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ABSTRACT

A citizen of a democratic country should possess certain attitudes, skills, and knowledge to understand and participate in the process of political decision-making. A discussion on citizenship education must start with defining the concepts that are being used. The paper defines citizenship, democracy, and civil society; describes the four dimensions of citizenship; defines and discusses in detail citizenship education; and outlines the core competencies of democratic citizenship education. Three educational models to teach citizenship in different educational settings are presented: (1) a model from the United States; (2) a global model; and (3) a Dutch model. Contains 34 notes, 16 references, and 4 annexes, including core competencies, the "Civitas Project," questions to analyze social and political problems, and organizing questions and content summary questions for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Civics Assessment.  
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**PROJECT: EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP**  
**COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL COOPERATION**

**Seminar on Basic Concepts and Core Competences**

Strasbourg, 11-12 December, 1997  
Palais de l'Europe, Meeting Room n°5

**"Education for Democratic Citizenship:  
dimensions of citizenship, core competences, variables and international activities"**

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*"The success of democracy is largely measured by the public's participation in the process and the responsiveness of the system to popular demands."<sup>1</sup>*

## 1. Some preliminary remarks

Some introductory remarks which indicate my own position in the field of citizenship education:

- I graduated as a political scientist
- I have a long experience as a teacher of history and social studies in secondary schools
- since 1993 I manage the European projects of the Instituut Publiek en Politiek (IPP)
- I am a Dutch citizen
- IPP is the Dutch Centre for Civic Education: education in a broad sense, not limited to schools; also political consultancy for local and national government; more than 30 years' experience
- IPP cooperates with (European) sister organizations
- IPP houses the secretariat of a network of citizenship educators and publishes a Newsletter 'Political Education Towards A European Democracy', in cooperation with the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung

## 2. Introduction

In my speech I will try to answer the question what knowledge, attitudes, intellectual and participatory skills a citizen of a democratic country should possess so that he or she is able to understand the process of political decision-making and to participate in the civil society and in political decision-making if he/she wishes to do so.

This is a fascinating subject for professionals. Not only for educators, but also for politicians. What in Germany is called 'Politikverdrossenheit' and in The Netherlands 'the gap between citizens and politics' is high on the political agenda.

It is also a topic for scientific research. The research shows that the citizen's political behavior is changing. In some western countries there is a decline in the citizens' interest in political parties; membership of and affiliation with political parties is declining. In several nations there is a decline in trusting politicians and political institutions. In some countries, among them The Netherlands, the participation in elections tends to decline.

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<sup>1</sup> Dalton, Citizen Politics in Western Democracies, p.1.

*"Because of the dramatic spread of education and information sources, more citizens are now able to deal with the complexities of politics and make their own political decisions. Consequently, issues are becoming a more important basis of voting behavior as the influence of traditional party and group allegiances wanes."*<sup>2</sup>

A discussion on citizenship education has to start with defining the concepts that are being used. The definition of citizenship is a precarious one. The concept evolved with social, economic and political developments and is still 'under construction'. An interesting publication in this respect is *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, by Derek Heater.

### 3. The definition of citizenship

Citizenship is an example of an **essentially contested concept** in the social sciences, which means that ideas inevitably involve endless disputes about their proper use on the part of the users<sup>3</sup>.

According to Carr and Hartnett:

*"Citizenship is a 'contested' concept in the sense that the criteria governing its proper use are constantly challenged and disputed; such disputes are 'essential' in the sense that arguments about these criteria turn on fundamental political issues for which a final rational solution is not available."*<sup>4</sup>

**Citizenship is a political concept.** Who is a citizen and who is not, is (in most European countries) decided in a democratic process of decision-making. It is also a political concept because the meaning of citizenship is influenced by the authors' political position.

But as Demaine noted: *"... the main concerns of citizenship theorists are with civil, political and social rights; with social justice, the obligations of citizens, and the principle of equality."*<sup>5</sup>

I hope that during this seminar we will agree on a broadly accepted definition and concentrate on the important question of how to realize democratic citizenship.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> W.B. Gallie in John Beck, *Citizenship Education: problems and possibilities*.

<sup>4</sup> Carr, W. and A. Hartnett, in: Demaine J. and H. Entwistle, *Beyond Communitarianism*, p.66.

<sup>5</sup> Demaine and Entwistle (eds.), *Beyond Communitarianism*, p.18.

The definition used in the consultation meeting of the project 'Education for Democratic Citizenship' in June 1996 is:

*"(...) citizenship is a historical contract between the individual and the State (...)"<sup>6</sup>, and*

*"In the strict sense, citizenship concerns the integration of the individual in the political framework and the participation of citizens in the institutions of law"<sup>7</sup>, and*

*"(...) citizenship (...) is expressed in the continuing participation of individuals in the co-management of public affairs."<sup>8</sup>*

Derek Heater in his basic publication uses the following definition:

*"A citizen is a person furnished with knowledge of public affairs, instilled with attitudes of civic virtue and equipped with skills to participate in the political arena."<sup>9</sup>*

The "most authoritative formulation of the meaning of citizenship in modern industrial democracies"<sup>10</sup> is offered by **T.H. Marshall**, which we will quote at length:

*"Citizenship is a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There are not universal principles that determine what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be directed. The urge forward along the path thus plotted is an urge toward a fuller measure of equality, an enrichment of the stuff of which the status is bestowed... Citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law. Its growth is stimulated by the struggle to win those rights and their enjoyment when won."<sup>11</sup>*

Carr and Hartnett comment on this definition as follows:

*"The obvious attraction of Marshall's definition is that it makes 'membership of a community', 'rights' and 'duties' definitive features of citizenship without stipulating how*

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<sup>6</sup> Birzea, Education for Democratic Citizenship, p.14.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p.15.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p.14.

<sup>9</sup> Heater, Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education, p. 336.

<sup>10</sup> Demaine, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 67.

*'membership' is to be determined or what the specific rights and duties of citizens should be. Who are to be excluded? What kind of rights should citizens have? Is participation in the exercise of political power a right or a duty? Are the duties of citizenship absolute? It is the different and often conflicting ways in which these questions are asked and answered that give rise to rival and incompatible accounts of what citizenship actually means.*"<sup>12</sup>

It is important to note that disputes about the concept of citizenship do not constitute a serious obstacle to discuss citizenship education, as can be seen from the impressive amount of projects and activities in this field.

#### 4. The democracy concept

Let us now turn to the definition of **democracy**, which forms part of the title of this seminar.

John Patrick, an American social scientist, a specialist in Social Studies and Civics, who lectures at Indiana University in Bloomington (USA), suggests to:

*"Introduce a minimal definition of democracy and then elaborate upon it through explication of a set of basic concepts with which it is inextricably associated in the operations of any authentic democratic polity.(...) They would also acquire conceptual foundations for responsible citizenship in a democracy. If citizens would establish or improve a democratic political system, they must know what democracy is, how to do it, and why it is good."*<sup>13</sup>

Patrick adds two central concepts to this minimal definition of democracy: constitutionalism and civil society. His motivation to do so:

*"Protection of the political and personal rights of citizens, including those in the minority, depends upon constitutionalism (the rule of law) and civil society. The suggested and widely accepted definition: 'A democracy is a political system institutionalized under the rule of law. There is an autonomous civil society, whose individuals join together voluntarily into groups with self-designated purposes to collaborate with each other through mechanisms of political parties and establish through freely contested elections a system of representative government.'*"<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> John J. Patrick, Principles of Democracy for the Education of Citizens, in: Patrick, John J. and Laura A. Pinhey (editors), Resources on Civic Education for Democracy: International Perspectives. Yearbook No. 1, Bloomington IN, 1996, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick, p. 7.

