sheryl Stumbras designed, researched, and wrote the initial quantitative studies of civic education conducted in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. Harry Blair pulled this work together in a comprehensive synthesis and kept the project going by organizing a series of workshops and conferences on the topic. Franca Brilliant not only wrote an outstanding case study report and evaluation, but also, together with Rachael Wilcox, did a superb job organizing a workshop that brought together scholars and practitioners to comment on this report. Participants at the various workshops and conferences also made a significant contribution to the overall quality of this publication through their comments, criticism, interest, and support. And finally, Karen Farrell brought her considerable analytical skills and editorial talents to bear, making the report far clearer and more comprehensive than it would otherwise have been.

APPROACHES TO CIVIC EDUCATION: LESSONS LEARNED

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
I. INTRODUCTION	5
II. CIVIC EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY, AND USAID’S APPROACH	7
A. School-based Civics Programs	8
B. Adult Civic Education	8
C. USAID Programs	8
D. Key Variables in Civic Education Programs	9
III. REPORT FINDINGS	11
A. Adult Findings	12
B. School Findings	19
IV. RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED	23
V. CONCLUSION	29
VI. WANT TO KNOW MORE?	31

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past decade, civic education has become a major component of USAID democracy programming. By the end of the 1990s, Agency spending on civic education had reached roughly \$30 million a year, with the total for the decade approaching \$232 million. In spite of heavy investment by USAID and other international donors, relatively little is known about the impact of civic education programs on democratic behaviors and attitudes, particularly in developing countries.

In order to better understand how and under what conditions civic education contributes to the development of a more active and informed democratic citizenry, the Agency initiated a major multi-part study designed to measure the impact of both adult and school-based civic education programs on participants' democratic behaviors and attitudes. Beginning in 1996, USAID's Center for Democracy and Governance (now its Office of Democracy and Governance) managed the study, which looked at adult and school-based civic education programs in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study represents a pioneering effort, both as a research initiative and as a practical application in managing for results in the democracy sector.

The results of the study show that civic education programs for adults can have a significant, positive impact on certain key aspects of democratic behaviors and attitudes. In particular, civic education appears to contribute to significantly greater rates of political participation among program participants, especially at the local level. It also leads to more moderate, but still significant, differences in participants' knowledge about their political system and about democratic structures and institutions in general, and it also tends to contribute to a greater sense of political efficacy. However, civic education programs appear to have little effect on changing democratic values, such as political tolerance, and in fact, appear to have a negative impact on some values, such as trust in political institutions. Additionally, the study found that men tended to receive greater benefit from civic education than women and that, while women showed gains in a number of important areas, civic education tended to reinforce gender disparities in the political realm.

The findings for school-based civic education programs mirror those for adult programs, although the impact of civics training was generally weaker and more inconsistent for students than for adults. In addition, school and family environment were found to be powerful forces affecting the behaviors and attitudes of students, forces that need to be taken into account in designing programs for students.

By far the most important finding to emerge from the study, one that applies equally to adult and school-based programs, is that course design and quality of instruction are critical to the success of civic education programs. In addition to this more general finding about the importance of course quality and design, the study found that civic education programs are most effective when

- **Sessions are frequent.** There appears to be a "threshold effect" in terms of number of courses, where one or two sessions have little to no impact, but, when the number increases to three or more, significant change occurs.
- **Methods are participatory.** Breakout groups, dramatizations, role-plays, problem solving activities, simulations, and mock political or judicial activities led to far greater levels of positive change than did more passive teaching methods such as lectures or the distribution of materials.

- **Teachers are knowledgeable and inspiring.** Not surprisingly, teachers who fail to engage their students have little success in transmitting information about democratic knowledge, values, or ways to participate effectively in the democratic political process.

On the basis of these and other findings, a series of recommendations and lessons emerged for designing more effective civic education programs. These are

- **Be aware of, and try to design around, obstacles to frequent participation:** Even when programs are explicitly designed to meet frequently and have the funding to do so, there are often obstacles to regular participation. To the extent possible, groups conducting civic education should assess possible barriers to participation and try to address them before implementing a program.
- **Use as many participatory methods as possible:** The evidence shows that role-plays, dramatizations, small group exercises, and group discussions are all far more effective tools for imparting knowledge about democratic practices and values than more passive methods.
- **Build opportunities for participation directly into the program:** One of the surest paths to greater local political participation over the longer term is to tap into or build opportunities for political participation directly into the civic education program, whether through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or meetings with local government officials. This involves more than simply using the types of participatory methods mentioned above. Rather it involves building opportunities for direct political engagement into the program.
- **Focus on themes that are immediately relevant to people’s daily lives:** In designing civic education projects, program managers should work to identify an audience’s primary concerns, and then show how democracy and governance issues relate to those concerns. For example, if a community’s priority is halting environmental degradation, one approach may be to “piggyback” civic education components, such as the importance of participatory decision-making at the community level, onto initiatives designed to address environmental concerns.
- **Invest in the training of trainers:** Given the importance of course design and teaching method, the training of trainers is a good investment. It is crucial that trainers feel comfortable with a broad range of teaching methods, and have the flexibility to adapt both method and course content to the immediate concerns of program participants.
- **Target voluntary associations:** Since people who already have extensive social networks appear to benefit more from civic education than people who do not tend to join social, economic, or political groups, group membership may be a useful screening device for recruiting participants into civic education programs.
- **Pay attention to gender issues:** Women generally face greater obstacles to participation than men in terms of resources and cultural barriers, particularly in the developing world. Programs that address these deeper barriers to participation may be required over and above civic education to reduce the gap between men and women.

- **Avoid inflating expectations:** In light of the fact that civic education appears to reduce participants' trust in institutions, program leaders should be aware that there is a risk of setting standards too high and of creating unrealistic expectations about what democracy can and should deliver. To this end, programs may want to focus on specific short-term goals, in addition to broader issues of political or constitutional reform.
- **Bring parents, teachers, and school administrators into school-based programs:** School environment and family beliefs and practices are powerful influences on the democratic orientations of children and young adults. Unless civic education programs take account of these forces, they are likely to overwhelm any new messages that are taught.

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, civic education has become a major component of USAID democracy and governance programming. By the end of the 1990s, Agency spending on civic education programs had reached roughly \$30 million a year, with the total for the decade approaching \$232 million. In spite of heavy investment by USAID and other international donors, relatively little is known about the impact of civic education programs on democratic behaviors and attitudes, particularly in developing countries.

In order to design and implement more effective programs, it is vital that those working in the field of democracy assistance have a deeper understanding of when and under what conditions civic education encourages more informed and responsible political participation and builds support for important democratic values. It is also important that USAID be able to respond quickly and effectively to questions concerning the impact of its different democracy programs.

As a response to both of these imperatives, the Agency initiated a major multi-part study designed to measure the impact of civic education on participants' democratic behaviors and attitudes. Beginning in 1996, the now Office of Democracy and Governance initiated a study that looked at adult and school-based civic education programs in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. Prior to this study, there had been no systematic attempt to answer what actual impact USAID-supported civic education programs had on their participants.

The first part of the study consists of three reports (Sabatini, Bevis, and Finkel, 1998; Finkel and Stumbras, 2000; and Office of Democracy and Governance, *forthcoming*.A) that use rigorous quantitative techniques to

measure the impact of 10 adult and 5 school-based civic education programs in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. There were several reasons for selecting the three countries involved in the assessment. First, they represent the three regions in which USAID has been most active over the 1990s in supporting civic education (Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe and Eurasia). These countries also comprise an excellent range of environments within which USAID has supported civic education initiatives. Each of the three was in political transition in the mid-1990s—exactly the sort of situation in which civic education could be expected to have maximum impact. In this context, civic education would have something valuable to offer at a key moment in a country's democratic trajectory, and program participants would have a strong incentive to benefit from it, as they pondered the prospects of living under a new political system. Each of these countries, in other words, was seen to have a need for a jump-start approach to democratic politics. An additional factor worth noting is that, while all three countries had recently dealt with prolonged authoritarian periods of varying intensity, each also had experiences with less harsh political systems—some more distant than others.

A fourth report (Office of Democracy and Governance, *forthcoming*.B) offers a comprehensive review of 11 civic education programs in the four regions in which USAID operates. It analyzes these programs in terms of the central DG problem the program was designed to address, the program content and methodology, the target audience, and the role local partners played in program design and implementation. Drawing on in-depth case studies, it then traces out lessons learned and best practices.

Both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the overall study were rigorously designed to determine whether civic education had any

effect on a range of democratic behaviors and attitudes and to determine the conditions under which civic education is most successful. As such, this study represents an important and substantial first step in building a base of evidence against which the Agency can measure progress in the area of DG assistance.

