CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE, CANADA AND THE USA

Edited by
Jason Laker, Concepción Naval
and Kornelija Mrnjaus

Citizenship, Democracy and Higher Education in
Europe, Canada and the USA

Palgrave Studies in Global Citizenship Education and Democracy

Series Editor*:* **Jason Laker**, Professor, San Jose State University, USA

This series will engage with the theoretical and practical debates regarding citizenship, human rights education, social inclusion, and individual and group identities as they relate to the role of higher and adult education on an international scale. Books in the series will consider hopeful possibilities for the capacity of higher and adult education to enable citizenship, human rights, democracy and the common good, including emerging research and interesting and effective practices. It will also participate in and stimulate deliberation and debate about the constraints, barriers and sources and forms of resistance to realizing the promise of egalitarian Civil Societies. The series will facilitate continued conversation on policy and politics, curriculum and pedagogy, review and reform, and provide a comparative overview of the different conceptions and approaches to citizenship education and democracy around the world.

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Jason Laker, Concepción Naval and Kornelija Mrnjaus
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CIVIC PEDAGOGIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION
Teaching for Democracy in Europe, Canada and the USA

Citizenship, Democracy and Higher Education in Europe, Canada and the USA

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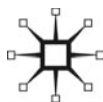*San José State University, USA*

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Citizenship, Democracy and the University: Theory and Practice in Europe and North America

Jason Laker, Concepción Naval and Kornelija Mrnjaus

Introduction

There are a number of issues and debates surrounding notions of citizenship, including how civil society prepares its population or particular sub-populations for engaged democratic participation. This is further complicated by diverse views about individual and national identities, immigration and policies and debates of accommodation versus assimilation. As globalization continues to blur individual, institutional and national boundaries, there are calls from and to multiple sectors to articulate productive methods for achieving the ideals of democracy and social cohesion. Institutions within the education sector – from early childhood through primary and secondary schools, onward to post-secondary and vocational education, and finally to those providing adult and lifelong learning – are all subject to these expectations. While each of these sub-sectors are instrumental to these issues, arguably post-secondary education is pivotal in that it is both a strategic enabler and subject to the knowledge and regulations arising from its research production.

The study of the relationship between the university and citizenship education has a long history, encompassing a huge diversity of writing including sociology, psychology, education and politics. There are of course a number of conceptual and intellectual positions from which to consider such questions. Whether one approaches this subject matter from broad political and/or theoretical analyzes of the prospective or actual roles played by the post-secondary educational sector, or perhaps from the influence of governments and other stakeholders, the possible theses and conclusions are legion. This is not a problem to be solved, but rather a business condition associated with these phenomena.

As such, this text is intended to contemplate the role and methods of post-secondary/tertiary sector educational institutions in preparing citizens for

meaningful participation in democracies, whether long-standing, young or emerging. The economic complexities of this era, and the ways in which deep-seated social tensions are activated, make post-secondary institutions (individually and collectively) particularly important to social cohesion and development since they are part of, and yet simultaneously apart from, the societies. As such, they can be though are not assuredly non-partisan facilitators and contributors, as well as keepers of long-sighted interests, even as they flex in varying ways and speeds in the face of demands for market responsiveness (e.g. workforce and economic development).

This comparative text especially considers Human Rights and Citizenship development in terms of how they are discerned, transmitted and reinforced through post-secondary institutions (whether as a sector and/or in particular contexts). We examine cases from Eastern Europe, Western Europe and North America because their respective situations provide notable opportunities for comparative analyzes and illustrations of important themes and discourses. Eastern European nations (for which even suggesting discernable regional boundaries is a contested exercise), with their post-socialist democracies in various stages of development, are faced with the daunting challenge of social reforms and the installation of new forms of civil society. This tenuous effort is occurring under the watchful gaze and involvement of Western nations, especially through the lens and infrastructure of the European Union and Commission. In Western Europe, tensions between national and European identities pose complex yet fascinating challenges for every sector of society. In the instance of post-secondary education, the traditional role of socialization is in competition with influences of such instruments as the Bologna and Erasmus processes, with their calls for calibration across nations for the purpose of migration and a competitive (so-called) Eurozone. This is made even thornier by the polarizing debt crisis, austerity measures, acute and emerging social movements, and political elections.

In North America, Canadian and U.S. societies hold their democratic histories and precepts uncritically as a given, as well as their influential roles (whether as peace builders, democracy spreaders or policing forces) in relation to rest of the world. These respective democratic experiments are messy and at times intimidating, but our contributors' chapters invite hopeful yet resolute optimism. Our hope is that this text is both critical friend and encouraging colleague, intended to hasten readers' thinking about what values guide them philosophically and/or pedagogically. Ideally it will be read with a willingness to reflect and refine, and a resolve to apply their learning toward inclusive democratic outcomes through the promise of higher education.

As the editors of this text, we serve as curators of a particular collection of perspectives and approaches offered by a cadre of talented and dedicated colleagues who have employed their respective lenses in considering the

subject from their unique styles and positions. On our part, we respectively live and work in the three regions discussed (e.g. Eastern Europe, Western Europe, North America). We have each had opportunities to travel to each other's global locations and to think about and discuss the issues as they are experienced in a number of places around the world, and yet we confess to being a product of sorts of the places in which we were born and raised. This too is not a problem, but rather a natural result of our socialization, identities and experiences. It is interesting that despite our seemingly different backgrounds and settings, we come to the same conclusion that humans are innately social and curious. It seems we all want to belong to people and places, and there are any numbers of things that push or pull us in our quest to achieve this. We agree that education is a fundamental and powerful institutional and phenomenological influence on this process, and that post-secondary education in particular can be a strategic enabler to achieving that sense of belonging to which most people aspire (whether consciously aware of it or not). Perhaps we are romantic, but we also share the belief that so-called Citizenship and Human Rights Education can improve the lives of people, communities and nations.

Notions of citizenship certainly became transnational before such innovations as the Internet or jet-propelled travel. Ancestors have been nomadic for all of documented history. That said, it seems that the immediacy associated with today's technologies create a harried environment in which people continue to grapple with complex issues of belonging such as the tensions between assimilation and accommodation; definitions of who is or could be a citizen of one place or another; who belongs and who decides that; and the consequences of all of these things. In short, life is happening faster than we can find our answers. It is perhaps debatable whether this is a good or bad thing, or perhaps a bit of both. In any case, we also believe that people find such answers through relationships with people and institutions, which brings us back to questions about the role of education generally and post-secondary education in particular on creating conditions for deliberating such questions meaningfully, and for being facilitative of individual and collective action arising from such questions.

Our thesis is that people who appreciate the social dimension of education and even the social dimension of human life itself are more capable, on the one hand, of dealing with the current landscape, that is, society around us; and on the other, of living life to the full and sharing this sense of fulfillment with others. They can 'share,' which we argue is the object of the basic social skills of every good citizen.

But the following questions remain. What does appreciating the social dimension mean? How can this citizenship or civic education or training be carried out? (cf. Altarejos and Naval, 2007).

From a widespread pessimistic anthropological and pedagogical perspective, society is frequently vaguely considered as a milieu that generates

negative influences on the education of the individual. The reasons for this posture are to be found in the social thinking and sensibility of the 20th century, which fluctuated between collectivism and liberalism.

Over a long period, collectivism has predominated in multiple forms in many countries and cultures; at present, due to the historic 'Fall of the Berlin Wall,' liberalism runs free, pervading modern culture, although some discrepant voices can be heard.

Together with liberalism and its critics, there is a growing return to the perspective of the classical Greek world, where the aim of society is 'the good life,' that is, not simply tolerating others peacefully, but rather, living one's own life fully among others (Naval, 2000).

The main reason for this classical perspective is the principle which states that society responds to a natural human dimension, and not only to a contractual artifice between individuals. The natural sociability of the human being is clearly perceived (zoon politikón). Interpersonal relations are, in this sense, the real stage for human existence and so form one of the central cores of education. We can, in fact, speak of civic education because there are operational habits which can be developed to improve the person, in much the same way as the appropriate virtues in aesthetic, affective, moral and intellectual training are developed.

Referring to the classical social virtues, as defined by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and by later developments, they are as follows: piety, honor, observance, obedience, veracity, liberality, affability, gratitude and vindication. There is no doubt that authentic participative culture, so necessary nowadays, is that which places few obstacles on the pathway to civil commitment for citizens and for civic expression and participation.

So, in this text we chose to feature conceptual frameworks and policy environments in our consideration of these big questions. Each of us provided a chapter to the project (Naval's chapter appears in our second volume on Civic Pedagogies, to be released at approximately the same time as this one) so that we would be able to offer both collective and individual voices to the conversation, and we have been privileged to share this space with colleagues whose thoughtful and conscientious contributions allow us to present a microcosmic conversation about these most significant issues of citizenship, belonging and the tools for their achievement.

Pedagogically, the text is organized into two thematic sections. The first, **Foundations and Frameworks**, articulates and examines the subject matter from a 'big picture' perspective, describing the conceptual frameworks and sector roles involved in the project of citizenship education and development. The second section, **Policy Environments**, contends with the tensions, challenges and opportunities in assembling the components necessary for meaningful, inclusive and effective educational access and outcomes. Throughout the text, readers will see 'Citizenship Education,' 'Education for Democratic Citizenship' and 'Human Rights Education' discussed, but

also sometimes used interchangeably. It is hoped that readers will accept this indulgence of the editors and authors, who certainly appreciate that words matter. Yet, debating semantic nuances, especially on such unfinished subject matter, would risk distraction from more fundamental issues. Arguably it is more important to consider how any citizenship is worthy of pursuit unless it is embedded with an innate belief in the individual and collective dignity and agency of people. The text rests on a stance that human rights and democratic principles should be enshrined in law and policy, but even more importantly evinced in lived experience.

One of the editors has often asserted that we in education 'teach community.' Whether this is a romantic convenience or an achievement remains unsettled. But the authors have provided a thoughtful collection of pathways for excavating the state of such ideas to date and contemplating what could or should happen going forward.

The **Foundations and Frameworks** section is comprised of six chapters from scholars based in Europe, North America and India who approach their subjects from broad political, conceptual and philosophical angles as well as from more personal locations within Academe. In the first chapter, Chapter 2, 'Towards Inclusive and Generative Citizenship Education,' Michelle Nilson, Catherine Broom, Johanne Provençal and Heesoon Bai (Simon Fraser University, Canada) discuss the competing tensions associated with the role of higher education in facilitating citizenship and the public good. The authors offer a conceptual framework through which to engage questions of curriculum, research and community. In the second chapter, Naomi Hodgson and Paul Standish (University of London, UK) consider the entrepreneurial university as envisaged through the overt and implied demands of the European governance and policy contexts, invoking Kantian and Foucauldian lenses as a means of reorienting the associated debates. Chapter 4, by Rhonda Wynne (University College Dublin, Ireland) examines how education for citizenship is conceptualized, and how this is reflected in curricular and extra-curricular approaches to student civic engagement.

In Chapter 5, Alok Gardia and Deepa Mehta (Banaras Hindu University, India) reflect upon the citizens' view of war, peace and coexistence of nations; and the critical role of teachers in shaping that view. As such, the approaches taken by universities in the preparation of teachers can be essential long-term contributions by higher education to achieving and sustaining a peaceful world. With recognition that war and conflict remain as barriers to such an ideal, Juliet Millican (University of Brighton, UK) looks at the role of the university and of community-university partnerships in the development of citizenship and democracy in a new and emerging state. Based on action research conducted at a university in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the chapter offers findings of value in other post-conflict locations as well. Finally, in Chapter 7, Randy Stoecker (University

of Wisconsin, U.S.) and Mary Beckman (University of Notre Dame, U.S.) react to increased demands for universities to make positive and substantive social and economic impacts in their local jurisdictions. Such calls for accountability from national and local governments, funders, community groups and even institutional administrative leaders add further complexity to the work of higher education. They offer suggestions for navigating the new normal in this regard.

The **Policy Environments** section is comprised of case studies associated with the legal and administrative instruments, practices and stakeholders of citizenship and human rights education in established and emerging democratic contexts. Beginning with Chapter 8, Tomaž Deželan and Alem Maksuti (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) examine the tertiary education system and a constituent university in post-communist Slovenia. The democratic reforms associated with recasting civil society based on democratic principles offer keen insights when taken through the lens of higher education, described by the authors as 'one of the most influential agents of political socialization.' Chapter 9 was written by Helena Lopes, Sofia Veiga, Pedro M. Teixeira and Isabel Menezes (University of Porto, Portugal). Their contribution is based on three studies on different facets of student experiences in universities, considering whether and how their educational journey may build their capacities to be fully engaged citizens in contemporary democracies. The influence of the Bologna process and creation of the European Higher Education area are highlighted. In Chapter 10, Dirk Lange (University of Hannover, Germany) and Sven Rößler (Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Germany) provide an overview of approaches to Civic Education taken in Germany in light of the EU's Bologna Process and OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). They examine costs and opportunities of these large-scale reforms and accountability models, and illustrate these through the presentation of a unique Democratic Citizenship Education Masters Program.

In Chapter 11, Gonzalo Jover (Complutense University of Madrid, Spain (UCM)), Esther López-Martín (National University of Distance Education, Spain) and Patricia Quiroga (UCM) provide an analysis of student participation in the governance of Spanish universities. They describe the legal structures and public perceptions of young people's political engagement, as well as findings from a survey of over 5000 university students, challenging interpretations of this phenomenon and offering recommendations for future efforts to prepare the next generation of citizens and leaders. Chapter 12, by co-editor Kornelija Mrnjaus (University of Rijeka, Croatia), serves to inventory literature, key documents, organizational stakeholders and legislative efforts to enact EDC/HRE programs in the Croatian school system. In view of Croatia's transition to democratic systems and EU accession, much can be learned from the situation and its concomitant challenges and possibilities. In Chapter 13, Helena C. Araújo (University of Porto,

Portugal) argues for universities to take leadership of gender equality policies and to promulgate accountability tools and improvement mechanisms. The underrepresentation of women at the highest levels of institutional leadership in higher education in Europe and the U.S. is scrutinized. This is especially concerning, given the role of universities in knowledge production and challenging social inequality, and it is ironic given the substantial increases in women's enrollment and graduation rates over the last few decades. Recommendations and a call to action are provided in order to encourage more opportunities for women to shape gender equity efforts and democratic agency more generally. The text concludes with an essay by co-editor Jason Laker (San José State University, U.S.) reflecting on the development of this book project, stimulated by a meeting in St. Petersburg, Russia in 2009. The chapter offers a personal account of grappling with questions of nationality, citizenship and identity; living in two countries; and contending with the scholarly and pedagogical challenges of creating a compassionate space for students' introspection and dialogue in a so-called globalized society.

On a personal note from the editors, work on this book has been an adventure for all of us. Our patience was tested – by the process, but never by each other – as was our resourcefulness in navigating challenges to make this project a reality. To say the least, it has been an incredible and enormously gratifying learning experience. Our friendships have been strengthened, and we have made new ones along the way. As we send this manuscript to our new friends at Palgrave Macmillan UK, we celebrate achievement of the goal that we set so casually over a few drinks in St. Petersburg. It is our sincere hope that readers will find similar enjoyment and actionable wisdom from the efforts that we, and our author colleagues, made to bring these ideas to you. More importantly, we wish for our students to know that they have teachers, scholars and community partners who care about them, and who believe in their capabilities to transform geographic and virtual communities and the world into a more humane and free place for everyone.

–Jason, Concepción and Kornelija, 2013

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Part I
Foundations and Frameworks

2

Towards Inclusive and Generative Citizenship Education

Michelle Nilson, Catherine Broom, Johanne Provençal and Heesoon Bai

The role(s) of higher education in the public good

The purpose(s) and role(s) that higher education plays in society have been contested since Plato and his *Republic*. In 1852, for example, Cardinal Newman, argued for 'pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and not for the value of any of the fruits or applications, however important' (Hutton, 1890, p. 217) in contrast to the decidedly utilitarian views of the previous generation. More recently, Clark Kerr (1982/2001) eloquently outlined this debate from a practitioner scholar's perspective in *The Uses of the University*. This debate continues in the current preoccupation with the calculus of the public good as the monetary and non-monetary benefits to individuals and the public that are believed to stem from investments in higher education.

Citizenship education is directly implicated in these debates, as it resides in the heart of the nexus of these two forces – higher education and the public good. While there are several ways in which these debates manifest, in this chapter, we focus on three main areas: curriculum, research and community. We select these three areas as examples or lenses through which citizenship education can be viewed, recognizing of course that there are infinitely more topics that could be explored. Before turning our attention to the focus areas, we contextualize higher education in a discussion of a general typology, recognizing that it is rare that every part of an organization fits completely into any one category.

A typology of citizenship education in relation to higher education

Citizenship Education is the teaching or fostering of knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors related to governance and community. *Governance* is understood as the multiple dynamics through which social issues and needs are resolved within and through power. *Community* is in some ways

far more complex, as it involves empathy and connection to others, inter-fused with an understanding of the manner in which people need each other to live, which drives individuals to give up their private interests and rights for a negotiated, dynamic and fluid 'public good.' Citizenship education is education committed to and designed for developing citizens who participate in this form of life, who work *for* and *in* the public good. Consistent with this view of a negotiated public good developed through contestation and discussion, citizenship education itself is subject to heated debates regarding its meaning and educational programs. Much ink, and even blood, has been shed over these debates in history as citizenship education is underlain by different philosophies, and thus theorized and practiced in many ways. Based on and extending the work by Sears and Hughes, and Broom,[1] this chapter illustrates the diversity of approaches to citizenship education through a typology of the particular structural features and aims of various types of higher education. These types are abstractions and simplifications that exist along a continuum and are used as a starting point for identifying and examining key dynamic and dialectical forces at work within and through higher education. The words, 'college' and 'university' are used in this chapter in a general sense to refer to any postsecondary institution and not directly to community colleges or junior colleges.

Traditionalist

Often found in non-democratic nations, such as those that existed in Communist Eastern Europe (Coleman, 2009) and Asia, some universi-ties can be understood as 'traditionalist' (Evans, 2004). These institutions view students as empty receptacles to be socialized into dominant social discourses through education. Facts are presented as truth to be learned and not as hypothetical constructs subject to debate and revision. Citizenship education is 'passive' and 'conservative' as the methods and procedures aim to develop conformists who accept facts as truth, work to maintain current social structures and lack knowledge of or engagement in local issues (Mathews, 1997).

Prestige-based

Another form of the traditionalist type is the prestige-based institution. These universities may have a traditional program of studies (such as the Classics), but this is combined with an elitist orientation by limiting admis-sion to those who are considered to be the best and brightest (Plato's gold citizens). These institutions use their influence, historically acquired, to maintain their positions in the hierarchy of schools (Iannone, 2004). Examples include the American Ivy league schools (Morphew, 2009). They are research-focused, subject discipline based (Brint et al., 2009) and gener-ally public in the sense that they receive government funding, and are thus

expected to participate in their society's civic life. Unlike those in the first category, these institutions may have an 'old' tradition of educating 'well rounded citizens' who provide service and leadership to the community. Their goals may encompass moral education and developing civic-minded leaders, as mentioned in the University of British Columbia's aim of being a global leader through 'cutting edge' research and developing global citizens (Walker, 2008). Education is understood to encompass character education, within the 'Renaissance man/woman' ideal of writers such as Castiglione. This tradition may emerge from the institution's history of educating the elite, or aristocracy. These universities are often seen as 'spaces apart' from daily life where thinking and critical questioning are encouraged (Oakeshott, 1989).

Liberalist

To the left of the previous two types of universities on the political spectrum are the higher education institutions that encompass a Liberal conception of education and citizenship. These are often younger institutions that focus attention on individual rights (the private) with less attention to developing a community consciousness (the public). They are often associated with capitalism. Thus, universities that celebrate freedom, justice and individual rights, and that ascribe to meritocratic principles are examples. Belief in meritocracy is reinforced through admission criteria that use grades as markers of abilities, with the result that mixed ethnicities are present (Umbach and Kuh, 2006). Often, as the aim is individual development, factual learning is combined with debate, dialogue and critical thinking, in order to develop students' 'human capital' in preparation for work. Further, as these institutions have less 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 2006) than prestige-based universities, they depend on good ratings and media attention to survive, making them vulnerable to performativity (Ball, 2006) and neoliberal ideologies (Fisher et al., 2009). As they often aim to be modern, they are both subject to and open to globalization and new technologies such as digital education (the 'networked university' [de Wit, 2010]), which may be exploited as money-making ventures. They tend to use business models and ideologies for running administrative functions, such as strategic plans, budgets and accountability measures, and they may make alliances with businesses in order to increase funding. Untenured or sessional instructors may be employed to decrease costs, and professors may feel intense pressure to publish (or perish), and perhaps even inflate grades (Churchill, 2006) due to performance-based evaluations (Giroux, 2008).

Humanist

Humanist, or liberal arts colleges, are 'theorized' by Liberal Educationalists such as Nussbaum (1997) and Coleman (2009). They developed during colonial times in the United States as elite institutions that taught a liberal arts

program, a non-utilitarian program (Brint et al., 2009). They continue in this tradition today. Coleman (2009), for example, argues for an integrated program of study centered on justice and democracy that fosters awareness and action. Research is also important. The programs of study may take an issues-based approach to teaching and aim to create more 'active' citizens (Sears and Hughes, 1996) who participate in governance and society with the aim of improving society (the public good). Courses may emphasize interdisciplinarity, an exploration of issues and problems, and multiple points of views on material studied (Swenson, n.d.; Umbach, 2006). Programs often encompass diversity education in the attempt to foster critical thinking (Umbach); an emphasis on justice, equity and individual rights and responsibilities; and acceptance of inclusion and multiculturalism (Morphew, 2009). Their theoretical orientation connects to Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1916) in that Dewey argued that education should nurture a democratic consciousness based in a classless conception of citizens. A current example in British Columbia, Canada is Quest University, which is a private liberal institution that offers an integrated, liberal arts curriculum and block scheduling.

Some of these institutions include a global outlook, framed within the concept of 'connection.' In this globalized or cosmopolitan model (Nussbaum, 1997), students learn about the cultures and traditions of various countries, often with attention to global issues, such as poverty and environmental destruction. The study of issues may link courses or programs of study; interdisciplinarity is encouraged. Facts are subject to debate and revision. The aim is to develop respect, open-mindedness and awareness of the connections between places and people. It takes a more cultural-relativist stance to values. Appiah (2006) and Nussbaum (1997), for example, write of the need for global understanding. Their ideas draw inspiration from Kant's theory of an international system based in 'mutual respect.' Institutions may have different foci and run on a different axis to that of the first two models presented (along a continuum, attempting to negotiate a particular public good). For example, Kiwan (2008) states that many specialized models related to culture and Diaspora exist. Osler and Starkey (2003) argue for human rights education and for a conception of individuals as composed of multiple identities and loyalties. Olssen (2006) theorizes a Cosmopolitan model within a Republican-framed, 'thin' global community. Orr (2004) argues for an ecological model based in the connections that bind us all irretrievably together within the biosphere. Keating (2009) adds another dimension by stating that Europe is moving from a national-based model of citizenship to a regional 'European Union' (supra-national) model. Universities that aim to develop a sense of community at a scale beyond that of the national state are in this tradition. They welcome students of varied cultures and aim to develop a 'global' citizenship.

Reformist

The reformist, or 'reconstructionist' (Evans, 2004) institution is the most left on the political spectrum and aims at transformation of society. Counter-socialization and liberation are its goals. Proponents include Freire (2000), Foucault (2006, 1980), Apple (2006) and other Social Justice theorists. These theorists argue that our education system and our society are unjust. Power inequalities maintain social inequities towards a number of groups based on gender, socio-economic status and race. These require exploration through critical questioning of social structures in order to create a more socially just society. Freire (2000), for example, argues that the current metaphor for most educational systems is that of the banking model: the teacher deposits knowledge in 'empty' students (the first model presented here). However, Freire views this knowledge as biased and constructed knowledge (a form of power according to Foucault), which oppresses individuals by legitimizing discourses that maintain injustice. According to this view, educators ought to consider themselves co-investigators with their students as they explore the hidden power inequalities embedded in knowledge and discourses through critical dialogue. This exploration leads to opportunities for the transformation of understanding and, thus, lived reality. This more radical form of citizenship education is currently popular in some university faculties such as Education, the Arts and Critical Studies, rather than in universities as a whole, which tend to maintain many traditional structural features. It is present in universities that attempt to change the criteria by which students are admitted into programs and to improve inequalities of gender, socio-economic position and race that may be (in hidden form) perpetuated through university structures. It embraces individual accountability, self-reflection and change, and empowerment, as well as multiple identities and open spaces for critical dialogue. Its strong social justice orientation results in attention to, discussion about and interest in the 'public good,' understood as complex, constructed and negotiated in meaning. Alternative higher education institutions, or specialized colleges, such as First Nations Universities or Black-studies-focused colleges, are also examples.

New and Opportunist

Finally, the last type of institution encompasses a broad array of universities and colleges that are often flexible, open and opportunist in the sense that they take advantage of social trends and issues. They include open-access, technology-based, distance educational programs such as Phoenix University and have rapidly increasing enrollment (Swenson, n.d.). Their programs may be utilitarian-focused. That is, programs are work-preparation programs that place little focus on human and ethical development (the public good) and more on practical, hands-on programs and 'human capital' development (the private) (Levin, 2002; Gachon, 2008; Swenson, n.d.). Often, programs are developed in concert with business interests.

Citizenship is understood to be individual self-expansion through study and work. These institutions often compete on a cost-basis. Faculty are less well paid and focus on teaching, not research. These institutions take advantage of globalization forces and new media, particularly the Internet, to spread themselves 'transnationally' – to other nations – by means of distance and branch campuses (Verbik, 2006).

In presenting the above typology, it is important to acknowledge the absence of non-Western approaches to and examples of education. There is a dearth of literature in this area, with the exception of only some mention of traditionalist-like institutions in Asia (Baker and Thompson, 2010), which may have colonialist roots (Tuhiwai Smith, 2006). This as an area in need of research attention and which offers potential opportunities for the development of new and promising alternative categories and typologies. It should be noted, also, that this typology and these categories are not able to capture all nuances and complexities of higher education, but rather are presented in order to initiate thought and discussion on the underlying dynamics contributing to how citizenship is understood and approached in higher education.

Fundamental tensions in civic education

From the typology presented above, several dialectical forces emerge as important to a discussion of citizenship and higher education. Three key tensions (or tensile forces) are (a) internal-external, (b) maintain-transform and (c) anthropocentric-cosmocentric. These three forces are intersecting, interacting, complex and messy, making them difficult to represent visually and therefore are presented in this chapter in a linear and partial graphic form (see Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 below). The three tensions presented here are intended to provide an alternative to what are often adversarial debates among contending programs for civic education (as encapsulated in the typology described above) on citizenship and higher education. It is important to invite discussion on how these fundamental tensions interact with the needs and demands of each sociocultural-historical context to shape particular types of civic education in higher education because rigid ideological debates will not succeed in collaboratively and synergistically addressing issues of the public good.

Internal-External

The first tension relates to whether higher education is understood to exist 'within' the community it finds itself in, or whether it conceives of itself as 'a place apart' (Oakeshott, 1989). In many societies, education is embedded within its community (internal). For example, apprenticeship is a model of education contained within daily life. It involves a student learning from and emulating a master practitioner as the latter conducts his or her daily

work. It is the model found in many historical and traditional societies, as well as contemporary societies such as Germany. In contrast, Plato's academy was a place apart from society (external), a place where students went to develop their skills and to engage in critical discussion on their society. This conception of the university as place outside of mainstream society has continued through Western society to the present as advocated by contemporary Liberal Education theorists such as Oakeshott. Being apart from society, supporters argue, allows for a necessary distance that permits critical reflection on one's society. Figure 2.1 illustrates where each of the institutions discussed in the presented typology are situated on a continuum of internal-external tension.

New and opportunist institutions can be seen as internal to their societies as they focus on developing the aims of particular groups in society (such as business owners) or prepare individuals for work in their society. Liberalist institutions are close to this as they aim to meet the needs of particular groups. Both of these focus on private above public good. In contrast, traditionalist and prestige-based institutions are 'places outside' of mainstream society where students 'go' to learn apart from the daily ebb and flow of social life. They may, however, be too far from engaging with their societies in the negotiation of the public good meaningfully. Reformist and Humanist institutions attempt to manage the dialectical tension by negotiating a public good that is embedded within its community but in a place that has sufficient distance for perspective.

Maintain-Transform

The second tension is between those institutions that aim to maintain society as it is (the status quo) and those that aim at transformation of current structures. Traditionalist institutions that place emphasis on social reproduction are placed on one side of the spectrum and institutions that aim for
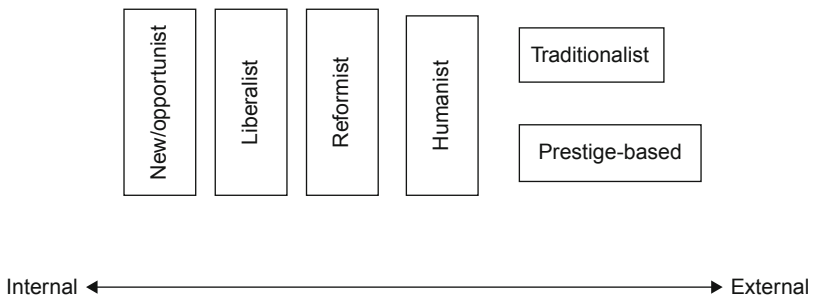
Figure 2.1 Citizenship education and internal-external tension

transformative education on the other. Historically, for example, some higher education institutions (the traditionalist and new/opportunist) were associated with the creation of particular forms of 'knowledge' and the education of colonial administrators and scholars in a manner that supported colonization. More recently, some institutions have been involved in capitalist-sustaining projects or research. Clark Kerr observed that the conservative nature of these institutions is precisely what has sustained them for so long (Kerr, 1982/2001). These institutions have a narrow, traditional conception of the public good. However, the conservative nature of these institutions has not gone uncontested. Critics of higher education institutions have sought to transform society and to deconstruct the conventional structures of knowledge and knowledge making. Social Justice scholars such as Freire have argued that the traditional-conservative model, what he terms the banking model of education, is used to oppress individuals through the creation of particular understandings of individuals' places in society. He aims to provide opportunities for transformation of this self and societal understanding through critical questioning and reflective praxis. This philosophy of transformation is illustrated in reformist and humanist typologies, as well as some prestige-based schools, which generally have broader and more dynamic understandings of the public good. Figure 2.2 illustrates where each type of institution is situated on continuum of a maintain-transform tension.

Anthropocentric-Cosmocentric

Finally, the third tension relates to the emphasis placed on human self-development or community connection. This tension is closely aligned with worldviews concerning the place of humanity and represents the following polarity: Are humans the raison d'être for the universe and
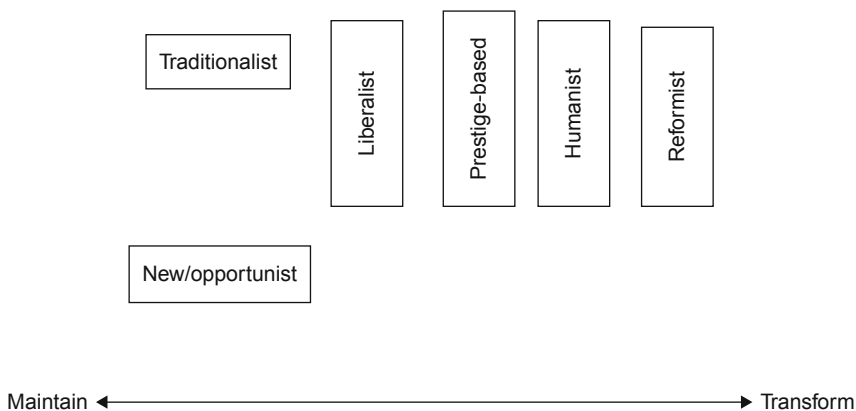
Figure 2.2   Citizenship education and maintain-transform tension

therefore the center of human concern (anthropocentric); or is the cosmos itself, with the intermediate sub-unit of the biosphere, the center of human concern (cosmocentric)? At the anthropocentric end reside liberal philosophies that focus on identifying and protecting the rights and freedoms of each individual to pursue their self-interested goals within fluid and socially constructed boundaries. This orientation has a long historical process of evolution in the West and is currently popular in many liberal, representative democracies. The public good is narrowly conceived of, subsumed under the private. Towards the other end of the dialectic are ecocentric worldviews that eschew a focus on the individual for an emphasis on not just the human community but the whole biotic community. At the far end of this pole, extending from the ecocentric worldviews would be the cosmocentric worldviews that reference the cosmos as humanity's largest 'horizon of significance,' to borrow Taylor's terminology. Ecological thinkers (such as David Orr), contemplative thinkers (such as Parker Palmer and Arthur Zajonc) and indigenous thinkers (such as Gregory Cajete) all fall at various points moving away from the anthropocentric pole on this particular continuum. For these thinkers, humans have existence and meaning only in relation to others, and each person only has consciousness and meaning within a web of connections, interconnections and systems that irrevocably bind us to inanimate and animate matter. At the furthest point in this dynamic, the private is fully collapsed into the public good. Figure 2.3 illustrates where each of the discussed types of institutions is situated on a continuum of anthropocentric-cosmocentric tension.

Dynamic tensions at work in curriculum and research

These tensions are dynamic and fluid and interact with each other in any given socio-cultural and historical context, as illustrated in models of civic
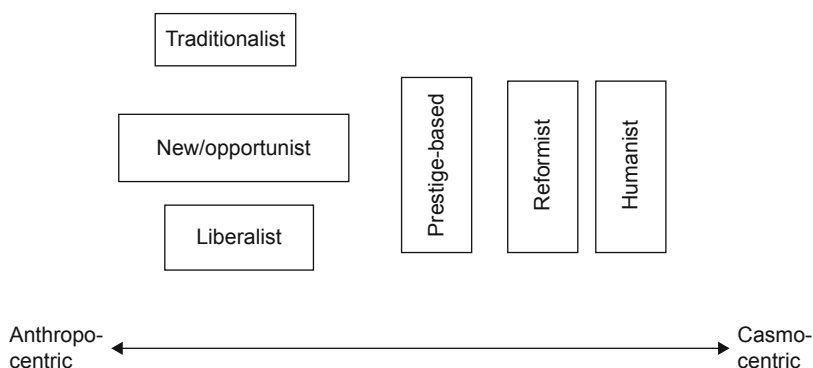
Figure 2.3   Citizenship education and anthropocentric-cosmocentric tension

education described above. It is therefore important that the above typology is not taken up through a rigid, ideological lens, where the business of deciding which one is right, true, relevant, useful, and so on, prevents a culture of collaboration and mutual support. The discussion of the fundamental tensions at play is meant to contribute to understandings of citizenship education in higher education. It should also be noted that the three tensions delineated are not understood to be mutually exclusive or exhaustive, but rather, they are conceived to be a helpful dialectical tool that stimulates and advances thinking about conceptions and implications of the public good in relation to citizenship and higher education. In the remaining part of this section, these tensions are considered in relation to two intersecting domains of higher education: curriculum and research. In doing so, the chapter explores how one vital feature of all higher education, that of knowledge-making, is inherent in the typology described above and illustrates the complexity of constructing and negotiating understandings of the public good.

Curriculum, higher education and the public good

As W. E. B. Du Bois poignantly observed at the turn of the 20th century, knowledge emerges from how curriculum is interpreted:

> Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools – intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it – this is the curriculum of that Higher Education, which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life. (1903)[2]

Curriculum is at the heart of the tensions outlined previously – internal/external, maintain/transform, and anthropocentric/cosmocentric. These tensions ebb and flow, are simultaneous and concurrent, reflecting the social and political context at any given time within curriculum construction.

A brief historical examination of curricula in North America reveals that the tensions and debates over whether curriculum should be practical or liberal have a long history. Beginning with the earliest institutions of higher education in North America, the university curriculum was modeled after that of Cambridge and Oxford, often referred to as 'Oxbridge' (Cohen, 1998; Thelin, 2004). The second greatest influence on the North American curriculum was the German Humbolt model, which emphasized the expression of academic freedom through research and teaching in higher education (Thelin, 2004). Both of these are within the liberal education tradition and at the external end of the dynamic tension. Later in this chapter, we explore the implications of these origins for research and university engagement within community.

The early curriculum of these institutions was external to its society and was determined with little consultation with the communities in which they existed; it was fixed around the classical subjects of theology, logic, rhetoric, physics, geometry, history and ethics (Willis et al., 1994); it was taught exclusively in Latin; and it did not include electives. The early institutional laws included the curriculum, outlined the sequence of courses for study, the days of the week and times of the day that students would study each subject, much as we might find in a modern-day institutional calendar. In addition to changes in the overall curriculum from a prescribed, fixed curriculum to one that included electives, there were changes in how students took classes. The introductions of preparatory departments, partial and parallel courses, and a basic bachelor-of-arts curriculum that contained a wide range of courses in addition to those usually labeled classical were designed to attract widespread attendance and support (Potts, 2000), illustrating an increasing focus to ways that the institution was situated within society. Colleges and universities continue to use these strategies for attracting and retaining students even today, nearly four hundred years later.

This move towards an elective-dominated curriculum resulted in questions about curricular integrity and quality. In the period between 1920 and 1960, as a response to these criticisms, two important curricular changes resulted. The first, a move towards the external dimension, is the 'great books' curriculum, which focuses on the Western liberal arts curriculum and has been sustained in only relatively few universities to date. The second was the rise of the honors college, which has been widely adopted in institutions across the globe.

In the United States, there were two large-scale events that shifted the focus on the university position apart from society to a position within society, which in turn brought changes in curriculum. The first was the introduction of the land grant institutions with the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. The Act was the first of its kind on this scale, setting aside public land in every state for the development of publicly funded state universities that would focus on agriculture, military tactics and engineering. These institutions were a move towards educating the children of farmers and workers, with a curriculum meeting their needs and curriculum that was relevant to their lives.

The second change that moved the curriculum from an external (outside of society) orientation to a more internal influence was the expansion of the community college sector. Dougherty (1994) explains that this expansion can be viewed in three ways – functionally, structurally and institutionally. The functionalists view the expansion of community colleges as driven by students and parents, and as a way to increase access. They argue that business and industry were in support of the expansion, as it would offer necessary training for workers. Additionally, this view confirmed the respective

roles of universities as the institutions of knowledge (the more external to society needs) and colleges as the institutions of training (the more internal to society needs). True to the name, the functionalist view does not critically reflect on the problems contained within these assertions; for that, we turn to the structuralists.

The structuralist view, based in Marxism, argued that the separation of the functions of the universities and the colleges further entrenched the replication of the social classes. They viewed this expansion as limiting opportunity and access, rather than expanding it. Further, they argued that by focusing on just one of the mandates of community colleges – vocational preparation – university preparation and adult education suffered. The third reason, Dougherty (1994) argues, is that the development of community colleges was an institutional mechanism for prestige-seeking local politicians and was a way for faculty and administrators at secondary schools to gain acceptance. Given this historical context for higher education as it has evolved in the United States, one might wonder if universities have an exclusive orientation (external to society's needs), while colleges have a focus relevant (and internal) to society needs, which raises issues related to social class, then as now.

In addition to seeking to serve wider communities and offering electives, another way that postsecondary institutions have moved to a focus more internal to the interests of society is through the engagement of professional communities. For example, in Canada, there are industries that have a direct role in the development and delivery of curriculum. Specifically, in British Columbia, the Industry Trades Authority (ITA) has an oversight role in the college sector for specific trades areas. The ITA develops specific curriculum that is to be delivered in the college sector. These trades are typically ones where public safety is at issue and uniform standards take precedence over academic freedom. The unionized environment complicates curriculum issues. This example presents a rather extreme case where an internal authority has a role in curriculum development and delivery. Related to this, the next section explores how curriculum has been used to maintain or transform citizens and by extension, society. The history of American curriculum shows a move from an external orientation to society to an increasing focus on curriculum as internal to society with the development of popular educational institutions that are enveloped in a more utilitarian conception of the public good.

Higher education institutions face several challenges that will, at various times, encroach on the determination of whether to transform or maintain the status quo in society through the curriculum. For example, changing demographics, increasing competition, globalization, increasingly market-based approaches, technology and declining resources have all been cited as challenges that institutions will have to contend with (Altbach, 1998). There are several ways in which institutions have creatively confronted

these challenges in their curriculum development and delivery. For example, service learning, field schools, co-curricular activities, interdisciplinary research and teaching, multi-modal delivery systems and cooperative education have re/emerged as valuable methods for engaging and retaining students (which are further examples of situating the curriculum as internal to the needs of society). Kuh (2008) defines these and similar practices as 'high-impact educational practices' (p. 9) that tend to engage students for richer and deeper levels of learning. However, as Musil notes, 'Educating students for generative citizenship cannot be accomplished without recalibrating the curriculum, its pedagogies, and the boundaries of faculty work' (2003, p. 7).

Using the curriculum to transform society or using the curriculum to maintain society (the status quo) can take place at the institution or the program curriculum levels. The Highlander Folk School (now called the Highlander Research and Education Center) in Appalachia seeks to transform society by training leaders of social movements. While the school now focuses on immigrant populations and those living in poverty, it has trained leaders, such as Rosa Parks, that were instrumental in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. In another example, Barnett et al. (2001) discuss tensions at the curricular level by exploring the dichotomous aspects of 'traditional curricula' in contrast to the 'emerging curricula.' For example, the traditional curriculum emphasizes 'knowing that' rather than the emerging curriculum, which emphasizes 'knowing how.' Parker (2003) rejects the notion that complexity can exist or be fairly represented in the dichotomies presented by Barnett et al. and illustrates an adaptation of Knight's (2001) process-based approach to curriculum. So, she argues, it is 'not "knowing that" vs "knowing how" but "Valuing while critiquing"' (Parker, 2003, p. 539).

This view of the tensions as processes that allow for exploration of complex issues creates spaces for difficult questions and exploration from a critical perspective. For example, when scholars espousing a dominant perspective explore higher education and the public good, what populations or worldviews are left out of the discussion? How does a community or society determine what the acceptable cost is to the individual for a public good? Brayboy (2005) specifically explores the question, 'what public good does higher education have to offer to First Nations peoples?' He finds two main problems with the notion of higher education for the public good. First, he notes that there is the potential for too much emphasis on the individual and not enough on the communities from which they come. Second, he argues that higher education itself does not know its place in society. What does higher education offer those who come from or live in low-income conditions (O'Bryant, 2005)? How do higher education, civics education, and the public good serve adult learners (Balatti and Falk, 2002)? While these are very important questions to explore and expand our perspective

of human communities, they remain focused on the human as subject (anthropocentric) and ignore the environment in which these freedoms or public goods arise (a more cosmocentric focus).

It is also important to consider the ways in which many institutions maintain the status quo, consciously or unconsciously, through a curriculum that is structured to support the interests and needs of particular groups in society. This form of education is encompassed within a narrow view of the public good. In contrast, there are those involved in curriculum (whether as curriculum developers or university instructors) who recognize the problem of reproduction through schooling and aim to deliver a transformative education, one that changes both students and society, involving a deeper understanding of the public good.

In regard to the third tension (of the anthropocentric-cosmocentric) presented earlier in the chapter, an anthropocentric curriculum focuses on the relationship or subject of human concerns with self or other, which is also typically a human construct (for example organizations or society). This and other tensions raise questions about the curriculum content, intent and representation. As Bell and Russell (2000) have noted, such 'tension is symptomatic of anthropocentrism. Humans are assumed to be free agents separate from and pitted against the rest of nature, our fulfillment predicated on overcoming material constraints' (p. 193). The cosmocentric view is explored in disciplines such as environmental education (McKenzie, 2005; Russell, 2005; Barrett, 2005), spirituality in higher education (Chickering et al., 2006) and contemplative, transformative or spiritual education (Duerr et al., 2003). There are select, few postsecondary institutions that have created environments focused primarily on providing curriculum conducive to developing cosmocentric views. For example, the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, and the California Institute of Integral Studies in San Francisco, California, both provide good examples of a cosmocentric curriculum. One irony that cannot be ignored in this discussion about curriculum is that it is largely through self-reflection that individuals become cosmocentric, demonstrating the intersection of the three fundamental tensions presented earlier in this chapter: the internal-external, the maintain-transform and the anthropocentric-cosmocentric tension, which also illustrates how they are integrated in dynamic relations that together develop a concept of the public good within particular contexts. The relation between knowledge and how the public good is constructed through such tensions is also apparent in the manner in which research and scholarly activities more broadly are understood within the context of contributing to the public good.

Research, the public good and university engagement

The relationship(s) between higher education and the public good have been given an increasing level of attention over the course of the past

10–20 years as institutions of higher education and expectations made of them by diverse publics have evolved. For example, in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 2004 publication, *Diversification of Higher Education and the Changing Role of Knowledge and Research,* higher education is described as 'a system that for centuries catered to a very small fraction of the population' but that now has come to serve 'about one half of each generation [in Europe and North America]' (Teichler, 2004, p. 29). As a consequence of a larger and more diverse population engaging in higher education and with this a corresponding expansion of resource needs and allocations, issues of university engagement have in recent years also become increasingly important for institutions of higher education (Bocock and Watson, 1994; Damrosch, 1995; Tierney, 1999; Cornwell and Stoddard, 2001; Braxton and Del Favero, 2002; Hearn and Anderson, 2002; O'Meara, 2005; Benson et al., 2005; Rhode, 2006).

Issues of university engagement encompass a number of concerns: community engagement (community-based research and community partnerships); the scholarship of engagement (addressing 'pressing social, civic, economic, and moral problems' [Boyer, 1996, p. 12]) and knowledge transfer or mobilization, which involves 'knowledge translation' and the application of research findings; student engagement (accessibility, diversity and involvement of students); and citizenship (academic citizenship for administrators and faculty, citizenship education and civic engagement for students). This increased attention to issues of university engagement is derived from a combination of increased diversity (and needs) in the student population vis-à-vis higher education, recognition of issues of accountability by universities in their aims to secure public funding and discussion in the international community that post-secondary education is in a position to address pressing concerns of society at large. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that government research funding policies and priorities have evolved to reflect both increasing expectations for university engagement (evident in changing university mandates over the course of the past decade, in particular) and the increasing pressures on and by governments to ensure that the investment of public funds in higher education contributes to the public good. In this sense, 'public good' is understood as the benefits of research serving the public good (with the aim of research improving lives and communities, rather than in the sense of a commoditized public good), and part of the rationale in Canada (and in other nations), where public tax dollars fund university-based research, is that the public not only *needs* the benefits of such research, but that the public should quite rightly be its beneficiary.

In Canada, federal, publicly-funded, university-based research is supported primarily through competitions for research grants provided by the funding tri-council: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC),

the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) and the Canadian Institutes for Health Research (CIHR). SSHRC, for example, has in recent years given increased focus in funding policies and priorities to support research involving 'knowledge mobilization' and partnerships, in the interest of 'build[ing] a just, prosperous, sustainable and culturally vibrant world' (SSHRC, 2005, p. 2). Analysis of SSHRC policy (Provençal, 2010) reveals a paradox, however (that is evident in other funding policies as well): while there are clearly pressures for research to serve the public good, the current conventions and meritocracy in academic work can discourage faculty from moving beyond disciplinary and/or academic boundaries, as necessary to extend the benefits of research, to improve/increase university engagement and to further contribute to the public good, whether by improving lives and communities, by strengthening community organizations or by informing policy-making, for example.

The paradox of the engaged university – or what Mathieu (2003) has referred to as the 'paradox of the innovative university' – is also evident in the three tensions of citizenship education presented in this chapter. University engagement – whether community engagement, the scholarship of engagement, student engagement or citizenship – requires the orientation of a university mission to be (in the language of the tensions discussed in this chapter): (a) internal (in that the university is situated within society); (b) transformative (in that the university is transformative of society) and (c) cosmocentric (in that the university recognizes that research and human activity are situated within a larger ecology or cosmos). Similarly, research funding policy in Canada and elsewhere is placing increasing focus on extending the reach of research for the public good. Yet, by contrast, long-established conventions that govern faculty activities and the evaluation of those activities *tend toward* (again, in the language of the tensions discussed in this chapter): (a) the external (in that evaluation of faculty work tends to be external to society); (b) the status quo (in that conventions of academe uphold academic traditions) and (c) the anthropocentric (in that faculty activities are centrist to the questions of a particular discipline). This *is not* to suggest that the support of funding agencies and the activities of the academic community only maintain the status quo, are removed from the concerns of diverse publics and fail to recognize that research is situated in a larger, cosmological context. On the contrary, research and scholarship indeed is becoming increasingly diverse. What *is* being pointed out here, however, is that evolving funding policies and university missions moving toward university engagement confront (and in some ways contradict) long-standing academic conventions and practices that are deeply entrenched in faculty work and life. There has been widespread recognition of the changing role(s) of the university, notably, in the extent to which the work of Boyer has been taken up (1990, 1996) in recent decades. In considering issues of convention and practice in academic work and life, two areas

worthy of particular attention and given some focus here are: (a) what could be termed, the 'production of knowledge' in the academy, and (b) the evaluation of scholarly contributions to knowledge or more broadly, the evaluation of scholarly activity.

