All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies

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Preface

Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) became a common goal of education policies in Europe in the late 1990s. EDC was strongly supported at political level but rather inconsistently covered by government initiatives. A study was therefore needed to look at policies in place and the gap between policy and practice. General trends had to be identified along with specific recommendations and ideas for action.

The All-European Study on EDC Policies was initiated in 2002. Its main goal was to map out the national EDC policies in Europe. The study involved the co-operation of a large number of people across Europe. Those who should in particular be thanked are the writers: Mr César Bîrzéa (Romania), Mr David Kerr (United Kingdom), Mr Rolf Mikkelsen (Norway), Mr Isak Froumin (the Russian Federation), Mr Bruno Losito (Italy), Mr Milan Pol (Czech Republic) and Mr Mitja Sardoc (Slovenia), with an initial contribution by Mr Cameron Harrison (United Kingdom) and Mr Bernd Baumgartl (Austria).

The EDC co-ordinators in member states played an important role in providing information for mapping the extent of EDC policies for the writers. Four key questions were posed:

- What policies exist?

- What implementation measures exist?

- What are the views of practitioners?

- What is the context for making policy?

The countries were clustered into regions in order to simplify the data-collection process. Although the regions might have different characteristics, the working method was the same in each case. The sources were policy documents, country reports from EDC co-ordinators and other miscellaneous documentation. The reports were only as good as the sources on which the writers relied and there were differences across the regions in this respect. There were also substantive differences within, as well as between, regions.

However, there were common characteristics that linked the contexts in different countries. In particular, all countries assigned the education system a large role in solving pressing socio-economic, political and cultural challenges in modern society, and EDC is part of this thrust because it covers topics such as diversity, identity, tolerance, rights and responsibilities. Generally speaking, three major conclusions could be drawn from the study:

- There is a real gap between declarations and what happens in practice. There appear to be two risks: the ignoring of declarations of intent, and the failure to supply adequate resources;

- The main "pillar" for EDC at present is the formal curriculum. This arises from the fact that a curriculum already exists, providing a ready-made framework and the possibility of a structured approach, particularly with regard to the transfer of knowledge;

- A more diversified approach – going beyond the curriculum and a need to develop partnership between stakeholders and practitioners – begins to emerge.

PART I

EDC Policies in Europe
– A Synthesis

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1. THE ALL-EUROPEAN STUDY ON EDC POLICIES AND LEGISLATION

1.1. The background of the study

In the late 1990s, one outcome of Council of Europe activities in the field of education was Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC), which became a common goal of education policies in Europe. Two major policy documents marked the trend:

- Resolution adopted by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education (Cracow, 15-17 October 2000);

- Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship (adopted by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002).

Both documents stress the pivotal role of EDC in education policies and reforms. In this sense, the Committee of Ministers' Recommendation is quite explicit: depending on the specific context of each education system, it is advisable to make EDC "a priority objective of educational policy-making and reforms".

In this context, as part of the co-operation between the Stability Pact/Enhanced Graz Process and the Council for Cultural Co-operation, a piece of Stocktaking Research was carried out on national government policies on EDC in the countries of South-Eastern Europe (2000-2001).[1] The results of the project were well received by policy-makers, practitioners and researchers throughout Europe. Consequently, it was decided to extend this approach to all European countries, using basically the research instrument initially elaborated for South-Eastern Europe.

Based on the Stocktaking Research experience and the results of the EDC Project of the Council of Europe (1997-2000), the All-European Study aimed at:

- identifying the current policies on EDC in all European countries;

- mapping the concrete measures taken by governments to ensure the effective implementation of these policies;

- collecting the views of a sample of practitioners and stakeholders on the implementation of EDC policies in the countries concerned.

The objectives were transposed into three key questions common to all participants at local, regional and European levels:

- What EDC policies exist?

- What implementation measures are taken?

- What are the views from practitioners and stakeholders on EDC policies?

1.2. Research design and methodology

The main goal of the All-European Study is to map the national policies on EDC across Europe and to share the findings for the benefit of users: policy-makers, researchers, practitioners, and all stakeholders involved in EDC policies. To do this, the research envisaged three levels of analysis:

- national level, by involving national EDC co-ordinators[2] and a sample of practitioners and stakeholders;

- regional level, by means of five regional studies, similar to Stocktaking Research for South-Eastern Europe;

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1. C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, *Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2002, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001) 45.
2. National EDC co-ordinators constitute a network of resource people appointed by each ministry of education to act as contact people within the EDC Project of the Council of Europe.

- all-European level, through the current synthesis.

This multi-level approach has allowed for the use of a wide range of sources:
- Information provided by national EDC co-ordinators in the form of

    o written contributions on national EDC policies;

    o legislative documents (constitutions, laws and regulations);

    o curricula, textbooks and methodological guides;

    o national programmes for EDC;

    o articles and research studies.

- Existing databases and comparative research projects related to EDC (e.g. the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education study, the European Values Survey, the Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe (CIDREE) comparative project on values education, the Eurydice database on education systems and curricula, the OECD study on cross-curricular competencies, the country reports on the implementation of the Human Rights Education Decade (UNHCHR), the Council of Europe research on school participation, the UNESCO regional project D@dalos);

- Information on practitioners' and stakeholders' views with the aid of focus groups in a limited number of countries; these qualitative research activities were carried out by national EDC co-ordinators.

It is the regional level analyses however, that make up the core of this study. For this purpose, the following five regions were identified:
- Northern Europe: Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden;

- Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom;

- Southern Europe: Andorra, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Turkey;

- Central Europe: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia;

- Eastern Europe: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Ukraine.

The studies dedicated to these regions are published separately. They complete the analysis previously limited to the region of South-Eastern Europe,[3] which covered Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia.

In concrete terms, the All-European Study started from the following questions:
- What are the official EDC policies in formal education? What policy documents exist on EDC? What is the legislative basis for EDC policies?

- What do governments do to implement their EDC policies? How do they transform policy intentions into what type of government action? Are there implementation strategies? What obstacles exist in implementing policies?

- What are practitioners' views on EDC policies? Are policies creating the conditions that will enable appropriate practices? Are there provisions and mechanisms for the consultation of stakeholders and practitioners?

Members of the Council of Europe Education Committee and the EDC national co-ordinators finally validated the data obtained in the regional studies. They were invited to consult five regional studies[4]

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3. C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, *Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2002, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001)45.

4. D. Kerr, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Western Europe Region*; B. Losito, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Southern Europe Region*; R. Mikkelsen, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Northern Europe Region*; I. Froumin, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Eastern Europe Region*; M. Pol, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Central Europe Region*, [all] Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2003.

before finalising them.

Generally speaking, the results obtained on the basis of this research design went beyond the initial purpose. Regional studies were therefore able to consider certain issues over and above those contained in the basic questions mentioned above:

- What is EDC policy and why do we need it?

- Why does EDC need a distinctive policy framework?

- What difference exists between policy statements and practice?

- What is the policy in use at different levels of the education system?

As a result, the All-European Study proved useful in providing at least two bodies of information:

- a systematic description of EDC policies across Europe;

- an empirical analysis of the compliance gap, namely the differences between political statements, policy intentions and implementation measures.

Despite these undeniable benefits, the results were limited by:

- the difficulty of determining responsibilities for education policies, especially in the case of federal states; this is the reason why the study is focused less on national policies and more on the various levels of the state (e.g. central, federal, *Länder*, autonomous regions);

- the five regions have no specific identity, historically or culturally justified; their demarcation is merely the result of certain methodological reasons;

- for the most part, only official documents were used;

- only some aspects of education policies were considered;

- the studies relied at times on indirect sources or translations (hence the difficulties related to EDC terminology or even basic concepts);

- the absence of studies on EDC policies' impact.

The above limitations do not invalidate our study. They simply give a more realistic picture of the results.

2. THE EDC POLICY CYCLE

Our synthesis is based primarily on the data included in the national and regional reports. It is, however, more than a mere juxtaposition of the five regional studies.

This is why the current synthesis focuses on EDC policies as a process, unlike the regional studies, which are more product-orientated. This differentiation of roles allows us to consider, at the European level, the global aspects that could not be dealt with at the regional level. We are referring to the following aspects:

- EDC as a public policy issue;

- EDC policies as a system of encapsulating ideal values and defining practices for public education;

- differences between EDC policy and practice;

- interpretation of policy statements by practitioners and stakeholders;

- the compliance gap, that is to say, the discrepancies between expectations, implementation measures and support systems.

These aspects will be considered in the chapters that follow.

Before we proceed to these particular aspects of EDC policies, however, it would be useful to take one more look at terminology. This is all the more necessary as one of the conclusions of regional studies refers to the wide diversity of terms currently in use. For instance, the very concept of citizenship has different meanings in various countries and languages. In Appendix I – drawn up with the help of our students[5] at the Central European University in Budapest – we have the equivalent of "citizenship" in various national languages. We noticed that the terms refer to the political community (the polity or the city) as well as to the state, nation, homeland or cultural community.

In a similar manner, despite an implicit agreement on the meaning of EDC (in the sense of education for democracy or learning democracy), the terms used in a range of contexts are extremely diverse: political education (Germany), civic education (France), citizenship education (UK), social education (Estonia), personal and social development (Portugal), societal science (Denmark), and so on.

In general, all participants in the research accepted the conventional meaning given by the Council of Europe. It was, after all, the Council of Europe that launched the concept of education for democratic citizenship (EDC) following the Second Summit of Heads of State and Government(1997). This particular phrase has a broader meaning, being an equivalent of democracy-learning, which points to the fact that EDC is a common education aim and a major trend of education policies in Europe:

> EDC is a set of practices and principles 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.

This generic definition was the common reference for all the national and regional studies on which our current summary is based.

2.1. Politics, policy and practice

Policies are statements intended to codify certain values, to project images of an ideal society and establish practices in accordance with those values. In other words, the policy exercise shapes the identity of a given society, defines practices and directs change processes. Alternatively, according to

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5. We are referring to the summer course on "Intercultural Citizenship" held at the Central European University in the years 1999 to 2001 and attended by students from 35 countries.

the definition given by the authorised seminal works,[6] policies are:
- operational statements of values;

- a purposive course of action;

- statements of prescriptive intent;

- pursuit of authorised purposes;

- a projected programme of goals, values and practices.

Policies give meaning to collective action. They are established by policy-makers at an aggregate level of social organisation: groups, communities, institutions, organisations, nations and supranational entities. According to Colebatch,[7] for policies to exist three conditions must be fulfilled:
- authority, meaning that policies are expressed by authorised decision-makers;

- expertise, meaning that any policy formulation presupposes knowledge and competence in a specific area of social action;

- order, meaning coherence, deliberate action and a decision on policy options.

In the case of EDC, policy statements formulate courses of action according to certain values intrinsic to democratic citizenship. EDC policy statements, seemingly vague and abstract at times, incorporate a model of society and already suggest a certain type of action.

In this way, as Olgers observed,[8] EDC policies could be implemented in five policy domains:
- society as a whole – which means that the entire society as well as the polity can be analysed from an EDC policy point of view;

- the system of education, namely the EDC perspective on education policy in general;

- the educational institution, meaning its internal organisation;

- curriculum, both formal and non-formal;

- school subjects.

From this perspective, policies make up the core of a decisional trio representing politics, policies and practice.

Unlike "policies", a term which designates a deliberate choice of certain values and courses of action,[9] "politics" refers to the acquisition and exercise of power in a polity. Since educational institutions operate in a well-defined political space, it is said that politics always precedes policies. For example, the formulation of EDC policies at the European level was possible only in a certain political context, namely after all the heads of state and government (First Summit, October 1993) had opted for the very first time in the history of Europe for the same type of society: democracy. In this political context, the common EDC policy orientations had already clarified certain common values and the education meant to serve this type of society. At the national level, the spread of EDC policies in the late 1990s naturally completed the evolution.

Policies lead to a certain type of action, sometimes induced by policy statements. It is what we call practice, which begins with a strategy (establishing objectives and devising plans to achieve them), followed by actions and specific operations (*manoeuvre* or tactics).

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6. M. Kogan, *Education Policy-making*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1975, p. 55; C.E. Lindblom and E.J. Woodhouse, *The Policy-making Process*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1993; D. Yanow, *What Does a Policy Mean?*, Washington, DC, Georgetown University Press, 1996, p. 201.
7. H.K. Colebatch, *Policy*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2000, p. 7.
8. T. Olgers, "Escaping the Box of Pandora" in *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Policies and Regulatory Frameworks*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 2002, pp. 53-4.
9. In many European languages (e.g. German, French, Italian) the same word is used for both politics and policy. This is because in practice it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the two terms: policy-makers are constantly competing with one another and the decisions they make are often based on ideological arguments.

These specifications are necessary in order to understand EDC policy processes across Europe, as well as the relationships between politics, policies and practice at the national level. Ultimately, the policy analyses carried out as part of regional studies were focused on how the three levels of reference were linked to one another. The three generic questions that make up the identity of our study and to which we referred in the first chapter actually do nothing but reiterate this three-level reference: politics-policies-practice.

2.2. EDC as a matter of public policies

EDC is one of several education aims. It was especially after the Cracow Ministerial Conference (October 2000) that this particular aim became a priority of all education policies across Europe. This prioritisation is also the main conclusion of regional studies. Regardless of the education system, or of cultural and political specificity, EDC is now undoubtedly on the public policy agenda in all European countries. The differences are to be found mainly in the definition, the place it holds in public policies and its relationship with overall education policies.

In the late 1990s, although approaches varied, most European countries adopted education for democratic citizenship as a common reference point for all learning-democracy processes. The global meaning adopted by the Council of Europe, by means of its project on EDC, covers a broad semantic area that includes specific activities[10] such as human rights education, political education, peace education and education for democracy. This umbrella concept designates an overall education aim, common to all democratic societies.

Alongside the generic term EDC mostly present in education policies, the restricted meaning of civics or civic education continues to be used. If EDC covers all educational activities for the training of citizens (including formal, non-formal and informal learning), civics or civic education designates only those school subjects or that part of the formal curriculum devoted to EDC.

EDC-related issues hold an essential place in public policies. They are to be encountered in many sectoral policies, especially in those linked to human resources development (HRD). Citizenship is considered to be at the core of human capacity. Consequently, all HRD policies include EDC-connected topics such as participation, empowerment, diversity, equity, multiculturalism and social cohesion. The massive presence of EDC on the public policies agenda is due to the fact that the very concept of citizenship designates primarily a type of society, a system of values and an ideal learning community. To carry out this project of society, EDC has bred high expectations, often unrealistic.

In terms of education policies, regional studies revealed two situations. On the one hand, in some countries such as Croatia, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, EDC policies represent a distinct part of public policies. EDC is believed to be so important for the future of democracy that it is granted a place apart on the public agenda. This obviously leads to greater visibility and political support but it does not necessarily entail the allotment of adequate resources, especially financing.

On the other hand, in the majority of cases – such as Austria, Belgium, Germany, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine – EDC is just one component of education policies. EDC appears either as an explicit education aim or as a priority issue in the education reform programmes (e.g. the Millenium project in Slovakia).

Irrespective of aims and objectives, institutional setting or political backing, the presence of EDC in

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10. For details, see the Council of Europe reports: K. H. Dürr, V. Spajic-Vrkas and J. Ferreira Martins, *Strategies for Learning Democratic Citizenship* and C. Bîrzéa, *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Lifelong Learning Perspective* (2000).

education policies is expressed by a series of key issues, common to all the countries covered by the survey. The study devoted to the Western Europe region[11] provides us with a list of five common policy areas related to EDC:

- Individual/personal: developing individual potential; moral and character education;

- Economic: employability or meeting employers' needs; productivity and enhancing the national economy, particularly in relation to European and international competitors;

- Social, cultural and political: inclusiveness, developing a fair society; social justice; recognising the cultural and linguistic diversity of society; recognising cultural and historical heritage; promoting democracy and citizenship education;

- Knowledge, skills and standards: raising standards; stimulating creativity; stressing the importance of mathematics and science; preparation for the knowledge society;

- Extending learning: raising participation in post-compulsory education; preparing for lifelong learning.

In general, by including EDC on the education policy agenda, policy-makers expect the following types of added value:

- help young people and adults be better prepared to exercise the rights and responsibilities stipulated in national constitutions;

- help them acquire the skills required for active participation in the public arena as responsible and critical citizens as well as organised citizens (in civil society);

- increase interest in educational change, stimulate bottom-up innovation and grassroots initiatives of practitioners;

- encourage a holistic approach to education by including non-formal and informal learning in education policies.

Another interesting finding of our study refers to the role of the state in EDC policy development. In all cases, without exception, EDC policies were the outcome of state structures, usually the ministry of education or its equivalent. Regardless of their actual name or organisation, ministries of education are responsible for defining, adopting and monitoring EDC policies. EDC policy is considered to be an issue of interest to the education system as a whole and consequently the responsibility of government structures working in education.

Yet another interesting conclusion has to do with the effective participation of state structures in EDC policies. Undoubtedly, the data from the national reports indicate that the modern state exercises its five traditional missions[12] in EDC as well, acting as:

- executive body;

- regulatory mechanism;

- symbolic power;

- source of authority and legitimisation;

- bureaucratic structure.

However, the data in the national and regional reports show that what we take for the generic meaning of state is no longer a monolithic entity or a compact organisation. All over Europe the administrative machinery comprises a wide range of organisational settings, from specialised ministries (federal, national or *Länder*) to government agencies and offices, regional centres, departmental institutions and local authorities. Within this complex organisational network we have complementarity and

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11. D. Kerr, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Western Europe Region*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2003, pp. 19-20. Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 21.
12. J. Madsen, *Educational Reform at the State Level: The Politics and Problems of Implementation*, London, Palmer Press, 1994.

interactions, as well as situations of overlap and even competition (for resources and public image).

Consequently, when speaking about public policies we must perceive the state rather as a multiple actor than as a single and homogenous player. This conclusion is very important for the implementation of EDC policies. When initiated by state and government structures, EDC policies become effective only to the extent to which they are assumed and implemented by a great number of stakeholders and practitioners.

2.3. Models of EDC policy processes in Europe

The outcome of the previous analysis is that ownership of EDC policies is a key factor for effective implementation.

Initially, as already mentioned above, authorised decision-makers (ministries of education, as a rule) define policy goals and make choices on the desired course of action. To become effective, the policy orientation must be set in action in one of the following two ways:

a) The top-down effect, from leadership to subordinate officials, with the force of legitimate authority, hierarchical relationships and common membership (in public services) as mobilising factors.

b) The spillover effect, through partnerships, networks and organisational coalitions as well as by involving other agencies and participants outside governments. In this case, policy implementation goes beyond organisational boundaries. Instead of unilateral transmission of authorised decisions in one single organisation, EDC policy is shared by a multitude of stakeholders and practitioners. Moreover, through the spillover effect or progressive ownership, EDC policy becomes a common concern of all major players on the public arena: the state, civil society, the market and the media.

The two effects are not mutually exclusive alternatives. Rather they tend to reinforce one another within a single process of policy implementation as shown in the Western Europe report:

> There is a considerable co-operation between top-down and bottom-up approaches to EDC implementation in most countries. Governments, ministries and government agencies create the legislation and policy framework within which schools, teachers and support agencies implement EDC. Countries report considerable co-operation between government agencies and specialist NGO networks. Most countries also have growing assessment and inspection procedures, which help to provide evidence about policies, practices and standards. Meanwhile, there is also an extensive market for textbooks, which in some countries are under government control and in others open to free market publishing.[13]

Depending on the form of governance or education system, or public interest in EDC policies, the weight carried by the two systems differs from one country to another, as stated in the Northern Europe report:

> The tensions between centralised and decentralised systems and the number of lessons vary a great deal and affect the implementation. In decentralised systems, like, for example, Sweden and Finland, municipalities, schools, teachers and students can choose more freely the content, methods and time used for different areas of EDC with the possibility of a weaker general education. Local decision-making, on the other hand, strengthens local democracy with the possibility of stronger citizenship education. In more centralised systems like, for example, Estonia and Norway, all the EDC-related content is compulsory. In some countries the students meet the subject in all or most stages, in other countries only in a few stages. In some countries the students have grades in this subject, in others they only pass or fail.[14]
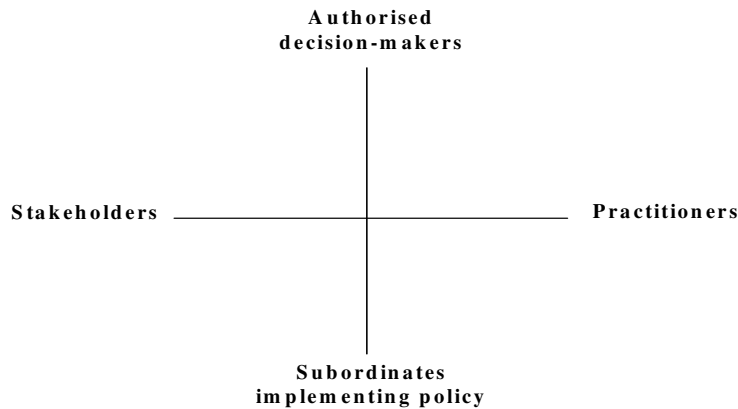
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13. Kerr, op. cit., p. 41.
14. Mikkelsen, op. cit., p. 8.

Our study did not set out to classify education systems according to the type of governance. Our data on this issue were limited. What was of great interest, however, was the manner of combining the two effects within the EDC policy processes. To be precise, we paid attention in particular to the manner in which the two complementary dimensions interact:

- The hierarchical dimension results from the relationship between the two constituencies of public administration: top decision-making and decentralised implementation. Here, the policy process goes through three standard sequences: goals, choices and implementation measures.

- The organisational dimension focuses on inclusiveness, participation and social mobilisation of the key players outside government structures. We are referring to all stakeholders and practitioners[15] interested in EDC policies.

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                    Authorised
                 decision-makers
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Stakeholders _____|_____ Practitioners
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                  Subordinates
               implementing policy
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The above diagram represents the two dimensions in the form of two perpendicular axes. The vertical axis includes top decision-makers, ministries of education, national agencies, regional and local authorities and school inspectors. The horizontal axis includes any form of player on the public arena acting in their own name or on behalf of an organisation, whether simply as citizens or as professionals. They may be associated with government bodies or they may create their own implementing organisations (NGOs, foundations, trusts, interest groups). Moreover, organised citizens may initiate alternative policies or may contest official policies.