## 5. Definition of civil society

A well-functioning civil society is an indicator of democratic government. About the concept 'civil society' there is no academic contest. As I will stress the relevance of civil society, I suggest to define it as Patrick did:

*"Civil society is the complex network of freely formed voluntary associations, apart from the formal governmental institutions of the state, acting independently or in partnership with state agencies. Apart from the state, civil society is regulated by law. It is a public domain that is constituted by private individuals."*<sup>15</sup>

Patrick states that if individuals wish to *"know, analyze, and appraise democracy in their country or elsewhere, they must be able to comprehend the idea of civil society, to assess the activities of civil society organizations, and to connect their knowledge of this idea to other concepts, such as constitutionalism, individual rights, representation, elections, majority rule, and so forth."*<sup>16</sup>

## 6. Four dimensions of citizenship<sup>17</sup>

In the relationship between the individual and society I distinguish four dimensions, which correlate with the four subsystems which one may recognize in a society and which are essential for its existence.

In these dimensions the principles of the democratic constitutional state and the basic human rights are incorporated.

Of these dimensions I describe the basic values.

The next question to be answered is: what are the implications of these citizenship dimensions for the educational process? These dimensions are attained via socialization processes: organized processes like school and the family; unorganized and unintentional, via the mass media, the neighborhood and peer groups.

These educational goals are described extensively in section 9.1 below.

Shown as a grid we see the following pictures:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 11, 12.

<sup>17</sup> The attempt during the consultation meeting to distinguish the dimensions of citizenship is confusing. For example: 'legal citizenship' has been sub-divided into 'the political dimension' and 'the social dimension'.

### DIMENSIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Values	Values
<b>Political/legal dimension</b>	<b>Social dimension</b>
<b>Political citizenship</b> refers to political rights and duties vis à vis the political system.	<b>Social citizenship</b> refers to the relations between individuals in a society, and demands loyalty and solidarity.
<b>Cultural dimension</b>	<b>Economic dimension</b>
<b>Cultural citizenship</b> refers to consciousness of a common cultural heritage.	<b>Economic citizenship</b> refers to the relation of an individual towards the labour- and consumer market and implies right to work and to a minimum subsistence level.

### Educational goals

<b>Political</b>	<b>Social</b>
- knowledge of the political system - democratic attitude - participatory skills	- knowledge of social relations in society - social skills
<b>Cultural</b>	<b>Economical</b>
- knowledge of the cultural heritage, and of history - basic skills (language competence, reading and writing)	- vocational training - economic skills (for job-related and other economic activities)

These goals are described more extensively with respect to knowledge in section 9.1.

## 7. Citizenship education

### 7.1. Why is citizenship education such a 'trendy' subject?

As indicated in section 13, many organizations are active in this field. For various reasons international bodies, like the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe and UNESCO, stress the importance of democratic citizenship. In the Final Declaration of the Second Summit of the Council of Europe (October 1997) one reads: "*[We, Heads of State and Government ...] express our desire to develop education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the participation of young people in civil society*".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Final Declaration. Second Summit of the Council of Europe, October 10th-11th, 1997.



I would like to recall some social and political developments that gave rise to the growing importance of citizenship education.

- After 'The Third Wave' of democratization,<sup>19</sup> many countries are in search of democracy.
- Established democracies are under pressure because of the flow of new immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. On the other hand these democracies feel threatened because of a decreasing readiness to participate in formal political decision-making (the turn-out to vote percentage is declining; 'gap between public and politicians', 'Politikverdrossenheit').
- There is an increase of individualization, societies develop towards multiculturalism, international cooperation is growing, especially since 1989 regionalism and separatism are on the increase, decision-making processes get more and more complex, there is an intensification of communication and flow of information.
- The European integration process is causing tensions which result in: rising nationalism and a legitimacy crisis (because of the democratic deficit).

## 7.2. Goal of citizenship education

The goal of citizenship education in my opinion is: to stimulate the active participation of citizens in the civil society and in political decision-making within a constitutional democracy.

Why is participation important? Because for the functioning of a democratic society the participation and integration (socially and politically) of citizens is of basic importance. Such a democratic society presupposes that fundamental rights - like the separation of powers, civil rights, political parties, a free press, social rights, etc. - are respected.

Democratic, socially integrated and active citizens are not born, but are created (reproduced) in a socialisation process. In other words, democracy has to be learned and needs to be maintained. That is the task assigned to citizenship education, to civic and political educators and to professional institutions.

Dekker states that citizenship has high relevance for both the political system and the individual. Ultimately, the development, maintenance, change or survival of a political system depend on the existence of demonstrable support of a considerable part of its constituents. A democratic political system is weakened if less than half of the electorate takes part in the election of its parliament. Citizenship has also high relevance for the individual since it is seen as a fundamental part of the sense of positive identity of individuals.

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<sup>19</sup> Samuel P. Huntington (1991), *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Citizens can be scaled from 'very bad' to 'very good'. The definition of a 'good citizen' depends on the values of those defining the concept. The 'democratic citizen' is an ideal type whose content varies with the definition of democracy. Different views of democracy bring with them different political rights and duties for citizens.<sup>20</sup>

The definition of citizenship tallies, therefore, with the concept of democracy. There are two dominant democracy conceptions:

- the representative democracy concept (scientists like Schumpeter et al.) and
- the participation (liberal /communitarian) democracy concept (scientists like Dahl et al.).

In the first model, politics is seen as connected with the public domain and with government and parliament. Free elections is the keyword here and voting is the main form of political activity. Large-scale political participation is not desired because politics is too complex to be understood by the masses.

The participation model expects citizens to participate in decision-making. Democracy should be introduced in all areas of society (school, neighborhood, workplace). Maximum political participation of the masses is expected. As a consequence of participation in other areas, citizens become more competent in decision-making. They will be more integrated in their communities and will have a stronger feeling of belonging.

*"Participation should take place wherever politics is involved, particularly there where the individual spends a great deal of his time, e.g. local community, and workplace."*<sup>21</sup>

It is up to the citizen to decide for him/herself whether to be politically active or not. In a democratic society a citizen cannot be forced to participate. Information and education can help the citizen in deciding whether his/her personal interests are at stake and make participation necessary.

### 7.3. Definition of citizenship education

As I just mentioned, each democracy concept breeds a specific concept of democratic citizenship.

*"Democratic citizenship conceptions are combinations or syntheses of democracy theories and citizenship conceptions."*<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Dekker, Henk & Renze Portengen, National and European Citizenship, p .2.

<sup>21</sup> Dekker, Henk & Renze Portengen, National and European Citizenship, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p .3.

A definition of education for democratic citizenship which was introduced during a Council of Europe seminar, runs as follows:

*"the set of practices and activities aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society"*<sup>23</sup>.

This definition includes the notion that citizenship education should extend knowledge, skills (social, intellectual, technological), attitudes (respect for cultural and political diversity, respect for rational argument, interest in community affairs) and values (justice, democracy, rule of law) and stimulate participation.

The definition is, however, unclear with respect to what is meant by 'democratic life'. If 'democratic' means 'political', then there is no confusion. But the definition can also comprise 'social citizenship'. Of course, there is nothing wrong with such an interpretation. I would, however, warn against misunderstandings and unattainable aims.

In section 9 et seq. I discuss the content of citizenship education. With this approach the project Education for Democratic Citizenship would take a medium position on the scale from a minimum to a maximum vision on citizenship education.