According to Fiddler et al., for example, scholarly work has been traditionally defined as 'that which makes a lasting contribution to the larger body of knowledge within a given field of study and is generally characterized as discipline-based, linked to theory, and incorporating recognized research methodologies' (1996, p. 127). Further, the notable professionalization of academic disciplines since the early 20th century has 'contributed to a process of homogenization on college and university campuses alike, where support for certain modes of scholarship too often leads to the devaluation of most other kinds of academic work' (Damrosch, 1995, p. 5). Consequently, as Russell notes, faculty have historically:

> engaged in written discourse primarily within a discipline, not among disciplines, and expected their students to do the same … [because] … there were powerful reasons why scientists and scholars should not step outside their respective symbolic universes…. scholars saw little need to enter other symbolic worlds, little benefit in making their own discourse accessible to outsiders. (2002, pp. 11–12)

These symbolic universes of disciplinary discourse are governed by conventions that range from linguistic and stylistic conventions to what is recognized as a legitimate contribution to the discourse of a given discipline, and inherent in both of these is evaluation of scholarly activity.

As Braxton and Del Favero argue, scholarship and scholarly performance have 'traditionally been assessed by "straight counts" … of publications, such as articles in refereed journals, books, monographs, book chapters, and presentations at professional meetings' (2002, p. 20) and they cite numerous sources to support their argument: Braskamp and Ory (1994), Centra (1993), Miller (1987, 1972), Lindsey (1980) and Seldin (1985). The research literature on issues of tenure and promotion and evaluating faculty work make evident that the privileged position of research and refereed, scholarly publications for tenure and promotion presents clear 'disincentives for … useful work for nonacademic audiences' (Rhode, 2006, p. 27). Further, as Elbow notes, traditional conventions of scholarly discourse suggest, intentionally or not, that academics 'don't want to talk to you or hear from you unless you use our language' (1998, p. 159). Adhering to these same conventions, however, are necessary to build a strong, academic *curriculum vitae,* which in turn is necessary for tenure and promotion, and fundamental also to securing research funding. Hence, we have the paradox of the engaged university, because engagement requires steps beyond traditional academic convention and discourse (which, in the language of the tensions described in our

chapter, would constitute a move along the external-internal tension to a more balanced position).

As Damrosch describes it, 'For the better part of a century, we have been selecting for certain kinds of alienation and aggression on campus. We need to reconsider the sorts of academic personality we encourage – and even create – through our extended rituals of training and acculturation' (1995, p. 9). Over the course of the past 20 years, as noted above, there has been evidence of powerful reasons – whether from changing policies and priorities in the international community in regard to higher education; or from domestic funding programs; or in changing and increasingly diverse methods, theories, philosophies and discourses taken up and formed by members of academe – to turn toward research that works across the disciplines and beyond academe and therefore, there *are* now reasons for scholars to step outside their own symbolic universes. Further, as 'knowledge production moves out of the university, and accordingly as a whole range of knowledge users outside of the university become increasingly involved in determining the nature of knowledge, the university is forced to occupy the ground of reflexivity' (Delanty, 2001, p. 102). An important part of this reflexivity, however, also needs to include a discussion about changes in convention and practice in academic work and life and in how scholarly activity is evaluated, and some of the literature on these issues follows, here.

In Ramaley's discussion of the 'engaged university,' he suggests that 'the classic traditions of research, teaching, and service will be changed, with significant implications for faculty scholarship, the design and intentions of the curriculum, and the mechanisms by which knowledge is generated, interpreted, and used' (2006, p. 162). The engaged university, in this sense, not only engages in activities that extend the benefits of research but also engages a diversity of publics in research activities as collaborators (as opposed to simply research 'subjects'). This changes scholarly work, however, and with it, raises questions about the evaluation of that work. The importance of such change in scholarly work and the challenges of evaluating such work are described well by Macfarlane in his discussion of academic citizenship:

> Few have addressed the more complex question of evaluating contributions for the collective good via academic citizenship. Academic citizenship is no less valuable simply because it might be perceived as harder to 'measure' or evaluate. If universities fail to take up this challenge it will make it harder to maintain the quality of internal and external service activities and, ultimately, public support and understanding for the role of higher education in a free society. (2007, p. 271)

Amey, for example, taking into consideration the work of Boyer (1990), Edgerton (1993), Ramaley (2000), and Votruba (1997), argues that 'it is time

to seriously consider using new labels and creating acceptable procedures to evaluate professionally grounded faculty work that may fall outside of – or weave through – the traditional tripartite of teaching, research, and service' (2002, p. 33). In Canada and elsewhere, the tripartite model has since the middle of the 20th century established itself in a hierarchy in which research is privileged above teaching and service is clearly marginalized (Kasten, 1984; Miller, 1987; O'Neill and Sachis, 1994; Driscoll and Sandmann, 2001; Hearn and Anderson, 2002). As a consequence, faculty are essentially discouraged from engaging in some activities (such as giving public lectures or contributing to mainstream media, which are not recognized as making legitimate contributions to their academic record), while being encouraged to engage in other activities (that are discipline-specific and produce outputs for their own, academic discourse community), and this becomes problematic as university mandates are putting greater emphasis on the civic role of the university.

Once again, *this is not* to suggest an extremist or altogether libertarian approach to scholarly activity or to the evaluation of scholarly work. In many ways, the great strength of academic activities or the 'production of knowledge' in universities is what distinguishes this work from knowledge-producing work in other professions. For example, conventions of academic discourse – such as peer review, requiring an academic writer to defend the claims being made in his or her work; or standards for research ethics, protecting research participants and the integrity of research – must not be lost. Further, if the strengths of different kinds of discourse were better appreciated and understood by those both within and outside the academy, exchanges across discourse communities could in turn better contribute to the success of university engagement and the shared understandings that result from it. Ensuring the integrity of academic work (whether peer review, research ethics or other scholarly activities) and extending university engagement, therefore, are not mutually exclusive propositions. Or at least, they need not be. Whether in the long overdue recognition of the value of indigenous knowledge, appreciating the significance of service learning or recognizing how much knowledge is exchanged (and co-constructed) in a community-university partnership, university engagement invites an important opening up of discourse and discursive practices and illustrates the tensions and possibilities inherent in negotiating the public good and associated citizenship education programs.

Enabling conditions through dynamic tensions

This chapter began by presenting a typology of higher education types in relation to citizenship education perspectives. Three dialectical tensions that structure institutional function and meaning were drawn out and described. These three tensions (internal-external, maintain-transform and

anthropocentric-cosmocentric) and others interact in messy and complex ways to shape how institutions of higher education approach citizenship education. We then provided examples from the history of American higher education that illustrated how these tensions emerged and played out in various times and places. This was followed by an overview of some recent changes in research funding priorities and policies (in Canada and elsewhere) as this has implications for existing conventions of scholarly practice and discourse, as issues of university engagement as conceived in connection to the public good become of greater concern. This would suggest a focus to knowledge creation and exchange that is more 'internal' to the communities in which a university is situated. In this conclusion, we return to a focus on tensions in order to consider the significance of how they are relational, thereby inviting ways of re-thinking issues of higher education and the public good.

We take a philosophical turn here and delve into the epistemological as well as psychological. First, the epistemological work: The long-entrenched conventional way of thinking in the culture of higher education and of citizenship is often binary. There are seemingly endless pressures and choices in higher education and citizenship to be either for x or y, where x and y are seen as dichotomous. When we are caught in the tension between x and y, the tension is not resolved if there is no other option than choosing one over the other. But this binary way of thinking is incongruent with how situations and realities dynamically and creatively play themselves out in the space of productive tension between two poles of quality, as the earlier discussion of tensions has shown. To be in tune with and to work with these situations and realities, there needs to be an alternative to the usual binary thinking, there needs to be an option to adopt ways of seeing that honor the polarity.

The binary is not relational as it limits thinking to terms of one or the other, and would have us choose one and discard the other. By contrast, the polarity *is* relational as terms that are contrasted require each other *to be* (Ames, 1989). Hence, in polarity thinking, we are able to think in terms of 'and' rather than in terms of 'either-or' and in so doing, it becomes possible to embrace the tension between two poles as a productive space where we can play with the difference(s) and negotiate with the tension itself. This is the space of creativity and collaboration. The typology and tensions presented at the opening of this chapter invited each of the chapter's authors (and now, too, its readers) to consider questions of citizenship education and higher education relationally, whether in terms of an historical perspective on institutions of higher education, in regard to the development of curriculum, or when discussing research policy and scholarly activities.

Such relationality also sheds light on the higher education institutions themselves. For example, in the internal-external tension, we can consider the role of the higher institution to be both internal (in the

sense that knowledge is produced in relation with and circulated to the general public) and external (in the sense that the university maintains a critical perspective, a necessary distance from the general public). For the maintain-transform tension, the university has to both maintain knowledge and traditions of the past but at the same time critique and transform these as well as continue to transform understanding through its critical perspective. Finally, for the anthropocentric-cosmocentric tension, higher education institutions are able to relate to the individuals that compose society, but with an interest and engagement in the larger world within which individuals are embedded.

It is also important to consider how the shift to relational polarity thinking, described above, is an epistemological shift in terms of process rather than simply in terms of discrete and independent entities. For instance, relevant to the present discussion, if we think of knowledge in the usual 'entity' thinking, then knowledge is conceived of primarily in terms of a research product that conveys information and ideas, neglecting or diminishing the process aspect of knowledge-making that, for instance, honors engagement with community outside the academy. The process understanding of knowledge involves paying close attention to *how* knowledge is produced, who is involved, how it promotes integrity and interconnectivity of the makers, and how it affects the world. When enquiring thus, it becomes clear that knowledge is not value-neutral, that knowledge bears the indelible influence of its maker(s), and markers of how and why it was made. In the process view of knowledge-making, then, makers need to be conscious and aware of every aspect (or as many as possible) of the knowledge-making process, and accept the responsibility of the creation. Accordingly, in order to seek knowledge in higher education that contributes to the public good, the knowledge-makers would need to identify and create a knowledge-making process that not only aims at the public good but embodies it. Therein lies the challenge of knowledge-making as process. To make the process of knowledge-making itself a contribution to public good, it needs to engage with issues and questions of process and with the manner in which inclusivity, mutuality, collaboration and respect for and work with difference are approached.

The abovementioned shift is not only epistemological but also largely psychological, in that the psyche of the dominant culture has not been taught well to respect difference, to see differences as opportunities for growth and innovation, to consult, collaborate and work in tension. The culture of higher education, in particular, has internalized largely the opposite values and ways of being and acting: competition, defense of the ego, fear of difference, instrumentalist prioritizing of product over process, quantity over quality (or in the least, quantification of quality) and so on. All these need to change. Individuals need to become process thinkers, which is a difficult psychological challenge in that it requires us to undo deeply entrenched habits of mind and heart. Now, if we embrace process

thinking, we would take this as good news and welcome the opportunity to work on ourselves and grow, would we not? We would also see this very work as contributing to public good, yes? And this very understanding, we may see, embodies the integration of all three tensions we examined earlier. Critical thinking in higher education institutions that challenges the status quo, while recognizing our integrated nature in that status quo, is creative thinking that seeks regeneration and new growth. Transforming our values and beliefs requires us not to dismiss and discard them but to value them and work with and through them. And working on one's internal psyche is not separate from but coextensive with working for the public good. In the spirit of this understanding, we close our chapter with a variation on the well-known Fable of the Grasshopper and the Ant:

> All summer long, in the stifling heat, the Ant toils to gather grains to store up for winter. Nearby the Grasshopper sings all summer long. Winter arrives, and the Grasshopper finds itself dying of hunger. He goes to the Ant and asks to share food. The ants inquire of the Grasshopper, 'Why did you not gather up food during the summer?' To this the grasshopper replies, 'I did my work too in the summer. I made music for you in the field, and lifted your spirit and boosted your morale as you toiled. I was gathering a different kind of food, and both you and I were nourished by it.' The Ant thinks for a moment, and replies: 'You are right. My spirit was lifted by your singing, and I was able to work hard. There is more than one kind of nourishment. Let's share our different kinds.'

Notes

1. Developed from Sears and Hughes (1996) and Broom (2007). Sears and Hughes (1996) identified four models of citizenship education programs for the high school level: Type A programs are conservative and passive, Type B are liberal, Type C are global and Type D are social justice oriented. This paper extends and elaborates the same models in the context of higher education.
2. Although the familiar gender bias of the time is evident in this quote, for our purposes here, 'humankind' can be understood in the place of 'mankind' and 'humanity' in the place of 'man'.

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3
Professor, Citizen, *Parrhesiastes*

Naomi Hodgson and Paul Standish

Be productive. Produce quality. Achieve excellence. How familiar imperatives such as these have become, around the world, to so many who work in universities today. And this is the case not only for faculty but also for the burgeoning numbers of administrators employed in service of these ends. These are the watchwords of a university sector that has moved *on*, where responsiveness to globalization and realism about the financial bottom line are finally penetrating those last defenses of the ivory tower, of the complacent academy, comfortable in its irrelevance. And why, it might be said, should anyone object to this, for is it not right that the university should be productively engaged? How could it *not* be concerned with quality or excellence? Surely today the imperative is for change. And so, we are told that we must be productive, produce quality, achieve excellence. And in the process turn ourselves into entrepreneurs.

We want to ask what it is that has brought us to this juncture. What are the recent policy innovations and what are the larger cultural shifts that have led to this way of seeing things, a way of seeing that is increasingly becoming naturalized. In particular we are concerned here with who the academic – the scholar, the professor, the doctoral student – is asked to be in this context. We identify how the figure of the 'researcher' has seeped into and reconfigured these notions, and ask what this implies. We begin by outlining the current European policy context in order to show how the university has been recast in the knowledge economy, from the perspective of governmentality (Foucault, 1991). We indicate the shift from the modern university, tied to the destiny of the nation-state, to the entrepreneurial university of today, oriented toward the non-referential notions of 'excellence' and 'quality.' This shift accompanies broader changes in the way in which the concepts of 'learning' and 'citizenship' operate in the European context today, as central to our self-understanding and constitutive of a depoliticization of citizenship (see, for example, Biesta, 2009). We indicate who the individual is who is constituted according to these shifted notions of learning and citizenship.

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Having drawn attention to the form of subjectivity required by Europe as a knowledge economy, we turn our attention to the particular kind of subject required by the entrepreneurial university, epitomized by the figure of the researcher. We illustrate how the modern figures of the scholar, or academic, or professor, and the student are recast as 'researchers,' and the particular self-understanding that this entails.

Following this sketch of the demands of the entrepreneurial university, and the researcher it requires, we return to the question of the relationship between the university and citizenship. Drawing on recent work by Jan Masschelein and Maarten Simons (2009) concerning the public role of the university, we consider the possibility of critique in an institution where critique is domesticated by the pursuit of excellence and resistance is dismissed as traditionalism. We outline a different understanding of critique and of the role of the professor to see how it might help us to rethink the role of the academic, or researcher, in the entrepreneurial university today. We do this with reference to Foucault's account of the Ancient Greek practice of *parrhesia*, which translates as truth telling or frank speaking, and to Socratic *parrhesia* in particular. Foucault's work models a critical attitude that shifts the role of the professor from its current one that is accountable to the domesticated and depoliticized notions of learning and active citizenship, to one that is concerned with the constitution of a public. This entails a particular attitude in respect to teaching, and an educative relationship to both the self and the other. Placing the constitution of the researcher as central to our analysis here emphasizes her current role in constituting the entrepreneurial university today and, therefore, the necessity of her role in its critique.

The approach that we take here derives from the work of Foucault, in particular from the notion of governmentality and his later lectures on Ancient Greek ethics. Governmentality studies as they are commonly undertaken in educational studies typically provide pessimistic accounts of the state of education today, and this fuels the belief that Foucault's understanding of power does not allow the possibility of resistance. Such an understanding of governmentality and of power does not address what we might do otherwise and how our current conditions might be rethought. Foucault does not deny the possibility of resistance, nor advocate a particular position on what ought to be adopted. What is often overlooked in Foucault's thought is the means by which critique is not only possible but also politically essential. In the current context, this requires attention to how the notion of critique operates and to its possibility. Critique has become essential to the operation of systems in an age of choice and consultation (Masschelein, 2004). This incorporation of critique in the current mode of governance has been termed the domestication of critique (Heid, 2004). As Bill Readings points out, 'we need to think differently about the shape…resistance must take' because 'the discourse of excellence can incorporate campus radicalism as

proof of the excellence of campus life or of student commitment' (Readings, 1996, p. 150). We do not propose to criticize the entrepreneurial university on the basis of an ideal model but rather to illustrate the subjectivation and domestication it entails. We provide an assessment of what the entrepreneurial university is and, more specifically, of what we are asked to be as researchers in the entrepreneurial university. This leads in turn to a critique in terms of what we do when we act in accordance with the demands of the entrepreneurial university.

Entrepreneurial universities and active citizens

The Europeanization of higher education has effected a shift in the way in which the university is understood, its relationship to society, and the function of the individuals it employs. The policy objectives relating to the knowledge economy, formalized in the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, mean that the research function served by the university is now also carried out by various other institutions, and the university now exists within the triangle of education, research, and innovation. A European Council Communication on the modernization agenda for universities in 2006 stated the need for universities to respond to the rapidly changing global context, which entails harnessing their particular societal role (CEC, 2006).[1] As Readings shows, 'the current shift in the role of the University is, above all, determined by the decline of the national cultural mission'; it is an institution 'no longer linked to the destiny of the nation-state' (Readings, 1996, p. 3). Instead, the university is governed according to the non-referential notion of 'excellence' (p. 22). Masschelein and Simons reinforce this point when they argue that, despite reference to the 'modernisation' of universities in European policy and to the modern traditions of Humboldt and Newman, the ethos of the university has shifted:

> The modern university is an institution which committed itself to a transcendent idea of 'universal reason,' 'humanity' or 'civil service' ... Listening to the current European discourses on the university, the conception of the university that orients itself to a transcendent idea of humanity (including universal reason) or a particular vision of (civil) society through the integration of research, education, and public service is no longer embraced ... the orientation is 'excellence.' (Masschelein and Simons, 2009, p. 238)

The university is now oriented not to progress and emancipation but to innovation and empowerment (ibid.). In order to achieve the creation of a 'competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy' as set out by the Lisbon Strategy, the university is called upon to 'create the necessary conditions ... to improve their performance, to modernise themselves, and to become more competitive' (CEC, 2006, p. 4).

This 'entrepreneurial' university is characterized by innovation, responsiveness and flexibility, enabled by autonomy and accountability in the form of 'new internal governance systems' (ibid, p. 5). It encourages mobility, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity, and recognizes the 'strategic importance' of partnership with business, in the name of both the 'pro-active diversification of…research funding portfolios' (p. 8) and the addition of entrepreneurial skills to students' and researchers' scientific expertise (p. 6). It must also recognize its role in making lifelong learning a reality in Europe and offer greater flexibility to accommodate those entering higher education at different stages of life and with differing learning needs. It is focused on achieving and rewarding excellence and can convince the public and politicians that they are worth investing in through effective stakeholder engagement.

The Lisbon Strategy and the university modernization agenda gave added impetus to the earlier Bologna Declaration, which established the Bologna Process for the creation of a European Higher Education Area. This not only required the standardization of higher education qualifications to enable compatibility and comparability, and therefore encourage mobility, between member states, but also stated the relationship between higher education and the consolidation of Europe itself to be a reality for its citizens:

> A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space. (Bologna Declaration, 1999, p. 1)[2]

Universities, or Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), as central components in the creation of Europe as a knowledge economy must, then, also provide 'added value' by attending to the development of European citizenship.

The initial Bologna Process to establish the European Area of Higher Education ran for ten years, to 2010, and has now been renewed. The Leuven/Louvain-La-Neuve Communiqué[3] on the Bologna Process for the period to 2020 states:

> Striving for excellence in all aspects of higher education, we address the challenges of the new era. This requires a constant focus on quality. Moreover, upholding the highly valued diversity of our education systems, public policies will fully recognise the value of various missions of higher education, ranging from teaching and research to community service and engagement in social cohesion and cultural development. All students and staff of higher education institutions should be equipped to respond to the changing demands of the fast evolving society. (p. 2)

The role of the university has shifted to encompass responsibility for social, cultural and civic development (Biesta and Simons, 2009). The concern with social cohesion and cultural development in this context entails fostering a particular form of European citizenship, shaped by the discourses of lifelong learning and Active Citizenship. Citizenship is recast as a learning problem (Biesta, 2009). Casting citizenship in this light entails defining it in terms of the accumulation of competences and, further, developing means of measuring and comparing the development of competences at the individual, national and European levels.

The recasting of Europe, and Western nations in general, as knowledge economies under the auspices of neoliberalism has entailed a shift not only in the understanding of the university and of education more broadly but also in the way that the individual subject is constituted in this context. We are all addressed today as lifelong learners, as active citizens and as entrepreneurs. This entails a particular orientation to ourselves characterized by adaptability, mobility and innovation, in order that we can respond to the demands of the rapidly changing conditions in which we find ourselves. This entails a shift in the way in which learning and citizenship, and the relationship between the two, are understood. In the outline of the current context provided here we seek not to criticize the focus on learning and citizenship in current educational policy, but to draw attention to the particular ways in which these terms are constitutive of a particular form of subjectivity today. The Europeanization of higher education has led to a shift in the way in which the academic is addressed, and it is the figure of the 'researcher' as a particular subject in this context that we focus on in this chapter.

According to the current mode of governance, it is assumed that every facet of society, and of the individual, can and should be taken into account, in the name of inclusion, transparency and accountability. Today, the individual citizen/consumer is addressed in terms of their responsibility, to access knowledge to empower themselves in order that they should shape their own lives (Delanty, 2000, p. 76). The development of Europe as a knowledge economy has entailed making Europe a reality for its citizens. In this context, learning and citizenship have become inextricably linked in the way in which individuals are asked to understand themselves. Both are matters of individual responsibility, central to the way in which we are governed and govern ourselves. As a result, the process of Europeanization has entailed what has been termed a governmentalization of learning and of citizenship (Delanty, 2003; Simons and Masschelein, 2008).

To this end Active Citizenship Composite Indicators (Hoskins et al., 2006) have been established that render levels of active citizenship measurable and comparable across Europe. Such tools provide regular feedback on levels of engagement with and perception of European democratic life: for example, engagement with particular political issues; voting at regional,

national and European levels; involvement with civil society organiza-
tions such as trade unions or charities; and participation in trans-European
activity fulfilling the demand for mobility. The development of such means
to render citizenship measurable (and thereby governable), as a set of compe-
tences and skills to be learned and acquired, is indicative of the technologies
through which the lifelong learner is constituted.

In a recent Special Issue of the *European Educational Research Journal*
(2009, Vol. 8, No. 2) authors sought to restate the question of the role of
the European university, asking not how the university should respond
to the demand to produce a particular type of mobile, adaptable, active
learning citizen, but instead attending to how, as 'very specific and in a
sense "unique" institutions,' universities can contribute in ways that go
beyond this (Biesta and Simons, 2009, p. 143). In his contribution, Gert
Biesta focuses on the conception of citizenship underlying European poli-
cies. The functionalist and individualist notion of citizenship he identi-
fies is aimed, he argues, at maintenance of the existing sociopolitical order
and leads therefore to a depoliticized form of citizenship (Biesta, 2009).
Rendering democratic participation, citizenship competences, and citizens'
'having a voice' as measurable and comparable requires the instantiation of
a common language, a shared and standardized vocabulary of citizenship.
This contributes to what Jan Masschelein and Maarten Simons have termed
'domestication': 'the "university of excellence" that policy makers have in
mind is a habitat which demands an entrepreneurial ethos of *obedience* or
submission to a permanent quality tribunal' (Masschelein and Simons, 2009,
p. 239). This domestication refers not only to a stifling both of thought in
relation to citizenship, narrowly understood as a set of competences, and of
the possibility of rethinking what this might entail, but also, related to this,
to the domestication of reason and thus of the possibility of critical thought
by the academic.

The reforms that have governed European higher education in the past
decade have not only led to dramatic shifts in administrative structures, but
also recast the role of the student and the academic. By drawing attention
to a shift away from the term 'professor' here, we are not suggesting that
this term is no longer used as a title indicative of academic status within the
university. Rather, the discussion indicates how the relationship between
the senior academic and student is recast, and how status within the univer-
sity is measured in the context of the orientation to excellence and quality.

Researchers and professors

We turn here to consider who the 'researcher' is asked to be in this context,
in which entrepreneurialism requires constant attention to innovation,
networking, positioning and repositioning. We provide examples of the
European and (with reference to the UK) national-level tools and practices

that constitute this researcher today. We focus our discussion here on what is commonly termed 'the early career researcher' – the PhD student and the doctoral research training she is required to undergo, and the way in which postdoctoral faculty are asked to understand their teaching and research roles. (We turn more explicitly to the 'professor' in our title at a later stage.)

The Bologna Process for the creation of a European Area of Higher Education has made comparability possible through the harmonization of European higher education across EU member states, such as the agreement of three common phases of higher education (Bachelor-Masters-Doctorate). As part of this, an overarching qualifications framework has been developed, and requirements for each phase have been standardized. In this context, the doctorate became a focus of interest, identified by the Berlin Communiqué (2003) as the third cycle of higher education (after the Bachelor's and Master's degrees) and also as the first phase of the research career. This refers not necessarily to an *academic* career but to a career professionally defined by particular transversal skills and competences. As a result, and in line with the harmonization of higher education qualifications across Europe in aid of comparability, compatibility and mobility, doctoral research training programs have become a standard part of the preparation for doctoral study and research careers.

A report published by the European University Association (EUA), 'Doctoral Programmes for the European Knowledge Society – Report on the EUA Doctoral Programmes Project 2004–2005' (EUA, 2005), illustrates the nature of this recasting of doctoral study. We begin by considering the aspects of the report that indicate the shift in the way that doctoral research is understood, before providing examples from the UK context of the practices indicated. We turn then to the report's description of the role of the PhD supervisor, again illustrated by examples of programs and measures from the UK context. The discourses and practices evident through the report and the examples discussed here will further illustrate the context outlined above but, furthermore, will provide details of the way in which the researcher in the university is asked to understand herself today.

Doctoral programs are 'central to the drive to create a Europe of knowledge, as more researchers need to be trained than ever before if the ambitious objectives concerning enhanced research capacity, innovation and economic growth are to be met' (EUA, 2005, p. 4). The need to change the approach to doctoral study is understood as a necessary response to 'the challenges of the global labour market, technological advances, new profiles and demands of doctoral candidates, and not least, the policy objectives of European governments' (p. 7). In light of these challenges and the objectives of the Lisbon Agenda and subsequent EU policy developments (for example, Bologna, Berlin), the report presents findings and best practice relating to doctoral training, mode of doctoral study, supervision and mobility. The report's findings are derived from discussions by thematic

networks comprised of representatives of 48 universities from 22 EU countries (p. 9).

The extract below indicates a recommendation based on the findings of the project relating to the organization of doctoral programs at the institutional level:

> [U]niversities often do not have common institutional strategies, rules and regulations towards doctoral programmes, and organisation is left to the responsibility of faculties or departments. This can cause fragmentation of doctoral training and inhibit the creation and support of an adequate research environment. Having a common framework, clearly defined in the guidelines, codes and regulations at the highest institutional level that provide detailed rules on recruitment, supervision, exams, evaluation and defence of the thesis would seem to be a highly beneficial and innovative approach for universities in Europe. Administrative management of doctoral programmes at the university (not faculty) level and open access to common regulations on university websites play an important role in the organisation of doctoral programmes and enhances transparency of the whole process. (p. 12)

The desirability of institutional guidelines for the form and content of doctoral programs is based on the need for transparency and compatibility between disciplines (and candidates) and the need to create a research environment that enables mobility and interdisciplinarity. The recommendation is followed in the report by brief examples of 'best practice' citing institutional examples of such strategies and guidelines. This not only provides examples for those considering such developments but also, by indicating the relationship between such measures and the need to adapt to current conditions, shows other institutions what their competitors are doing. It indicates that others are already being left behind in the competition.

Differences between disciplines are acknowledged. They should not, however, be 'an obstacle to new innovative ways of providing candidates with the opportunity to acquire better skills and wider experience in an international and interdisciplinary research environment, and of being better prepared for the labour market' (p. 13). Rather, it is suggested that disciplinary differences are 'sometimes overestimated in order to maintain old practices and traditions, and to avoid reorganization and modernisation of doctoral programmes' (p. 13). Universities that have not developed institutional frameworks for doctoral provision, then, are cast as traditional, perhaps conservative, and not willing or able to adapt and innovate as the current context, and policy, requires. To remain a traditional institution, organized according to strict disciplinary boundaries, has implications for such a university's survival in this context: its ability to be measured and therefore to compete in terms of markers of quality and

excellence – achievement, retention, mobility, research impact – will be hindered (see also Fejes, 2008; Simons and Masschelein, 2008).

A further aspect of the traditional model brought into question by the report is the mode of study referred to as 'individual' or the 'apprenticeship' model: 'based on an informal to formal working alliance between a supervisor and a doctoral candidate (an apprenticeship model, sometimes described in a less complimentary way as a "master-slave" relationship) with no structured coursework phase' (p. 13). The 'individual doctoral programmes (apprenticeship model) are questioned as being appropriate to meet the new multiple challenges of research training for careers in a competitive labour market' (p. 13). The report cites the establishment of doctoral or graduate schools and the development of structured programs, with doctoral study divided into two phases – a taught and a research phase – as offering an appropriate alternative to the individual mode that continues to prevail in the social sciences, arts, and humanities (pp. 13–14). Within the 'taught' phase of the doctorate, students might be offered training in two sets of skills: core research skills – 'research methodology and techniques; research management; analysis and diffusion; problem solving; scientific writing and publishing; academic writing in English; awareness of scientific ethics and intellectual property rights; etc.' (p. 15) – and transferable (generic) personal and professional skills and competences – 'writing and communication skills; networking and team-working; material/human resources and financial management; leadership skills; time management; career management including job-seeking techniques; etc.' (p. 15). The individual's training on such courses, and their progress through the research phase of doctoral study is supported by the use of the Personal Development Plan, a portfolio of acquired skills and competences and means of identifying training needs: 'The document is self-reflective, developmental and its "ownership" resides with the doctoral candidate and is a growing practice in many universities' (p. 16).[4]

There is plainly a move away from the individual 'apprenticeship' mode of study. But the nature of the individual's responsibility for her learning within the group-based, structured program, as indicated by the Personal Development Plan, indicates the way in which the doctoral student is asked to understand herself and the recasting of the purpose of research within the entrepreneurial university. The characterization of the individual study model as a master-slave relationship indicates its going against today's 'student-centred learning' orthodoxy, and the understanding of the individual as responsible and self-mobilizing. Invoking the idea of the slave implies a relationship in which the senior academic passes on received wisdom to the doctoral student within the confines of established disciplinary boundaries, in which the skills passed on are limited to the core research skills particular to that discipline. The student is placed in an inferior – slave – position to the supervisor, the master, when, 'as young

professionals,' doctoral candidates 'should always be included as partners and co-researchers' (p. 17). The student may not be able or encouraged to network between fields, to develop generic and transversal skills, and to identify the applicability of her work to immediate socioeconomic challenges. Conversely, work that does develop these abilities may not be made transparent, may pass unrecorded and may not be effectively harnessed to her personal and professional development. The focus today must be on 'achieving a critical mass of doctoral candidates, and on building strong research environments in order to enhance research excellence and international collaboration' (p. 16). The doctoral student is an asset and resource for the university seeking to attain competitive advantage in a dynamic and innovative knowledge economy. The student and the supervisor, then, are supported, through training courses and administrative structures such as the institutional Graduate School or Doctoral School, to maximize the outputs of this resource.

These outputs are measured not only in terms of the completion of the PhD and any publications or other products that might result from the research but also by tracking the progression of doctoral candidates after graduation. These procedures (identified by the report as 'requiring further attention') enable the university to 'evaluate the value and efficiency of innovation and reform in doctoral programmes and to provide evidence of the ways in which doctoral candidates use their acquired skills' by tracking the career trajectories achieved by their graduates (p. 26).

A central tenet of current European policy constitutive of the active learning citizen is the notion of mobility. The operation of a dynamic, innovative knowledge economy is seen to require the ability of researchers to move between institutions, between sectors (for example, academic and industry), between disciplines and between countries, and thus it should become an integral part of the doctoral program, not as 'a goal in itself, but as one of the strategic tools of doctoral training' (p. 27). Institutional and inter-sectoral mobility can enhance research cooperation and networking, the development of generic and scientific skills, and career progression, and is therefore an investment not only for the individual candidate but also for the university.

Since the publication of the European University Association report many of the measures cited as good practice have become established features of the university's administrative framework. Examples from the UK context indicate how this entrepreneurial research environment has taken shape. Doctoral Schools or Graduate Schools are now well-established departments with formal requirements and guidelines for doctoral training and supervision. This structure is reinforced not only by completion of such courses being a condition of progression on doctoral programs, but also by the provision of appropriate research training being a condition for the awarding of funding by the UK's research councils. For example, a student must have

completed a recognized research training Master's degree to qualify for doctoral funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). As of 2011, the ESRC will no longer accredit particular courses as meeting the standards required for doctoral training but will accredit institutional-level Doctoral Training Centres (DTCs) and Doctoral Training Units (DTUs), thus creating a national network of such centers and units 'to draw together expertise and good practice from within institutions and where possible ensure that this is fully exploited through the development of collaborative arrangements between Universities' (ESRC, 2009, p. 1).[5] The ESRC will also fund a greater variety of study options. Whereas doctoral funding has primarily been available for a one year Masters plus three-year PhD (1+3) or three-year PhD only (+3), '2+2 and 2+3 models and the option for a four year integrated PhD programme' are now possible: 'We judge that this more flexible portfolio of training packages will more readily meet the particular requirements of specific disciplines or cross-disciplinary research areas and also satisfy the individual needs of students, marrying the delivery of training closer to actual use' (p. 1). As the European University Association advised, courses must now reflect the different profile of those entering postgraduate study and offer flexibility of provision.

In highlighting the inadequacy of the traditional student-supervisor relationship for facilitating appropriate doctoral training, the EUA report also draws attention to the role of the supervisor in doctoral study and to how this relates to the reconfiguring of the academic in the entrepreneurial university. With the introduction of institutional guidelines for doctoral study, the requirements of the supervisor have also become formalized, with some universities producing guidelines, handbooks and/or training specifically for supervisors. Such training may now form part of the wider program of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) that all faculty are required to undertake. Again, aversion to such training is attributed to traditional mindsets, and these are seen as incompatible with the university's purpose today:

> A viewpoint expressed in the present project suggests that training for supervisors should be a mandatory practice for scholars supervising doctoral candidates. This idea may meet with some resistance from supervisors who prefer traditional ways and attitudes to supervising, but all stakeholders can only benefit from enhanced training: supervisors, candidates and universities. Quality of doctoral training depends highly on supervision. It is, therefore, each university's responsibility to guarantee development of high quality supervision, which is central to the research mission of the university. (p. 23)

As part of the student's Personal Development Plan and other monitoring and assessment procedures, the supervisor's performance is also subject to appraisal by the student.

Resistance may be attributable to 'traditional mindsets,' but nevertheless, for academics at all stages of their careers, including those newly inducted into the reformed research environment, there is a deeply felt unease about the shape that higher education is taking. And while the policy changes we describe are European, the practices to which they refer are scarcely confined to that location, with a growing sense around the world that audit is displacing the academic, with vacuous notions of competence and skill obscuring the substance of critical enquiry (see, for example, Stone, 2006).

These new modes of internal governance, which the EU's modernization agenda cited as necessary for institutional autonomy and accountability, lead Cris Shore to ask: 'why is it so difficult for academics to challenge audit?...How have we ever allowed arbitrary quantitative measurements to determine value? More importantly, how have we become complicit in its operation?' (Shore, 2008, p. 291). He can answer his own questions: 'It is partly that it seems so reasonable that it seems hard to contest' (p. 291) (and perhaps academics, as professional 'learners,' are particularly responsive to calls for excellence). But it is also that:

> [T]he new regime of governmentality engendered by audit and new managerialism is designed to work on and through our capacities as moral agents and professionals. The values that most academics subscribe to (including self-discipline and a desire to produce quality research) have thus become instrumental in eliciting compliance and governing conduct. (Burchell et al., 1991; Rose, 1999; Shore, 2008, p. 291)

But being able to answer the questions, in terms of governmentality or otherwise, should not make it any more comfortable to live with. An important facet of the context with which this unease is felt is captured by the term 'domestication' introduced earlier. Feedback and critique are now a central part of the functioning of democratic and personal accountability (Masschelein, 2004). It is not, then, that academics do not criticize the mode of governance within which they work or are denied the means to do so. Rather, critique and the permanent demand for feedback form part of the functioning of this mode of governance, characterized by notions of voice, consultation and stakeholder engagement. Critique today speaks the language of the entrepreneurial university. If it does not, it risks being dismissed as traditionalism. Such critique forms part of the feedback that evidences the university's stakeholder engagement and quality assurance measures. Domestication then refers to the incorporation of critique into the system it seeks to disrupt. It becomes a form of feedback to which the organization or individual can respond and thereby improve. As Shore's comments indicate, this mode of governance applies not only to the structure and administration of the university but to the governance of individuals by that structure and by themselves.

The ways in which we are fully accounted for and account for ourselves through such processes of permanent feedback, monitoring and self-improvement, constitutive of the active learning citizen today, and the assumption in current modes of governance that all aspects of oneself can and should be accounted for, contribute to what has been termed an 'immunization' of the self (Masschelein and Simons, 2002). The individual's sense of self, as an active researcher, is shored up by these practices. Skills and competences – the evidence of professionalism – are constantly updated, and one's research profile is constantly adapted to current conditions. Our relationships to others are invested in as resources by networking and for the development and maintenance of social competence. We immunize ourselves against risk and failure.

It is in this context, then, that resistance to modernization or to becoming entrepreneurial is cast as traditionalism or is absorbed within the practices of the administration of quality and excellence. We have not, thus far, drawn attention to the distinction between the traditional, apprenticeship model of the supervisory relationship and the collaborative, Graduate School model so as to defend the master-slave relationship. Rather, we aimed to draw attention to what is now understood as necessary for the university and for the individual to respond to and survive within the current conditions. In the next section we will, however, return to this 'traditional' relationship to consider the possibility of critique and the role of the 'professor.'

The immunization effected through the relationship to oneself as a researcher, whose obligation to society and to one's students and colleagues could be fully accounted for, illustrates the depoliticized form of citizenship this effects. In light of the foregoing illustration of the figure of the researcher in the entrepreneurial university we turn now to consider how we might rethink the role of the researcher within the university, in relationship to citizenship, as a public role. We begin this with reference to Jan Masschelein and Maarten Simons' analysis referred to earlier. The discussion that follows lays the way for considering the idea of the professor. This refers not to a particular position in a hierarchy but to a relation to oneself and to others.

The university and the public

Masschelein and Simons (2009) seek to restate the question of the relationship between the university and citizenship, asking not how the university can support the development of citizenship competencies as currently defined in policy but 'how universities can actually function as spaces where a particular kind of citizenship takes place' (p. 236). In doing so, they ask what is particular about what the (European) university can offer. They argue that 'the way the university takes shape today – that is, the entrepreneurial university in search of excellence – precisely seems to prevent it

becoming a place where people gather around matters of concern as a public of world citizens' (pp. 236–7). They propose that universities, 'due to the specific scope of their teaching and research, can constitute a public of *world citizens* around specific *concerns* as opposed to *possible active* citizens with particular *competencies*' (p. 237). This form of citizenship, then, requires a particular attitude, a particular critical relationship of oneself to oneself, which we will explore further in the next section.

In order to set out what is meant by 'a public of world citizens,' Masschelein and Simons draw on Kant's understanding of these notions. In his essay 'What is Enlightenment?' (1784/1977), Kant distinguishes between the public use of one's reason and its private use: 'by the public use of one's reason he means the "use which anyone may make of it as a *man of learning* [*Gelehrte*] addressing the entire reading public" (p. 55, original emphasis)' (Masschelein and Simons, 2009, p. 237):

> Hence, as a man of learning one is a world citizen who ... is not instructing pupils but 'publicly voices his thoughts,' 'imparts them to the public' (p. 56). A man of learning (a 'scholar,' in the English translation of his text) is 'addressing the real public' (i.e. the world at large, *die Welt*) and speaks 'in his own person' (p. 57). Indeed, learned individuals are putting before the public their thoughts,' with 'no fear of phantoms'. (p. 59)

For Kant, enlightenment is related to the freedom 'to make public use of one's reason in all matters' (Kant, 1784/1977, p. 55). Private use of one's reason, by contrast, refers to:

> the use one makes of it when one acts in 'a particular civil post or office' (Kant, 1977, p. 55) that is 'employed by the government for public ends' (p. 56). In that case, one acts as part of the machine' (p. 56). And as part of a public institution (a machine with public ends), one speaks 'in someone's else's name' (p. 56) and speaking becomes some kind of teaching or instruction. According to Kant, the use one makes of one's reason as part of a social machine or institution (and the main example he gives besides the army and the state is that of the Church) is purely private, since these, however large they may be, are 'never more than a domestic gathering [*häusliche Versammlung*]' (p. 57). (Masschelein and Simons, 2009, p. 237)

The domestic gathering refers then to 'a particular domain or sphere with clear limits and laws of operation' and hence conceived of as a machine. This may refer not only to the state but also, Masschelein and Simons suggest, 'a scientific discipline or cultural community' (p. 238).

Reason used in this way, then, is referred to as the private use of reason as it is limited by the domestic operation of that machine and its audience. The

public as constituted by the state can be seen to be governed by the private use of reason, as public in this sense refers to members of a particular territory. The private use of one's reason may apply as much to the supervisor of the traditional, apprenticeship model as to the student-centered collaborative relationship of the entrepreneurial researcher.

In their conception of the world university, Masschelein and Simons take Kant's sense of the public and the public use of reason: 'the public in its truest sense, i.e. being constituted by anyone who has the capacity for reasoning – that is, "the public" beyond any machine or institution' (p. 238). The scholar who speaks as a world citizen, with the public use of reason, does so at risk to herself, as she does not speak according to 'the ethos of obedience of the one who is acting as part of a machine' (p. 238). She speaks 'in her own name' assuming the equality of the public. This is termed an *'experimental ethos'* as 'the scholar exposes him-/herself to the limits (of the institution or machine) and is transforming the issue he/she is speaking about into a public issue' (p. 238).

The experimental ethos, in which the scholar as a member of the public is speaking for herself, is taken up in the work of Masschelein and Simons following Foucault (who himself wrote of the critical attitude of enlightenment expressed in Kant's essay; see Foucault, 2007). The scholar in Kant's understanding exposes herself to the limits of the institution or machine (Masschelein and Simons, 2009, p. 238). Foucault understood Kant's analysis of enlightenment as a limit-attitude, or an attitude of degovernmentalization (Gros, 2005):

> This philosophical ethos may be characterized as a *limit-attitude*. We are not talking about a gesture of rejection. We have to move beyond the outside-inside alternative; we have to be at the frontiers. Criticism indeed consists of analyzing and reflecting upon limits…The point, in brief, is to transform the critique conducted in the form of necessary limitation into a practical critique that takes the form of a possible crossing-over [*franchissement*]. (Foucault, 2000, p. 315)

The identification of the limit-attitude shifts the understanding of critique from the weighing up of binaries according to a particular rationality, or the 'outside-inside alternative,' to an ethos requiring a relationship of the self to the self in which change requires the individual bringing about a change in him or herself (p. 305).

The attitude of critique consists in 'the movement by which the subject himself gives himself the right to question truth on its effects of power and to question power on its discourses of truth'; it is 'the art of voluntary insubordination' (Foucault, 2007, p. 47). This is not to respond to governmentalization in the form: 'we do not want to be governed like that and we do not want to be governed at all' (p. 44). Rather, seeking not to be 'governed like

that and at that cost' (p. 45) entails a desubjectivation of the subject, seeking the limits of our knowledge. The 'question is being raised: "what, therefore, am I?", I who belong to this humanity, perhaps to this piece of it, at this point in time, at this instant of humanity which is subjected to the power of truth in general and truths in particular?' (p. 56).

We explore the experimental ethos entailed in placing oneself at risk in this way with reference to Foucault's analysis of the Ancient Greek practice of *parrhesia*, which translates as truth-telling or frank speaking. Foucault's account of *parrhesia* forms part of his later work on the care of the self and Ancient Greek ethics. While Foucault's work on Greek ethics relates to, and elucidates, his early concern with genealogies of government and power, it also marks a shift to a more specific focus on the problematization of the subject (Gros, 2005, p. 508): 'In any case, ethics, or the subject, is not thought of as the other of politics or power' (Gros, 2005, p. 512). This problematization entailed a closer focus on the practice of philosophy and of writing itself through a study of Greek practices of truth telling. The discussion of Foucault's analysis of *parrhesia* below therefore addresses two important aspects of the foregoing discussion. First, the figure of Socrates illustrates a relation of the self to the self that exemplifies the scholar's use of public reason. Second, it attends to the ethical aspects of the role of the academic in the university and the form of citizenship s/he might practice, that is, the relationship between one's academic practice and one's citizenship.

Foucault's account of socratic *parrhesia*[6]

Foucault's historical account of *parrhesia* analyzes the shifting relationship between the self, the teacher and truth-telling during the classical period (Foucault, 2001). *Parrhesia*, or 'free speech,' was central to Athenian democracy due to the critique it provided of those in power. The term *parrhesiastes* refers to the person who speaks the truth, is free to choose whether to speak, and does so out of a sense of moral duty. The *parrhesiastes* does this regardless of any risk to himself. What he says has authority as truth because there is a harmony between what the *parrhesiastes* says and how he acts. His critique of the other is also a critique applied to him. The *parrhesiastes* does not speak from a position of power or statutory authority, but is always less powerful than those whom he addresses. This political *parrhesia* took place in the public setting in which those in power – the *demos* or the king – are the subject of the critique. In Socratic dialogue, however, Foucault identifies a different form of *parrhesia*, which takes place between individuals and in which the relationship to the teacher is more evident: *parrhesia* becomes a form of education.

In Plato's *Laches* (or *On Courage*), for example, Foucault identifies the relationship between *parrhesia* and the care of the self. Lysimachus and Melesias are concerned about the education their sons should receive. They belong to

prominent Athenian families, but neither man has achieved great prestige in his own life (Foucault, 2001, p. 93). They call upon Nicias, an experienced military general and politician, and Laches, also an experienced general, to observe a demonstration by Stesilaus, a teacher of *hoplomachia*, the art of fighting with heavy weapons. Yet despite their education and experience they cannot agree on what constitutes the best education (p. 94). They agree that they should refer to Socrates, who has been present throughout. Socrates reminds them that education concerns the care of the soul, and Nicias agrees for his soul to be tested by Socrates. In Nicias' explanation, Foucault finds the identification of Socrates as *parrhesiastes*:

> *Nicias*: [W]hoever comes into close contact with Socrates and has any talk with him face to face … cannot stop until he is led into giving an account of himself, of the manner in which he now spends his days, and of the kind of life he has lived hitherto; and when once he has been led into that, Socrates will never let him go until he has thoroughly and properly put all his ways to the test … [O]ne must needs take more careful thought for the rest of one's life, if one does not fly from his words but is willing, as Solon said, and zealous to learn as long as one lives, and does not expect to get good sense by the mere arrival of old age. So to me there is nothing unusual, or unpleasant either, in being tried and tested by Socrates; in fact, I knew pretty well all the time that our argument would not be about the boys if Socrates were present but about ourselves. (Plato, *Laches*, 187e–8c in Foucault, 2001, pp. 95–6)

Foucault warns that our inclination to read this through the lens of our Christian culture may lead us to misinterpret this description of the Socratic game as being 'a practice where the one who is being led by Socrates' discourse must give an autobiographical account of his life, or a confession of his faults' (2001, p. 96). Rather than 'an examination of conscience or a confession of sins' or 'a narrative of the historical events that have taken place in your life,' Socrates wishes to see 'whether you are able to show that there is a relation between the rational discourse, the *logos*, you are able to use, and the way that you live' (p. 97). Socrates acts as a *basanos*[7] or touchstone, testing 'the degree of accord between a person's life and its principle of intelligibility or *logos*' (p. 97). The result of his being tested by Socrates, Nicias states, is a 'willingness to care for the manner in which he lives the rest of his life,' which 'takes the form of a zeal to learn and to educate oneself no matter what one's age' (p. 98).

The willingness to submit to Socrates' examination derives not from any form of official or social authority he holds. Socrates at this time was not very well known, not regarded as an eminent citizen, and had no especial military competence (p. 99), with the exception of the courage he displayed at the battle of Delium under Laches' command (p. 100). It is rather 'that

there is a harmonic relation between what Socrates says and what he does, between his words (*logoi*) and his deeds (*erga*)':

> Socrates is able to use rational, ethically valuable, fine, and beautiful discourse; but unlike the sophist, he can use *parrhesia* and speak freely because what he says accords exactly with what he does. And so Socrates – who is truly free and courageous – can therefore function as a parrhesiastic figure. (p. 101)

Socratic *parrhesia* 'takes the form of a game between *logos*, truth, and *bios* (life) in the realm of a personal teaching relation between two human beings' (p. 102); it reveals one's relationship to truth and how this relationship 'is ontologically and ethically manifest in his own life' (p. 102).