According to the data in national and regional studies, we find that governments, stakeholders and practitioners interact in various ways. There seem to be four prevailing models of interaction:

a) Information consists of a one-way relationship in which public administration produces and makes EDC policies accessible. This information provision is constant throughout the entire policy cycle (design, implementation, evaluation). Basically, the information is provided through:

    o policy papers and operational plans;

    o policy instruments and implementation guidelines;

    o final reports and public accountability information.

    Examples: Programme of civic education implementation in education institutions (Lithuania); Learning Democracy (Austria); Strategic Plan (Malta); Values in Practice (Denmark); National Programme on EDC (Romania); White Paper (Slovenia); National Human Rights Education Programme (Croatia); Framework for Education for Democracy (Ukraine).

b) Consultation is a two-way relationship through which practitioners and stakeholders provide feedback to the government. As a rule, consultation processes can be organised at any stage of the

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15. We make the following distinctions:

Practitioners = professionals involved in formal and non-formal education who apply or carry out EDC activities (e.g. teachers, head teachers, trainers, mediators, advisers, researchers and think-tanks).

Stakeholders = anybody who has an interest or will be affected by EDC activities (e.g. parents, students, youth leaders, interest groups, journalists, NGOs, human rights activists and political parties).

policy cycle. Here are some of the methods of consultation on EDC policies:

- o large-scale opinion surveys;
- o invitation to comment on regulation instruments (legislation, implementation programmes, curricula, guidelines);
- o use of focus groups or practitioners' panels;
- o inclusion of stakeholders and practitioners in peer reviews.

Examples: Advisory Group on EDC (Turkey); Association of Civics Teachers (Slovakia); *Politische Bildung Online* (Germany); Consultation of the Union of School Leaders (Sweden); Civic Education Study (Nordic Countries); Interethnic Initiative (Bulgaria); Electronic Portal on Civic Education (Russian Federation).

c) Partnership presupposes active participation and the exercise of a shared responsibility in joint structures. Its prerequisites are mutual trust, equal standing and policy dialogue. Even if the government is ultimately responsible for policy formulation, partnerships guarantee a high level of involvement of a limited number of practitioners and stakeholders. The most frequent forms of partnership are:

- o contractual co-operation;
- o mixed organisations;
- o joint projects;
- o corporate responsibility.

Examples: States General of the School (Italy); Human Rights Inter-agency Programme (Norway); Association for Citizenship Teaching (England); Local Area Partnerships (Ireland); Student circles and student self-government (Hungary); School- and Community-based Initiative on EDC (Albania); Foundation Partners (Bulgaria); Parents' Council (Poland).

d) Alternative action consists of a bottom-up approach, based on grassroots initiatives by practitioners and stakeholders. They may propose alternative goals and designs as well as alternative policies. Here are some of the most frequently used methods:

- o submission of alternative draft laws;
- o alternative policy proposals;
- o independent evaluation;
- o stakeholders' juries;
- o pilot projects.

Examples: Experimental and Pilot Programme on EDC (Greece); The Voice of Youth in Helsinki 2000-2005 (local project in Finland); Democracy Centre (Austria); Jaan Tönnison Institute (Estonia); demonstration schools within the programme Values, Democracy and Participation (Norway); Civic Education Project (Czech Republic); Civic Education in self-government schools (Poland); Alternative Academic Educational Network (Serbia).

3. THREE RELATED POLICY ARENAS: INTENDED POLICY, ACTUAL POLICY AND POLICY IN USE

EDC policies are not limited to vague statements and general guidelines, nor do they take the form of utopian speeches that have nothing to do with reality. On the contrary, as we have seen in the previous chapter, EDC policy statements incorporate three standard issues:

- a desired goal (e.g. a certain type of citizenship);

- a set of values that define this ideal type of society;

- a prescribed course of action.

In this way, EDC policy is actually an operational complex that combines discourse, normative texts and effective practice.

Based on these assumptions, Bowe, Ball and Gold[16] defined three operational levels in education policies:

- intended policy refers to what the various interest groups expect from education: this level has to do with policy goals, policy influence and authority;

- actual policy refers to the texts that support policy decisions: legislation, implementation programmes, action plans, written curricula, guidelines;

- policy in use refers to effective EDC practices at the school and local levels, as well as interpretation of EDC policies by grassroots practitioners.

We shall now break up our analysis according to these three levels of EDC policies.

3.1. Intended policy: the level of policy statements

Policy statements represent a special form of discourse that is accessible and quite general, because it addresses a large and heterogeneous audience.

At this level of analysis, the data in the national and regional reports indicate the following trends:

- EDC appears as a common policy goal for all public education systems in Europe;

- regardless of the terminology, there is a core content of EDC policy statements across Europe;

- in many cases these common EDC policy statements are inspired by the Council of Europe documents on EDC (particularly the Resolution of the Cracow Ministerial Conference[17] and the Committee of Ministers' Recommendation on EDC[18]);

- EDC policy statements seldom take a concrete form through implementation programmes and operational plans; but, where these operational policy documents do exist, they are integrated into the overall education policy texts.

3.1.1. EDC policy discourse across Europe

All European countries have openly-declared policy goals related to EDC. In all public education systems across Europe, democracy learning (in the broad sense covered by "education for democratic citizenship") is an explicit aim.

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16. R. Bowe, S. J. Ball and A. Gold, *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*, London, Routledge, 1992.
17. DG IV/EDU/CIT(2000)40, Resolution adopted by the Council of Europe Ministers of Education at their 20th session, Cracow, Poland, 15-17 October 2000.
18. Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states, on Education for Democratic Citizenship (adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies).

The main reason for this policy choice is the conviction of policy-makers that the health and stability of democracy depend to a large extent on the civic engagement and capacity of European citizens. However, the most reliable and recent research data (e.g. European Values Study, Eurobarometer-2002, IEA Civic Education Project) point to a decline in the participation and interest of young people in politics and the polity.

The emphasis on EDC at the national level reflects the new political circumstances in Europe. As recent analyses[19] show, European countries are concerned about the condition of their own democracy and the continual erosion of civic capital. Education for democracy and EDC policies are seen as an unfailing means of consolidating democracy in their societies.

3.1.2. *Policy implementation programmes*

In general, EDC policy statements go no further than the first two elements, namely intended policy and actual policy. In the majority of countries included in our analysis, the third element is lacking, namely policy in use – for example, a course of action or the prescribed practice.

There are two causes for this omission of policy in use:
- On the one hand, policy-makers are tempted to mix politics with policy. As a result, they have confined themselves to an ideological discourse, limited to statements of political principles and value options. The trio politics–policy–practice is thus reduced to the first two elements, while the normative part proper, which transfers goals into action, is often ignored.

- On the other hand, in many instances, EDC policy programmes are either an integral part of existing reform processes or encompassed in overall policy implementation programmes. In this case, EDC policies or their respective implementation measures are simply not sufficiently visible.

In this sense, one regional analysis – that for South-Eastern Europe[20] – built a common framework for EDC policy implementation. The framework consisted of eight questions:
- What measures are in place that would lead to the implementation of this policy? Do these measures include a specific implementation programme?

- Is there a published implementation programme for these measures? Is it widely circulated? Have the major stakeholders been consulted and are they involved – or are there plans for their involvement? Have dates been set for the completion of tasks within the programme and of the programme itself?

- Is there clear political support for this programme? Is there any significant opposition? If so, from what source/s?

- Are there any pilot programmes established? If so, what is the scale of the pilot (number of schools taking part)?

- Which institution/s is/are responsible for this implementation programme and for ensuring its success? Where does the final responsibility for the programme lie?

- Are there any public/NGO partnerships involved?

- Are there figures available for the financial support of this programme? How do the resources match up to the order of magnitude of the task?

- What arrangements are there for monitoring the progress and success or failure of this programme?

The common framework for policy implementation remains primarily a research tool. It may, however, prove useful in applications specific to EDC policies in various countries.

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19. C. Naval, M. Print and R. Veldhuis, "Education for democratic citizenship in the new Europe: context and reform", *European Journal of Education*, 2002, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 107-128.
20. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 23.

3.2. Actual policy: the context of policy production

The internal logic of policy statements reveals a normative discourse. High-level officials, in their capacity as agents of legitimate authority, hierarchically transmit their decisions on how to pursue a specific goal. The most effective form of transmitting decisions is that of formal communication and normative texts. This is why, even though a large number of stakeholders and practitioners may join in later on, initial EDC policy formulations take the form of normative frameworks: regulatory instruments, formal curricula, guidelines and methodologies.

3.2.1. Regulatory instruments

There is a great diversity of regulatory documents on EDC. For the most part they are legislative texts on education or the constitutional laws.

a) Constitutions

Despite the extreme diversity (historical, cultural, social and religious) of European countries, all national constitutions incorporate the basic principles of democratic citizenship. They contain explicit references to the three fundamental values of the Council of Europe, namely: respect for human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law. As a consequence, there is a definite constitutional base for EDC policies across Europe.

b) Education laws

National laws on education contain two types of references to EDC:

- In the general sense of an overall education aim (education for democracy, citizenship education, political education or democracy learning), EDC is perceived as a specific goal of education policies. In this case, EDC appears either in the preamble of education laws or as a separate chapter (e.g. Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Turkey).

- In the restricted sense of school subjects (civics or civic education), EDC is seen as a priority at the level of contents, curricula and teaching activities (e.g. Austria, Cyprus, Latvia, Luxembourg).

In the first case EDC refers to the lifelong learning system (including formal, non-formal and informal education). In the second case EDC is limited to formal education and formal curriculum. In most cases, the education laws include both references (e.g. France, Greece, Iceland, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Sweden).

3.2.2. Formal curriculum provisions for EDC

Regional studies include specific references to the location of EDC in the formal curriculum. This particular interest in EDC within the formal curriculum is due to the following reasons:

- national curriculum is the main instrument for implementing EDC policies;

- formal curriculum provides basic knowledge on democracy and allows the systematic acquisition of civil and social competences;

- formal curriculum represents the visible side of learning situations in school contexts; it is the centre of attention for decision-makers, teachers and parents as the object of school assessments and it leads to diplomas or recognised certificates;

- the greater part of research and official data refers to formal curriculum provisions; the data are easier to obtain and relatively comparable.

According to the data synthesised in Appendix II, there is a great diversity of formal curriculum provisions across Europe. The differences refer to the following aspects:

- Depending on the place of EDC in the formal curriculum we have the following provisions:

  o a specific subject with its own place in the weekly timetable;

- specific curriculum inserts or cross-curricular themes – in this case EDC-related content is infused into all specialised subjects;

- a process of permeation through conventional subjects – this presupposes integrated programmes across the entire curriculum;

- a combination of EDC as a separate subject, integrated programmes and cross-curricular contents.

- The names designating EDC in the formal curriculum are extremely diverse:

  - names that focus on civics –

    civics or civic education (Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Czech Republic, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Serbia), civic culture (Liechtenstein, Romania, Slovenia), citizenship education (Belgium, the Netherlands, Ukraine, UK/England), introduction to civic and legal education (Russian Federation);

  - names that focus on political education –

    civic, social and political education (Ireland), civic, legal and social education (France), democracy and human rights (Turkey), education for human rights and democratic citizenship (Croatia); political education (Germany), political system (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), law education (Armenia, Ukraine), principles of civic society (Lithuania), constitutional studies (Azerbaijan);

  - names that focus on social studies –

    social studies (Cyprus, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland), social sciences (Andorra, Denmark, Latvia, Slovakia, Slovenia), social subjects (Norway); science of society (Slovakia), man and society (Azerbaijan), life skills (Armenia, Iceland); living together (France), social, personal and health education (Ireland), personal and social development (Portugal, UK/Scotland), knowledge about society (Poland), social education (Estonia);

  - names that imply various disciplinary combinations –

    history and civic education (Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, San Marino), history, civic education and economics (Cyprus, Italy, San Marino), history and social studies (Finland, Poland), anthropology and social studies (Hungary), religious and moral education (UK/Scotland, Poland), study of man and ethics (Hungary), civic education and ethics (Slovenia), ethics, social sciences, geography and history (Spain).

- The age limits are 7 and 18: in other words, there is a wide coverage of the school system (ISCED levels 1, 2 and 3).[21]

- The allocation of teaching hours for EDC is 1-2 hours weekly. In cases where EDC is delivered through integrated programmes or cross-curricular themes, there is no fixed time allocation for EDC.

We noticed several interesting regional trends:

- EDC appears as a separate subject especially in the South-Eastern, Central and Eastern European regions, where the political changes of the 1990s led to a need for greater curricular support for EDC in the form of a specific and mandatory subject.

- The integrated approach prevails in the Western and Northern European reports; in most cases, EDC is a non-statutory part of the curriculum.

- In Southern Europe the mixed model prevails: the cross-curricular and integrated approaches coexist with EDC as a specific subject.

- In all regions the integrated approach is prevalent in primary education; EDC as a separate subject is more frequent in secondary education (ISCED levels 2 and 3).

Despite these sound curricular provisions for EDC, a more careful analysis reveals the following

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21. International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) was designed by UNESCO in the early 1970s to serve "as an instrument suitable for assembling, compiling and presenting statistics of education both within individual countries and internationally".

discrepancies:
- Although all countries claim that EDC is a priority goal, actual curricular provisions prove to be insufficient. In real terms this means:
    - weak position in relation to more traditional curriculum subjects (those leading to formal certificates, final and entrance examinations);
    - too little time allotted in the weekly timetable (1-2 hours);
    - prevalent non-mandatory curriculum status;
    - uncertain identity in the case of some integrated and cross-curricular approaches.
- Not all curriculum documents contain references to the skills and competences, values and personal dispositions required by EDC as a key area of learning; in many cases, the formal curriculum documents for EDC are limited to lists of topics or political statements.
- In some cases, EDC curricula are based on an analysis of actual learning conditions. There are, however, many situations where we have merely an imitation or reflection of external experiences motivated more by concerns for political correctness than an analysis of actual learning needs.

Essentially, the above conclusions show that:
- Gaps persist between the central position of EDC in education policies and effective formal curriculum provisions; in other words, formal provisions for EDC indicate compliance gaps among policy intentions, policy delivery, and effective practice.
- It is obvious that, owing to increased pressure on the formal curriculum as the main provider of learning situations, the manoeuvring space for EDC is quite limited; the solution envisaged already in most European countries is increasingly to involve non-formal and informal learning as alternative providers of EDC.

3.3. Policy in use: the challenge of practice

Normative texts and support documents are not enough, though they provide sound formal communication and an official framework for daily activities.

Nevertheless, as pointed out in the regional report on Southern Europe,[22] there is a constant gap between the intended curriculum (policy expectations, aims and objectives) and the implemented curriculum (actual teaching/learning situations). Based on the research data from the second IEA Civic Education Study, the Southern Europe report draws attention to the need to take into account effective learning opportunities, real practice or policy in use. As we have seen, this conclusion is shared by all regional reports.

An attempt to account for the implemented curriculum will be made in the following sections.

3.3.1. Teachers and teaching methods

EDC policies cannot be implemented without the effective participation of teachers. This has led to major efforts to enable teachers to become effective in EDC policy implementation. Although EDC *per se* is not a specialisation offered in initial teacher training, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on EDC in continuing professional development. Such EDC-related in-service teacher training activities allow for the direct experience of new methods focused on experiential and co-operative learning, problem-solving, learning by doing, social dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution.

In most cases, in-service teacher training activities have been the result of ad hoc initiatives,

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22. B. Losito, op. cit., p. 16.

school-based schemes or school–civil society collaboration. Seldom were there cases where EDC-related teacher training activities were brought together under one government programme or one EDC policy implementation scheme (e.g. Association for Citizenship Teaching in UK/England, Federal Centre for Civic Education in Russian Federation, New Horizons teacher training programme of Czech universities, civics and citizenship studies for teacher training in Hungary).

The innovative nature of EDC inspired many training programmes, especially in the following areas: values orientation, the lifelong-learning perspective, non-formal education activities, new basic skills and competences.

In the case of initial training, we must take into account the differences in training EDC teachers according to education level. Primary school EDC is taught especially to general subjects teachers, so there is no explicit EDC training as such. At the secondary level, however, where specialist teachers teach EDC, it often appears as a secondary specialisation alongside the main one (history, geography, social and political sciences).

The overall conclusion here is that, despite the importance it is given in policy statements, teacher-training schemes do not give enough support to EDC implementation efforts. This observation can be inferred quite easily even from the study on Western Europe,[23] a region with long-standing experience in EDC policies:

> The overall pattern in the Western Europe region is of limited, sporadic teacher training related to EDC, with the majority of it generalist in initial teacher training and optional in terms of in-service training. This does not match with the crucial role of teachers in developing effective EDC practices. It raises serious questions about the ability and effectiveness of teachers to promote the more active, participatory approaches associated with the reforms of citizenship or civic education in many countries.

3.3.2.   *School organisation*

The recent history of school improvement in Europe[24] has been directly linked to the most typical EDC issues:
- decentralisation of decision-making;
- student participation;
- democracy in school life;
- quality assurance;
- school–community relationships.

Looked at in this way, regional studies review numerous experiences of school improvement inspired by EDC principles:
- participation in collective decision-making and school management (e.g. school councils and pupils' parliaments);
- introducing rights and responsibilities into school organisation (e.g. school charter, youth forums);
- participation in youth and student organisations (e.g. youth clubs, student associations);
- the practice of dialogue, negotiation and consensus-seeking in daily school-life situations (e.g. students' ombudsman, class speakers, hearings for young people).
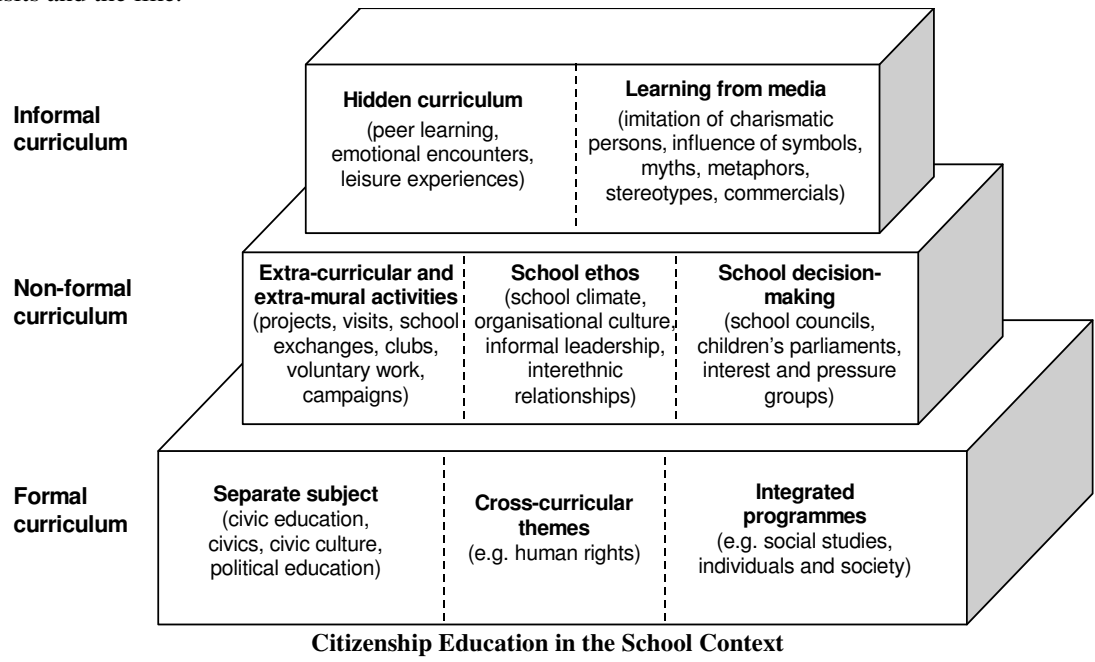
Many of these activities consist in non-formal learning situations: projects, charity events, meetings

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23. D. Kerr, op. cit., p. 38.
24. P. Dalin, *School Development. Theories and Strategies. An International Handbook*, London, Cassell, 1998.

with local political leaders, citizenship days, mock trials, award schemes, youth action, residential visits and the like.

Informal curriculum	**Hidden curriculum** (peer learning, emotional encounters, leisure experiences)	**Learning from media** (imitation of charismatic persons, influence of symbols, myths, metaphors, stereotypes, commercials)	
Non-formal curriculum	**Extra-curricular and extra-mural activities** (projects, visits, school exchanges, clubs, voluntary work, campaigns)	**School ethos** (school climate, organisational culture, informal leadership, interethnic relationships)	**School decision-making** (school councils, children's parliaments, interest and pressure groups)
Formal curriculum	**Separate subject** (civic education, civics, civic culture, political education)	**Cross-curricular themes** (e.g. human rights)	**Integrated programmes** (e.g. social studies, individuals and society)

Citizenship Education in the School Context

The question that both national and regional reports had to answer was this: To what extent does the current school organisation provide support for EDC policies, if any? In other words, we were less intent on identifying good practices and school-based innovation, as Dürr's study on pupil participation in European schools did.[25] We focused instead on the role of existing school organisation schemes in implementing EDC policy statements and goals declared by top decision-makers.

In this sense, the data provided by regional reports are quite heterogeneous. The Northern European and Western European studies, for example, provide enough evidence on inner democracy in schools and their capacity to support EDC policies.[26]

In Southern and Central Europe, there are numerous local initiatives related especially to recent educational reforms and the decentralisation of school systems. The increased autonomy of schools seems to be accompanied by a broadening of student participation, growing opportunities for co-operation with local communities and the development of inter-organisational partnerships (e.g. schools co-operate more and more with the civil society, family, business and local authorities). As stated in the Central European report:

> The policy of decentralisation and school autonomy forces schools and teachers to manage a number of situations of a new and rather complex nature. This may mean a chance for EDC-related topics that are a part of a relatively open in-service offer to schools and teachers in all countries of the region. As a policy, it can be provided by both state and private subjects (especially once their offers get accreditation from the ministry).[27]

In the Eastern and South-Eastern European regions, on the other hand, the democratic school is not yet the prevalent model (with the exception of Slovenia, where very good results have been reported in this context). In the majority of cases, the dominant model continues to be an authoritarian-type governance and a rigid institutional background. In this sense, the conclusions of the South-Eastern

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25. K. H. Dürr, *The School: A Democratic Learning Community*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2003., Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 23.
26. R. Mikkelsen, op. cit., p. 9; D. Kerr, op. cit., 9.
27. M. Pol, op. cit., p. 30.