The central objective of the current publication is to make use of these findings to help DG officers design, implement, and evaluate civic education programs in a range of country contexts. It begins with a discussion of the role civic education plays in democratic transitions, outlines two broad types of programs—adult and school-based, discusses some of the key variables that need to be considered when designing a civic education program, and provides information on previous USAID efforts in this area.

It then synthesizes the central findings of the four studies mentioned above and, drawing on these findings, advances a detailed set of recommendations for designing more targeted and effective civic education programs, illustrating with examples from successful and less successful initiatives. The report concludes with a discussion of the limitations of civic education, and what DG officers can realistically hope to accomplish with these types of programs.

II. CIVIC EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY, AND USAID'S APPROACH

For a democracy to survive and flourish, a critical mass of its citizens must possess the skills, embody the values, and manifest the behaviors that accord with democracy. They must know enough about the basic features of a democratic political system to be able to access it when their interests are at stake, and they must believe in the importance of certain key democratic values, such as tolerance for divergent viewpoints and support for the rule of law. They must also be willing and able to participate in local and national politics, and they must believe that their participation is important to the continued viability of the democratic political system.

In most mature democracies, citizens have had the opportunity to absorb democratic beliefs and practices over a lifetime. As they participate in family and neighborhood life, join local organizations, move through the educational system, and are exposed to a free and independent media, citizens have the opportunity to absorb and practice the basic norms of a democratic culture.

In countries emerging from long periods of authoritarian rule, this preparatory experience is largely missing. While many informal democratic practices may exist at the community level, citizens are unlikely to have much knowledge about formal democratic structures and processes and may be unaware of the opportunities that exist for advancing their interests at the local, regional, or national levels.

Furthermore, after years of arbitrary rule, citizens may have unrealistic expectations about what democracy is able to achieve and may experience difficulty adjusting to the competition, compromise, and loss that are inherent parts of

the democratic political process. Without values such as political tolerance, trust in democratic institutions, and respect for the rule of law, this more competitive aspect of the democratic process can be severely destabilizing, particularly if it ignites or exacerbates economic, ethnic, religious, or regional tensions.

How then are the citizens of new democracies to gain the skills, values, and behaviors that are thought to be necessary for a stable and effective democracy? One answer to this question is civic education, which essentially seeks to jump-start the process of democratic socialization by promoting support for democratic behaviors and values among ordinary citizens. In this view, civic education is designed to achieve three broad goals:

- To introduce citizens to the basic rules and institutional features of democratic political systems and to provide them with knowledge about democratic rights and practices
- To convey a specific set of values thought to be essential to democratic citizenship such as political tolerance, trust in the democratic process, respect for the rule of law, and compromise
- To encourage responsible and informed political participation—defined as a cluster of activities including voting, working in campaigns, contacting officials, lodging complaints, attending meetings, and contributing money

A wide range of groups and individuals seeks to implement these goals. Civic education may be incorporated into the programs of pre-existing groups, such as labor unions, schools, religious institutions, or NGOs. Organizations may also establish themselves explicitly for this purpose (i.e., civic fora or human rights training groups). Civic education programs also take many forms.

Programs may range from voter education to long-term human rights workshops to promotion of civic dialogue. The programs also cover activities from the adoption of new curricula in schools in order to teach young people about democracy, to programs that focus on the social and political rights of women, to neighborhood problem solving activities. All of these efforts, which emphasize teaching about citizens' rights and responsibilities, can be roughly divided into two broad types of civic education programs: school-based civics training and adult civic education.

A. School-based Civics Programs

While citizens master civic skills throughout their life, early learning experiences are thought to be especially important in terms of developing support for democratic norms. School-based programs, therefore, weave teaching about democratic institutions, principles, and practices into a range of courses, from kindergarten programs that focus on promoting participatory teaching methods to senior high school programs that emphasize imparting specific knowledge about democratic institutions and practices to young adults.¹

Many school-based programs, particularly those in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, were initially conceived as a counter to the long-standing practice of using schools as an arena for inculcating authoritarian or totalitarian

¹ While most of USAID's child-centered civic education has taken place in the school environment, we recognize that children may gain access to democratic practices and values in other important ways. In many countries in which USAID works, voluntary scout movements, sports groups, and religious youth associations, for example, play a prominent role in transferring civic norms that a country values. To simplify our discussion here, however, we are focusing only on those child-centered programs that are school-based.

ideologies. The central purpose of school-based programs remains to instill an ethic of democracy in teachers, administrators, and students, and, through this process, lay the groundwork for creating more effective and informed democratic citizens in the future. Because most school-based programs work through the formal education sector, they are often designed and implemented in close collaboration with host-country governments and their educational institutions.

B. Adult Civic Education

The task of fostering a democratic culture among adults has fallen primarily to NGOs rather than to governments, and the vast majority of these types of programs are voluntary. Adult civic education programs cover a wide variety of concerns, from voter education, to human rights knowledge, to citizen leadership training. Their formats also cover a broad range, from informal sessions held just once to elaborate and structured programs lasting many months. As with the school-based programs, the assumption driving many of these efforts is that the transfer of democratic knowledge, values, and skills will translate into responsible and effective participation once the program has ended.

C. USAID Programs

Given low rates of participation in most political systems, particularly those in the developing world, even moderate differences connected with good civic education programming hold the potential to make a significant contribution to democratization. For this reason, USAID has provided significant support to both adult and school-based civic education programs as part of its overall assistance in the DG sector.

During the early years of democracy assistance, USAID Missions often chose to focus on programs that responded to an immediate need, such as voter education or training for election

monitors before national or local elections. Also, the Agency often relied on well-known international partners to design and implement civic education programs. Over time USAID began to shift its focus to a broader range of civic education initiatives and to place more emphasis on increasing local capacity to provide civic education in order to tailor programs for a better fit with local conditions.

Local NGOs were frequently partners in USAID attempts to increase local capacity and tailor programs to fit local conditions. In the wake of successful transitions, many of these organizations shifted their focus to take up the challenges of democratic consolidation. As part of an overall strategy of strengthening civil society, USAID began to encourage local organizations to teach citizens in new democracies about their rights and responsibilities. Where possible, USAID also worked with governments to expand civics training in schools.

Over the course of the 1990s, USAID allocated significant and increasing investments to civic education. In the early 1990s, allocations were roughly \$10-20 million a year. By the end of the decade, they exceeded \$30 million annually.² Altogether, the Agency's total investment in civic education has exceeded \$232 million.

The Asia and the Near East region initially received the largest amount of funding for civic education, then Africa became the largest recipient for several years, to be replaced by Europe and Eurasia at the decade's end. Assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean has remained fairly steady throughout, rising slowly from about \$2 million per year at the beginning of the 1990s to about \$8 million in FY

² As a proportion of the total democracy budget in the Agency, however, allocations have been declining somewhat, from a high of 8.4 percent in FY 1992 to the 5-6 percent level in the late 1990s.

DESIGNING A CIVIC EDUCATION PROJECT

- ❖ Identify central democracy problem
- ❖ Set program objectives
- ❖ Identify target audience and program content
- ❖ Measure participants' baseline knowledge, practices, and values
- ❖ Select methodology
- ❖ Measure improvement

2000. Over the course of the decade, just under 37 percent of civic education funding has gone to programs in Africa, 28 percent to Europe and Eurasia, slightly more than 20 percent to Latin America and the Caribbean, and about 11 percent to Asia and the Near East.

D. Key Variables in Civic Education Programs

In thinking through which type of civic education program will be most appropriate in a given country context, it is useful to keep in a mind a series of key variables that shape the overall character of the program. These include the central DG problem addressed; objectives and goals of the program; target audience; and methodology. These variables overlap and reinforce each other, and, with the exception of beginning with an identification of key DG problems, it is not necessary to move through them in a sequential manner.

1. Central DG Problem

As with the other components of a mission's DG portfolio, civic education programs are designed to address fundamental weaknesses in a nation's democratic system. These can include differential access to justice, marginalization of certain groups such as women or ethnic minorities, low levels of citizen participation in the policy making process, and lack of knowledge and/or voter apathy preceding

elections. Defining the central problem will set the parameters for program, influence the selection of goals and objectives, help identify the most appropriate target audience, and shape program content. (See *Conducting a DG Assessment*, ordering info. on back cover.)

2. *Objectives and Goals*

Civic education seeks to accomplish a number of general goals, such as impart knowledge about democratic practices and institutions, instill core democratic beliefs and values, and encourage more active and informed political participation. While many programs include some or all of these elements, most tend to focus on one or two goals. The more specific objectives and goals of a civic education program should be driven by the key DG problem identified earlier. For example, if a key problem is defined as a lack of knowledge about the mechanics of voting in the lead up to elections, then a central objective might be to transmit information on electoral procedures and practices to the largest number of possible voters. Similarly, if a mission has identified a lack of responsiveness in local government as a key democracy problem, then one goal of civic education might be to bring local elected officials and their constituents together in programs that are designed to find solutions to community problems.