I prefer a limited educational goal as formulated in section 7.2: that is, political citizenship education. Defined as follows:

**Political citizenship education** is the process that enables individuals and/or groups to obtain knowledge, enables them to analyse experiences, promotes insight, stimulates attitudes and trains skills that give the individuals and/or groups (better) opportunities to influence political decision-making processes.<sup>24</sup>

Education, inside or outside school, is just one agent of socialisation. Other agents are: the (mass)media, the family, church, workplace, peer-groups.

The role of education in the process of citizenship education should not be overestimated. That role is limited, depending on the status of the subject 'civics', the number of hours available, the quality of teachers, the set-up of the curriculum, etc.

As Heater mentions in his conclusion:

*"Effective citizenship will depend on the rate at which education to a secondary level, the diffusion of the mass media and the creation of a civil society infrastructure of interest-groups and associations can be accelerated."*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Birzea, C., Education For Democratic Citizenship, p. 18

<sup>24</sup> This definition is guiding the activities of the Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek.

<sup>25</sup> Heater, p. 343.

## 8. Aspects of citizenship education

In the process of citizenship education we distinguish the following aspects:

- knowledge
- attitude and opinions
- intellectual skills
- participatory skills

When these aspects are combined with the dimensions of citizenship, we have a framework of the contents of citizenship education. I will graphically present this framework, shortly.

Recently Wittebrood published the results of a large-scale research on the effects of civic education. For this Ph.D. thesis *Political Socialization in the Netherlands. A study on the acquirement and development of political attitudes of adolescents*, Wittebrood collected data from over 10.000 pupils in the 15-17 years age bracket. Here are relevant conclusions that seem important to me:

- The religious, social and ethnic composition of a school does have an impact on the political attitudes of students.
- The higher the percentage of students from educated parents, the higher the political interest of students.

Wittebrood investigated whether the school by means of the curriculum is able to influence the political attitudes of students. From the results it appears that the intensive course in civic education (offered for four hours a week during two years) does contribute to political involvement, but not to the political tolerance of students. Students who had an intensive course in civic education show a strong increase in interest in political issues, political efficacy, an inclination towards conventional and unconventional political participation and intention to vote in parliamentary elections.

Civic education contributed also to a decrease in political cynicism. The decrease is equal for students who had civic education as an examination subject and for students who had civic education as a compulsory but non-examination subject. The impact of the intensive course in civic education did not differ across groups of students who already differed at their initial level. Furthermore, the effect of this course did not differ on grounds of gender, education, age, ethnicity, religious denomination, church attendance and parents' education.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Wittebrood, *Politieke socialisatie in Nederland*, p. 191.

Also according to other research studies, there is a direct relation between knowledge and political participation. The reverse may however also occur. When individuals acquire more knowledge of how the political system works, they may decide to avert it.

## **9. Core competences of citizenship education**

In the USA some ten years ago Hirsch made a list of all the concepts that every American ought to know. The book 'Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know' is still available in the USA. It is a thick book with more than 4000 items. I suggest that you yourself make a list of all the concepts that you read in the newspapers or hear in television programs during a certain period.

The conclusion of this exercise will probably be that you need a lot of knowledge to understand politics and society.

What issues should be discussed in democratic citizenship education?

Answer: In a maximum package the four dimensions of citizenship can be treated. This is feasible in schools or adult education where there is enough space in the curriculum.

The four dimensions are heavily interdependent. Some dimensions, however, are or can be part of other subjects, like history and economics.

I am choosing an absolute minimum, giving priority to political citizenship. The political dimension is the dominant dimension of citizenship. Political decisions affect all the other dimensions.

In the US the core competences (called 'standards') for 'Civics and Government' have been formulated. On a voluntary basis these standards are being used on a large scale. They are even used as a basis for civics assessment in 1998. They are not what I would call a minimum package. They constitute, on the contrary, the basis for lessons over a period of eight years. Nevertheless, I think it worthwhile to study these standards, which you may find in annex 4.

### **9.1. Core competences of democratic citizens: maximum package**

This is a first draft for an ideal model which might contribute to the formulation of a Standard for Citizenship Education. The list formulates the cognitive aspects that should be part of a curriculum and does not describe attitudes and skills in detail.

- A **political/legal dimension** of Citizenship

- concept of democracy
- concepts of democratic citizenship

- political structures and decision-making processes on a national and international/ European level, voting systems, political parties, pressure groups
- political participation and forms of participation (demonstration, writing letters to the press, etc.)
- the history and basis of civil society, democratic values, human rights in Europe, etc.
- consciousness of current political issues including European integration and international politics
- international relations, international organizations and legislation
- the role of the media
- the judicial system
- the state budget

- **A cultural dimension of Citizenship**

- the role of information technology and the mass media
- intercultural experience/ experience of different cultures
- the national cultural heritage and the common European cultural heritage
- the predominance of certain norms and values
- national history
- combatting racism and discrimination
- the preservation of the environment

- **A social dimension of Citizenship**

- combatting social isolation and social exclusion
- safeguarding of human rights (in general)
- bringing together different groups of society (i.e. national minorities and ethnic groups)
- sensibility for social issues, i.e. the situation of social and ethnic groups
- working on future-orientated social models
- working for equality of the sexes
- the social consequences of the information society
- differences in social security, welfare, literacy, health on a global level
- national and international security

- **An economic dimension of Citizenship**

- aspects of a market economy
- the challenges of European and global economic cooperation
- improving vocational qualifications
- integrating minority groups into the economic process (positive discrimination)
- combatting the challenges of globalization with innovative methods and strategies
- different European working situations
- aspects of employment/unemployment
- principles of labour legislation
- mechanisms of the European single market

- ecological aspects of the global economy
- social consequences of changes in world economy
- consumer rights

Properly elaborated, the list may function as a standard for curriculum development, for the writers of textbooks, etc. These standards will have to be adapted to the various educational levels and age groups.

The outcome will probably look like the way Social Studies in the USA and 'maatschappijleer' (Social Studies) in the Netherlands are taught.

## 9.2. Core competences: minimum package

The leading question here is:

**What knowledge, attitudes, intellectual and participatory skills are necessary for a citizen to function more or less adequately as a citizen in a parliamentary democracy?<sup>27</sup>**

Although the following package focuses on school activities, it also offers a basic structure for out-of-school activities.

We take as a starting point the fact that the content of this minimal package is determined by (1) the needs of individuals to solve the social and political issues and problems they have to face; and (2) the issues and problems that are topical and high on the public agenda.

By using tailor-made didactic methods for various target groups, a motivating program or training should be the outcome. In this paper I refer to the methods used in Dutch Social Studies and to the techniques suggested in section 11.

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<sup>27</sup> In annex 1 I present a minimum package for political citizenship developed by my colleague Ivo Hartman. See for background information the article by Hartman in 'Namens', 1990.