This particular practice of truth-telling illustrates an educative relationship. Kant's understanding of the public use of reason assumed an equality between the scholar and his interlocutors, the public 'in its truest sense,' and was characterized as the scholar speaking for herself. This risk to the self is evident also in the act of *parrhesia*. Socrates does not require an account disciplined by the private use of reason, that is, in terms imposed by institutions or cultural expectations, but invites the interlocutor to put this reasoning to the test. Socrates speaks as what Kant referred to as a 'man of learning'; his authority to speak freely comes not from any public authority that he holds but from the relation he has to himself; the way he acts accords with what he says. Wisdom, as Nicias explains, is not expected to come from seniority; one must be 'zealous to learn as long as one lives' (Plato, *Laches*, 187e–8c in Foucault, 2001, pp. 95–6).

The public responsibility of the professor

The interaction between Socrates and his interlocutor may be read in terms of the 'master-slave' relationship, the apprenticeship model dismissed as traditional and not suited to current conditions. In the parrhesiastic relationship that Foucault draws attention to, however, this relationship is revealed not to be didactic and hierarchical but to put both Socrates and the interlocutor to the test, thereby being educative for both. The relationship is not hierarchical in the sense that Socrates speaks as a member of the public, as a man of learning, rather than from a formal position of authority. What he says has authority, however, due to his (to use Kant's term) 'public use of reason.' The parrhesiastic relationship then can be seen as a relationship in which teaching does not consist in the handing down of tradition and orthodoxy based on an assumed inequality between teacher and student, but entails an educative relationship of oneself to oneself and to others. This portrays a figure who, in presenting issues or questions to students presents them to a public as matters of shared concern, and in so doing exposes herself to risk.

The parrhesiastic role entails taking a risk in telling a truth to the public at large. This presents a different figure than the entrepreneurial researcher concerned with the anxious accumulation of competences and the carving of a niche, and resists the immunizing effect of this.

Does this not prompt us to recall those figures no longer addressed by current policy? The scholar? The professor? Such a professor is assumed to be the learned figure resistant to change and protective of traditional disciplinary boundaries and working practices. The parrhesiastic figure, however, presents a relationship to oneself and to others that enables us to rethink this role in relation to the public role of the university and its relationship to citizenship.

Taking seriously the role of the professor, as a specific figure in the university today, depends on how seriously we take the specificity of the university as an institution and the work we put our name to (in its name). In 'The future of the profession or the unconditional university (thanks to "the humanities," what *could take place* tomorrow),' Derrida sets out, in terms close to the present discussion, what he claims is 'less a thesis, or even a hypothesis, than a declarative engagement, an appeal in the form of a profession of faith: faith in the university and, within the university, faith in the Humanities of tomorrow' (Derrida, n.d., p. 1). Derrida explores ways in which the idea of profession requires something tantamount to a pledge, to the freely accepted responsibility to profess the truth. The professor enacts this performative continually in her work: what she says is testimony to the truth; as *work* it is necessarily an orientation to a to-come, to an openness and possibility, a sense of the future more hidden in English than in French (*à-venir*). The academic work of professing must then be something more than that of, say, the reporting of findings or the surveying of a topic, however authoritative this may be. (For a fuller account, see Standish, 2001.)

This role of the professor, in the humanities especially (but let us generalize this at least to certain aspects of social science), cannot be properly played if it is restricted to the description of what is. The emphasis on the performative entails a change of modality, in a direction that might be thought of as subjunctivity: if the description of the world relates to the way *it is*, the work of profession involves always some attempt to see it *as if…*. Concretely, let us say, the work of a professor of higher education might then not be just to provide an accurate description of the way things are but to offer something that adds somehow to the world, an invocation of new thoughts. This extends beyond a criticism that is fully in possession of its faculties to a readiness for risk, an openness to the event. Openness to the event requires something beyond the range of predetermined categories or of a purely autonomous control (effective performance), and this is essential to the exercise and growth of the imagination that this professing requires.

In terms of the expectations of the entrepreneurial university, we can imagine the successful professor to be someone who publishes in the best journals, wins the research grants, manages her commitments efficiently, sits on the appropriate committees, etc., and who is sufficiently established in these respects to be a star in any systematic assessment of research. We do not doubt that it is reasonable for an academic to be engaged in activities such as these. Our purpose is rather to draw attention to the ways in which these indicators of performance can blind the professor to her responsibility *to profess*, uncomfortable though this expression has surely become. This blindness is a dimension of the entrepreneurial university and the form of subjectivity it instates. To invoke the idea of the professor is not to call for a return to a past form of the university, or to resist change, but to take seriously what is at stake in acting in accordance with the demands of the entrepreneurial university and thereby in accordance with its purpose as the truth of what the university can be for today. The apprenticeship model of the student-supervisor relationship has been dismissed as not suited to today's university, and moreover, resistance to this is seen as traditionalism. These voices of dissent within the university are, therefore, cast as being in need of reform, as putting the ability of the university to survive current conditions at risk. These voices, however, can be seen as voices of critique that speak with a public use of reason to raise questions over what the university is for. They are speaking in their own name, not in the name of someone else, 'the researcher' of the 'entrepreneurial university.' Speaking in our own name entails not accepting the questions that are asked of us (How can we produce researchers with competences for active citizenship?) but raising questions in response to the conditions in which we find ourselves, testing the limits of those conditions: What form of citizenship is possible today?

Notes

1. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2006:0208:FIN:EN:PDF
2. http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/BOLOGNA_DECLARATION1.pdf
3. http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/conference/documents/Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve_Communiqué_April_2009.pdf
4. For a critique of the way in which doctoral students are inducted in to the field of educational research in particular, see Hodgson and Standish (2006).
5. http://www.esrc.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/Images/Postgraduate%20Training%20and%20Development%20Guidelines_tcm6–33067.pdf
6. This account has appeared previously in Hodgson (2011).
7. 'The Greek word *basanos* refers to a "touchstone", i.e., a black stone which is used to test the genuineness of gold by examining the streak left on the stone when "touched" by the gold in question' (Foucault, 2001, p. 97).

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4

Higher Education Student Civic Engagement: Conceptualizations of Citizenship and Engagement Strategies

Rhonda Wynne

Introduction

Matters of democracy, governance and citizenship are on the agenda within nations, in Europe and globally. The proliferation of books and papers exploring democracy, particularly in the context of education, is illustrative of a concern for its stability and its future (Kelly, 2003, p. 103). Due in part to the individualization of societies and the public sphere (Bauman, 2000, 2001; Elliott and Lemert, 2006), and the perceived breakdown in community and social capital, there is a sense of 'civic malaise' (Putnam, 2000, p. 25). A concern that established democracies are 'in crisis, or at least severely strained' (Dahl, 2000, p. 2) has resulted in a number of countries, for example, Australia, America, Canada and England, commissioning reports on civic disengagement (Sears and Hughes, 2006; Sears and Hyslop-Margison, 2007).

This emphasis on citizenship tallies with discussions of 'civicness' in a variety of spheres as the language of citizenship has been commandeered to theorize multiple dimensions of daily life, and mirrors a 'trend toward civic professionalism in many spheres' (Ellison and Eatman, 2008, p. iv). There is a growing rhetoric of corporate social responsibility exhibited by companies (Edward and Willmott, 2008), and an interest in cultivating organizational citizenship behavior (Mazen et al., 2008). Football clubs talk of corporate citizenship (Walters and Chadwick, 2009), while questions about safe food supplies have resulted in talk of a 'civic agriculture' (Kingsolver et al., 2007). Architects and urban planners are concerned with how the design of buildings and urban environments fragment the public space thus impacting on citizenship practices, by creating 'margizens' and cultural enclaves (Schuilenburg, 2008).

The emergence of an 'accelerating university civic responsibility movement' (Benson and Harkavy, 2000, p. 47) to lobby for greater attention to the civic role of institutions is a response to reverse the trend of a perceived mission shift from a public-social model to a private-economic model (Kezar, 2004, 2005a) and to counter the view becoming normalized that higher education is an 'institution of the economy' (Fallis, 2007, p. 291).

In the U.S. there is a 'groundswell of interest in returning higher education to its broader public mission' (Colby et al., 2000, p. xxxiii). Campus Compact, an American coalition of college and university presidents, is dedicated to promoting community service, civic engagement and service-learning in higher education (Campus Compact, 2008). The last decade has seen the formation of other similar associations: the Australian Universities Community Engagement Alliance (AUCEA) (AUCEA, 2008); the Community Higher Education Service Partnerships (CHESP) initiative in South Africa (Lazarus et al., 2008); Campus Engage in Ireland (McIlrath and Lyons, 2009); the Latin American Centre for Service-Learning (Centro Latinoamericano de Aprendizaje y Servicio Solidario, CLAYSS) (CLAYSS, 2009); the Canadian Alliance for Community Service-Learning (CACSL) (CACSL, 2009); and the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement in the United Kingdom (UK) (NCCPE, 2008). The Talloires Network is an international collective of individuals and institutions concerned with strengthening the civic roles and social responsibilities of higher education. All signatories of the Talloires Declaration have committed their institutions to creating a framework enlarging, supporting and rewarding good practice in civic engagement and social responsibility (Tufts University, 2009).

These networks are concrete illustrations of the growing interest in education for citizenship and what form this might take for contemporary multi-cultural societies. Shapiro suggests that a 'university education is almost a requirement of a fully expressed citizenship' (2005, p. 8). Nussbaum talks of constructing 'a higher education that is not simply pre-professional, but a general enrichment of and a cultivation of reasonable, deliberative democratic citizenship' (2002, p. 291). Checkoway states that a democratic society requires 'citizens who have ethical standards, social responsibilities, and civic competencies' (2001, p. 129).

However, whether universities should educate for citizenship and how they might go about this are vexed questions which revolve around the perceived role of higher education and conceptions and understandings of citizenship. This chapter considers broad interpretations of university civic engagement and citizenship before examining matters of student civic engagement.

Purpose of the university

Although it can be argued that there is 'no universally accepted view of the purpose of higher education' (Allen, 1988, p. 20), scholarship, teaching

and public service are considered the primary missions of the university (Weis et al., 2007, p. 427). These three missions are not distinct but are in turn multilayered and often 'coexisting, interlocking or contradictory in nature' (Scott, 2006, p. 3). Hence, universities are sites of multiple missions and competing imperatives. Drawing on the term multiversity (Kerr, 2001), Fallis succinctly sums up higher education's dilemma, or identity crisis, when he details how the contemporary university is

> a conglomerate combining four ideas of the university: the university as a place of undergraduate liberal education; the university as a place of graduate education and advanced research; the university as a place of professional education; and the university in service to society, accessible, pragmatic and conducting applied research. (2007, p. 291)

These four ideas are the legacy of historical interpretations of the role of the university: Oxford and liberal undergraduate education, Berlin and research, Bologna and professional education and the Scottish model of access and applied learning (Fallis, 2007). Surrounding these four ideas of the university, a number of overarching discourses are prevalent: globalization, massification and modernization (Neave, 2000).

A sample of titles detailing the recent lot of higher education suggests something of a crisis and a sense of hollowness: *The University in Ruins* (Readings, 1996), *Killing Thinking: The Death of the Universities* (Evans, 2004), *A Larger Sense of Purpose: Higher Education and Society* (Shapiro, 2005), *Declining by Degrees: Higher Education at Risk* (Hersh and Merrow, 2005), *Excellence without a Soul: How a Great University Forgot Education* (Lewis, 2006), *Our Underachieving Colleges* (Bok, 2006), *Ivory Tower Blues: A University System in Crisis* (Côté and Allahar, 2007), *Education's End: Why Our Colleges and Universities Have Given Up on the Meaning of Life* (Kronman, 2007). These texts consider the challenges facing universities and outline the conflicts and tensions in contemporary mass systems of higher education.

Aronowitz (2000) uses the term 'knowledge factory' to suggest that universities today have become factory-like, a process of units in and units out. The factory metaphor is used in discussions of the entrepreneurial university where the four missions are listed as knowledge factory, human capital factory, technology transfer factory and territorial development factory (Lazzeroni and Piccaluga, 2003, p. 40). These missions can be seen in instrumental and economical terms with little concern for broader social or civic missions.

The doomsday book titles and these four missions provide an instant snapshot of the tensions and conflicts in higher education today. The missions reflect some of the dominant agendas – the knowledge economy and skills race; technology and research; regional development and economic growth – while the book titles reflect the sense of foreboding that some

central purpose, or the soul of universities, is currently compromised. Many scholars fear the encroaching marketization and corporatization of higher education contributes to an instrumental individualist approach to learning which has detrimental effects for the long-term prospects of civil society. Perceptions that the world of higher education is ruled by the job market (Bauman, 1997, p. 18), and is viewed merely as dispensing degrees and certificates for private advancement (Zemsky, 2003, p. 3), calls into question higher education's 'public good' role. The notion that universities contribute to the public good is the basis for governments' funding higher education (Calhoun, 2006, p. 10).

Universities have a prominent role in post-industrial societies as economic advancement is linked to knowledge, creativity and innovation, so that higher education is perceived as 'critical to the social and economic futures of all nations' (Gamage and Mininberg, 2003, p. 183). Consequently, the public good and service role is now under scrutiny as debates about mass higher education, knowledge economies, democracy and citizenship conflate to raise questions about the purpose and form of higher education in contemporary society. Higher education serves private needs in terms of individual employment and supporting the private sector economy, but it also serves the needs of public sector employment and the state. As 'private benefits contribute to public benefits and vice versa' (Chambers, 2005, p. 11), higher education is not a pure public good, but is a partial public good and partial private good, or a mixed good (Hüfner, 2003, p. 341). Fryer argues that the diffusion of knowledge to society through alumni is the principal contribution of higher education to society (2005, p. 85). Since spheres of life are not distinct, graduates can play a civic role in their professions and advocate for democratic professional practice (Boyte, 2005). Furthermore, students have not merely professional lives, but also private and civic lives that are influenced and shaped by college learning and experiences.

A shift in language from university service to university engagement is evident as the term engagement is now 'a buzzword in many university circles' (Bruning et al., 2006, p. 128). Duke notes that the idea of university engagement is 'a natural companion along the road to mass higher education' (2008, p. 4). As the macro-level debates around university engagement cannot be divorced from debates on citizenship education, the question of university civic engagement is now considered.

University civic engagement

University engagement can be interpreted differently. There are two main strands of thought, one on service/engagement in the form of the entrepreneurial innovative university, the other focusing on service or engagement with the community and society, hence the enterprising third mission and the social third mission (Montesinos et al., 2008, p. 262). These strands
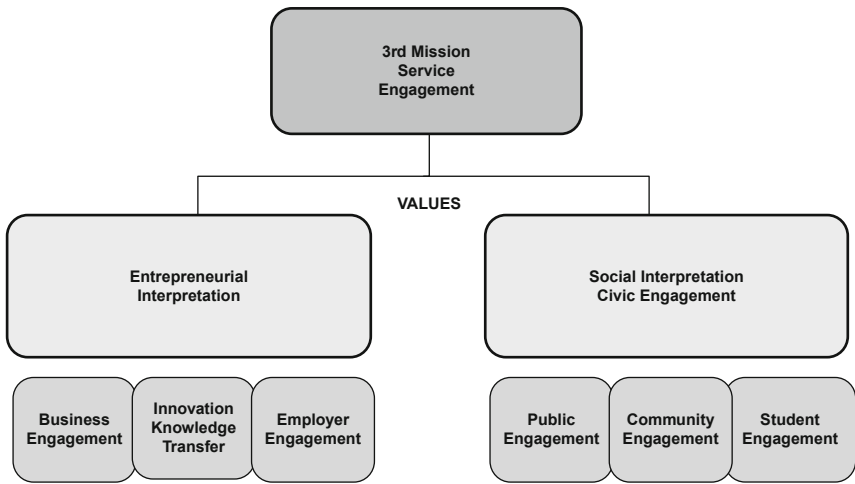
Figure 4.1   Engagement interpretation

are not mutually exclusive but are both dimensions of how universities make themselves relevant and purposeful. The most common interpretation of engagement is couched in economic terms focusing on university entrepreneurship activities (Vorley and Nelles, 2008, p. 5) and is narrowly conceived as knowledge transfer (Gummett, 2009). This interpretation uses the language of patents, innovation, university spin-off companies, interface specialists and royalty management (Etzkowitz et al., 2000). The alternative social interpretation orients the university towards engagement with civil society and includes terms such as university-community engagement (Winter et al., 2006) or universities as sites of citizenship and civic responsibility (Plantan, 2002). While traditional forms of civic engagement concerned the contribution that the founding of a university made to civic prestige in a city, contemporary forms of engagement play a key role in promoting social mobility and social inclusion and in shaping civic values (Scott, 2005, pp. 16–20).

Which interpretation of engagement is privileged within an institution reflects understandings of the public good role. Tensions between the private and public roles of higher education and between ideological understandings of what a university should be and do are manifest in many ways and impact how institutions operate. Additionally, universities represent both the memories and curiosity of a society, which creates tension around preserving the past and shaping the future (Berchem, 2006, p. 396).

Long term public good and civic objectives may be hampered by short term financial considerations. Bok argues that though a single commercial activity may not be damaging it is the cumulative effect of many activities

which is of concern (2003, p. 119) and which has an educational cost in terms of 'the moral example such behaviour gives to students and others in the academic community' (2003, p. 109). Government policy may demand skills and graduate employability in sciences and technology at the perceived expense of liberal education objectives. A contemporary concern is that the emphasis on excellence in research and innovation privatizes knowledge through copyrights and patents rather than contributing to an intellectual commons. Striving for excellence can squeeze out equity concerns such as access and widening participation and privilege research over teaching while the drive for global status may relegate matters of local concern. A relentless drive to maintain numbers means students can be perceived as consumers first and learners second so that knowledge becomes linked to its exchange value as a commodity. Hence, matters of equality, social justice and egalitarianism risk being marginalized when education is reduced to a matter of who pays, for what and where.

University engagement from a social and public good perspective considers not just the contribution the university makes to the economic, social and cultural life of the nation and region, but also the role of the institution within its immediate community and how it performs as a neighbor. At a macro level, philosophical questions emerge about how knowledge is produced, in whose name and whose interest. Civic engagement advocates are concerned that the groups with power and influence set the agenda in terms of knowledge production, or as Evans argues 'the powerful control the goalposts' (2004, p. 149). Similarly, Banks argues that 'groups with power and influence often equate their own interests with the public interest' (2008, p. 132). Civic advocates ask if research benefits the community, in what way and if the community has been involved in a genuine partnership in creating knowledge. Hence, public scholarship is advocated. Public scholarship means that the 'goods' produced by the scholarship should be public in benefits (inclusive), public in decision making (participatory) and public in consumption (fair and just) (Ming Khoo, 2009). University partnerships and collaborations which aim to solve public problems and share the resources of the university more broadly are a key focus of university engagement activities. At institutional level, matters of governance, academic citizenship, access, campus community and staff and student life and well-being are all considerations within a civically engaged university.

Tensions between public and private understandings of higher education and between entrepreneurial and civic interpretations of engagement highlight how values and beliefs permeate all aspects of university life. Some values are in conflict, from what is taught, how, why, where and to whom, through to what is researched, how it is funded, by whom and how the results are disseminated. Value choices can be seen in who is admitted, staff recruitment and promotion, student grading and feedback, and in which disciplines are privileged. Institutional values, both explicit and implicit,

can be seen in institutional documentation and on websites, in recruitment or pre-enrollment information and by way of the language, visuals and imagery used. In this way institutional values are woven into the university culture and permeate the messages emanating into the public domain. Values determine the role an institution envisages for its students as both graduates and citizens. Thus, value choices and the way such choices are decided 'constitute the meaning of the university's cultural message' (Hackney, 1999, p. 995). A pedestrian tour of a campus can reveal much about cultural values as buildings, rooms, statuary, pedestrian spaces, signs and paths communicate non-verbal messages about what and who is valued (Carney Strange and Banning, 2001, pp. 26–7). Similarly institutional culture plays a strong role in sending messages about civic responsibility. Campus stories, heroes or figures, campus tours and graduation ceremonies all play part of the symbol and ritual of institutional life which support a system of beliefs (Thornton and Jaeger, 2007).

Therefore, Watson argues that 'universities should strive to behave well, to be ethical beacons' (2007, p. 364) and stresses the need 'to create a campus atmosphere that supports a concern for others and for the common good' (2007, p. 368). Shapiro notes that students learn a good deal about what to believe and what they should be committed to from the behavior of the university administration and faculty, as they observe the values reflected in the university's rules and regulations and witness how staff are treated and how the university relates to the community (2005, p. 104). Bok concurs by stating that 'undergraduates often learn more from the example of those in positions of authority than they do from lectures in a classroom' (2003, p. 109). Accordingly, Boland stresses the necessity of 'democratic practice at all levels of decision-making, from the boardroom to the classroom, if higher education institutions are to effectively prepare students for democratic citizenship' (2005, p. 201). Botstein too argues that 'the leader of a college or university must send a positive signal about the character of a campus' (2005, p. 215). Astin believes academics need to model the personal qualities of effective citizenship in their professional work if they expect students to develop those same qualities (2000, p. 129).

Crick argues that values cannot be taught directly and that 'they must arise from actual or imagined experience' (2000, p. 124). Thus, a civically engaged institution, with an ethos of collaboration and community, is arguably a necessary condition for promoting student civic engagement and cultivating democratic practices.

Student engagement

Questions of student engagement and disengagement appear in a range of texts from different countries reflecting the challenges universities face in devising curricula that foster the skills and competence required for

contemporary living (Bok, 2006; Côté and Allahar, 2007; Evans, 2004; Hersh and Merrow, 2005; Kronman, 2007; Levine, 2005; Newman et al., 2004; Rochford, 2008). Disengagement in learning is manifest in low attendance rates, heavy part-time work obligations, lack of preparedness for class, lack of participation in class, diminished personal responsibility and growing dependence on a hand out culture or 'gulp and vomit learning' (Côté and Allahar, 2007, p. 54). The result of this disengagement is the growing prevalence of work-life unreadiness (Levine, 2005).

Unease about academic disengagement is matched by concerns about civic disengagement (Putnam, 1996, 2000) and about how evolving forms of civic participation may be differently understood (Schudson, 1996, 2006). While education is proffered as a solution to civic disengagement there is divided opinion on just what can be achieved by a college education. Desjardins contends:

> The knowledge base on what educational systems can and do achieve is very poor. It is common sense that education has an influence on individuals and society, but how and to what extent are still very much a matter of substantial debate. (2008, p. 24)

Determining the factors attributable to developing civic mindedness that persists throughout life is challenging as 'the objectives of education are not always known or clear' and 'setting these is a political issue' (Desjardins, 2008, p. 24). While there may be understanding about the practical benefits of higher education, there is less knowledge about the 'intangible, deeper, and more far-reaching benefits' (Johnson Kidd, 2005, p. 196). Botstein contends that there is little empirical justification for the rhetoric of liberal learning as 'the presumed civic and cultural benefits of going to college continue to elude us' (2005, p. 211). Davies notes that with citizenship education 'there is an "attribution gap": the further one goes along the chain, the more difficult it is to attribute the perceived effect to the actual programme' (2006, p. 22). From her study of the impact of higher education on young people's civic engagement, Egerton proposes that the experience of higher education did seem to have a small effect on the probability of involvement in civic organizations but that differences in participation existed prior to higher education and probably reflect family influences (2002, p. 617). Fish argues forcibly that moral and civic education in colleges and universities is not only a bad but an unworkable idea as there are 'too many intervening variables, too many uncontrolled factors that mediate the relationship between what goes on in a classroom and the shape of what is finally a life' (2003, p. C5). Illich states plainly 'personal growth is not a measurable entity' (1970, p. 40). Subsequently, the outcomes of university learning are complex, long term, hard to measure precisely and complicated by the diversity of inputs such as ability, motivation and teaching (Baldwin and James, 2000, p. 142).

Nonetheless, Putnam argues that 'civics knowledge is boosted by formal education' (2000, p. 35) and that 'education is an extremely powerful predictor of civic engagement' (2000, p. 186). Colby et al. believe that higher education can help 'to foster students' understanding of themselves as morally committed and civically engaged citizens' (2000, p. xxxi). Barnett persuades that although the processes of citizenry formations are not clear, higher education graduates tend to be healthier, make more contributions to their communities and the political sphere and hold less extreme political views (2007, p. 29). Field reveals that a long tradition of research into the links between adult learning and active citizenship suggest a circular pattern where those who participate in learning are active in their communities and vice versa. Although the reasons for these connections are inexact, it may be the way in which skills and knowledge increase peoples' capacity to adapt or respond and take control of challenges and changes in their lives (2008, p. 10). Therefore, Fryer argues:

> Citizenship is, for universities, both a proper topic for systematic and critical enquiry and an appropriate focus for their various programmes of teaching, learning, research, community engagement and dissemination. (2005, p. 85)

Curricular initiatives such as service-learning and extra-curricular student volunteer programs are a focus of much student engagement work. These initiatives are structured around particular conceptions of citizenship, which are now discussed.

Conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education

Marshall's landmark work identified three aspects of citizenship: civil, political and social (Marshall, 1998). These aspects have evolved over time: the 18th century was concerned with *civil rights*, such as the right to property, privacy and freedom of expression; the 19th century with *political rights*, principally the right to vote; and the 20th century with *social rights*, namely education, healthcare and social security (Ross, 2007). Heater suggests these three dimensions cannot be compartmentalized, but the challenge is to relate them harmoniously (2004, p. 142). Thus, 'the concept of citizenship is a complex and slippery one' (Benn, 2000, p. 244) so that 'citizenship is many things to many people' (Joppke, 2007, p. 37). Turner highlights how 'the problem of defining such concepts as civil society and public sphere has bedevilled political philosophers for centuries' (2008, p. 177).

Citizenship can be considered 'a *status*, a *feeling*, a *practice*' (Osler and Starkey, 2005, p. 9), a normative ideal, a social practice and a relational practice (Fernández, 2005, p. 62). Ross argues that 'citizenship is an important aspect of our identities: it is that aspect that involves our political

engagement and participation in a community' (2007, p. 293). As a result citizenship has horizontal dimensions, how people relate to each other, and vertical dimensions, how they relate to local and national government (Watters, 2009, p. 35). Citizenship contributes to the definition of membership in both the passport-holding sense and the more complicated notion of identity (Jenson, 2007, p. 56), and while associated with national identity, this 'exists alongside many other meanings of identity' (Crick, 2008, p. 33). Today, the citizenship debate focuses on four ideas: citizenship as legal status, citizenship as political identity, citizenship as a locus of solidarity and citizenship as virtuous activity (Néron and Norman, 2008, pp. 6–7).

Over recent years there has been a significant shift in the citizenship debate from notions of *formal citizenship*, the status position and legal basis of citizenship, to *realized citizenship* which involves active participation (Wagner, 2008, p. 95) or from duty-based citizenship to engaged citizenship (Dalton, 2008, p. 76). While *active citizenship* is now a much used term (particularly in European policy), it is also a much contested term, as it is part of the agendas of governments on both sides of the political spectrum (Marinetto, 2003, p. 104). Active citizenship is now understood in more elaborate ways than merely exercising a right to vote. Notions of active citizenship range from *minimalist* conceptions, for example pay taxes, to *expansionist* conceptions which involve active participation at all levels of political life. Thus, active citizenship covers the spectrum from the 'civic slug' (Putnam, 2000, p. 46), to the 'civic spark plug' (Schudson, 1996), and ranges from the concept of the good citizen as patriot, with ensuing concerns for national values and character education, to that of the good citizen as activist in solidarity with a plurality of cultures. Active citizenship can be seen as having a social justice component, or it can be viewed as a ploy to shift responsibility from the state to the individual. Another much embraced concept, that of 'global citizenship,' has competing understandings, from a moral vision, focused on solidarity and social justice, to an individualistic vision keen to enhance economic self-interest for a global elite who are internationally mobile (Schattle, 2005).

As a result of this 'conceptual stretching' the concept of citizenship has become less clear (Heisler, 2005, p. 667). Consequently, citizenship education has multiple strands and interpretations and includes legal, political, cultural, social and economic dimensions in addition to national, post-national and global dimensions. This has implications for how these broader features are developed in education programs.

Citizenship education can entail political literacy or, for fear of controversy or conflict in the classroom, omit politics. Conceptions of the civic realm and public life determine whether civic responsibility is viewed as an act of individual altruism, or is concerned for a just social order. Therefore, higher education institutions teach a politics, intentionally or not, that carries a definite notion of what the public is and can do (Mathews, 2000,

p. 153). Thus, the question of the 'service-politics dichotomy' (Raill and Hollander, 2006, p. 3), or civic spectrum, with at one end a 'thin, even sickly conception of citizenship, the citizen as apolitical volunteer engaged in service' (Boyte, 2003, p. 4), and at the other a politically engaged citizen, concerned about matters of social justice and structural inequalities.

A further hazard is that discourse and practice in citizenship education is a struggle between ideas of education and ideas of indoctrination (Sears and Hughes, 2006, pp. 3–4). Hence, the danger of advocating for a form of character education, which 'advocates the explicit teaching of specific character virtues' (Winton, 2008, p. 307) and veers towards intellectual conformity, to produce the perfect law abiding taxpaying citizen, who is above all compliant and accepts the status quo. Veering into moral or character education runs the risk of sounding moralistic or authoritarian, and attempts to define a good citizen are automatically loaded with moral judgments and values.

Another concern is that of lapsing into a deficit discourse with a tendency to problematize particular individuals or groups and mark them out as failing, remiss in some way or, at the extremes of such discourse, delinquent. There is also a risk of radicalizing the notion of citizenship to the point that conceptions of an active citizenship are synonymous with views of agitating political activists constantly challenging every dimension of social and civic life.

Mirroring the conceptual confusion, debates rage about what constitutes civic skills as 'to be a citizen requires civility, but it also involves friction and rivalry' (Frazer, 2007, p. 258). Skills advocated include a competence and judgment to act in the world (Colby et al., 2000, p. xxviii), rational deliberation (Gutmann, 1987, p. 45), the practice of argumentation (Molander, 2002, p. 375), insights beyond just factual knowledge (Liedman, 2002, p. 356), an ability to act in an appropriate way, identify with others, align personal interests and one's own life story with common causes, and understand options for participation and restraint (Jansen and Dekkers, 2006). Such skills are linked to 'identity capital' and 'agentic capacities such as an internal locus of control, self-esteem and a sense of purpose in life' (Côté, 2005, p. 226). Ross summarizes:

> Active citizenship requires the ability to engage in action for social change, the establishment of active solidarity, and the extension of rights: of necessity, it is engaging in debate, discussion and controversy, and using skills of engaging with and arguing about alternative viewpoints. (2007, p. 299)

Consideration of underlying conceptions of citizenship and related civic skills come into play in the fraught area of educating for citizenship. For that reason, before any curricula and/or extra-curricular planning can

occur, reaching an understanding of the anticipated and desired outcomes of citizenship education is a complex task. Boland suggests that 'a civic role for higher education presupposes a curriculum that actively fosters critical thinking, collaboration, argumentation and tolerance of different views' (2005, p. 212). How this might be achieved is now examined.

Citizenship and the curriculum

Matters related to citizenship cut across many discourses with academic arenas being heavily implicated. Citizenship is rooted in a range of disciplinary areas, including law, history, philosophy, political science and sociology, with thinking located in different paradigms and perspectives. Each discipline is instrumental in shaping not only agendas and policy, but also curricula and how students' conceptions of citizenship are formed. The disciplines overlap significantly in the emerging interdisciplinary field of citizenship studies. Each dimension is weighted with heavy political or philosophical traditions and comes with vast literatures.

As 'the university is a site of the formation of competing forms of citizenship' (Barnett, 2007, p. 29), the ideology underpinning the conception of citizenship influences how the curriculum is framed. The curriculum is 'understood as an educational project forming identities founded in three domains: knowledge, action and self' (Barnett et al., 2001, p. 435). A curriculum for the era of supercomplexity needs to be concerned with ontology, epistemology and praxis, or knowledge, action and self (Barnett, 2000). The knowledge domain focuses on discipline specific competences, the action domain on doing and practice, while the self domain is concerned with educational identity (Barnett et al., 2001, pp. 438–9). The concept of citizenship involves three dimensions, formal (legal), substantive (rights and duties – civil, political and social) and affective (identity or recognition) (Besson and Utzinger, 2008, p. 187). Thus, links are made between learning for citizenship, which includes cognitive (knowledge), pragmatic (action) and affective (values) aspects (Cecchini, 2003, p. 3), and a liberal education which focuses on the epistemic (knowledge), the eudemonic (self-actualization) and the civic (Harward, 2007, p. 6).

The knowledge, action and self domains relate to three models of how citizenship, democracy and higher education is understood; *civics*, *communitarian* and *commonwealth* (Boyte and Kari, 2000, p. 40). Westheimer and Kahne (2004), drawing on the work of Parker, distinguish between three different forms of citizenship education: traditional, progressive and advanced. The traditional (civics) approach emphasizes an understanding of how government works and a commitment to democratic values to produce personally responsible citizens. This is likely to take the form of civic instruction with didactic approaches. The progressive (communitarian) approach adds to the traditional vision but places greater emphasis on civic participation in a

variety of ways, and aims to produce participatory citizens. This communi-
tarian strand, a 'remoralising of the community' (Jansen and Dekkers, 2006,
p. 195), emphasizes the 'importance of the call of the community to ensure
citizens will behave responsibly' (Doheny, 2007, p. 408) and is visible at
many levels of active citizenship debate and policy, particularly in Europe.
Teaching approaches are participatory and involve problem solving, group
work and experience in relating theory to practice. The advanced (common-
wealth) approach, builds on the progressive approach and aspires towards
justice-oriented citizens 'but adds careful attention to inherent tensions
between pluralism and assimilation' (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p. 239).
Critical and participative pedagogies are favored.

   To sum up these three types of citizenship in action:

> If participatory citizens are organising the food drive and personally
> responsible citizens are donating food, justice-oriented citizens are asking
> why people are hungry and acting on what they discover. (Westheimer
> and Kahne, 2004, p. 242)

There is not one specific program, approach or activity responsible for
citizenship learning. Barnett argues that 'courses can be oriented towards
citizenship without there being modules on citizenship itself' (2007, p. 32).
Kelly notes it is not the subject which is instrumental or intrinsic but the
manner in which the subject is approached (2003, p. 107). Brennan and
Osborne state:

> The way curricula are organised can determine who will study alongside
> whom, whether learning is a collective or an individual experience, the
> nature of student interaction with academic staff, and whether student
> leisure and friendship patterns are shaped 'within' the study programme
> or are largely outside it. (2008, p. 183)

Checkoway suggests that a university that wishes to prepare students for
active participation in a democratic society should involve students in
research projects that address important issues in society, in for-credit
service-learning courses and in cocurricular activities with a strong civic
purpose (2001, pp. 131–2).

   No matter what the course content, how a course is taught can provide
an opportunity for engagement or to witness democratic learning. Thus,
classroom climate is stressed as an important dimension of citizenship
education (Davies et al., 2005, p. 346). Seminars and tutorials rather than
lectures promote dialogue and debate which build skills of deliberation and
communication. Such formats favor openness and enhance respect for a
diversity of opinions and cultures. Waghid calls for universities to place
greater emphasis on the role of friendship in the classroom to create a

climate which encourages mutuality and risk taking so that students are better prepared for dealing with the challenges of the unexpected (2008, pp. 204–6). Leveraging student diversity as a path to civic learning is much cited and can be facilitated in campus clubs and societies, and through attempts to promote intercultural and intergenerational learning.

However, in a time when testing, measurement and concrete indicators are paramount in education, 'designing tests to measure competences such as collaboration, respect, or negotiation, is a challenge that has not yet been met by most education systems' (Carneiro and Draxler, 2008, p. 154). Similarly, for civic engagement to be deemed an integral function of the university and form part of the policy framework, there need to be mechanisms for measuring and reporting on this work. At present there are limited ways to report on institutional and student civic engagement, and it is not part of the typical accountability criteria. So where such work is happening, it can be a challenge to have it recognized.

Student civic engagement strategies

Examples of institutional strategies adopted for promoting student civic engagement are now examined:

Engaged Student	Pedagogies, Curricula and Strategies for Civic Engagement	*Citizenship Courses* *Service-learning* *Critical Pedagogies* *Volunteer Strategies*

Figure 4.2　Institutional strategies adopted for promoting student civic engagement

Citizenship courses

In curricular terms, the knowledge domain is present across all approaches but is prominent in traditional approaches which are based on a 'civics' approach where the aim is the creation of a knowledge expert and career preparation (Boyte and Kari, 2000, p. 58). This involves a traditional teacher-as-expert and content approach to pedagogy, with set courses in citizenship studies covering topics such as government and legislation. Such an approach 'has a strong tradition of transmitting symbolic and iconic aspects of citizenship' (Ross, 2007, p. 299).

Critics of this approach argue that '"civic education" is more than simply teaching "civics"' (Sax, 2000, p. 16). The idea that 'values are caught not just taught' (Taskforce on Active Citizenship, 2007, p. 21) suggests that 'the

name of the game is, ..., not citizenship teaching but citizenship learning' (Crick, 2007, p. 242).

Service-learning

The action domain relates to the communitarian/progressive approach, which is concerned with community values and civil society. Service-learning taps into this conception of citizenship and democracy (Boyte and Kari, 2000, p. 58). There is no consensus on what exactly service-learning is or what purpose it serves as is evident by the more than 200 published definitions (Furco, 2007, p. 69). Dimensions which can be agreed on are that service-learning is 'the teaching dimension of the scholarship of engagement' (Zlotkowski, 2007, p. 42) and that it 'links academic study to authentic public-service activities' (Furco, 2007, p. 66). Jacoby, citing Migliore, highlights the need for a hyphen in the term service-learning as it 'symbolises the symbiotic relationship between service and learning' (1996, p. 5) and suggests service-learning can be viewed as a program, a philosophy or a pedagogy (1996, p. 8).

Much of the literature on the curricular aspect of civic engagement focuses on service-learning. Bawa suggests four imperatives for the experimentation with service-learning: to link student learning with the needs of society, to counter charges of social elitism, to broaden the base of the university and to respond to development issues in the local community (2007, p. 56). Within the U.S., service-learning is a prominent pedagogical tool and is promoted widely by Campus Compact. In Latin America, a number of countries, including Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, have Presidential Awards for service-learning (Nieves Tapia, 2009).

However, Cantor notes that 'there is a continued disconnect between service and political engagement despite the well-known "service politics" framework of Campus Compact' (2004, p. 21). On many campuses service-learning is often extracurricular and voluntary (Geary Schneider, 2000, p. 100), or is seen as a marginal activity associated with some disciplines and not others, whereby it risks being seen as an activity not relevant to serious subjects. This results in 'enclave civic engagement that tends to happen at the margins of a campus' (Bringle, 2009).

Furthermore, there is a risk that service-learning is seen as a one-off act of charity, which contributes to the community but, while good for boosting student morale and curriculum vitae building, makes little long-term impact or real social change. Boyte expresses concern that service-learning neglects the dynamics of power and politics and does not sufficiently challenge the 'paradigm of "helping" that erodes the agency of others' (2008, p. 13). Such a perspective is particularly pertinent when Davies notes that a UK survey of teachers 'found that the teachers had a depoliticised or apolitical view of citizenship and overwhelmingly saw citizenship as about meeting our obligations to fellow members of a community' (2006, p. 15).

Much depends upon how service-learning is constructed, and the role of both students and the community in the design and development of the project or initiative to be undertaken. For service-learning to be effective 'students must have a voice in the process' (Morgan and Streb, 2001, p. 158), and the work must be undertaken in a collaborative fashion rather than in an expert-charity relationship. The design of assessment for service-learning also poses challenges, with a reflection component advocated by those who wish to move beyond the 'doing good' model of service.

Service-learning is not the lone engagement activity, as 'the idea of "civic engagement" goes beyond service or volunteer work' (Crick, 2000, p. 128). Student campaigners request a form of civic participation that is social engagement, not service, and political engagement, not politics (Raill and Hollander, 2006, p. 3). As time resources may not permit engagement with the community in every module, infusion can occur across the curriculum (Boland, 2008).

Critical pedagogies

The self domain, which is arguably the most neglected, corresponds to a commonwealth conception of democracy and citizenship, which understands democracy as the work of the people who are public problem solvers and coproducers of public goods (Boyte and Kari, 2000, p. 58). Such an 'advanced' approach utilizes critical pedagogies with critical thinking embedded across the curriculum, so that course content and materials are linked to moral dilemmas and consideration of social justice, equity and ethics.

> Critical pedagogy attempts to understand how power works through the production, distribution and consumption of knowledge within particular institutional contexts and seeks to constitute students as particular subjects and social agents. (Giroux, 2007, p. 180)

Thus, critical pedagogy is 'not only a theory of being but also a theory of becoming' (Walker, 2002, p. 50).

However, the push for graduates with particular knowledge bases ensures consideration is given to product rather than process, with debate focusing on how to squeeze content into modularized structures rather than on the act of learning itself. There 'is a greater need for the output-driven system of higher education to concentrate on the processes' (Barnett et al., 2001, p. 448), rather than on 'product acquisition and regurgitation' (Sperber, 2005, p. 143). A key intention in critical pedagogies is to emphasize process over product.

Critical pedagogies can be marginalized within institutions as areas where such pedagogies are promoted, such as women's studies, equality studies and adult education, can struggle for survival or have limited influence.

Although an advocate, Freedman notes that critical pedagogies are vulnerable to the charge of indoctrination as they promote a specific method of socio-political analysis, thus making them inherently politically biased. To counteract this charge, he proposes using multiple methods of analysis so that students learn what each method exposes or obscures (Freedman, 2007). When questions of political correctness emerge, it is argued 'classrooms should be sites where students are *taught* about politics; they should not *be* about politics' (Côté and Allahar, 2007, p. 119).

Volunteer strategies

The issue of student volunteering is closely allied to discussions of student engagement. Volunteering is not only a 'major benefit to individual well-being' but also a mechanism to develop new skills and apply existing ones (Schuller and Watson, 2009, p. 213). Thus, there is a growing recognition that 'much of the learning occurring outside the classroom is essential for public service and civic education, including leadership and volunteerism' (Kezar, 2005b, p. 49). In recognition that 'volunteering is a core expression of civic participation and democracy,' which has 'twin benefits' in boosting skills and personal development, while contributing to social cohesion and creating bonds of solidarity, 2011 has been designated as the European Year of Volunteering (European Commission, 2009, p. 2).

A study of the social and cultural role of four higher education institutions in the UK noted the presence of student volunteering as a mechanism for supporting active citizenship and broader contributions to the public good (Cochrane and Williams, 2009). Volunteer programs in universities evolve differently, with some student driven and others organized and promoted by the institution. Some initiatives are campus based with students volunteering for a variety of tasks from organizing events to note-taking for students with a disability. Other off-campus activities provide students with a link to the local community or, through the growing number of international volunteer projects, forge links to communities in the developing world.

In sum, student civic engagement considers both a pedagogical perspective and connections with the wider world, with a view that 'engagement as process and engagement as outcome are inevitably and inescapably intertwined' (Barnett, 2003, p. 251). Table 4.1, while using broad categorizations for simplification and explanatory purposes, summarizes the competing forms of citizenship and corresponding education practices.

Conclusion

The formation of a plethora of university civic engagement networks and initiatives across the globe, particularly over the last decade, is a concrete illustration of the growing interest in (re)emphasizing a civic role for higher

Table 4.1   Conceptions of citizenship grid

Conception	Civic	Communitarian	Commonwealth
Citizenship as:	Status	Practice	Activity
Citizen as:	Voter/Worker Consumer Patriot	Community member Volunteer	Civic producer Public worker Activist
Citizen is: **Spectrum**	Personally responsible **Minimalist** Passive: *Civic Slug*	Participatory	Justice-oriented **Expansionist** Active: *Civic Spark Plug*

	Individual
	Individual rights,
	    freedoms,
	    responsibility,
	    morality
		Community
		Community
		    as locus of
		    solidarity
		Associational Life
			Collective
			Public good
			Common good
			Civic Responsibility

**Purpose of
    Citizenship
    Education:**
	Status Quo
	Societal reproduction
	Uphold cultural values
	Social cohesion
	Social moral
	    responsibility
	Conformist
		Maintenance
		Maintain/ rebuild
		    civic life
		Strong
		    communities
			Renewal
			Systemic critique
			    and reform
			Political literacy
			Social inclusion
			Identity and
			    recognition
			Deliberative
			    participation
			Civic identity/
			    efficacy/agency

**Educational
    Approach**
	Traditional
	Mainstream
		Progressive	Advanced
			Transformative/
			    Critical

**Practice
Domain
Focus of
    Programs**
	**Citizenship Courses
	Content/Knowledge**
	Formal/legal aspect of
	    citizenship:
	Laws, fixed rights
	Government
	Voting and
	    representation
	Democratic values
	Symbols, icons, heroes
	Personal morality
	Character education
		**Service-learning
		Doing/Action**
		Substantive
		    dimension of
		    citizenship:
		Rights and duties
		Civic engagement
		Common good
			**Critical Pedagogies
			Self/Identity**
			Affective
			    dimension of
			    citizenship:
			Identity and
			    recognition
			Macro-level critique
			Political forces
			Systemic reform
			Social justice
			Structural
			    dynamics
			Root causes
			Solidarity,
			    pluralism

Table 4.1   Continued

Conception	Civic	Communitarian	Commonwealth
Pedagogy	Didactic Content/Knowledge transmission Teacher as expert Understanding Mainstream academic knowledge	Participatory Group work Volunteer initiatives Enactive learning Problem solving Service-learning Responsibility Experiential learning	Critical pedagogies Inquiry Critical thinking/ reflection Critical literacy Critical discourse analysis Participatory research Action research Transformative academic knowledge

education. This is not a straightforward task. There are many competing imperatives in universities, so that a civic role has to jostle for position amongst many other roles. In addition, there is much conceptual confusion around what citizenship education might look like within higher education. Significant challenges exist in measuring cause and effect in educational terms, particularly given debates about whether the 'right' forms of civic behavior are being measured.

Civic learning does not happen in a vacuum, so that student civic engagement and learning occur best within institutions where civic engagement is an orientating and informing purpose. Rather than student civic engagement taking the form of a project, or a module, or an add-on, civic values need to be reiterated on multiple fronts so that they are infused and sustained across college life. Furthermore, efforts need to be made to counter contradictory messages or behaviors.

Gardner proposes that at individual and institutional level in higher education, there is a need to think of 'good work' that is 'both excellent in quality and ethically meritorious' (2005, p. 106). Similarly, Sharrock asks 'how do we make our work valuable, and our values workable?' (2000, p. 163). These considerations are at the root of many questions that need to be addressed in the area of higher education citizenship education and learning.

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5

Rethinking Teacher Effectiveness in Democratic Citizenship Education for Ensuring Peace

Alok Gardia and Deepa Mehta

Among the agencies with a stake in social, national and international concerns, education has been one of the most vital agencies. Indeed, there is an oft repeated quote, attributed to the famous educator Maria Montessori (Bajaj, 2008, p. 33), 'Averting war is the work of politicians; establishing peace is the work of education.' In this spirit, the development of educational awareness symbolizes the journey of human civilization. Thus, every society employs the services of education to realize its goals. It is this age-old agency, education, which has always acted upon realizing the goals and aspirations of the society.

Democracy, in which peace is the highest agenda, is an institutional arrangement in which supreme power is vested with common people. Here due dignity of each individual is ensured irrespective of his or her caste, creed, belief, religion or region. Various rights have also been enshrined as democratic ideals to develop a democratic order in the country.

No one is born into the world with rights. Societies decide what rights it will give citizens and what powers it will give government. Rights can be taken away and governmental powers can grow beyond reasonable limits unless citizens are watchful. The core of democracy 'assumes that our rights and liberties do not come for free, that unless we assume the responsibilities of citizens we will not be able to preserve them' (Barber, 1998).

In a democratic country citizens enjoy all kinds of freedom; it, however, demands responsibility on the part of citizens. Somehow, these days it is generally observed that in liberal democracies commitment of citizens towards responsibilities is weakening. This is an alarming tendency that needs to be rectified and curbed at utmost priority, if quality of life is desired in these societies. Increasing violence in all walks of life, people at loggerheads on trivial issues, low voting turnout, disinterest in political affairs and showing disrespect to political leaders and public agencies are a few examples to demonstrate threats to our virtues as a democratic citizen for maintaining peace at all levels. Low election turnouts and decreasing participation in public and political life have become a big threat to the

democratic system itself. Such a careless attitude towards our fundamental duties and avoidance of responsibilities as a citizen is becoming an alarming concern. These and many other similar observations lend urgency to the issue of education for democratic citizenship. In fact it should be seen as a long-term investment for increasing the quality of life of citizens. Certainly, the education for citizenship will nurture a lifestyle which shall be very conducive to maintaining peace and harmony among individuals at social, national and international level.