Europe report are very clear-cut:

> In most countries, the ideological positions in regard to individual rights, empowerment and inclusive decision-making processes, though often clear in the text of written policy documents, are not well reflected in practice in the operation of classrooms, schools, and school systems. The conflicts of perception and understanding arising from this single fact may be blunting and disabling the impact of programs of EDC in schools.[28]

The question we now ask ourselves is whether this situation is the outcome of a context-related deficit of democratic culture or is it inherent in schools as authoritarian political organisations? Ball[29] launched the latter hypothesis in his notable 1987 book on the micro-politics of British schools, considered to be closer to the authoritarian political model (where teachers and head teachers have no real access to decision-making) than the democratic one. Fortunately, this analysis was not confirmed by the research data of the 1990s, as can be seen in many of our regional reports.

However, the importance of inner democracy exceeds by far the context of our analysis. As democratic institutions, schools have an influence that goes beyond the EDC policy context. As Harrison and Baumgartl showed, what is at stake in the democratic school is precisely democratic citizenship as a credible project:

> This reality – the authoritarian and undemocratic nature of individual and organisational practice – within classrooms, schools and the education systems has at least two sets of implications. The first, and in this context less significant, implication is that this points to continued inefficiencies in the operation of the public education system. This is a serious matter in its own right; but the second set of implications bear, far more powerfully and directly, an effect on the matters that are the subject to this study. The most powerful lessons that teachers and schools teach their pupils arise from the way they act and behave, not from what they tell them. Teachers and schools are individual and corporate role models. They are public and powerful manifestations of the values and beliefs that shape their thought and practice. And it is these actual practices that have the most powerful effect in forming the values and dispositions of the young people themselves.[30]

Needless to say, this last conclusion is valid for all European schools and education systems.

3.3.3. Lifelong learning

As we have seen, in the context of the present study, EDC policies are based on the lifelong-learning perspective. It is an inclusive and comprehensive vision that takes into account both formal education provisions (e.g. the curriculum subject called civics, civic education, citizenship education or EDC in the narrow, curricular sense) as well as non-formal and informal education.[31]

Both national and regional studies point to a paradoxical situation in terms of the lifelong-learning perspective on EDC. Generally speaking, EDC policies refer to learning situations as a whole, whether they are formal provisions, non-formal settings or informal circumstances. As a policy goal, EDC covers all the stages of education systems through life-wide and lifelong delivery. Where implementation is concerned, however, EDC focuses mostly on formal education.

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28. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 33.
29. S. J. Ball, *The Micro-Politics of the School*, London, Methuen, 1987, pp. 125-126.
30. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit, p. 33.
31. We use the three terms in the following sense:
• Formal education is any regular, structured learning that is organised by an educational institution and leads to a recognized certificate, diploma or degree; it is chronologically graded, running from primary to tertiary institutions.
• Non-formal education is educational activity that takes place outside the formal system (e.g. out of school, outdoor, extra-curricular and extra-mural activities) and most of the time does not lead to a recognized certificate, diploma or degree.
• Informal education is the unplanned learning that goes on in daily life and can be received from daily experience, such as from family, friends, peer groups, the media and other influences in a person's environment; this type of learning occurs on an irregular basis within the content of the individual's life (cf. C. Bîrzéa, *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Lifelong Learning Perspective*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2000, p. 35).

The situation is explained in the first place by the limits of our research, which has included only public education services and formal education provision. It is also a consequence of the imbalance that exists between formal education on the one hand and non-formal and informal education opportunities on the other. The focus on formal learning contradicts recent research data,[32] which indicate that EDC objectives are more easily and thoroughly attained through non-formal education than the formal curriculum. One regional study even mentions a compliance gap from the EDC lifelong-learning perspective, in that:

> "there is a considerable gap, in most countries, between the rhetoric of EDC in lifelong learning and the actual practice. The contribution of EDC in this area is not as comprehensive and well-established as that in the formal education setting of schools. Many countries have no clear links between formal education and lifelong learning settings for EDC and no policy for making and strengthening such links. What links exists are stronger between formal education and the youth sector than with the world of work and employment. The most established links are in the period of transition as students move from formal education to other education, vocational training and work-based routes. These are stronger in countries with a recognised tradition in, and system of, vocational education and training, which is, in turn, linked to adult education".[33]

This picture is confirmed by the Central European report:

> Indeed, looking closely at the information available, it seems to be evident that practically all EDC co-ordinators agreed in their reports that EDC in lifelong learning is hard to find in their countries.[34]

Despite these discrepancies, the fact is that lifelong learning is an overarching principle of EDC policies across Europe. The following specific steps taken to implement this principle are worth mentioning:

- focus on transversal civic and social skills, regardless of learning environment, e.g. life skills (Iceland, Armenia), integrated attainment targets (the Netherlands);

- inclusion of non-formal education (e.g. pilot projects, school exchanges, voluntary activities, pastoral-care programmes, youth work, students' associations) in EDC policy implementation schemes, e.g. *projecte de participaó democratica a l'escola* (Andorra), school councils (Greece, France, Malta, Spain), Young People's Parliament (Finland);

- recognition of EDC non-formal learning experience in formal curriculum, e.g. Citizenship Culture activities (Slovenia), Class and School Council Activities (Norway), Class Life projects (France);

- relating school learning to any type of social activity (work, leisure, political activism, voluntary and charity work, social partnership), e.g. community education projects (UK/Scotland), Second Chance education programme (Sweden);

- use of informal learning (such as hidden curriculum or school ethos) in a whole-school approach to citizenship education, e.g. democratic school projects (France), the School Development Plan (Turkey), school self-government schemes (Poland), quality assurance programme Comenius 2000 (Hungary).

4. MACRO- AND MICRO-POLICY: VIEWS OF PRACTITIONERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

There is a compliance gap between policy statements and official policy texts, on the one hand, and policy in use, on the other. In all European countries political options ("politics") and expectations of EDC (policy intentions) took the concrete form of appropriate normative texts: constitutional prescriptions, ordinary laws, written curricula, guidelines and frameworks. At times, even EDC policy plans were developed as an implementation tool meant to transfer policy texts into effective practice

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32. R. Duvekot, "The dynamics of non-formal learning and opening-up of national learning systems" in D. Colardyn (ed.), *Lifelong Learning: Which Way Forward?*, Utrecht, Lemma Publishers, 1998, pp. 89-103.
33. D. Kerr, op. cit., p. 28.
34. M. Pol, op. cit., p. 48.

(e.g. the Civic Participation Programme in Finland).

Nonetheless, the conclusions of all national and regional studies are clear: neither the practice in use nor the actual organisational settings corresponds to the expectations and recommendations in the normative texts. Despite numerous bottom-up initiatives and grassroots innovations, and despite the efforts made in some countries and regions, there are still visible differences between EDC policy statements and practice in European countries overall.

This conclusion is most clearly stated in the Eastern Europe report:

> Formally, EDC slogans play an important role in the education reform programs of the governments in Eastern Europe. However, it is hard to see clear implementation plans. It is not a unique feature of EDC Policy implementation mechanisms: they are still emerging in these countries. However, there is some evidence that implementation is coming more and more into the focus of policy-makers. They use a variety of resources to move the policy to reality. Soviet-style implementation was based only on administrative resources. Education policy-makers in Eastern Europe are trying to use such "new" resources as: financial support for school-based initiatives; research and development as support for teachers; public relations (PR) support for innovative ideas; technological resources for exchange and dissemination of information and educational services; support for networking and communication. It is very important to note that all these countries are in a very early stage of EDC development, so the implementation measures cannot be fully clear at this stage.[35]

The explanations for the differences are threefold:

a) The inner tension between macro and micro levels of policy

The tension arises from the different organisational status of the macro and micro policy. At the macro level, the emphasis is on discourse and its power of influence. At this level the logic of persuasion and ideological arguments prevail over the logic of action proper. As Ball shows, at the level of implementation the intended policy suffers transformations and adjustments according to the immediate objectives of practitioners.[36]

At school level, as Maler emphasises, decision-making criteria may differ from those at macro level:

> Scholars in these fields have long recognised that schools are mini political systems, nested in multi-level governmental structures, charged with salient public service responsibilities and dependent on diverse constituencies. Confronted with complex, competing demands, chronic resource shortages, unclear technologies, uncertain supports and value-laden issues, schools face difficult, divisive allocative choices. As in any polity, actors in schools manage the inherent conflict and make the distributional decisions through processes that pivot on power exercised in various ways and in various arenas.[37]

Consequently, as research on policy sociology reveals, we are deluding ourselves if we imagine that policy is nothing more than a directive for unequivocal implementation. At the school or university level, policy statements are interpreted by multiple actors, often in competition for roles and resources and applied according to the specific conditions and priorities in their organisations.

This discrepancy between macro- and micro-policy could lead to a double identification process, as stated by some of the Greek and Italian practitioners:

> The opinions given by practitioners and stakeholders in Greece and Italy seem to fall within two dimensions that are quite distant from each other. The first is more pragmatic, while the second is more general, with reference to statements of principle. In part, this diversity may be due to the different contexts within which they have been collected, and, it certainly reflects cultural differences. However, the contexts partly reflect two different attitudes that are often present

35. I. Froumin, op. cit., p. 28.
36. S. J. Ball, *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explanations in Policy Sociology*, London, Routledge, 1990.
37. B. Maler, "The micropolitics of education: mapping the multiple dimensions of power relations in school politics", *Journal of Education Policy*, 1994, vol. 9, nos. 5-6, p. 148.

together among teachers, constantly divided between the practical sphere of their work and an ideal way of interpreting their role.[38]

b) The nature of state and multi-level decision-making

Although the Europe of the 45 has a large diversity of state apparatus, we noticed a shift of decision-making processes (by means of decentralisation, de-concentration, deregulation, delegation and devolution) from the centre to the outskirts by the development of multiple regional and local branches. On the other hand, the executive power of the state extends beyond bureaucratic institutions, whose functions are assumed by "a conglomerate of sites and agencies concerned with the regulation of the education system".[39] This multi-faceted and multi-level approach means that decision-making cannot be controlled from within any one political body.

At the same time, this diversity of participants in policy implementation imposes collective negotiation processes and consensus-seeking among state constituencies and their extra-governmental partners. Administrative authority is no longer sufficient to impose top-level decisions. Practitioners and local executive bodies have their own capacity for decision-making and the outcomes are not necessarily identical to the policy or goals designed at the central level.

c) The scarcity of information on policy implementation

Quite often, policy-makers are content with formulating goals and the expected courses of action, and do no follow-up to see if there has been effective implementation.

In most cases, EDC policies could be described as more top–bottom linear, based on the false premise that statements formulated at the macro-level are automatically transposed into appropriate practices. What is still lacking is a cyclical vision of EDC policy processes, assigning clear roles to both macro- and micro-level decision-makers.

The compliance gap does not have the same dimensions in all European countries. It represents a common problem with very different effects according to concrete economic, cultural and political circumstances. In many countries, governments do take specific measures to involve practitioners and stakeholders in decision-making and to assure feedback on the implementation and actual effects of EDC policies. Here are a few examples:

- evaluation and impact studies on EDC undertaken by research institutions or specialised agencies: INCE (Spain), INVALSI (Italy), Norwegian Board of Education (Sweden), Institute of Education Sciences (Romania), National Agency for School Improvement (Norway), Civic Education Centre (Poland);

- school inspection and quality control: OFSTED (UK/England), *Inspección y Avaluacion Educativa Andorrana* (Andorra), school self-evaluation scheme (Slovenia), school-based assessment system (Malta);

- monitoring and guidance services: *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung* (Germany), Service Centre for Civic Education (Austria), the system of national advisers by school subjects (Denmark), the supporting website on Education for Citizenship in Scotland (UK/Scotland), National Council for Students' Rights (Hungary), Association for Civic Education and Democracy (Czech Republic);

- comparative analysis and international surveys: IEA Civic Education Study, Council of Europe Survey on student participation, European Values Study, CIDREE Survey on Values Education, Civic Education Survey (Nordic and Baltic countries);

- longitudinal studies (e.g. the 8-year EDC study conducted by NFER in UK/England, covering about 11 000 students).

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38. B. Losito, op. cit., p. 31.
39. S. J. Ball, *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explanations in Policy Sociology*, London, Routledge, 1990, p. 20.

In the Eastern and South-Eastern regions of Europe, according to the respective regional writers, practitioners and stakeholders are not associated with policy-making and implementation, despite their commitment. In most cases the participation of players from outside official bodies is spontaneous and unsystematic, more the outcome of personal initiatives than of government efforts. In this regard, the conclusions of the report on the South-Eastern region are highly relevant:

- There appears to be a widespread lack of knowledge about government policies on EDC amongst stakeholders in the countries concerned - even amongst those who are most directly affected by the policies themselves. Sometimes, correspondents report a complete lack of stakeholders' awareness that policies even exist. This must represent a major failure of communication on the part of government.

- Many stakeholders report a complete lack of consultation or discussion on the part of governments in the process of drawing up the policies. They express frustration at this experience. Many of them are of the view that they could contribute significantly to this process.

- Those stakeholders that are NGOs – often the major actors in this field in the countries concerned – are often very sharply critical of what they describe as a failure to establish effective and productive working partnerships at an operational level with the governments of the countries in which they work. They see this as reflecting a lack of effectiveness and commitment at the operational level in ministries of education. They also see it as a major opportunity missed.[40]

5. EUROPEAN EDC POLICIES: A CASE FOR PARTICIPATORY POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION

The All-European Study went beyond its initial purpose. Designed originally as a mapping exercise, meant to identify EDC policy options as well as measures for their implementation, the All-European Study eventually became a significant piece of research for the entire education-policy landscape across Europe. The conclusions of this research are, of course, relevant for the specific case of EDC policies, but they are equally useful in a more general context. The conclusions refer to the education policy framework in the Council of Europe but also to implementation processes at the national level.

5.1. Education policy framework within the Council of Europe

Few education aims have been met with such overt support as Education for Democratic Citizenship. The Second Summit of Heads of State and Government (1997), the Budapest Declaration on the rights and responsibilities of citizens (1999), the Resolution of the Cracow Conference of the European Ministers of Education (2000) and Recommendation (2002)12 of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2002) all formulated clear expectations and designated EDC as a priority of education policies and reforms in Europe.

The same expectations and positive statements are to be found at the national level as well. In some cases, even the type of discourse, concepts and philosophy subjacent to EDC are inspired by Council of Europe political documents. In other words, we noticed a high degree of congruence at the level of intended policies across Europe.

Another consequence of European consensus on EDC policies is the similarity of national normative texts. In all the countries included in our study, national constitutions guarantee a favourable background for EDC-related issues. Also, in the majority of education laws, EDC appears either as an explicit educational aim (in the general sense of EDC, promoted by the Council of Europe) or as a specific part of the formal curriculum content.

The most significant differences appear the moment we pass on to policy in use. On the one hand,

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40. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 68.

there are few situations where implementation programmes accompany EDC policy statements. In some cases, everything comes to a halt before any assignments, timings or allocations of resources are specified. On the other hand, as can be seen in national and regional reports, there is a compliance gap between intentions and the actual measures that translate goals into specific outcomes. Quite often, government efforts do not match up to expectations that EDC will be a priority in education reforms.

Sometimes it is not only effective measures (in teacher training, school organisation, practitioners' participation or lifelong learning) that are missing, but also practical support systems. Most efforts are made at the level of formal curriculum but, as we have seen, here too specific provisions alone are insufficient.

This picture makes us more cautious as to the real position of EDC on the reform agenda across Europe. The compliance gap in EDC policies shows that political support is an indispensable but not sufficient condition. EDC is undeniably one of the priorities most intensely sustained at a political level, but unfortunately it is rather inconsistently covered by government-initiated practices.This difference between political discourse and actual implementation runs the risk of discrediting not just EDC policies themselves as a project of society, but also the values of democratic citizenship.

5.2. Education policy processes: from national-hierarchical to incremental-participatory

EDC policy takes place in a large political and societal arena. Unlike other education policy issues, EDC goes beyond the means and competencies of public administration. It involves all citizens and all institutions of democratic societies. In this sense, our study has shown that EDC policy processes involve large-scale participation both vertically (the bureaucratic axis) and horizontally (the organisational setting). We are dealing with two complementary dimensions, which combine the three conditions of policy participation:[41] authority, expertise and order.

Authority is not restricted to political and administrative power; it is also concerned with the professional and organisational capacities of all practitioners and various stakeholders. In much the same way, expertise is not concentrated (only) in government bodies. It refers to a diversity of competences and the problem-solving capacity of multiple actors. With respect to order, it is best obtained by means of partnerships, networks, shared projects or corporate policy schemes.

From this perspective, one initial conclusion is that there is tension between the main actors in the public arena. On the one hand, government structures attempt to maintain its status as main actor and retain the initiative. However, they also have limited ability to implement decisions. Despite the diverse organisation of state bodies and the decentralisation of decision-making, the implementation of EDC policies is not always effective. There are always other more pressing policy priorities, even if these lack the same political support. EDC seems a rather abstract and distant goal, which does not have a place in the immediate responsibilities of public administration.

On the other hand, civil society has taken numerous EDC initiatives. This ad hoc bottom-up approach is not necessarily an outcome of EDC policy statements, nor is it part of an official implementation programme. Such initiatives do, however, solve specific problems at grassroots level, mobilising the capacity and expertise of practitioners and various stakeholders.

The top-down bureaucratic processes in public administration correspond to what a seminal work called the rational/synoptic model.[42] The bottom-up approach represents what the same authors called the incremental model of policy-making. The major challenge of EDC policy implementation is to combine these classic models in practice.

41. Colebatch, op. cit., 1998, pp. 16-20.
42. C. Lindblom and D. K. Cohen, *Usable Knowledge: Social Science and Social Problem Solving*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1985.

As we have seen, EDC policy processes go beyond the rational-planning/policy-cycle model based on a standard sequence of design–implementation–evaluation. EDC policy is not simply a directive transmitted from authorised decision-makers to peripheral and executive bodies. On the contrary, implementing EDC policies involves large-scale civic participation and a wide range of organisations.

More than in other areas, EDC presupposes marketing, conflicts and collective negotiations. This means that EDC policy implementation is not compatible with the unitary perspective and the rational model promoted by bureaucratic structures. Actually, the analysis limited to the vertical/bureaucratic axis did nothing but lead us to an inevitable conclusion: that government and state structures have limited capacities in implementing EDC policies.

Indeed, our perspective was considerably enriched when we also took into account the horizontal/organisational dimension, namely action by practitioners and stakeholders. Considering this as well as the dimension of political and administrative authority, we were able to identify a multi-level and multi-centric perspective of policy-making.

In some participant countries, especially in the Western and Northern European regions, the multi-centric approach was translated into practice in the following ways:
- decision-making arises from a large number of autonomous organisations;
- power is equally distributed through networks, partnerships and policy collectivities;
- decision-making is based on adjusting demand and offer;
- the operational mode of policy processes is a common project and shared responsibility;
- in the case of conflicting goals and interests, policy is the outcome of negotiations.

Another conclusion of our study refers to the monitoring function of public administration. The most successful experiences of democratic governance are based on the co-existence of three inter-related components, namely:
- the strategic component, meant to define and design education policies;
- the executive component, made up of the set of hierarchical institutions in public administration;
- the monitoring component, namely the decentralised organisation in charge of public accountability and quality control.

Our national and regional studies showed that monitoring and quality assurance are essential to successful EDC policy implementation. We have no data on the use of internal or external benchmarks specific to EDC. There is, however, enough information to indicate that, regardless of the specific country arrangements (school inspection, external evaluation by specialised agencies or self-evaluation by schools), EDC policy implementation is challenging the current monitoring provisions of public administration.

Finally, that last conclusion has to do with the government's capacity to mobilise civil society. The experience of some countries, especially those in Northern Europe, shows that the state is more prone to enable or help citizens to help themselves. This focus on active citizenship involves actor networking and mobilising widespread decision-making. At least in the specific case of EDC policy processes, the state is no longer the only source of authority, expertise and order. Faced with an extensive goal such as EDC, which involves practically the entire society, the state renounces its monopoly as the sole provider of services. It shares authority, resources and responsibility with partners from civil society.

This new direction of collaborative policy suggested by EDC policy processes is one of the most promising and challenging outcomes of our All-European Study.