## CORE COMPETENCES

ASPECTS OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION
<p>* knowledge of, insight in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>.concepts of democracy</li> <li>.concepts of democratic citizenship</li> <li>.functioning of democracy (incl. civil society)</li> <li>.influence of society on individuals</li> <li>.political decision-making and legislation</li> <li>.citizens' rights and duties</li> <li>.role of political parties and interest groups</li> <li>.options for participation in decision-making</li> <li>.how to influence policy-making</li> <li>.current political problems</li> </ul>
<p>* attitudes/opinions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>.interest in social and political affairs</li> <li>.national identity</li> <li>.with regard to democracy</li> <li>.towards democratic citizenship</li> <li>.political confidence</li> <li>.political efficacy</li> <li>.self-discipline</li> <li>.loyalty</li> <li>.tolerance and recognition of own prejudices</li> <li>.respect for other individuals</li> <li>.value of European civilization</li> <li>.values on which Europe is founded (democracy/social justice/human rights)</li> </ul>
<p>* intellectual skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>.collecting and absorbing political information via various media</li> <li>.critical approach to information, policies, views</li> <li>.communication skills (be able to reason, and argue and express own views)</li> <li>.describe processes, institutions, functions, aims, etc.</li> <li>.resort to non-violent conflict resolution</li> <li>.take responsibility</li> <li>.ability to judge</li> <li>.make choices, take a position</li> </ul>
<p>* participatory skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>.influencing policies and decisions (petitioning and lobbying)</li> <li>.building coalitions and cooperate with partner organizations</li> <li>.taking part in political discussions</li> <li>.participation in social and political processes (membership of political party, interest groups, voting, writing letters, demonstrating, etc.)</li> </ul>



**10. Variables which influence the content of citizenship programs**

A universal program for citizenship education is not possible because of a large amount of variables. We mention here:

**Variables**

<b>I. The environment in which citizenship education takes place</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- type of school</li><li>- type of adult education</li><li>- neighbourhood</li><li>- interest-group</li><li>- political party</li><li>- other associations</li></ul>
<b>II. The social, economical and cultural characteristics of the participants</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- individual characteristics, like age and gender</li><li>- social characteristics of the individual: social-economic status (income, occupation), residential area (urban/non-urban),</li><li>- cultural characteristics: level of education, nationality, history, religion, ethnicity</li></ul>

The actual program for civics lessons or a citizenship training is the combined result of these variables and of the core competences.

**11. Methodology to improve civic participation via school and out-of-school activities**

To illustrate how citizenship can be learned in different educational settings, I present three school models: one from the USA, a global and a Dutch model. I will also just mention several in- and out-of-school projects of which my institute has experience.

in school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. USA model: Standards for civics and government</li> <li>2. Civitas: A Framwork for Civic Education</li> <li>3. Netherlands model: Social Studies</li> </ol>
in school + out of school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. learning by doing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Children's Town Councils</li> <li>- Young People's Councils</li> <li>- Young People's Panels</li> <li>- Day at the Town Hall</li> <li>- mock elections</li> <li>- mock trials</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. interactive decision-making <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- scenario method</li> <li>- local working conference</li> <li>- open plan process (atelier)</li> <li>- digital (computer) debates</li> </ul> </li> <li>3. community service</li> <li>4. activities to qualify organizations in the civil society</li> </ol>

### **11.1. USA model: 'National Standards For Civics And Government' and 'Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress'**

In the USA the Center for Civic Education has developed voluntary 'National Standards for Civics and Government' for students from kindergarten through grade twelve. The document which was published in 1994 has been accepted in the USA on a large scale and has been the basis for curriculum development, textbooks and other didactic material and for the 'National Assessment of Educational Progress' with respect to civics. This assessment takes place in 1998.

Although the 'standards' and the 'framework for assessment' have been developed for the United States educational system, I repeat that it makes sense to study the work that has been done there.

The civic knowledge component of this framework responds to five fundamental questions:

- I. What are civic life, politics, and government?
- II. What are the foundations of the American political system?

- III. How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- IV. What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- V. What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?<sup>28</sup>

Because of the extensive description of the Civics Framework, I have copied the 'Organizing questions and content summary' in annex 4.

### 11.2. Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education

Civitas is an organization which caters for civic and political educators from all over the world. It is an initiative of the United States Information Agency and the Center for Civic Education in California. Recently Civitas opened an office in Strasbourg. In annex 2 the framework for civic education by Civitas is reproduced in detail.

### 11.3. Netherlands model: Social Studies

In The Netherlands, Social Studies is part of the curriculum in secondary education. It is a separate subject. Apart from that, civics (formal processes of decision-making, elections and political institutions in a parliamentary democracy) is taught as an integral part of history lessons.

Themes for Social Studies have to be chosen out of six fields:

#### SOCIAL STUDIES

1. Socialisation and education	gives insight in socialisation processes, the role of the mass media
2. Environment, living and social relations	primary groups, gender relations, ways of living together, environmental problems
3. Work and leisure	social and economic issues
4. Technology and society	technological and scientific developments as a factor in society
5. Political structures and processes	the political system, political decision-making, political ideologies, the juridical system, criminality
6. International relations	global political, social and economic interdependencies

<sup>28</sup> Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress, p. x.

The teacher has to treat themes from these fields in a systematic way, by using three approaches or perspectives:

Social-cultural aspects	values, norms, social groups
Social-economic aspects	social-economic structures, the role of the various social-economic and interest groups
Political-juridical aspects	laws, government policy, political views

Sometimes it might be appropriate to give attention to historical and global aspects. A thematic approach teaches the pupils how to study and analyse (other) social and political problems.

The number of themes per year is limited. Topical matters are often neglected because of lack of time. The pupils learn what questions are important and how and with what information they can answer them. The themes are not a goal in themselves, but illustrative of a certain approach.

An instrument which is being used to guide the students (and teachers) in their analysis consists of a list of 10 questions that I present in annex 3.

## 12. Infrastructure

In the various European countries there are large differences in citizenship education, be it in-school or out-of-school. For the further promotion of citizenship education an infrastructure is necessary that helps to increase the quality of this subject and thus the quality of democracy.

Elements of such an infrastructure are:

1. Civics teachers organizations
2. Publishers that produce adequate teaching materials and specialized magazines for teachers and students
3. A curriculum development organization (preferably independent)
4. Committees that evaluate and assess the educational process
5. Institutions for civic education that produce services and activities and offer advice on citizen participation.

### **13. Activities of international institutions and organizations regarding education for democratic citizenship**

The number of citizenship education studies, projects and conferences is quite impressive. I will briefly mention those that are influential because of their research scale or the amount of energy and money involved. A critical reflection on all these activities would be a time-consuming effort. I will only mention those aspects which are relevant for the Council of Europe project "Education for Democratic Citizenship".

#### **UNESCO**

- The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization recently held a large conference on Adult Education (Confinte V), where citizenship education was declared one of the challenges for the twenty-first century. The documents of this conference need to be studied, but further activities will be in the hands of the EAEA.

- A second activity of UNESCO is organized by the International Bureau of Education (IBE). Under the leadership of Dr. Luis Albala-Bertrand, IBE launched in 1994 an ambitious project titled 'What education for what citizenship?'. The aim of the project is to improve strategies for citizenship education. It tries *"to explain how civic and political socialization is carried out in different societies of the world that are widely considered as possessing democratic regimes or that may be considered as evolving towards democracy according to a set of criteria"*.<sup>29</sup>

#### **Civic education project of IEA**

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement launched a follow-up study after an international comparative research (started in 1971) for the political cognitions and attitudes of youngsters and the influence of education. The concrete aims of the research are:

- *"insight in 'the current policies, professional opinions, practices, possible options and issues in preparing young people for citizenship';*
- *insight in political cognitions and attitudes of youngsters as 'indicators of educational effectiveness in the civic domain'"*.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Bilateral/multilateral projects**

Within the European Union member states there are countless projects aimed at the development and promotion of citizenship education in Eastern European countries.

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<sup>29</sup> Home page of the IBE-project [www3.itu.int:8002/ibe-citied/purpose.html](http://www3.itu.int:8002/ibe-citied/purpose.html)

<sup>30</sup> Dekker, H. (1995), Civic Education Project 1994-2000. Researchprogram, p. 2.