3. *Target Audience*

Civic education programs have traditionally reached out to a broad range of groups, from pre-school students, to women's groups, to lawyers concerned with how to address human rights concerns within a democratic framework. One of the key findings of the USAID study, which will be discussed in greater detail below, is that adapting the content of a course to the immediate needs and concerns of the target audience is absolutely vital to the success of a program. If the target audience is a rural

community, for example, and the community's core concerns center on access to health care, then more abstract lessons about democracy and governance are likely to have greater relevance and more enduring impact if they are woven around these core concerns. Therefore, in addition to the democracy problem addressed, target audience is a critical element to consider when setting course content.

4. *Methodology*

Civic education programs have also tended to rely on a broad range of methods to teach democratic orientations and behaviors, including lectures, discussion groups, fora and panels, dramatizations, role-plays, community organizing, materials distribution, and avenues of the mass media. Again, as will be discussed in greater detail below, some methods—principally more active methods such as dramatizations and role-plays—are far more successful than other methods are in terms of encouraging change.

Method also needs to be tailored to goals and objectives. If the goal is to encourage a lasting change in democratic behavior, then more active methods are necessary. If, however, the goal is simply to convey information about a particular event, such as an election, then more passive methods such as lectures and mass media may play an important, even critical role. To take one compelling example, because of time constraints and a lack of funding, the Indonesia government was unable to provide classroom training for election monitors and, therefore, broadcast a short course on the roles and responsibilities of monitors over national television. Since Indonesia hadn't had an election in over 40 years, many ordinary citizens tuned in. One unintended consequence of using the mass media to conduct these courses was that a large number of ordinary voters knew as much about what a fair electoral process should look like as did the monitors.

III. REPORT FINDINGS

Given the amount invested in civic education programs and the Agency's current emphasis on managing for results, finding a way to measure the impact of civic education has become particularly important. Most evaluations to date have looked at implementation and management issues, such as numbers of people trained, or have provided anecdotal information about the impact of civic education programs on specific individuals or communities. While such information is useful, it is not easily generalized, nor does it offer much guidance for future programming.

Therefore, the civic education studies referenced earlier represent something of a pioneering effort, both as a research initiative and as a practical application in managing for results in the democracy sector. In particular, the quantitative studies yield a set of findings that have broad relevance and are applicable across a range of country contexts. The researchers conducted a rigorous statistical analysis of 10 adult and 5 school-based civic education programs in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa. Altogether, approximately 4,700 adults and 1,900 students were given questionnaires designed to measure their level of political participation, knowledge about the political system, sense of political efficacy, and support for key democratic values such as political tolerance, support for regular elections, and trust in governmental institutions.

Roughly half of the people who answered the survey had participated in a civic education program (the treatment group), while the other half (the control group) had not. The treatment and control groups were chosen to be as similar as possible along a number of important dimensions such as race, gender, and age. Recognizing, however, that democratic orientations such as individual attitudes to

democratic participation or levels of political knowledge are likely to be driven by more than exposure to civic education, the researchers also tested for the influence of other important factors such as education, income, community size, employment status, membership in voluntary associations, and exposure to mass media. The use of treatment and control groups, plus the inclusion of additional statistical controls in the analysis, makes it possible to determine whether the answers of the people who participated in civic education programs differ in any significant way from the control group, and, if they do, whether this difference can be attributed to the effect of civic education. This basic design is tried and true, and when well done, provides a reasonable answer to: What are we getting for our program dollar?

Focus groups provided an additional methodology to flesh out information obtained from the surveys. In particular, they were used to get more in-depth information about participants' experiences in the training sessions and their attitudes toward various aspects of democracy such as participation and trust. Several focus groups were conducted in Poland and South

Democratic Behavior and Values Assessed in Civic Education Study

- Local Participation
- General Participation
- Political Knowledge
- Political Efficacy
- Political Tolerance
- Support for Elections
- Trust in Institutions
- Satisfaction with Democracy

Africa, and it had been hoped to do so in the Democratic Republic as well, but polling delays prevented this.

In general terms, the results of the statistical analysis show that civic education does have a significant, positive impact on certain democratic behaviors and attitudes, with the caveat that the quantitative results were considerably weaker for school-based programs than for adult civic education programs. In looking at the full range of democratic behaviors and attitudes, civic education appears to have the greatest positive impact on rates of political participation, particularly at the local level. Civic education programs were also linked to greater participants' knowledge about democratic structures and institutions, and their sense of political efficacy, although gains here were less than with local participation. However, civic education programs appeared to have little effect on changing democratic values such as political tolerance and, in fact, in some cases appeared to have a negative impact on trust in political institutions.

By far, one of the most important findings to come out of the study is that *course design and quality of instruction are more important than civic education training in and of itself in explaining levels of variation*. That is, if civic education programs are not well designed and taught, they have virtually no positive impact on democratic behaviors and attitudes.

Specifically, the reports found that civic education programs are most effective when

- **Sessions are frequent.** There appears to be “threshold effect” in terms of courses, where one or two sessions have little to no impact, but when the number increases to three or more, significant change occurs.

- **Methods are participatory.** Breakout groups, dramatizations, role-plays, problem solving activities, simulations, and mock political or judicial activities led to far greater levels of change than

Inter-American Democracy Network

The Inter-American Democracy Network (IADN) grew out of the work Partners of the Americas had done under its USAID-funded Democracy Initiatives project in the Latin America and Caribbean region. The project started in 1993, and its goal was to promote democratic skills and values and increase citizen participation in the governance process. In 1995, the grant was amended to create the IADN, a group of four Latin American civil society organizations and a university, plus partners.

IADN's experience offers participatory and interactive training techniques for civic education, which have proven to be more effective than passive training methods. The methods and information it provides to its NGO participants can be adapted by the NGOs to serve already existing programs and interests. This flexibility makes it more likely that the NGOs will implement what they are learning. In addition, this allows the NGOs to develop civic education messages that are relevant and culturally appropriate to their own constituencies.

The IADN points to an important lesson about the use of “deliberation.” As a model for civic education, deliberation has two goals: inform and educate the public, and assist in decision-making on public policy issues. Fora that are backed by strong organizations or strong networks have been shown to be effective as decision-making tools, as they can readily offer channels for communicating decisions to the broader public and relevant authorities. Fora held for strangers or broader audiences are more likely to be effective as public education tools. Organizations and donors should analyze the context in which they are using deliberation to determine which goal is more appropriate and the value of achieving that outcome.

from *Civic Education Programming Since 1990*

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE POINT CHANGE OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND BEHAVIORS OF CIVIC EDUCATION TREATMENT GROUPS

	<i>Dominican Republic</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>South Africa</i>
Local Participation	10	35	18
General Participation	11	17	2
Political Knowledge	13	9	5
Political Efficacy	11	14	13
Political Tolerance	8	10	14
Support for Elections	7	14	6
Trust in Institutions	-8	-8	7
Satisfaction w/ Democracy	-4	3	2

did more passive teaching methods such as lectures or distribution of materials.

- **Teachers are knowledgeable and inspiring.** Not surprisingly, teachers who fail to engage their students have little success in transmitting information about democratic knowledge, values, or ways to participate effectively in the democratic political process.

In sum, the studies showed that civic education can lead to positive change along a number of important democratic dimensions, but that it is not enough for individuals simply to be exposed to any civic education program. What matters is the frequency and quality of the training that is received. The importance of this finding cannot be overstated. The clearest implication is that,

unless civic education programs are done well, they are probably not worth the investment. The following section examines the findings for first adult and then school-based civic education programs in more detail, and it looks at how factors such as gender, educational background, and group membership come into play. The results of the statistical studies are summarized in Table 1. For all of the results presented, rates of variation are *only* for those programs that meet the criteria for high quality instruction just laid out.

A. Adult Findings

1. Political Participation

In general, civic education programs, if done well, appear to have the strongest effect on rates

of adult political participation, particularly at the local level. In the surveys, political participation was broadly defined to include a broad range of activities such as voting, taking part in community problem-solving activities, attending local government meetings, participating in protests, contributing to election campaigns, and contacting elected officials.

Responses to the survey show that when civic education programs meet frequently and are taught using participatory methods, there are significant differences in many of these types of participatory political behaviors. This effect is clearest in the case of Poland. As shown in Table 1, roughly 25 percent of the control group reported participating in two or more local political activities per year, while fully 60 percent of those who participated in civic education programs reported engaging in two or more local political acts, a difference of 35 percentage points. Although not quite as dramatic, the results for South Africa and the Dominican Republic also show significant positive differences in local political participation, 18 percent for South Africa and 10 percent for the Dominican Republic.