Appendix I: Meaning of the concept of citizenship in various cultural contexts

Country	Term designating "citizenship"	Meaning
ARMENIA	kaghokatsintyum	civil status, membership
AUSTRIA	Staatsbürgerschaft	legal status, nationality
AZERBAIJAN	vatandaslig	stone of the motherland
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	državljanstvo	civil status
BULGARIA	grajdanstvo	legal status, nationality
CHINA	公民√	membership and duties (in the confucianist sense)
CROATIA	gradjanstvo	civil rights and entitlements
CZECH REPUBLIC	občanstvi	legal status
ESTONIA	kodakondsus	nationality
FINLAND	kansalaisuus	being a citizen of the State
FRANCE	citoyenneté	citizenship, legal and political status (member of the Republic)
GEORGIA	nokalaksoba	membership: being a citizen of the State
GERMANY	Staatsangehörigkeit	nationality, membership, legal entitlements
	Bürgerlichkeit	member of the middle class, being a bourgeois
GREECE	Υπυκοότυτα [ipikootita]	belonging to the City
HUNGARY	allampolgársag	membership, nationality
ITALY	cittadinanza	nationality, legal status
KAZAKHSTAN	atuldyk	patriotism, loyalty to the State
KYRGYZSTAN	grajdanstvo	legal status, nationality
	atuulduk	patriotism [atuul = patriot], set of duties
LATVIA	pilsoniba	nationality
MALTA	cittadinanza	nationality, legal status
THE NETHERLANDS	burgerschap	belonging to the Nation
NORWAY	borgerskap	being a citizen of the State
POLAND	obywatelstwo	membership, belonging to the State
ROMANIA	cetăţenie	nationality
RUSSIAN FEDERATION	grajdanstvo	membership, nationality
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO	gradjanstvo	statehood, membership,
	gradjanstvo	legal and political status

Country	Term designating "citizenship"	Meaning
SLOVAK REPUBLIC	občianstvo	membership [občia = community], nationality
SLOVENIA	državljanstvo	political and civic entitlements
SPAIN	ciudadania	membership, being a citizen of the State
SWEDEN	medborgare	being a citizen of the State [borg = burg, castle, city]
TURKEY	vatandaşlik	nationality, legal status
UKRAINE	gromadyanstvo	status of being a citizen
UNITED KINGDOM	citizenship	legal and political status, set of rights and entitlements
ROMANI LANGUAGE	romaniphen	loyalty and obedience to the community and traditional law [romani criss = non-formal traditional court]
ARABIC LANGUAGE	al mwatana فطاوطـا	membership, identity, belonging [from watan = land, territory, homeland]

Appendix II: Formal curriculum provisions for EDC in Europe

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Albania	civic education civic education	primary (grades 1-4) lower secondary (grades 5-8) upper secondary (grades 9-10)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	5% of the teaching hours 4% of the teaching hours 11% of the teaching hours
Andorra	social sciences human and social sciences	primary (grades 1-6) secondary (grades 7-10)	integrated integrated	cross-curricular blocks
Armenia	life skills human rights state and law	primary and secondary (grades 1-7) secondary (grade 8) secondary (grades 9-10)	integrated separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	
Austria	civic education history and civic education	primary secondary (ISCED 2 and 3)	cross-curricular educational principle new statutory subject	
Azerbaijan	civics constitutional studies individuals and society	primary and secondary secondary (grade 9) secondary (grades 8-11)	cross-curricular separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	
Belgium *French-speaking community* *Flemish-speaking community*	citizen education education for citizenship	primary and secondary primary and secondary	mandatory, integrated to moral education and history cross-curricular themes	2 hours per week (within moral education), thematic contents integrated to history teaching 3 thematic circles of EDC
Bulgaria	social sciences and civic education human beings and the world	primary and secondary (grades 1-12) upper secondary (grade 12)	combination of cross-curricular contents and separate subject optional	1 hour per week; compulsory school leaving examination on "social sciences and civic education"
Croatia	education for human rights and democratic citizenship	primary and secondary (grades 1-8 and 9-12)	optional subject and cross-curricular	pilot programme (school-based)
Cyprus	social studies	primary (grades 1-6)	separate subject	

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
	history, civic education and economics	lower secondary or gymnasium (grades 7-9)	separate subject	civic education is taught as separate subject for 1 hour per week for 1 semester
Czech Republic	civics social sciences and education for citizenship	primary (grades 6-9) secondary (grades 12-13)	separate subject integrated to social sciences, ecological education and philosophy	1-2 hours per week 2 hours per week – the national school curriculum; 1 hour per week – the basic school curriculum
Denmark	social science history and civics	primary and secondary (grades 1-9 and 10-12) upper secondary (grades 10-12)	separate subject, mandatory mandatory, separate subject	
Estonia	social education social education	primary (grade 4) secondary (grades 9 and 12)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	1 lesson a week 2 lessons a week
Finland	history and social studies	primary (grades 1-4)	civics is integrated into environmental and natural studies	570 lessons over a period of 6 years
		primary (grades 5-6)	separate subject, mandatory	114 weekly lessons over a period of 6 years
	history and social studies history and social studies	lower secondary (grades 7-9) upper secondary	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	2 lessons a week each, over a period of 3 years one of five compulsory courses (each 38 hours) is social studies
France	living together civic education civic, legal and social education	primary (ages 6-8) primary and lower secondary upper secondary	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory separate and integrated statutory core (linked to history and geography)	formal national examinations on civic education 3 to 4 hours weekly out of 26
Germany	social studies (*Sozialkunde*)	primary	subsidiary subject and part of other subjects (history, geography and economics), mandatory	included in the curricula of all *Länder* [federal states]

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
	social studies	upper secondary	integrated, non-mandatory	optional for general university entrance certificate
Greece	civic education ancient Greek literature, history, psychology, civic law and political institutions, sociology, history and social sciences, European civilisation and roots, communication technologies, environmental sciences	primary upper secondary	cross-curricular activities specific subjects	
Hungary	history and citizenship anthropology and social studies social studies study of humans and ethics introduction to philosophy history and citizenship	primary (grades 5-8) primary (grade 7) secondary (grades 9-12) secondary (grade 11) secondary (grade 12) secondary vocational (grade 12)	statutory core (part of curriculum area "individuals and society") integrated integrated separate subject	10% to 14% of curriculum time Possible time allocation in the local curriculum
Iceland	social studies integrated with religious studies life skills	primary (grades 1-7) primary and lower secondary (grades 4-10 of compulsory school)	integrated integrated	3 lessons a week (grades 1-4), 4 lessons a week (grades 5-6), 3 lessons a week (grade 7) 1 lesson a week (grade 4-10)
	social studies life skills	lower secondary (grades 8-10) upper secondary (grades 11-13)	integrated integrated	3 lessons a week (grade 8), 2 lessons a week (grades 9-10) 1 lesson a week (grade 11)

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Ireland	social, personal and health education	primary	integrated	three strands: myself; myself and others; myself and the wider world
	civic, social and political education	lower secondary	separate subject, mandatory	examined in junior certificate
	Leaving Certificate Applied and the Transition Year Programme	upper secondary	part of special programmes (subject such as English, history, geography)	
Italy	social studies	primary	integrated	
	history and civic education	lower secondary	separate subject	
	history and civic education, economics	upper secondary	separate and cross-curricular (civics linked to history, geography and economics)	
Latvia	social sciences	lower secondary	integrated	civics is part of a subject block (social sciences) together with health education, ethics, economy and history
	social sciences	upper secondary (grades 10-12)	integrated	
Liechtenstein	civic knowledge	preschool	integrated	based on specific targets for each phase/age groups
		primary	integrated	
		secondary	integrated	
Lithuania	principles of civic society	primary (grades 7-8)	separate subject	1 lesson a week
	principles of civic society	secondary (grade 10)	separate subject	2 lessons a week
Luxembourg	civic education (*cours d'instruction civique*)	upper secondary (grade 12)	separate subject	1 lesson per week
The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	civic education (replacing History and Civil Society)	primary (grades 7-8)	optional course	
	civic education	secondary vocational, educational and training schools	separate subject	
	political system/civic culture	general secondary schools (grades 9-12)	specific curriculum inserts	

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Malta	learning democracy	primary and secondary	cross-curricular integrated in all subjects	each school has to develop its own curriculum based on National Minimum Curriculum
Moldova	moral education civic education us and the law	primary (grades 1-4) lower secondary (grades 5-9) upper secondary (grades 10-12)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory	1 hour per week 1 hour per week 1 hour per week
The Netherlands	citizenship education social studies (*Maatschappijleer*)	primary secondary	taught in the attainment target "Orientation on Human Beings and Society/the World" cross-curricular themes	this target includes geography, history, society, environment and healthy behaviour
Norway	social subjects class and school council activities social subjects class and school council civics	primary (grades 1-7) primary (grades 1-7) lower secondary (grades 8-10) lower secondary (grades 8-10) upper secondary (grade 12)	integrated (history, geography and civics) integrated integrated integrated separate subject	2-3 lessons a week 3-4 lessons a week 76 lessons over three years 2 lessons a week
Poland	humanities history and society knowledge about society civic education	primary lower secondary upper secondary upper secondary and secondary vocational	integrated integrated curriculum area separate subject separate subject	
Portugal	personal and social development	basic education upper secondary (grades 10-12)	each school defines its own curriculum project according to the guidelines of the national curriculum cross-curricular activities	EDC is to be developed as cross-curricular activities and non-disciplinary curriculum areas (e.g. project area, assisted study, civic education)
Romania	civic education	primary (grades 3-4)	separate subject, mandatory (curriculum area "individuals and society")	1-2 hours per week

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
	civic culture civic culture	lower secondary (grades 5-6) lower secondary (grades 7-8)	optional course compulsory subject plus cross-curricular permeation (e.g. optional course on "communication in the public sphere" or "conflict resolution")	1 teaching hour per week 1 teaching hour per week
Russian Federation	introduction to civic and legal education law-related subjects (e.g. law and politics, fundamentals of citizenship, civics) introduction to social studies (*obschestvovedenie*), law and politics, civics, fundamentals of law, fundamentals of citizenship law-related subjects social studies, political science, fundamentals of law human rights, fundamentals of civic and legal culture	primary (grades 1-4) primary (grades 1-4) lower secondary (grades 5-9) lower secondary (grades 5-9) upper secondary (grades 10-11) upper secondary (grades 10-11)	separate subject, mandatory elective citizenship and law-related mandatory subjects elective separate subject, mandatory elective	1 hour per week
San Marino	social studies history and civic education history and civic education, economics	primary lower secondary upper secondary	integrated separate subject separate subject	the proposed reform envisages the study of social history and civic culture in grade 5 (lower secondary)
Serbia and Montenegro:				

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Serbia	civic education	primary and secondary (grades 1-3)	separate subject (elective in grade 1 and facultative in grade 2) cross-curricular/ integrated in the first grade of primary school (the new curriculum)	1 hour per week
Montenegro	citizenship education	primary and secondary	separate subject, optional	applied in 5 primary and 4 secondary pilot schools
Slovakia	civics education social science	primary (grades 6-9) secondary (grades 9-11)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject	1 hour per week
Slovenia	civic education and ethics civic culture social sciences	primary (grades 7-8) secondary (grade 9) secondary VET schools	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, optional course (within Humanities module) separate subject, mandatory	1 hour per week 1 hour per week (32 hours per school year) 85 hours per school year (for the 2 years programme), 70 hours per school year (for the 3 years programme)
Spain	science, geography and history ethics, social sciences, geography and history philosophy, history, history of the contemporary world (social sciences track)	primary secondary (first and second cycles) upper secondary (*Bachillerato*)	separate subject separate subject separate subject and cross-curricular themes	
Sweden	social studies	primary (grades 1-6) secondary (grades 7-9)	part of other subjects, integrated	855 lessons over the 9 years of compulsory schooling
Switzerland	social studies	primary and secondary	non-statutory, integrated	
Turkey	democracy and human rights education civics and human rights democracy and human rights education	primary (grades 1-3) lower secondary (grades 7-8) upper secondary (grade 11)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, mandatory separate subject, elective course	

Country	Terminology	Educational level	Approach	Time allocation
Ukraine	Myself and Ukraine We are citizens law education citizenship education	primary lower secondary (grade 9) lower secondary (grade 9) lower and upper secondary (grades 9-11)	separate subject, mandatory separate subject, elective separate subject, mandatory separate subject, elective	last year of compulsory schooling
United Kingdom *England* *Scotland*	education for citizenship citizenship personal and social development religious and moral education	primary lower secondary primary and lower secondary (5-14 curriculum) primary and lower secondary (5-14 curriculum)	cross-curricular as part of a non-statutory framework for "personal, social and health education and citizenship" cross-curricular integrated and cross-curricular (subject areas) integrated and cross-curricular (subject areas)	schools to decide

PART II

Synthesis of six regional reports

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is a synthesis of studies about education for democratic citizenship (hereafter referred to as EDC) in five regions of Europe:[43] Western Europe, Northern Europe, Central Europe, Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, and an update on EDC developments in a sixth region, that of South-Eastern Europe, following Stocktaking Research in 2001.[44]

Each regional study sought to map the policies and legislative frameworks that support the promotion of EDC at the national level across the countries in that region. This report, the five regional studies, the Stocktaking Research and a European-level synthesis[45] form parts of an All-European Study on EDC Policies commissioned by the Council of Europe.

The aim of this introduction is to set the scene concerning the promotion of EDC and the aims, conduct and outcomes of the All-European Study. It begins with an exploration of the aims, objectives and core elements of the Council's Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) Project. This is followed by background information about the All-European Study on EDC Policies.

1.1. Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC)

Education for democratic citizenship has been a priority for the Council of Europe since the mid-1990s. The Education for Democratic Citizenship Project (commonly referred to as the EDC Project) was set up in 1997 by the Council, which has since undertaken a wide range of activities to support and promote the development of EDC across member states. What EDC is and what member states should do to promote it are set out in two key recommendations, adopted by ministers from member states:[46] the Resolution adopted by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education (Cracow, 15-17 October 2000); and Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship (adopted by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002).

The Resolution adopted by the ministers of education in 2000 established draft common guidelines for EDC. These guidelines identify the core elements of education for democratic citizenship and provide a comprehensive and integrated approach for policy and practice. The core elements are defined thus:

> Definition and objectives
>
> Education for Democratic Citizenship:

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43. D. Kerr, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Western Europe Region*; R. Mikkelsen, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Northern Europe Region*; M. Pol, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Central Europe Region*; I. Froumin, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Eastern Europe Region*; and B. Losito, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Southern Europe Region*; [all] Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2003.
44. C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, *Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2002, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001)45.
45. C. Bîrzéa, *EDC Policies in Europe: A Synthesis*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2004, Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 18.
46. Project on "Education for Democratic Citizenship": Resolution adopted by the Council of Europe Ministers of Education at their 20th session Cracow, Poland, 15-17 October 2000. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2000) 40; Education for Democratic Citizenship 2001-2004: Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2002) 38.

- is based on the fundamental principles of human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law;

- refers in particular to rights and responsibilities, empowerment, participation and belonging, and respect for diversity;

- includes all age groups and all sectors of society;

- aims to prepare young people and adults for active participation in democratic society, thus strengthening democratic culture;

- is instrumental in the fight against violence, xenophobia, racism, aggressive nationalism and intolerance;

- contributes to social cohesion, social justice and the common good;

- strengthens civil society by helping to make its citizens informed and knowledgeable and endowing them with democratic skills;

- should be differentiated according to national, social, cultural and historical events.

The Recommendation adopted by the Committee of Ministers in 2002[47] commends governments of member states to:
- make EDC a priority objective of educational policy-making and reforms;

- encourage and support current initiatives to promote EDC within and among member states;

- be guided by the principles [of EDC] set out in the present Recommendation in their present or future educational reforms;

- bring this Recommendation and the reference documents on which it is based to the attention of the relevant public and private bodies in their respective countries through the appropriate national procedures.

These recommendations underpin the EDC Project at all-European, regional and member state levels. They provide the rationale and driving force for the EDC Project.

1.2. All-European Study on EDC Policies and Legislation

1.2.1. All-European synthesis

The study has provided at least two interesting results at the all-European level:
- a systematic description of EDC policies across Europe;

- an empirical analysis of the compliance gap, namely the differences between political statements, policy intentions and implementation measures.

These results are reflected in the conclusions from a detailed synthesis of EDC policies in Europe, Part I of this document, carried out by César Bîrzéa, and based on the five regional studies and the Stocktaking Research in the South-Eastern Europe region. This synthesis draws three major conclusions:
- There is a real gap between declarations and what happens in practice; indeed one might say a gulf. There appear to be two risks: the ignoring of declarations of intent on the one hand, and the failure to supply adequate resources on the other;

- The main pillar of EDC at present is the formal curriculum. This arises from the fact that a curriculum already exists providing a ready-made framework and the possibility of a structured approach, particularly with regard to the transfer of knowledge;

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47. Education for Democratic Citizenship 2001-2004: Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2002) 38, p. 4.

- A more diversified approach is beginning to emerge, which goes beyond the curriculum and a need to develop partnerships between stakeholders and practitioners.[48]

The all-European synthesis of EDC policies should be read alongside the short summaries and the more detailed regional studies.

1.2.2. Regional studies

It is the regional-level analyses, through the five regional studies and the Stocktaking Research, that are at the core of the study. For the convenience of the study, rather than as a reflection of any existing, co-ordinated approach to educational and EDC policy-making within and across member states, Europe was divided into five regions (six including the South-Eastern Europe region). A writer was assigned to each region and tasked with producing a report on EDC policy-making and legislation in that region. This was achieved with the assistance of EDC national co-ordinators from the countries in the region. The regions and regional writers identified were as follows:

- Western Europe Region: Regional writer – David Kerr (England/UK)

   o Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom

- Northern Europe Region: Regional writer – Rolf Mikkelsen (Norway)

   o Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden

- Central Europe Region: Regional writer – Milan Pol (Czech Republic)

   o Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia

- Eastern Europe Region: Regional writer – Isak Froumin (Russia)

   o Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russian Federation, Ukraine

- Southern Europe Region: Regional writer – Bruno Losito (Italy)

   o Andorra, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Turkey

These regional studies are comprehensive and detailed. They are published separately and are available via the Council of Europe website at www.coe.int.[49] They complete the previous Stocktaking Research analysis, by C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, on the region of

- South-Eastern Europe:[50] Regional synthesis writer – Mitja Sardoc (Slovenia)

   o Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia.

The information in the regional studies was validated by members of the Council of Europe Education Committee and EDC national co-ordinators prior to completion.

Taken together, the regional studies and Stocktaking Research provide deep and detailed answers to the key questions, which framed the conduct of the study.The results go beyond the original questions and

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48. G. Morris, *EDC Policy and Practice: How to Bridge the Gap?* Policy Development Seminar: Seminar Report. Council of Europe: Strasbourg, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 36.
49. D. Kerr, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Western Europe Region*; R. Mikkelsen, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Northern Europe Region*; M. Pol, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Central Europe Region*; I. Froumin, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Eastern Europe Region*; and B. Losito, *All-European Study on Policies for EDC: Southern Europe Region*, [all] Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2003.
50. C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, *Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2002, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001)45.

give answers to the following:
- What is EDC policy and what are the factors that influence its development?

- Why does EDC need a distinctive policy framework?

- What is the difference between EDC policy statements and actual practices?

- What are the influences that determine the extent to which EDC policy is turned into effective implementation at different levels of the education system?

1.2.3.   Reports from member states

Though there are no published results at the level of countries or member states, the study could not have taken place without a core base of information on countries. Indeed, the analysis in the regional reports was founded on documents received, together with a short report on the nature and extent of EDC policy-making and implementation, produced by the EDC national co-ordinators in the region. The results of the study at all-European and regional levels have major implications for EDC policy-making and implementation within countries.

1.3.   Synthesis of six regional studies

As noted above, it is the five regional studies and the Stocktaking Research on the South-Eastern Europe region that are at the heart of the All-European Study on EDC Policy-making and Legislation. These studies (including the Stocktaking Research) are comprehensive and detailed. Although the All-European synthesis report by César Bîrzéa (Part I) is based on the regional studies, there is not space to do justice to the full range of information, materials and examples of EDC policies and practices contained in the six regional reports. Therefore it was decided that it would be helpful to produce a combined synthesis of the regional studies (with an update on developments in the South-Eastern Europe region).

Each regional writer, along with a new writer for the South-Eastern Europe region, was asked to produce a synthesis of his/her regional study using five common headings:
- Background and aims

- Key features of EDC policy development

- Key EDC implementation measures

- Main challenges for EDC

- Concluding comment

The combined synthesis from the six regional studies (including South-Eastern Europe) makes fascinating reading. It confirms the conclusions in the all-European synthesis report but also demonstrates how the regional studies have succeeded in providing detailed answers to a series of questions that go beyond the original scope of the study.

The main challenges for EDC within and across the regions of Europe are of particular interest. The synthesis of the regional studies reveals that, despite considerable regional differences in terms of context, culture and tradition, there are a number of common challenges for EDC policy development and practice in Europe. They include the challenges of:
- reducing the compliance gap between EDC policies and practices;

- improving and extending the participation of students and community representatives in the education

system, particularly in school management;

- developing more effective and comprehensive teacher training, at both pre- and in-service levels;

- introducing a culture of and suitable measures for monitoring, quality assurance and evaluation;

- agreeing on and fighting for the place of EDC within competing educational reforms and priorities.

Above all, the combined synthesis from the regions confirms the considerable interest in EDC policy and practices across Europe. It also reveals a growing recognition that the development and growth of effective EDC policy, legislation and practice is not a quick-fix policy solution but a long-term process that requires vision, adequate resources and considerable effort and patience. Although the countries of Europe are at present nearer the start of this process than the end, there are encouraging signs of progress in every region involved in the study.

The results of the All-European Study on EDC Policy-making and Legislation are important and timely. They represent a major contribution to the planning and activities in the Council of Europe's Year of Citizenship through Education, which will take place in 2005. However, they also contain important and useful messages for policy-makers, researchers, teacher-trainers, practitioners, young people and the public in general. It is hoped that the results will be disseminated widely and will stimulate discussion, debate and action on EDC, particularly at national and local levels.

This synthesis report is intended to facilitate this process of dissemination, reflection, review and action. It should be read in conjunction with the other results of the study – the regional studies, the Stocktaking Research and the all-European synthesis.[51] There is still a considerable way to go before the vision and goals of EDC are matched by effective EDC policy-making and practices. However, we now have a detailed picture of the extent of EDC policy-making and the challenges to EDC across Europe. This provides a much stronger base upon which to begin to close the compliance gap between EDC policy and practice at all levels, and to continue to move forward.

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51. Part I of the present document.

2. WESTERN EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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2.1. Background and aims

This is a synthesis of a detailed report on EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) policy-making in the Western Europe region.[52] The synthesis and report are part of the Council of Europe's All-European Study on EDC Policies. The synthesis outlines
- the key features of EDC policy development in the Western Europe region;
- the main challenges that need to be faced if the implementation of EDC is to be more effective in the region.

The Western Europe region consists of ten member states, so grouped for the purposes of the study. The member states are Austria, Belgium (French- and Flemish-speaking communities), France, Germany (comprising 16 separate states or *Länder*), Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland (comprising 26 separate cantons) and the United Kingdom (UK – comprising four separate nations in Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and Northern Ireland).

This diversity of member states presents a considerable challenge in synthesising approaches to EDC policy-making in the Western Europe region. It is further complicated by a division between centralised and federal systems:
- centralised – Austria, France, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and United Kingdom;
- federal – Belgium (federal system with French-, Flemish- and German-speaking communities), Germany (federal system of 16 *Länder*) and Switzerland (confederation of 26 cantons).

It should be noted that, in relation to EDC policy-making in federal systems, the aims, purposes, goals and programmes described in the report may not apply to all regions and administrations but are provided as examples.

2.1.1.   Common characteristics of the Western Europe region

Despite this diversity it is possible to identify a number of common characteristics of the member states that make up the Western Europe region. All the member states:
- are developed countries;
- are mature and stable democracies of long standing, despite their different routes in achieving such stability;

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52. D. Kerr, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC): Western Europe Region*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 21.

- have long-established social, economic, political and legal systems;

- have mature education systems with embedded organisational structures, content and methods of assessment;

- face similar pressing social, economic, political and cultural problems at the start of the 21st century;

- place great emphasis on the education system having a key role in solving these problems.

This last point explains why the majority of the member states in the Western Europe region are engaged in extensive, ongoing reforms of their education systems and why EDC is included as a key component in the reform process.