My institute was involved in these projects last year:

- . the development of a civics curriculum in Albania and
- . civics teacher-training in Hungary.

Individual countries cooperate in other developing countries where democracy needs support. The Dutch government, for instance, supports democratic developments in South Africa.

### **European Union**

The European Union sponsors citizenship education projects via programs like:

- Socrates, Leonardo and Youth for Europe III. DG XXII commissioned a study on the European dimension in these educational projects<sup>31</sup>. A project which is in line with our approach is led by the Federal Trust in the United Kingdom. The interim report is available.<sup>32</sup>
- Phare/Tacis Democracy Programs which focus on Central and Eastern Europe deal with citizenship education in various forms. My impression is that most of the projects have a practical approach and do not theorize on concepts or competences.
- Other directorates in the European Union also sponsor European citizenship activities. DG X and the Secretariat General seem to me the main actors.

As the European Union is such a 'mer à boire', it would be worthwhile to make a comprehensive study of ongoing projects.

### **Council of Europe**

Various directorates and departments of the Council of Europe deal with citizenship education. I only mention the "History in the 20th Century" project and the Human Rights/Civic Education projects in Central and Eastern Europe.

### **European Association for Adult Education**

This organization of adult education institutions has occupied itself marginally with European citizenship education. Its activities ought to be studied more closely, however.

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<sup>31</sup> Osler, A.(1997), The Contribution of Community Action Programmes in the Fields of Education, Training and Youth to the Development of Citizenship with a European Dimension. Final Synthesis Report. University of Birmingham (unpublished document).

<sup>32</sup> European Citizenship 1999. Report of the Pilot Phase to the European Commission. London, 1996 (unpublished document).

### **Teacher-training institutions**

There must be a wealth of activities in the field of citizenship education initiated by universities and teacher-training institutions in several European countries. University lecturers from several Dutch universities, for instance, are involved in the training of colleagues in Central and Eastern European countries.

### **Euroclio**

This organization which encompasses most European history teachers' associations recently participated in a large-scale research project. More than 32.000 teenagers from 27 countries were questioned about their interest in historical topics, their attitudes towards history, their historical knowledge and insight, about teaching concepts, etc. The research offers a broad spectrum of data; it is interesting to note that *"it is far from certain that history educators have been able to arouse the interest of young people for topics like politics and the development of democracy"*<sup>33</sup>.

### **ESHA/EADE**

The European Secondary Heads Association and the European Association of Teachers organize conferences and publish the magazine "Context". Their activities with regard to education for democratic citizenship, when asked, were restricted to a special issue of this magazine titled 'European Citizenship and Education'.

### **OECD**

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development was unable to send me information in time. When the home page was searched for 'education for democratic citizenship', no documents were found.

### **CIDREE**

The Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe was unable to send me any documentation in time.

### **IPP and BpB**

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<sup>33</sup> Angvik, M., Youth and History, p. A 3.

The Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek and the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung try to organize civic educators all over Europe and to promote citizenship education in Europe. Since 1995 the two institutions hold yearly conferences on citizenship education; they publish a Newsletter 'Political Education towards a European Democracy' and foster cooperation among civics teachers and educators on a European level.

### **FIME**

The Fédération Internationale des Maisons de l'Europe is the umbrella organization of the Europe Houses in more than 20 countries. They offer a variety of courses. Citizenship education is one of their topics.

### **USIA-funded activities**

- The United States Information Agency, an independent branch of the Foreign Office, sponsors a lot of civic education projects all over the world. In the USA there are numerous civic education organizations that cooperate in these projects abroad. Some of these projects aim at teacher training, others at the formulation of curricula. A main focus of attention is Central and Eastern Europe.

- An impressive undertaking is Civitas, an international civic education exchange program. It is a consortium of organizations, individuals and governments. Civitas is administered by the Center for Civic Education (California) and supported by the United States Department of Education in cooperation with USIA. The goals of Civitas are manifold, but focus on the promotion and upgrading of civic education in Central and Eastern Europe, and also in Africa, Latin America and Asia. It is an ambitious project, in which numerous highly qualified persons and institutions participate and whose products may be very useful for the Council of Europe project 'Education for Democratic Citizenship'.

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## Annex 1

### Core competences: minimum package for political citizenship

**What knowledge is necessary for a citizen to function more or less adequately as a citizen in a parliamentary democracy ?**

In the relationship between the citizen and the nation-state one can distinguish two aspects:

1. the citizen and the formulation of government policy
2. the citizen and the implementation of government policy

*A further elaboration of 1 would include:*

#### 1.1. **participation in elections**

- a citizen should have a minimal knowledge and insight in the essence of the political system
  - . representation in a parliamentary democracy
  - . the relation between the executive and legislative powers
  - . the main functions of political parties
  - . the role of the head of state
- a citizen can make a distinction between the various political parties
  - . know the outlines of the policy of parties
  - . weigh the information during election campaigns
  - . know how campaigns are run (role of person heading the list, publicity techniques, opinion polls, role of the media)
  - . weigh campaign slogans against the behavior of politicians
- a citizen knows the essence of the voting system and the voting procedure (N.B. there are considerable differences between European countries)
  - . system of proportional representation
  - . voting districts
  - . voting by proxy
  - . compulsory voting/turn out attendance (in some countries)
- a citizen has a basic knowledge of the requirements for founding a political party
- a citizen knows how the voting result is transferred in the creation of a government
  - . coalition and compromise
  - . coalition agreement

- a citizen knows what possible alternatives exist apart from elections
  - . referendum
  - . elected officials instead of nomination by the government
  - . electoral threshold
  - . elected head of state vs. hereditary monarchy

1.2. **promotion of interests via the influencing of local and national policy**  
(international and European policy could have been added here; for the minimal package we will overlook these aspects)

- a citizen is aware of the difference between the formal and the actual decision-making process
- a citizen is able to gather standpoints of political parties, pressure - and interest-groups, plus a minimum of strategic insight (coalition partners, locate opponents, understand the interests of organizations)
- a citizen has some insight in the process of issue formation
  - . mobilization of support
  - . conversion of social needs in political demands
  - . conversion of political demands in political issues (role of the media, role of civil servants)
- a citizen knows that after a political decision has been taken there follows an implementation phase (which can be influenced)
- a citizen has some knowledge of procedures of objection and appeal

*A further elaboration of 2 would include:*

### 2.1. **juridical skills**

- a citizen **knows** what the citizens' rights and duties are
- what means are available to realize these rights and fulfil ones' obligations
- a citizen knows how to use these rights
- a citizen knows how to join organizations and associations

### 2.2. **bureaucratic competence**

- a citizen knows what organizations to address for what problems
- the function of institutions like: bureau for legal assistance, welfare officers, public information services (local, regional, national), tax (collection) offices, labour councils, (local) social services, ombudspersons
- the basics of possibilities of appeal and objection to governmental decisions.

## Annex 2 The Civitas project

### Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Framework

#### The Seven-Part Outline

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

#### **I. What is democracy?**

A. What are civic life, politics, and political systems?

B. What is a constitution and what is constitutionalism?

1. What is the distinction between power and authority?
2. What is the distinction between constitutional (limited) and non-constitutional (unlimited) political systems?
3. What is the relationship between constitutionalism and popular self-government?
4. What is the relationship between constitutionalism and the rule of law?
5. What is the relationship between constitutionalism and an autonomous private domain?
6. What is the relationship between constitutionalism and the protection of political and economic freedoms?
7. What is the relationship between constitutionalism and possible limitations on the exercise of popular will?