In looking more closely at these results, the researchers found that greater levels of participation appear to be strongly conditioned by several other factors. First, civic education programs are more effective when they build opportunities for participation directly into the program, either by tapping into pre-existing channels for participation or by creating their own. For example, a number of the most successful programs worked in close collaboration with local NGOs that had political advocacy at the core of their mission. Other successful programs created their own channels for participation by setting up meetings between program participants and elected officials. Building participation into the program involves more than simply using the types of participatory teaching methods discussed earlier. It involves linking participants directly to the

Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace

In 1985 a group of educators joined together as the Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace (IPEDEHP) to defend the rights of Peruvian citizens; IPEDEHP was funded in part by USAID. Initially IPEDEHP decided that teaching teachers would be the most effective way to combat massive human rights violations in Peru. Since then, IPEDEHP has trained over 13,000 teachers and has developed a cadre of 250 teachers qualified to train others in human rights and democracy. In 1996, IPEDEHP decided to extend its program to community leaders.

In Peru, there has been continuous progress toward citizens becoming better prepared to exercise their rights and responsibilities. The percentage of Peruvians reporting knowledge of their basic rights and responsibilities increased from 29 percent in 1996 to 34 percent in 1999. On the other hand, this percentage among disadvantaged citizens has hovered around 10-11 percent over the last four years. Nevertheless, 67 percent of disadvantaged citizens know where to go to protect their rights. At the national level, 53 percent of citizens who know their rights and responsibilities have received some form of civic education or human rights training. USAID contributed to these efforts through its training programs in women's rights and political rights, rights-based learning programs in schools, and through support to IPEDEHP, which, in coordination with the ombudsman and the national coordinator for human rights, trained an additional 212 community human rights promoters in 1999. More than half of these community human rights promoters were women who, along with 1,000 trained promoters, trained more than 185,000 persons in their communities in 1999.

Researchers have pointed out that the success of IPEDEHP's curriculum stems in part from its ability to connect what is learned in the workshops and the participants' daily experiences. This example supports the finding that civic education programs are more effective when they present material that is relevant to the daily lives of the participants.

from Civic Education Programming Since 1990

democratic political process and providing them with the opportunity to “learn by doing.”

For example, some of the greatest positive differences in local participation occurred in Poland, where the majority of the civic education programs the researchers examined were built around community problem solving activities. These programs actively sought to bring individuals together to identify problems at the community level, and then helped arrange for meetings with local officials in order to devise solutions to these problems. Similarly, the Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights (IPEDEHP) drew on an extensive support network of local and national human rights NGOs in order to teach citizens about their rights and provide a forum for discussion. These organizations also served as a source of support and information for participants once they left the program and began to develop their own rights-based projects and initiatives.

The importance of hooking into or building channels for participation is reinforced by the finding that civic education has a significantly greater impact on individuals who are more effectively integrated into pre-existing civil society groups than among more socially isolated individuals. That is, individuals who already belong to voluntary associations, such as peasant associations, community groups, and church groups, appear to gain more from civic education than did their counterparts who did not belong to extensive social networks. For example, this more connected group of individuals participated in local political activity at significantly higher rates than did their unconnected counterparts after participation in a civic education program.

Second, levels of political participation appear greater when civic education programs are able to link broad lessons about democratic values and behaviors to the daily concerns and experiences of program participants. To use the

example from Poland, course implementers encouraged participants to identify priority problems in their community and then wove lessons about democratic values and principles into activities designed around these issues.

Civic Education Fosters Dialogue and Action

In 1995, after decades of bitter civil war, Mozambicans were largely unfamiliar with their rights and responsibilities in a democracy and how to participate in a peaceful political process. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) worked with USAID/Mozambique on a comprehensive civic education program to equip citizens for effective political participation.

NDI conducted a two-phase civic education program that reached more than 265,000 citizens (out of an estimated 16 million) throughout the country. The first phase focused on rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy, and the second on the structure of national government and the multiparty system. Many participants soon put their newly acquired democratic skills into action and tried to make improvements within their communities. In Sofala province, for example, participants wrote a letter to the District Office of Education complaining about the disappearance of funds the community had pooled for the construction of a school. The school administration was forced to pay the money back, and this encouraged the community to provide additional funds, which enabled the school to be built.

In Manica province, residents learned they could try to prevent the illegal seizure of their land by initiating a petition. As a result of the petition, the party responsible for the land expulsions was forced to cease activities. And in Mecufi district, civic education training resulted in residents making use of the press to express their concerns. During interviews with journalists from Radio Mozambique, which were later broadcast, citizens denounced illegal actions taken by police and questioned actions of the local administrator.

from *African Voices*, Winter/Spring 1998

2. Political Knowledge

Civic education also appears to have contributed to greater political knowledge in at least two of the countries under consideration. Knowledge about the basic features of the political system, such as who holds power, structure and function of democratic institutions, basic political and civil rights, and timing of elections, are critical in terms of enabling effective political participation.

Increases in political knowledge appear to be strongest in the Dominican Republic, where participants showed a 13 percent gain over their counterparts who had not participated in civic education training. Poland showed a slightly more modest, but still significant gain of 9 percent over the control group. A parallel but separate study of civic education programs in Zambia shows particularly strong gains in terms of political knowledge.³ For example, while only 53 percent of individuals in the control group were able to name the vice president of Zambia, fully 91 percent of those who had received civic education were able to do so.

South Africa was the one country where there was virtually no difference in democratic knowledge between participants and non-participants in civic education programs. This can in part be attributed to the fact that, at the time the programs were conducted in the mid-1990s, the baseline for political knowledge was extraordinarily high among the control group in South Africa. Given that many South Africans already knew the names of key political figures, such as Desmond Tutu and Thabo Mbeki, or had a general understanding of their civil and political rights, civic education programs were less likely to lead to significant gains.

³ Bratton, 1999.

Getting Out the Word on Voting

USAID/Indonesia was faced with a challenge running up to the 1999 parliamentary elections. Voter education in a country with the geographic, ethnic, and linguistic complexity of Indonesia was a daunting task. Yet, such an effort was seen as crucial for the legitimacy of these groundbreaking elections.

USAID realized that the Solidarity Center, with its network of local NGO and labor partners, was in a unique position to help solve this problem. The Solidarity Center supported a grassroots voter education project with over 30 organizations in 18 provinces of Indonesia. These organizations consisted of trade unions, local organizations dedicated to worker issues, human rights organizations, women's organizations, and similar organizations. The Solidarity Center voter education project emphasized working with regional organizations in order to take local differences and needs into account, as well as to reach voters at the grassroots level more effectively. With assistance from USAID and the Solidarity Center, these organizations

- Conducted over 650 voter education programs in the three-month pre-election period. These voter education programs were comprehensive face-to-face seminars at the grassroots level. Topics included democratic principles, individual choice in a democracy, a citizen's role in a democratic community, the role of legislators as representatives of the people, women's rights to make an individual choice in the election process, accessing political parties and learning about platforms, and technical election process information.
- Directly reached over 120,000 eligible voters, including factory workers, first-time voters, women, rural villagers, and workers from the informal sector.
- Created innovative voter education programs by using novel interactive methods, and incorporating unique methods of teaching such as role-playing, theater programs, and speech/essay contests.

3. *Political Efficacy*

Political efficacy, or the extent to which individuals feel that they possess the knowledge, skills, and power to participate effectively in the political process (e.g., by contacting local officials) is another area where civic education appears to have had some effect across all three countries. Poland once again shows the highest rate of change at 14 percent, but similar gains were found in the Dominican Republic and South Africa as well.

4. *Democratic Values*

In general, the impact of civic education on key democratic values, such as political tolerance or trust in political institutions, is mixed and not as strong as it is for participation, knowledge, and efficacy. Respondents were asked a series of questions about their willingness to allow basic political rights to minority groups or groups with unpopular views, their willingness to give up elections in exchange for stability and economic prosperity, and their level of trust in political and social institutions.

While several individual programs showed some positive difference in these areas, as a whole, civic education failed to show a consistent, positive effect on the democratic values of program participants. For example, political tolerance, widely viewed as a central democratic value, showed positive change in only a limited number of cases. For example, in the Zambian study referenced earlier, 69 percent of the control group felt that it was important to accord the right of free expression to all groups, even those who hold unpopular views, while 88 percent of those who had received civic education did so, a gain of 19 percentage points.

However, this was one of the few exceptions to the more general trend where those who received civic education were no more politically tolerant, or trusting of their fellow citizens to use

another example, than the control group. These results should not be viewed as particularly surprising. Values are deeply held and are often formed over a lifetime. No matter how well designed and taught, as a general rule civic education programs are unlikely to make significant inroads in this area.