The rationale for the inclusion of EDC is encapsulated in the foreword to a recent national report on the education system in France (Ministry of National Education, 2001):

> The acceleration of scientific and technological change and the new challenges entailed by the globalisation process require an ongoing renovation of education systems. What is at stake is to make it possible for all, both young and adults, to acquire the learning and competences necessary to work and live together in the knowledge society, an ever more open and international system, which at the same time carries new dangers and risks of conflicts. A strong emphasis should therefore be put on educating lucid and active citizens able to build up a world based on the values of democracy, tolerance and peace. Education should also respect and promote cultural diversity as part of the heritage of mankind … Reforms in progress in the French education system should be seen from this fundamental perspective.[53]

This quotation relates to the French context but the principles and drivers of policy-making in education are similar across countries of the Western Europe region.

2.2. Key features of EDC policy development

EDC policy development is a response to the pressing problems facing societies in the region. These societal problems touch on complex concepts and issues that are at the heart of EDC, such as multiculturalism, diversity, tolerance, social justice and identity. Only by including EDC in the process of education reform is it possible for member states in the Western Europe region to begin to address these pressing problems in society.

2.2.1   EDC policy drivers

Four specific problems are driving EDC policy-making in the region:
- Participation – the decreasing engagement and participation in political and civil society locally and nationally, manifested in the low numbers of people voting in local, national and European elections. There is particular concern about the lack of interest and involvement of young people and young adults in public and political life, what has been termed a democratic deficit.

- Individualism – the rise of individualism, fuelled by the spread of consumerism, at the expense of a culture of voluntary public service that is affecting many Western European countries. Individualism is being linked to rising levels of anti-social behaviour and violence, particularly involving young people, in these countries.

- Diversity – the challenges brought by having to live in increasingly socially and culturally diverse communities and societies. There are growing concerns in many countries about rising levels of discrimination, racism and a lack of tolerance toward others, particularly regarding those from disadvantaged groups or with special needs.

- Location – the challenge of the nation-state no longer being the traditional location of citizenship and the

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53. Ministry of Education, *The Evolution of the French Education System*, Paris: Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 1.

possibility of other locations within and across countries, including notions of European, international, transnational or cosmopolitan citizenship. This is a challenge both in federal systems, for example in Germany, and also in centralised systems, for example in the granting of increased autonomy, through devolution, to Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the United Kingdom.

These problems have a considerable influence in each member state on how EDC relates to education policy, what EDC policies exist and how EDC is implemented.

2.2.2   EDC and education policy

What is noticeable when examining the relationship between EDC and education policy in Western Europe region countries is that:

- The majority of member states have established EDC as a specific education aim or principle. For example, in Belgium (French-speaking community) the aim is "to prepare all pupils to be responsible citizens, capable of contributing to the development of a society, which is democratic, unified, pluralist and open to other cultures";[54]

- EDC has been introduced recently as a national priority or aim in education in a number of member states. For example, in Ireland the objective is "to enable students to develop their full potential as persons and to participate fully as citizens in society";[55]

- Having EDC as an explicit aim has provided the impetus for the redefinition or new definition of civic or citizenship education in the curriculum.

It is no coincidence that in the last ten years a number of member states have significantly redefined their existing approaches to civic or citizenship education, for example, in Austria, Belgium (French- and Flemish-speaking communities), France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Scotland and Wales, and in Germany among the five *Länder* (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen) that before reunification constituted the German Democratic Republic (GDR). England has introduced a new programme for citizenship education as part of the national curriculum, and Northern Ireland is in the throes of a major curriculum review, which includes a new approach to citizenship education. This underlines the point that setting EDC as an explicit education aim can act as a catalyst to the inclusion of EDC in education policy-making and legislative frameworks.

The fate of EDC policies in each member state is dependent on three inter-related factors. The first factor is the extent to which EDC aims and objectives are translated into a working definition with clear outcomes. The second factor is where EDC is mainly located in the education system and the third is the degree of compulsion. EDC policy-making has the potential to be more effective where there is a recognisable, co-ordinated policy approach at the national and/or regional level. It should be noted that it is possible to formulate a co-ordinated national policy approach to EDC in countries with centralised education systems, whereas in federal systems this approach is not feasible.

2.2.3   EDC definition and approach

EDC is defined in member states in the Western Europe region primarily in terms of civic or citizenship education and largely in relation to schools and the formal curriculum. However, the approach to EDC in the majority of member states has undergone a major overhaul since the early 1990s, with the narrow, formal approach of the past being replaced by the broader, more active and participatory approach of the

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54. Information provided by the Belgium (French-speaking Community) EDC national co-ordinator M. Bastien (2002).
55. Information on Ireland from the International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Framework Archives (INCA) (2002) at http://www.inca.org.uk.

present day.

This broader approach is seen as vital in helping young people to understand and address pressing societal problems. It has been ushered in on the back of extensive review and reforms of citizenship education, for example, in England, France, Ireland and Scotland, and through a process of evolution, for example, in Austria, Belgium (French- and Flemish-speaking communities), the Netherlands and Germany (where the five new *Länder*, which constituted the former GDR, have adopted this approach to bring them into line with the eleven old *Länder*).

The present, broader approach, referred to as citizenship education, combines formal and informal approaches. It encompasses the content and knowledge-based elements of the old civics or civic education, but blends them with encouragement to students to investigate and interpret the ways in which these elements, for example the rights and responsibilities of citizens, are determined and carried out in practice. The primary aim is not only to inform, but also to use that information to help students to understand and enhance their capacity to participate. It lends itself to a mixture of teaching and learning approaches, from teacher-led to student-led, both inside and outside the classroom. There are structured opportunities for students to discuss and debate, and encouragement for them to get involved in school- and community-based participative projects and experiences.

The existence of this broader definition is clearly seen in the way citizenship education is defined. For example, in England a new statutory subject entitled Citizenship has been introduced for students aged 11 to 16 as part of the national curriculum. Citizenship is important because:

> Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.[56]

A review of policy documents across Western Europe reveals similar sentiments in definitions of EDC.

How the inclusion of EDC in school life is approached in practice varies considerably across the member states. It is dependent on context, tradition, cultural heritage and how the education system is organised and administered, including age range and school type. Despite the diversity of the Western Europe region, member states are united in their approach to EDC in a number of respects. There is:

- general agreement on four contexts for developing EDC in schools, namely curriculum subjects, cross-curricular, whole-school life and links to the local community;

- particular focus on the school curriculum context as the traditional locus for EDC development;

- increasing emphasis on active approaches, which link curriculum to the other contexts for developing EDC;

- currently a stress on increasing the levels of pupil participation both in and out-of school.

The introduction of measures to increase pupil participation in schools and society in the last few years is a particular phenomenon in the location of, and approach to, EDC in the Western Europe region. This is allied to moves to involve teachers, parents and community representatives in the running of schools.

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56. DFEE/QCA, *Citizenship Key Stages 3-4: The National Curriculum for England*, London: Department for Education and Employment/Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999. Available at http://www.nc.uk.net, p. 12.

2.3. EDC implementation

How EDC is implemented has proved the most difficult question to synthesise succinctly in relation to the Western Europe region. This is for a number of reasons, most notably:
- the diversity of approaches to implementation within and across member states;

- the number of individuals, organisations and networks involved in implementation in each member state;

- the range of meanings associated with the term "implementation", from measures and strategies to evaluation and outcomes;

- the early stage of implementation of EDC policy reforms in a number of member states.

This last point is important. A number of countries – Belgium (Flemish-speaking community), France, the Netherlands, England, Austria, Northern Ireland and Scotland – have either just initiated or are about to initiate major reforms in their approach to citizenship or civic education in schools. Given this, it is not yet possible to comment with any certainty about implementation. As two EDC national co-ordinators observed:

> It is too early to have any insight on the outcomes, as the implementation only recently started.

> It's still a bit early to seek out views on implementation.[57]

2.4. Main challenges for EDC policy development and implementation

In spite of the difficulty of defining how EDC is implemented, it is possible to identify four main challenges that remain to be faced if EDC policy development and implementation are to be more effective in the region. These are the challenges of:
- the gap between policy and practice;

- student participation;

- teacher training;

- monitoring and quality assurance.

2.4.1. The challenge of the gap between policy and practice

The greatest challenge facing EDC implementation in member states in the Western Europe region is that of narrowing the current gap between intended policy and actual practice. For example, the new Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study has found a gap in schools in England between the intended citizenship curriculum (as planned by school leaders and teachers), the actual citizenship curriculum (as taught by teachers), and the received citizenship curriculum (as experienced by students).[58] There is a considerable gap, at present, in many member states, and at all levels from government and ministries down to the individual and community level, between the rhetoric of policy and the reality of practice.

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57. These comments were made in relation to the situation in Scotland and Belgium (French-speaking community); however, they apply to a number of country contexts, including England, which introduced statutory citizenship in schools in September 2002.

58. For further information about the study, visit http://www.nfer.ac.uk\citizenship.asp. This is shown in the first annual report from the study, which is available at http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research/ – see also D. Kerr, E. Cleaver, E. Ireland and S. Blenkinsop, *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study First Cross-Sectional Survey 2001-2002*, London: DFES, 2003.

2.4.2. *The challenge of student participation*

There is a growing trend in many member states to increase the participation of students, teachers, parents and community representatives in the running of schools. This is being driven by the signing of international conventions and agreements, such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and by the growing decentralisation of education systems. There is a particular focus on ensuring that pupils are given real opportunities to participate through the introduction of legislative frameworks that enshrine this right. This is a major area of EDC policy, which is currently under development in member states in this region. Here are examples from two member states.

The Netherlands[59]
The country has signed covenants and international treaties that provide for standards of good conduct, particularly in respect for human rights. A school must have consultations with and participation of parents and pupils via specific councils. Each school must also have a pupils' statute. This active involvement and representation of pupils is enforced by law.

Belgium (Flemish-speaking community)[60]
There is a policy on participation by pupils, teachers, parents and (in some areas) local community representatives in schools. This is supported by decrees, which define the basic rights of pupils and parents to be included in local school rules. A new law introduced in 2000 means that secondary schools are obliged to establish a school council if at least one-third of pupils ask for such a council.

The developments to promote EDC through increased participation in schools and society are very much in their infancy. There is still considerable work to do to ensure that effective and meaningful links are made between EDC in the formal, non-formal and hidden curriculum for young people, teachers and school leaders. It is still not clear what these links will mean in terms of policy and practice.

2.4.3. *The challenge of teacher training*

Teachers have a critical role in mediating EDC policy and in helping to transform aims and objectives into effective practices. The nature of EDC means that it is both an issue for all teachers, related to whole-school approaches, and also a concern for specific subject teachers, particularly those who teach citizenship and civic education and closely related subjects. How teachers are prepared and trained to handle EDC in schools and elsewhere is of crucial importance to the promotion of EDC in education systems. The evidence of EDC in teacher training across the member states in the Western Europe region is patchy.

The overall pattern in the Western Europe region is of limited, sporadic teacher training related to EDC, with the majority of it generalist in initial teacher training and optional in terms of in-service training. For example, this is what happens in one member state.

Austria[61]
EDC is not included as a specific subject in initial teacher training courses. There is a postgraduate university course in civic education that provides the basic knowledge that teachers require. In-service training is provided through optional seminars.

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59. Information on the Netherlands from the International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Framework Archives (INCA) (2002) at http://www.inca.org.uk and validated by the information provided by the Netherlands EDC national co-ordinator H. Brosse (2002).
60. Information from the report of the Belgium (Flemish-speaking community) EDC co-ordinator, W. Taelman (2002).
61. Information from the report of Austria EDC co-ordinator, S. Steininger (2002).

Such a pattern does not match with the crucial role of teachers in developing effective EDC practices. It raises serious questions about the ability and effectiveness of teachers to promote the more active, participatory approaches associated with the reforms of citizenship or civic education in many member states.

2.4.4 *The challenge of monitoring and quality assurance*

A crucial area of weakness, or underdevelopment, in most member states in the Western Europe region is monitoring and quality assurance, including research and evaluation. Although there are a number of quality assurance procedures being developed and research studies undertaken, these tend to be small-scale and unconnected at present. There are two exceptions to this. The first is the involvement of England, Germany, Belgium (French-speaking community) and the Netherlands in the recent IEA Civic Education Study, in an attempt to find out more about the knowledge, skills and attitudes of young people, teachers and school leaders concerning citizenship and education.[62] The second is the funding by the government, in England, of a nine-year Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study. A number of other countries have also considered how to monitor and evaluate their current EDC reforms.[63]

Overall, though, these are early days for EDC implementation in many member states. The evidence and research base from which to develop effective policy and practice is still sparse and partial. There is an urgent need to discover what works and why, and to share this knowledge and understanding within and across countries in the region.

2.5. Concluding comment

Overall, it is clear in the Western Europe region that, in terms of policy-making and implementation, EDC is not a quick-fix policy solution. Instead, it takes time and resources to develop and nurture effective EDC policy and practice.

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62. For further information see J. Torney-Purta, J. Schwille and J.-A. Amadeo (eds), *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four Case Studies from the Civic Education Project*, Amsterdam: Eburon Publishers for the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 1999; and J. Torney-Purta, R. Lehmann, H. Oswald and W. Schulz, *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*, Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2001.
63. For example, the UNESCO Centre at the University of Ulster is about to undertake an evaluation of the new Local and Global Citizenship curriculum. The evaluation builds upon the IEA Civic Education Study and the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study in England.

3. NORTHERN EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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3.1. Background and aims

This is a synthesis of a detailed report on EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) policy-making and implementation in the Northern European region.[64] The synthesis and report are part of the Council of Europe's All-European Study on EDC Policy-making. The synthesis outlines:

- the key features of EDC policy development in the Northern Europe region;

- the key implementation measures that exist for EDC in Northern Europe;

- the main EDC challenges that need to be faced.

The Northern European region comprises eight member states: five Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden – and three Baltic countries – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

3.1.1 Characteristics of the Northern Europe region

All the countries in the Northern Europe region aspire in their constitutions to be free, open and democratic societies. They are all representative democracies with national parliaments where legislative power and authority reside. All citizens have the right to vote from age 18, an age that overlaps with the last years of upper secondary school. However, the eight countries have different democratic histories. The Nordic countries have a long democratic history, whereas the Baltic countries are newly established democracies with a recent history as part of the Soviet Union under Soviet rule.

All the countries in the Northern Europe region are defined as "developed" in the UN human development index. However, despite this developed status, the Nordic and Baltic countries face different economic, social and political challenges at the start of the 21st century.

All eight countries have unitary and compulsory education systems; and in the majority of cases compulsory schooling begins at age seven. However, in Iceland and Norway the normal age for starting school is age six; in Lithuania it is either six or seven. Compulsory schooling usually lasts between nine and ten years.

Teaching is carried out by generalist class teachers in the early years of schooling (primary level) with a greater reliance on specialist subject teachers in the later years (lower and upper secondary levels). All countries have non-compulsory upper secondary education where students can choose either academic or vocational courses.

The school system in most Northern European countries can be characterised as decentralised, though

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64. R. Mikkelsen, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC): Northern Europe Region*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003, Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 27.

with some centralised features. In Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, for example, the tendencies toward decentralisation are stronger than those toward centralisation. In the Baltic countries, the school systems in Latvia and Lithuania have been relatively decentralised after very centralised management during the communist years, whereas Estonia is centralised with growing moves toward decentralisation. Norway has a centralised school system with a curriculum that has the status of a governmental legal document. However, it should be noted that in some countries ongoing reforms are changing the nature of the relationship between centralised and decentralised features.

3.2. Key features of EDC policy development

The constitutions in all these countries provide foundations for the development of inclusive democratic and egalitarian societies and assert support for EDC. All countries in the region also have declared policy goals regarding the encouragement of citizenship education. These are expressed in different ways in each country. In some countries they are enshrined through government regulation. For example, in Finland:[65]

> The target for education is to support the pupils' development into people with harmony and a healthy ego and as members of society with the skills to take a critical view of their social and natural environment. The basis is respect for life, nature and human rights as well as appreciation of their own and others' learning and work.

By contrast, in other countries, EDC policy goals are set out in general parts of the curriculum or integrated into the ethos and purpose of schools and schooling.

3.2.1 EDC definition and approach

Few countries explicitly use the term "citizenship" when they talk about the preparation of their young people for active and meaningful participation in society. There is considerable variety in terminology and in definitions of the concept of active citizenship in the Nordic and the Baltic countries. Most of the Nordic countries, for example, take a broad definition of citizenship education, which encompasses knowledge, skills, attitudes and actions – including "about", "for" and "through" approaches. However, in the Baltic countries there is narrower interpretation of what is necessary to develop civic education, which is based more around knowledge "about" citizenship. The different approaches are expressed in legislative documents, in the curricula and in different curriculum subjects.

The knowledge perspective – knowledge about citizenship – is common in all countries and plays an important role in the education system. Although the number of lessons that students are supposed to attend in civic and citizenship-related subjects varies from country to country, all countries provide opportunities for students to learn about the structures and processes of government and political life and about national history.

The "for" approach to citizenship education is broader and more focused on values, understanding, skills and the development of tolerance, solidarity, gender equality and other attitudes. Some of the Nordic countries, in particular Sweden, view this approach as having equal importance to the knowledge-based approach. Indeed, in policy development and implementation of EDC in Sweden, the term "values-based education" is commonly used when talking about citizenship education.

The "through" or action approach to citizenship education is increasingly important in the region, especially in the Nordic countries. Experiences of formal and informal participation, and of democratic

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65. Heikki Blom, *Information on EDC in Finland*, Contribution for the All-European Study on EDC, 2002.

teaching and learning approaches in school, are regarded as necessary and important in preparing students for active participation as adults in society. In Denmark, the White Paper from the Ministry of Education submitted to parliament in 1997 stated that the education system to a much greater extent should educate "in, about and by the principles of democracy". A curriculum framework from Sweden states:

> It is not in itself sufficient that education imparts knowledge of fundamental democratic values. It must also be carried out using democratic working methods and prepare pupils for active participation in civic life. Pupils should be given experience of participating in the planning and evaluation of their daily education, and in exercising influence and taking responsibility.[66]

3.3. Key implementation measures for EDC

Implementation of EDC occurs in many different ways in the Northern Europe region. The range of terms used to describe implementation measures and tools provides a picture of the variety. Terms used include: guidelines for subject content, teaching guidelines, evaluation and inspection, cross-curricular challenges, teacher education and training, student participation, special programmes and publications, websites, conferences, supportive organisations, and research and funding, among others.

The most common implementation measures are guidelines on content and teaching methods in democracy-related subjects. In all countries in the region, such subjects are compulsory at the lower secondary level, and mostly also at upper secondary school levels. But there are tensions between centralisation and decentralisation, and the number of lessons available varies considerably among countries, which affects the approach to and success of implementation measures.

In decentralised systems, such as Sweden and Finland, municipalities, schools, teachers and students have more freedom to choose subject content, teaching methods and time allocated to the different areas of EDC. Whereas, on the one hand, this carries with it the risk of making citizenship education weaker in schools, on the other hand, through the opportunity for local decision-making, it offers the potential to strengthen local democracy and thus develop stronger citizenship education practice. In more centralised systems such as Estonia and Norway, all EDC-related content is compulsory. However, while in some countries students meet this subject within all or most grades or years of their education, in other countries it is present in only a few years or grades.

In some countries students are given assessment grades in democracy-related subjects, while in other countries they only pass or fail. In Denmark for example, they regard this situation as both a strength and a weakness of EDC.[67] On the one hand, a subject without grades functions more democratically, while on the other hand a subject without grades has less prestige and as a result teachers often receive less in-service training than in other subjects.

Most countries have formal arrangements for the approval of the content of textbooks covering EDC. In several countries the teacher of social sciences is explicitly described, for example in Latvia as "tolerant and obliged to establish mutual relationships in an atmosphere of favourableness and respect" or in Lithuania as one who is "urged to use discussions and train the students in making their own decisions".

Evaluation and inspections are rare within the field of EDC in the region. No countries use national examinations in their assessment and few, if any, carry out inspections. In fact the term "inspection" is used more to refer to advisory meetings, such as those found in Denmark. Sweden is a good example of the dilemma facing the implementation of EDC in decentralised systems, namely, how to deal with the

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66. *Curriculum for the compulsory and non-compulsory school in Sweden.*
67. Information by H. Skovgaard Nilesen, Danish Ministry of Education.

balance between top-down and bottom-up approaches.[68] In Sweden, they address this dilemma by encouraging open dialogue when education officials visit schools and municipalities. Indeed, Sweden is currently developing a set of diagnostic tests to support the evaluation of EDC. In Finland from 2005, upper secondary schools will have a cross-curricular theme called Active Citizenship and Entrepreneurship. There is a similar approach in Iceland with the newly introduced subject of Life Skills, which is cross-curricular with the intention of linking several citizenship-related areas.

Teacher education and training in Northern Europe is mainly organised through subjects and supports EDC particularly through subjects such as social sciences and history. No countries in the Northern European region have special teacher-training courses in EDC either as a separate subject or as cross-curricular competencies. There has been some in-service training on EDC-related subjects in some countries, notably in Iceland, while in Denmark and other countries teacher education aims to stimulate a democratic teaching style.

Some countries allocate time for the "class hour" to support the training of students as active participants in the classroom and in school democracy. This is the case, for example, for lower secondary schools in Norway and Denmark. The organisation and promotion of school councils are compulsory or common in the Nordic countries, but it is rare in the Baltic countries. Only Norway is currently strengthening such implementation with a specific programme within the curriculum in schools. Organised student participation and councils are more common in upper secondary education than in either lower secondary or primary education. In upper secondary education in Sweden there are local boards where students are in the majority. In Finland, Norway and Sweden a Young Peoples' Parliament is organised every year.

3.4. Main challenges for EDC policy development and implementation

All countries in the region have declared policy goals regarding the encouragement of citizenship education. However, implementation of EDC is more varied, in part because it supports a range of meanings and approaches. Here we find gaps between intended policy and actual practice. There are two general challenges and a number of specific challenges. The two general challenges are: first, how to increase awareness of the range of potential implementation measures and second, how to broaden the perspective of EDC, in order to move it from the purely "about", largely knowledge-based approach, so that it also includes the "for" and "through" approaches.

There are four specific challenges for citizenship education:
- focusing on values, skills and participation;

- increasing use of the web;

- teacher education;

- monitoring and evaluation.

3.4.1.   The challenge of focusing on values, skills and participation

EDC implementation is promoted across the region by increasing consciousness of values and skills development and through activities and participation. The Swedish EDC co-ordinator, for example, draws attention to a number of success factors in this area:

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68. F. Modigh, *EDC policy implementation strategies.* Presentation in the International seminar on EDC policies and regulatory framework. Strasbourg, December 2001.