C. What is government and why is it necessary?

D. What are the fundamental values and principles of democracy?

1. What is the ultimate source of authority in a democracy? (i.e., popular sovereignty)
2. What are the fundamental values and principles of democracy?
3. What are the major purposes of a democracy? (e.g., protecting the liberty and rights of all individuals; promoting the public good and general welfare; fostering justice and equality under the rule of law)
4. What tensions exist among values and principles of democracy? (e.g., liberty and equality, majority rule and minority rights, right to privacy and right to know, public security and freedom of expression)

E. What are the essential elements and characteristics of democracy?  
(e.g., accountability of authority to the people, equal rights of citizenship, broad participation in decision-making, distinction between civil society and government, extensive access to information, a market-based economy within a legal framework)

F. What is the relationship between democracy and human rights?

1. What are "human rights"?
2. What view of the individual is implied by the idea of human rights?
3. What is the connection between democracy and the protection of human rights?

G. What is the relationship between democracy and the Open Society?

1. What is the "Open Society"? (a society characterized by, e.g., the rule of law; freedom of expression, association, and inquiry; free movement of persons and information, including the right to travel abroad and return unhindered; possibility of change based on rational criticism, including openness to free scientific research and discussion; freedom to own and use property in a market-based economy; widespread possibility of upward social mobility based on merit; minimum of government secrecy; accessibility of government information)
2. What view of the community is implied by the idea of the Open Society?
3. What is the connection between democracy and the creation and maintenance of the Open Society?
4. What is the relationship between democracy and a market-based economy?

H. What are various types of democracy? (e.g., direct or representative; majoritarian or consensual; centralized v. decentralized decision-making)

I. What are other major types of political systems?

J. How and why are the terms "democracy" and "democratic" misused?

## II. Why choose democracy?

A. What are the fundamental goals of democracy? (e.g., legitimacy, stability, order, security, and fair management of conflict; protection of individual liberty; individual self-direction and development; adaptability to change and challenges; social progress; prosperity; freedom from arbitrary power; self-conscious assessment, absence of dogma; fosters a sense of the individual's stake in the community)

B. What are the advantages and disadvantages of democracy?

1. What successes and failures of democracy are demonstrated by historical experience?

a. Under what circumstances has democracy contributed to the stability or instability of political systems?

b. Under what circumstances has democracy contributed or detracted from the prosperity of society?

2. What benefits and costs are inherent in the concept of democracy?

C. Under what conditions, if any, might other political systems be preferable to democracy?

1. Why might some people want to live in a political system other than a democracy?

2. Are there internal conditions and external circumstances of a society that might make a political system other than a democracy preferable?

## III. What makes democracy work?

A. What characteristics of individual members of a society have consequences for democracy?

1. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices enable a democracy to flourish? (e.g., mutual toleration, concern for the public good; limited expectations of government; respect for the rights of others)

2. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices are detrimental to the flourishing of democracy? (e.g., hatred and intolerance; unrealistic expectations of government, apathy, inattention to public affairs)

B. What characteristics of social groups and organizations have consequences for democracy?

1. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices enable a democracy to flourish? (e.g., willingness to compromise; willingness to limit group interests for the public good; toleration of opposing groups)

2. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices are detrimental to the flourishing of democracy? (e.g., unwillingness to compromise among political parties; unwillingness to listen to or tolerate the views of opposing groups; unlimited demands)

C. What characteristics of a society as a whole have consequences for democracy?

1. What characteristics enable a democracy to flourish? (e.g., vibrant civil society, social trust, shared political or constitutional values, commitment to using institutional means of making-decisions and solving problems; absence of rigid classes and social fragmentation, formation of associations to promote mutual interests, competition among groups, flexibility of coalition building)
2. What characteristics are detrimental to the flourishing of democracy? (e.g., lack of social trust; absence or poor functioning of civil society; absence of shared political or constitutional values; rigid social stratification)

D. What characteristics of governmental institutions have significant consequences for democracy?

1. What structural features of governmental institutions enable a democracy to flourish? (e.g., accessibility, accountability, flexibility)
2. What structural features of governmental institutions are detrimental to the flourishing of democracy? (e.g., difficulty of access, lack of accountability, lack of flexibility)

E. What characteristics of public officials have consequences for democracy?

1. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices enable a democracy to flourish? (e.g., willingness to compromise and cooperate; public-spiritedness; willingness to abide by the law)
2. What attitudes, behaviors, and practices are detrimental to the flourishing of democracy? (e.g., corruption; demagoguery; favoritism; inaccessibility; factionalism, unwillingness to compromise; contempt for citizens and for the law)

F. What is the relationship between the culture of a society and the character of its political system and institutions?

G. How can constitutionalism foster the values and purposes of democracy?

1. What limits do constitutions place on the exercise of popular will?
2. What limits should constitutions place on the exercise of popular will?
3. What limits do constitutions place on the exercise of government power?
4. What limits should constitutions place on the exercise of government power?

H. What kinds of attitudes, behaviors, and practices threaten the establishment and maintenance of democracy?

1. Citizens, e.g., hatred and intolerance, unrealistic expectations of government
2. Groups and organizations, e.g., unwillingness to compromise among political parties

I. What kinds of conflicts threaten the establishment and maintenance of democracy?

1. Conflicts among individuals, e.g., political and military leaders

2. Conflicts among groups within a society, e.g., ethnic, religious, socio-economic, gender, linguistic
3. Conflicts within government, e.g., within or among branches of government; between civilian and military
4. Conflicts with other nations, e.g., territorial, economic, ethnic, religious

J. What means of managing conflicts are consistent with democratic values and principles?

#### **IV. How does democracy work?**

A. Why are political institutions required for the conduct of democracy?

1. What are political institutions and what are their basic functions in a democracy?
  - a. How are public problems identified, defined, and acted upon?
  - b. How are laws and other rules proposed, made, modified, communicated, implemented, interpreted, and adjudicated?
2. What are the various ways political power can be divided and combined in democratic institutions? (e.g., shared-powers, presidential, and parliamentary systems; federal, confederal, and unitary systems)
3. What are the consequences of the design and arrangements of institutions?
  - a. How do the design and arrangement of institutions affect their accountability to other institutions and to citizens?
  - b. How do the design and arrangements of institutions promote or detract from the effectiveness of government?
4. What opportunities for choice, participation, and accountability are made available to citizens by the political institutions of a democracy? (e.g., political parties, electoral systems, interest groups, access to public officials, legislative deliberations, and other public meetings)
5. How can citizens assess the performance of political institutions?

B. What relationships between government and religious institutions are appropriate in a democracy?

C. What relationships between civilian and military institutions are appropriate in a democracy?

D. What is the role of mass media in a democracy and what relationships between government and mass media are appropriate?

E. What is the role of a civil service in a democracy?

F. What should be the relationship between political institutions and civil society?



**V. What is citizenship in a democracy?**

**A. What is citizenship?**

1. What is citizenship in a democracy?
2. What is the significance of citizenship in a democracy?
3. What criteria for citizenship are compatible with democratic values and principles?

**B. What opportunities do democracies provide for individuals to take part in civic life?**

**C. What is the importance of the possibility of citizens' forming multiple loyalties (to other individuals, groups, causes, and communities) in a democracy?**

**D. What are the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizens?**

1. What comparisons can be made between the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy and those of individuals in other political systems?
  - a. What are alternative ways of understanding the individual's role in different political systems?
    - Communal membership, e.g., familial, ethnic, religious, tribal
    - Subject, e.g., under monarchical, theocratic, autocratic, or dictatorial rule
    - Citizen, e.g., in a republic and/or a democracy
  - b. What are alternative ways of conceptualizing the individual's orientation to the political system? e.g., subservient-passive-active; dependent-independent; child-adult (paternalism)
2. What comparisons can be made between the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy and those who are not citizens?
3. What comparisons can be made between the roles and status of resident aliens in a democracy and resident aliens in other political systems?