Liberal political scientists have discovered a correlation between democratic societies and global peace. Tracing the history of peaceful coexistence of nations, Doyle (1997) showed that citizens' views in democratic societies play a pivotal role in war and peace. Embedded in political scientists research findings are three prepositions for education: first, democracy needs democrats; second, democrats are created through citizenship education programs emphasizing conflict resolution skills, respect for human rights, good neighborliness and respect for pluralism; and third, there appears to be a correlation between the teaching of democratic values and the peaceful coexistence of citizens of democratic societies.

In the context of India, which represents a significant part of Asia, most unfortunately, neither school curricula nor its teacher preparation programs are specifically designed for providing education for citizenship. Considering the fact that teachers play a pivotal role for the success of any educational reform, if education for citizenship is desired to be a reality in our schools, we will have to first educate and train our teachers. This will definitely train our prospective teachers in the skills of citizenship and peace education. Such issues call for renewal of the teacher's role in democratic citizenship education for ensuring peace at individual, national and international levels.

Concept and relationship of democratic citizenship and peace education

Citizenship education

In a democracy, the source of all authority – the legitimate basis of all power – is the collective body of the people, the citizens of the polity. There is popular sovereignty of the citizens and thereby government is by the consent of the governed. A citizen is a full and equal member of a polity (Mouffe, 1995).

Citizenship in a democracy is a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There are not universal principles that determine what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution creates an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be directed ... Citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to

a civilization which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law (Marshall, 1973).

'Citizenship is not just a certain status, defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity; an expression of one's membership in a political community' (Kymlicka and Norman, 1995). In other words 'Citizenship is the involvement in public affairs by those who had the rights of citizens' (Barbalet, 1988). In fact, 'Citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept. It consists of legal, cultural, social, and political elements, and provides citizens with defined rights and obligations, a sense of identity and social bonds' (Ichilov, 1998). In effect 'citizenship is the practice of a moral code – a code that has concern for the interests of others – grounded in personal self-development and voluntary cooperation rather than the repressive compulsive power of the State intervention' (Hayek, 1967).

In addition to the above definitions, some scholars see citizenship as a juridical and political status. For example, according to Janowitz (1983) 'citizenship concerns the political relations between the individual and the State.' For Hebarmas (1994) 'citizenship is the peaceful struggle through a public sphere which is "dialogical."' Turner (1993), on the other hand believes that 'citizenship concerns the legalities of entitlements and their political expression in democratic politics.' To Dahrendorf (1994) 'citizenship is a non-economic concept which involves the practice of both fundamental or civil rights and enabling rights (political and social rights).'

Citizenship is the social and legal link between individuals and their democratic political community, and it entails important responsibilities and duties that must be fulfilled by the citizens. If they are not fulfilled, democracy is disabled. The duties of responsible citizenship include paying taxes, voting in election, properly using public properties, obeying laws enacted by one's representatives in government, demonstrating commitment and loyalty to the democratic political community and state, constructively criticizing the conditions of political and civic life, and participating to improve the quality of political and civic life. The responsibilities of citizenship also involve action to narrow the gap between ideals and realities. For instance, the highest standards for good government in a constitutional liberal democracy are (1) equal security for the rights of all persons in the polity and (2) government by consent of the governed. Citizens have the responsibility 'to recognize and overcome contradictions of ideals concerning equality of rights for all citizens, such as unjust denial to certain persons or groups of their rights to participate in government, or to fair treatment in the courts of law' (Galston, 1995).

If citizens of a democracy have security for their rights, they must take responsibility for them. First, they must respect the rights of others. Second, they must act to defend their own rights and the rights of others against those who would abuse them. And third, they must exercise their rights in order to make democracy work. Further, 'the rights to vote, to speak freely

on public issues, and to participate in voluntary organizations, for example, have little or no significance in political and civic life unless citizens regularly and effectively use them' (Patrick, 1994).

At present, democratic nation-states are the only dependable agencies for enforcement of their citizens' rights and for the exercise of their citizens' responsibilities. In fact 'citizenship is the fundamental institution that connects the individual bearer of rights to the protective agencies of the state. The civic realm of the state provides the main channels through which individuals can participate politically and share in governance' (Klusmeyer, 1996).

In the light of these observations about citizenship, the concept of citizenship education should target to mold the future citizens into the frame of a civic society where citizens are aware of their rights, respect democratic ideals and work for a welfare society with a shared responsibility.

Various terms like 'Education for Democratic Citizenship' or 'Democratic Education' have been used for referring to the term citizenship education. In our further discussion we would like to use the term Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC).

The definition given by Cesar Birzea (2000) explains the basic concept of EDC, 'which is the set of practices and activities aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society.'

The term EDC has been defined in many ways. Instead of putting these definitions here, the essential elements of EDC reflected in them are summarized here:

- EDC is not just a school subject or any other curriculum activity, but a major aim of educational policies in the perspective of lifelong learning.
- Instead of a general definition, valid for any context, a pragmatic definition would be preferable.
- Insist more on the consequences and methods of application than on the formal rigor of sentences.
- Compared to other closely related terms (civic education, political education, etc.), EDC's identity is provided by the reference to the integrating term of citizenship. To put it simply, as a result of this identity, EDC means learning democratic behavior through a diversity of experiences and social practices.
- Regardless of where it is exercised, EDC presupposes three common approaches: (i) empowerment, (ii) civic participation and (iii) shared responsibility.

Peace education

Peace is a term that most commonly refers to an absence of hostility, but which also represents a larger concept wherein there are healthy or

newly-healed interpersonal or international relationships, safety in matters of social or economic welfare, the acknowledgment of equality and fairness in political relationships and in world matters.

The rapid advancements in science and technology have ushered us in breaking the national boundaries, making this world a global village. Consequently the present era is characterized by liberalization, globalization and privatization. These changes have failed to bring equity, peace and harmony in the society; rather they have resulted in serious social, political and economic imbalances, problems and value crises. The man has acquired material wealth and comforts, but the whole world appears to be divided in to racial, religious, caste, class and ethnic groups. It is paradoxical that on one hand the human being has grown as the most developed and intelligent species that ever existed on the earth, but on the other hand he has become extremely self-centered, individualistic, intolerant and even self-destructive (Pandey, 2004). Unfortunately the global society is engulfed with violence in all walks of life.

The children living amid such situations are easy prey towards such destructive outcomes of the present modern world. The increasing violence in schools is the burning example of such trends. The report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century (UNESCO, 1996) has conceded that the social crisis in the present day world is compounded by a moral crisis and the spread of violence and crime. The incidence of a young boy being bullied by classmates; or a girl teased and harassed or physically assaulted; harassment because of a student's race; juvenile gang violence among youngsters reflected in recent mindless shooting in schools of Colorado, California and other American states reveal unchannelled aggression of the younger generation. The gravity of the situation can be understood by the fact that one in ten children in U.S. schools already carries a weapon for self-protection. We often come across such incidences of bullying, teasing, juvenile crime and violence in schools and streets. A culture of peace will be a distant dream unless some steps are initiated to put a check on these mindless acts and utilize the energies of the younger generation in constructive and positive activities.

Therefore, with the help of education we should develop an ideal citizenry in national and international perspective. The ideal global citizen is one who understands the importance of respecting human rights and who is prepared to work cooperatively to end poverty, to improve the health and well-being of the world's children, to reclaim and protect the environment, and to bring about peaceful coexistence among individuals, peoples and states.

In the context of the discussion above, the concept of peace education emerges. Peace education refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavior changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence,

both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Fountain, 1999). Peace education should be taken as an integral part of curriculum. The 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (the Jomtien Declaration) clearly states that basic learning needs comprise not only essential tools such as literacy and numeracy, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to live and work in dignity and to participate in development. It further states that the satisfaction of those needs implies a responsibility to promote social justice, acceptance of differences and peace (Inter-Agency Commission, WCEFA, 1990).

Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989) also states that 'the education of the child shall be directed to…the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples.' Further, the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All recommends peace education in these remarks:

> Every person – child, youth and adult – shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning…The satisfaction of these needs empowering individuals in any society and conferring upon them a responsibility to…further the cause of social justice,…to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own, ensuring that commonly accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace and solidarity in an interdependent world. (Inter-Agency Commission, WCEFA, 1990)

A study conducted by Machel (1996), *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children,* also reaffirmed the importance of education in shaping a peaceful future. He concluded that 'both the content and the process of education should promote peace, social justice, respect for human rights and the acceptance of responsibility. Children need to learn skills of negotiation, problem solving, critical thinking and communication that will enable them to resolve conflicts without resorting to violence.' Lastly the UNICEF 'Anti-War Agenda' set out in *The State of the World's Children* (1996), highlights the importance of education in establishing peace order in society remarking 'disputes may be inevitable, but violence is not. To prevent continued cycles

of conflict, education must seek to promote peace and tolerance, not fuel hatred and suspicion.'

Peace Education does not teach students what to think, but rather how to think critically. In the process, its holistic and participatory approach may conflict with more traditional curriculum design or strict standards-based schooling. Peace education aims not to reproduce but to transform. It consists of people 'consciously striving to educate their successors not for the existing state of affairs but so as to make possible a future better humanity' (Dewey, 1930). And with this task come significant challenges and opportunities for all involved.

Therefore, all such efforts of providing peace education should serve these objectives (Peace Pledge Union, 2008):

- To understand the nature and origins of violence and its effects on both victim and perpetrator;
- To create frameworks for achieving peaceful, creative societies;
- To sharpen awareness about the existence of non-peaceful relationships between people, and within and between nations;
- To investigate the causes of conflicts and violence embedded within perceptions, values and attitudes of individuals as well as within social and political structures of society;
- To encourage the search for alternative or possible nonviolent skills; and
- To equip children and adults with personal conflict resolution skills.

Thus, peace education like education for democratic citizenship carries multifarious dimensions. Along with the knowledge aspect, the skill and attitudinal part cannot be ignored. The values needed for nurturing peace-oriented behavior like should be given utmost priority. These values include: respect for others regardless of race, gender, age, nationality, class, sexuality, appearance, political or religious belief, physical or mental ability; empathy – developing a willingness to understand the views of others from their stand-point; a belief that individuals and groups of people can make for positive change; appreciation of and respect for diversity; self-esteem – accepting the intrinsic value of oneself; and commitment to social justice, equity and nonviolence. Looking to such a sophisticated task, there is need for such teachers who are skilled in executing peace education with learners.

One way to meet the challenges of peace education is to build bridges of support among key participants. Just as learning takes place in a broader social context and not exclusively in schools or classrooms, so peace education relies on families, communities and social networks to effect positive and lasting change. The notion 'think globally, act locally' is central to educating for a culture of peace in that it links theory with practice, international issues to individual efforts. As a peace educator, one need not work alone. The international peace education community is active and growing

through networks, publications, global campaigns, national initiatives and international programs. Concerned citizens, educators and activists of all ages around the world are promoting and building peace through education (United Nations Cyber School, 2008).

Relationship between education for democratic citizenship (EDC) and peace education

The liberal political scientists portray an optimistic vision of the world ... one that educators could use in citizenship education programs. The liberal vision is pluralistic, global and future oriented; it jettisons the traditionalist position that humans are inherently quarrelsome and the world is a chaotic place. The liberal vision emphasizes the rule of law and not the rule of force in international relations. Unlike the traditionalist state-centered vision, the liberal vision is citizen-centered. The citizen-centered vision seeks to engage citizens in decision making on war and peace. This vision assigns a pivotal role to citizen's democratic ideals and dispositions in building a cooperative civil society. Indeed it opens the door for peace by prescribing an open dialogue among the diverse citizens of the world. The liberal vision assumes that nation-states are not molecular bodies engaged in a perpetual struggle for survival; in the liberal vision, citizens of the democratic societies cooperate and use deliberate methods for resolving global and domestic conflicts (Iftikhar, 2003).

Further, Iftikhar (2003) elaborates that in particular using citizens as a unit of analysis, the liberal vision is mainly concerned with the question of appropriate civic skills a citizen must learn to influence political leader's policies on war and peace. To this end the liberal vision is premised on three dimensions:

1. An apathetic and ill-informed citizenry creates conducive conditions for chauvinistic leaders to make harmful decisions,
2. A strong civil society provides resistance to the coercive power of government, and
3. Democratic citizens can play a positive role in minimizing violent conflicts and restoring trust between citizens of different societies. These three assumptions provide the conceptual foundation for education for democratic citizenship and peace.

These assumptions highlight the importance of education in maintaining peace and harmony in society. Scores of years ago, Indian seer Swami Vivekananda (2005) remarked that 'education should aim at man-making.' The concept of education for democratic citizenship also rests on the principle that education is a transformational process of a human being into becoming a good and ideal citizen.

Citizenship has been a continuous topic of discussion for the last twenty years in intellectual and political circles in England. It has attracted copious comments from social commentators, political and economic theorists and politicians across the spectrum. Everyone from the New Right, across the crowded Centre, to the Old Left, has been preoccupied with redefining and claiming ownership of the concept (Kerr, 1996). However, these attempts to redefine citizenship have had only a limited impact on debates about citizenship education in schools. They reached their apogee in the late 1980s and early 1990s with discussion of the implications for schools of the then Conservative Government's championing of civic obligation or 'active citizenship' (Kerr, 1999).

Citizenship education [is seen] as a key means by which education for racial equality can be achieved (Home Office, 1999). Citizenship education in England is seen, as it is across Europe, as a means of strengthening democracy and therefore of challenging racism as an anti-democratic force (see for example, Holden and Clough, 1998; Osler et al., 1996).

Every effort of citizenship education endeavors to consider children's complex societies, democratic coexistence, international understanding, the prevention of stereotypes and the marginalizing prejudices. To achieve this end, schools plan activities for the child to acquire the knowledge of individuality, the feeling of identity and the meaning of personal and social responsibility. The teaching-learning procedure of citizenship education aims to educate children within, and for a democratic community life. As such, this approach to education involves conflict resolution skills, developing dispositions toward accommodation, tolerance of diversity, and skills in peace-building.

World political events of the 1990s have provided a new context and rationale for the re-launching of peace education, focusing on global citizenship within politically plural societies. That decade saw the democratic coming of age of many nations, and by the end of the 1990s more than half the nations of the world could be described as liberal democracies. The main issue was the reconciliation of the freedom inherent in democratic pluralism with the challenges of cultural diversity. That some newer democracies had little or no democratic traditions and had to cope with the pressure of multi-cultural societies underlines how education and education for citizenship can help develop the values and institutions needed to sustain culturally plural and democratic societies – both internally and in their relations with the rest of the world. School must prepare individuals for creative participation in the processes of peace building (Chistolini, 2004).

The above assertions indicate toward a strong linkage of education for democratic citizenship and peace building efforts taking the help of education.

Not only does the quality of life in a democracy depend upon how well that challenge is met; so, too, does its peace and stability. In fact, the

endurance of democracy itself is contingent on the competence, caring and commitment of its citizens. To be effective participants in society, citizens must be knowledgeable, command the necessary civic skills and have an understanding of and a reasoned commitment to democratic values and processes. Time does not permit extended consideration of each of these components of civic education (Branson, 2005).

Iftikhar (2003) in his paper 'Education for Democratic Citizenship and Peace' has identified peace education as the most important dimension of EDC, remarking that education for democratic citizenship is a liberal citizen-centered educational vision seeking to prepare caring, thoughtful, peace loving, conscientious, independent and active citizens. In order to achieve this objective, any plan for citizenship education in peace curriculum must include the teaching and learning of five essential skills:

1. Civic knowledge about local and global issues,
2. Democratic values,
3. Democratic dispositions and values,
4. Civic participation skill, and
5. Peace education.

Peace education is about building a better tomorrow for all human beings regardless of their ethnic identity, color of skin, religion or birth place. Peace education is about affirming human dignity. As part of school programs, peace education may be defined as a component of citizenship education that explains the roots of violence in society and the world; it teaches the alternatives to violence and provides effective skills for resolving conflicts such as negotiations, reconciliation, nonviolent struggle and the use of international agreements (Harris, 2002). Peace education is a dynamic model in that it emphasizes active involvement of citizens in civic life of the community, both at local and global levels. Peace education is also about social justice, equality and human rights because it assumes that in order to prevent violence there has to be a just and equitable distribution of scarce resources. Similarly, peace education is about caring for and protection of the weak in society. In other words peace education cherishes all democratic values. In the context of pedagogy, peace education is philosophically akin to the Rousseauan model of naturalism; it requires that teachers discard authoritarian models of teaching and respect students' interests (Iftikhar, 2003).

Core competencies in education for democratic citizenship and peace (EDCP)

In the 1990s, under the influence of business and employment bodies, the world of education began to take a growing interest in competencies (Pope

and Tanguy, 1994). As a result, the curriculum reform movement has given up the useless follow-up of knowledge and has focused on long-lasting competencies, valid over a longer period of time.

Unlike knowledge, competencies represent a potential, a method of solving unforeseen issues in various contexts. Compared to knowledge, which is more rigid, competencies are open, comprehensive and easily adaptable. In this sense, Chomsky (1965) made a distinction between *competence* and *performance*: the former represents the ability to formulate an infinite variety of sentences based on a limited number of elements of language. As for performance, it is competence in action, namely the concrete situation of expressing a linguistic competence. It may be called minimum levels of learning which has to be attained over a specific period of stay in educational institution.

Since the dimensions of citizenship education supplement the measures for nurturing peace-oriented behavior among individuals, these competencies could also form the basic elements of the objectives of peace education. In this context, Hudson (1992) argues that peace education is 'education that actualizes people's potentialities in helping them learn how to make peace with themselves and with others, to live in harmony and unity with self, humankind and nature.' The principles upon which this statement rests include: '1. the cardinal prerequisite for world peace is the unity of humankind. 2. world order can be founded only on the consciousness of the oneness of humankind.' The basic tenet of democracy rests on the principle of human dignity, which is very much inherent in the dimensions of peace-building efforts.

Grindal (1997) has given the following as Core Competencies for Democratic Citizenship which could also serve as core competencies in education for democratic citizenship and peace (EDCP) and which need to be inculcated among individuals.

Knowledge

A broad knowledge base is considered essential for participation in society, including: democratic ideals, the international society and organizations, international co-responsibility, structure and function of social institutions and rules for participation.

Skills

Further, Grindal (1997) outlines the skills which are very much essential in context of an ideal citizen to follow peaceful order in the society, these are: Cooperation, managing and resolving conflicts, participation, critical thinking, creative thinking, reflection, dialogue, making choices, reflecting on own actions and assessing the effect on others, learning from the experiences and observing its practical consequences, and the ability to learn to consider ethical and moral issues. The citizen must also have the skills of

taking responsibility for one's own learning and own life, for planning, and for executing and evaluating one's own work. He/she must also have good working habits and the ability to learn to work in teams and projects.

Attitudes

In terms of attitudinal pattern, the individual must have a sense of personal responsibilities to contribute, a sense of accountability, and the ability to understand and accept responsibility for one's own learning. Respect and trust for oneself and for others, as well as confidence, must also form the attitude of the citizen.

Values

They include equality of opportunity, human rights, rationality, intellectual freedom, tolerance, solidarity, independence and coexistence, cooperation, consultation, inclusion, understanding of and respect for others and the environment, and accountability for decisions and responsibility for actions.

Hence, to develop these core competencies, the students need to move beyond conceptual understanding 'to learning experiences that develop participatory skills and civic dispositions for exercising the rights and carrying out the responsibilities and duties of citizenship in a democracy' (Center for Civic Education, 1994; NAEP Civics Consensus Project, 1996).

In this context, three types of essential participatory skills according to Conrad and Hedin (1991) and Niemi and Chapman (1999) are interacting, monitoring and influencing. Interacting pertains to skills of communication and cooperation in political and civic life. Monitoring involves skills needed to track the work of political leaders and institutions of government, and influencing refers to skills used to affect outcomes in political and civic life, such as the resolution of public issues. The violation of peace on grounds of religious and parochial issues is rampant these days. Religious fanaticism and narrow mindedness is leading the society towards complete devastation. Terrorism is also one of the outcomes of such tendencies. Therefore, the participatory skill of influencing is particularly important in the context of peace education.

Examples of civic dispositions are such traits of character as civility, sociability, honesty, self-restraint, tolerance, trust, compassion, a sense of duty, a sense of political efficacy, capacity for cooperation, loyalty, courage and respect for the worth and dignity of each person. Concern for the common good is also coherent for nurturing peace oriented behavior among individuals.

Participatory skills and civic dispositions needed for effective and responsible citizenship in a democracy can be developed through the following kinds of learning experiences (Conrad and Hedin 1991; Niemi and Chapman 1999):

- Student participation in democratically conducted student organizations;
- School-based community service that is connected systematically to the school's curriculum and classroom instruction;
- Cooperative learning activities in which groups of students cooperate to pursue a common goal, such as inquiring about a public issue or responding to a community problem.

Are our existing teachers having skills and training to develop the above mentioned core competencies through providing learning experience, creating unconventional participatory, community-based and cooperative learning environments? As an answer, we all know that our teachers are comfortable only with traditional modes of classroom delivery. In the following sections after establishing a need for teachers' training and re-training for making EDCP (education for democratic citizenship and peace) a real success in our schools, issues, competences, skills and activities are suggested that can be included in the curriculum framework for teacher education.

Preparing teachers for education for democratic citizenship and peace (EDCP)

Teachers play a crucial role in supporting the learning experience of young people. Teaching and training are the heart of a knowledge-based society. There is a challenging need to improve the quality of the teacher education and training particularly in a modern democratic world. Teacher training in and for EDCP should also be of high quality and integrated in the Indian education system.

Teacher training for education of democratic citizenship should be multi-disciplinary. Teachers and trainers for EDCP should have a knowledge and understanding of the dimensions of EDCP; knowledge of pedagogy, skills and competencies to support and guide learners; and an understanding of the social and the cultural dimensions of educational contexts. The teacher of peace education in an apparently diverse society must keep certain basic aims in mind: the achievement of a unified, peaceful society both globally and within the nation, where world citizenship is fostered and 'unity in diversity' is recognized and practiced.

They should also be reflective practitioners, discerning in managing information and knowledge. 'The main key specificity in teacher training for EDC is that knowledge, understanding and teacher competencies should be developed through the lenses of democratic values and human rights' (Salema, 2005). Such outlook of teachers would definitely help in nurturing peace-oriented behavior among the future generations of the country.

Another key specificity is the personal and ethical development of teachers and trainers for EDCP with a view of the practice of active and responsible citizenship and democratic values and attitudes.

As EDCP is entirely a new subject to be introduced to the National Curriculum, its introduction to an existing framework means that unlike other subjects, Citizenship and Peace Education has been forced to 'hit the ground running,' and teachers and coordinators are expected to fit in with established practices. In *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School*, Liam Gearon (2003) makes the point that the lack of experience of teaching or coordinating citizenship education means that schools are unable to draw on previous experience or traditions in implementing the subject.

Thus, in order to make citizenship education a stronger tool for the development of democratic values we need a team of dedicated, trained and knowledgeable teachers to take the task. This can be achieved only if an effective input is integrated in the existing teacher education curriculum for training teachers to successfully implement EDCP in our schools.

Inputs in teachers' training for education of democratic citizenship and peace (EDCP)

Any exercise for developing a curriculum framework for training teachers to effectively deliver EDCP should be governed by the understanding of the following:

Renewal of the teacher's role

Teaching EDCP implies new roles for a teacher which have to be included in the teacher training programs for preparing competent teachers for democratic citizenship. The teaching guide to the European convention on Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1997) delineates the following behavioral traits for a teacher of EDC. These competencies adhere to the basic competency requirements for a teacher in peace education:

- Be centered on the student;
- Practice human rights within the school context;
- Favor cooperative pedagogy;
- Install a climate of confidence in the class;
- Take into account the social and global context;
- Favor common approaches amongst teachers for problem handling;
- Be a mediator between students and their environment;
- Involve all participants;
- Renew the educational evaluation;
- Develop evaluation as a way forward;
- Encourage formative evaluation;
- Renew the teacher training;
- Use new pedagogical approaches;
- Use the new information technologies.

Dispositions

In a multicultural society, which in many countries is a myriad of different cultures and people with vast diversity, teachers of EDCP need to have due respect for this diversity prevailing in the society and most importantly in their classrooms. Only having knowledge does not initiate action; teachers have to understand that they are just not employees but are builders of future pillars of democracy. Knowledge and skills are tools that can be put to any use. They do not themselves lead to the practice of active, responsible and ethical citizenship. What is also required is the desire to participate positively in society and the will to make the desire a reality. The teachers of peace education need not impose their personal dispositions over students. No matter the cultural, ethnic or religious backgrounds of students, teachers should encourage, praise, appreciate and reward the work of all of them as equally as possible. Positive attention to students can lead to higher achievement for all. Hence, the following dispositions are crucial for all the teachers dealing with EDCP:

- Openness;
- Respect for cultural and social differences;
- Readiness to share and delegate;
- Trust and honesty;
- Commitment to truth;
- Respect for self and others;
- Tolerance of ambiguity and open, undecided situations.

There is need for child-centered pedagogy while dealing with the students. The teacher of EDCP must recognize each student as a unique individual and should try to meet the demands of the specific cognitive style which a particular student holds. Teachers must simultaneously learn about the ways and means of effective conflict resolution among students. A teacher who teaches peace education to students learns a lot at the same time, much of which enables that teacher to deal more effectively with conflicts between students from various backgrounds.

Knowledge and understanding

Teachers of EDCP need to respect and be responsive to their pupils. This will have the benefit of helping pupils with their own self-esteem. The organization of the school, the classroom atmosphere, the teaching methods adopted and the interaction between teacher and pupils, and between pupils themselves, and the general ethos of the school are all essential elements in planning a teaching and learning strategy in citizenship. So too are the individual experiences, values, beliefs, judgments and prejudices of the pupils. It is from the basis of the school environment and the individual pupil that the teacher attempts to teach the pupil to take part in democratic

society (Arthur and Wright, 2001). In the context of the above statement, teachers of EDCP should have knowledge and understanding of the relationship of the democratic citizenship and peace to the curriculum as a whole and its various behavioral competencies that he/she needs to develop among the learners. The teacher of EDCP should be aware of the characteristics of high quality teaching in the subject and the strategies for improving and sustaining high standards of teaching and learning, and achievement for all pupils (Revell, 2005).

Teachers should also be familiar with the possible sources to understand the child in a different context such as school, home, peers and community. Teachers must be able to use comparative data together with information for identification and remediation of the particular behavior which may be a threat to the learner's mental health or a hindrance to a peaceful stay in school, family and community.

Since EDCP is interdisciplinary in nature, Revell (2005) suggests that teachers should have the understanding of how the subject can promote the pupil's spiritual, moral, social, cultural, mental and physical development. In addition to that, the teaching-learning procedure in EDCP should also be in the context of an understanding of how teaching the subject can help to prepare pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

The curriculum with due inputs of peace education teaches about peace, but it cannot by itself result in peace. The teachers of EDCP should realize that it is not enough to simply talk about peace. We must create an environment and provide best role modeling that will promote the development of peaceful individuals. We cannot create this peaceful environment if we ourselves are interacting negatively or competitively with others.

Children easily pick up hypocrisy around them. The old adage 'Do as I say, not as I do' no longer is acceptable. It is necessary for the teachers in EDCP to look inward and take note of their own beliefs and values. If we teach peace in our classroom, we must strive for peace in our lives, in our homes and in our workplaces. We are the models of peace. We are teaching and nourishing the peacekeepers of the future.

Teachers' competencies

The In-service Teacher Training Programme running under EDC in Europe has identified various competencies for a teacher in education of democratic citizenship like: ability to see the problem from a learner's perspective; ability to see and accept similarities and differences between him or her and the learners, and among the learners; respect for the rights of learners and sensitivity to their needs and interests; capacity to deal with controversial issues and to challenge ambiguity of complex situations in classroom or school context; ability to see himself or herself as well as the learners as active parts of local, national and global community; belief that things can

be better and that everyone can make a difference; ability to integrate his or her own priority into a shared framework of issues and values, as well as to act on learners' decisions; willingness to admit mistakes in front of the group and to learn from them; ability to bring up and discuss openly the problems imposed by hidden curriculum (Dürr, 2000). The competencies mentioned are very useful for teachers of EDCP. The learner's perspective, and acceptance of similarity and dissimilarity are also basic competencies for a teacher in peace education particularly in today's multicultural context. The capacity of dealing with the controversial issues is also very much required. The teacher must be able to lead students towards a peaceful conflict resolution. All these and other competencies mentioned above could be the base for teacher education program in EDCP.

Ability for cross-curricular work

Rutter (2003) in her study of finding out the hurdles for effective citizenship education points out there is a lot of work to be done by schools and teachers in order for citizenship education to become a real subject of the school curriculum. Her observations are very pertinent and quite relevant in the context of EDCP. She found that most schools have chosen to deliver citizenship education by merging it with Personal, Health and Social Education, or with Religious Education. Citizenship is mostly a classroom-based subject, involving very little out-of-classroom activity, involving very little participation in the political process. Students are rarely encouraged to bring about real change in their schools or communities. Much of the teaching is knowledge and concept-focused. Many student-teachers and some of the experienced classroom teachers lacked skills in teaching controversial issues. In most schools non-specialist teachers are teaching citizenship, usually without a background in politics (or philosophy or sociology). Student motivation towards citizenship is also found to be poor. Such observations lend urgency to the issue teachers' ability to work in a cross-curricular framework. The teachers of EDCP should understand and appreciate that EDCP is a subject of interdisciplinary nature and that they should have the abilities for cross-curricular work to deliver it accordingly. In this regard, Field et al. (2000) identified seven points or tasks that all subject teachers/coordinators need to address when they undertake cross-curricular work:

1. How does the particular subject (here EDCP) link with other core and foundation subjects?
2. How does the particular subject link with other cross-curricular themes and skills, and other agencies which may have an impact on learning?
3. What skills and processes are transferable between subjects in view of developing ideal citizenship and peace-oriented behavior?
4. Consider the development of strategies and skills which might assist pupils in both subject areas (subject being taught and EDCP).

5. Are there common aims and values between subjects? If so, how should they be highlighted?
6. How is the coordination of subject content to be managed so that consistency and coherence is not lost?
7. Is there parity in learning styles between the subjects? Is this important for the subjects concerned?

The task defined by Field et al. (2000) is pertinent in the light of interdisciplinary nature of EDCP. There is need to coalesce EDCP in all dimensions of effective school environment. Starting with hanging pictures of peace leaders, maintaining an eco-friendly school environment and conducting classroom discourses on famous peace threat issues of past and present will help teachers in EDCP in cross-curricular framework.

Conclusion

The relevance of citizenship and peace education for sustainable development in the modern era is unquestionable. The success of a democracy in ensuring quality of life rests to a great extent upon its citizens' civic dispositions. Inculcation of basic peace values among the future generation must be in high agenda of any educational endeavor. These values are beautifully manifested in the various dimensions of quality citizenship education like civility, sociability, honesty, self-restraint, political participation, trust, a sense of duty, a sense of political efficacy, capacity for cooperation, loyalty, courage, respect for the worth and dignity of each person, and concern for the common good. The social environment, in which an individual lives, may or may not provide good base for the development of peace and citizenship virtues; therefore, the role of education becomes vital for developing and nurturing peace-oriented behavior and qualities of good citizenship. Disputes and conflicts may be inevitable, but violence is not. To prevent continued cycles of violence, education must seek to promote peace and tolerance, not fuel hatred and suspicion.

The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the years 2001–10 the *International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World*. It defines a culture of peace as all the values, attitudes and forms of behavior that reflect respect for life, for human dignity and for all human rights; the rejection of violence in all its forms; and commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and understanding between people. Thus, looking to the greater significance of peace education, quality of teachers and their training for educating citizens for EDCP cannot be neglected anymore in a violence-threatened scenario and particularly in a modern global and multicultural setting.

Terrorism, religious fanaticism, wars, shootings in schools, natural disasters, aggression among youth, decreasing tolerance and increasing

carelessness towards fundamental citizenship duties lend urgency to the issue of democratic citizenship education and peace. It is earnestly desired that these and other tragic outcomes should never happen anywhere and definitely must not affect the children and youth about whom we care. We would like to protect those young minds from the pain and horror of difficult situations. We would like to ensure that they have happy, innocent and carefree lives. Hence, there is need of efficacious teachers trained in the basic dispositions of democratic citizenship and peace education. Teachers trained under such proposition would be able to realize the dream of the modern world having a peaceful coexistence.

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6

Engaging with the Other: Student Community Engagement and the Development of Citizenship after Conflict

Juliet Millican

Introduction

In a world of diminishing resources, climate instability and increased globalization, the retreat into 'like' groups in the competition for survival has the potential to generate increased conflict and escalating violence. The inability or the refusal to recognize the rights and aspirations of others, on a personal as well as a political level, is a key factor behind both local and civil conflict.

We develop our identity by defining ourselves in relation to like and unlike groups, but different identities are brought to the fore at different times according to the issues that threaten at any particular moment. Those with whom we formerly identified as friends, neighbors, colleagues and peers can become 'others' if they suddenly represent a threat to jobs, security or economic survival. People who have for generations lived together harmoniously can, with sufficient propaganda and high levels of fear, divide themselves along ethnic lines in which any former sense of identity and collegiality become lost.

This sudden eruption of ethnic violence out of a period of civil conflict is among one of the biggest threats to world stability and to social and economic development and, alongside climate change, presents one of the most serious global challenges of the 21st century. The past 20 years has seen an increase in civil conflicts alongside interstate conflicts which, with increasing migration and decreasing resources, is only liable to get worse. The separate tragedies of both Rwanda and Bosnia during the 1990s are examples of the human capacity to dehumanize those who used to be neighbors and to create longstanding rifts between previously synergetic communities.

Higher Education policy has already voiced its commitment to addressing the major global and social challenges of the 21st century during the two

world conferences on Higher Education in 1998 and 2009. In 2010 the president of the International Association of Universities reiterated the importance of universities throughout the world addressing 'the major issues on the global agenda,' through the development of knowledge and research and through 'proposals for social action' (de la Fuente, 2010).

However, the responsibility of a university towards its local community becomes both more crucial and more challenging when that community remains hostile and divided. While the major global and social issues are intensified, academics are divided on whether or not a university should maintain a neutral role and focus on the pursuit of knowledge and the academic education of individuals. Should a university ignore or acknowledge the conflicts and divisions that remain after a period of conflict, and are there ways in which it might contribute to a process of reconciliation or civic renewal? Should it concern itself with the promotion of national rather than factional identities, and what are the mechanisms through which it might contribute to the development of citizenship and democracy in a new and emerging state?

This chapter deals with some of these issues by drawing on material gathered during an action research project in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 2007 and 2009. It begins by unpacking the significance of terms such as citizenship, civil society and democracy when a democracy has been imposed and where civil society is weak. It raises questions about how far young people, whose identities may have been shaped by the values of their parents' generations, have the possibility to question these and build new identities for themselves. It also differentiates between the development of a collective identity and an individual identity and the significance of each of these in promoting or preventing conflict from re-emerging at a future date.

Finally it looks at the potential for community university partnerships to challenge inequalities through supporting civil society and developing social capital. Bridging social capital can only be developed through encouraging students to engage with diverse groups and build relationships based on other identities than ethnicity. It explores the possibility for higher education student engagement programs to promote the attitudes and values of citizenship through a human rights and equalities agenda and in doing so to focus on a 'rights based' rather than a welfare attitude to minorities. It acknowledges the importance of the personal, the political and the professional in any education for peace.

Developing a sense of citizenship in new or emerging states

The ethnic violence that erupted in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the early 1990s was triggered by the breakdown of Yugoslavia, the death of President Tito and a regional economic crisis (Malcolm, 2002). The demise of the state of Yugoslavia and the subsequent distrust of state as a means

of law and security promoted a culture of fear and the belief that security comes from 'sticking together.' Like other ethnic conflicts, the war grew out of the collapse or absence of institutions that support civic identities and are strong enough to counteract ethnic allegiances. This led to ethnic fragmentation and the need to create new means of security through assumed blood ties. Although ethnicity is often cited as a major cause of conflict, in Bosnia as in other civil conflicts that sense of ethnic identity was one that was generated, mobilized and politicized by propaganda produced during the conflict rather than the other way round (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Duffield, 2001, cited in Smith, 2003).

The introduction – or as some would say, the imposition – of a democracy was one of the main aims behind international institutional intervention in Bosnia and an attempt to end this period of violent conflict. But although it may have been a necessary step to end fighting (and critics are still divided on this) it was not a straightforward solution. A functioning democracy depends on a culture of participation in government and in local society which was not familiar to those from a former socialist state. People needed to learn not only the structural practices of a democracy but to trust in it as a system and to identity with a new national state rather than on ethnic lines if divisions were to be healed.

Definitions of citizenship vary in the importance they place on the status and practice of citizenship, on 'being a citizen' (having rights defined by a state or constitution) and on acting as a citizen (in the interests of the wider group) (Merrifield, 2002). Citizenship has been described as a right (liberal, that of being a citizen), as an attitude (that of feelings and association, related to a communitarian sense of belonging) or as a responsibility (civic republican, that of acting and participating in affairs of the state) (Gaventa and Jones, 2002), but all three may be necessary for the functioning of a healthy democracy.

Civil conflict by definition destroys any civic sense of citizenship in favor of ethnic or factional identities. With the declaration of independence, Bosnian nationals, (which include Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats as separate ethnic groups) gained legal rights as members of one nation state. But the enshrinement of those rights sparked ethnic violence rather than a willingness to unite under a new state structure. Despite having democratic structures and processes, Bosnian citizens have continued to identify with and to vote on ethnic or religious lines rather than on policies. Politicians and political groups have continued to represent separate ethnic groups and consequently ethnic identities which were largely ignored before the fighting have become embedded in new political structures. In times of peace identities tend to focus more on individuality than on ethnicity, and bonds are built on similarities which transcend ethnic divides. But once ethnic identities become part of a subsequent political system, these new forms of belonging are in danger of framing the future as well as the past.

Creating any unified sense of belonging beyond factional identities is crucial if a state is to recover and rebuild itself. This means not only a national sense of allegiance but also an individual sense of community where people feel at home with the people they live among. Post-war societies are generally characterized by a lack of trust and a reluctance to engage in public life. People retreat into individual and family concerns, mistrusting not only their neighbors but often having low levels of trust in state institutions and high levels of apathy and disengagement. People tend to expect little and to participate even less in community life (Cairns et al., 2003). Issues (such as safety, security, food, housing, etc.) which they found in their ethnic communities during war time should, with the introduction of new national structures, become the concerns of the state. But people need to believe that the state will and can provide them. The development of social capital, of generalized reciprocity and of increased levels of trust and connectedness is crucial in a period of reconciliation and recovery if there is to be any communitarian sense of citizenship and belonging.

Education in the development of citizenship

Education has long been seen to play a significant role in the development of citizenship. Broadly speaking there are programs that have been designed to teach the structures and practices of formal institutions and those which are more concerned with the actual practices of citizenship. Research into civic education programs has shown, unsurprisingly, that those which frame citizenship in terms of 'knowledge and perhaps values but without a sense of how to be a citizen will have little impact on behaviour' (Merrifield, 2002, p. 5). If we want people to learn to be active citizens, with a sense of responsibilities as well as rights, it may be more important for them to learn about individual problem solving processes, to confront and to work with those who hold different values and means of expression than to learn about definitions and structures. Rather than merely studying what citizenship is, we need to support them in learning to work effectively with it.

There is evidence to support this from other literature on citizenship education within conflict or post-conflict situations. Smith, in his research into citizenship education in Northern Ireland affirms that 'Any civic or citizenship education curriculum must go beyond simple "patriotic" models, defined solely in terms of national identity and requiring uncritical loyalty to the nation state' (Smith, 2005). He argues for concepts of citizenship based on rights and responsibilities, rather than national identity. He suggests that if there is to be any possibility of transcending separate nationalist identities people must first learn to problematize them. By understanding citizenship in terms of rights, rather than ethnic, religious or cultural identities, it

becomes more difficult to mobilize political conflict around ethnic identity issues. Smith argues for a citizenship education that has a strong human rights and values base and that address broader issues related to diversity and the rights of minorities (Smith, 2005). An understanding of human rights, of the values and skills required to defend them and the means to work for greater justice can mobilize people around an inclusive struggle rather than a divided one.

Davies (2004), who also draws on experience in educational programs in Bosnia, similarly defends human rights education (which promotes resistance and challenge) above citizenship education, which promotes the values of the state. Exclusion and fear of exclusion play a significant part in the creation of conflict, and she suggests that education is in a position to confront this (Davies, 2004, p. 54). Working within secondary schooling which is still largely segregated on ethnic lines she concludes: 'What is needed is then the usual combination of widespread knowledge about class relations and exclusion together with outrage about their communities and the skills in participatory and deliberative democracy to generate alternatives. This in fact would be the essence of good citizenship education' (Davies, 2004, p. 56).

It is only recently that citizenship has come to be viewed as part of the terrain of higher education. Traditionally focusing on critical thinking, analysis and the development of individuals, where citizenship was taught it involved an academic unpacking of political systems rather than a personal involvement in these. But even here things are changing with a greater awareness of attitudes and values alongside structures and processes. The 'Final Report on the Universities as Sites of Citizenship Project,' which involved European and American universities during the late 20th century, concluded:

> The challenge of advancing universities as sites of citizenship comes from the tension between the fundamental mission of developing expertise and human capital while attempting to devote the time and resources to the development of attitudes, dispositions and functionality of democratic citizenship. The educational aims are often treated as something mutually exclusive. (Carey and Forester, 2000, p. 2)

It may be that such things need not be mutually exclusive and that higher education can and should include the kind of holistic learning needed to be an active citizen on a personal and a professional level.

However, encouraging students to challenge their own attitudes and assumptions as well as those promoted in the society around them needs a very different approach to learning than the more traditional knowledge transmission from academic professor to student. Smith suggests that what

is needed is an inquiry-based approach to learning based around four key areas for investigation:

- Equality and justice;
- Diversity and inclusion;
- Human rights and social responsibilities; and
- Democracy and active participation (Smith, 2005).

Brett suggests a model of citizenship education based on Freireian philosophy and critical problem posing, in which participants see themselves as part of the educational process rather than it being something that happens to them. As such they become producers or co-producers of knowledge. The four Freireian elements of a critical consciousness are:

- Power awareness – knowing that society and history can be made and re-made by human action and by organized groups;
- Critical literacy – imbibing and practicing analytical habits of thinking;
- De-socialization – challenging the values and language learned in mass culture; and
- Self-organization – taking part in and initiating social change projects.

All of the above prioritize the importance of active critique of the society they see around them, personal revaluation of values previously held, a concern with minorities and equalities and a creative involvement in new ways of understanding. For students to act as citizens as well as to 'be' citizens they will require more than knowledge of structures, and the curriculum will need to include processes for students to develop a deeper knowledge of themselves. They will also need to understand something of the conditions of other citizens and how it might be possible to have an impact on the context in which they live.

The potential to develop a sense of civic responsibility and connectedness could be greater for university students than for people at other points in their lives. As young adults, moving away from their homes to study among groups of their peers, they are able to question their primary socialization and examine their cultures and backgrounds. For a society emerging from a period of ethnic and civil conflict these issues have a particular significance. Higher education, with its focus on analysis and its acceptance of difference and debate, is in a good position to challenge views that advocate patriotism, the affirmation of nationalism or any stereotyping of 'the other.' By helping students to acknowledge the complexities and contradictions that make up themselves they can similarly challenge any essentialist views they may have encountered in their past. Davies argues:

> There would seem to be two tasks for education in not contributing to the essentialist identities which can be mobilized for conflict: the

acknowledgement of ambiguity, complexity and hybridity within an individual self, and similarly the avoidance of stereotyped portrayals of 'the other.' (2004, p. 91)

The significance of the individual in the development of social capital

Putnam's model of social capital (the building of social networks and community relationships) is based on a study of American society at the end of the 20th century but identifies a growing sense of fear and isolation in a community and the demise of trust, support and a sense of belonging. He sees the development of social networks as important to the well-being of individuals and groups and differentiates between the notion of bonding and bridging social capital. Bridging social capital involves building links that go beyond social, political and professional identities to connect with people from unlike groups (Putnam, 1993, p. 411). These are often built on personal or individual connections and the recognition of a shared humanity beyond ethnic or social division. It involves the recognition in all of us of a multiplicity of identities beyond the ethnic identities that are mobilized in times of civic unrest. Beem (1999) describes the importance of trust and the role of interpersonal relationships between unlike peoples:

> Trust between individuals thus becomes trust between strangers and trust of a broad fabric of social institutions; ultimately, it becomes a shared set of values, virtues, and expectations within society as a whole. Without this interaction … trust decays; at a certain point, this decay begins to manifest itself in serious social problems … The concept of social capital contends that building or rebuilding community and trust requires face-to-face encounters. (Beem, 1999, p. 20)

It is this notion of face-to-face encounters, and the interplay between acknowledgement of individuality and a shared identity or common humanity that seems to be important to the process of reconciliation. Ignatief's (1998) studies in Bosnia conducted immediately after the war stressed the need to treat people as individuals firstly in order to transcend ethnic divides.

> Empowerment that individuates, that allows individual members of minority groups to articulate their own experience and secure respect for the majority is one thing, empowerment that simply consolidates the hold of the group on the individual and that locks individuals in victimhood is another. (Ignatief, 1998, p. 60)

He indicates that the violence behind conflict comes from a process of dehumanization of 'the other,' associated with religion but the result of a fading

of belief rather than a deep religious conviction and the neglect of individual identity. Neighbors who co-existed peacefully before the eruption of conflict come to fear and blame each other for destroying what was a former 'common life' (Ignatief, 1998, p. 56). Maalouf (2000, p. 150) says of the retreat into a group identity during conflict: 'this is the scenario you head for as soon as community allegiances are allowed to turn into substitutes for individual identity instead of being incorporated into a single wider, redefined national identity.'

This is a complex and important issue and one that is often little understood. The development of citizenship and of equalities is often seen in terms of the development of group allegiance rather than individual understanding. But both Maalouf and Ignatief suggest that a recognition of and respect for the individual behind the group is crucial in order to resist the dehumanizing tendencies behind violence. It also differs from the promotion of individual excellence and advancement that has characterized higher education in the past. It entails more than educating students to participate in national and political bodies or in the wider activities of community life. Rather than encouraging young people to think or act collectively, it is concerned with enabling them to act as individuals and to understand better the different facets that make up who they are. Recognizing someone initially as an individual allows you to recognize similarities and connections, to shift the focus from ethnic identities to other identities which may be easier to accommodate (Maalouf, 2000). As Ignatief (1998, p. 71) says:

> To the degree that individuals can learn to think for themselves – and so become true individuals – they can free themselves, one by one, from the deadly dynamic of the narcissism of minor difference. In that sense the function of liberal society is not merely to teach the noble fiction of human universality, but to create individuals sufficiently robust in their own identity to live by that fiction.

The promise of community university engagement

Bourner, already in 1998, argued for the existence of personal development and social involvement within the university curriculum, linking what he called an 'inner knowledge' of self with the 'outer knowledge' of knowing about the world. He suggested that social involvement (with groups, through community development activities) may be a way to develop both personal knowledge and social connectedness. Helping students to understand how they act in specific situations and why, and their choices in terms of acting differently would, he felt, enable them to be better professionals and better citizens.

The emergence of new community-university partnership programs nearly a decade later is evidence of a wider shift in higher education policy terms

from 'advancing the interests of individuals' to the social responsibility of a university and a commitment to a 'common good' (Zlotkowski, 2007, p. 37). Partnership activities look for ways in which the resources of a university can be used for the mutual benefit of the community in which they are located while enhancing the quality of teaching, learning and research. Invariably they build connections with civil society organizations that act as their link to community groups and community issues and may be in need of academic support or student involvement. Student engagement programs, similar to those that fall under the banner of Service Learning in the U.S., include opportunities for students to engage with community activities as part of their discipline-based learning. Making this a part of the curriculum rather than optional volunteering provides the opportunity for them to critique the context of the groups with which they work and to reflect on their own personal learning and development. Working with and for marginalized groups provides an insight into their world and brings a different perspective to a shared task. It necessitates a negotiated approach to joint working and requires individuals to listen to each other and suspend or question their assumptions. It brings together academic and experiential knowledge to solve a particular problem. Learners develop their own values and attitudes, as well as their practical skills, in relation to a real and policy-oriented environment within their discipline area.

There is evidence from peacetime studies to support the role that education can play in developing altruistic behavior. Putnam cites a range of examples where community programs, 'where the engagement is meaningful, regular and woven into the fabric of the curriculum,' can contribute towards a sense of citizenship and social commitment (1993, p. 405). Other studies indicate that participation in civil society increases people's abilities to work together, to deliberate and to develop an enhanced sense of justice and political efficacy (Merrifield, 2002).