"Time must be set aside for dialogue and relations on all levels. Informal school environments must be recognised. Development in the area of fundamental values must be enhanced. To a large degree fundamental values must be a matter of education. Clear goals must exist on all levels and undergo evaluation. Leadership must be clear and visible. The organisation and its structure are of great importance in this context. The value system is connected to organisation and resources. All adults in the school are responsible and act responsibly. Any work done is done from a long-term and supportive standpoint. Both adults and children take an active role and participate".[69]

3.4.2. *The challenge of increasing use of the web*

An area of great potential is the increased use of the worldwide web as an implementation tool. It can be used in a variety of ways: to present information about and examples of civic education; to provide information on teaching and learning challenges; to summarise reports and research; and to support teaching in subjects such as social studies. In Norway, the web already hosts a number of programmes, which are specifically designed to support EDC:

> One support programme is called Values, Democracy and Participation. Another programme appoints demonstration schools for two years. These are schools with distinguished education in priority areas, such as the creation of a learning environment with active students, an important part of the Norwegian concept for promoting EDC. The schools are used for observation visits, teaching practice for students and/or teachers' in-service training. A third programme is called Student Inspectors. This uses an interactive questionnaire where students can evaluate their education and their school. The purpose of the programme is to increase the student's impact on conditions concerning their learning environment and prosperity. A major part of the questionnaire deals with participation. In what ways can students participate in choosing content within different subjects, make working plans and participate in evaluation of different subjects? In school year 2001-2002, almost 19 000 students from basic school and 33 000 students from upper secondary school participated in the programme.[70]

3.4.3. *The challenge of teacher education*

Teachers have a critical role in implementing EDC. It is a general concern of all teachers, through the promotion of values and through the encouragement of student participation. However, it is also the specific concern of teachers in certain subjects. In teacher education both content knowledge and ways of teaching are important, but the place of EDC-related subjects differs across the region:

> According to the standards in Principles of Civil Society (1997) the teachers shall take notice of three activity dimensions in the educational process. These are cognition-research, communication and participation, and all democracy-related dimensions. They imply methods that can be used to develop the student's sense of responsibility and their skills in making their own decisions. Teachers are especially urged to use discussions as a method. These modern methods in teaching will be and are meant to be implemented gradually.[71]

3.4.4. *The challenge of monitoring and evaluating EDC*

The Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) focuses on an evaluation of basic skills in

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69. F. Modigh (2003): Swedish Educational System with focus on EDC. Contribution to the All European-study.

70. J. C. Christiansen, *Education for democratic citizenship*. Norwegian report, 2002.

71. Irena Zalskiene, "National identity and education for democracy in Lithuania" in *Civic Education Across Countries*, Amsterdam: IEA, 1999.

reading, mathematics and science. Responding to national PISA results is the driving force behind current education policies and reforms in many countries in the Northern European region. A similar focus and level of interest were developed a couple of years ago by the participation of the Nordic and Baltic countries in the IEA Civic Education Study.[72] Research can thus be an important implementation tool.

Most Nordic countries, with the exception of Iceland and the Baltic countries, participated in the Civic Education Study, which mapped the knowledge, skills, concepts, attitudes and participation among a nationally representative sample of 14-year-old students. Four of the countries, Denmark, Estonia, Norway and Sweden, also surveyed 18-year-olds in a follow-up study. In Finland the study resulted in direct policy improvement in the field of EDC.

3.5.   Concluding comment

The main challenge for EDC in the Northern European region is to keep up interest in this area of education and to increase the variety and scope of implementation measures being used. At the same time it must be recognised that the development of effective EDC policy and practice is at different stages of development across the region and that further development will take time.

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72. For further information, see J. Torney-Purta, J. Schwille and J.-A. Amadeo (eds), *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four Case Studies from the Civic Education Project*, Amsterdam: Eburon Publishers for the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 1999; and J. Torney-Purta, R. Lehmann, H. Oswald and W. Schulz (2001) *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*, Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2001.

4. CENTRAL EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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4.1. Background and aims

This is a synthesis of a detailed report on EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) policy development and implementation in the Central European region.[73] The synthesis outlines:
- the key features of development of EDC policy in the Central European region;
- the key features of EDC implementation in the region;
- the main EDC challenges to be faced.

The Central European region consists of four countries, so grouped for the purposes of the study. These countries are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia.

Common characteristics of national contexts can be found in their political, economic and cultural developments. In particular, all these countries:
- have undergone the transition from centralist and totalitarian systems to democratic, pluralistic, and relatively decentralised societies;
- have been trying to integrate into international structures, in particular the European Union;
- are making considerable efforts to build up the fundamentals of civil society.

Within this context, education is highly valued and is considered to be a key factor for the development of individuals as well as of society. For example, in Poland education is defined thus:

> Education is part of the common welfare of the whole of the society.[74] It should be guided by the principles contained in the Constitution and by instructions contained in universal/international legislation and conventions. In particular, the education system should provide the materialisation of the right of each citizen to learn and the right of children and young people to be educated and cared for.

4.2. Key features of EDC policy development

In spite of some differences in national approaches to policy development in the countries, the main principles of educational reform are similar throughout the region. They stress democratisation, humanism, decentralisation, autonomy, flexibility, accountability, personal development, national identity and global awareness. EDC is defined, and declared a priority in the area of societal and educational development.

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73. M. Pol, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC): Central European Region.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 26.
74. *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland* – http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/pl00000_.html.

In all the countries, constitutions are the main bases for national education policies, referring to fundamental principles of democracy. This has much to do with recently introduced and innovative legislation in these countries. Rooted here are programme documents, such as the *White Book*[75] in the Czech Republic, or *Milénium*[76] in Slovakia. These documents are aimed either at the development of the whole education system or at some of its parts. Yet, there are differences across the region in the extent to which the legislative and programme documents cover the education system.

EDC is clearly reflected as a priority area in the documents mentioned above, mainly through reference to the elements that constitute EDC. Thus, support for the introduction of democracy and democratic arrangements is often accompanied by an emphasis on democratic and civil values and on their importance in education. For example, the National Education Development Programme in the Czech Republic (*White Book*) declares that:

> "The level of education and of the utilisation of society's potential … is a necessary condition for the accomplishment of a highly cohesive democratic society. On one hand, the freedoms of citizens have been widely enlarged, while on the other, this requires the ability to be responsible for oneself and for common decision-making. Democracy needs discerning, critical, and independently-thinking citizens, aware of their own dignity and respecting the rights and freedom of others … What we need is … systematic education for tolerance, understanding, and respect for other nations, races and cultures, accepting their pluralism. What matters is the respect for what is above and beyond oneself, which does not mean only respect for human society but also respect for nature".[77]

Generally, in all the countries of the region there are clear links between declarations in the constitution, the conditions specified in legislation and the aims, goals, priorities and intentions of programme documents. On the level of programme documents, elements of EDC are usually present, as in the Hungarian Government's policy priorities in public education (2002)[78] or in the intentions of educational reform in Poland.[79]

Where programme documents have been turned into action plans, it is also possible to trace references to EDC, although there are differences in the clarity and comprehensiveness of concepts in these plans. Indeed, it is in these plans that there are the clearest signs of competition between differing education priorities, including EDC. However, in spite of such competition, there is still a relatively solid basis for the development of education, including EDC, in all countries in the region.

A feature common to all the countries in the region is that the main focus of their education legislation and their programme documents is on formal education, rather than other education sectors. The same emphasis holds true for EDC governmental policies in the region. They focus on EDC in relation to teacher training, and pay less attention to out-of-school education and lifelong learning. However, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) show a much more balanced approach in their work on EDC. This highlights the importance of creating space at all levels of policy documents for the activities of both state and non-state agents, particularly NGOs, in relation to EDC, as well as in all the sectors of the education system and in each of its levels – central, regional, district, local and institutional.

In general, EDC policies exist throughout the region, but they are not always explicit and comprehensive.

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75. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, *Národní program rozvoje vzdělávání v České republice: Bílá kniha* [National Programme of Education Development in the Czech Republic: the *White Book*], Prague, 2001.
76. *Koncepcia rozvoja výchovy a vzdelávania v Slovenskej republike na najbližších 15–20 rokov (Projekt Milénium)* [The concept of the development of education in the Slovak Republic for the next 15 to 20 years – Project *Milénium*], Bratislava, 2001.
77. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, *Národní program rozvoje vzdělávání v České republice: Bílá kniha* [National Programme of Education Development in the Czech Republic: the *White Book*], Prague, 2001.
78. K. Kolosyné Bene, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Hungary*, Budapest, 2003.
79. Ministry of National Education, *Draft of the Reform of the Education System*, WsiP: Warsaw, 1998.

Rather, they tend to reflect the multifaceted nature of EDC, and they focus on some EDC aims and elements and not others. However, these policies are related to the declared EDC aims, goals, intentions and principles of education and are aimed at various areas and agents in the education system.

In all countries in the region, efforts to define EDC are linked to the task of overcoming the content and meaning of this term as formerly used under communist rule. Current definitions of EDC reflect – although not always in a thoroughly explicit manner and not always in all the relevant documents – three dimensions: first, formal, non-formal and informal education; second, the scale of the curriculum arrangement; and third, the required or desirable outcomes of EDC.

The location of EDC policies follows the priority given to the formal education sector over other sectors. In the formal sector, EDC is located in the school curriculum. In the 1990s, there were moves in formal education in Hungary and Poland to differentiate the curriculum into more levels (with greater emphasis on a central framework and local conditions), based on a narrow, basic curriculum. Similar plans were announced in Slovakia two years ago and the Czech Republic is preparing a similar curricular reform:

> "The development process of a three-level curriculum is currently going on in the Czech Republic, generating a state programme of education (the highest curricular document, defining the principles and aims of the education policy, general requirements related to the contents and results of education, and some essential competencies). On the basis of that, frameworks of education programmes are being developed (specifying the key skills and knowledge of school leavers and the corresponding content of education for particular grades and branches of education). The frameworks set up a basis for the preparation of school education programmes (specifying the content of education at particular schools), elaborated by schools on the basis of apposite frameworks with reference to local conditions".[80]

Alongside such moves there are efforts in all the countries in the Central European region to co-ordinate quality evaluation, to enforce the pluralism and variability of the curriculum, and to innovate. In the framework of the curriculum, EDC teaching is organised in various ways and is usually delivered to pupils using various methods or approaches chosen by the school, such as integrated teaching (especially in lower grades), blocks or groups of subjects (domains in Poland), structures called "educational paths" (integrating various topics and disciplines connected with EDC, in the lower grades in Poland), specific teaching subjects (a typical approach in the Czech Republic and Slovakia), other EDC-related subjects (mainly in Hungary) and combinations of these approaches. Some methods or approaches are compulsory while others are voluntary. Teachers are free to use the teaching materials of their choice. Though the curriculum time available is usually strictly determined, there is in practice some degree of flexibility.

Throughout the Central European region, EDC occupies a potentially important position in school organisation and ethos. Its development is accompanied by some inconsistencies relating to the climate of schools (as reported from the Czech Republic[81] and Slovakia[82]), efforts to accentuate and develop student participation and parental involvement, and the structures of school governance. The policy of support for these processes and structures differs in some aspects, but there are also several common features.

For example, in Poland the law gives explicit preconditions for setting up and running a Parents' Council:

> "Article 53
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> 1. A Parents' Council, representing students' parents, may act in a school or institution.

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80. For schools that will not be ready to prepare their own school education programme, the ministry will offer model education programmes to be used either without changes or after adaptation to local conditions.

81. S. Bendl, "Dotazníkové šetření o subjektivní obtížnosti učitelských činností" [A questionnaire survey of subjective difficulties of teacher activities] in *Pedagogika,* XLVII, 1997, no. 1, pp. 54-64.

82. For instance, according to the Slovak programme document *Milénium*, "as many as 87% of teachers claim that the behaviour of pupils [had] worsened during the last ten years, especially at the upper primary and at secondary stages".

2. The rules of the establishment of Parents' Councils are to be adopted by all parents of such school or institution.

3. The Parents' Council adopts the Statute of its activity, which cannot be contrary to the Statute of the school or institution".[83]

It seems that in all the countries of the region there are efforts to search for how to make school a place that is not only relevant and attractive for students but also for parents and those who work there. EDC can be very helpful in this respect, yet there is still much to be done if these aspirations are to be realised.

EDC policy development is also closely related to teacher education and training, both in its initial and in-service phases. Strong decentralisation and the relative autonomy of state and non-state providers is the typical pattern of approach across the region, though it can result in a certain amount of fragmentation. Although in these four countries there are practically no policies that explicitly stress the desirability of including EDC in teacher education and training, there are a number of interesting and innovative approaches to EDC through teacher-training programmes. For example in Hungary, the teacher training offered in relation to EDC seems generally to be very topical. As the Hungarian EDC co-ordinator says:

"Many teachers know too little about their students' rights. Deficiency in conflict management and methodology can also be a problem. Such knowledge should more largely be integrated in initial and in-service education and training".[84]

There are typically various degrees of connection (especially in the case of in-service teacher education and training) between teachers' promotion and school development in countries across the region. However, this is not always the case. For example, in the Czech Republic at the moment, teachers' participation in in-service programs is voluntary and schools get a certain sum of money to spend on it. There is a very fragile link ebtween in-service training, career development and school development.

Governmental policies concerning EDC in lifelong learning are virtually non-existent in all the countries of the region. For example, the Polish report on governmental initiatives says: "As far as adult education is concerned, unfortunately, there is not any specific programme connected with EDC".[85]

Only in the most recent government policy documents has there been any emphasis on lifelong leaning and the potential links to EDC. However, the further elaboration of these ideas into action plans is still lacking. For example, according to the information of the Hungarian EDC co-ordinator, there has been a national policy on adult education in Hungary since the enactment of the Act on Adult Education in 2001. This Act explains the framework of the institutions of adult education. However, the contents of adult education are not described and, consequently, EDC is not mentioned.[86]

Similarly, programme documents point out the need for the development of lifelong learning in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

4.3. EDC implementation

The current situation in the region consists of partial strategies for EDC implementation rather than a comprehensive approach to implementation. For example, in Slovakia:

83. *The Law on the Education System*, Warsaw, 7 September 1991.
84. K. Kolosyné Bene, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Hungary*, Budapest, 2003.
85. K. Zakroczymska and J. Gospodarczyk, *Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland*, Warsaw, 2002; E. Mistrík, *Slovakia - A Contribution to the All-European Study on EDC Policies and Legislation*, Bratislava, 2003, p. 4.
86. K. Kolosyné Bene, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Hungary*, Budapest, 2003.

"The strategies of EDC implementation either work with the general policy (as proposed by the ministry) or focus on the practice (as originated by the Committee of Civic Education) in formal (ministry) or non-formal education (this part being rather neglected), mostly on the curriculum and less so on the whole of the school; or on cognitive and affective measures, mostly focused on schools and teachers and less so on communities and young people in general".[87]

Various resources are employed for EDC implementation in all countries of the region, notably finances, technologies (mainly information and communications technologies), information and human resources. These resources have been directed to the implementation of EDC in individual functions and processes related to the education system (although to varying degrees), such as in monitoring, evaluation, research, development and institutional backing.

In all countries of the region, the extent of EDC implementation is influenced by the degree of variation in understanding of and attitudes to EDC. The autonomy and flexibility of the education system is utilised to benefit EDC implementation on various levels and in various ways. However, such flexibility means that those involved in EDC implementation have to be extremely well prepared and have to monitor and co-ordinate these activities themselves. Professional and other relevant networks play an important role in EDC implementation, as is clearly seen, for instance, in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. For example in Slovakia, the NGO is "a powerful vehicle of changes and instant renewal of civic education", points out the Slovak EDC co-ordinator.[88]

Throughout the region, the competition among educational priorities (and among the priorities within EDC) is a criterion determining the success or failure of EDC implementation. While EDC, as an educational priority, is clearly stated in national policy documents, this emphasis is sometimes less distinctive in action plans (where they exist). This has considerable impact on the range of possibilities for EDC implementation in practice. As far as the priorities relating to EDC are concerned, the formal education sector and the cognitive or knowledge component of EDC seem to take the lead. This is despite declared efforts to reach all education sectors and to balance a knowledge approach with the development of skills, values and attitudes.

In all four countries there exist several partial strategies of implementation that support EDC. The most common is the support for EDC through the formal school curriculum. For example in Slovakia,

"The main outcome [of implementation strategies] is that civic education subjects still make up a stable part of the formal education system, although it was endangered several times in the course of the last 12 years. Also, these subjects are structured systematically, making up one unit and being supported by a set of pedagogical documents".[89]

Another strategy is the support of EDC through the supply of teaching and learning resources. This strategy has played a crucial role in EDC development throughout the region, especially in the early 1990s, a period of considerable transition in society and in education.

There is also evidence of EDC implementation through the development of regulatory frameworks. Examples can be found in all countries of the region, for instance, those related to student participation in Hungary, parental involvement in Poland and school governance structures in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The degree of success of these various implementation strategies varies throughout the countries and the schools concerned.

87. E. Mistrík, *Slovakia – A Contribution to the All-European Study on EDC Policies and Legislation*, Bratislava, 2003, p. 6.
88. Erich Mistrík, e-mail correspondence, 8 April 2003.
89. E. Mistrík, *Slovakia - A Contribution to the All-European Study on EDC Policies and Legislation*, Bratislava, 2003, p. 8.

A relatively strong and successful approach has been the support of EDC implementation by NGOs through bottom-up initiatives, sometimes closely and successfully co-operating with state bodies. For example, in Poland the report of the Polish EDC co-ordinator says: "The system of co-operation between the governmental and non-governmental sectors seems to be very effective".[90]

Among other strategies for EDC implementation that are present in the Central European region are support through: teacher education and training; the establishment of institutional structures; quality assurance and evaluation; and research and development. However, the degree of development of such strategies is variable. For example, in terms of quality assurance and evaluation, Hungary is an example of a relatively advanced approach, where:

> "The quality assurance program of Comenius 2000 was launched in educational institutions in 1999, and a trend to emphasise the internal and external evaluations in their coexistence seems to be uniting the education systems of the region. The importance of institutional self-evaluation is now acknowledged in this framework, although such self-evaluation is still rather experimental. All this may be greatly significant for EDC."[91]

Other countries of the region seem to be gradually developing a more systematic approach to quality assurance and evaluation of EDC within their educational systems, though the outcomes of students, teachers and schools still remain the most apparent concern.

4.4. Main EDC challenges to be faced

The main EDC challenges to be faced in the Central Europe region can be divided into two types, though they are clearly inter-related. Of the first type are those at the level of policy development; of the second type are those at the level of implementation. Each set of challenges is looked at in turn.

On the level of policy development, the main EDC challenges are linked to the necessity to maintain consistency among EDC-related policy documents on various levels, especially if they appear in the form of programme documents and action plans.

A particular challenge is the need for a more balanced approach to individual sectors of education and to particular elements of EDC. Currently, the formal sector dominates to the detriment of other sectors. There is also a need for much more attention for teacher education and training, and out-of-school activities.

Another challenge is the need for greater attention to EDC in lifelong learning. Generally speaking, what is required is a greater link among the formal, non-formal and informal sectors of education. Closer co-operation among schools, other education institutions and businesses is required, as well as co-operation with the labour market, advisory bodies and other relevant institutions able to support the development of lifelong learning in its various forms. Also needed is better co-ordination of institutional, municipal/local, regional and central policies.

On the level of EDC implementation, the challenges are related not only to strategies, but also to a broader context of education in the countries of the region. Currently, countries approach EDC implementation with an explicit definition of EDC and public attitudes toward it, with the promotion of EDC as an educational priority, and with the priorities within EDC.

However, there remain considerable challenges in turning the rhetoric of EDC policies into actual, real

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90. K. Zakroczymska and J. Gospodarczyk, *Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland*, Warsaw, 2003, p. 7.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

and effective practices. In particular, current efforts to implement EDC are partial, inconsistent and too fragmented. They raise a number of concerns, notably about: the amount of curriculum time for EDC and space for students and teachers to address EDC issues; the degree of readiness of human resources on any level and in any sector to support EDC; the effectiveness of efforts to increase student participation; and the lack of support for monitoring and evaluation, and for EDC-related research and development.

These concerns are related to the conditions of, and strategies for, EDC implementation. They are tied up with wider challenges concerning the harmonisation of individual levels of the newly diversified education and social systems across the region, including changes in institutional backing and the ability to manage rapid, on-going change.

4.5. Concluding comment

It will require a considerable time before the processes of EDC policy development and implementation are well balanced and equally successful throughout the education and social systems in the countries of the Central Europe region. However, there are signs of progress concerning EDC policy development and implementation at many different levels of education within and across the four countries. It is essential, if such progress is to be maintained, that EDC continues to be approached in a co-ordinated way, that it maintains the involvement of a range of agents at various levels and in different sectors of education, and that it addresses the broader social contexts of society.

5. EASTERN EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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5.1. General context of EDC development

Seven countries comprise the Eastern European section of the EDC All-European Study. They are: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine.

These countries have a lot of common political, social and cultural characteristics because of their legacy as former Soviet Union republics. However, after twelve years of independent development, the characteristics of their political systems had become very different. Each of these countries claims that it is building a democratic society and a market economy. All these countries, however, are still going through the process of dramatic social and economic change. This process leads to a dynamic and unstable environment for setting up the structures and content of citizenship education.

Citizenship education is one of the most important educational areas in these countries because all of them face the challenge of developing a new citizenship identity. They have to develop their particular meaning of citizenship.

The new social and economic challenges for education are widely recognised. Ukraine's policy states:

> The 21st century brings new demands to education. Globalisation, rapid change of technologies, consolidation of the priorities of society, sustainable development – all these factors enhance the role of education. Mankind is noticeably changing its orientation towards developing democracy, raising the dignity of the individual, national identity, tolerance, development under market conditions, and establishing them as indicators of the new world dynamics ... Life under the conditions of democracy, market, state-of-the-art scientific and information technologies are becoming a reality. All these factors call for radical modernisation of education.[92]

Among the social problems affecting the education system as a whole, there are a number of problems that relate directly to the development of EDC.

Ethnic conflicts, nationalism and problems associated with diversity and inequality have become the most critical social issues affecting youth. Some of the countries have gone through severe ethnic conflicts, which create a difficult context for EDC development. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Russia still suffer from the consequences of these ethnic conflicts. Growing economic inequality also creates problems of poverty and aggression.