**E. What civic dispositions or traits of public and private character are important for the maintenance and improvement of democracy? (e.g., self-discipline and self-governance, respect for human rights, compassion, solidarity, reciprocity, civic mindedness, civility, tolerance, cooperativeness, mistrust of power, and skepticism)**

**F. What is the importance of the citizens' attitudes, dispositions, and behaviors to their civic relationships?**

1. Relationships with other citizens may be influenced by, e.g., civility, tolerance, respect for rights, fulfillment of responsibilities, discussion and mutual deliberation, cooperation, skepticism and wariness, trust, holding each other accountable, competitiveness
2. Relationships with the immediate community may be influenced by, e.g., consciousness of community membership, attentiveness to community affairs, consciousness of importance of participation, involvement in community affairs, promotion of social development
3. Relationships with governmental institutions may be influenced by, e.g., participation, monitoring and influencing use of governmental authority, assessing performance of

government, evaluating proposals for institutional reform, opposition to the exercise of governmental power inconsistent with constitutional restraints

4. Relationships with the overall political system may be influenced by, e.g., patriotism, loyalty to fundamental constitutional values and principles, attentiveness to public affairs, withdrawal of consent to constitutional arrangements

5. Relationships with the sovereign people may be influenced by, e.g., an individual's consciousness of membership, contribution to the society, having a stake in sovereignty, civic pride, the right to leave or renounce citizenship

## **VI. How do societies become and remain democratic?**

### **A. How do societies become democracies?**

1. What forces and events and the actions of individuals and groups have promoted movements toward democracy? (e.g., economic development and modernization; economic internationalization; mass media; migration; social opposition; education; international organizations and civil society)

2. What are stages in the development of democracy?

3. What are common problems in the development of democracy?

4. What criteria should be used to determine the degree to which a democracy is established? (e.g., see checklists such as those provided by reviewers from various nations which will be included on website at a later date)

5. What is the current state of democratization in specific countries and in the world as a whole?

### **B. What legacies of non-democratic rule may be inherited by democracies and how should they be dealt with?**

1. How can new democracies deal with ideas or patterns of thought and action inherited from non-democratic political cultures and systems?

2. What other legacies are inherited from non-democratic political systems and how should they be dealt with? (e.g., non-functional institutions, threat of military intervention, personal dependence on government, distrust of authority, breakdown of security, lawlessness, lack of political efficacy, lack of civic knowledge and skills, centralized command economies)

### **C. In what ways may political systems embody a mixture of democratic and non-democratic features?**

1. Are there non-democratic features that should be accepted in a democratic political system? (e.g., central banks, military hierarchy, independent government agencies, corporations, schools, families)

2. Are there non-democratic features that should not be accepted in a democratic political system? (e.g., political bosses, compulsory voting, nepotism, political corruption)

D. What conditions in a society can threaten the well-being or continued existence of a democracy?

E. What is the role of education for democratic citizenship in new and established democracies?

1. How can civic competence and civic responsibility be cultivated and sustained in a democratic society?
2. How does the possession or lack of possession of an adequate political vocabulary or conceptual frame of reference regarding civic life affect democratic citizenship?
3. What models of teaching or fostering knowledge, skills, and democratic civic dispositions or traits of character are compatible with democracy?
4. In addition to schools, what institutions, organizations, and experiences provide opportunities for the development of civic competence and responsibility?

## **VII. What roles do democracies play in world affairs?**

A. How is the world organized politically?

B. In what ways do nations influence each other?

1. How does one nation influence other nations?
2. How do relationships with other nations influence a nation's politics and society?

C. What are some of the most important international political institutions and what roles do they play in international life?

D. What are some of the most important international norms and conventions of democracy and human rights?

E. How do the domestic politics and constitutional principles of a nation affect its relations with other nations of the world?

F. What is transnational civil society and what roles does it play in establishing and maintaining constitutional democracies?

G. What international conditions can threaten the maintenance of a democracy?

H. Is there a relationship between democracy within nations and peace among nations?

I. What role should democracies play in encouraging democracy in the world?

## Annex 3

QUESTIONS TO ANALYSE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS<sup>34</sup>

1. Description of the problem and its origin.
2. Groups that are involved and their needs, interests and power means.
3. What visions, values and norms are to be distinguished with regard to this social problem?
4. Are there fundamental democratic values or constitutional rights at stake?
5. What is the role of the European/national government with regard to this problem?
6. What are the main points of the government policy? Which priorities and compromises?
7. What possibilities do citizens have to exercise influence on the decision-making process?
8. To what degree is the national policy influenced by international bodies with respect to this problem?
9. What are the different points of view of the political parties?
10. What standpoint is taken by the student? What are his/her arguments?

<sup>34</sup> Adapted from the approach of R. Gerritsen en C. Klaassen, *Leren denken over de maatschappij*.

NAEP Civics Assessment  
Organizing Questions and Content Summary For: Part II

II. What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?		
Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
<p>Fundamental values, principles</p> <p>Distinctive characteristics of American society</p> <p>Unity, diversity in American society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideals of American democracy.</li> <li>• American identity.</li> <li>• Costs, benefits of unity, diversity.</li> </ul> <p>Prevention and management of conflicts</p>	<p>American idea of constitutional government</p> <p>Distinctive characteristics of American society</p> <p>Role of voluntarism in American life</p> <p>Unity, diversity in American society</p> <p>Character of American political conflict</p> <p>Fundamental values, principles of American constitutional democracy</p> <p>Conflicts among values, principles in American political, social life</p> <p>Disparities between ideals, reality in American political, social life</p>	<p>American idea of constitutional government</p> <p>Distinctive characteristics of American society</p> <p>Role of voluntarism in American life</p> <p>Role of organized groups in political life</p> <p>Unity, diversity in American society</p> <p>Character of American political conflict</p> <p>Influence of classical liberalism, republicanism on American constitutional democracy</p> <p>Fundamental values, principles of American constitutional democracy</p> <p>Conflicts among values, principles in American political, social life</p> <p>Disparities between ideals, reality in American political, social life</p>

NAEP Civics Assessment  
Organizing Questions and Content Summary For: Part I

I. What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?		
Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
<p>Definition of government</p> <p>Difference between power, authority</p> <p>Necessity, purposes of government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make, carry out, enforce laws.</li> <li>• Manage conflicts.</li> <li>• Provide for the defense of the nation.</li> </ul> <p>Importance of rules, laws:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Purposes of rules, laws.</li> <li>• Evaluating rules, laws.</li> </ul> <p>Major difference between limited government, unlimited government</p>	<p>Definition of civic life, politics, government, civil society</p> <p>Difference between power, authority</p> <p>Necessity, purposes of politics, government</p> <p>Limited, unlimited governments</p> <p>The rule of law</p> <p>Purposes, uses of constitutions</p> <p>Conditions under which constitutional government flourishes</p> <p>Alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shared powers, parliamentary systems.</li> <li>• Confederal, federal, unitary systems.</li> </ul>	<p>Definition of civic life, politics, constitutional government, civil society</p> <p>Difference between power, authority</p> <p>Necessity, purposes of politics, government</p> <p>Limited, unlimited governments</p> <p>The rule of law</p> <p>Civil society, limited government</p> <p>Relationship of limited government to political, economic freedom</p> <p>Purposes, uses of constitutions</p> <p>Conditions under which constitutional government flourishes</p> <p>Alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shared powers, parliamentary systems.</li> <li>• Confederal, federal, unitary systems.</li> </ul> <p>Obligations of representatives in constitutional governments</p>