Civic Forum Palestinian Autonomous Areas

Through the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), USAID has developed an innovative approach to civic education in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Through a series of moderated, community-based discussion groups and the regular distribution of companion printed material, the program—called the Civic Forum—assists Palestinians with understanding democratic institutions and participation. At its height, more than 10,000 Palestinians participated in the discussion groups each month.

In a volatile environment, NDI provided a peaceful setting for Palestinians to gather information about democratic practices and engage in political dialogue and civic action. In 1999, NDI's three-year civic education program was transformed into an independent civic organization (Civic Forum Palestine) committed to advancing the democratic development of the Palestinian territories.

Palestinian citizens take their lessons into the community by organizing civic activities to solve local problems, including advocating for reform of the Palestinian Authority. In addition, for the first time, Palestinians are calling on their government to serve and to be accountable. Veteran Civic Forum participants, armed with an understanding of their rights and a new appreciation for petitioning authorities, have called on governing authorities to improve water and sewer systems, urged action on pollution, started schools and sports clubs, built soccer fields, and volunteered their time to community efforts. The forum has grown into a popular feature of democratic activity and boasts the largest, nonpartisan grassroots network in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

from Civic Education Programming Since 1990

5. *Trust in Institutions*

Interestingly, one area where researchers found a consistent effect is that many civic education programs have a *negative* statistical effect on levels of trust in government. For example, participants in the Dominican Republic were less trusting of a broad range of political institutions (e.g., the legal system, the legislature, and the media) after participation in a civic education program. The strength of this effect in the Dominican Republic may reflect the fact that, at the time of survey, the country was just beginning to emerge from authoritarian rule, and many institutions were simply in greater need of reform than in the other countries examined.

Also, by encouraging critical thinking among program participants, civic education may serve to build awareness of political problems and deficiencies in existing institutional arrangements. To the extent that this builds pressure for reform, this should be viewed as a positive effect of civic education, since an initial decline in trust could be an important first step in building awareness of the areas where political institutions need to be strengthened.

6. *Gender, Education, and Fade-out Issues*⁴

In some cases, gender issues appear to play a significant role in civic education programming. Men not only start out at higher levels on virtually every measure of democratic participation, knowledge, and values, but in Poland and the Dominican Republic they also appear to gain more from civic education programs than women. This was less true in South Africa.

⁴ The original set of civic education reports controlled for a number of social and demographic variables, such as rural/urban residence and age. Gender and education were identified as the only two with consistent and independent effects.

In the Dominican Republic, for example, some 35 percent of men in the control group were involved in local politics, while only 23 percent of women engaged in political activity at the local level. Civic education improved things for both sexes, but more so for men, whose numbers increased by 20 points from 35 percent to 55 percent, while women gained only 5 points from 23 percent to 28 percent.

Vkloochis (Plugged In) Russia

In 1994, then-President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree requiring Russian election commissions at all levels to undertake voter education programs. In response, the Central Election Commission (CEC) of the Russian Federation created a comprehensive program for voter education and assembled a working group to implement the program. Working group discussions led to a joint proposal to USAID by the CEC and the International Foundation for Election Systems to conduct a youth voter education program, *Vkloochis* ("plugged in"). The program aimed to overcome voter apathy as well as to provide young people with basic information on voting. *Vkloochis* was essentially a vast public information campaign carried out across Russia by a network of organizations for young people. It was based on the "Rock the Vote" campaign led by MTV and the recording industry in the United States. The centerpiece of both programs was the use of entertainment and lively materials to engage young people. *Vkloochis* had three main elements: television programming, special events, and printed materials and specialty items.

The impact of *Vkloochis* is demonstrated by Yeltsin's decision to launch a second, major youth-oriented voter education program that copied many of the elements of *Vkloochis*. *Vkloochis* both acted as a model for voter education programs for young people in Russia (and elsewhere in the region) and also introduced the idea that engaging young people in elections, and in the broader political process, was a valid and important activity.

from *Civic Education Programming Since 1990*

In Poland, these gender differences are even more pronounced. Men began with a 6-point advantage over women in terms of local participation (28 percent to 22 percent), but increased that to 17 points (69 percent to 52 percent) when they received civic education. Only in South Africa did women's democratic values and behaviors change at roughly the same rate as men (19 percent each for local participation), but even so, the gender imbalance initially present in the control group carries over to participants in civic education.

What these results indicate is that increasing women's participation is considerably more difficult than simply changing attitudes or a sense of empowerment. Women generally face greater obstacles to participation than men in terms of resources and cultural barriers, particularly in the developing world. Programs that address these deeper barriers to participation may be required over and above civic education to reduce the gap between men and women.

When educational levels are taken into account, the pattern is somewhat different than for gender. As with gender, the initial distribution in the control group isn't surprising. Those with more education (in this case, high school education or more) scored better on all democracy measures than participants with less education, and, after participating in civic education programs, more educated participants maintained their lead. However, in more cases than not, the less educated benefited more from civic education than their more highly educated counterparts. In particular, South African adults with less education notched higher positive differences on all democratic dimensions. The implication is that civic education, when well managed, can help overcome some of the political advantages enjoyed by better educated citizens.

Beyond these demographic variables, one final factor the researchers examined was the impact

of "fade-out," or the idea that over time the impact of civic education programs will dissipate or even disappear. To the extent that impact fades over time, there may be serious programming implications. For example, civic education may be useful in helping people prepare for an upcoming event, such as an election, but may have little effect on longer-term democracy building efforts.

For most democratic dimensions there was some fade-out. This should come as no surprise, but even so the net effects were positive. In Poland, for instance, 36 percent of those in the treatment group felt that they possessed the skills to participate effectively in the democratic political process, as against 19 percent in the control group—almost a doubling. After six months, that proportion dropped to 32 percent, representing a loss, but only a slight one.

B. School Findings

The central purpose of school-based programs is, by and large, to lay the groundwork for responsible democratic citizenship by educating children and young adults about the types of behaviors and attitudes they will need to function effectively in a democratic society. Programs that are aimed at achieving this goal can include fairly discrete and measurable activities (i.e., imparting specific information about democratic procedures and institutions in formal civics courses). Programs can also be geared toward much deeper and less immediately observable results, such as fostering a spirit of critical inquiry, encouraging students to accept beliefs about the importance of citizen participation, building a sense of shared responsibility and teamwork, and encouraging initiative.

It is extraordinarily difficult to measure this less observable, but critical, type of behavior and attitudinal change. Often, it is necessary to wait years before the students who were involved in these types of programs become politically

active. Even if they do become model democratic citizens, it is difficult to know whether this can be attributed to early educational experience or was caused by something else that occurred during the intervening years.

Largely because of these measurement issues, the quantitative portions of the USAID study yielded considerably weaker and more ambiguous findings for school-based programs than for adult civic education. The strongest, clearest results tended to be for older students, who were poised on the brink of becoming politically active and were often in programs that closely resembled adult civic education initiatives in goal and content.

Therefore, in addition to presenting some of the most important findings from the quantitative portions of the USAID study, the following section draws heavily on a series of separate, qualitative studies of programs for younger children. *Because many of these studies are evaluations of only a single program, it is important to be slightly more cautious about drawing general conclusions.* However a number of common themes and findings do emerge, themes that are applicable to both older and younger students.

One finding is that, as with adult civic education, course design and the quality of instruction are critical to the success of most programs. For example, if civics courses meet frequently (at least once a week), use participatory methods, and are led by knowledgeable and inspiring instructors, students register positive changes along a range of democratic dimensions. More often than not, if these criteria are not met, students do no better, and sometimes do worse, than the overall student population.

Another finding that is common to both older and younger students is that family attitudes toward democracy and the broader school

environment—defined as the practices and attitudes of teachers, school administrators, and other students—exert a powerful influence on the democratic orientations and behaviors of most students. Those programs that appear to be

Street Law Program South Africa

The Street Law program in South Africa grew out of a series of practical law workshops for teachers and students that were conducted by the U.S. Street Law program and a Natal University law professor. As the program spread to additional universities, a variety of donors, including USAID, provided funding. In the late 1980s, Street Law added human rights to its legal education program. In 1992, the program set up a national office at the University of Natal, Durban, and in 1993-1994, it added broad-based democracy education.

In 1996, Street Law operated out of 20 universities, with a presence in each of South Africa's provinces. It has trained a total of 240,000 students using 15,750 trainers. Trainers include volunteer students; professional educators; primary, secondary, and high school teachers; and community activists. Democracy education as an explicit component has reached 4,175 high school pupils and another 1500 participants in prisons, communities, unions, and various professions. In 1997 and 1996, the program trained a total of 21,877 and 16,180 participants, respectively.