The weakness of the new values system and civil society, political alienation and escapism also require strong EDC policy. The pressing need for the introduction of citizenship education in school is confirmed by the results of the research on the state of civic consciousness among youth in some countries of the region. A significant proportion of young people in the region do not believe in law and agree that several strong leaders can do more for the country than any laws.

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[92] *National Doctrine for Development of Education in Ukraine in the 21st Century*, 2001, p. 2.

5.2. Educational context of EDC development

The scale of the education systems in these countries varies considerably, from 65 000 schools in Russia to 1 400 schools in Armenia. At the same time, educational systems in these countries still retain many features of the Soviet education. In these countries the normal compulsory schooling lasts for nine years. However, as a rule, students can attend two or three additional years of general schooling.

These countries have inherited some traditions of Soviet education. They provide almost universal access to secondary education and universal literacy. However, they face every possible difficulty of transition, difficulties which have led to a decline in the quality and equity of education. In 2000, actual public expenditure per school-age child was less than two-thirds of its level in the late 1980s. School teachers and principals continue to receive meagre salaries.

Many countries of the region are undertaking a new round of major educational reforms. These reforms are more pragmatic than the reforms of the early 1990s and, as a rule, they include the provision of new textbooks and other learning materials, and the reform of the assessment system and education financing.

Having common problems as a driving force for the reform of their education systems, Eastern European countries also have a lot in common in the main directions of reform:
- decentralisation, including increased school autonomy and public involvement in education management;
- updating and diversification of the curriculum, including a radical increase in students' choice within the upper secondary school curriculum;
- establishment of new economic and financial mechanisms in the educational system;
- introduction of new systems of quality assurance, including introduction of an independent examination system.

The most serious challenge for EDC development is the Soviet style of teaching and curriculum provision. In spite of multiple reform efforts in the countries of this region, instruction has changed relatively little over the last few decades. It still provides relatively few opportunities for students to develop the deep thinking and problem-solving skills that are valued by today's society.

5.3. EDC policy development

It is difficult to find a solid common core within the discourse of EDC in the region. Some educators link EDC with participation in the political process, some with army service, some with humanitarian action and human rights protection. The understanding of EDC varies in different countries of the region. However, there is a broader agreement that a specific kind of citizenship education – different from the Soviet-style communist civic education – is needed.

This need is reflected in legal documents. The constitutions lay a strong foundation for specific education laws. In all countries of the region, basic laws on education provide a solid basis for the development of education policy (including EDC policy). They set up a structure in the education system and the main state objectives for education.

Almost all laws on education in the region emphasise that general secondary education aims at all-round development of an individual through education based on general human values and principles of scientific analysis, multiculturalism, patriotism, humanism, democracy, citizenship identity and mutual

respect between peoples and nations, in the interests of the individual, family, society and state. Another important feature of the laws on education is the provision of democratic principles within the education system. However, in some laws patriotic education is defined as military-patriotic education.

There are other government documents that lay the foundation for EDC development, such as national education development programmes, national education doctrine, education modernisation programmes and the like. Almost all of them refer to EDC or to citizenship education as a national priority.

For example, the goals of the Ukrainian *National Doctrine of Education Development* (2000) are: to educate a conscientious citizen, a patriot; to create the conditions for young people to obtain social experience; to develop a culture of interethnic relations; to develop the need and ability to live in civil society; and to develop an ecological culture.

However, besides these general statements about goals, there are quite few direct references to EDC in these education reform documents. In the above documents there is also a tendency to put all social objectives together. These include moral development, building national identity, development of readiness to defend the motherland, teaching the market economy, and so on. This creates the possibility that EDC may be moved to the margins of the educational reforms or dissolved within a very broad area.

Most countries in the Eastern European region do not have explicit EDC policy government documents. Different statements related to EDC policy can be extracted from curriculum guidelines, regulatory frameworks for school governance and moral upbringing. The lack of direct and comprehensive EDC policy strategies creates room for policy documents to compete in this field.

Communities of professionals and NGOs have also played a critical role in EDC policy formulation. International organisations and agencies have expressed their views in defining policy in the area of citizenship education as well. The policy statements of the non-governmental sector are not always fully consistent with the state's EDC policy goals.

5.4. EDC definition

Definition of EDC by content varies from pragmatic emphasis on everyday social life situations and interpersonal communication to strong emphasis on classic social studies content (Ukraine, Russia). In some countries, the definition of EDC includes human rights education as a key area (Georgia, Armenia).

One challenge faced by citizenship education in post-Soviet countries is a hidden conflict with so-called patriotic forces, which – having recognised the basic democratic slogans – criticise democratic citizenship education for promoting simplistic universal values. These forces try to move civic education from a constitutional-knowledge model towards a patriotic model, its main goal being to promote loyalty to the state or the community as a central concern of citizenship education. The traditional culture of an authoritarian society supports this approach. Within this approach, EDC focuses primarily on domestic issues, local issues and history.

Similar discussions take place in almost all former Soviet Union countries and they make the development of EDC policies highly politicised and controversial. As a result, real political and social issues, and contemporary problems, appear on the margins of EDC content.

5.5. Where is EDC in the curriculum?

In Eastern Europe, EDC is presented in the formal curriculum (through separate/specialised subjects, integrated approaches or cross-curricular themes), the non-formal curriculum (through extra-curricular, extra-mural or out-of-school activities organised by schools and often connected to the formal curriculum) and the informal curriculum (through incidental learning and whole-school organisation and ethos). There is almost no example of EDC being presented in the field of lifelong learning.

5.5.1. Formal curriculum

The formal curriculum plays a critical role in the delivery of EDC. However, until very recently there has been no separate specialised subject called citizenship education in Eastern European countries. All countries of the former Soviet Union have a tradition of teaching social studies as a special subject (*obchestvovedenie*). This subject still exists in most countries of the Eastern European region. It focuses mainly on social science knowledge and has different names: The Human Being and Society, Social Studies, and so on. Quite recently most countries introduced a special course devoted to human rights, social activism and practical law.

In Moldova, for example, the mandatory subject Moral Education is taught in primary schools; another mandatory subject, Civic Education, is taught in grades 5-9. Since the year 2001, Human Rights has become a compulsory subject for all 8th-grade students in Armenia. All student of 9th grade are required to study Civic Education as a curriculum subject. A similar project is being implemented in Georgia.

There is a great variety of approaches to the weighting of EDC within the optional part of national curriculum. This part of the curriculum varies from 20% to 30% of the whole curriculum time in different countries of the region. Thanks to international donors, there are many interesting courses that a school or a student can choose within the optional curriculum. Such courses have different names: Fundamentals of Political Science, Human Rights, Street Law, Democratic Elections, Democracy, and so on.

The idea of delivering values and civic skills through different subjects is not new in the countries of the former Soviet Union. In the Soviet period, even physics and mathematics were considered to be important ideological subjects within the unified curriculum. All ideological elements were eliminated from all subjects (not just specialised subjects) during *perestroika*. However, recent curriculum development has brought back some elements of a new set of values, skills and ideas.

In many countries, important elements of EDC have become a part of the educational standards for different subjects. In Azerbaijan, for example, according to the curriculum guidelines, knowledge of human rights, freedom and responsibilities is provided to students in primary school (grades 1-4) through such subjects as native language, reading, science, as well as in grades 5-11 through literature, history, geography, foreign languages and so on.

Strategic documents from almost all Eastern European countries show education authorities expressing concern about outdated teaching methods, especially top-down approaches, lecturing and memorisation. There is a lot of good rhetoric arguing for active, student-centred teaching. Many internationally supported projects promote active teaching methods in different subjects, including EDC.

5.5.2. Non-formal curriculum and school ethos (vospitanie)

Besides traditional school disciplines, there was a unique part of the Soviet school curriculum called

vospitanie. This word is often translated as "political (or moral) education". However, these words do not transmit the whole meaning of the *vospitanie* phenomenon. It was a part of the curriculum and extra-curricular activities devoted to the transmission of the basic values of communist ideology in all spheres – from family life to international relations. *Vospitanie* included cross-subject themes, extra-curricular activities, special lessons on moral education, a school environment enabling its aims, and compulsory membership in the Young Pioneers and communist youth organisations. Ideas of democracy, tolerance, humanism and critical citizenship were considered anti-communist and were subject to oppression and direct counter-propaganda.

After some years of complete rejection the idea of *vospitanie* is coming back, in the form of extra-curricular activities organised by school. Many schools in all countries of the region are developing different socially-orientated projects. They are even trying to re-establish different forms of students' organisations (Georgia, Russia). Now the education authorities are paying more and more attention to these types of activities. This interest could be seen as a promising sign, but it can bring danger because grassroots activities suffer from excessive top-down guidance.

There is also a growing number of students' voluntary associations, clubs and the like. Such organisations and links with the community in general provide valuable social experience of a kind that is highly effective for EDC. However, these initiatives are still quite rare. The Active Schools and Citizen projects (Russia, Azerbaijan), which are supported by the United States, are good examples of the success of these initiatives. They prove that community-based civic learning is possible in a post-Soviet social environment.

Students' participation in school governance has also become quite an important item on the reform agenda. School councils became the most popular form of such participation in almost all former Soviet Union countries. However, despite initial euphoria, they did not bring real power-sharing into schools because quite often the regulatory documents for school councils contradicted the general regulations for school management.

5.6. EDC implementation approaches and challenges

The general context for EDC implementation depends on a number of factors, including the degree of centralisation, professional development and prioritisation.

The countries of the Eastern European region traditionally have quite a high degree of centralisation. However, the recent movement towards decentralisation and school autonomy can create a challenge for centralised EDC policy. There is a danger that instead of building educational policy to support and promote grassroots initiatives, ministries of education will use their habitual, centralised approach.

Professional networks are not well developed in this region. This reflects the general weakness of civil society in Eastern Europe.

In these countries, educational reforms have too many priorities and too many objectives to be achieved in a very short time. So, even if EDC is on the list of priorities, its implementation competes for resources with other priorities, notably literacy, equity, student health, mechanisms of financing, and information and communications technologies (ICT).

5.6.1. Support for EDC implementation in formal education

In relation to formal curriculum, most CIS countries have quite a developed system of centralised curriculum control. State standards or state curriculum guidelines in these countries are mandatory for all schools. Therefore, those EDC elements that are part of the formal curriculum standards are implemented and there are mechanisms to monitor this. It is important to emphasise that the development of state standards in these countries is input-based, in the Soviet tradition. The list of information to be taught is the main part of the standards, which create conditions for implementing EDC in civic knowledge.

All countries of the region experienced a shortage of textbooks and other learning resources after *perestroika.* They could not successfully cope with the transition from a single state-approved textbook to real choice and a market in textbooks. This was especially true for EDC-related textbooks because they needed to be completely rewritten. Donors' projects supported some supply of new textbooks in almost all countries of the region. The task was enormous, especially for those countries that had to increase significantly publishing in their native language.

Information and communication technologies have opened new resource opportunities for EDC. There are examples of national websites providing on-line support for teachers of EDC (Ukraine, Russia and Armenia). Mostly they contain international data and information. Local experience and locally developed materials are still to be produced.

EDC implementation requires special regulatory frameworks. This area of implementation is not developed sufficiently in Eastern European countries. Political declarations are weakly supported by regulatory documents and instructional guidelines.

Support through NGOs and through bottom-up initiatives plays a critical role in EDC implementation. In the early 1990s, this support was based exclusively on Western aid. The role of the Open Society Institute and United States government-funded programmes in the introduction of EDC ideas, and their development and dissemination, cannot be overestimated. In the late 1990s, more local NGOs became involved. The main form of this support has been grants for innovative grassroots initiatives, for teachers and schools networking. Support for EDC implementation through monitoring, research and evaluation is least developed in CIS countries.

The level of state support for EDC can be demonstrated through the answer to a simple question – Which institution is responsible for EDC in your country? In recent years, various administrative units within different state agencies (including national ministries of education) have had this responsibility (Russian Federation, Armenia).

Teacher training is the key condition for implementing EDC. The countries of the Eastern European region face an enormous challenge because of the need for all teachers of social and related subjects to change their teaching orientation quite radically. In these countries the initiative for teacher training in this area has come mainly from NGOs. However, some countries (Armenia, Georgia and Moldova) provided EDC-related training for a significant proportion of their teachers. This demonstrates that the context for the development of intensive teacher-training programmes is becoming more favourable.

5.7.   Concluding comment

EDC rhetoric and slogans play an important role in the education reform programmes of the governments in the Eastern European region. However, there is little evidence, at present, of that rhetoric being translated into strong policies and effective practices in EDC, backed up by a systematic approach to

implementation. This is because all seven countries in the region are still at a very early stage of EDC development, with policy, practice and implementation measures yet to be clearly defined.

6. SOUTHERN EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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6.1.   Background and aims

This is a synthesis of a detailed report on EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) policies in the Southern European region.[93] The synthesis and report are part of the Council of Europe's All-European Study on Policy-making for Education for Democratic Citizenship.

Nine countries make up the Southern European region: Andorra, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, San Marino, Spain and Turkey.[94] Four of these countries are members of the European Union (EU) (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain), while Cyprus and Malta are soon to become EU member states; Turkey has applied to join the EU and negotiations are currently taking place. Andorra and San Marino have very close relations with their neighbouring EU countries: France and Spain in the case of Andorra, and Italy in relation to San Marino.

This synthesis mainly considers the common trends found in the region. The differences and specifics characterising each country concerned are covered in the more detailed and comprehensive regional report. The aim of this synthesis is to reflect on certain key issues and trends in EDC across the region, rather than to provide a description of the various national realities.

6.2.   EDC policy development: common features

Despite the differences, it is possible to find some common features in EDC policy development and implementation measures in the countries of Southern Europe.

6.2.1.   Reform of the educational and school system

The first feature that most countries of the Southern European region have in common is that their education systems are experiencing, or have just undergone, major processes of reform.[95] These processes reflect broader trends in the development of education policy at European and international levels, including:

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93. B. Losito, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC), Regional Study: Southern Europe*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003. Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 22.
94. This list of countries clearly shows that it is not possible to establish a Southern Europe region on the basis of common political, social and cultural characteristics. Even the democratic systems in these countries are not homogeneous, and the historical-political events that paved the way for these systems were also different.
95. There are reform processes under way in nearly all countries of the region: Portugal is aiming to revise the Comprehensive Law on the Education System; Spain and Italy have recently approved laws to reorganise school systems; Malta is carrying out a reform of the National Minimum Curriculum; in the Republic of San Marino, an in-depth discussion led to the drafting in December 2002 of a proposal for school system reform on which a public debate has begun; Turkey is implementing an Emergency Action Plan for various sectors of the education system (from primary to university). Even in those countries which are not planning overall reform of the school system (Andorra, Cyprus and Greece), there are more limited changes taking place.

- progressive decentralisation of school systems and, in many countries and contexts, a search for a new balance between national authorities and regional/local authorities in their responsibilities for schools;

- increased autonomy of schools in terms of management, organisation and the definition of school curricula and educational programmes;

- renewal of national curricula based on the construction of competences recognised as necessary for active participation in social life and entering the job market while looking ahead to lifelong learning;

- introduction of elements of flexibility in curricular organisation as a function of the adaptation of curricula to meet the individualised learning choices made by students;

- greater use of ICT (information and communications technologies).

These trends affect EDC both directly and indirectly: directly, because within the redefinition of the tasks of school systems and national curricula, EDC (in the various interpretations in which it is presented) takes on a central position; indirectly, because policies for decentralisation and the progressive granting of greater autonomy to schools tend to redesign the ways in which opportunities to participate are created.

6.2.2. *A broader meaning of EDC*

Existing EDC policies in the countries of Southern Europe share a broad multidimensional approach to EDC that aims towards, and also calls for – as conditions for its actual achievement – development of knowledge and skills, orientation between different values, the use of student-centred teaching and learning methods, and the construction of participative learning environments.

In fact, there is considerable overlap between the aims of EDC and those of the education and school systems in general. School curricula have a prevailing cross-disciplinary and integrated approach to EDC. EDC is set out as an overarching aim of school education as a whole and not restricted to any particular school subject. At the same time, some subject areas are given the task of developing specific knowledge and skills deemed important for students' well-informed, critical and active participation in society.

6.2.3. *Increased opportunities for participation in school management*

In all the countries in the region there are moves to increase opportunities for participation in the running of the school, largely for parents and teachers, but also in some contexts for representatives from local communities.

The involvement of practitioners and stakeholders in the development and implementation of EDC policies is growing across the region, particularly in those countries where teachers' associations, parents' associations and NGOs (non-governmental organisations) have a longer tradition and more consolidated experience of intervening in the education system.

6.3. EDC policy development and implementation: three major challenges, one major risk

As already mentioned, schools in nearly all the countries in the Southern European region have been granted greater autonomy at managerial and administrative level, as well as in determining their curricula (at least in terms of adapting existing national curricula). This growth in school autonomy necessitates new approaches to the long-standing issue of striking the right balance between centralisation and decentralisation. Education systems are growing in complexity and the role of central school-system administration is being set out in ever greater detail. There are increasing moves to spell out and

guarantee equal opportunities for learning for all students, in terms not only of the quality of schools' curricula and educational offerings but also in terms of school performance and results. The increasing autonomy of schools represents an opportunity to enrich EDC initiatives and projects from a number of standpoints. Two such opportunities stand out in particular.

The first opportunity for EDC enrichment is through specific projects that schools can develop within existing national curricula. In many countries in the Southern European region, schools are responsible for designing their own education plans and can therefore include activities and projects linked to EDC. This school autonomy in educational planning is often manifested in two ways. One way is through the definition of projects and extra-curricular activities, and the other lies in deciding the percentage of the curriculum that supplements the national curriculum.

The study of EDC policy-making in Southern Europe highlights the fact that the richness and articulation of initiatives developed by schools are directly proportional to three factors: the range of autonomy schools are granted; the extent to which the description of school systems is clearly articulated; and the actual planning capacity of the schools themselves. The tendency to differentiate curricula in relation to specific regional and local characteristics is destined to continue increasing across the region. However, it is difficult to say with any certainty how far this differentiation can still reflect and articulate the aims, objectives and characteristics of EDC.

The second opportunity for EDC enrichment is that, with greater autonomy, schools have more ways to develop relations with their local communities and regions. Broader participation in the organisation and life of the school can include not just students and parents, but also communities and other actors (institutional, cultural and economic), with the intent to design educational activities bringing the school ever closer to its surrounding area. Active participation and taking on responsibility in school management and local development are ways to increase democratic growth in our societies, to help overcome the increasing detachment of citizens from more traditional forms of political participation, and to reaffirm a leading role for people actively and directly to exercise their civic rights and duties.

These two opportunities for EDC enrichment represent only some of the potential benefits for EDC that can be gained from the greater autonomy of schools. However, it is also possible to set out three major challenges and one major risk that the development of school autonomy poses to school systems and to EDC policy development and implementation. These are considered in the sections that follow.

6.3.1.   *The challenge of participation*

The tendency toward decentralisation of school systems and granting increasing autonomy to schools is accompanied by a broadening of the participation of students, parents and local communities in the running of schools. However, it is clear that, in relation to the countries of the Southern European region, there are obstacles of various kinds that slow down and throw into question the very notion and development of participative processes. The issue is not that of direct opposition, as a matter of principle, to increased participation in schools. In all the countries in the region, the participative running of schools is seen as an essential factor not only for the democratisation of school systems, but also to guarantee the actual management of the system itself, in a situation where the schools' responsibilities and autonomy become greater. Rather, the issue is that of the logistics of trying to turn the rhetoric of participation into meaningful opportunities in practice in schools. While increasing participation sounds easy in principle, it is a highly complex and sensitive operation in practice.

Almost all the countries mention difficulties and obstacles in this regard. These difficulties vary. They include: organisational difficulties relating to the actual features and composition of representative and

management bodies; communication problems in getting the different thought-processes and points of view of teachers, parents, students and local representatives to coexist and grow together; and cultural difficulties, linked to a lack of tradition of active participation at community level.

The role that participative bodies in schools should and can play is also not always clear. In countries where there is a more consolidated experience of participation, there is a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the quality of the experiences achieved and with the excessive bureaucracy associated with the participative school management structure. Some criticisms come from school staff (teachers and administrators) and concern parents and students. Parents are criticised for being reluctant to take on direct responsibility in decision-making. Students are criticised for either being apathetic and reluctant to get involved or, at the other extreme, for being excessively politicised or too inflexible and rooted to ideology.

The involvement of practitioners and stakeholders is still not very widespread across the region, and what such involvement means in practice remains a topic of considerable discussion. Nonetheless, there is evidence of increased attempts to involve practitioners and stakeholders in EDC policies and their implementation, especially in those countries where teachers' associations, parents' associations and NGOs have a greater tradition and more consolidated experience. However, these attempts at involvement are often considered unsatisfactory by practitioners and stakeholders because, though they promise direct influence on decision-making processes, that influence turns out to be considerably limited in practice.

There appear to be two basic problems affecting the actual development of forms of participation both in schools and in school–community relationships. The first problem is the reluctance of various actors to participate. The second problem is the tension between school efficiency and increased participation: between the need to make the school work while at the same time extending opportunities to participate in its running. Many schools in the Southern European region are still experimenting to find the most effective balance of management, administration and participation. From this point of view, schools seem to experience similar problems to those that characterise democratic societies as a whole, in balancing governance, representation and participation.

6.3.2.   The challenge of monitoring and quality assurance

The diversification of educational projects, initiatives and programmes, as a result of increased school autonomy, is certainly an asset in terms of students' education in general and the development of EDC in particular. At the same time, the richness and variety of these projects and programmes is such that in some countries it is difficult to construct a reliable picture of what projects and programmes exist and of their value to EDC. There is an urgent need (at country level) to find out through a national survey what these projects, initiatives and programmes are, and then to build information and communication channels to enable effective dialogue between different projects and those involved in them.

This is related to the wider problem of the current lack of monitoring and quality assurance of EDC-related projects and initiatives developed by schools. Such monitoring and quality-assurance procedures are urgently needed in order to give value to such projects and initiatives and to encourage schools to develop a stronger culture of self-evaluation and review.

Decentralisation and autonomy for individual schools increasingly call for the development of a culture of accountability. This culture requires transparency and participation if it is to be real and move beyond the mere accounting of financial practices. Schools need to become accountable not only for their own education plan but also for the education decisions made, and the relationship between these decisions and the development needs of local communities.