Such programs also include within them the four elements of Freireian consciousness cited earlier in this chapter: the opportunity to take part in a social change project, to challenge the dominant identity values of a divided culture and develop critical literacy or an analysis of the situation of minorities within society, and personal experience that society and history can be remade by human action. It moves beyond a concept of citizenship based on nationality and provides one that presents and challenges the need for equal rights and a shared sense of belonging. The programs being discussed offer opportunities for students to meet, work with and develop relationships with those they may previously have stereotyped on the basis of their ethnic identities and to begin to see them as individual people. Such relationships may allow them to recognize the existence of other identities in themselves.

The challenges for such a program in a post-conflict society are two-fold. Firstly civil society organizations tend to be weak and underdeveloped,

and secondly the prevailing culture, including that of students, tends to be passive and disengaged. Despite this those organizations that do exist are often hungry for support, particularly the localized support of young people and academics. Conflict situations invariably bring with them the involvement of the international community in both peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Organizations and institutions eventually need to reconnect themselves with the communities in which they are located and find a way to manage without international financial support.

Universities in particular are often struggling to cope with a missing generation of academics, who were either killed during the fighting or still living in exile. Those who would normally be running departments and programs are likely to have been those who were implicated in political activity and forced to leave. Any new research or updating of programs is likely to have been halted, leaving a situation in which younger recent graduates may be leading on curricula that is more than a decade old.

But such challenges also present opportunities, and a civil society hungry for local involvement can, with support, provide important active learning experiences for students to supplement the taught elements of a curriculum. They may be able to provide the transformational experience needed to invigorate a disillusioned student culture. Zlotkowski (2007) indicates that the importance of engagement programs in the development of democratic principles among university students was linked to the stress they place on attitudes and values alongside knowledge. But above all he suggests such programs provide an alternative to 'the (abstract) mode of knowing that breeds intellectual habits, indeed spiritual instincts that destroy community, (where) we make objects of each other and the world to be manipulated for our own ends' (2007, p. 42). The process of objectifying each other and the world for personal ends that he describes is reminiscent of Ignatief's (1998) warning of 'the dehumanization' and the process of 'othering' that underlies conflict. If peace is to have any chance of being maintained into the next generation, then broader ways of knowing, understanding and identifying must be part of that generation's development.

Student community engagement in mostar

Many of the assumptions identified above were born out in a partnership program at the University in Mostar, run between 2006 and 2008. The context in which the university operated, even 10 years after the end of the conflict, was similarly characterized by passivity, a lack of trust, a concern with self and family and a sense of people looking inwards rather than outwards. Tutors and students described a society 'taunted by fear and hesitation' (interview notes 2008). People were aware of, if not party to, a social norm that suggested *keeping your head down, supporting the family, promoting a career and not rocking the boat*.

Despite this there was little mention of the existence of ethnic divisions (apart from a positive comment on the emergence of multi-ethnic friendship groups). Although the city was still largely segregated in terms of housing, education and social services, people spoke largely of a sense of xenophobia, a general and entrenched fear of people from other cities and other countries. Tutors working in cross-disciplinary groups identified local social change projects through which students could begin to use the skills they were developing through their studies. Some initiated projects themselves, such as planting trees and wild herbs in areas that had suffered deforestation during the war. Others linked with civil society organizations to identify experiential projects in which students could get involved. Some taught English to children in primary schools in the east of the city where neither schools nor parents could afford the additional teachers needed for language lessons and where resources were so stretched the school operated a split day, with half the children attending in the morning and half in the afternoon. Others supported children in kindergartens or orphanages who had disabilities or particular needs linked to problems of identity or abandonment. Engineering students linked with individuals who had lost limbs either during the fighting or due to the continued existence of mines and designed disability aids for them or articulated limbs. Supported by drama students, the engineers were encouraged to explore their own feelings and prejudices around disability while improving their communication skills in dealing with a broad range of people.

Students were not specifically required to make contact across ethnic divides and, aside from work with a Roma group, ethnicity was rarely mentioned. Instead there was a greater focus on diversity, equality and marginalization. They were encouraged to be active in applying their university or course learning but also to critique the context in which they were working. They built relationships on an individual level, gained valuable practical experience and learnt something of the situation of other citizens.

In most cases their contact with diverse community groups helped to alleviate this fear of outsiders and contributed to a sense of self-confidence and optimism. Many spoke of what they had learned culturally from the groups they worked with and demonstrated their enthusiasm to continue volunteering in the future. The projects in many ways moved students on to becoming more accepting of difference and enthusiastic about working with disability and disadvantage. With little prompting tutors grasped the importance of partnership working and its role in opening people's eyes to diversity in a context where currently 'there is no sense of rights' (individual interviews 2008).

Tutors also recognized the value and importance of local organizations in developing the attitudes and life chances of their students. They were convinced of the need to offer students a broader view of the world 'So they

can discern between "what is really good and what is really wrong" to shift them away from the inward looking attitudes that had developed during and since the war years' (individual interviews 2008). There was, at least at a theoretical level, an appreciation of contact with outside groups, both those living within the city and those from outside the region, as a means of breaking an over-identification with immediate ethnic bonds. Some tutors spoke of the role of a university in raising critical ability and overcoming fear and manipulation, and of its responsibility to prepare the next generation as professionals and as citizens. They saw the need for ongoing contact with European and international organizations in order to keep local events in perspective.

The projects which students undertook differed from merely volunteering because of the element of assessment involved. Students were required to apply their course-based learning and reflect on the relevance of the experience to their personal development. This gave them the opportunity to confront issues of diversity and challenged their fear of the unknown. Engagement activities are more substantial than typical volunteer or work placements because of the reflective and personal element involved. The focus moves from one of either service or skills development to 'develop[ing] an ethos of civic and social responsibility and an understanding among students of the role individuals must play collectively if communities and democracies are to flourish' (Zlotkowski, 2007, p. 43). Universities must be able to deal with different ways of knowing and different domains of knowledge if they are to raise students' critical abilities to evaluate and respond to situations as well as ideas. In a context where there is heightened sensitivity to identity issues, students need the chance to identify with the issues they are discussing if there is to be lasting personal change.

Some students were offered work by the organizations they had supported; others felt they would be in a better position to find work because of the experience they had gained. Work and the importance of employment was a strong motivator in student involvement, and it was seen as crucial in a more secure and stable future. Both tutors and students felt employment and economic progress were an important factor in the maintenance of peace. Davies (2007, p. 41) and Edwards et al. (2004, p. 97) also describe the unequal distribution of resources and the role of disengaged youth in the escalation of conflict and in fueling political extremism. Staub talks about 'The frustration of basic needs, when combined with other facilitating factors, is often the basis for mass violence' (Davies, 2004, p. 77). What we do know is if a society has an income per head of under $500, there is a 15 percent chance that country will be in a state of conflict within five years. When that is under $5,000 the statistic falls to 1 percent (Hamber, 2010). Access to resources, to employment and a reasonable standard of living is crucial in securing and maintaining peace, but so is equality of access to those resources and an awareness of and a commitment to equality across

minority groups. Staff in Mostar reiterated the importance of jobs, employment and a stable income in building a stable society: 'There is always political extremism, but if people have jobs, a good standard of living, they will enjoy (these things), you will not be afraid' (interview notes 2008).

Conclusion

The wars in the Balkans and in Rwanda in the early 1990s have been termed 'identity wars' – conflicts that arose when old identities and protections broke down and people were persuaded to identify along different lines and in fear of those who had recently been neighbors and friends. The construction of identity involves the understanding of the self in relation to the group, an interpretation of those we identify with and those we don't. Invariably it involves a process of 'othering.' Some theorists argue for the existence of strong or 'fixed' identities, (the strongest often seen as national identity – for example, Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Others (Stuart Hall, 1992, and elsewhere) suggest identity is a more fluid, less permanent entity, and that we all possess several alternative identities which we focus on in different social contexts and at different times. The speed with which identities were able to shift from being 'Yugoslavian' or Rwandan for example, to being Serb, Croat or Bosniak, Tutsi or Hutu, seems to validate Hall's view of the identity process.

Anderson (1991) described nation state communities as 'imagined communities,' ones which people sign up to and imagine they are part of, supported by the trappings of allegiance, laws, rituals, symbols and sovereigns. These emblems of a nation state serve to make people feel a part of something and enable them to construct their identities along those lines. Public education has since the 19th century been seen to have an important role in this process, with a duty to create both an 'efficient labour force and a loyal homogenous citizenry' (Smith, 1995, p. 1). The promotion of national rituals, myths and heroes through the school process helps encourage children to identity along those lines. And yet we know that growing up is more complex than that, and school children regularly create alternative groupings and categories for their peers based often on their ethnicity, their gender, their class or their sexuality (Ross, 2010), in an attempt to make sense of who they themselves are.

The construction of a new nation state depends on the development of a sense of citizenship and belonging, but after a time of conflict when people questioned the right for the state to exist at all, this is unlikely to be done through the promotion of symbols, myths and rituals. People need time to understand the role of the state and its function in terms of their own families and their own safety, to develop a sense of trust that it will fulfill the things they ask of it. The emergence of a strong civil society is parallel to this process, to keep the state in check, to ensure support for and representation

of minority groups within it and to encourage people to take part in governance and democracy (Burde, 2004; Diamond, 1994; Gaventa, 1999).

A sense of citizenship that transcends more contentious allegiances to a nation state is one way through this period of mistrust and uncertainty. In the case of the North and South of Ireland for example, greater connection with a European sense of identity helped to bypass North-South divides and focus on the future rather than the past. The enthusiasm with which tutors in Mostar talked of wanting to 'become part of Europe' and to develop international links for their students is another example of this. A sense of citizenship that is linked to a broader regional or global sense of community, that focuses on practice and participation and the rights of minorities avoids the kind of 'othering' that nationalism or national identity invites. But active citizenship is not simply about linking with and doing things for civil society groups; it includes analyzing social conditions, understanding the reasons behind social inequalities, the necessity for a rights-based approach and the mechanisms through which to be active in social change. Davies's (2004) *Education and Conflict, Chaos and Complexity* acknowledges the importance of 'relationship building across divides,' but stresses that this has to be based on needs and interests rather than trying to teach students to be 'nicer to each other' (Davies, 2004, p. 169). She discusses the need for an education that 'builds a culture of resistance against negative propaganda' that teaches problem solving and analysis, that builds 'moral conventions' and that allows an understanding of the ways in which 'knowledge and understanding are socially constructed and negotiated' (Davies, 2004, p. 125). She quotes Cockburn (1998, p. 1) who says, 'We need to know more about how peace is done ... how ordinary people arrange to fill the space between their national differences with words instead of bullets.'

Higher education has many roles, but supporting the maturation process of young people as they come to understand themselves, as individuals, as workers and as citizens is one of them. Education programs concerned with the development of citizenship need an experiential component if they are to have an effect on attitudes and behaviors as well as knowledge, and to develop active citizens able to deal with diversity and uncertainty. First-hand experience in civil society groups provides students with an experience of 'active citizenship' which challenges a more unthinking civic notion of citizenship and, through experiential involvement, helps them to make sense of who they are. For those concerned with the development of citizens in a divided community both are paramount. We know that an imposed democracy is not a functioning democracy, and it may take decades (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001) for one to evolve into the other. Similarly an imposed and monitored peace is not indicative of reconciliation; post-conflict societies are often low in social capital, characterized by lack of trust and a retreat into private or familial concerns. At the higher education level the promotion of a single collective national identity is at best over-simplistic and at

worst dangerous. Yugoslavia had 50 years of programs that celebrated 'brotherhood and unity' prior to the outbreak of the Balkan wars, but in difficult economic times this was insufficient to curtail nationalist aggression. It is often the capacity to be mobilized behind a collective, unexamined sense of belonging that allows civil unrest to develop into civic conflict in the first place. Higher education needs instead to focus on the recognition of complex rather than single identities, the expectation that you think for yourself rather than to allow yourself to be led, the ability to develop self-knowledge alongside knowledge about the world and above all the capacity to recognize the equal rights of others alongside your own. A commitment to equalities and rights, a strong emotional literacy and a more global sense of citizenship will better equip the next generation to deal with the challenges of scarcity. It was Roger Halliday who is quoted in Chandler (1999) as suggesting that in the future a country's commitment to world peace will be judged less on its nuclear capabilities than the way it treats its minorities.

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7
Making Our Community Engagement Matter in the Community

Randy Stoecker and Mary Beckman

A discussion is growing inside the academy from upper level adminstration in university relations and research offices to service learning centers, faculty and even students. It centers on the concern, motivated from a number of directions, including demands for accountability from community groups and for evidence of broader impacts from federal funders, that university and college efforts at community engagement do a better job in our communities (Sandy and Holland, 2006; Blouin and Perry, 2009; Stoecker and Tryon, 2009). Participants in such discussions are struggling to figure out just how to make such aims reality. Herein we make suggestions for moving in this direction.

Pre-thinking community

The term 'community' is invoked by nearly everyone involved with higher education community engagement. But the concept is seldom defined and even more rarely treated as a problematic. First, an identifiable community is not generally the focus of the effort. The history of most higher education community engagement, particularly service-learning but also federal grant-based work in STEM fields (science, technology, engineering and math) has been in-large a history of individual students providing individual services to individual clients of schools and other non-profit service organizations. The bread and butter of service-learning, for instance – tutoring programs, after-school programs, literacy programs and the like – all tend to favor individuals and rarely turn their focus on the community as a whole. Second, and related, we rarely look beyond interventions with individuals to consider how the accumulation of effects on individuals may also change communities. So when we are working with individuals, we are rarely thinking about how our individual-level interventions may influence the communities of which they are a part, which may in turn influence the individuals.

What is needed, first, then, is a fundamental shift in how *community* is viewed within higher education. It is not that we need to 're-think'

community. We have good research and a robust literature focused on under-standing community (see Block, 2009; Bruhn, 2011) and even a subfield called community sociology. Instead, we need to 'pre-think' community – understanding the specific community we will be working with and how our engagement may affect it before we attempt to intervene.

To participate in improving our communities, we must think in much more sophisticated ways about both the abstract concept of community and real communities of identity and place. Community needs to be viewed as the collective and complex set of systems that it is. We will not attempt to provide a single comprehensive definition here, because the communities we encounter may be quite diverse. But we can lay out some dimensions of community of which we should all be aware.

First, communities are composed of people who interact with each other and know each other well enough that they can, to an extent, predict each other's behavior. The ability to predict each other's behavior is a foundation for trust, but is important more generally in communities where people may not like each other but at least have a good idea about how they will act.

Second, communities have agreed-upon boundaries that distinguish the people inside the community from those outside. Sometimes those bounda-ries are cultural, and usually they are geographic. They can be somewhat blurry – one person's boundaries of the neighborhood may not be strictly coterminous with everyone else's, but they are roughly the same (Bartle, 2007; Bruhn, 2011).

This is what makes it difficult to talk about, for example, a city as a commu-nity. A city's boundaries are created and maintained by government, and include people who can't even begin to predict each other's behavior, or do so inaccurately through bias and prejudice.

Beyond these two basic characteristics, we get into territory that moves beyond descriptive criteria to evaluative standards. For example, we may propose that 'stronger' communities are characterized by interdepend-ency, trust or collective self-sufficiency. Others may propose that stronger communities exhibit respect for diversity, inclusivity or unanimity (Bruhn, 2011; Block, 2009; Bartle, 2007; Putnam, 2000). When we move our higher education community engagement work beyond the individual level to the community level, we must confront these evaluative components of commu-nity because we will be contributing to moving the community toward one or more of those standards. In particular, because the communities of interest in higher education community engagement are often marginal in the sense that they lack resources and decisionmaking options pertaining to their issues of concern, we have a heightened responsibility to consider the effects of our engagement.

This paper, then, is about how to shift our higher education community engagement work with such communities away from an individual approach and toward a community development approach, in both a theoretical and a practical sense.
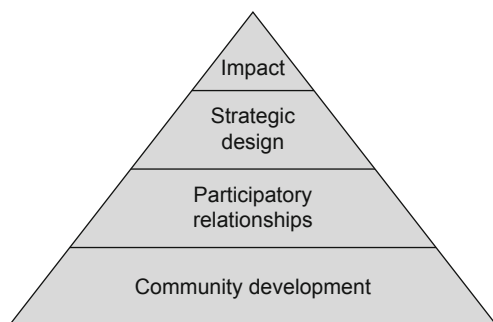
Figure 7.1   The Community Impact Pyramid

The community impact pyramid

Pyramids are structures that have been associated with power from the beginning of recorded history. Their endurance over time rests on the stability of their design. The peak of the pyramid – the ultimate achievement, is only possible because of the strength of the base. And the 'taller' the achievement we want, the broader and more stable the base must be. This is a fitting structure from which to reconsider higher education community engagement. From a broad and strong base of community development principles and practices, to the participatory relationships that must be in place to implement those principles, grow strategic designs that achieve crucial changes in communities. This may be an unusual way to think about our community engagement practices, so it deserves some explanation.

Community development as base

What is community development, and why does it provide the base of the pyramid? Community development has a long history in the U.S. and globally. For many it has a negative connotation because it is associated with post WWII top-down development imposed by the global north on the global south (Easterly, 2006; Schumacher, 1973). However, more recently the term has been reclaimed by those promoting grass-roots self-determination using community-led and community-scale interventions globally (Green and Haines, 2001). Such definitions go well beyond a common definition in the U.S. that associates community development with housing development or local business development. Those acting locally and thinking globally work from a much more comprehensive definition of community development that includes community processes as inseparable from physical development processes (Kenny, 2001, 1994).

We use such a comprehensive definition in our practice. Community development is a set of principles and practices for changing communities. Any issue you can imagine in a typical community – safety, education,

Figure 7.2   The people with the issue

poverty, justice and many others – provides the basis for the community development approach. Community development workers help people solve collective problems from getting clean water to building new housing to starting new businesses.

What is most important about the work of community development, however, is that it treats the community as a social system embedded in other systems. Working in the community, then, means working with the community as a system. And that means understanding the concepts of community and community power structures. We begin by asking who is in the community – is it an urban neighborhood, a rural area, an identity group, people who share a problem? Who has more power and less power in that community? What are the factions in the community? What is the community culture? Who has power outside the community that can be used for good or evil? It is important to understand that, except in rare cases, the teachers who want the kids to read better, or the social workers who want the poor people to eat better, or the city officials who want youth to stop shooting at each other, are not the community in the sense that they are usually not directly experiencing the issue. The kids, the undernourished and the people living where shots are being fired are the communities in these cases. The social workers might be a community, if they are trying to solve their own problems, but not when they are trying to solve someone else's problem. The community consists of the people whose lives are directly affected by the issues at hand, and the community organizations that they

control. Interacting with these people are outsider organizations – educational organizations, service organizations, funders and others controlled by those outside of that very specific community. Some of those outsider organizations may have bridge people – those who come from the community and work for that outsider organization but do not control the organization (Stoecker, 2013). All of these outsiders are certainly worth engaging along with all the other people from the outside who want to help, but the perspective of community development requires that the people who are actually experiencing the problem play a leadership role in resolving the problem.

Making a commitment to build the collective power of marginalized people is not an easy thing to do in our society. In U.S. culture we like to see everyone as one big happy family where the mayor and the banker can sit down with the neighborhood resident and solve problems, rather than seeing society as divided into haves and have nots. Especially in rural villages, people like to think of everyone in the village as belonging to the community whether they are an owner or a worker. But until the resident is organized with other residents in a community, they will always have less power than the mayor and the banker.

It is also not the case that everyone who may be part of a community is equally marginalized, especially in relation to higher education community engagement. Graduate students, who might be viewed as 'outsiders' due to their affiliation with an outsider higher education organization, may have purchased homes in neighborhoods attempting to address issues of deteriorating housing, lack of transportation, crime, even hunger. They could be active members of neighborhood organzations interested in community impact. A faculty member may be a member of a religious group that has been blatantly, even illegally, discriminated against through local policies and is, with her community, championing a change in those institutionalized forces. Gay undergraduates may find alliances with transgendered youth who are homeless.

A community development perspective, while it operates with an understanding of systems and an eye to shifting power within systems to empower those who have been marginalized, also takes into account these complexities. But the focus on power inequality is central, and it requires those working from that perspective to not reproduce power inequality while trying to help. Thus, those working from a community development perspective do not build houses *for* people. They do not dole out individual services *to* individuals. They do not collaborate with government or business to impose solutions *on* people. They instead engage with the members of the community in organizing themselves to determine what issues they want to take on, to collectively develop plans and strategies for tackling those issues, and then they often participate in the actual work (Rubin and Rubin, 2007). We are emphasizing a form of community development that

builds the leadership and power of those who have been most excluded and are the most vulnerable. This is most similar to various community organizing approaches that grow from the work of Saul Alinsky (1969, 1971).

The practical framework of community development often involves a community development worker, usually a community organizer, bringing community members together to talk about their community.[1] Community members talk about what they like about their community, what they don't like, what they want to strengthen and what they want to change. The community organizer then works with community members to develop clear goals specifying what they want to change, and then to gather the resources to achieve those goals. Those resources might involve money, or materials, or even political power, depending on what the goals are. And the ultimate goal is not to simply meet those goals, but to build the capacity of the community to then move on to other, perhaps even more difficult goals (Minieri and Getsos, 2007; Staples, 2004; Sen, 2003). The story of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston describes such an expansion from basic issues of safety and health to an entire neighborhood development process (Medoff and Sklar, 1999). Such an effort is long-term, and it rarely involves a single organization. Serious community development creates new democratic organizations led by community residents and supported by a wide array of other players. It tackles multiple community issues, shifting strategy over time as some issues are addressed and new ones arise.

A community development approach to higher education community engagement, then, starts with understanding the roles that university or college resources play in a community development process. First, and most importantly, university or college personnel do not play a leadership role.[2] They do not choose the issues, timeframe or topics. Second, the commitment is not to an organization but to the community development process. This principle differs from dominant models of higher education community engagement that insist on a long-term commitment to an organization or that work with groups where the main constituents are not from marginalized communities. In higher education community development engagement, the university's commitment is to assist in the accomplishment of particular projects determined by the community development process. That requires people at the university or college who can seek out and mobilize the expertise needed for particular projects. The university or college should not think of itself as supplying all the expertise needed for projects. There are many other sources of support out there. So university or college personnel have to be able to assess what they can provide and find ways to make those resources available.

When we make the conceptual shift away from higher education community engagement models like service-learning that focus on individuals serving individuals and toward a community development model, we begin to see the damage that the individualist model can do. Giving services to

individuals risks breaking their existing network bonds by changing the power and skill levels of community members randomly. As some members of the community receive services, and maybe then get better jobs, they accumulate both the means and the motivation to leave the community that is not improving along with them. Consequently, while the individual received help, the community as a whole was harmed because individuals with growing skills and talents left the community. Additionally, simply providing services to individuals risks disempowering them by reinforcing a message that outside intervention is both a necessary condition and a sufficient one to succeed. Effective higher education community engagement will support community members to develop their collective capacity to solve their own problems with minimual outsider assistance.

Whether we might be an educational specialist, a biologist, a political scientist or a recreation studies professor, we can, and we would argue must, attend to these community development issues. When we send our students 'into the community,' what they do will reverberate through that community system, and we have responsibility for those consequences. So we must understand the community and its power dynamics before we act. Not knowing the community and the risks of uninformed interventions beforehand can easily lead us to do more harm than good. We could send students out to test the water in the creek, but if they find it is full of pollutants, will the homeowners who live along the creek be thankful to learn they are being poisoned or will they be worried that our community engagement will wreck their property values? Will the residents who fish the creek, partly because they are too poor to pay for food, be able to find another option for sustenance? We could send students into a neighborhood of Hmong and Mexican immigrants – a neighborhood of potentially two communities – to teach English, but what if they only work with the Mexican residents because the course sponsoring those students is from the Spanish department? What happens to the power structure in the community as one group of residents develops English speaking skills while another group is excluded from such services? Does the chance for interethnic conflict in the community increase?

When we begin thinking about higher education community engagement as community development, then, we draw on a set of principles very different from service learning and even community-based research that has been so often promoted in colleges and universities. In higher education community development engagement, following the principles of the Community Development Society (2012), community members themselves choose the issues and design the programs, with support from university and college resources. This is in contrast with a usual practice of plugging students into programs designed by outsider service organizations. In fact, strictly following community development principles means that we can't partner with programs that are being imposed on the community without

community members' leadership. Members of marginalized communities may have been marginalized from decent education. Faculty, students and staff who have had the privilege of this form of knowledge may be able to assist community members in understanding their own community and how marginalization, oppression, exploitation and other social system flaws affect them so they can do effective program design. Even so, students and professors ought not assume they know what is happening and can just 'transfer' that information to community members. Instead what is needed is a form of popular education (Freire, 2007, 2002) where residents themselves lead the learning process, since building the leadership capacity of residents is another core principle of community development. Finally, and most importantly, professors and students cannot avoid politics when working with communities. When it becomes clear that governments and corporations are doing harm to a community we are working with, we can support community members in fighting those wrongs. And when we are truly successful in our efforts, the community can continue to build its capacity from within.

As we can see, this approach completely shifts the locus of higher education community engagement. Now, instead of asking what volunteer experience I, as a professor, can find for the students in my course to help them better learn the course content, I start by asking community members what issues exist in this community that my students and I can contribute our efforts to tackling. If the community is organizing to improve its housing, then I need to focus on contributing to housing development. If the community is organizing to reduce crime, then the focus is on supporting that effort. The support might involve research or service-learning or even technical assistance, but it will be in the service of the community development goals. But before we even ask that question, and long before we send our students out to act, we first have to build or assure our part in the community relationships from which we can get honest answers and maximum participation.

Participatory relationships

Successful community development, because it is a long-term process requiring a variety of players engaged in participatory democratic practice to develop goals and programs collectively, requires strong working relationships. Once we understand that, the rest falls into place. The community development model treats the community as a whole – and remember that can be a small group of people with a shared issue, but is not a group of people doing something for someone else. In doing so, the first task is building relationships across the community. It might be useful to start developing these relationships by exploring trial projects, keeping in mind that these should be developed with community members so that the focus on community goals is not lost.
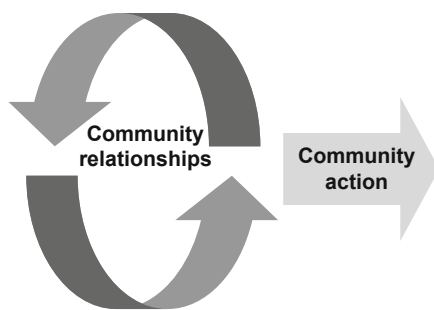
Figure 7.3   Community relationships

It is important to understand here that we are not talking about building personal relationships (Keddy, 1997). Community organizers talk about building *public relationships* – people trust each other enough to work together toward common goals and hold each other accountable for that work. We are also not necessarily talking about students being involved in these relationships. Students often have fleeting and minimal contact with communities, and as much as they want to leave the experience feeling like they have made friends in a community, if they are not going to keep working in the community after the class is over, then building such relationships might do more harm than good, leaving community members even more cynical about outsiders.

A little bit of homework will help us find groups, ideally community-controlled groups, with which we think we may have some compatibility. For those who are trained in community development, or the more specific skill of community organizing, it may be possible to identify a group of people who are not yet a community, but have a common issue, and work with them to build their own relationships as well. In some cases an academic may be a member of the community in question. In poor rural villages the professor is just as likely to be living among an entire community that has been impacted by capitalist disinvestment and government neglect. In community-based membership organizations the academic may be a participating member alongside others. How to participate, and support participation of others in such situations, can be thorny. First is the challenge of separating or integrating one's community role from one's professional role. If you are paid by the university expecting you to publish articles in refereed journals, and a member of an organization expecting you to keep organizational secrets, it can be difficult to reconcile the conflicting expectations. Second is the challenge of considering your possible privileges in relation to other group members. Those of us who are privileged by race, class, status and gender may technically be members of communities with others who

are marginalized by differences along those same concepts. What is our role as both stakeholding members in those communities and otherwise privileged in relation to other members? We do not have definitive answers for those difficult issues except to emphasize our need for awareness of them. We will speak here primarily about those academics who engage with communities as professional academics through their professional role.

As academics approach, or are approached by, communities wanting to develop, the process of participatory relationship building begins with a conversation – finding out what an organized group in a community is trying to accomplish. Some community organizers call this a one-to-one or a relational meeting (Chambers and Cowan, 2004). A one-to-one conversation is about getting to know people in the community context – what do they like about their community, what do they dislike about it, what do they do in the community, what would they like to change about their community. For those of us in higher education, as we engage in the conversation, we start listening for places where our skills may be of value. If I am an education professor and someone says 'we really need better schools here' my ears start to perk up. If I am a political scientist and someone says 'if we only had a better council member…' my wheels start turning. And I start focusing my questions – finding out more about that issue.

One such interview usually isn't enough. While one person may really care about the schools, maybe no one else does. Finding a good issue to work on can be a long and arduous process.

The easier path is to look for groups already working on an issue. But this has its own challenges associated with it. Regrettably, social service agencies are often no better than academic institutions at engaging with communities in ways that empower community members *as a collective.* Coalitions often hold the greatest promise because they frequently include at least one group actually controlled by the constituency being targeted. Here the one-to-one interview can be with an entire group.

Beware, however, that most of these groups are not looking for the academics' advice. Too many academics enter such meetings thinking they are going to tell people what they should eat, or who they should vote for, or otherwise unload their book expertise on them. Such an approach is a non-starter. What people want is our walk, not our talk. They want to know how good our listening skills are, and whether we can deliver on what they say they want, rather than on what we say they should want. The kinds of questions that best elicit such things are questions asking people about what they are doing, what is working for them, what is not working for them, where they think they are heading, what capacity gaps they are experiencing. Questions are always better than answers at relationship-building.

Those participatory relationships then form the basis for trial projects. These will be small and focused actions. They will not be about sending students out to fill volunteer hours, but will focus on accomplishing an

actual goal that the community has defined. Such projects, do-able in a single term, allow everyone to test the developing relationship without risking too many of their own resources. This model is now being called project-based service-learning (Chamberlain, 2003; Coyle et al., 2005; Draper, 2004).

It is worth pointing out here that we are not talking about the students maintaining these relationships. This is about the relationship work that the faculty and administrators or other higher education staff, such as community-based research staff, need to do. Among the complaints that our community partners are most vocal about is the absence of relationships with faculty (Sandy and Holland, 2006; Blouin and Perry, 2009; Stoecker and Tryon, 2009). If the most we can muster is to send some anonymous students out to ask for volunteer work without ever showing up ourselves, many community groups migh prefer that we keep our students in the classroom.

The intractible challenges facing the communities that we should be working with will not be solved in a single term. A single term project can be a value to the community, but the true potential of community development can only be realized when it is a longer-term strategy. It is one thing to pull away if the initial project fails. But if it succeeds, then the principles of community development say that you should be prepared to commit for the long haul. A long-term commitment is not always required, especially if the community development project is being fully managed and led by others who just need some short-term research or technical assistance support. But if the academic starts off being central to the project, then he or she will probably remain so and need to follow through on that commitment. This is where it is important to understand and engage in strategic design.

Strategic design

The concept of strategic planning has crept into higher education in recent years. In the case of communities trying to overcome the external causes and internal effects of oppression and exploitation, however, and in a community development context, the ideal process takes on a much more participatory and flexible character.

In recent years, people have advocated various approaches to strategic design, including logic models (Kellogg Foundation, 2004) evidence-based practice (Rubin, 2008; Grinnel and Unrau, 2011) and contribution analysis (Kotvojs and Shrimpton, 2007). While we agree with some of the logic of logic models, their imposition on communities has usually resulted in community members seeing them as a set of boxes to be filled in, rather than a plan to be developed. Furthermore, those complex logic models often get ignored as soon as the first unpredicted program event occurs. A good strategic design process is much simpler, much more flexible and much more alive (University of Wisconsin Extension 2008). Evidence-based practice too easily ignores the reality that evidence gathered in one place

does not necessarily apply in another place. And when the evidence is gathered from lots of places, effectiveness is fallaciously determined through a process of regression to the mean. In other words, we get an 'average' intervention design that applies to no place, rather than one that is linked specifically to a particular kind of place (see Shdaimah et al., 2011). Contribution analysis might be promising at drawing out the contribution of a particular project to a community outcome. However, it doesn't capture other elements needed in a strategic planning process, such as goal setting. Logic models, evidence-based practice and contribution analysis are better thought of as specific tools that can be adapted in a strategic design process.

In typical higher education community engagement, there is little to no emphasis on strategic design using a participatory process and focusing on community development objectives. When we take strategic design seriously, a professor's course or research project takes a back seat for the moment and the focus is on the community issue. What does the community want to change? What does it need to accomplish the change? What help is needed from outsiders? What help can the higher education institution provide? What help can other outsiders provide?

These questions invoke a strategic planning process. This does not have to be a full-scale strategic planning process that charts a course years into the future and can take months to do (see Bryson, 2011), but more of a focused strategic design process. It can in fact be limited to simply plotting the course of a single project. The important thing is for the group engaging in the project to understand what impacts it wants for its community, what concrete goals they need to set to achieve those impacts and what strategies they need to use to achieve those goals.

To some extent it is in the strategic design process where academics can help the most because engaging in strategic design invokes a demand for data and knowledge to build that design upon. While academics may not be able to organize communities, or build organizations, or any of the other crucial tasks involved in building community power, they can help with data and knowledge. Most communities, even when they have the skills, lack the capacity to do all the research necessary to make effective strategic design decisions. Skilled researchers, in contrast, make up a good number of higher education faculty and staff.

Community members also have expertise to give in this process. In good Community-Based Research (CBR), for example, community members are often the ones to determine elements of the research design such as whether and when to use focus groups or surveys to gather information, how to formulate questions to best get at the information sought, and who to reach out to. For the process to be participatory, this community members' expertise becomes as important as the academics.'

There are at least three crucial places where research is needed in a community design process (Stoecker, 2013). The first place is in diagnosing
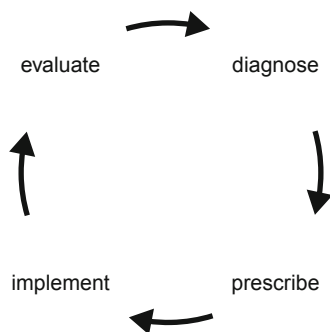
Figure 7.4   Evaluate, diagnose, prescribe, implement

a community issue. The community says it has a youth crime problem. How much crime is there? Of what kinds? Who are being affected? At what times? With what consequences? Answering such questions – providing an effective diagnosis – is crucial for the next research step. That next step is coming up with a prescription. If the crime is after school, then that involves a different potential set of interventions than if it is late at night. But, in either case, the community needs to gather information on possible strategies for addressing the situation and having criteria for choosing a strategy to try.

Once the group has designed its prescription, it needs to find the resources to put it into play. Ideally, the design of the prescription should take into account the resource environment, but even when it does, those resources still have to be mobilized. It is in this part of the strategic design process where the difference between an academic-driven process and a community-driven process is most apparent. An academic-driven process asks only what I can do with my course or to publish the results of my research. A community-driven process asks what parts of what outside agencies and institutions are needed to accomplish the community goals. It is likely that the community will need multiple parts of the higher education institution through the life-cycle of the project. Some groups of students can help with the diagnostic research, others with the prescription research. Other students may contribute their labor as service learners to the actual implementation. And yet others can assist with the third crucial research need – the evaluation.

The most important part of strategic design is building in a feedback process to know quickly and frequently whether the project is moving toward or from its goals. To learn whether the project is moving toward or away from its goals, evaluation is essential. Note, though, that while evaluation is important in this sense, it is not important as an end in itself. If the goal is community change, then the evaluation should help achieve

the change, not just find out whether any has occurred. This means that the evaluation starts when the action starts, so that it can be helpful all along the way. It also means, therefore, that the results of the evaluation are continually fed back into whatever projects or action plans are underway.

Community impacts

The top of the pyramid is community impact – stronger, safer, more powerful, happier communities of people. This is a long-term goal. This is not something that can be accomplished by one course or one project or in one semester.

To understand community impact it helps to distinguish among a few concepts along a timeline. In evaluation methodology (Patton, 1997), volunteer work that students accomplish is an output, not an impact. The work should involve a strategy that can be directed toward an impact, and ideally does, but it is not in itself an impact. The strategy is most meaningful if involved students are being deployed consistent with a strategic design that indicates what they are supposed to accomplish. The accomplishments we call outcomes are specific documentable changes in the community. These happen a little further on in time and are ideally the result of the output activities of service learning or community-based research that should be designed specifically to achieve outcomes. Impacts are the accumulated consequences of the outcomes, the longest-term results of the community development process. A restorative justice program for youth that students help set up is an output. If that program results in a reduction in the local youth crime rate, that reduction in crime is an outcome. And while it's always worth hoping that the outcome will be immediate, it likely does not happen in the first semester of the students' engagement. The impacts are hopefully the stronger relationships and happier community that result from the reduction in the local crime rate caused by various crime diminishing strategies (Beckman et al., 2011). Obviously, that takes even longer than achieving focused outcomes.

Achieving such impacts is an ongoing, coordinated, year-round, long-term team effort. Success may be maximized if the community or some core of the community undertaking the endeavor makes an explicit commitment to sustained work, perhaps 3–5 years, and the commitment involves ongoing assessment of the efforts and revisions of activities. Whatever projects are underway, their focus toward the goal should be reviewed and revised regularly.

An example in progress: food security coalition

No undertaking will perfectly match the conceptual framework discussed above. We will next briefly describe, however, an initiative that is attempting

to follow a framework closely aligned with what we have presented here (Beckman et al., 2011).

Several years ago, residents of a South Bend, Indiana, neighborhood situated in the middle of a food desert near the University of Notre Dame began a food co-op. The neighborhood can be described as multi-generational, made up mostly of renters and transient people. It borders a predominantly African American community on one side, and a heavily Latino section of the city on another. Residents of two Catholic Worker houses (Day, 1952), ordinary neighborhood dwellings where people who are homeless or in transition can live for as long as they like, joined with nearby neighbors to discuss worries about their lack of access to food. One participant in the conversation, who is both a resident of the Catholic Worker community and a Notre Dame faculty member, designed an undergraduate university course in response to this concern. With the endorsement of her involved neighbors, her students conducted a survey to find out what concerns other area residents had about the food supply. The survey showed that area residents were distressed by the distance they had to travel to obtain food, food prices and especially about their lack of access to fresh produce. Residents of the Catholic Worker and other area residents who had been part of original conversations or who wanted to be involved after the student survey subsequently decided to form a food co-op.

The group planning the co-op took on many activities to further their plan. They sought funds from the Notre Dame Center for Social Concerns, the university's community engagement center, so that the group might evaluate the co-op after it had been up and running for a time and study the contribution of the co-op to the health of members. Staff members at the university center who received their request for funding were already involved in a number of food-related efforts, including a coalition that was operating across the city from the Catholic Worker and wanted to support this new initiative. They asked the leaders of the co-op effort if they would be willing to pull together a large coalition of organizations and individuals already dealing with food issues in the geographic area. The center offered staff support, trained in group facilitation, evaluation, research and concept mapping, to help form the coalition, determine a goal and engage in ongoing evaluation and revision of plans over a 3–5 years period. The center also offered support, in the form of funds and the assistance of a university researcher, for research related to the endeavor, as originally requested by the co-op group. The co-op accepted the center's offer of participation.

Individuals involved in the co-op and the university center's staff formed the coalition through personal outreach. Attendance at meetings ebbs and flows, with a regular core of about five individuals who attend all the meetings and 35 self-identified members. Ten to 15 are residents of the co-op neighborhood who have no other affiliation related to the enterprise. The

rest are staff of various organizations including several higher education institutions, two organic farms, a community garden and a food bank.

It took a year for the group to identify a goal. The goal is to achieve an improvement in food security in the city by 2015. The group arrived at the goal through a concept mapping process that enabled members to get to know one another while identifying priorities in light of what they determined to be feasible. Objectives emerged from the intersection of priorities and feasibility, and individual members and groups either took on activities to further the objective areas or were able to note the alignment of what they were already doing with these priorities of the coalition.

Education or awareness raising is an example of one priority area the coalition identified. Various members of the co-op took on or continued activities such as offering canning classes, cooking instruction and an awareness campaign. The coalition as a whole planned a city-wide 'transitions gathering,' based on the international transitions movement.[3] To further their own education, members of the coalition have attended lectures on sustainability and other related topics, offered by local organizations including area universities, and have shared what they've learned with coalition members. Connections are made regularly that lead to improvements in food security. For example, at one meeting, communications among members resulted in several of them reaching out to farms in the area, to see if those farms would provide food regularly to area food banks, which they did. This outcome flowed from a coalition objective around infrastructure, which pertained primarily to transportation concerns.

Students from Notre Dame and one other local university have conducted several community-based research projects in support of this overall effort. For example, students in one course worked with the board of the co-op to develop a survey of co-op members, to learn, for example, members' views on the types and prices of foods provided. The local university research unit analyzed the data, and the co-op is using the information to improve their services.

Next year, the coalition plans to return to the original concept map and report on the ways in which activities have fulfilled objectives. Members of the coalition will talk together about the extent to which their efforts are on track toward the goal, and will revise the goal and objectives in light of what the first two years of the coalition have shown them.

This case illustrates many of the principles of a community development model of higher education. First, this case is about a group of community organizations and individuals coming together to address the broader issue of food security in South Bend. One large community development project, the food co-op, emerged out of this initial community-based effort. Higher education resources then helped build participatory relationships by bringing people together around that and later efforts to connect local farmers and food banks, and in providing targeted research support

to further the goals of the co-op and the other coalition activities. In this particular case, some of that support comes in the way of funding. Actors bring strategic design into the process through the concept mapping and other planning processes that develop the coalition's goal and then specific activities designed to meet the goal. And, in this case, the strategic design process continues as the coalition prepares to revisit the concept map and its plan in the coming year. Finally, this effort is already seeing outcomes in the form of a new food co-op and increased availability of local food in area food banks. It is even possible that broader impacts are occurring in people's health and in strengthened community relationships between farmers and service providers, though those have not been fully documented as yet.[4]

More to do … .

As university and college educators and staff, we engage in service in our local communities. We do research that assists area non-profits. We ask students to contribute to community organizations in ways that are respectful of off-campus partners and make positive contributions.

Generally, our efforts are individually meaningful. They enable children to read better, those with physical disabilities to reach health clinics and individuals in jail to get their GED (e.g. secondary school equivalency certificate).

Yet our efforts along these lines are disparate. They do not necessarily lead to changes that get at root causes, such as the problems with the school system or the lack of decent jobs for parents that result in children needing extra help with school work. Furthermore, they can disrupt communities by improving the lives of some who then leave the community, leaving the community with fewer, not more, assets.

What we are attempting to describe here is an evolving framework for getting at those deeper causes. Doing so does not mean that our students won't tutor children in reading or prisoners in high school math. But if they do, it will be as part of an integrated broader strategy to address the deeper and intersecting issues in our schools and communities. Teachers and students alike would be able to have confidence that the service they are doing is not only helping individuals but is assisting a larger effort to improve the collective situation for all those affected by the issue. And that may mean doing tutoring in a very different way.

We believe this work can be successful, however slow it is and however foggy its path may be, because many voices, and especially grass-roots community voices, will be in the process collaboratively determining goals, evaluating, redirecting and addressing the large and small issues along the way. The many voices support a solidarity among those at all levels of privilege and provide the variety of skills and sensibilities needed to sustain the vision.

This approach shifts the orientation of higher education community engagement from one that is driven by the campus, its needs and its self-understanding, toward one that sees the higher education institution as one player, and not even the primary player, in a broad-based effort for change led by a community constituency. The involvement of faculty and students follows a community-led direction, of which the university community is only one participant. Student and faculty involvement occur in response to the agenda identified by either the community constituency or a broader coalition including them, rather than by a faculty member's curricular or scholarship interests, students' resume or educational tourism interests, or the institution's interest to make a surrounding neighborhood attractive to faculty or students. Done well, supporting a community- or coalition-driven agenda should also serve such faculty, student and institutional interests, but will also require those actors to be flexible in defining those interests.

Is the approach practical? All this may sound daunting, and it is clearly a challenging process. It may seem entirely impractical to ask higher education faculty, staff and students to become part of such a process. And yet, both of us and an increasing number of others have done exactly that – worked with a community year-round, guiding students into specific parts of a larger project through courses, independent studies and even the occasional paid position. But the point is about thinking differently, thinking about a community-driven, system-oriented approach versus a campus-driven, individual-oriented one; thinking of larger, longer-term action, done in a highly participatory manner that involves ongoing evaluation and redirection.

When such an approach is driven by strong community constituency leadership and skilled community workers such as community organizers, it is actually very practical. Faculty and students in such contexts do not, and should not, take responsibility for achieving community development outcomes and impacts. They are only responsible for fulfilling specialized roles in the larger project. Rather than committing to never-ending volunteer recruitment, they can focus on conducting the community survey, or testing the paint for lead, or training the high school students in mediation.

One of the accepted best practices in service learning is for faculty to make long-term commitments to single community agencies, supplying 'volunteer' students on an ongoing basis. Some faculty cannot imagine themselves making such a long-term commitment when the courses they teach may change from year to year. Such a commitment is not necessary in our model. In the community development model, the most useful role for faculty and students is in providing very specific expertise. Faculty and students can't be responsible for the community development process; in essence, it is not theirs to manage. So instead they engage in requested pieces of specific projects. Such engagement can be as small as helping a community design a survey or even being part of a park clean-up that the survey says is important to residents.

This model can be supported well when there is someone from the university environment maintaining an ongoing relationship with the overall community development process. This person is then able to guide faculty members and other university resources toward projects in which they and their students can make contributions that will assist in the effort, such as the survey or the park clean-up. This would best be a person or persons who can, then, easily access the relevant parts of the institution. It would also ideally be someone who has a kind of educational background that enables him or her to understand well the value and types of academic resources that can be brought to the community development effort: research skills, student labor power as learners and certain types of information content and teaching. The efforts we are considering here are not primarily about the university purchasing real estate, for example, or employing community members in construction projects; they are about scholarship and student learning, and, most importantly, about linking academic expertise with community agendas, agendas that belong most pointedly to those who have inadequate access to the conditions and resources that are needed to sustain human dignity.

Still, there are practical challenges. Some communities do not have community workers who can manage the relationship-building, organizational development and other community empowerment tasks. Should academics even venture into such communities? It is, to some extent, an odd question. As academics we have a respect approaching religious fervor for narrow forms of intellectual expertise. So why would we think that community work is not also a crucial form of expertise that should not be handled by those with no training? Indeed, if you are not trained in any kind of community work and have no access to someone who is, it does not seem wise to send either ourselves or our students out to be involved in this work. As the tide toward higher education community engagement continues to rise, it seems that those of us engaging in the practice should be sure we are at least minimally trained in the basics of community work. Also, higher education institutions could support the hiring of such community workers in neighborhoods they target for their own intervention. This has to be done with care of course, as it is hardly ethical for a university to hire a community organizer to work with residents who may end up making demands on the university or where the university is actually intending to further a particular agenda of its own. The university could instead provide funding support for constituency-controlled groups that can do the actual hiring.

There are, ultimately, two kinds of changes that must be made for a community development model of higher education community engagement to work. The first is a shift in attitude among faculty, staff and students to allow learning and research agendas to be guided by a community development framework. That means designing courses and research projects around the interests of specific organizations or groups. And this is happening through many university community engagement initiatives, in

particular in community-based research courses and programs. Moreover, it means assuring that the insertion of student and faculty contributions align with larger movements for positive social change involving those who lack access to respectable jobs, education, food and health care. Responding to the request from a homeless center for research that will help it evaluate a program, for example, is not in itself enough if it is a one-shot student project that is not clearly linked to a strategic design being fulfilled over time toward a long-term goal or, in the other ways discussed herein, incorporating the building blocks of the pyramid.

The second kind of change is for institutions of higher learning to change their own priorities to allow this to happen. Faculty need to be given more flexibility for their course loads to custom-design classes that serve community-based projects. Coordinators, on the university or college side, need to be available to communities to bring appropriate resources to community development projects. And, in cases where there is no community worker available to a targeted community, the higher education institution needs to provide resources for such expertise.

There are some institutions using pieces of this model, such as Pitzer College (2012) and the University of Denver (Whitcher et al., 2009–10). They are supporting community organizing and then inviting faculty and students to the issues that get generated by the community organizing. Randy Stoecker's position at the University of Wisconsin, which combines a tenure-track faculty line with a university Extension position, allows him the flexibility to custom-design courses that support specific community development efforts. Notre Dame's Center for Social Concerns has been exploring this approach for a number of years, as described in the case included above. It is not impossible. We hope that it will become more and more probable.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was supported by funding from Campus Compact and posted on the Campus Compact website. It is used here with permission.The field of community organizing, and the role of the community organizer, was probably best defined by Saul Alinsky (1969, 1971). A community organizer specializes in bringing people together to realize their common interests, understand the power structures that prevent the realization of those interests, and then build organizations and use strategies to change the structures. A community organizer may or may not be a member of the community. He or she might be a bridge person or member of an outsider organization. Within the fields of community organizing and development there is extensive debate on whether the organizer can or should be an outsider to the community with some arguing that insiders will have difficulty distinguishing the leader role from the organizer role and others arguing that the outsider will have difficulty gaining legitimacy.
2. Unless they are members of the community, where they may play a leadership role as a resident. Even in these cases, however, the situation is complicated, and we will address this in the next section.