The Street Law model has a number of notable characteristics. First, it is based on a highly interactive manual which uses many different learning methods, e.g., role-plays, simulations, and small discussion groups. Second, the manuals are explicitly designed to be responsive to local conditions. The parent organization, Street Law USA, encourages this process and treats the national organizations as partners rather than subsidiaries. Thus there is a high degree of local control over what material is presented and how, while ensuring that the fundamentals are preserved.

from *Civic Education Programming Since 1990*

most successful in changing student attitudes and behavior draw teachers, school administrators, and family members, into the programs so that lessons can be reinforced outside of the classroom.

Illustrative of this integrated approach, Step by Step, an early childhood development program run by Children's Resources International, seeks to include family and community members in its activities. All Step by Step classrooms have active parent associations that contribute to the governance of the program. There are family volunteers in 90 percent of Step by Step classrooms versus 20 percent in traditional classrooms. More than half of the families involved with Step by Step also helped with classroom maintenance and donated money to the program. Many parents have also become advocates, speaking on behalf of the program with town officials, members of local education authorities, and business leaders.

One interesting outgrowth of Step by Step's emphasis on family and community involvement is that some of these programs have started broader efforts to address other critical social needs through community programs, from donating goods to families in need to organizing health clinics for neighborhood residents.

Against the backdrop of these general findings, and with reference specifically to older students, civics training did appear to lead to moderate changes in school-based political participation. Since students are not able to engage in the same range of political behaviors as adults, they were asked a series of questions about their engagement with politics and groups within their school. In percentage terms, those students who received civics training on at least a weekly basis were 14 percent more likely to participate in activities such as student government or student council meetings than students in the control group.

Project Citizen Bosnia-Herzegovina

Launched in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war, Project Citizen is a civic education program for middle school students that promotes competent and responsible participation in local government. As a class project, students work together to identify and study a public policy issue, eventually developing an action plan for implementing their policy. Since the program began in 1996, 200,000 students ranging from upper elementary level through the twelfth grade have participated in Project Citizen, usually in their homeroom free period or as an extracurricular activity.

First, students learn about concepts of authority, privacy, responsibility, and justice. They consider the difference between authority and power without authority, the need for authority, where authority is found, how rules and laws are made, and how to choose people for positions of authority. They study the importance of responsibility and the conflicts between competing responsibilities. Students then learn about distributive, corrective, and procedural justice. For most students, this is their first opportunity to consider and discuss these concepts. Project Citizen then teaches students how to monitor and influence public policy. Students work together to identify public policy problems in their communities, select a problem for the class to study by voting on it, and develop a policy project for submission in a national competition.

A study found that well over half of all participating students did not stop at the competition, but tried to implement their projects by contacting local government officials. Nearly a third had success in implementing their projects. One example is in Prijedor, where students succeeded in getting the city government to provide new trashcans, benches, and flowers for their city. In a survey conducted after the program, students who participated in Project Citizen showed significantly higher levels of participatory behavior, research skills, and knowledge about local government than a closely matched set of students who did not participate in the program. Project Citizen participants also demonstrated slightly greater political tolerance toward some groups than did non-participants. In addition, participants tended to be more supportive of the rule of law.

from Civic Education Programming Since 1990

A survey conducted after the program showed that students who participated in the Center for Civic Education's Project Citizen in Bosnia-Herzegovina showed significantly higher levels of participatory behavior, research skills, and knowledge about local government than a closely matched set of students who did not participate in the program.

Civic education also has a positive effect on students' political knowledge. About one third of South African high school students who received weekly civics training were able to answer five or more questions about their political system correctly as compared with only one quarter of the control group. In percentage terms, this represents roughly a 10 point change in democratic knowledge.

As with adults, in the area of democratic values the results were inconsistent and generally weak. Students who received civic education were no more supportive of democracy as a form of government, no more tolerant of groups with unpopular views, no more supportive of the rule of law, and no more supportive of women's political participation than students in the control group.

One value that did show some change in the South African case is called "civic duty." That is, students who received civics training were more likely than their untrained counterparts to believe that voting in local elections, paying taxes, and taking part in political decisions that affect their community were important responsibilities of citizens living in a democracy. Similarly, South African students' overall satisfaction with the way democracy is working, as well as their expectations for the political system in the future, was greater after participation in civic education programs.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

The central lesson that informs and underpins every other recommendation to emerge from this study is that *course design and teaching methods are critical to the success of civic education programs*. At one level, this seems obvious, but it has profound programming implications. If civic education programs are well designed and well taught and if they meet frequently, use participatory methods, stress learning by doing, and focus on issues that have direct relevance to participants' daily lives, they can have a significant, positive impact on democratic participation and attitudes.

If courses do not possess these qualities—if they rely primarily on passive teaching methods, meet only a few times, or make no attempt to link more abstract lessons about democracy to people's daily experience, they have little to no effect. In other words, people who participate in these types of programs are no different from the control group on most measures of democratic behavior and attitudes. This is as true for school-based programs as it is for adult civic education. The implication is that, if civic education is not done well, it is probably not worth doing at all.

Evidence drawn from both qualitative and quantitative studies on civic education also tends to suggest that it is not enough to improve on just one dimension (e.g., frequency of sessions) without paying attention to other factors (e.g., participatory methods). Although some good teaching methods are better than none, for maximum impact all need to be present.

Missions are often faced with pressure to achieve impact at the national level. However, if funds are limited, the results of this study point to focusing on smaller, concentrated initiatives

instead of national programs where participants meet only one or two times. This is less likely to be true for programs that focus on preparing citizens for a one-time event, such as those that provide technical information about the mechanics of voting in the lead up to a particular election. However, for those programs that have changing long-term behaviors and attitudes as their goal, the need to focus is critical.

Although there is a clear tradeoff between impact and numbers reached, the approach of focusing on a few effectively designed and well-run programs promises to achieve significant and sustained change. If there is overriding pressure to achieve national impact and funds are limited, civic education may not be the best candidate for funding.

Within this broad lesson about the importance of paying attention to, and investing sufficient resources in, course design and teaching method, a number of more specific recommendations emerge:

- *Be aware of, and try to craft effective responses to, barriers to frequent participation*

The reports clearly show that frequent exposure to civic education is one of the key elements in ensuring its effectiveness. Yet, even when programs are explicitly designed to meet frequently and have the funding to do so, there are often obstacles to regular participation. A team of researchers explored this issue in more depth in a series of focus groups held in South Africa. Individuals who participated in these sessions listed a range of reasons for not attending more than one session, including the fact that they often could not afford uncompensated time away from work or were not offered incentives for participation, such as meals at day long sessions or transportation to the site.

Another more difficult barrier to frequent participation is resistance from local elites, who are either unenthusiastic about civic education or feel that these types of programs might undermine their authority. One participant from a focus group in Durban noted that “chiefs feel threatened that if you teach people about human rights, then people will no longer respect them.” In countries with little to no previous experience with democratic rule, these barriers are likely to be particularly salient. Similarly, trainers from the South African Street Law initiative reported that they faced significant resistance from school officials and teachers in their efforts to conduct civic training in schools. This may help explain why fewer than half the students in this particular program were trained on a weekly basis, despite the explicit goal of weekly training. Not all of these constraints can be designed around, but some can be, and groups conducting civic education must do as much as possible to assess possible barriers and take them into account before implementing a program.

- *Use as many participatory methods as possible*

The evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that participatory teaching methods are critical to the success of civic education programs. Role-plays, dramatizations, small group exercises, and group discussions are far more effective tools for imparting knowledge about democratic practices and values than more passive methods such as lectures or the distribution of materials. In a range of focus group discussions, trainers and participants stated categorically that “lectures do not work” and that emphasis should be placed on helping participants find their own way toward the skills and behaviors that will enhance their role as democratic citizens.

Participatory approaches have the advantage of reinforcing lessons about democracy in a direct way, for example by making tolerance for

dissenting views an integral part of group discussions. Similarly, by voting on the choice of a policy topic to address, students who participated in Project Citizen in Bosnia and Herzegovina were directly exposed to democratic processes. Using participatory approaches may also contribute to a sense of political efficacy by providing participants with the psychological space and support that they need to speak openly about political matters. Through this type of training and support, individuals may begin to view themselves as actors, rather than as passive recipients of government action.

- *Build opportunities for participation directly into the program*

Closely related to the finding about the importance of participatory teaching methods, is the finding that civic education had the greatest impact on participants when programs brought individuals directly into contact with local authorities or engaged in local problem-solving activities. The evidence clearly shows that one of the surest paths to greater local political participation over the longer term is to tap into or build opportunities for political participation directly into the civic education program, whether by working through NGOs or arranging meetings with local government officials. This involves more than simply using the types of participatory methods discussed earlier; rather, it involves building opportunities for direct political engagement into the program.