The importance of monitoring and evaluation is all the more apparent when we consider the findings of studies at the international[96] and national level that review EDC, school curricula and school-community links. Such research has highlighted the considerable gaps between the curriculum as it is devised (or intended), the curriculum as it is taught (or planned) and the curriculum as it is experienced by students (or taught). Student opportunities to learn about and experience EDC through the curriculum in schools are far less than those planned by teachers and intended by principals and curriculum developers.

This gap is highly pertinent in the context of EDC policy development and implementation in the countries of the Southern European region. The teaching methods that teachers mainly use across the region seem to be more teacher-centred than student-centred, with high levels of memorisation, rote learning and the use of textbooks. Research also highlights a considerable gap between espoused theories and enacted theories in organisations, including schools, and this seems to be particularly evident in EDC.

There is still a considerable way to go to meet the challenge of developing evaluation and quality-assurance procedures in the countries of Southern Europe. There are indications that such procedures are being developed in relation to student assessment at curricular level,[97] but there is little evidence of the systematic development of initiatives for evaluating EDC policies at various levels (curricular and didactic innovation, organisational change and teacher training). The exception to this is Malta, though this may be a result of the continued influence of English culture and traditions in the education system.

In other countries, the evaluation of EDC policies and innovations is affected by a general delay in the construction of rigorous evaluation systems and in the growth of a culture of monitoring and evaluation in the education system. This is, perhaps, not surprising given that it is only recently that evaluation has become an educational priority at a wider European level. However, a number of countries in Southern Europe have set up national institutes and services for educational evaluation and research.[98]

The issue of evaluation becomes particularly important in the specific field of EDC. The consolidation of widespread and transparent evaluation practices does not only have an instrumental value, as a function of policy decisions, but also constitutes a condition of the democratisation of education systems themselves.

6.3.3. *The challenge of teacher training*

Teachers are fundamental to the success of any educational policy, particularly if it involves the development of innovative processes and practices. This certainly applies to the development of effective EDC. This suggests the need for teacher training in EDC to be carried out at several different levels. These include teacher training on curricular content, teaching and learning methodologies, management skills, and people or participative skills.

Given that EDC is a whole-school process that involves encouraging greater student participation, the issue of teacher training is (or should be) the concern of all teachers and not just those who teach those subjects that are considered to be more directly EDC-related. It should also involve a political commitment to both initial training and in-service training, the more so in those countries where there is not expected to be a substantial turnover of teaching staff in the foreseeable future.

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96. Such as the second IEA Civic Education Study.
97. Some very detailed, as with the curricula for the *Enseñanzas minimas* of Spanish secondary education and the *Bachillerato*.
98. See, for example: *INCE* in Spain, active for some years now; *INVALSI* in Italy (whose tasks have been continually revised since its founding in 1999); the *Inspección y Avaluación Educativa Andorrana*, responsible, amongst other things, for schools' respecting of democratic principles and individual rights. In the Principality of Andorra, a survey is being designed for EDC initiatives developed within the three education systems of the country.

All countries in the Southern European region have teacher-training initiatives concerning EDC, notably in relation to in-service teacher training. However, the decentralisation of school systems and schools' increasing autonomy, which are apparent in many countries, make it difficult to construct an overall picture of the training activities across the region in relation to EDC, particularly regarding in-service training. It is also difficult to gauge the extent and effectiveness of existing training activities in countries. For this to happen there would need to be monitoring and evaluation of the training initiatives currently under way in each country at a national level. At present, there is little sign of this happening, either in principle or in practice. This is true for specific training in EDC and also for initial and in-service training in general. The issue is related to the wider problem of the lack of a culture and system for evaluation and monitoring education systems in the countries of the Southern European region.

6.3.4.   *The risk that the rhetoric of EDC is not matched by the reality of policy and practice*

Information on EDC policy implementation measures obtained from the documentation used for the regional study is not homogeneous for the various countries concerned; in some cases it is fragmented and in others completely lacking. It is not just a matter of the limits of the documentation collected and/or made available. There is also a problem in establishing the various levels at which the implementation measures are realised.

These levels are more easily identified when dealing with targeted EDC projects, which follow a fundamentally top-down approach and are directly promoted by the central education authorities as, for example, in the case of Turkey. They are also more identifiable in countries where the relative size of the school system enables more clearly defined and delivered implementation strategies, at both national and local levels – as, for instance, in the case of Malta. The difficulties of level and scale increase when EDC policies are part of broader policies of school system reform or curriculum revision within school systems that are not only large but are also characterised by increasing decentralisation.

It is also important to recognise that in order to be truly effective many of the policies and practices that EDC (and, more generally the movement for increased democratisation in school systems) seeks to promote require deep-seated and sustained support. This is because they are concerned with transforming the culture of education systems and of societies, and this can only be achieved in the long term.

Nonetheless, the active involvement of practitioners and stakeholders, strengthening student participation in schools, measures for initial and in-service teacher training, and the creation of monitoring and evaluation systems are all crucial conditions for the success of EDC policies (and the success of education policies in general). If detailed measures to this end are lacking or are inadequate, then the gaps between stated principles and actual achievements, between the intended curriculum and implemented curriculum, and between what we would like the school's role to be in the formation of democratic citizens and its actual contribution, all risk becoming wider and wider.

Many school systems face the real risk that EDC remains strong on rhetoric but weak in terms of effective EDC policies and practices. The rhetoric of EDC is characterised, in most countries, by a statement of core principles, the promise to uphold fundamental values and a call to respect the constitutional foundations, all of which are easy for everyone to endorse and difficult to disagree with. However, support for such principles, values and foundations is not then matched by adequate measures for turning these principles and views into effective educational policies and practices.

This risk becomes all the more serious if we recognise that EDC is not neutral territory, but by the very nature of its characteristics is open to influence from social and political conditions and from cultural and

historical contexts. Such influences can be both positive and negative for EDC policy-making and implementation. Indeed, there is a danger that the rhetoric of EDC at the political and governmental level can mask the true nature of this influence.

For example, support for the rhetoric of EDC at the political level in a country, as manifested in EDC principles appearing in school legislation and curriculum statements, though commonplace across the Southern European region, is not a guarantee of those principles being turned into effective EDC policies and practices. Instead, it can be a smokescreen that masks either opposition to efforts to promote EDC in education and school systems, or sheer inertia.

6.4. Concluding comment

The education policies of the countries in the Southern European region appear to promote the ideal of lifelong learning, in most cases explicitly and in some implicitly. However, in practice, the relationship between school policies and political policies on adult education still appears to be weak, with any visible links confined largely to vocational training. Above all, what is lacking is the capacity to reconsider school education within a lifelong-learning perspective. In terms of EDC this means a lack of understanding and agreement about the core knowledge, skills and competences that students need to develop in school in order to cope with learning in their working, family and social lives in the future.

Lifelong learning raises two fundamental questions: What are the school's specific responsibilities in building these basic skills necessary for the individual student to take an active part in society? And what is the nature of the links between formal, informal and non-formal education? Although these questions can be addressed to the education and school systems in general, they are particularly relevant to EDC.

7. SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE REGIONAL SYNTHESIS

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7.1. Background and aims

This is a synthesis of the Stocktaking Research on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship and the Management of Diversity in South-Eastern Europe,[99] which was undertaken in 2000-2001 as part of the co-operation between the Stability Pact/Enhanced Graz Process and the Council of Cultural Co-operation. Owing to the impact of this Stocktaking Research, it was decided to extend the study on EDC policies to all the Council of Europe member states.[100]

This synthesis builds from the regional analysis of the Stocktaking Research and at the same time brings together current developments on EDC in the South-Eastern Europe region. This synthesis thus outlines:

- the common characteristics and the main issues of diversity in the South-Eastern Europe region

- the basic information about the Stocktaking Research on EDC policies in the South-Eastern Europe region

- the key features of EDC policy development and implementation since 2001.

The South-Eastern European region consists of nine countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia.[101] The countries in which the Stocktaking Research on national government policies on EDC and the subsequent All-European Study on EDC Policies took place were so grouped according to the definition of the region adopted by the Stability Pact Process.[102]

7.2. Common characteristics and main issues of diversity

Because of the important social and political changes following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of undemocratic one-party systems in many parts of Europe, including South-Eastern Europe, experts and policy-makers almost unanimously agreed that EDC is of paramount importance for the formation and development of a democratic political culture, especially in the newly established democracies of the South-Eastern European region.

Social and political changes from the 1980s onwards have considerably influenced the meaning and role of citizenship – and citizenship education – and have forced experts and policy-makers from all member states of the Council of Europe to reflect anew on the meaning and role of citizenship education in the curriculum of public educational systems and, in particular, on its influence on the formation and

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99. C. Harrison and B. Baumgartl, *Stocktaking Research on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in Southeast Europe (Regional Analysis and Intervention Proposals)*. Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001) 45 Final.
100. C. Bîrzéa, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC): Synthesis of EDC Policies in Europe*, 2003. Doc DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 18rev, p. 3.
101. Owing to the complexity of the political situation, the fragmented educational setting within the country and the expected time-frame of the research project, Bosnia and Herzegovina was not included in the Stocktaking Research project.
102. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 19.

development of a democratic political culture.[103]

Despite substantial differences in the national contexts, institutional and educational structures, political factors and social and political conditions of the countries of South-Eastern Europe, any consideration of the role and results of EDC in public education systems of the region must be seen not simply as an issue concerning the socialisation of children into the general rules of society and the reproduction of the basic values of democratic society itself, but also as the formation of a common citizenship identity and the inculcation of values that ought to be common to all citizens of a modern pluralist democracy.

This is because education to a large extent shapes the moral character of citizens, which in turn, together with laws and institutions, forms the foundation of a democratic government. This is clearly the case in Serbia where, since the democratic changes of October 2000, education has been playing an increasingly important role in the economic revival, democratic development and European integration of the country.[104] Education, as the OECD's 2003 Education Policy Analysis report emphasised, "cannot be considered in isolation from other key public policies".[105]

Public education systems in the countries of South-Eastern Europe, as in other member states of the Council of Europe, face many demands and specific challenges related to the implementation of EDC. These challenges are at various stages (primary, secondary, higher education) and in different educational contexts (formal, informal and non-formal learning). At the heart of this process – the process of putting EDC into practice – lie important questions about four inter-related issues, which form the basic principles of a public education system. They are:
- decentralisation and school autonomy;

- equal educational opportunities;

- human rights;

- inclusion.

These issues are examined, in turn, in the sections that follow.

7.2.1.   Decentralisation and school autonomy

The decentralisation of the vast majority of education systems in countries of the South-Eastern European region and the granting of greater autonomy at a managerial and administrative level to schools are in stark contrast to the previously dominant model of centralised decision-making. This tendency towards increased school autonomy and greater professional accountability in school governance is similar to current changes in countries with well-established democratic systems and a developed public education system.[106] For example, decentralisation of the public education system in Serbia is to be achieved by:
- encouraging and supporting school autonomy and school development;

- introducing new modes of participatory governance and management;

- promoting professional responsibility instead of political obedience;

- shifting the role of inspection from administrative control to developmental and educational support;

103. See D. Bridges (ed.), *Education, Autonomy and Democratic Citizenship*, London: Routledge, 1997; O. Ichilov (ed.), *Citizenship and Citizenship Education in a Changing World*, London: The Woburn Press, 1998; J.A. Banks (ed.), *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003.
104. Radmila Gosovic, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Serbia*, p. 6.
105. OECD, *Education Policy Analysis (2003)*, p. 7.
106. See the *Southern Europe Region Synthesis* by Bruno Losito.

- ensuring easy access to professional resources at the local and regional levels.[107]

Similarly, as the writer of the country report for Macedonia has pointed out:

> Decentralisation was imposed as a major open issue during 2002, when the new law of Local Self-Government was passed, which increases the responsibilities of the local self-government, including in the field of education.[108]

7.2.2. Equal educational opportunity

The commitment of the vast majority of education systems in South-Eastern Europe to the ideal of equal opportunity – regardless of gender, religion or ability – for individuals to realise their personal potential by all available educational means is almost universally accepted. At the same time, attachment to negative equality of opportunity – condemning the deliberate exclusion of anyone on grounds of social and cultural origin, sex, religious beliefs, nationality, physical or mental constitution, from equal educational opportunities – is now largely uncontroversial.

Article 5 of the General Provisions of the Law of Education in Romania emphasises that equal educational opportunity is of paramount importance for the successful implementation of EDC as an overall educational aim. In particular, Article 5 stipulates that

> Romanian citizens have equal rights of access to all levels and forms of education, regardless of social and financial conditions, sex, race, nationality, political or religious beliefs.

Similarly, Article 2 of the the Law on Organising and Funding of Education, which regulates licensing and determines how education is managed and funded, links equal educational opportunities with EDC.

The goals of the system of education in Slovenia are:
- Education conducive to mutual tolerance, developing consciousness of sex equality, respect for differences, co-operation, respect for children's and human rights and basic liberties, developing equal opportunities for both sexes, thus conducive to developing abilities one needs to live in a democratic society;

- Securing equal educational opportunities for the areas with special problems in development;

- Securing equal educational opportunities for children from socially disadvantaged environments;

- Securing equal educational opportunities for children, youths and adults with special needs.[109]

7.2.3. Human rights

A third central feature of public education and educational policies on EDC in the region of South-Eastern Europe has been increasing stress on the importance of granting basic rights to pupils and students through educational legislation as well as through the formal curriculum at all levels of the education system. These rights include freedom of expression, freedom of association, the right to freely choose schooling orientation for optional school subjects and, most notably, the right of pupil participation.[110]

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107. Radmila Gosovic, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Serbia.*
108. *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Macedonia.*
109. Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, *The Law on Organising and Funding of Education*, Article 2.
110. For a detailed overview of student participation in the majority of Council of Europe member states, see K. H. Dürr's study, *All-European Study on Pupil Participation in Schools*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2003) 23.

In Bulgaria, parents' and students' active participation in the school community is encouraged in law:

> For active parents' participation in school activities under the Public Education Act (Article 38, 4) a school trustee was created to ensure parents' participation. Further, in each school, a School Council of Students has to be formed to stimulate students' participation in the decision-making process.[111]

These efforts, designed to gain access to and participation in school governance, as well as developing the skills necessary for active participation in building an inclusive educational institution or community, are of primary importance in educating today's students as future citizens. As the all-European synthesis report on EDC policy-making emphasises:

> The increased autonomy of schools seems to be accompanied by a broadening of student participation, growing opportunities of co-operation with local communities as well as development of inter-organisational partnership (e.g. schools co-operate more and more with the civil society, family, business and local authorities).[112]

7.2.4.   Inclusion

The trend towards supporting pupils with special education needs, and giving them access and participation on increasingly equal terms, in mainstream educational institutions (rather than creating separate educational structures and institutions) can be seen as an effort to create a more inclusive society and public education system open to all students – as, for example, in Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovenia.

The growing body of evidence on research, policy and practice in the education of pupils with special education needs recognises the role of inclusive education in achieving social cohesion. The goals of education for all and lifelong learning raise important questions about how the large proportion of students who have difficulties in accessing the curriculum and learning can be effectively, efficiently and equitably included in the public education system. At the same time, as the writers of the Stocktaking Research on EDC Policies pointed out:

> Management of diversity is an important tool for individual empowerment by promoting inclusive multiple identities based upon the respect for the right to be different, thus contributing to social cohesion and unity.[113]

These challenges and characteristics are common throughout the South-Eastern European region and its education systems, and they touch on complex concepts and issues. Indeed, these concepts and issues are at the heart of making education systems more responsive to the implementation of EDC policies in the areas of curriculum development, the provision of professional development for staff and organisational development for institutions and structures.

Understanding this larger context, which defines the very nature of a democratic system of public education, is crucial in order to reflect anew on the importance of EDC in the formation and development of a democratic political culture in the countries of South-Eastern Europe. Such understanding also helps to situate the implementation measures proposed by governments and educational authorities to ensure the delivery of the intended policy goals of EDC in the South-Eastern European region.

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111. Daniela Kolarova, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Bulgaria*, p. 3.
112. Bîrzéa, op. cit., p. 3. Bruno Losito draws a similar conclusion about granting increasing autonomy to schools and broadening the participation of students, parents and communities in school governance in the *Southern Europe Region Synthesis*.
113. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 15. OECD's 2003 *Educational Policy Analysis* report has also given particular attention to the development of equitable provision for diverse student populations in public education.

7.3. Key features of EDC policy development and implementation

EDC has played an important role in the process of curriculum development in the South-Eastern European region. Indeed, as part of important social and political changes, various different reforms of public education systems have taken place in many countries of the region, notably in Romania, Croatia, Bulgaria and Slovenia. For example, one of the educational priorities in Croatia, given emphasis after the post-2000 education policy changes, has been the promotion of democratic principles (human rights and freedoms, openness, innovation, tolerance and diversity).[114]

These reforms address many issues that are directly related to EDC. They include issues such as: school organisation; the financing of the public and private sectors of education; language policy and equal educational opportunities for children from minority settings (e.g. national minorities and Roma); the accommodation of diversity and recognition of difference in the organisational structure; the content of public education, and more.

The reform process has also seen the inclusion of EDC in the national curriculum in many countries across the region. As the *Stocktaking Research on EDC Policies* pointed out, "policies in the field of curriculum tend to be the most developed".[115] In Slovenia, for example, there is a new compulsory subject called Citizenship Education and Ethics in the 7th and 8th grades of the nine-year elementary education and an optional school subject called Civic Culture in the 9th year of elementary education. Romania has a similar model of two school subjects (one compulsory and one optional) related to EDC. In Albania, EDC is taught as a separate subject in compulsory education and in the high-school curriculum. This is one of the important changes, alongside the approval of civic standards, in the reform of the high-school system in Albania introduced by the Minister of Education in 2002.[116]

The curriculum provision of EDC in the countries of South-Eastern Europe touches on the majority of concepts and issues at the heart of EDC in all member states of the Council of Europe, including pluralism, democracy, multiculturalism, ethnic and cultural heritage, diversity, tolerance, social cohesion, collective and individual rights and responsibilities, social justice and national identity, among others. However, any consideration of the role and results of successful EDC policy development and implementation must be seen particularly in relation to two major principles concerning the relative effectiveness of different types of curriculum, namely curriculum balance and curriculum coherence.

7.4. Main challenges to EDC

There are four major challenges and obstacles to EDC policy development and implementation in the countries of the South-Eastern Europe region, namely:
- provision of a sustainable teacher-training sector in EDC;

- support of an effective system of textbooks and other supporting resources;

- building of a democratic school ethos;

- strengthening of co-operation between educational authorities and NGOs.

Each of these challenges is examined in turn.

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114. Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, Follow-up to the *Stocktaking Research on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship in Southeast Europe, Country Report: Croatia*, p. 6.
115. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 10.
116. Astrit Dautaj, *The All-European Study on EDC Policies, Country Report: Albania*, pp. 3-4. Also, a joint project of the Ministry of Education, Institute of Pedagogical Research and UNESCO, begun in 2001, aims to introduce changes in the civic education curriculum.

7.4.1. Provision of a sustainable teacher training sector in EDC

Governments and educational authorities of most countries in the South-Eastern European region do not have a co-ordinated provision and strategy for teacher training. For example, in Croatia the key problem in the teacher-training sector is

> the division of responsibility and the lack of co-ordination among the Ministry of Science and Technology, which controls teacher pre-service training, the Ministry of Education and Sports, which controls in-service teacher training, and the Ministry of Crafts & Small Enterprises, which deals with the training of some teachers employed by vocational schools.[117]

The system of in-service teacher training is particularly vulnerable, as emphasised by practitioners in Albania, for example. Closer co-operation between educational authorities, NGOs and international organisations, such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO, would improve the teacher-training sector.

7.4.2. Support of an effective system of textbooks and other supporting resources

The availability of textbooks, manuals for teachers and other supporting resources remains one the greatest barriers facing most of the education systems of the South-Eastern European region. In order to provide an effective system of textbooks necessary for the successful implementation of EDC policies, there is an urgent need to stimulate greater competence in publishing textbooks and other supporting resources in the area of EDC.

7.4.3. Building a democratic school ethos

Despite the inclusion of EDC in the legislative framework of all countries in the region of South-Eastern Europe, one of the most notable gaps between stated and enacted policies identified already by the Stocktaking Research concerns the rigid institutional background and the building of a democratic school culture.[118] In order to overcome this compliance gap, a particular focus on innovative practices of EDC policy implementation – such as whole-school approaches, or examples of integrated curriculum including EDC and other civic-related subjects (history, geography, mother tongue) – would contribute substantially to democratisation of the school ethos.

7.4.4. Strengthening co-operation between educational authorities and NGOs

NGOs have contributed significantly to the implementation of EDC in practice. They have been playing a particularly important role, in teacher training and in the publication of supporting resources for students and teachers, in most countries of the South-Eastern Europe region. Educational authorities need to be more responsive to the role of NGOs in the implementation of EDC policies and need to seek to establish closer co-operation between NGOs and political, organisational, administrative and governmental bodies.

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117. Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, Follow-up to the *Stocktaking Research on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship in Southeast Europe, Country Report: Croatia*, p. 6.
118. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 33.

7.5. Concluding comment

A true measure of the successful implementation of EDC policies in the South-Eastern European region will be the extent to which it succeeds in building the notion of "efficacy" for young people: the sense that they have a democratic voice and that through working with others they can use that voice actively to bring about real change in their daily lives and in civil and political society. This notion of efficacy needs to be built at all levels of society; in local communities as well as in civil and political society.

However, it is schools and other educational settings that have a particularly important role in laying the foundations for the building of efficacy, not only in terms of the development of students' knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes, but also through the range and quality of the opportunities they create for young people to experience active engagement with and participation in the school as a community.

Effective EDC policy-making and its successful implementation in the South-Eastern European region depend not only on having such a vision, but also and perhaps more importantly, in translating it into aims, meanings, support bases and projects that encourage the development and sharing of good EDC practice in the three main areas identified by the *Stocktaking Research on EDC Policies*, namely:
- development of the curriculum;

- provision of professional development for affected staff (teacher-training provision);

- ensuring appropriate organisational development for affected institutions and structures. [119]

The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers' Recommendation 2002(12) on Education for Democratic Citizenship[120] is of considerable assistance in setting the standards for the successful development and implementation of EDC policies in these three areas, particularly through the emphasis on quality assurance.

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119. Harrison and Baumgartl, op. cit., p. 20.
120. Ever since the Council of Europe was established in 1949, its work has been orientated towards protecting human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law, to promote awareness and encourage the development of Europe's cultural identity and diversity. The fulfilment of these aims underlines both the first phase of the EDC project (1997-2000) and the second phase (2001-2004).