3. 'The Transition Movement is a vibrant, grassroots movement that seeks to build community resilience in the face of such challenges as peak oil, climate change and the economic crisis. It represents one of the most promising ways of engaging people in strengthening their communities against the effects of these challenges, resulting in a life that is more abundant, fulfilling, equitable and socially connected' (http://www.transitionus.org/about-us). One of the major issues of concern in this movement is food security.

4. We thank Naomi Penney and Margie Pfeil for their roles in the co-op and coalition efforts described herein and for allowing us to share part of their story.

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Part II
Policy Environments

8

The Relevance of Higher Education in Slovenia for Creating Virtuous Citizens and a Working Democracy: An Underexploited Source?

Tomaž Deželan and Alem Maksuti

Introduction

In the past decade, vibrant electoral activity has been witnessed. Although the results have been unpredictable, the most astonishing and disturbing result is the constant decline in voter turnout. A decrease in voter turnout has been recorded with every election, regardless of the level for which representatives are being chosen, the importance of the arena and the level of contestation. According to the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Slovenia (2010), turnout levels have reached an all-time low for all types of elections, the lowest of which was 28 percent at the European Parliament elections in 2009. Although second-order political arenas tend to suffer low turnout levels by definition (Norris, 1997), this does not suffice to explain the rapidly decreasing trend and how it does not depend on the type of elections involved. The reasons lie elsewhere and, apart from structural processes of democratic consolidation which denote a major shift from a socialist self-management structure with one-party rule to market capitalism with democratic pluralism, they also include the level of virtuous citizenry in the country. Namely, it is not only electoral turnout levels that are alarming. On the contrary, levels of civic engagement are negligible, voluntarism is weak, and even the self-perception of civil society's morality is highly distressing (Rakar et al., 2010).

Paradoxically, it is the local activism and politics of the ancient *demes* that served as the primary tool for citizens to acquire sufficient political knowledge to act publicly in a competent manner. Today, we are facing the reverse process since we are trying to educate people in order for them to be able to fully participate in the political community and society as a whole. Putting the vast differences between ancient participatory and contemporary

representative politics to one side, a competent and virtuous citizen is an imperative for every functioning political system that moves beyond the mere need for regime legitimation. One of the fundamental preconditions of every functioning democracy is the substantial trust of competent, virtuous and critical citizens. Democratic systems depend entirely on the legitimacy and universal acceptance of rules that primarily enable the resolution of conflicts within an individual society (Easton, 1979). Legitimacy facilitates the stability of a political regime in democratic systems (Lipset, 1963) and, while a potential legitimacy crisis in working democracies usually only involves a change of political authorities and not the regime as well, a long-term legitimacy crisis may seriously damage the foundations of democratic community. Nevertheless, attainment of the desired levels of legitimacy and stability in a democratic system is not always determined by the bad or good work of political authorities but by the quality of citizenship as well. To be precise, a different kind of citizenship regime presupposes a different kind of citizenry (Heater, 2004); for example, tyranny requires citizens with one overarching competence – to mobilize support for the tyrant – classical monarchic systems require passive and obedient citizens/subjects, and democracies require autonomous, equal, responsible, active and competent citizens. Such an Aristotelian understanding of the main function of citizenship – to match the state's system of government – has frequently been the *modus operandi* in conceptualizing citizenship education in a society.

In line with this reasoning, the seminal work of Almond and Verba (1963) establishes three pure types of political culture (parochial, subject and participant) that determine the civic culture of an individual political community. A democratic civic culture – a political culture in which political activity, involvement and rationality exists but are balanced with passivity, devotion to tradition and commitment to parochial values – is therefore inherent to virtuous citizenry integrated into a democratic political community; however, the conception of a good citizen is regime-specific regardless of it being democratic or not. Slovenia as a liberal democracy[1] is therefore in need of a different quality of citizenry to the one that was required under communist rule. Good citizens are no longer required to be submissive and supportive of the monist political elite but, on the contrary, they need to be critical guardians of the political community. The shift, even without acknowledging the requisite immense institutional redefinition of the political and economic system, is enormous and cannot be done by the citizens themselves. In order to attain the required levels of virtuous citizenry a process of political socialization has proven to be crucial (Hopf and Hopf, 1997) since it induces an individual into the political culture – an informal learning process by which individuals acquire knowledge and attitudes about political figures, processes and systems (Almond and Verba, 1963). The quality of citizenry is therefore determined by the process and the content of political socialization, which is a lifelong process (Greenstein,

1970), although Dreher and Dreher (1999) suggest the period of early adulthood is the most significant period for acquiring a sense of civicness.

When looking at the ancient Greek arrangements, it was already Machiavelli and Rousseau who identified the capacity of civic education and socialization by recognizing the potential of civic religions to form a strong link between the state and the citizen, as well as among citizens themselves (Heater, 2004, p. 129). Nevertheless, Condorcet (1982) was the one who ultimately paved the way for the recognition of education for democracy in terms of the modern state. As a result, citizenship education, regardless of its type, became the toolbox to shape the citizenry according to regime needs. It is the function of formal, non-formal and informal educational processes to provide the necessary tools for citizens to perform their roles in a competent manner. Regardless of socialization in or allocation outlook on citizenship education (Ichilov, 2003), educational attainment has been shown to have an important demographic effect on political attitudes (Almond and Verba, 1963, p. 379). In addition, Hoskins et al. (2008) demonstrate the positive correlation of formal education with active citizenship.

When looking at the age of early adulthood, universities play an important role in the political socialization and shaping of virtuous citizens. Several research findings (e.g. Hoskins et al., 2008, and more) stress the importance of higher education by indicating the increased political participation of individuals with a higher education compared to individuals with a lower educational attainment. In the latter case of those with less formal education (2008, p. 19), the statistically significant correlation with the composite indicator 'active citizenship' is especially interesting since the indicator includes the dimension of community life and democratic values. Bearing this in mind, it is important to examine the frequently overlooked role of tertiary education in shaping citizens since its importance has been confirmed perennially by a variety of different studies. Our study focuses on Slovenia since it presents an interesting case of a society that engaged in a process of a transition to a substantive democracy little more than two decades ago, that is heavily involved in the realignment of higher education according to the Bologna Declaration goals (1999) and that is suffering in terms of the civicness of its citizenry. The study analyzes the role of Slovenian higher education in citizenship education as well as its capacity by adopting a framework of four approaches to citizenship education (Ireland et al., 2006). As a result, we seek to address the frequently expressed belief that the Slovenian tertiary education system is neglecting its role in the shaping of democratic citizenship (for example, Zgaga, 2009; Štrajn, 1994; Rizman, 2010 and so on).

We continue our contribution by presenting the main theoretical grounds of the analysis and setting out the analytical tools applied during the course of the study. After explaining the theoretical rationale, an in-depth contextual background is presented since, without that, it would be impossible to comprehend the entire complexity of the citizenship education regime

in Slovenia. In the second part, the methodology applied is described and, based on it, the main research findings are put forward. We conclude with an overall observation of the tertiary education sector's role and potential in citizenship education, while pointing to its most visible drawbacks.

Theoretical framework

A vast amount of literature on citizenship, from liberalism with Rawls as a frontrunner to especially civic republicanism and communitarianism, is devoted to the creation of a virtuous citizen and his impact on a democratic society. In this fashion, Barber (1992) warns against empowerment of the uneducated since such a shift implies the rule of the mob and not democracy. According to Dewey (1916, p. 99), a democratic society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationship and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder. It is only then that society will make provision for participation in its good for all members and on equal terms, which should secure a flexible readjustment of its institutions through the interaction of different forms of associated life (ibid.). There are, however, two general paths to attain the desired personal qualities to provide for such a society. The first focuses on the participatory nature of citizenship and recognizes, as do a number of authors in the field of participatory democracy (for example, Mill, Pateman and so on), the non-instrumental view of politics. To be precise, politics is also seen as an end in itself since it provides for the transformation and education of participants (Elster, 2003). A good example of such a path is the ancient Athenian training in citizenship, which preceded the period of gaining full citizenship rights, as well as learning-through-levels, from the local *demes* to the level of the entire *polis*. Conversely, the second path focuses on education as a deliberate learning process to attain the knowledge needed to perform the role of a competent citizen.

In order to avoid the common misperception among political scientists and to subsume education under the concept of political socialization, Gutmann (1987, p. 15) cleverly distinguishes between the two on the basis of (un)conscious social reproduction. Such a duality conceptualizes the two abovementioned paths to competent citizenry, and puts forward the distinction between the perpetuation of societies and the conscious shaping of future democratic societies. Gutmann (ibid.) understands political socialization as unconscious social reproduction which includes processes that foster the transmission of political values, attitudes and modes of behavior to citizens in a democratic society. On the other hand, democratic education – conscious social reproduction – focuses on practices of deliberate instruction by individuals and on educative influences of institutions designed for educational purposes, and denotes the ways citizens are empowered to influence the education that, in turn, determines the political

values and behavior of future citizens. It is the centrality of schooling that frequently blurs the latter, thus making citizenship education fairly instrumental. On the other hand, it has to be noted that several authors question the feasibility of democratic control and shaping of education by citizens themselves (for example Kymlicka, 1995; Ichilov, 2003).

Somewhat differently to Gutmann, a political science definition of political socialization is presented by Dekker and Meyeberg (1991) who perceive the school as a part of a vast system of political socialization agents (family, school, church, mass media, peers, employment systems and political systems) that generate three types of actions: intentional direct political socialization, intentional indirect political socialization and non-intentional indirect political socialization. The first is achieved through school subjects and directly influences students' political knowledge, attitudes, skills and behavior. Intentional indirect political socialization involves the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes which are not in themselves political, but influence the subsequent political behavior of the individual, while non-intentional indirect political socialization involves informal learning from unintentional events that may in effect influence their political competence.

To overcome the distinction between democratic education and political socialization, which in effect put forward the ability of citizens to shape the attitudes, knowledge and behavior of future citizens, as well as the distinction between conscious and unconscious social reproduction, it is useful to employ Ichilov's (1994) definition of citizenship education. The author stresses that it refers to institutionalized forms of political knowledge acquisition that take place within formal educational frameworks and informal frameworks. In addition, Ichilov (2003, p. 645) distinguishes between *specific* citizenship education that proceeds through curricular and extracurricular school activities as well as the hidden curriculum, and *diffuse* citizenship education that refers to educational attainment in general. If we focus on the schooling component of citizenship education and limit our attention to this specific type, we may point out three forms of curricular provisions for citizenship education (Birzea, 2000, p. 43): the formal curriculum, non-formal curriculum and informal curriculum. Thus, in line with three traditional components of education (formal, non-formal and informal), curricular provisions explain the complex variety of learning experiences connected with schooling. The form of formal curricular provisions provide for separate subjects, integrated approaches or cross-curricular themes. Non-formal curricular provisions include extra-, co-, or out-of-school activities connected to the formal curriculum, while informal curricular provisions include a hidden curriculum (non-academic learning, organizational culture and interpersonal arrangements, and unconscious, unplanned and unintended educational influence [Gordon, 1982]) that takes place in the school environment (Birzea, 2000, p. 45).

When talking about citizenship education, in addition to *how* it is also necessary to explain *what* is socially reproduced, and *to what effect*. In terms of *what* is socially reproduced, Crick (1998) recognizes three separate but interrelated strands that have to be replicated in order for citizenship education to be considered effective. The first strand is social and moral responsibility, an essential precondition for the other two strands, which implies the learning of self-confidence and socially as well as morally acceptable behavior in and beyond the classroom vis-à-vis authority and peers. The second strand implies community involvement which refers to becoming helpfully involved in the life of the community, including learning through community involvement and service to the community. The third strand is political literacy which describes learning about, and how to be effective in, public life through knowledge, skills and values. Patrick (2000, p. 5) somewhat more indicatively explains the components of citizenship education by dividing them into four: (1) knowledge of citizenship and government in democracy (concepts and principles on the substance of democracy, ongoing tensions in civil society and government, institutions of democratic government and its functions, practices of democratic citizenship, the context of democracy and the history of democracy); (2) cognitive skills of citizenship in democracy (identifying, describing, analyzing and explaining phenomena in political and civic life; evaluating, taking and defending positions on public issues; making decisions on public issues; and thinking critically and constructively about political and civic life); (3) participatory skills of citizenship in democracy (interacting with other citizens to promote common interests, monitoring public events, deliberating on public policy issues and influencing them, implementing policy decisions on public issues); and (4) the disposition of citizenship in democracy (promoting general welfare and the public good; recognizing common humanity and the dignity of every individual; respecting, protecting and exercising citizenship rights; participating responsibly and effectively in political and civic life; practicing civic virtues; supporting and maintaining democratic principles and practices; and taking responsibility for government by consent of the governed).

When talking about the *effect* of citizenship education, especially in terms of political and civic engagement, it seems that the 'jury is still out.' It is beyond doubt that schools represent a critical link between education and citizenship (Niemi and Junn, 1998), that education directly influences the individual's proclivity to participate in the political realm (Hillygus, 2005, p. 26), and that education is in fact the strongest predictor of political participation even when other socio-economic conditions are taken into account (Verba et al., 1995). However, the causal connection between formal education and democratic citizenship looks pretty much like an undeciphered black box (Torney-Purta in Ichilov, 2003, p. 651). Hence, Ichilov (2003) divides schooling effects according to two general approaches linking education with democratic citizenship: the socialization approach and the

allocation approach. In a similar manner, Hillygus (2005, p. 27) identifies three strands of possible explanations: the civic education hypothesis, the social network hypothesis and the political meritocracy hypothesis. In fact, both authors view the 'missing link' in either education, which provides the necessary skills to become politically engaged and the knowledge to understand and accept democratic principles (education reduces the material and cognitive costs of participation), or in allocation since through the form and substance of the educative process schools also operate as sorting machines that certify selected individuals for adult roles at particular levels of the social hierarchy (Ichilov, 1994).

While both views have been frequently confirmed in empirical research, we shall concentrate on the first one, which is also more commonly tested. For example, Hillygus (2005, p. 39) reports strong support for the civic education hypothesis and suggests that college experience has long-term effects on future levels of political engagement. In addition, Elchardus et al. (in Birzea, 2000, p. 39) confirm the socialization thesis, although they depict the formal curriculum as the least effective compared to non-formal and informal curricular provisions. These somewhat surprising results have been confirmed by several studies, which point to the limited capacity of formal curricular activities (Ichilov, 2003, p. 652). The classic model of learning, adopted by the empiricist tradition and focusing on the transmission of knowledge, has therefore proved to be of limited effect while, in contrast, learning by the construction of knowledge, with an open classroom climate and the climax of participation and discussion, has constantly been confirmed as effective (Almond and Verba, 1963; Conover and Searing, 2000; Hahn et al., 1998; Torney et al., 1975). Non-formal and informal curricular activities have proven to be more significant for the development of true 'civic republican' citizens. However, it has to be noted that all experience outside the formal curriculum has to be intensive and enduring in order to have the desired effect (Ichilov, 2003, p. 654). Nevertheless, when looking at the effects of higher education Hillygus (2005) identified that higher education influences the political engagement of graduates in the future in so much as the curriculum studied while at college was relevant to the political world. To be precise, students of social sciences and humanities were more likely to become politically engaged. According to Galston (2001), participation in university community may also socialize individuals to become politically engaged or impart some of their basic associational skills necessary to function in public. In effect, participation in an educational community as well as specific curricular content geared towards liberal arts provides an important link between higher education and democratic citizenship. We are consequently inclined to scrutinize Slovenian higher education in such a manner.

Having that in mind, we employ Ireland et al.'s (2006) framework of four approaches to citizenship education, which we apply to the level of higher

education. The framework is basically a typology of overall approaches to citizenship education, where approaches are differentiated into four types according to the inclusion of citizenship in the curriculum and active citizenship in the school and wider school-related community. As mentioned, the framework encompasses four types of approaches: (1) minimalist (at an early stage of development in terms of citizenship education, with a limited range of delivery approaches and few extracurricular activities); (2) focused (concentrating on citizenship education in the curriculum, with few opportunities for active citizenship in the school and wider community); (3) implicit (not yet focusing on citizenship education in the curriculum, but with a range of active citizenship opportunities); and (4) progressing (developing citizenship education in the curriculum, school and wider community). We will apply this framework to the Slovenian context, paying special attention to the University of Ljubljana as the most representative organizational form of higher education in the country.[2]

Methodology

In line with the model presented above we operationalize the framework with additional indicators to provide us with a substantial insight into the state of citizenship education in the tertiary education system in Slovenia. The indicators we have chosen to enable us to map the investigated topic on the presented framework include: curricular properties, teacher capacity, research capacity, overall competence of personnel, impact on the wider community, overall concern for the topic and student involvement/capacity. By analyzing Slovenian higher education according to the presented indicators and framework, the quest to answer our main research question provides some additional insights into the capacity and performance of various key actors in the field as well as the identification of the main system features that determine its character.

During the course of our research we examined the scope of citizenship education within the Slovenian education system and evaluated trends in the student population compared to the overall citizenry regarding citizenship. To meet our aim we also examined available documentation on citizenship education and analyzed available statistical data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia and data from the European Social Survey.[3] Since Slovenia does not provide special courses to extend the competencies of students as citizens (Eurydice, 2005), through an analysis of member faculties' program archives, we examine all undergraduate Bologna[4] program curricula at the University of Ljubljana according to their relationship with citizenship. In addition, the competence of lecturers teaching courses related to the explicit topic of citizenship was analyzed by scrutinizing their bibliographical records in terms of overall professional activity and direct citizenship references. We obtained this data by searching through the Slovenian

bibliographic system Cooperative Online Bibliographic System and Services (COBISS). On the other hand, we sought to estimate the capacity of the entire higher education sector by analyzing explicit research conducted in the citizenship field, thus acquiring information concerning the congruence between the competence of lecturers and the capacity of the entire sector. To gather such data on research and teaching personnel along with additional background information for both of them we screened the Slovenian Current Research Information System database on research activities, which falls under the auspices of the Slovenian Research Agency and contains data about all university teachers and researchers. On the same platform the research programs and projects related to citizenship were identified and linked to their institutional ownership, coupled with some 'demographic' data on the institutions implementing the projects, in order to provide a clearer picture of the (in)congruence between research activity and teaching on the levels of science fields and institutions.

In contrast, an insight into student activities and the rationale behind some decisions made on the university level is provided by in-depth interviews we conducted with several key actors in the field. To be precise, the interviewees include the former dean of one member faculty of the University of Ljubljana; a former vice-dean tasked with implementing the Bologna reform of a member faculty of the University of Ljubljana; a former member of the Senate of the University of Ljubljana; the current president of the Student Organization of Slovenia; a former president of the Student Organization of the University of Ljubljana; the current president of the Association of Student Clubs of Slovenia; the current president of the Senate of the Student Organization of the University of Ljubljana who is also a former president of Polituss, the Association of Political Science Students; a former member of the Association of Socialist Youth of Slovenia; as well as a senior official from the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. In addition, two initiatives related to student-personnel cooperation were studied on the basis of observation with participation and another two in-depth interviews were conducted with the main initiators of one initiative, with each coming from opposing sides.

Contextual background

Status Quo

Slovenian youth, and consequently also the student population, faced the process of a double transition in the 1990s. The first was the already mentioned transition to a system of market capitalism and liberal democracy, while the second was an equally demanding prolonged transition to the period of adulthood, with the erosion of traditional arenas and ties (Lopes et al., 2009). The 'hotel mom'[5] notion is a clear consequence of these

transitions since the majority of young people, regardless of their education level, are unable to fully step into the period of adult life. Several other symptoms point to a malaise that will be hard to heal since it is apparent that the period of late modernity has brought some fundamental changes in thinking about and being a democratic citizen. Several authors (Haste and Hogan, 2006; Banaji, 2008; Esser and de Vreese, 2007) stress that young people did not become apolitical and apathetic, they just changed their political culture and express their disapproval through unconventional paths and cynicism. Nevertheless, according to the current comprehension of democratic citizenship something needs to be altered.

Empirical studies show very low overall levels of citizenship 'capital' among Slovenian citizenry. Among others, Deželan (2008) placed Slovenia as one of the worst performing countries according to his definition of good citizenship, as well as the widely accepted concept of civic morality. In addition, Hoskins and Mascherini (2009) rank Slovenia in the bottom group (15 out of 19 states) of states when analyzing active citizenship, with low levels of all indicators – protest and social change, community life, democratic values and especially low values of the 'representative democracy' indicator. Accordingly, Deželan (2010) reports lower electoral turnout levels for youth in comparison to other age groups. However, while acknowledging the abovementioned difficulties related to the democratic citizenship of youth, in our case especially university students, there are some grounds for optimism. When analyzing the four rounds of European Social Survey (ESS) data for Slovenia, Deželan and Maksuti (2010) identified higher levels of civically engaged[6] individuals with a tertiary education (first or second stage) compared to other groups of the population. In addition, the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (2010) reports a regular increase in number of enrolled students. The number has almost doubled in the last 12 years, rising from 68,000 students in 1997 to almost 115,000 in 2009. When all of this is taken into account, although the overall picture regarding democratic citizenship looks disturbing, and young people appear to be among those population groups under the heaviest stress, the fact that Slovenian university graduates do show higher levels of civic qualities and that the number of them will be growing on a yearly basis provides grounds for optimism. Nevertheless, according to the ESS data, the civic quality of university graduates might decrease since the initial four rounds of data show a slight, albeit inconclusive, fall. To prevent this and to identify potential reasons it is necessary to look at the current arrangements in the fields of higher education and citizenship education in Slovenia. Namely, we need to present key background information on the past and current systems of higher education, citizenship education at other levels and the genealogy of student involvement to understand the full complexity of processes we empirically studied and will reveal in the last section of the chapter.

The role of the university

Starting with the earlier role of the university, under the imperative of building a socialist society it faced immense pressure in terms of multilateral and fertile participation in the construction of the economic, education and cultural system (Modic, 1969, p. 8). Within the framework of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) the university represented an institution systemically integrated into broader planned societal development. The university's fundamental mission in that era was the production of working and effective graduates and loyal citizens with a duty to contribute to the development of self-management (Jerovšek, 1987, p. 186). The university was therefore in a position without the necessary autonomy and subjected to other goals and subsystems, mostly the economy and politics (ibid., p. 181). However, there were calls to reform the university, mostly coming from students who mainly pursued the agenda of the inclusion of students in terms of an influence on the organizational structure and the functioning of the university (Jovanovi , 1970). Calls for greater university autonomy were expressed across the country, although there was an absence of a key actor to implement the idea of the system change that would provide for the university's autonomy. The necessary change that would consequently lead to the scientific and technological development of the former state presupposed a triangle of autonomies: of economic agents, of individuals and of the university (Jerovšek, 1987, p. 178). Therefore, the shift towards the university's autonomy, and its subsequent professional public scrutiny, coincided with the process of a system change that was carried out upon the dissolution of SFRY and the ensuing national independence.

Student movements played a pioneering role with the launch of the idea of civil society. Its beginnings date back to the early 1970s (with Radio Študent, ŠKUC [a student cultural/artistic center], the punk scene and more), with an especially strong impetus in the 1980s with new alternative movements (peace, environmental, feminist and so on) that started to be comprehended as civil society (Fink-Hafner, 1992). Students played an important role in the system of organized youth in the former regime and were concentrated around the idea of the liberalization of society and reduction of communist party control (Tomc, 1989, p. 114). To be precise, in the former regime students organized within various organizations as extensions of a larger group of youth (the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia – USYS). These organizations acted more or less autonomously (Goriup, 2010), but were mainstreamed under the USYS after the abolition of the student organization as an autonomous structure in 1974. Thus, the student organization and the USYS started to act as a single organization with the student 'section' controlling the university conference of the USYS, a structure that spawned numerous key figures in the transition process (Lesjak, 1989, p. 92). Students therefore became an integral part of the USYS, a socio-political organization

inherently implanted in the socialist self-management system, and the link between students and the USYS was even more evident in terms of ideas and projects in a structural sense. And it was the USYS that denounced having the *a priori* support of youth (Ule, 1989, pp. 39–40) and of being a 'youth transmission party' (Mastnak, 1994, p. 379), which was manifested in various provocative interventions in the system and political party-like functioning that resulted in the first tangible propositions of economic and socio-political reforms (Vurnik, 2003). Despite the eventual split in 1989 that separated the USYS into a student organization and a political party, evidence of students' role in the country's democratic transition is clear since they acted as an agent that redefined the political system from within.

After the country's independence, the era of state (communist party) control of the university and attempts at the socialist indoctrination of students was replaced by an era of realignment of the university in society. Debates that started in the late 1980s and were already being pushed forward by the university itself and some key intellectuals resulted in the adoption of a new Constitution as well as the Act on Higher Education, which made universities and other institutions of higher education autonomous. As a result, the university is perceived as an agent in service of the entire society which should act as a responsible and cohesive community (Zgaga, 1999, pp. 31–2). Nevertheless, its public character and reliance on public funding makes it quite susceptible to state influence. At the end of the day, university personnel are part of the system of public servants, and universities are unable to carry out their programs without government funding determined by the governmentally approved number of students per program. The influence is manifested annually in government pressures to realign the balance between the social and natural sciences since the latter lack students and the former tend to attract the majority of them. In addition, a number of requirements originating from the ministry (for example regarding quality control, effectiveness and so on) regularly find their way into the university's operations.

However, one particular fundamental political decision has transformed the whole process of higher education and redefined the role of the university in contemporary Slovenian society – the Bologna reform. Zgaga (2009) stresses the importance of the Bologna reform in terms of citizenship education since the Bologna model obviously shapes the university more in line with the requirements of the market economy – Napoleonic and Humboldtian models – and less in terms of the Newmanian (personal development) and Deweyan (preparation of students for life as active citizens in a democratic society) models. Although the university had substantial difficulties discovering its core idea that would reflect a common ethos of all disciplines (Kump, 1994), it did provide opportunities for prospering in the directions of all four models according to the needs, actions and wishes of its constituent members (faculties). By being liberated from the state, especially

in terms of totalitarian rule, Slovenian higher education became increasingly dependent on the forces of market[7] through a political decision that was induced by globalization and Europeanization.[8] And it is the forces of the market which are progressively turning the internationalized and globalized 'educational market' away from the Deweyan model (Zgaga, 2009, p. 185).

Citizenship education prior to the tertiary level

In order to evaluate the role of the university in educating competent citizens to act in a democratic society, it is necessary to be acquainted with the level of citizenship education available to pupils at the primary and secondary levels. The burden of 'citizenship' realignment is primarily placed in the hands of the latter since the tertiary level is more under the pressure of internationalization whereas the primary and secondary levels remain under intense national strain. While an evaluation of citizenship education on the primary and secondary levels is beyond the scope of this chapter, a short abstract should provide essential information to contextualize evidence from the tertiary level. Generally speaking, citizenship education on the primary and secondary levels hardly suffices since the entire sum of the minimum recommended number of hours of citizenship education as a separate subject amounts to just 20.4 hours over six years, starting with the age of 12 (Eurydice, 2005, pp. 28–30). Otherwise, citizenship education is supposed to be taught at the primary level in the form of an integrated approach through these subjects: history, geography, Slovenian language, foreign language, society and environmental education. On the lower secondary level, in addition to citizenship education as a separate subject, the integrated approach is also applied, and the overall sum amounts to 67 hours over three years. On the upper secondary level it is taught as a separate subject, although the total 15 hours has to be implemented in one year. Having said that, it is worth noting that the latter provision holds true only for general upper secondary schools (lyceums) and is very frequently implemented in the form of a one-day school trip to the national parliament or some other state institution. In addition, we observe that curricular contents of citizenship education subjects are frequently disputable and also factually wrong (e.g. Simos, 2010). Hence, the abovementioned low levels of a 'good citizen' should hardly be considered as surprising since this is the 'tool-box' citizens have at their disposal when leaving the system of secondary education. What eventually makes a difference, when comparing university graduates with other groups of the population, will be presented in the following section.

Empirical evidence

The presented contextual background and analytical framework of the chapter allow us to critically approach the condition of citizenship education

in Slovenian tertiary education. To provide a sound argument we divide this section, according to the content and main actors, into three parts: the provider's perspective, the students' perspective and the system's impulses to society. The provider's perspective will illuminate the professional capacity of teachers for citizenship education, the distribution of 'citizenship education' competence within university personnel, the congruence of teacher and competence indicators as well as the potential of disciplines and faculties on the macro level. The students' perspective will elaborate students' input regarding the goal of democratic citizenship, while the section on the system's impulses to society will explore the possible impact tertiary education may have on the broader environment in the long run.

The provider's perspective

Although the university is autonomous by law and under the Constitution, there are still several mechanisms that bind the university to the state since higher education in Slovenia is defined as a public service, regardless of the public or private (via a concession) character of the institutions that provide such a service (ZVis, Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 67/1993). Hence, funding is evidently the most obvious one, be it from the pedagogical perspective, with the funding of study programs or with research where most funding still comes from the national research agency and other public institutions. However, from the perspective of study programs, the university autonomously prepares its study programs,[9] thus also content related to citizenship education. As a result, faculties and departments devote attention to citizenship education in their curriculums in dissimilar ways, with social science and humanities programs being the clear frontrunners.

After examining 278 study programs of the first and second (Bologna BA and MA) levels of higher education at the University of Ljubljana, we could only identify 27 of them with an explicit reference to a topic related to citizenship.[10] Clearly, topics related to citizenship education (like human rights, ethics and so on) were left out of our screening though, on the other hand, the intention was to identify explicit content that would at least marginally correspond to specialized subjects and not just integrated approaches from the primary and secondary levels. In addition, the results would converge to a high degree since almost all of the identified cases came from the social sciences and humanities. In an environment where active citizenship is listed among the priorities (MHEST, 2010),[11] only 51 out of 7,014 courses explicitly touched on the topic of citizenship. Disciplines that provided citizenship content include: political science, education, sociology, communication research, social informatics, defense studies, culture studies, European studies, social work, public administration, law, theology, philosophy and even geodetics. On the other hand, disciplines such as economics, history, psychology and international relations do not provide programs (and hence

courses) with an explicit reference to citizenship, yet alone to citizenship education. To be precise, only two of the 7,014 courses embrace citizenship education and/or citizenship comprehensively – the genealogy of citizenship and citizenship education – from the fields of political science and education, respectively.

When examining the professional capacity of teachers (via their bibliographical records) running the courses with explicit reference to citizenship we may observe some interesting findings. More than 59 percent of them have never written anything explicitly related to citizenship. Nevertheless, their overall professional competence is almost the same as those who have explicit bibliographical references to citizenship (756 compared to 793 bibliographical points according to the national research agency's methodology). In addition, the average number of points gained from the records with explicit reference to citizenship (for teachers who have written on the topic) is 41, which represents around 5 percent of their entire bibliographical opus. When taking into account all teachers lecturing on the explicit topic of citizenship the share is negligible – 2.2 percent. The 'focused' professional capacity of teachers giving lectures with explicit citizenship contents is therefore highly debatable, though it has to be noted that the identified teachers otherwise achieve the same bibliographical standards. On the other hand, there is a large gap between teachers engaged in research and those who are not. When looking at funded research programs and projects with explicit reference to citizenship,[12] only 20 percent of the abovementioned teachers are/were participating in them. To be accurate, only 10 out of 49 teachers participated in the 'community' of 378 researchers/teachers[13] doing research on citizenship, which is clearly visible in the bibliographical records since teachers who participated in the mentioned research teams acquired approximately six times more points from citizenship. This observation clearly supports the fact that doing research profoundly contributes to the professional competence of teachers.

Even more troubling is the fact that among the top 20 identified individuals according to their bibliographic records on citizenship, only three of them were teachers with courses explicitly referring to citizenship. In addition, it is worth noting that eight of the mentioned top 20 do not teach; interestingly, all of them are specialists in citizenship education. Such an incredible incongruence between competent personnel and the distribution of courses is largely a consequence of faculties' politics since the university(ies) basically leave the selection of personnel up to the member faculties, usually even departments or study program organizational units (Slovenian *katedra*). These structures primarily take care of the full employment of their employees and frequently disregard competence and other meritocratic criteria (Nadoh Bergoč and Kohont, 2007). As a result, the quality of programs suffer which is certainly also visible in the aspects we investigated.

Since the formal curriculum only has a limited effect on democratic citizenship (Ichilov, 2003) whereas non-formal, informal and hidden curricula contribute the most (Elchardus et al. in Birzea, 2000, p. 39), it is important to examine that perspective as well. In terms of the non-formal curriculum, the university offers a wide assortment of activities that nurture democratic citizenship and provide an important contribution to citizenship education. The majority of study programs organize various sorts of professional activities outside the university's premises. These include visits to public institutions, cooperation with civil society organizations, facilitated practical work experience in certain organizations, community involvement, engagement in pilot projects as well as research activities, and national and international contests in which the university excels. In addition, participation in decision-making normatively reflects a high degree of inclusiveness and acknowledgement of students' opinions since they occupy important seats in senates at faculty and university levels. Generally, the university provides the infrastructure for the operation of various student clubs and associations as well.

However, it is the right climate that determines the eventual impact on citizenship education (Almond and Verba, 1963; Conover and Searing, 2000; Hahn et al., 1998) and it is exactly the atmosphere that corrodes the impressive normative installation. The facilitation of students' work experience proved to be a burden for university personnel and is consequently left to an individual program's capabilities, with professional excursions frequently ending up just fancy trips or party opportunities, and the inclusion of students in professional activities frequently has other agendas. But the most questionable is the relationship between management and the students. Various sources report dubious relations between management and student executives. To be precise, it was the University of Ljubljana that introduced a sort of arms-length relationship with students since the then leadership had been elected due to student support. The consequence was almost unlimited support for the ideas of student leaders, which virtually eliminated any alternative projects and ideas. The 'trade in votes' yields similar patterns at the level of faculties since the management of certain faculties tends to have strong opposition due to a resistance to the dictates of the university and ministry. Hence, it is more the actual operation and not the normative conception of the abovementioned institutions that determine the character of citizenship education at this level. And it is fair to wonder whether these are the kinds of virtues we want the citizenry with the most 'potential' to possess.

In terms of the informal curriculum, there have been several grass-root attempts to address certain dangerous issues that perpetuate in society. For example, several initiatives have tried to promote the awareness of teachers to fascist, racist and other discriminatory attitudes and practices. Though they were never disapproved, the abovementioned initiatives never acquired

the necessary support of faculties' leaderships for such topics to become part of the overall agenda of the university. On the other hand, the influence of bad PR for doing business (attracting large numbers of new students) is sensed on every corner since the grave violation of disciplinary rules by students tends to be 'swept under the carpet,' too demanding teachers are 'invited to talks with the Dean' and the number of enrolled students is set as a benchmark of successful/desirable action. In line with this, the interviewees report the absence of deliberation on citizenship when strategically talking about the role and future of the university at various levels (faculty, university and ministry). The Strategy of the University of Ljubljana (2006) clearly reveals this absence. Although some questions were raised, they primarily targeted the increased market orientation of the university and less the shaping of competent democratic citizenry.

Another negative example of the university's promotion of democratic citizenship is seen in its governance. The organizational culture clearly reflects the values the university (along with its member faculties) unconsciously promotes to its recipients. The lack of transparency regarding the employment of personnel, breaches of labor legislation and the arbitrary rule of management, among others, all contribute to a negative climate that surrounds the educational process. What is even more apparent is the manifest avoidance of democratic mechanisms in the system of governance. For example, there has been a widespread practice of one-person candidacies for deans, heads of different organizational units and more. In fact, it has become a habit that potential candidates announce the withdrawal of candidacies in the case of counter candidates. Further, there are also two known cases of the 'latent' abolition of the Academic assembly – the most democratic institution at the faculty level – which is now no longer convened due to management's dislike of it. To be short, the university environment is progressively transforming into a hierarchic bureaucratic environment, which reflects the university's relationship with the government and the governance style of some key figures (deans, rectors and so on), who in many cases are former ministers/politicians. Such a climate promotes an authoritarian and not a democratic civic culture – the kind that Slovenian citizenry perennially reflects.

The students' perspective

Students as an organized group carry a large burden of responsibility that was passed on by the former USYS, which sought legitimacy despite being inherently legitimized by the legislation itself. Therefore, student elections (at university and state level) may be understood as an anachronism which nonetheless involves some form of duty to act in accordance with inclusive democratic principles (J. Štromajer, personal communication, September 14, 2010). The burden of the former organization that formed the movement to democratize the country seems too immense in certain aspects. For example,

student democracy frequently malfunctions due to the already seen malaise of other societal subsystems. Though it should be a kind of training ground for full-scale politics, it frequently seems to reflect all the rotten details of Slovenian democracy. The turnout levels for elections of representatives to student functions is negligible since some individuals are elected even by virtue of a single vote. In addition, electoral infringements are a common occurrence and have already led to the repetition of elections, annulment of results, legal disputes and criminal charges due to acts of bribery. On top of that, the leaders of student organizations are selected indirectly, through chosen representatives, which additionally blurs the process for an individual voter/student. Student politics also suffer from a bad reputation due to the distribution of financial resources (for attending sessions of various organs, consultancies, so on) as well as the occasional interference of 'party politics' and ideological clashes arising from the political arena. In addition, the problem of leadership (M. Funkl, personal communication, September 21, 2010) is clearly shown in the latest fiasco related to power distribution, when the new student constitution was adopted without consent (there was actually a legal battle about this) of the largest constituent organization. In this respect, while enabling students to participate and deliberate at the highest echelons of university and governmental politics, participation in decision-making and the process of selecting representatives is frequently perceived as morally suspicious to the wider student population and academic community. Namely, student representatives are frequently students with little academic excellence and a student status held for many years.

On the other hand, the abovementioned structures have managed to activate the student population on several occasions, thus presenting the benefits of participation and opening the gates of media and public policy gatekeepers (K. Šoba, personal communication, September 14, 2010). Certain constituent student organizations are also trying to drive party politics out through internal acts on the incompatibility of party youth and student executive functions (M. Funkl, personal communication, September 21, 2010). Hence, primarily the interest representation and service side of student organizations, apart from student politics, show the other side of the coin. Due to the high-quality infrastructure that originates from the former regime (J. Štromajer, personal communication, September 14, 2010), student organizations are able to implement programs beyond the capabilities of certain public offices,[14] from both the resource and political perspectives. Thanks to such financial autonomy, a derivative of the student labor provisions, student organizations can finance various language courses and other activities, but foremost socio-critical periodicals (like *Tribuna*), mass media (like Radio Študent) and other venues/events that expose socio-political problems in society and nurture civic virtues (like the Kapelica gallery, the Marijuana March, the rights of homosexuals, libertarian values and

more). Probably the greatest benefit of student organizations at the macro level is their financial support for the promotion of multicultural values and the creation of a critical democratic student citizen, although some significant improper conduct regarding budget spending has been identified. Yet, on the micro level there is much more substance since student clubs and associations operate on the basis of common agendas of participating students. It is these structures that equip student citizens in a Galstonian sense – by building their social network – (M. Funkl, personal communication, September 21, 2010), and promote true civic virtues. However, macro-level student politics frequently turns a deaf ear to micro-level substance. To be precise, issue-oriented student associations with specific goals rarely find a chance to cooperate with faculties' student councils (M. Klarič, personal communication, September 24, 2010) or the student organization at the macro level as such. Moreover, small student associations are also frequently victims of arms-length relationships between faculty leaderships and student councils, thus receiving little or no (material and moral) support from the university itself. And it is lack of sufficient resources that frequently contributes to the greatest obstacle to the operation of such fertile groups – organizational discontinuity – since the majority of such associations function on the basis of the voluntarism of a few core members (M. Klarič, personal communication, September 24, 2010; Z. Kolarič, personal communication, September 12, 2010). Although we have exposed several imperfections of how students are organized, it is probably its potential that is of most interest for the shaping of democratic citizenry within and outside the student community. As one interviewee brilliantly put it:

> It is the point of students to open issues which are marginal in nature.
>
> If not, who else is going to do it!? (J. Štromajer, personal communication, September 14, 2010)

Impulses to society

The statement expressed above clearly shows that the citizenship education regime in higher education has a far greater impact than just on the community of students and academia. Democratic citizenship of the Deweyan type is simply off the university agenda (Z. Kolarič, personal communication, September 12, 2010), although there are some sporadic grass-roots initiatives that nurture ties with civil society and shape the civic virtues of students. In addition, also partly due to their professional orientation, certain research units and teams cooperate in order to promote and shape school curricula on citizenship education as well as teachers' competence. However, the overall absence of sensibility for democratic citizenship in the entire higher education system, disregarding those individuals with a specific research focus on the topic (Zgaga, 2009; Štrajn, 1994; Klemenčič, 2007, Sardoč, 2009;

Deželan, 2008), is best described by the following two cases: Antifa initiative and Plenum.

The first is a consequence of incidents that culminated in violent outbursts of nationalist, racist and fascist/neo-Nazi cliques at various events[15] on the university's premises. Along with simultaneous struggles of the Faculty of Social Sciences' personnel to have their own premises for social events as well as the increasing appearance of uniformed military personnel as guests at the Faculty,[16] a critical mass of personnel signed a petition which sparked a harsh response by the leadership against petitioners and not the events themselves. Although condemning the events on its official website, the leadership left the 'burden' of disposing dangerous 'isms' to the initiators of the petition. As a result, the event became a true grass-roots arena for the deliberation of various repressed groups, activists, civil society organizations, academia and students. In addition, it blossomed into various weekly events (like Antifa Tuesdays) and opportunities for true activism and the promotion of civic virtues far beyond the university community but, on the other hand, it also reflected the impotence of the official structures to contribute to the wider purpose of higher education.

The second case sends even more disturbing signals about the values of the contemporary Slovenian university. Although happening at a different university (the University of Primorska), the problem echoed throughout Slovenia due to its consequences. The Plenum – a forum for deliberating on common problems and issues – was formed by students and several employees of a member faculty due to a synchronous chain of events that led to a synergic need for such a common arena (E. Brajkovič, personal communication, October 2, 2010; E. Božič, personal communication, October 2, 2010). The students' side acknowledged the need for such an arena as a result of long protests regarding the library and certain other basic prerequisites, while some academic personnel experienced an inability to express and address common problems within the academic assembly – the most democratic institution of the faculty's employees. As a result, they formed the Plenum which deliberated on otherwise disregarded or unaddressed issues of both sides – primarily identifying the problem of the market orientation of the university as the most troubling. While the university in question has a long record of serious malfunctions (like the problem of its own library, the suspicious conferring of over 600 graduate degrees, police indictment of a former dean and others), five employees who had been attending the Plenum lost their jobs at the faculty. On top, students report (and have on record) the seriously abusive and threatening language of the vice-dean when they were invited to a meeting that was closed to the public. It is primarily such signals that have the greatest resonance in the community. It should therefore not be surprising if more and more citizens associate this 'wild' entrepreneurial spirit and opaque arbitrary practice with the image of the university in the country. After all, such malpractices have continued to appear on the media's agenda in the last year.

Discussion

When discussing the overall character of citizenship education in the Slovenian tertiary education system, the need to contextualize it in terms of the democratic transition, the trajectory of the university's autonomy and the students' influence as agents of transformation is essential. On these grounds, the chosen indicators (curricular properties, teacher capacity, research capacity, overall competence of personnel, impact on the wider community, overall concern for the topic, student involvement/ capacity) have begun to form an image of its true character. In terms of the formal curriculum, when acknowledging explicit contents related to citizenship/citizenship education, higher education reveals ignorance of the topic, although it has to be noted that social science and humanities programs encompass topics related to a wider conception of citizenship. Nevertheless, the teachers' capacity has proven to be significantly lower in terms of explicit citizenship content compared to its benchmarks – teachers who were also engaged in research on the topic. The examination of this research capacity further exposed the 'vulnerability' of the professional capacity of teachers since the majority of them do not reach the level of research on the topic compared to other teachers who do not teach the courses in question. Moreover, there is a clear gap between teaching and research in the field since most of the top researchers do not teach, thus exposing the lack of mobilizing potential within higher education and a possible link to faulty human resource management. The latter, in a way, also reflects the absence of a common concern for citizenship since strategic debates and documents prior to the draft national program on higher education were silent about citizenship. The overall climate and malfunctions of the higher education system, along with the excesses of student executives and organizations, have clearly had a negative impact on society's comprehension of a moderate citizen and the university's role in shaping competent citizenry. Consequently, if one has to confirm or reject the frequently exposed belief of the neglect of the country's tertiary education system in shaping democratic citizenship, the answer is affirmative. Neither the government nor the university have done anything tangible to address the growing problem of the meltdown of democratic values. On the contrary, the government is intensively pursuing the Lisbon economic agenda, thus making the university less and less Newmanian and Deweyan.

As a result, in terms of Ireland et al.'s (2006) framework we may conclude that Slovenian higher education's approach to citizenship is minimalist to implicit. Although in its embryonic state, with a limited scope of delivery approaches, it offers a wide range of active citizenship opportunities. Though not (yet) focusing on the inclusion of citizenship education in the formal curriculum, it is the non-formal opportunities that shape the potential of the

phenomenon. With an annual increase in number of enrolled students and implantation of the concept of active citizenship in the national program, citizenship education should receive the attention it deserves. However, the organizational culture, interpersonal relations and the overall climate communicate an unacceptable feeling to other parts of society. It is clear that higher education should not be an agent of political, market or any other interests. After all, Slovenian experience evidently proves this.

Notes

1. Slovenia proclaimed its independence from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991 and held its first truly democratic multiparty elections already in 1990. In December 1991 the first democratic constitution was adopted, thus making Slovenia a liberal (parliamentary) democracy.
2. The University of Ljubljana is the oldest and largest university in Slovenia. It is regarded as a very large university, with more than 63,000 graduate and post-graduate students. Approximately 4,000 higher education teachers are employed in its 22 faculties, three arts academies and one university college (University of Ljubljana, 2009).
3. The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically-driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs and behavior patterns of its diverse populations. To date, the survey has been implemented in four rounds, covers more than 30 nations and employs rigorous methodologies – a repeated, cross-sectional survey. It is funded through the European Commission's Framework Programs, the European Science Foundation and national funding bodies in each country.
4. Set up and implemented according to the Bologna Declaration of 1999.
5. The notion became increasingly popular in discussions regarding the inability of young people to leave home since the labor market is oversaturated and the real-estate market (mainly the rental market) is not functioning properly. As a result, most young adults continue to live with their parents (according to Mandič [2007, p. 16] even 48 percent of the whole population aged between 18 and 34), which is a clear consequence of the double transition and feebleness of state mechanisms.
6. Deželan and Maksuti (2010) identified higher levels for the comprehension of politics, the level of political participation, interest in politics as well as engagement in social activities.
7. However, several authors already report on the Bologna reform as a process with complex political dimensions since the reinforcement of links with the economy on a global scale has clashed with an urge to preserve national identity and traditions (Nadoh Bergoč and Kohont, 2007, p. 98; Zgaga, 2009, p. 184).
8. Processes of integrating into various international organizations and regional structures (for example the European Union) induced comprehensive pressures for adaptation. The Bologna reform, as it was mainstreamed into the higher education system, may be perceived as one of the tools for creating the most competitive economy in the world.
9. Study programs are then accredited by the Council for Higher Education of the Republic of Slovenia, which operates under the auspices of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology.

10. We identified an individual program as positive if at least one of its available courses entailed a topic of citizenship in the contents. The procedure was operationalized by locating the keyword državlj* (citizen* or civic) in the course description. Note that data for four programs could not be acquired.
11. The draft national program for higher education 2011–20 (MHEST, 2010) lists active citizenship as one of the top priorities while the strategy of the University of Ljubljana (2006) does not mention citizenship at all.
12. Overall, we identified 39 research programs, basic research projects or applied research projects that explicitly dealt with the topic of citizenship. The procedure was operationalized by locating the keywords *državlj** (citizen* or civic), *družb** AND *izob** (civic AND educ*), and *družb** AND *vzgoja* (civic AND education/upbringing) in the program/project description. The source database encompasses all research programs or projects that are at least partially publicly funded.
13. Only 32 out of 378 explicit researchers were identified among the project/program participants.
14. For example, the total annual budget of student organizations amounts to approx. EUR 13 to 15 million, while the budget of the governmental Office for Youth of the Republic of Slovenia that finances youth organizations is just approx. EUR 2 million (1 euro = approx. 1.4 US dollar).
15. Events usually being debates regarding growing xenophobia, the rights of homosexuals, multiculturalism, the equality of religious communities and so on.
16. It is noted that the current dean is a former defence minister and the current minister is also a professor at the university.