Very generally speaking, many of the most successful programs followed a similar pattern: problem identification, the formulation of initiatives designed to resolve the problem, and then identification of political channels for pursuing those initiatives. For example, the civic education project run by the Foundation for the Support of Local Democracy (FSLD) in Poland implemented programs in 22 small towns. After initial surveys of local problems and barriers to

participation, FSLD chose project leaders in each site and provided them with training in practical knowledge and skills such as team building, how government works, and negotiation. These leaders then brought members of their community and local government officials together to work on identifying and resolving their community's most pressing local problems.

Another example is the Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights' (IPEDEHP) program. The IPEDEHP created two sets of linkages: first a support network consisting of national NGOs, local community organizations, and like-minded individuals, and second, a direct relationship with two governmental institutions responsible for dealing with human rights issues. Participants were able to draw on these linkages both during the program and after, as many launched follow-up activities in their own communities, such as establishing local human rights committees. Interviews with a group of graduates showed that for some participants, this combination was very successful.

- *Focus on themes that are immediately relevant to people's daily lives*

To be most effective, civic education programs should be designed around themes that are immediately relevant to people's daily lives. This recommendation is consistent with a large body of literature on political participation: people act on specific problems or events that are immediately important to them. Therefore, in designing civic education projects, program managers should begin with the assumption that the target audience will act in its own self-interest, and then work democracy and governance lessons into programs that address those interests.

This is not always easy, particularly when the priority interests in a community are not related

to democracy and governance in an immediately obvious manner. In many developing democracies, for example, issues such as job creation, crime prevention, AIDS prevention, access to primary health care, and environmental degradation are of more immediate concern than broader and more abstract issues, such as constitutional reform or citizen responsibility.

However, programs designed to address these more immediate community concerns may offer important avenues for incorporating civic education lessons. For example, donor programs that attempt to organize community response to environmental degradation often implicitly rely on democratic methods and practices to mobilize, lobby, and achieve results. As such, they frequently produce civic education results, that is, individuals who are better equipped to articulate their interests and engage in the political process. To the extent that USAID officers working in these areas understand the criteria for successful civic education, they can make their own programs more effective and contribute to the broader goal of democratic development.

These types of programs may also ultimately expand their scope to include explicit DG components. One example of this is the WALHI program in Indonesia that moved from organizing and training individuals about their rights with regard to natural resources to civic education and activism.

These types of cross-sectoral programs may be particularly effective in pre-transition settings where overt democratization activities may be proscribed. But at any point, those programs that hook directly into the most pressing needs of a community and show how democratic participation can address that need will be most effective.

- *Invest in the training of trainers*

As a corollary to the recommendations about the importance of course design and teaching

method, the training of trainers to provide high quality instruction is a good investment. It is crucial that trainers feel comfortable with a broad range of teaching methods, and have the flexibility to adapt both method and course content to the immediate daily concerns of program participants. One possible approach is “team teaching”, where a staff person with extensive knowledge of teaching methods and democratic content is paired with a respected local community member who can link broader democracy issues to local concerns.

This emphasis on training of trainers implies more front-loaded program costs, particularly if expatriate staff are involved. However, the expatriates certainly need not all be western. Indeed, there is good scope for sharing expertise across regions. For example, the best trainers from South Africa could go to Nigeria to work with Nigerians to adapt those models that were particularly successful. Similarly, experts from Poland might be able to transfer lessons from successful programs to the Ukrainian or Central Asian context.

- *Target voluntary associations*

Since people who already have extensive social networks appear to benefit more from civic education than people who do not tend to join social, economic, or political groups, group membership may be a useful screening device for recruiting participants. Such an approach would have the added attraction of providing civic education to those who (being group members) would be most likely to spread what they had learned. One cautionary note is that program designers need to be aware that this strategy might in some instances lead to an unwarranted focus on elites.

- *Pay attention to gender issues*

The findings strongly imply that future civic education programming should pay particular

attention to gender issues. In general, not only do men start out at higher levels in terms of political participation and knowledge, they also tend to gain more overall from civic education. Much of this may be due to deeply held cultural values and practices, and it is unreasonable to expect civic education to make much headway in this regard.

However, gender concerns should be a high priority in the minds of trainers. For example, given that building opportunities for participation directly into a program is a key element in its success, trainers need to make sure that the channels they build or tap into are ones that welcome women as well as men. For example, teachers might want to find ways to link women participants with local or community organizations that may not be explicitly political, but nonetheless use democratic methods for decision making. Alternately, community problem solving exercises might be designed to include areas where women traditionally have had some say.

If careful attention is paid to gender issues, programs that have helped energize males toward political participation substantially more than females (as in Poland), might be modified to have a more equal impact, as has been the case in South Africa.

- *Avoid inflating expectations*

Few governments can measure up to the optimistic and rosy portraits of democracy that are presented in some of the materials that are used in civic education programs. Program implementers should be aware that there is a risk of setting the standards too high and of creating unrealistic expectations about what democracy can and should deliver, and how quickly. To this end, programs may want to focus on specific short-term goals, in addition to broad issues of reforming political institutions. In addition, it is important to emphasize that, as the study’s data

indicate, it is not unusual for citizens' trust in governmental institutions to decline, at least initially.

- *Bring parents, teachers, and school administrators into school-based programs*

One clear finding from the analysis of school-based programs is that the broader school environment and family beliefs and practices are powerful influences on the democratic orientations of children and young adults. Unless civic education programs take account of these forces, they are likely to overwhelm any new messages that are taught. For example, since families play a critical role in either reinforcing or canceling out democratic lessons, if parents are included in civic education programs, the chances of achieving a significant and lasting impact on students is likely to grow.

Both the Step by Step program in the former Soviet Union and the USAID-funded Orava program in Slovakia provide examples of programs that took a more holistic approach to civic education and sought to engage teachers, school administrators, and parents in their programs. They worked with teachers and administrators to change the process and orientation of the classroom, to give teachers more control within the educational bureaucracy, and to engage parents in the children's classrooms.

V. CONCLUSION

The findings presented here tell a cautiously optimistic story about what DG officers can hope to accomplish through civic education. If well designed and well taught, civic education programs hold the potential for changing key behaviors and attitudes in a direction that ultimately strengthens democracy. Program participants are more active in politics, are politically active at the local level, and know more about the basic features of their political system than non-participants. Civic education has less of an impact on changing values, but even core values, such as political tolerance and respect for the rule of law, changed under some conditions.

At the same time, the analysis clearly shows that the effects of civic education are almost wholly dependent on whether a course is well designed and well taught, that is if it meets with sufficient frequency, uses participatory teaching methods, and fields knowledgeable and inspiring instructors. It is not enough for individuals to be exposed to *any* type of civic education program for democratic attitudes to change. What matters are the frequency and quality of the education received. Unless these conditions are met, no effects are likely to be observed on most democratic behaviors and attitudes.

Even when all the right conditions are met, donors and implementers need to be cautious about how much they can accomplish through civic education programs in the short term. Civic education has a positive effect on a range of behaviors and attitudes, but there is a clear tradeoff between numbers reached and effectiveness. To be truly effective, programs need to be concentrated on a relatively small number of recipients. Therefore, small, cumulative effects are more likely than broad, immediate changes. On the basis of these findings, civic education is best considered as

one possible component within a broader DG strategy.

Even though the studies reviewed here represent an important advance in terms of our knowledge about when civic education programs are likely to be effective, many important questions remain. Some programs were better able to change values than others; some seemed better able to reach out to women. To date there is still no clear understanding as to why this was the case, and how to address these issues through program design.

The fact that many questions still remain points to the need for building evaluation and assessment into future civic education programs. If this is done on a systematic basis, the Agency can begin to build a database of civic education programs that have had a demonstrable impact on participants' democratic behavior and attitudes. Many of these programs, once identified, may yield valuable lessons that can be transferred to new country contexts.

One of the best ways to ensure effective measurement of impact is to survey program participants before they begin a program to gauge their level of political participation and knowledge and to determine their support for key democratic values. Surveying them again after the course then yields a clear comparison, and impact is much easier to assess using far simpler methods. Such pre-testing not only allows for better assessment of impact, but it would help identify which skills and attitudes were stronger or weaker in a particular cohort, and the program could be tailored to better meet the needs of participants.

These studies also support our understanding that the Agency has attained solid footing on what types and tactics of civic education programs work for adults and older children. Other areas that it is clear that we need to explore in further detail include very young

children, gender imbalances, and background conditions enabling civic education. As such, this study marks an important step in our better understanding civic education and its impact, while it emphasizes the necessity of further diligence to seek to apply the lessons learned and to study systematically these outstanding questions.