IV. What Is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations and to World Affairs?		
Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
<p>The concept of nation</p> <p>Interaction among nations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trade.</li> <li>• Diplomacy.</li> <li>• Cultural context.</li> <li>• Treaties and agreements.</li> <li>• Military force.</li> </ul> <p>Importance of peaceful resolution of international conflicts</p>	<p>Nation-states</p> <p>Interaction among nation-states</p> <p>U.S. relations with other nation-states</p> <p>Major governmental, nongovernmental international organizations</p> <p>Impact of the American concept of democracy, individual rights on the world</p> <p>The influence of other nations on American politics, society</p> <p>Effects of significant world political, demographic, environmental developments, and trends on the United States</p>	<p>Nation-states</p> <p>Interaction among nation-states</p> <p>The breakdown of order among nation-states</p> <p>Making, implementing U.S. foreign policy</p> <p>Ends and means of U.S. foreign policy</p> <p>Major foreign policy positions of the United States</p> <p>The influence of other nations on American politics, society</p> <p>Impact of the American concept of democracy, individual rights on the world</p> <p>Effects of significant world political, demographic, environmental developments, trends on the United States</p> <p>United States, major governmental and non-governmental organizations</p>

III. How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?		
Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
<p>Meaning, importance of the U.S. Constitution</p> <p>Major responsibilities, services of state governments</p> <p>Major responsibilities, services of local governments</p> <p>Key leaders in local, state, national governments</p> <p>Contacting public officials, agencies</p>	<p>Distributing, sharing, limiting powers of the national government</p> <p>Major responsibilities of national government for domestic, foreign policy</p> <p>The federal system</p> <p>Organization, major responsibilities of state, local governments</p> <p>Financing government through taxation</p> <p>Law in American society</p> <p>Political communication</p> <p>Political parties, interest groups, campaigns</p> <p>Voting, elections</p> <p>Civil society: nongovernmental associations, groups</p> <p>Forming, carrying out public policy</p> <p>Leaders in local, state, national governments: how to monitor, influence them</p>	<p>Distributing governmental power, preventing its abuse</p> <p>Major responsibilities of the national government:</p> <p>Constitutional status, major responsibilities of state, local governments</p> <p>Financing government through taxation</p> <p>Law in American society, protection of individual rights</p> <p>The public agenda</p> <p>Political communication: television, radio, press, political persuasion</p> <p>Political parties, interest groups, campaigns, elections</p> <p>Public opinion, behavior of the electorate</p> <p>Civil society: nongovernmental associations, groups</p> <p>Forming, carrying out public policy</p> <p>Leaders in local, state, national governments: how to monitor, influence them</p>



NAEP Civics Assessment  
Organizing Questions and Content Summary For: Part V

V. What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?	
Grade 4	Grade 8
<p>Meaning of citizenship; becoming a citizen</p> <p>Important rights of citizens</p> <p>Personal, civic responsibilities</p> <p>Civic dispositions that foster:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual independence.</li> <li>• Respect for human dignity.</li> <li>• Assumption of personal, political, economic responsibilities.</li> <li>• Participation in civic affairs.</li> <li>• Healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.</li> </ul> <p>Opportunities for civic participation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussing public issues.</li> <li>• Communicating with public officials and agencies.</li> <li>• Voting.</li> <li>• Attending meetings of governing bodies.</li> </ul> <p>Criteria for selecting leaders</p> <p>Importance of political leadership, public service</p>	<p>Difference between a subject and a citizen</p> <p>Meaning of citizenship; becoming a citizen</p> <p>Personal, political, economic rights</p> <p>Scope, limits of rights</p> <p>Personal, civic responsibilities</p> <p>Civic dispositions that foster:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual independence.</li> <li>• Respect for human dignity.</li> <li>• Assumption of personal, political, economic responsibilities.</li> <li>• Participation in civic affairs.</li> <li>• Healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.</li> </ul> <p>Opportunities for civic participation</p> <p>Criteria for selecting leaders</p> <p>Importance of political leadership, public service</p>
<p>Meaning of citizenship; becoming a citizen</p> <p>Personal, political, economic rights</p> <p>Relationships among personal, political, economic rights</p> <p>Scope, limits of rights</p> <p>Personal, civic responsibilities</p> <p>Relationship between politics and the attainment of individual and public goals</p> <p>Difference between political and social participation</p> <p>Civic dispositions that foster:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual independence.</li> <li>• Respect for human dignity.</li> <li>• Assumption of personal, political, economic responsibilities.</li> <li>• Participation in civic affairs.</li> <li>• Healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.</li> </ul> <p>Opportunities for civic participation</p> <p>Criteria for selecting leaders</p> <p>Importance of political leadership, public service</p>	<p>Meaning of citizenship; becoming a citizen</p> <p>Personal, political, economic rights</p> <p>Relationships among personal, political, economic rights</p> <p>Scope, limits of rights</p> <p>Personal, civic responsibilities</p> <p>Relationship between politics and the attainment of individual and public goals</p> <p>Difference between political and social participation</p> <p>Civic dispositions that foster:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual independence.</li> <li>• Respect for human dignity.</li> <li>• Assumption of personal, political, economic responsibilities.</li> <li>• Participation in civic affairs.</li> <li>• Healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.</li> </ul> <p>Opportunities for civic participation</p> <p>Criteria for selecting leaders</p> <p>Importance of political leadership, public service</p>

\*For further elaboration, see pages 24–28



### NAEP Civics Assessment: Participatory Skills\*

Interacting	Monitoring	Influencing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working in small groups, committees.</li> <li>Listening.</li> <li>Questioning to clarify information, points of view.</li> <li>Discussing public affairs.</li> <li>Participating in civic, interest groups.</li> <li>Building coalitions, enlisting support of other like-minded groups.</li> <li>Managing conflicts: mediating, negotiating, compromising, seeking consensus, adjudicating.</li> <li>Performing school and community service, serving as a representative or elected leader.</li> <li>Using print and electronic resources to acquire, exchange information.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discussing public affairs.</li> <li>Tracking public issues in the media.</li> <li>Researching public issues.</li> <li>Gathering information from government officials and agencies, interest groups, civic organizations.</li> <li>Attending public meetings and hearings.</li> <li>Interviewing people knowledgeable about civic issues.</li> <li>Questioning public officials, experts, others to elicit information, fix responsibility.</li> <li>Using print and electronic resources to acquire, exchange information.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Voting.</li> <li>Representing one's own or a group's interests.</li> <li>Petitioning.</li> <li>Writing letters, op-ed pieces, broadsides, pamphlets.</li> <li>Speaking, testifying before public bodies.</li> <li>Participating in civic organizations, political parties, interest groups.</li> <li>Supporting and opposing candidates or positions on public issues.</li> <li>Using computer networks to advance points of view on public affairs.</li> </ul>

\*For further elaboration, see pages 28-31

### NAEP Civics Assessment: Civic Dispositions\*

- Civic dispositions or traits of private and public character important to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy:
- Becoming an independent member of society.
  - Respecting individual worth and human dignity.
  - Assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen.
  - Participating in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful, and effective manner.
  - Promoting the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.

\*Measured in terms of students understanding of their nature and importance. For further elaboration, see pages 31-33





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