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9
Citizenship and Higher Education in Portugal: Impact of the Bologna Process

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Citizenship and higher education

The university years surely remain in our imagination as a time of generosity and rebellion: young people prepare for the entrance into adult life by actively exploring their personal and societal roles. This apparently sudden openness to the wider world and its injustices has led Keniston (1968, p. 272) to state 'those who have had a youth – who have seriously questioned their relationship to the community that exists, who have a self and a set of commitments independent of their social role – are never likely to be simple patriots, unquestioning conformists, or blind loyalists to the *status quo.*' Obviously, the background of these conceptions is the 1960s and the demands for societal change that have dominated university students' movements on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe, May '68 was surely a mark of students' (and workers') rebellion as they criticized the hierarchical and bureaucratic state and demanded a new social order – even if the nature of this rebellion has been interpreted both as a sign of an 'utopian individualism' (Lipovetsky, 1986) and of a real rupture (Morin et al., 1988) with a considerable transformative power (Seidman, 2004). In this context, university and citizenship appear as indivisible as the two faces of the same coin.

Citizenship is, in fact, a concept inherent to the idea of the university and the role of higher education since its foundation, even if universities have surely been ascribed other roles. Zgaga (2009) identifies four archetypal models that broadly correspond to the historical functions of the university: the Napoleonic, predominantly emphasizing the role of the university in preparing students for their future professional roles; the Humboldtian, underlying the development of knowledge and research; the Newmanian, stressing the personal development of students; and the Deweyan, with a focus on community engagement and citizenship. Recognizing that these four functions – career development, promotion of knowledge and research, personal development and citizenship – are intertwined in the four models, Zgaga also demonstrates how the four archetypes coexist today in

Table 9.1 Definitions of the roles of higher education included in the London Communiqué

Archetypes	The London Communiqué (2007) definitions of the primary purposes and roles of higher education ...
Napoleonic model	*to train students for their multiple, diverse future careers*
Humboldtian model	*to create and maintain a broad, advanced knowledge base and to stimulate research and innovation*
Newmanian model	*to enable students' personal development*
Deweyan model	*to prepare students for life as active citizens in a democratic society*

Source: Aadapted from Zgaga (2009).

contemporary visions of the role of higher education in Europe (see Table 9.1 for an exemplary analysis of the 2007 London Communiqué).

The institution of the EHEA and the promotion of European citizenship

Changes in European higher education have been extensive during the beginning of this century, as a consequence of the institution of the European Union and the definition of the so-called Lisbon strategy:

> The Union has today set itself a new strategic goal for the next decade: to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. (Lisbon European Council, 2000)

The Lisbon strategy establishes the setting for a major dichotomy that Europe has been trying to overcome ever since, resulting from the balance between '"economic competitiveness" versus "social cohesion" that has deeply affected the understanding of the potential purpose(s) and role(s) of the modern university' (Zgaga, 2009, p. 176).

In fact, the assertion that Europe must exist beyond the Euro has important implications that generate diverse levels of agreement. In a survey with European university students, Fernandez (2005) detects this multiplicity but also interesting commonalties:

> It must be pointed out that people from countries such as France, Spain, and Portugal are more supportive of going beyond the establishment of, for example, the Single European Market. Nearly one in three of our inform-ants support further steps towards unity, but the degree of support varies according to the field. Frequently mentioned ideas are a common envi-ronmental policy, a cultural union amongst members and the inclusion of new ones. But one subject earns overwhelming support: cooperation in

the advance of science and technology, an issue about which university students seem to feel quite strongly. (p. 64)

So, in a way, changes in European higher education appear as instrumental for the creation of a new and common 'imagined community' (Benedict, 1991). Therefore, in the context of what has been designated as the growing Europeanization of higher education, translated into the creation a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in the Bologna Declaration (2000) – followed, shortly after, by similar initiatives in the domains of research and lifelong learning – the rhetoric about citizenship education is, not surprisingly, growing.

However, some argue that the Europeanization of higher education also involves a contradictory movement. Haigh (2008), for instance, discusses the paradoxical situation of higher education institutions, urged to be concerned with the development of a planetary and cosmopolite citizenship in the context of a growing marketization and competiveness. Marcfarlane (2005) further states that the changes in the governance of European higher education institutions 'led to the decline of political literacy in academic life' (p. 296) generating a clear disengagement from academic citizenship – defined as including elements of (i) political literacy, *i.e.*, engagement in decision-making processes at the institutional level; (ii) community involvement, both within and beyond the university; and (iii) social and moral responsibility, that involves a variety of activities such as 'nurturing students, supporting academic and professional colleagues, developing and defending knowledge, communicating with the public' (p. 300). In fact, the rise of interest in citizenship education within higher education is, in this sense, absurd as 'the citizenship responsibilities of the academic community within the context of their university lives has tended to be overlooked' (p. 298). This is why Fernandez (2005) considers that '*universitas*, *veritas*, *libertas*, etc. are ever-present concepts but have lost part of their transcendence and repercussion on the life of university people' (p. 61).

Moreover, much of the existing public discourse about citizenship education in European education policies, in higher education and beyond, reveal a tension between its emancipatory and social control functions (Beane, 1990; Menezes, 2003; Sultana, 1992). Smith, Ottewill, Jubb, Sperling and Wyman describe this as the opposition between education *about* citizenship and education *for* citizenship, with the former being criticized for giving students little 'opportunities critically to assess or challenge the status quo' (2008, p. 137). Yet, in his analysis of current discourses and projects in higher education, Biesta (2009) detects a tendency for a functionalistic and individualistic vision of citizenship that emphasizes consensus (*vs* conflict) as a central element of democracies and presents a relatively depoliticized and uncritical version of the European citizen. The same conclusion is drawn by Gifford, Gonçalves, Wolodzko and Gocsal that consider 'the development

of post-national citizenship through the Europeanisation of higher education [...] primarily in line with an individualist or organizational model of citizenship' (2010, p. 343).

However, there are those who continue to argue for the indissociability between education and citizenship, declaring that education is, in itself, citizenship education (Giroux, 2002, 2004), in line with bell hooks' (1994) vision of education as 'a practice which encourages students to reflect upon who they are and their roles in society; it is an education that allows students to make choices and to experience a sense of agency' (Heath, 2000, pp. 43–4). Therefore, and following Biesta (2009), we could then ask 'whether European higher education should become one more socialising agent for the production of the competent active citizen, or whether there could and should be a more critical role for higher education in relation to European citizenship' (p. 148).

Higher education as a context for civic and political development

Research on students' development during college years is a classical issue in educational research, since the seminal work of Chickering and Perry. Perry (1970, 1981) investigated the epistemological development of (male) university students across time. Since then, the context of higher education has been proven to promote students' cognitive development (Bastos, 1998; Bastos et al., 2007; Ryan, 1984; Schommer, 1990, 1993), even if the effects are strongly influenced by gender (Baxter-Magolda, 1992, 2001; Belenky et al., 1986; Kitchener et al., 1989). Chickering (1969) focused on the relationship between the institutional characteristics of higher education and the emotional, interpersonal and ethical dimensions of students' development. Subsequent research also confirmed that the experience of higher education was decisive in terms of the psychosocial development of young adults (Costa, 1991; Chickering and Reisser, 1993). In the last decades, Pascarella and Terenzini (1991, 1998, 2005) have been particularly active in the field, generating a series of explanatory models (Pascarella, 1985; Terenzini and Reason, 2005) of the conditions that explain students' learning and development during the college years, including individual characteristics prior to university entrance, the organizational characteristics of higher education institutions (such as policies or culture) and the experiences students have in- and out-of-class. Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges and Hayek (2006) also include macro-level dimensions, such as state higher education policies and economic factors, while the Portuguese sociologist Madureira Pinto (2002) underlies the significance of the employment system, the social origin and trajectories of students as well the prevailing values of existing juvenile cultures.

The following studies represent our research efforts to explore the impact of higher education in students' civic and political development – a notorious role

of higher education not only if we take into account the European context and the recent changes in European higher education policies described above, but also the relative recency of the Portuguese democracy that was only instituted in 1974. The first two studies (Teixeira, 2004; Veiga, 2008) engage in considering the role of in- and out-of-class experiences, respectively, in promoting students' development; the third study (Lopes and Menezes, 2010) is an on-going research that is under the influence of the changes introduced by the so-called Bologna process and aims to simultaneously consider in- and out-of-class experiences in the promotion of students' empowerment.

Study 1

The goal of this study was to consider whether higher education students' experiences in the classroom influence their political attitudes, namely trust in political institutions and self and collective political efficacy. Students' perceptions of classroom climate have been considered relevant predictors of students' evaluations of higher education institutions (Graham and Gisi, 2000); students seem to value particularly their relationship with teachers, but also autonomy and participation (Myers, 1995; Quay and Quaglia, 2004; Wierstra et al., 1999; Wierstra et al., 2003). On the other hand, political attitudes are relevant predictors of civic and political engagement and participation (see Dahl, 2000; Dogan, 1997; Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Educational research has also shown that classroom climates play a central role in students' personal and social development, including the civic and political domains (Baxter-Magolda, 1999, 2007; Cabrera et al., 2001; Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005; Terenzini, Pascarella and Blimling, 1999; Tinto, 1997).

Sample and procedure

This study involved 296 higher education students, 66.2 percent females and 33.8 percent males, attending two types of institutions: university (n = 158, 53.4 percent) and polytechnic (N = 138, 46.6 percent). The average age is 26 years old (SD = 3.9), ranging between 21 and 46 years old. Questionnaires were administered in a classroom setting in a large group context.

Measures

Portuguese versions of the questionnaires were administered with all items scored on 7-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree); scale scores were computed as the mean of the scale items. Confirmatory factor analyzes were used to confirm the dimensionality of all the scales (data not shown, see Teixeira, 2004).

Classroom climate

Perceptions of classroom climate were evaluated using an adapted version of the *College and University Classroom Environment Inventory* (CUCEI)

(Fraser, 1994) that includes students' perceptions of teacher support ('The teacher is unfriendly and inconsiderate towards students'), participation ('There are opportunities for students to express opinions') and autonomy ('Students are generally allowed to work at their own pace')[1]. Additionally, six items from the *Constructivist Learning Environment Survey* (CLES) (Fraser, 1991) were included to evaluate perceptions of the diversity of scientific knowledge in the classroom ('I learn how science can be part of my out-of-school life').

Political attitudes

Three dimensions of political attitudes were considered: trust in social and political institutions included a list of organizations covering media, education, political and judicial institutions; political self-efficacy ('I am able to understand most political issues') and collective political efficacy ('A political decision can be changed if many people say that they don't agree with it').

Results

Students reveal negative perceptions of autonomy in the classroom, but teacher support, participation and, specially, knowledge diversity are positively evaluated (Figure 9.1).

In order to explore if perceptions of classroom climate significantly influenced political attitudes, the database was re-codified into two groups based on the median of classroom climate perceptions (High vs Low); univaried analyzes of variance were performed controlling for the effects of gender, age and number of books at home (ANCOVA).

Perceptions of teacher support have a significant influence on trust in institutions [$F(3.295) \geq 2.32$, $p \leq 0.008$], with students with higher perceptions of teacher support also showing higher levels of trust on media, the UN, environmental NGOs, political parties, churches and courts. A similar
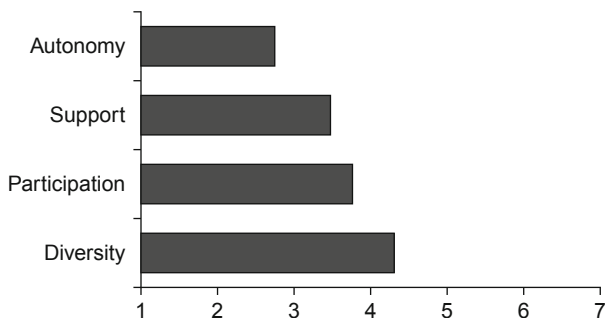
Figure 9.1   Classroom climate perceptions

pattern is detectable for political self-efficacy [F(3.295) = 6.17, p ≤ 0.001] that is higher for students with higher perceptions of teacher support.

Perceptions of participation, autonomy and diversity also significantly differentiate students' trust in institutions and political efficacy (both individual and collective).

Students who have higher perceptions of participation show more trust [F(3.295) ≥ 2.03, p ≤ 0.005] on media, the scientific community, schools, churches, the UN, environmental NGOs, political parties, the police, courts and political institutions (the Government, the Parliament, local authorities); they also reveal more political self and collective efficacy [F(3.295) = 2.62, p ≤ 0.005].

The pattern for autonomy is identical: students who perceive having more opportunities for autonomy in their classroom demonstrate more trust [F(3.295) ≥ 2.01, p ≤ 0.009] on media, the scientific community, schools, the UN, environmental NGOs, political parties, courts and political institutions (the Government, the Parliament, local authorities); levels of political self and collective efficacy [F(3.295) = 3.67, p ≤ 0.001] are also more intense.

Finally, students that view their classrooms as more diverse in terms of knowledge presentation also show more trust [F(3.295) ≥ 2.01, p ≤ 0.009] on media, schools, the UN, environmental NGOs, political parties and courts; again, these students express more political self and collective efficacy [F(3.295) = 2.88, p ≤ 0.004].

Discussion

Even though this is an exploratory and correlational study with obvious limitations, the results do indicate that classroom climate perceptions at higher education are related to citizenship attitudes. Consistently, students who report higher levels of teacher support, participation, autonomy and diversity in their classrooms also reveal higher levels of trust in social and political institutions and higher levels of political efficacy (individual and collective). These results suggest that opportunities for high and significant engagement in a supportive and challenging environment can be relevant for the development of attitudes associated with active citizenship.

Study 2

The main goal of this longitudinal study was to understand how students' psychological empowerment was affected by the quality of their out-of-class experiences. Research shows that these experiences can have a substantial impact in students' development during college, including academic, psychosocial and attitudinal dimensions (Kuh et al., 2005; Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005; Terenzini and Reason, 2005). Additionally, experiences such as volunteering or participating in students' unions have been related to students' civic and political development (Hamrick, 1998; Astin, 1999; Keeter et al., 2002; Perreault, 1997).

Sample and procedure

This study involved 203 university students, 70.9 percent females and 29.1 percent males, from Economy and Business Administration; the mean age was 20 years. Students were attending grades 1 (24.6 percent), 2 (11.3 percent), 3 (47.3 percent), 4 (4.4 percent) and 5 (12.3 percent) and were followed up in the two subsequent years. Questionnaires were administered in both a classroom setting and online.

Measures

Portuguese versions of the questionnaires were administered with all items scored on 7-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree); scale scores were computed as the mean of the scale items. Confirmatory factor analyzes were used to confirm the dimensionality of all the scales (data not shown, see Veiga, 2008).

Quality of participation experiences

The *quality of participation experiences* outside the classroom was evaluated using the Questionnaire of Participation Experiences (Ferreira and Menezes, 2001). The questionnaire is composed of two sections: in the first section, respondents are asked to indicate the frequency of their involvement in a series of organizations (student unions, political, charity, religious, …); in the second section respondents are asked to consider their most significant experiences and to evaluate these experiences in terms of opportunities for *action* (*Participation in activities such as protests, petitions, meetings, assemblies, parties, debates, …*) and *reflection* (*Felt that there were a variety of points of view being discussed*). The scores in these two dimensions are then transformed through cluster analysis into five clusters that represent different levels of participation engagement and quality: no participation, low quality participation, moderate to low action and reflection, moderate action and reflection, and high quality participation.

Psychological empowerment

The *Psychological Empowerment Scale for University Environment* (Veiga and Menezes, 2003) was specially created for this study and is used to assess psychological empowerment following Zimmerman's model (1995). The questionnaire used existing scales (Socio-political Control Scale developed by Zimmerman and Zahniser [1991]) and new items to evaluate psychological empowerment that involves three components: (1) intrapersonal empowerment, including leadership ('I would prefer to be a leader than a follower'), perceived competence ('I think I am more able than others to solve some difficult situations') and decision-making ('I know I can make difficult decisions'); (2) interactional empowerment, that is composed by resource mobilization ('When I have a goal I can make use of the resources (other people,

organizations, ...) close to me') and political control ('Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on'); and (3) behavioral empowerment ('I was able to motivate people (from a group, organization or community I belong to) to take a stand about an issue'). The intrapersonal component refers to how people think about themselves and 'includes perceived control, self-efficacy, motivation to control, perceived competence, and mastery' (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 582); the interactional component designates 'the understanding people have about their community and related socio-political issues' (ibid.); and the behavioral component includes community involvement, organizational participation and coping behaviors.

Results

Across time, students increase their perceptions of intrapersonal, interactional and behavioral empowerment (Figure 9.2).

In order to consider if the quality of out-of-campus experiences significantly influenced changes in psychological empowerment, repeated measures ANOVA for the three waves using the six clusters of participation engagement and quality as the differentiating factor. Results show significant interactions time**quality for intrapersonal (Figure 9.3) and behavioral (Figure 9.4) empowerment.

Analyzing both figures, it is possible to verify that those students with high quality experiences reveal a higher increase in dimensions of psychological empowerment; it is also interesting to note that low quality experiences seem to have a detrimental effect in intrapersonal empowerment.

Discussion

This study clearly demonstrates the potential benefits of out-of-campus participation in terms of their effects on students' psychological
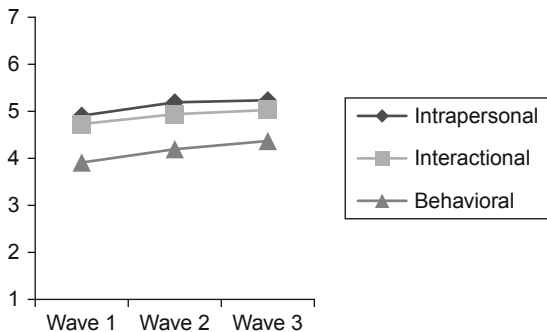
Figure 9.2   Changes of psychological empowerment across time
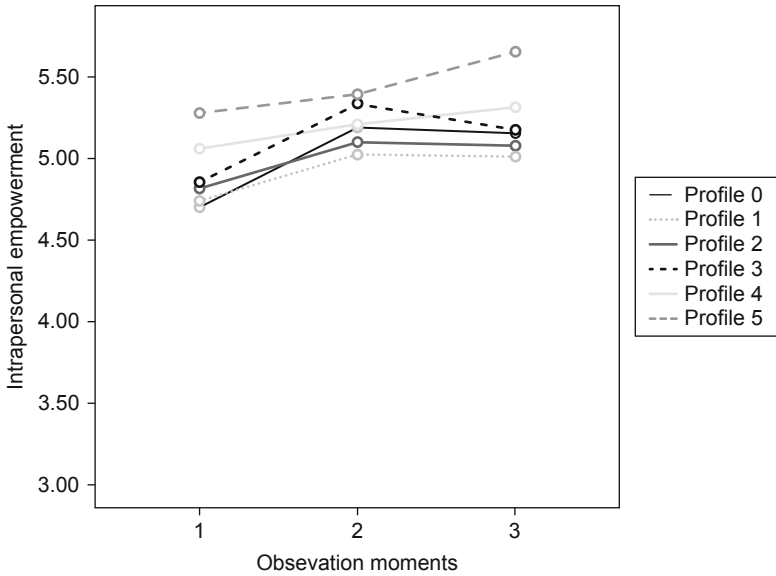
Figure 9.3   Changes of intrapersonal empowerment across time for the different clusters of participation quality
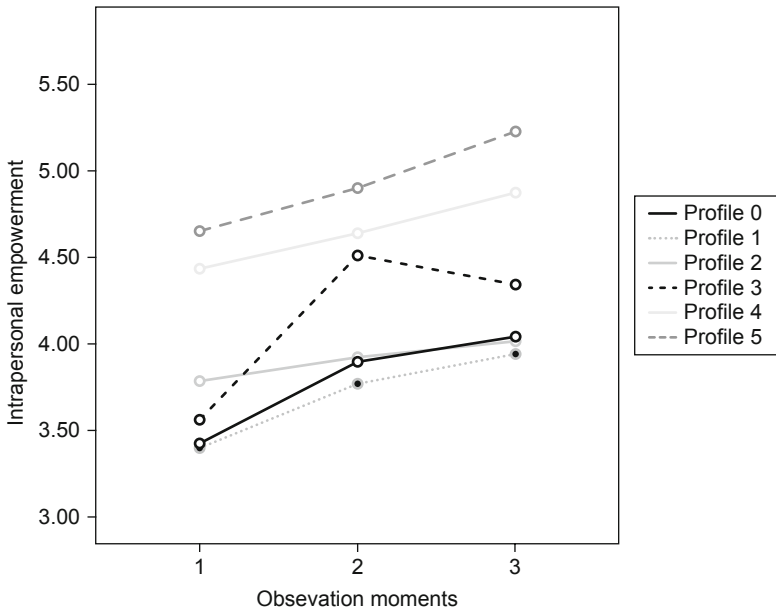
Figure 9.4   Changes of behavioral empowerment across time for the different clusters of participation quality

empowerment but simultaneously urges us to scrutinize these experiences. In this particular case we considered that the benefits of participation would depend on its developmental quality as defined in terms of: (i) opportunities for effective engagement in significant activities, (ii) in the context of a meaningful interaction with (different) others (iii) that allows for a personal integration of the experience – elements whose role Norman Sprinthall (Sprinthall and Scott, 1989; Sprinthall, 1991) has underlined in his research on deliberate psychological education. Again, as in the previous study, the impact of participation seems to be mediated by the quality of the environment.

Study 3

The main purpose of this third study is to analyze the impact of curricular, co-curricular and out-of-campus activities on student's social and personal development during their college experience. Education research shows that college students' development of social, relational and personal skills is closely related with their activities outside the classroom (Reason et al., 2007), with the nature of the course and with the student's academic experiences (Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005). We also know that certain student's practices and activities, such as cooperation among students, active learning, prompt feedback, student-faculty interactions, student's participation in different educational practices, and an institutional environment perceived as inclusive, are related with higher levels of student engagement (Kuh, 2004; Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005).

The particular relevance of this study is that not only it combines the analysis of in and out-of-class experiences but also it was implemented after the so-called Bologna reform and the changes that arose from it – even if researchers argue that the 'fast implementation rate corresponds to implementation "in form" rather than "in substance"' (Veiga and Amaral, 2009, p. 57). Nevertheless, the transformations that resulted from the implementation of the Bologna process in Portuguese universities implied a series of changes in educational processes, formative contents and working methods, both for teachers and students, namely the qualification's structure, with an European system of recognized qualifications and outcomes (ECTS); the structure of teaching-learning devices, with a new curricular design that is basically student-centered and focused on learning outcomes; and the organization models of universities, reinforcing the internationalization of research and mobility (David and Abreu, 2007; Feyo de Azevedo, 2009).

Sample and procedure

This study involved 236 university students, 46.2 percent females and 53.2 percent males, attending two master-level courses: Psychology (n = 113, 47.9 percent) and Informatics and Computing Engineering (N = 123,

52.1 percent). Students were asked to consider their experience during the last semester, when they were attending grades 1 and 3. Questionnaires were administered in a classroom setting.

Measures

Portuguese versions of the questionnaires were administered with all items scored on 7-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree); the exception was the Portuguese version of the *National Survey of Student Engagement* (NSSE) where the original 4- and 5-point scales were maintained; scale scores were computed as the mean of the scale items.

Student engagement

The variety of students' experiences was assessed using an adapted version of the *National Survey of Student Engagement* (NSSE) (Kuh, 2001). that includes five dimensions: level of academic challenge ('Worked harder than you thought you could to meet an instructor's standards or expectations'), active and collaborative learning ('Made a class presentation'), student-faculty inter-action ('Discussed grades and assignment with an instructor'), enriching educational experiences ('Had serious conversations with students who are very different from you in terms of their religious beliefs, political opinions, or personal values') and supportive campus environment ('Relationships with other students').

Classroom climate

Perceptions of the *diversity of scientific knowledge* in the classroom ('I learn how science can be part of my out-of-school life') were assessed using the six items from the *Constructivist Learning Environment Survey* (CLES) (Fraser, 1991).

Quality of participation experiences

The *quality of participation experiences* outside the classroom was evaluated using the Questionnaire of Participation Experiences (Ferreira and Menezes, 2001). The scores in the dimensions were then transformed through cluster analysis into five clusters that represented different levels of participa-tion engagement and quality: no participation, low quality participation, low action and moderate reflection, moderate action and reflection, high quality participation.

Psychological empowerment

A short-version of the *Psychological Empowerment Scale for University Environment* (Veiga and Menezes, 2003) was used to assess intrapersonal (leadership, perceived competence and decision-making) and behavioral empowerment.

Results

Students reveal positive perceptions of intrapersonal and behavioral empowerment, particularly positive regarding their decision-making skills and perceived competence; levels of leadership and actual empowerment behaviors are less expressive although positive (Figure 9.5).

In order to determine the relative influence of in-class and out-of-class experiences we performed linear regression for behavioral and intrapersonal empowerment; the predictors include the following variables:

- Socio-demographic variables: gender (female) and area of studies (psychology);
- University experiences that include diversity of knowledge in the classroom and five dimensions of student engagement: level of academic challenge, active and collaborative learning, student-faculty interaction, enriching educational experiences and supportive campus environment;
- Out-of-campus participation experiences, namely high developmental quality experiences.

Results for intrapersonal empowerment show that socio-demographic variables have no significant impact, whereas both university experiences (adjusted $r^2 = 0.154$) and, at a lesser level, out-of-campus participation experiences (adjusted $r^2 = 0.175$) seem to have a significant predictive impact (Table 9.2). If we look at the different variables (Table 9.3) both diversity of knowledge in the classroom and high quality experiences significantly predict intrapersonal empowerment.

Results for behavioral empowerment reveal a similar profile, with no significant impact of socio-demographic variables, while both university experiences (adjusted $r^2 = 0.188$) and out-of-campus participation experiences (adjusted $r^2 = 0.277$) are significant predictors (Table 9.4). As can be observed on Table 9.5, both active and collaborative learning and high quality out-of-campus experiences significantly predict behavioral empowerment.
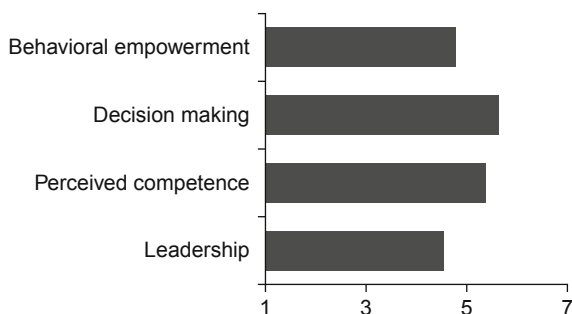
Figure 9.5   Dimensions of psychological empowerment

Table 9.2   Model summary for intrapersonal empowerment

					Change statistics				
Model	R	R square	Adjusted R square	Std. error of the estimate	R square change	F change	df1	df2	Sig. F change
1	0.092[a]	0.008	−0.005	0.80445	0.008	0.617	2	146	0.541
2	0.447[b]	0.200	0.154	0.73784	0.192	5.592	6	140	0.000
3	0.475[c]	0.225	0.175	0.72877	0.025	4.508	1	139	0.035

Notes: [a] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology)
[b] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology), supportive campus environment, active and collaborative learning, level of academic challenge, enriching educational experiences, diversity, student-faculty interaction
[c] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology), supportive campus environment, active and collaborative learning, level of academic challenge, enriching educational experiences, diversity, student-faculty interaction, high quality out-of-campus experiences

Table 9.3   Standardized coefficients for predictors of intrapersonal empowerment

Model	β standardized coefficients	t	Sig
(Constant)		10.120	0.000
area of studies (psychology)	−0.066	−0.511	0.610
gender (female)	−0.144	−1.192	0.235
diversity of knowledge	**0.260**	2.823	**0.005**
active and collaborative learning	0.137	1.435	0.154
enriching educational experiences	0.195	2.222	**0.028**
student-faculty interaction	0.025	0.244	0.807
level of academic challenge	−0.012	−0.146	0.884
supportive campus environment	−0.030	−0.372	0.710
high quality experiences	**0.172**	2.123	**0.035**

Discussion

The data presented here correspond to a preliminary study on the impact of (post-Bologna) curricular, co-curricular and out-of-campus activities in the development of university students that will evolve into a three wave longitudinal study. Again there are limitations related to the number of

Table 9.4   Model Summary for behavioral empowerment

					Change statistics				
Model	R	R square	Adjusted R square	Std. error of the estimate	R square change	F change	df1	df2	Sig. F change
1	0.045a	0.002	−0.012	1.28905	0.002	0.148	2	146	0.863
2	0.481b	0.231	0.188	1.15521	0.229	6.965	6	140	0.000
3	0.566c	0.321	0.277	1.09011	0.089	18.220	1	139	0.000

Notes: [a] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology)
[b] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology), supportive campus environment, active and collaborative learning, level of academic challenge, enriching educational experiences, diversity, student-faculty interaction
[c] Predictors: (Constant), gender (female), area of studies (psychology), supportive campus environment, active and collaborative learning, level of academic challenge, enriching educational experiences, diversity, student-faculty interaction, high quality out-of-campus experiences

Table 9.5   Standardized coefficients for predictors of behavioral empowerment

Model	β standardized coefficients	t	Sig
(Constant)		6.152	0.000
area of studies (psychology)	−0.188	−1.561	0.121
gender (female)	0.021	0.187	0.852
Diversity of knowledge	0.129	1.490	0.138
active and collaborative learning	0.244	2.726	**0.007**
enriching educational experiences	0.125	1.519	0.131
student-faculty interaction	0.029	0.304	0.762
level of academic challenge	0.040	0.502	0.616
supportive campus environment	0.010	0.128	0.898
high quality experiences	0.324	4.268	**0.000**

participants. However, and following the results of the two previous studies, students who positively evaluate their experiences in and out-of-campus reveal higher levels of psychological empowerment, both at intrapersonal and behavioral levels. As we underlined above, psychological empowerment has been associated with civic and political engagement and participation,

and therefore the results suggest that the structure of involvement opportunities within and beyond campus can make a difference in promoting the civic and political development of university students.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have considered recent changes in European higher education and their implications and challenges to the role of universities in the promotion of engaged and critical European citizens. This is not a new discussion, as the analysis of Zgaga (2009) discloses: on one part, universities have long assumed that their formative role also involves fostering civic and political literacy, engagement and participation, both explicitly through the development of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and implicitly by providing opportunities for action and decision-making; on the other part, students appear to experience a growth in civic and political interest and a willingness to engage in collective life that surely interacts with the existing opportunities and social norms. Obviously, this process occurs in a wider socio-cultural, political and economic context, and this is why the European changes in the structure, mission and governance of higher education institutions together with the institutionalization of the European Union as a trans-national state must be kept in mind.

The studies we presented follow a research tradition on the impact of higher education in the promotion of citizenship. On the whole, they suggest that curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular experiences have a significant effect in the development of civic and political attitudes and competencies, and therefore that universities do play a central role in this domain that crosses the wide range on organizational experiences: from regular classes to student interactions with faculty and peers, from opportunities to engage in research activities to situations where we engage in conversations with different others. Moreover, out-of-class and extra-campus engagement in the civic society also appears to be a significant predictor. However, in all cases, there appear to be common elements of these experiences that resonate with traditional research on the developmental potential of education (Dewey, 1916; Piaget, 1941; Sprinthall, 1991; Rogoff, 1990, 2003): an experiential, hands-on perspective; the interaction with other people; a supportive environment; a climate that values pluralism and diversity; a commitment to making sense out of experiences – since, as Dewey would argue 'interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essential moral interest' (p. 527).

However, it is clear that we need further research to deepen our understanding on how these elements combine to promote citizens who are willing to invest, in critical, challenging and engaged ways, in the fostering the quality of our common democratic life. And if it appears that this continues to be a central and demanding mission of universities in this new century, it is also clear that we need to explore novel and creative ways to accomplish it.

Note

1. In fact, the original version includes the following scales: support, participation, affiliation, satisfaction, organization, innovation and autonomy. However, in this chapter we will only present part of the results of this study.

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10

Civic Education as Profession: Current Developments in German (Higher) Educational System and Qualification Opportunities for Teachers and Trainers

Dirk Lange and Sven Rößler

Introduction

Historical accounts of *Civic Education* in Germany – or *Political Education*, as it is labeled there officially – of course is, in a democratic sense, only able to be narrated as the history of Civic Education in the western Federal Republic of Germany. Its foundation and normative basis rests on the "guilt" felt collectively by German people, or more recently a sense of "responsibility" arising from the Second World War, and particularly crimes against humanity. Those crimes, especially the genocide against the European Jews and other sections of the population like Roma, homosexual or handicapped persons and others, who were ideologically declared inferior, were committed by the totalitarian National Socialist mass movement and regime of its elites – at least by all of the state institutions and without any resistance by most of the population (rather the opposite).

Therefore German Civic Education is always a heritage of the Re-Education-Programs of the Allies, too. An ambivalent heritage – born in the face of necessity to deal with the same people that even yesterday were merciless enemies of mankind, when the Cold War was gathering at its European frontline (cf. Judt, 2006).

That, nevertheless, over 65 years after liberation and about 20 years after unification of the two German 'Republics'[1] some things have changed in general political climate, has to be taken for granted.

That is what we want to outline in the following article. Focus will be put on the conditions of higher education in perspective of Civic Education, current consequences and developments. Summaries of legislation

framework are found in certain national reports (e.g. European Commission, 2010; Eurydice, 2010). To provide comfortable access for further studies, we tried to work with online resources. A Glossary, provided online by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany (2010), might be useful in cases of doubt concerning the translation of national characteristics in the educational system.[2]

Today's German society has at least become modern in a certain sense: more liberal and cosmopolitan, but also – insofar it is the nature of modernity – more standardized, 'performance-orientated' and controlled in many areas of life. For a better understanding, we will have a closer look at some general aspects since these developments started.

To fence the mighty neighbor through integration in supranational organizations, Germany, as a populous country and an important, powerful economy, strategically located in the heart of Central Europe, belongs to the founding members of the European Union. Those fears of the other European Nations were not unfounded: In the post-war period, far reaching social and political reforms in the European system resulted in population shifts, which have had a huge impact on the factual social structure and exerted considerable influence on the way Germans see themselves, too – paradoxically as victims.

Nevertheless, in the public and state institutions, given by the liberators, western *Germany* tries to teach its *Germans* to act, judge and think in that relatively new way called *Democracy*. The Weimar Republic in the interim of both World Wars was only remembered as an experiment, failing near to civil war and finally empowering the Hitler Regime legally. Political Education surely helped pursuing that goal. But experience made by the 'economic miracle' was probably more effective in having success – as far as it was successful.

However, the founders of the western German constitution, named 'Grundgesetz' (*Basic Law*) to underline the temporary character of being separated, in 1949 stated emphatically in the first Paragraph of Article 20, after they fix the guarantees of civil rights in significant position in the first 19 articles, on the character of the new state: 'The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic and social federal state' (German Bundestag, 2010, p. 25).

The adjectives in this sentence still give a succinct description of the general conditions of Civic or Political Education in Germany; the following sections will outline the implications of these various terms.

The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic state

The mission of 'never again' (war, fascism, genocide, etc.), motivated more or less the strongly normative early theories of civic education. Also, the wounds to souls and minds caused by the feeling of being defeated and the

real damages within the country – against the background of the Germans' own responsibility, which they made a taboo subject– were factors. In times of the empire that, in contrast to other European countries, became a nation quite late at the end of 19th century (1871), citizenship education addresses citizens as subjects – subjected to reasons of a state which is personally represented in the emperor. That was one of the prerequisites of the First World War. Later, in the Nazi Period, this idea was radicalized in focus of an eliminatory anti-Semitic and racial hatred, leading into the cruelties of genocide and the Second World War.

In the so-called 'zero hour' (to put an end to the past over-hastily), reform attempts made in Weimar Republic, being of limited duration, were forgotten – their protagonists dead, in exile or compromised. The people escaped in their private spheres, the public realm was discredited by the totalitarian politicization of all areas of life – that in fact always means the end of all things political. It was only when the crimes of the parental generation were made public by court proceedings under international attention in the 1960s that the Baby Boomer generation of youth questioned continuities between former and recent society and got more and more disappointed with the social climate. At the end of the decade, the global movement of student revolts and demonstrations *for* civil rights or rather *against* the establishment, considered to be one of old, white men, reached Western Germany, too.

Previously Political Education was, generally speaking, divided into one group that addressed a democratic way of life of partnership as a civilian attitude and a second that preferred to pave the way for democracy by teaching its proceedings and institutions and enabling one to participate knowingly (for historical aspects of German Political Education in that section, cf. Gagel, 2005).

The first one, gathered around the conclusions of Theodor Wilhelm, who published in 1951 using the pen name 'Friedrich Oetinger,' one of the first systematic concepts of rejuvenated Political Education. It became famous under the title of the second edition: *Partnerschaft – Die Aufgabe der politischen Erziehung* (faithfully: *Partnership – Purpose of Political Education*). This group looked for possibilities to change the social character in everyday life as stipulation for changes in political culture – a perspective that dealt with a certain reading of Dewey's Experiential Education and in reception of Pragmatist positions: 'certain' insofar as 'partnership' reoccurred in a broader sense of Nazi Socialist 'ethnic community.'

In critique of that turgid and therefore mistakable jargon, a second group, connected with Theodor Litt, preferred a more distant and less affected view on democracy – not in substance, but in attitude – in vivid remembrance of fascist permanent mobilization. This trend aims not so much to appeal to experience as to cognition.

Both find themselves in context of anti-communist post-war leading ideology, which was historically an obvious intersection between national

socialist socialization of German population and new democratic order(s). But at the end of the 1960s, a great coalition in a three-party system tempted the student left-wing movement to behave as extra-parliamentary opposition; critique rises against western post-war society in toto. Political education as well gets politicized and radicalized, not only in the literal sense of serious doubts about capitalist modern mass culture. In fact (or better: in post-perspective), the real impact of revolutionary zest on social (and political) circumstances has to be seen just as a modernization, by an in-some-respects backward country that has to catch up.

The Federal Republic of Germany is a social state

Beside the ideological integration process in the western democratic system, the implementation of welfare state functions stabilized not only the German but the whole European political reformation. Enabled by an upward economic tendency, empowered by the beliefs in the necessity (and possibility) of social engineering, Europe experienced quality of life increases that were historically unprecedented. With consequences of a world economic crisis in recent memory, the connection of prosperity and loyalty to the state also furthered conflation of political and social spheres as if they were equivalent– a very proverbial, comprehensive 'social-democracy.' It founded a system of procedures that pacify both sides of industry – what today, in the 'post'-era, is called *Fordism*, following Henry Ford's popular slogan *'cars don't buy cars.'* At that time both unions and management could become actors of an extensive wealth distribution policy – without cancelling out the dissimilarities in substance, of course.

In the 1970s upcoming structural unemployment as a result of rationalization and deindustrialization (in other words: the starting economic shift to service sector that excludes unqualified work) queries the basis of that system: full employment, which finances public expenditure (and limits demand for it). This, over the long term strained the whole architecture of the post-war welfare state. One of the effects in western Germany was stopping recruitment of erroneously so-called 'guest' workers especially from southern Europe (Spain, Italy, Greece) and Turkey. They had been required to boost the economic growth since the mid-50s. Given the chance to choose irreversibly between returning to their home country, which increasingly became unfamiliar due to the time abroad, or to stay in Germany, quite a few of these workers decided on the second option.

Nearly up to now, German society (and for a long time its political class, too) refused to be a popular country to immigrate – but in reality, things have proceeded differently. Officially this fact is meanwhile recognized without doubt:

> A further factor influencing the changing population structure is the number of foreign nationals living in Germany. In 2008, there were more

than 6.7 million foreign nationals, or 8.2 per cent of the overall population. [...] Despite the low birthrates, the population has grown by a total of 4 million since 1970. This is due to the number of migrations: Since 1970, some 6.5 million more people have immigrated to Germany than emigrated from Germany. (European Commission, 2010, p. 19f.)

About 20 percent of the population (15.6 million in 2008) in recent German society, which in total is around 82 million people, have a biographical background of migration in *a broader sense* of being influenced by their own migration or when migration is part of the biography of at least a parent.[3] The quantitative relation of persons with *personal* and *international* migration experience to the total population in Germany is with about 13 percent, nearly equal to the USA (13 percent in 2005 and 13.5 percent estimated for 2010), but of course not comparable with Canada (19.5 percent/21.3 percent) (cf. United Nations, 2009).

Like how 'guest workers' occupied a position mostly on the margins of society, in the 1970s a special pedagogy 'for foreigners' ('*Ausländerpädagogik*') came into being on the margins of the discipline of civic education, with undoubtedly honorable intentions, but problematic in practice. Despite later reception of a multicultural paradigm (in the 1980s), it took a long time to break with an ambivalent attitude that underlines constitutional 'otherness.' Sometimes it was seen as cultural enrichment – but in a folkloristic attitude; and sometimes in a paternalistic perspective on so-seen cultural 'deficiencies.' For hard-liners it was (and is still) a popular argument to complain about a lack of integration that in fact they only could imagine as assimilation; in a more or less implicit tendency, migrants should make themselves invisible, 'disappear' in a figurative or literal sense.

One has to consider what it means when today 21.9 percent of the population with migratory background but only almost 14 percent of the whole population (nota bene, including them) is aged under 15. In some metropolises it is more than half. In Frankfurt nearly three-quarters of children aged less than three years have a migratory background. On the other hand, only 7 percent of educational staff members at school and 9 percent in all pedagogical fields have one – despite a rate of 17 percent at the general labor market (Ständige Konferenz and BMBF, 2010, pp. 18, 43, 213).

The conflicts of the preceding decade inclined in the 'majority society' of the seventies to escalate into ideological trench warfare – but only for a few activists and in the public and academic discourses of intellectuals, then later also for real (though experienced by most people only on television) in terrorist challenges. Most of the former active participants in or sympathizers of student revolt resigned in the face of their vague revolutionary hopes failing to appear (or rather just became older and joined the bourgeois status from which most of them came) and withdrew from public

engagement. In addition, the emergence of the first post-war economic crisis caused an associated one in political thought; although most of the population was oriented toward the pursuit of happiness, this was only in a short social range and in their private lives rather as a public happiness.

While the (verbal) revolutionary political aims of the late 1960s failed, the associated student movement incidentally (and unintentionally) opened the public realm, developing in the 1970s in the form of new social movements with the aim of sensitizing the public toward single issues and alternative lifestyles though extra-parliamentary articulation – but mostly just in a 'first-person-perspective' (see also passage above): Criticism of the system itself was replaced by its – more or less – critical improvement. This, in turn, led to the emergence of the Green Party in the 1980s as a wide renewal of the traditional three-party system. Before that, only a small liberal party ensured changing majorities in coalition with one of the two large people's parties – the Christian Democratic Union on the center-right and the Social Democrat Party on the left-of-center spectrum. These developments can be seen as a *political* history of decline or, through a lens of social democratization, – with equal legitimacy – also as a history of success – or, in analytical perspective, just as a mundane make-up for modernization

Also in Political Education some changes took place. To re-establish a common frame of disciplines' goals after splitting along the debates on fundamental principles years ago, the Beutelsbach Consensus between more conservative and more progressive tendencies was reached in 1976. To find a common ground, three basic principles played a decisive part in practice but also in constitution of Civic or rather Political Education as a subject-related didactic discipline that is important for teacher qualification in Germany (see below). This central document determines:

Beutelsbach Consensus

1. Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil:
   It is not permissible to catch pupils unprepared or unaware – by whatever means – for the sake of imparting desirable opinions and to hinder them from 'forming an independent judgement.' [...]

2. Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial:
   Matters which are controversial in intellectual and political affairs must also be taught as controversial in educational instruction. [...]

3. Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils:
   Pupils must be put in a position to analyse a political situation and to assess how their own personal interests are affected as well as to seek means and ways to influence the political situation they have identified according to their personal interests. [...]

                    (Baden-Württemberg State Centre for Civic Education, 2010)

In kind of a rollback, after having been normatively calmed down in political issues and enriched by social ones (especially ecology and gender), Political Education now became more pragmatic in the 1980s and stood out doing something like Civil Education, but in a very broad sense, in practice near to life counseling.

The Federal Republic of Germany is a federal state

The Beutelsbach Consensus was of overriding importance in particular under the specific German conditions of strictly federal organization of education policy by the *Länder* (federal states). Once again, this aspect, valid for many fields of political sovereignty, is part of the consequences, which has to be accepted by the disastrous political and ethical heritage of German National Socialism. In mind of *checks and balances*, to avoid abilities to accumulate power in one hand by procedural principles, the Basic Law stipulates in Article 30 that '[e]xcept as otherwise provided or permitted by this Basic Law, the exercise of state powers and the discharge of state functions is a matter for the Länder' (German Bundestag, 2010, p. 32). Actually, after unification in 1989, the Federal Republic of Germany is constituted by 16 *Länder*, partly just city states like the capital Berlin, with its own institutions. In a bicameral system of *Bundestag* (Lower House of Parliament, elected by a combined procedure, half a majority vote system and half one of proportional representation) and *Bundesrat* (Upper House of Parliament, that represents the governments of the *Länder*) decision-making can sometimes be difficult, but on the other hand it also generates more approval of (and responsibility for) results. Instead of a presidential system that historically enabled the legal handover of power to dictatorship at the end of Weimar Republic, the Federal Chancellor merely has the authority to establish guidelines.[4]

The end of system competition and the following phase of global upheaval in the late 20th century especially shaped Germany. After first cheers about the surprising, fast and peaceful self-liberation of the people of eastern Germany subsided, Europeans and German had to face some long-term problems: a moribund economy challenged public budgets; German emigrants, who left their country centuries ago to tsarist Russia, massively returned after the fall of the Iron Curtain; and communist dictatorship had to be reappraised – dissatisfaction in general and right-wing extremism in particular increased.

On the other hand, a neo-liberal spirit, hostility to the state anyway, in face of the seeming historical victory of capitalism, became hegemonic in public. The emphasis of discourses on public purposes radically shifts from 'security' to support (economic) 'performance' – this also affects, gradually, the academic realm. Involved in both developments, challenged in new needs of social situation and as an academic discipline too, Political Education reacts by re-politicization in the sense of an intensified subject-

relation (not ideologically). Apart from that, also a strengthened professionalization took place: didactics evolved to cultural studies in subject-related learning and cultivated its own distinct empirical research.

Conclusion of introduction

In the course of global, international and national social and political developments, in particular the progress in Europeanization, topics like gender equality, but also sustainable development in its social, economic and ecological sense, has become more and more important in public concern – also and especially in Germany. The challenges of globalization also are to be seen as real opportunities to learn and to get used to an extended democratic behavior, beyond just to know about and how to use its institutions.

Of course, the shift to a modern, open post-industrial and migratory society is not a problem per se – quite the reverse! – but changes *can* frighten sections of the population anyhow, and they *do*; especially those who have (or believe they have) reason to fear descent down the job or social ladder. This might be one but surely not the only or decisive reason for right-wing extremism, too. To give a résumé of what we wanted to illustrate in the section above, we can record that recent German Civic Education is therefore tasked and questioned to communicate concepts for an adequate understanding of those developments, and to enable participation under such in contrast to a society established by comparatively static traditions, but operating under more dynamic social and political conditions. There is no alternative, above all, when those traditions had led right into the greatest disaster in civilization of mankind 60 years ago.

Basic lines of german educational system

Before we can start introducing the specifics of higher education, the main characteristics of the German Educational System have to be described in general. It is important in both ways as the central working field *for* and part of the recruitment (and qualification) *of* Civic Educators.

With an age of 18 compulsory education in Germany ends. There are about 16.6 million persons participating in 2008/9 in pre-school day-nursery, primary, secondary, tertiary or vocational education, 12.7 million of them aged between 0 and 19 (cf. Ständige Konferenz and BMBF, 2010, p. 224[5]). Figure 10.1 gives an idea about a very special and, not at least due to the federal constitution, differentiated organization of schooling, which consequently provides different educational career paths, too.

It is a system that is not only structured in classes but also traditionally by – and for – (social) classes: After common primary school (*Grundschule*), the (lower) secondary level reaches a consequent streaming in *Hauptschule,* preparing for blue collar occupations, *Realschule*, for white collar work, and *Gymnasium*, for academic professions. It is to emphasize that the momentous

Figure 10.1 Eurydice: Organization of the education system in Germany, 2009/10

Source: European Commission (2010, p. 30).

decision of individual careers normally is made by the teachers (parents can raise limited objections) on pupils which are on average aged just 10 years. Nowadays, this tripartite process corresponding with categories of industrial social structure more and more comes into conflicts with advanced needs for vocational qualifications in an information society – and demographic change contributes to the necessity for a fundamental reform, too.