VI. WANT TO KNOW MORE?

Almond, Gabriel, and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The authors present a seminal study on political socialization that explores civic culture and its relationship to political attitudes and democracy.

Brady, Joanne P., et al. 1999. "Evaluation of the Step by Step Program." Washington, DC: Education Development Center for USAID, Improving Educational Quality Project II.

The overarching purpose of the evaluation is to gain a better understanding of the role of child-centered learning strategies in creating democratic, collaborative behaviors at the local level in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The report synthesizes findings about participatory educational practices and their impact on parents, students, and communities in Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Romania, and Ukraine.

Brady, Joanne P.; and Jody Spiro. 2000 "Orava Project Evaluation Report." Washington, DC: Education Development Center for USAID, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia.

Report examines the Orava project, a program implemented in Slovakia designed to reform pedagogical practices in Slovakia in order to promote democracy. The evaluation identifies the projects long-term advantages in producing change in the Slovak educational system. On the other hand, it also notes weaknesses in school/community linkages.

Bratton, Michael, and Joseph Temba. 1999. "Effects of Civic Education on Political Culture:

Evidence from Zambia." *World Development* 27 (5): 807-824.

Through a comparison of results from two social surveys, the article examines the effects of civic education programs on political culture in Zambia. Among its findings are that civic education has observable positive effects, but mainly among privileged elements in society; civic education has consistently greater impact on citizen's knowledge and values than on their political behavior; and, that with the possible exception of informal methods such as drama shows, means have yet to be devised to induce citizens to become active voters.

Brody, Richard A. December 1994. "Secondary Education and Political Attitudes: Examining the Effects on Political Tolerance of We the People . . . Curriculum." Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education.

This study was designed to determine the degree to which civics curricula in general, and the We the People... program in particular, affect students' political attitudes. The report was based on analysis of survey responses of 1,351 high school students from across the United States. It draws conclusions about participatory methods used in the program and greater political tolerance among students.

Ehrlich, Thomas. 1999. "Civic Education: Lessons Learned." *Political Science & Politics* 32 (2): 245-9.

The writer discusses a pilot project to promote civic learning and shares some initial lessons learned. The ambitious goal of the project was to educate undergraduate students in San Francisco to become and to remain actively involved in strengthening their communities and enhancing social justice. He contends that many of the problems uncovered in the project are endemic to community service courses and remain a challenge for most campuses,

although some have successfully overcome them. He also asserts that aside from the cited problems, the pilot course proved very promising for providing students with a hands-on education in democratic citizenship and civic leadership.

Finkel, Steven; Lee Siegelman; and Stan Hopkins. 1999. "Democratic Values and Political Tolerance." In *Measures of Political Attitudes*, edited by John P. Robinson, 203-296. New York: Academic Press.

The chapter discusses empirical evidence about civic education programs and their effects on democratic values and political tolerance of participants. It outlines some of the difficulties of changing these attitudes and gives insights about limitations and realistic expectations for civic education programs.

Finkel, Steven; Christopher Sabitini; and Gwendolyn Bevis. 2000. "Civic Education, Civil Society, and Political Mistrust in a Developing Democracy: the case of the Dominican Republic." *World Development* 28 (11): 1851-74.

The paper explores the effect of donor-supported civic education programs on levels of citizen trust in institutions in the Dominican Republic. Using attitudinal surveys of control and treatment groups, the paper demonstrates that civic education had a trust, with the greatest negative statistical effects on trust in governmental bodies such as the army and the judicial system. The paper argues that this stems from the type of groups that conduct civic education in democratizing countries, many of which are not politically or socially neutral. The paper concludes with a discussion of these findings for theories of democracy and civil society and for donor-supported civic education programs.

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

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.

Johnson, Mark S. September 1998. "Strengthening Russian Democracy Through Civic Education." Washington, DC: National Endowment for Democracy.

This report examines the effectiveness of various civic education activities in Russia. In its findings, the report concludes that although difficult to discern at times, the programs did have a positive impact on strengthening Russian democracy.

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

This book takes a look at what youth in the United States know about governments 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 civic teaching.

Soule, Suzanne. 2000. "Beyond Communism and War: The Effect of Civic Education on the

Democratic Attitudes and Behavior of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Youth.” Report prepared for the Center for Civic Education.

An empirical study was conducted to determine how effective an international civic education exchange program was in creating and promoting attitudes and values that aimed at strengthening support for democratic institutions and processes among Bosnia and Herzegovina school children. This report provides evidence of the effectiveness of the program based on a comparison of those who participated in the program and those who did not. The results indicate that civic education favorably affects students’ political knowledge and participatory skills, as well as attitudes and core values.

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

The author uses the article to describe the impact of civic education initiatives in post-communist classrooms and some of the challenges and limitations faced.

Torney-Purta, Judith, Lehmann, Rainer, Oswald, Hans, and Schulz, Wolfram. (2001). *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). [Department@IEA.nl]

This volume reports the results of a 1999 test of civic knowledge and survey of civic engagement conducted with 90,000 students in 10 post-Communist countries, 2 from Latin America, 13 from Western Europe, Australia, Hong Kong (SAR), and the United States.

Torney-Purta, Judith; John Schwille; and Jo-Ann Amadeo. 1999a. *Civic Education Across*

Countries: twenty-four national case studies from the IEA Civic Education Project. Amsterdam: IEA and Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies.

The text explores what adolescents are expected to know about democratic practices and institutions, the ways in which societies convey a sense of national identity, and what young people are taught about diversity and social cohesion. The authors outline expectations that democratic societies hold for the development of political knowledge, skills, and attitudes among young people, and how a country’s political or economic situation influence notions of citizenship and democracy. Country data is analyzed from Europe, North and South America, Asia, and Australia.

Torney-Purta, Judith (1998). Evaluating programs designed to teach international content and negotiation skills. *International Negotiation*, 3, 77-97.

This article describes the steps for conducting an evaluation and then reports results from an evaluation of the ICONS Computer-Assisted International Simulation. Several assessment techniques are described: rating scales, open-ended questions scored for elaboration, concept maps, and computer-assisted data collection. Notes about decisions made in the course of planning and implementing the evaluation are included.

USAID/Office of Democracy and Governance. *forthcoming*.A. *Can Democracy Be Taught? Civic Education in Three Countries*. Occasional Papers Series. Washington, DC: USAID.

This report endeavors to synthesize three country-level impact assessments of USAID-supported adult civic education initiatives in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and South Africa during the 1990s. The origins of this exercise lie in the fact that, although civic

education has over the decade become a major DG program component, we had little idea of what impact these programs were having. The three country studies and this synthesis report are intended to fill that gap.

USAID/Office of Democracy and Governance. *forthcoming*. B. *Civic Education Programming Since 1990: A Case Study-based Analysis*. Occasional Papers Series. Washington, DC: USAID.

This report presents 10 case studies of civic education programs funded by USAID since 1990. Introductory sections review USAID's involvement in civic education, offer a framework for analyzing and classifying programs, summarize what USAID has learned about the impact of programs, and suggest guidelines for the future.

Villegas-Riemers, Eleonora. 1994. *Civic Education in the School Systems of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC: USAID, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, Office of Development Resources, Education and Human Resources.

The report discusses the status of civic education, moral education, and education for democracy in primary and secondary school systems in Latin America and Caribbean (LAC), including a literature review and findings from a survey of the Ministries of Education in 15 LAC countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru.

Yudelman, Sally, and Lucy Conger. March 1997. *The Paving Stones: An Evaluation of Latin American Civic Education Programs*. Washington, DC: National Endowment for Democracy.

The authors examine the success of civic education programs in Latin America as

implemented by non-governmental organizations and community groups.

Useful Websites

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

Specializes in civic and citizenship education, law-related education, and international exchange programs in education in developing democracies. The site helps to promote these educational goals by providing links to curricular materials, articles, and papers on civic education, and internet resources.

Children's Resources International: <http://www.childrensresources.org>

Provides curriculum guides, activity books, training and technical assistance, and college courses for teachers, administrators, regivers and parents to support quality teaching practices around the world.

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

Includes many online manuals and curricula, as well as a calendar related to civic education worldwide.

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

Includes hundreds of full-text curricula, lesson plans, textbooks, and training manuals for education 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>

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

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

Holds many resources on instructional methods and lessons learned.

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

Contains on line newsletters, bibliographies, and databases about education for democracy, human rights and tolerance.

Orava civic education project: <http://www.uni.edu/coe/orava>

Displays information about the Orava 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.usaid.gov/democracy>

Contains materials and links to education and democracy and governance.

USAID Human Capacity Development Center:
http://www.usaid.gov/educ_training

Includes description of worldwide initiatives and on line global education database.

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