There is also an ethic, or better, *political* dimension in the strictly separated and highly social selective (see Figure 10.2) tripartite system. Almost a third (29 percent in 2008) of all underage persons (in Germany adolescents come of age at eighteen) are from backgrounds that involve at least one certain risk of deficits in educational opportunities as having unemployed parents (*social* risk),

| 100% | 76% | 51% | 45% | 34%[2] | 24%[3] |

Elementary school

1st threshold

Transition to further education

2nd threshold

Transition upper secondary level

3rd threshold

Acquisition of higher education entrance qualification

4th threshold

Commencing studies

5th threshold

Acquisition of academic degree
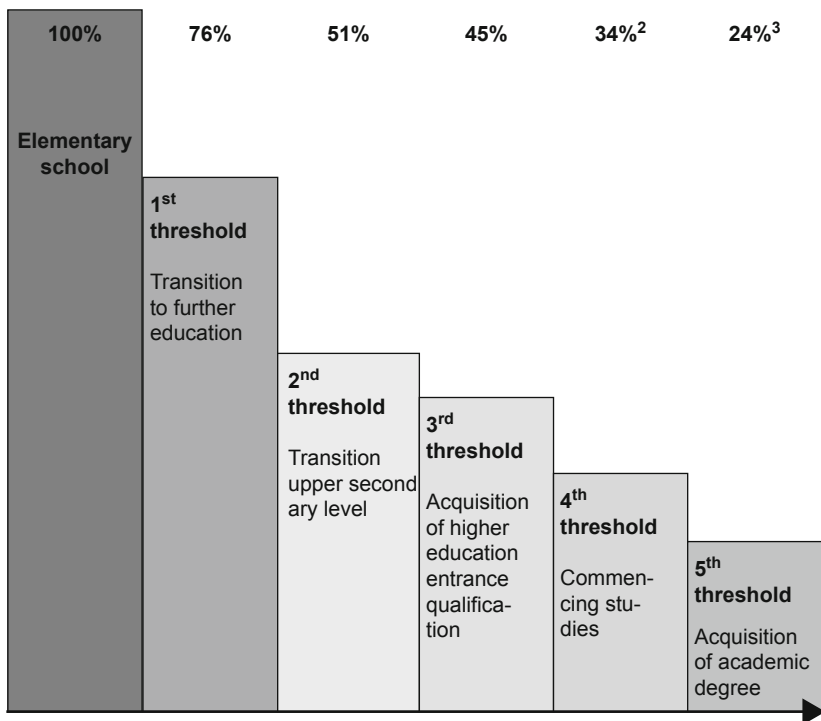
Figure 10.2 DSW/HIS 19th Social Survey: educational barriers – five thresholds in educational participation, 2008[1] (in %)

Notes: [1] Proportion of Germans and foreign students with a German education in the corresponding age groups among the general population;
[2] First-year student rate according to the state where higher education entrance qualifications were acquired;
[3] Percentage of students who acquired their first degree, 2007.

Source: Federal Ministry (2010, p. 9).

low family income (*financial* risk) or parents with low level of qualification (risk of *educational distance*); in particular these risks are of concern to 1.7 million children with migratory background (42.2 percent) (Ständige Konferenz & BMBF, 2010, p. 27). Even the allies tried to abolish it after the catastrophes of the Second World War and the National Socialist Terror Regime. It was evident for them that this structure actively prevents any equality of opportunities by sorting out on the basis of social background and not the individual potential (and rights). However, these reform attempts failed even at that time in face of strong resistances in German education sector.

Of course, one can describe that situation in terms of injustice, discrimination and therefore infringement of core principles of democracy, as the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education recently did (Muñoz, 2007) – but also just in an economic point of view as a ridiculous untapped potential. That actually helped the political and social reform attempts to meet with a response from persons responsible in industry. While the public expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product in fact declines in the last 15 years from 4.6 percent in 1995 to 4.5 percent in 2007 (in the same period the public expenditure in the USA rises from 4.7 percent to 5.3 percent, in Canada however it significantly falls from 6.2 percent to 4.9 percent; the OECD average constantly is 5.2 percent) (OECD, 2010, p. 243), the formation of political objectives concerning the general structure of the educational system follows the increasing critique on the educational performance in public, also encouraged by the alarming results of the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA, see http://www.pisa.oecd.org), the *Third International Mathematics and Science Study* (http://www.timss.org/) as well as the *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study* (PIRLS[6]).

In international comparison, the reading, mathematical and scientific literacy (typically any 'civic' literacy in a narrower sense was gathered) of German pupils was only average if at all – which insults the (former) export world champion and self-appointed European paragon of virtue. The 'PISA-Shock' was the starting point for far-reaching school-reform attempts.

It is ironic that, at one recent peak in the debate, even an enormous majority of all political parties in the city state Hamburg failed miserably to integrate the *Gymnasium* into a new, comprehensive school structure with more (social) mobility between qualification structures (Economist, 2010; Deutsche Welle, 2010). Ironic because the initiative was refused by referendum (that particularly mobilized bourgeois parents, frightened about blurring social distinction). On the other hand, also a one-year reduction of time to spend in the *Gymnasium* has attracted widespread criticism from the public. But nevertheless: this so called 'G8' (eight years instead of nine in secondary general) was successfully politically forced to be gradually introduced in all of the 16 *Länder* by 2007 (Ständige Konferenz and BMBF, 2010, p. 63) – the given reason was not a social

but an economic one: Allegedly the time spent in the educational system was taking too much time from an international economic point of view. In fact 80 percent of first-time tertiary-type A graduates in Germany are aged below 29.7 years, the OECD average age is 30.5 and in the EU19 it is 29.8 years (OECD, 2010, p. 68). The debates on the German *Gymnasium* are conducted so passionately because it is, with only some possibilities by continuing education, the only way to higher education at universities and therefore in all probability to higher social protection in face of a radically transforming society.

Civic Education at school takes part in a double capacity: It is taught as a subject under several names due to federalism, and with a different curriculum; especially, of course, at the *Gymnasium*, where, for example in Lower-Saxony, it is taught as '*Politik – Wirtschaft*' (*Politics – Economics*). Second, it is taught and should be lived as a cross-section-principle in all subjects and everyday life of the school community (and its committees, for sure).

Higher education in general

How important passing the Gymnasium is, is shown in the fact that 96 percent of students at German universities are entering tertiary level with an A-Level qualification (BMBF, 2010, p. 58). Like in the USA, a comparison of population aged 25–34 to that aged 55–64 in Germany shows that tertiary education attainment, in stark contrast to most of other countries, stagnates. On the other hand, with around 40 percent the U.S. level is far higher than the German one, which is around 25 percent. However, OECD average attainment increased from 20 percent of the older generation to 35 percent of the youngest, and in Canada even 56 percent of the population aged 25–34 attained tertiary education (OECD, 2010, pp. 26, 36). Nevertheless, in 2008 37.7 percent of the typical population aged *18–21* left school with a general entrance qualification for higher education, and an additional 13.4 percent reached entrance qualification for universities of applied science (technical colleges of higher education called *Fachhochschulen* in German) (Ständige Konferenz and BMBF, 2010, p. 288).

But not all decide to begin their studies, of course – not least due to the financial risk of covering basic needs, fees, etc. As already shown above in perspective on educational careers at school (Figure 10.2), the effects of social selectivity are also coming into force at higher education, called the '*Educational Filter*' ('*Bildungstrichter*'), with a transition-rate of 81 percent and 88 percent children, whose father has an academic degree, attend upper secondary school (81 of 100) and higher education studies (71 of 100). But on the other hand only 45 and 24 children, whose fathers have *no* academic degree, do so (transition-rates of 45 percent and 53 percent respectively). And only 11 percent of the students enrolled in higher education institutions

have a migratory background (Federal Ministry, 2010, pp. 7f., 12) – instead of around 20 percent in the entire population (see above).

In 2008 329,000 first-year and 1,818,000 students (winter semester 2008/9) in total (inclusive of foreign students with a German education) were enrolled in institutions of higher education (without colleges of public administration). Fourteen percent of the age-matched population had acquired a German entrance qualification *and* were first-year students at universities – respectively 20 percent at universities of applied science (here including colleges of public administration) (Federal Ministry, 2010, pp. 2f.). It is to be taken into consideration that not all students which acquired the *general* entrance qualification go to university – they are also part of the 20 percent at universities of applied sciences.

To make a strict difference between *universities* and *universities of applied science* has become more and more difficult since the Bologna Process started to alter the institutions of higher education in Europe and, not necessarily in its essence but in result, in Germany in particular.

The chosen place was well considered by the 29 European Ministers of Education to make a declaration in 1999 (European Ministers of Education, 1999): The University of Bologna was founded in the 12th century and is probably the oldest extant higher education institution in Europe. The ministers underline an agreement on targeting the unification respectively the setting up of a European Higher Education Area by 2010. Core elements of that agreement were the development of easily understandable and comparable degrees in higher education by establishing a framework of two-cycled (undergraduate/graduate) and modularized course structures. In addition to the mobility-improving comparability, focusing the cultural and social Europeanization, too, the ECTS, *European Credit Transfer System*, should be implemented. *Quality Assurance* (by accreditation and evaluation) and *Lifelong Learning* are also main aspects of the Bologna Process as well as *Employability* above all (European level: http://www.ehea.info/; on national level: Federal Ministry [2012]; and in perspective of the universities: Bologna Centre [2012]).

Mobility also means the opening of institutions for the more heterogeneous population. The undergraduate *Bachelor's* degree (in reminiscence of the medieval *Bakkalaureat*) was introduced in the universities of applied science, taking four instead of three years, and give so the opportunity to access also a university *Master's degree* (an anglicized variation of the traditional *Magister*). Only the third cycle – the doctorate phase – is (still) a privilege of universities. Because passing entrance qualification for universities of applied science in upper secondary school takes a year less, the one year longer Bachelor's courses were balancing out the duration of qualification. With the new model of the shorter *Gymnasium* for direct transition to university, this situation is recently questioned once more.

The former architecture of university courses was nearly the opposite of the new model. Despite a great trend to democratize it since the early 1970s, what

in fact means transformation into a mass institution, more or less social exclusively, but inside also a social place of relative freedom and liberty, the old institution (and constitution) of the university was following an idea of erudition and forming the character in the ancient sense of the academy, taken by the ideals of Enlightenment and not only as work capacity like the catchphrase of 'employability' does. The studies took at least five years to acquire a degree, *Diplom* or *Magister*, at the end by passing final oral examinations and above all by writing a thesis in half a year or a whole one. Only some preconditions were required to be fulfilled during the study-time; decisions on what to study about and when were mostly, in particular in the humanities, self-determined. Of course some students (roughly a third) failed in necessarily motivating and disciplining themselves, but those who graduate document their academic and intellectual abilities – what higher education is for, even in the meaning of employability. Social opportunity was understood more as a challenge of financial promotion – than of the curriculum.

Now, the radical German reform attempt creates de facto a double-bind-situation between profiling in competitive, already in combination of their modules, *and* being comparable. The universities now are also to compete for 'best' researchers with more flexible salaries and for the 'best' students –
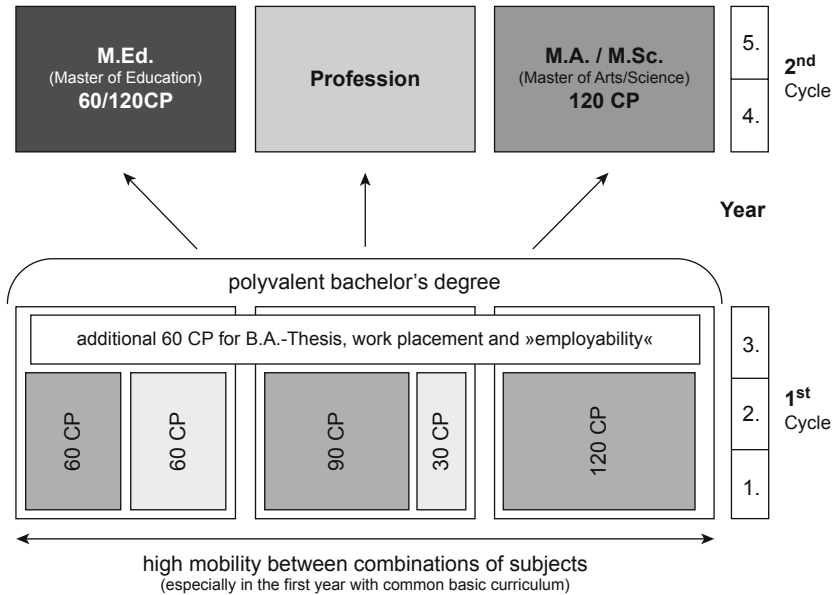
Figure 10.3   Exemplary new structure at Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Lower-Saxony, in the course of *Bologna* course reform (own chart)

but of course it is a zero-sum game: benefiting excellence causes budget deficit in underdeveloped areas; it is a vicious circle.

A multitude of different course 'offers' leaves its mark on the new 'educational market.' A complete overview would go beyond the scope of this chapter, so an exemplary description might be illustrative enough to let the basic lines appear – particularly as cutting red tape does not mean that there is no demand for a vote. What originally was settled by ministry has now to be the far less reliable result of an examination of various actors.

Because of a special course of study we want to introduce in the last section, we decided to choose the example (see Figure 10.3) of Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg (cf. http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/en/) in Lower-Saxony, the northwestern region in Germany. There is also another reason: this university had already finished the adjustment to reform attempts in winter semester 2005/2006.

The Bachelor's degree is stated as a first qualification for profession after three years. It comprises modules that usually are worth six Credit Points. One Credit Point (CP) is equivalent to the full-time academic study of an average student. The so called *workload* describes the presence time (for example, at the teaching session) as well as free study time for preparation of module examinations and writings. Now, one can calculate the whole three-year-studies (180 CP) in time per page needed to read an article. But joking apart: Such an organization gives special social interests account like studying besides employment or parenthood. On the other hand, instead of only a handful of examinations at the end, now examinations by module (for sure each less important) increase greatly and cause permanent stress instead of real possibilities for contemplation.

It seems more to us than a matter of taste. The appearance of free choice in a modularized course structure in fact takes the sovereignty out of the students' hand but leaves the risks to them. The keyword is a very ambitious orientation on 'polyvalence.' The students are 'free' to combine two subjects equally or in a major/minor-combination or to enroll only in one subject to be prepared for ongoing studies as well as for the labor market (which actually has no experiences in employing undergraduates). In theory, there is a high mobility between the certain combinations. Actually, in practice, access to a concrete Master's program is only under very certain conditions in design of the undergraduate studies possible, especially for the Master of Education degree that is already settled by the ministry (see below), now in form of an employer and not of an educational guarantee.

There is no concrete job outline for 'Civic Educators' in Germany apart from being a teacher of *Politics* at school. So, on the other hand, also a more subject than pedagogical related educational background opens up opportunities for working in the field of Civic Education. Recently 9 percent of male and a fifth of female first-year students are enrolled in the subject area of Social Sciences, Education and Psychology, which is most relevant for the Qualification of Civic Educators. Their gender ratio at that subject area is around a third male

to two-thirds female (Federal Ministry, 2010, p. 4). Nevertheless, the starting point of Civic Education at university in the face of the reform attempt is not quite convenient: internally there was no job description but a field of studies, which is extensive grounds (in principle not only related to one distinct subject); and from outside the absolute political will to (and need for) successful reform, that may invite curricular experiments but in fact does not permit them at the same time in order to avoid failing. But also this challenge in political science 'opened' the chance and has a catalytic effect in elaborating the need of professionalization. At the University of Oldenburg it was possible to put a main emphasis in the subject/research area of social science also *beyond* teacher training on 'Civil Consciousness and Participation.'

In Lower-Saxony (and also throughout the whole of Germany) the situation of Civic/Political Education at university is ambivalent, too. On the one hand, as a school-subject (*Politics/Politics-Economics*), Civic Education is strongly anchored in regulations for examination. As a principle it also takes place as a part of the *General Educational Sciences* in teacher training. But already before the global financial crisis occurred, public financing decreased and pressure to fund own research with third party resources increased. Of course the discipline of *Fach-Didaktik* (didactics in a broader sense of subject-related theory of teaching) gains a profit in further developing in direction of being *cultural studies of subject-related learning* by those, single, institutions which were successful in exploiting this opportunity in the hard field of soft social sciences, producing results without any instant and direct material benefits. But in wide range, the practice (and quality not least of all) in qualification of Civic Educators suffers from financial shortage. Even reputable institutions like the *Georg Eckert Institute for international textbook research* (Brunswick)[7] have to fight against closure due to underfunding.

Higher education for teaching at school

With an explicit interest in teaching profession, due to the ongoing reform process, just 4 percent of the students are actually (2008/9) enrolled in a university to pursue a Bachelor's degree and one percent for a Master's degree (that is mostly consecutive to the bachelor and at least compulsory for teaching at school). Thirteen percent are still enrolled in the 'old' courses of study, which will be finished by state examination. Degrees of universities of applied sciences do not provide access to public school teacher posts – teacher training (and some in-service training) courses therefore usually just take place at universities (Federal Ministry, 2010, p. 5).

Corresponding to the types of schools, teacher qualification at university courses is roughly speaking differentiated in the following careers (more differentiated: European Commission, 2010, pp. 198–201):

- At primary level (*Grundschule*) and at lower secondary general/basic level (*Hauptschule*);

- At lower secondary intermediate level (*Realschule*);
- At lower secondary level leading to upper secondary and at upper secondary level (*Gymnasium*);
- In vocational education (*Berufsschule*);
- In special education (*Sonderschule*).

When the Bachelor's degree is to be polyvalent, the Master's programs are very specialized. The duration of studies in programs for a Master of Education degree (M.Ed.) differs from one year (the first two mentioned careers at *Grundschule/Hauptschule* and *Realschule*) to two years (the other careers and the regular duration for a scientific Master of Science or a Master of Arts degree). The reason for that spectrum is more due to budget orientation than founded on professional needs: The shorter the duration, the cheaper the salaries. However, with a starting salary for teachers at primary education level of 43,524 USD up to 72,876 USD at the top of the scale at upper secondary, most Civic Educators decide to work at school (in comparison: for the U.S. the range stretches from 35,999 to 53,913 USD) (OECD, 2010, p. 402). The professional status of teachers at school, where the absolute majority is part of public sector, differs due to German history: in western Germany they are usually civil servants, employed by the *Länder*; in eastern Germany (not including Brandenburg) professional employments are predominant (European Commission, 2010, p. 210).

To raise the educational level of basic primary and secondary teaching (and teachers), teacher training institutions were enhanced to higher education when the Federal Republic of Germany was founded. At first these institutions were made their own category (called *Pädagogische Hochschule*), later, with a new curriculum, most of them (just with the exception of Baden-Württemberg) were transferred to or integrated in existing universities. Now they are to cover subject-related studies as well as educational science and social sciences and subject-related didactics (European Commission, 2010, p. 194). In June 2005 the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs principally decided to recognize reciprocally any federal Bachelor's and Master's degree in teacher training courses, stipulating that they must:

- cover at least two subjects and educational science in addition and each in both cycles;
- be received by integrative studies at an university, including a period of practical training in the first cycle;
- maintain the previous number of terms prescribed for the completion of course; and
- be differentiated in curriculum and degree by types of school;
- Also an evaluation an accreditation is 'expected.' (German version: Ständige Konferenz, 2005)

Being affirmed by the sobering results of PISA, TIMSS and IGLU tests, the idea to formulate standards that allow a comparison of the achievements with an international perspective, the running reform of higher education in mind, also reached the federal school systems and was tackled by the *Standing Conference* in 2004. The initial attempt was to distinguish between content or curriculum standards, opportunity-to-learn standards, performance or output standards as well as between minimum, regular and maximum level standards (Ständige Konferenz, 2004a). Up to now, some common subject-based profiles of pupils' achievements for some types of school throughout Germany were developed. But *Politics* obviously seems not to be as important as, for example, German, mathematics or chemistry to be admitted to the standardized canon up to now. Nevertheless, the German *Society for Civic Education Didactics and Civic Youth and Adult Education* (*Gesellschaft für Politikdidaktik und Politische Jugend- und Erwachsenenbildung*, GPJE) still made a suggestion, which differentiated three areas of competences: *political judgment*, *acting* and *methodical abilities* (GPJE, 2004, p. 13).

The *Standing Conference* also formulated *Educational Sciences Standards* that concern university training in Civic and Political Education both as school subjects as well as principles, too: *Political Science* is, comparable with *Philosophy* or *Sociology*, part of the compulsory subject choice in the field of *Educational Science* in all teacher training courses. Eleven competences were spread out around four areas: *Teaching*, *Education*, *Assessment* and *Innovation* and all defined in the same way like the first one in the field of *Education*: 'Teachers prepare lessons professionally and properly and carry it out factually and correctly' or the last one, part of *Innovation*: 'Teachers participate in planning and realization of school projects and schemes' (Ständige Konferenz, 2004b, pp. 7–13). The more recent declaration *Support and Demand – a challenge to education policy, parents, schools, and teachers* (*Fördern und Fordern – eine Herausforderung für Bildungspolitik, Eltern, Schule und Lehrkräfte*) also focus on 'altered conditions within society and the broader scope of schools' mandate, teachers in their capacity as experts for instruction and education increasingly act as part of a personal network which is supported by communication and cooperation, e.g. with school social workers, Sozialpädagogen (graduate youth and community workers), psychologists, parents, and scientists' (European Commission, 2009, p. 197).

This more or less general job description was replenished in 2008 with a catalog of content requirements for subject-related studies and subject-related didactics in dual-phase federal teacher training (first a degree at university, afterwards a compulsory 18 to 24 month preparatory service) (Ständige Konferenz, 2010):

On completing their course, teacher-training students should have

- compatible subject-related knowledge,

- subject-related cognitive and working methods,
- compatible subject-related teaching methods.

The preparatory service (Vorbereitungsdienst) is intended to provide future teachers with the ability to:

- plan and structure subject-related learning,
- deal with complex teaching situations,
- promote sustainable learning,
- manage subject-specific performance assessment.

(translated version in: European Commission, 2010, p. 199)

Here, not for the pupils (see above) but for students as future teachers, a common subject profile of Civic/Political Education in Germany, developed together with relevant researchers and professional associations, is appended (cf. Ständige Konferenz, 2010, pp. 44f. [German version]): Giving consideration to the variety of names of the subject in the federal educational system – like *social studies* (*Sozialkunde*), *politics/politics-economics* (*Politik/Politik-Wirtschaft*) or *civic education* (*Politische Bildung*) – common core aspects were lined out, disregarding specific emphases of the *Länder* (e.g. Niedersächsische Landesregierung [2007] in case of Lower-Saxony). They mirror for the most part the general requirements in certain *methodological*, *political, sociological*, *economical* ways – which in a word means basic, relevant and, depending on school level, also reinforced knowledge and use of subject-related basics and opinions, models and theories, actors and institutions – as well as subject-related educational approaches (*Fach-Didaktik*).

At the level of the *Länder,* more recently core curricula were (or are to be) developed for every subject at any type of school in correspondence with the federal framework.[8]

But idea is not reality – recently at least, in exact opposite of the ambitious plans made, the subject called *Politics/Politics-Economics* in Lower-Saxony is represented by a majority of teachers with no background in the field (mostly teachers in *History*). The situation got worse in 2004 when the government in Lower-Saxony decided, as the only country all over Germany, to abolish the regional agency of civic education that offered and coordinated relevant and important opportunities for further education in Civic Education and of Civic Educators – and founded on the other hand an institute of economic education at the same time. And finally, the shortening of the acquisition of general higher education entrance qualification at the *Gymnasium* (see above) puts pressure on all subjects, especially when they are not part of the PISA Assessment.

Higher education in non-formal educational fields

In 2007 a fee-free, two-year Master of Arts program *Democratic Citizenship Education* was established by the department of social sciences at the

University of Oldenburg (2007) – under leadership and responsibility of the chair in Civic Education. It is accessible with a Bachelor's degree of educational as well as social sciences subjects and can be studied in full- or part-time with, in relation to other programs, distinctive self-study components. Presence time in course sessions is about one to two credit-points (1 CP = 30h workload) per module, rest time is for preparing module examinations and (guided) individual practical research experiences. This attempt at recent concepts of Civic Education is unique throughout Germanys' higher

1st year	**1st term**	**Democratic Citizenship Education I** (compulsory) **6 CP**	*Compulsory subject choice*: **Civic-Consciousness and Participation** *or* **Politics & Gender** *or* **Migration** **24 CP (12 CP per term)**	**2 optional modules** (out of not chosen subjects or additional modules of subject-related professionalization) **12 CP (6 CP per module)**	**30 CP**
	2nd term	**Preparation module for internship** (compulsory) **6 CP**		**2 optional modules** (out of not chosen subjects or additional modules of subject-related professionalization) **12 CP (6 CP per module)**	**30 CP**
2nd year	**3rd term**	**Democratic Citizenship Education II** (compulsory) **6 CP**	**Internship** (abroad, highly recommended)/**study abroad** **24 CP**		**30 CP**
	4th term	**'Conference of Graduates'** **6 CP**	**Master's degree thesis** **+ complementing colloquium** **21 CP + 3 CP**		**30 CP**

Figure 10.4   M.A. Democratic Citizenship Education, University of Oldenburg – Timetable

educational landscape and follows similar international trends, especially in the UK. It is characteristic that the course is orientated on qualifying for extracurricular civic education in further/continuing/adult educational settings (in public or private maintenance) as well as on teaching competences that are useful for employments in political institutions, foundations, parties, museums or the media. In Germany a shift to full-time day school has just started, so the field of non-formal education is quite more important compared to other countries. Therefore choice can be made between three main emphases (see course scheme at Figure 10.4): *Civic-Consciousness and Participation*, *Politics & Gender* and *Migration*, all based on interdisciplinary social science methods and models.

Classical teaching methods like lectures and seminars are replenished with tutorials. Emphasis is laid on activating methods like working and discussing in groups, small independent research projects and investigations, presentation and evaluation and colloquia. Module examinations were taken in forms of academic assignment (10–20 pages), presentation (20–45 minutes) with written preparation (8–15 pages) or learning portfolio. Also a report on internship phase (30–40 pages) is to elaborate. After a pilot phase, enrollment currently is unfortunately adjourned. A relaunch as a modified international dual degree program at Leibniz University Hannover is planned for the near future.[9]

Public institutions of non-formal/continuing (civic) education in Germany are the *adult education centers* (*Volkshochschulen*) in particular, but constrained by budgetary circumstances, they are shifting more and more to popular 'edutainment' formats. Despite that, educational work at memorials becomes relevant to a greater extent. Besides, Civic Education is an essential part of the curriculum of training and instruction in the Federal Armed Forces and in apprenticeship at public service. Above all, the work of the *Federal Agency for Civic Education* (*Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*)[10] and its independent regional partner-agencies in the *Länder* (with the exception of Lower-Saxony) is indispensable. Special promotion programs that face problematic topics like right-wing-extremism, racism and violence, as well as those which give attention to gender-issues or aspects of ecological education or challenges of migration were financed by the Länder, the Federation or the European Union. In the last decade general educational participation decreased from 16,599,419 persons in 1995–6 to 16,370,181 in 2008–9 due to demographic change, but the number of persons who took part in intuitions with private maintenance, especially at primary and tertiary level, has grown from 2,169,104 to 2,658,008 at the same time (Ständige Konferenz & BMBF, 2010, pp. 34, 225). Various private actors, for instance pressure groups, unions, parties, foundations with (legitimate) partial interests also replenish the plural and lively educational offers in Civic Education – but of course they cannot (and should not) replace the general public educational task (Lange, 2004).

Over 1.5 million persons are employed with the whole German educational sector with explicit pedagogical/academic occupation (over 2 million in total). Due to recently increasing part-time employments (mostly at primary, but in last years in particular at tertiary level, too) this number is equivalent to only 1,211,800 full-time ones.[11] This area-specific relation (50 percent part-time) is double than in general (26 percent); in international comparison Germany is one of the countries 'at the top' in educational part-time ratios (Ständige Konferenz & BMBF, 2010, p. 42). Also despite the rest of employed population (27 percent) almost 40 percent are at least 50 year (Ständige Konferenz and BMBF, 2010, pp. 40, 231f.) – the upcoming alternation of generations confirms the impact of recent teacher training course reforms again.

Corresponding to professional main areas of Civic Education (educational and social sciences, school and non-formal educational fields), Civic Educators are represented by various professional associations and interest groups: by a section of the *German Association of Political Sciences* (*Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft*, DVPW, https://www.dvpw.de/), by the also academic *Society for Civic Education Didactics and Civic Youth and Adult Education* (*Gesellschaft für Politikdidaktik und politische Jugend- und Erwachsenenbildung*, GPJE, http://www.gpje.de/) and not least at all by the occupationally (teachers, scientists and trainers) comprehensive *German Association for Political/Civic Education* (*Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Bildung*, http://www.dvpb.de/).

In conclusion the fact can be recorded that there is for sure no lack of need for Civic Education – on the contrary: new responsibilities have arisen. On the other side, the former public attitude towards the principal need for Civic Education is no longer to take it as self-evident. It has to be justified against professional and economical doubts. This challenge is not *only* problematic (but it *is* problematic of course) – Civic Education is also questioned to give answers by developing itself further. So also some new aspects and fields of activity came into focus and enlarged in fact the scope (and opportunities) of the profession. Not least of all, it is the original meaning of the political itself to find an institutional modus vivendi in conflicts resulting of the plurality of opinions.

Notes

1. Both were founded in 1949: the Federal Republic of Germany and the more or less 'communist' but authoritarian for sure eastern German Democratic Republic (1949–90).
2. As in a narrower sense thematically related articles by the author, Lange (2008, 2010) are recommended.
3. For further information see Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (2008); some general information on recent German society is given by the official

internet site *Facts about Germany,* http://www.tatsachen-ueber-deutschland.de; the Federal Statistical Office (2010) also provides a PDF-*Pocketbook: Germany.*

4. An overview – with greater emphasis on successes, determined by the image others officially wished to perceive, of course – on further political, social and economic background of educational system and trends can be found in European Commission (2010, pp. 12–21).

5. A summary in English is currently not available; the latest published version is about the results of 2008 edition, cf. Standing Conference and BMBF (2008).

6. http://www.iea-dpc.de/iglu_2001_20060.html?&L=1, the German acronym is IGLU for Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung.

7. See http://www.gei.de/nc/en/georg-eckert-institute-for-international-textbook-research.html.

8. For *Politics/Politics-Economics* in Lower-Saxony, for example (unfortunately likewise only in a German version): http://db2.nibis.de/1db/cuvo/datei/kc_go_powI_07_nib.pdf

9. You will find the present state of affairs at http://www.ipw.uni-hannover.de/agora.html?&L=1.

10. See http://www.bpb.de/die_bpb/PE8IKY,0,0,The_Federal_Agency_for_Civic_Education.html.

11. A representative survey of 337 public and private institutions of non-formal (extracurricular) Civic Education has produced that 20.1 percent employ not even one person as a permanent member of staff and 38.4 percent only offer a half to two positions. Fritz et al. (2006, p. 211f.).

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11
Do Students' Dreams Now Fit in Ballot Boxes?

Gonzalo Jover, López-Martín and Patricia Quiroga

Introduction

In 1999 the Higher Education and Research Committee of the Council of Europe launched a project called 'Universities as Sites of Citizenship and Civic Responsibility,' in which 28 universities from Europe and the United States took part. The project sought to determine the role of institutions of higher education in the development of democratic practices and values, especially by student participation in decision-making processes. The final report of the project warned of the difficulties found in the structures and culture of universities for carrying out such civic functions. Among these difficulties, it emphasized that at nearly all the universities observed, 'student participation in university governance and in asserting or understanding their rights as students are characterized by a pervasive passivity bordering on indifference' (Plantan, 2002, p. 13).

These results have led to integrating greater student participation into agendas for modernizing the university as part of an overall strategy for promoting civic values over the last ten years. For example, the various declarations that have been shaping the process of creating the European Higher Education Area had included provisions on student participation. To mention two significant examples, the Berlin Communiqué from 2003 explicitly acknowledged the students' role in public governance of higher education at all levels, stating: 'Students are full partners in higher education governance. Ministers noted that national legal measures for ensuring student participation are largely in place throughout the European Higher Education Area. They also called on institutions and student organizations to identify ways of increasing actual student involvement in higher education governance' (Conference of Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, 2003). The most recent declaration, the Ministerial Communiqué from April 2012, has reaffirmed this intention and has made it one of its priorities for action by 2015. The Communiqué appeals to 'establish conditions that foster student-centred learning, innovative teaching methods and a

supportive and inspiring working and learning environment, while continuing to involve students and staff in governance structures at all levels' (Conference of Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, 2012).

In this chapter we will analyze student participation in the governance of Spanish universities, considering the institutional forms of participation as well as the alternative forms aimed at influencing the decision-making processes by less formalized means. The latter have found their political voice in Spain in the movement called the Movimiento 15M. We will start by describing the legal structures for participation. Then we will review the features of young people's participation in politics, to later present the results of a survey carried out on a broad sample of university students on their valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation. This will lead us to suggest the need to revise the usual interpretative framework of youth participation in university governance and, finally, to conclude by proposing a few guidelines for turning universities into spaces for citizen education.

The structures of student participation at Spanish universities

The ways in which students participate in university governance are affected by the university's own structures of decision-making. Moreover, these structures differ from country to country, and sometimes from university to university within the same country (Zuo and Ratsoy, 1999; Plantan, 2002). In Spain, the Constitution of 1978 acknowledged the autonomy of the universities and the students' right to take part in managing publicly financed educational institutions. To develop these precepts, the *Ley de Reforma Universitaria* (LRU, Law on University Reform) drafted in 1983 by the national government of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE, Spanish Socialist Workers Party), attempted to combine the principles of education as a public service with that of university autonomy, both of which were guaranteed in the Spanish constitution. The preamble of the LRU established the 'creation of a Social Council that, inserted in the university structure, guarantees that the diverse social sectors participate in its governance.' The Social Council can thus be understood as a bridge between the university and society at large, with representatives from social interest groups and from the university.

This same participatory spirit is seen in the different levels in the internal structure of university governance. Article 4 of the LRU established that 'universities shall be organized such that both their governance and their centers ensure that the different segments of the university community are represented in accordance with the functions that correspond to each of them.' In turn, article 27 explicitly stated that 'the Statutes of each University shall guarantee the participation of student representatives in

the organs of university governance and administration, as per article 4 herein' (Art. 27.4). The same article also acknowledged the students' right to establish associations (Art. 27.5). Another important new provision in this law was the regulation of the creation and operation of private universities, which would be in addition to the already existing universities of the Catholic Church. According to article 59 of the LRU, 'privately owned universities and learning centers of higher education shall be regulated by their own rules of organization and operation' (Art. 59), although still subject to whatever requirements the Administration may determine in order to accredit their courses of study.

Over the 1980s and 1990s, the number of public and private universities in Spain tripled. Furthermore, the process of decentralizing universities came to a close when the set of competences in higher education was transferred to the education departments of the Autonomous Regional Governments. Taken together, the two events made it increasingly necessary to re-organize universities in Spain. The political opportunity for doing so came when the *Partido Popular* (PP, People's Party) took office. In this context, the *Ley Orgánica de Universidades* (LOU, University General Law) of 2001 was passed. The new law ratified student participation in university governance. Indeed, article 46 on student rights and obligations specifically guarantees the following:

- Their representation in the organs of governance and representation of the university, in the terms laid out in the law and in the respective Statutes and rules of the university (Art. 46.f).
- Freedom of expression, of assembly and of association in the area of university affairs (Art. 46.g).
- Upholding their rights by means of suitable procedures and, where applicable, the intervention of the University Ombudsman (Art 46.h).

Student participation is exercised in the different organs and levels of the university structure. At the level of central organization of the university, these organs are comprised of (a) the *Claustro Universitario* (University Senate), which is the largest organ representing the different sectors of the university community; (b) the *Consejo de Gobierno* (Governing Council), made up of the Rector, the General Secretary, the General Manager, and a maximum of 50 members of the university collective elected by the Rector (30 percent), the Senate from among its members (40 percent) and the Deans and Department Heads (30 percent); and (c) the Social Council, as the organ of participation of society at large. Students are present in all of these organs[1]. The statutes of each university must also guarantee that the students are represented on the Faculty Boards and at the Department Councils. Students, as well as other representatives of the university community, are elected to the University Senate, the Faculty Boards and the

Department Councils by universal suffrage. A new point in the LOU was the introduction of electing the Rector also by universal suffrage among all the university members, with a weighted vote value of at least 51 percent given to the academic staff members holding a PhD. For private universities, the LOU established that their rules of organization and operation 'shall lay out their organs of governance and representation, as well as the procedures for their appointment and dismissal' (Art. 27).

Along with the systems of representation provided for in the law, many universities also have delegates who represent specific subsets of the student body (class, degree, etc.). In many of them, the institutional representatives are organized into Delegations and Student Councils[2]. The law itself is used to promote freedom of association, which students sometimes employ as a platform in the elections to organs of governance, giving rise to a variety of superimposed structures with specific features at different universities.

Six years after the LOU was passed, the Spanish university system faced relevant changes in its direction when a number of functional deficiencies were detected. These changes were primarily aimed at fostering a new way of structuring coursework and official university degrees to make them fit in better with the construction of the European Higher Education Area. The change in orientation came about with the passage, once again from the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, of the *Ley Orgánica 4/2007*, of April 12, which modified the previous LOU (LOMLOU). Added to article 46 of the aforementioned law was a series of considerations affecting how students participate and making it possible, for example, for them 'to obtain academic recognition for their participation in university cultural activities, sports, student representation, works of solidarity and of cooperation' (Art. 46.i). In addition, each university was allowed to determine its own system for electing the Rector, either through the University Senate or by universal suffrage. However, the most decisive step brought about by the new legislation in fostering student participation was the statement of the express commitment that 'the Government shall approve a Statute of University Students which shall provide for the Constitution, the functions, the organization and the operation of a University Student Council as the official organ of student representation, and belonging to the Ministry to which the competencies on university affairs are attributed' (Art. 47).

The Ministry of Education, through the General Secretariat for Universities, spent two years on the wording of the Statute, which was finally published in *Real Decreto 1791/2010, de 30 de diciembre, por el que se aprueba el Estatuto del Estudiante Universitario* (Royal Decree 1791 of December 30, 2010 on the Statute of University Students). The essential point of this rule was the creation of the University Student Council of the State, which instituted a channel of student participation in university governance, as a direct interlocutor *vis-à-vis* the Administration (Parejo and Lorente, 2012). The composition of the Council proved to be one of the most controversial aspects in

drafting the Statute. Finally, after numerous meetings with student organizations, agreement was reached on a mixed composition with institutional student representatives of the universities, who make up the broadest collective on the Council, and representatives from the most significant student associations, federations and confederations, who represent free student association, as well as representatives of the student councils from any Autonomous Regional Communities that have one (Art. 48).[3]

The writing of this Statute comes as one more step in the long history of attempts to channel the ability students have for mobilizing (Hernández et al., 2007; González Calleja, 2009). The history of Spanish universities brims with events involving such mobilizations, from the Night of St. Daniel on April 10, 1865, protesting the restrictions imposed on academic freedom, to the protests of the 1960s or the recent actions opposing the European Higher Education Area or the new policy on scholarships and fees. The surge of such mobilizations, as Spanish youth's way of participating in social debate, is linked to the middle class's gradually increasing access to higher education, and to the project of secular modernization of social reform at the urging of some sectors within the university. These mobilizations are difficult to typify, since their underlying motivations and the repertory of actions they use are highly diverse. At times, they are linked to corporative motives (exams, calendar, disciplinary actions, fees and so on) while at others the action is directly associated with political demands, sometimes together with the faculty, or as part of the strategy of political parties and groups. Between the two motivations, however, there is no clearly drawn line, and history has often seen corporative motives turned into political mobilizations (González Calleja, 2009, p. 88).

The response of institutional control of the students' power also has a long tradition in Spain. As early as 1919, the Royal Decree on university autonomy, drawn up by the conservative government of Antonio Maura, prescribed the mandatory creation of an official student organization in each faculty at the university, as a way of channeling student participation in university governance. The first to take advantage of the legal situation was the former *Acción Católica Nacional de Propagandistas* (ACNP, National Catholic Action of Propagandists) founded in 1909, with the creation of the *Asociación de Estudiantes Católicos* (Catholic Student Association) in 1920, which later became the *Confederación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos de España* (CECE, National Confederation of Catholic Students of Spain). The time for political mobilization came about as a reaction of the official non-denominational associations against the regime of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and the creation of the initially semi-clandestine *Federación Universitaria Escolar* (FUE, University School Federation) in 1927, which was a very active majority organization during the time of the Second Republic (1931–9). To counter its influence, the fascist-leaning *Sindicato Español Universitario* (SEU, Spanish University Union) was created, which the

Francisco Franco dictatorship recognized as the only official organization, outlawing the FUE.

This light incursion into the history of how student participation became institutionalized in Spain shows that the alternative means of participation, such as the ones that stood for semi-clandestine initiatives in the past like the FUE, may act as a critical incentive regarding the institutional means of participation[4]. This may offer an appropriate way of understanding the debates in Spain from the drafting of the Statute of Students and the clash between supporters of institutional representation and advocates of participation through associations in the makeup of the University Student Council of the State[5]. Although the presence of associations in student life, for example, their identification in physical spaces, in means of expression, in university budgets or in electoral processes, makes students assimilate them as institutional forms of participation, their nature as free initiatives imbues them as well with meaning as alternatives to instituted structures. The option adopted in the Spanish university system of having a mixed model for the makeup of the Council, with institutional representatives from the university government and representatives of free associations, answers the need to recognize the different ways in which participation takes place.

The shift of the political experience in young people's participation

Understanding the keys of student participation is a complex goal, since, as Michavila and Parejo stated a few years ago, 'there is no doubt that the analysis of student participation in the Spanish university system demands greater attention from the researchers, given the scarcity of scientific literature available in pedagogy and sociology' (Michavila and Parejo, 2008, p. 113). We do have some partial studies carried out at a few universities, but much work remains to be done to gain a comprehensive view. In any case, recent revision of these studies reaffirms that students do not experience the university as a participatory environment for learning the political ropes (Soler et al., 2012). Moreover, this situation is not exclusive to Spain, and is deemed a serious deficit, given the role assigned to student participation in emerging discourses on education for democracy and the university as a space for citizenship (Menon, 2005, p. 168; Lizzio and Wilson, 2009, p. 70).

Young people are often perceived as having a low degree of political involvement, and this, by extension, applies to university students as well. However, the reality is rather more complex than what this basic assumption might first suggest. To begin with, indifference towards politics, in some circumstances, is not a phenomenon that affects only the youth. Nor should we believe that this is new to the present generation. Throughout all of recent history, interest in politics has undergone its ups and downs. Even

in the 1920s, for example, the man who became president of the government in Spain and minister several times over, Álvaro de Figueroa, Count of Romanones, lamented the political apathy of youth, saying:

> The ball has made great changes to modern life all over the world, and politics is no exception: the ball has contributed to keeping young people away from politics. In other times, students dropped out of the university to join the rank and file of Carlists or to fight for freedom in the barricades. These days, more than a few desert their studies to become professional ball players. This is indeed regrettable, since the absenteeism of youth in politics produces disastrous effects. Their vigor and enthusiasm can not be substituted by any other element. (Figueroa, 1999, p. 12)

The situation in recent years has presented a few characteristic nuances. More than by their disaffection with politics, youth have been characterized by the cultural displacement produced in their political experience. As Loader noted several years ago,

> This alternative view suggests that young people are not necessarily any less interested in politics than previous generations, but rather, that traditional political activity no longer appears appropriate to address the concerns associated with contemporary youth culture. Instead, the restricted democratic practices of voting and social class party allegiance, which have formed the basic means of collective mobilization, are being displaced by mechanism and modes of democratic expression that privilege present-day political preoccupations with the construction of self-identity within a global information economy. (Loader, 2007, pp. 1–2)

In contrast to traditional political participation, this cultural displacement, adds Loader, is channeled by means of deinstitutionalized forms of political engagement which are enacted within networks and spaces characterized by loose social ties and informal social structures. Here we might find interaction within non-hierarchical, flexible and personalized social relations, which offer the prospect of new repertoires for political socialization outside traditional social institutions. (Loader, 2007, p. 3)

What young people reject rather than political action itself is the constraint on freedom implicit in institutionalized political participation. Instead, they prefer more spontaneous and direct forms of involvement such as protests and demonstrations, signing petitions, boycotts, volunteering and so on.

As O'Neill pointed out in regards to, for example, young Canadians, their participation in these alternative ways of political involvement, particularly the protests and demonstrations, shows an inverse evolution to traditional political participation in relation to age, with the youngest groups at the top (O'Neill, 2007, pp. 11–12). A similar tendency has been detected in Spain.

For example, in 2006, Fraile, Ferrer and Martín found that young people participate more in alternative political initiatives than do people over 34 years old. Specifically, the age group of 18-to-24-year-olds uses the most activist options, such as taking part in strikes, demonstrations or unlawful protest activities, as well as making political use of the Internet. The generation of 25-to-34-year-olds leads in giving money and doing fund-raising, political consumerism and signing petitions. However, all these alternative participation options are favored the least by the generation of those over 34 (Fraile, Ferrer and Martín, 2007, p. 39)[6]. Data from the same study show that attitudes toward some of the systems of traditional political participation follow an opposite trend: voting, for example, is less important to the younger generations than to the older generation in terms of being considered a good citizen (CIS, 2006).

Student valuation of the channels for participation at the university

As regards student participation specifically, the few existing studies show that university students participate more in politics than their non-university counterparts, whether through institutional or alternative ways. They also show that student participation is greater in the general social context than at the university, where their turnout at the polls is extremely low, rarely reaching even 20 percent (INJUVE, 2005; Caínzos, 2006; Martín, 2007). As Irene Martín concludes based on these data:

> One may think that the low level of student participation at Spanish universities comes as no surprise, given the low levels of political participation in Spain. However, the data analyzed above casts a degree of doubt on that interpretation. University student participation outside the university is much higher. Furthermore, university students are much more likely to participate than other young people of their age, in elections as well as in other areas. Rather, it would seem that the phenomenon of absenteeism in university elections has its roots not in the students themselves, but in how the mechanisms of participation and representation fit together in the 'little democracies' of universities. (Martín, 2007, p. 126)

To delve deeper into the keys to student participation in those 'little democracies,' we carried out a survey among the university student population while doing the fieldwork of the international study *Eurostudent IV*. The Spanish questionnaire included an extra question phrased as follows: '*Students can participate in university life in very different forms. We would like to know what value you give to each of these forms of university participation*.' The choices were as follows: (a) taking action in virtual spaces, forums and blogs; (b) mobilizing by

means of demonstrations and strikes; (c) holding assemblies; (d) expressions by posters, graffiti, etc.; (e) filing petitions and complaints with the dean's office, vice-chancellor's office, ombudsman…; (f) belonging to students' associations; (g) electing student representatives to the organs of university governance; and (h) electing class, course or degree delegates. The students were to score each option on a Likert-type scale of 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). The fieldwork was carried out in the spring of 2010 on a sample of 5,770 students[7].

The purpose of the survey was to learn what value students give to different channels of participation. Recognizing the value of a participation option does not necessarily give it any real effectiveness, since it may also refer to the expression of an ideal, to what ought to be, not to what really works. Nor is there any need for it to coincide with the manifestation of a readiness to act. That explains that, as found in the 2006 research study on university students' valuation of the services offered by their universities, the value students place on different forms of participation differ from their use and knowledge (Llorent, 2006, pp. 273–92).

Figure 11.1 shows the distribution of the scores given by the students in our study for each channel of participation proposed. The far ends of the Likert scale were readjusted into three scores: 1 (very low/low), 2 (average) and 3 (high/very high).

The various options for participation may be ranked according to the differences between the high and low scores as follows: taking action in virtual spaces, forums and blogs (+25.49); filing petitions and complaints
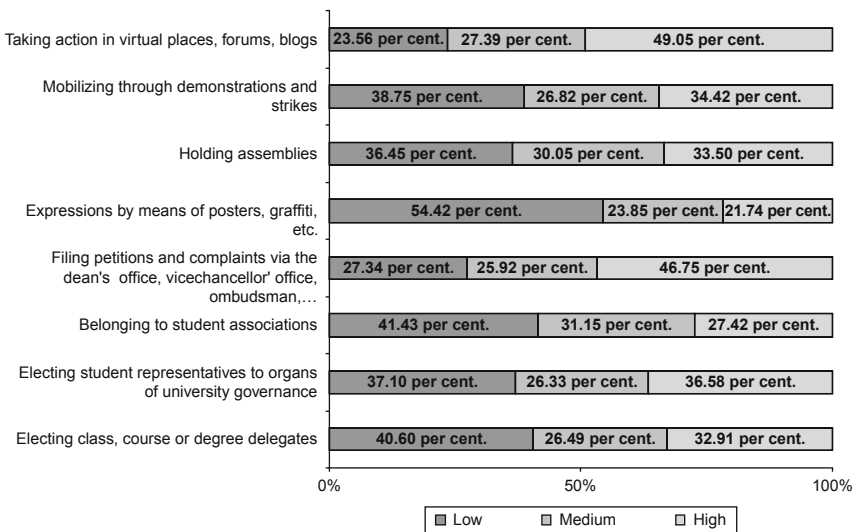
Figure 11.1 Valuating the channels of participation

Source: original research.

with the dean's office, vice-chancellor's office, ombudsman … (+19.41); electing student representatives to the organs of university governance (–0.52); holding assemblies (–2.95); mobilizing by means of demonstrations and strikes (–4.33); electing class, course or degree delegates (–7.69); belonging to students' associations (–14.01); expressions by posters, graffiti, etc. (–32.68).

The results indicate that students are generally skeptical of the various different channels of participation at the university. Only two of the options received relatively high scores: taking action in virtual spaces, forums and blogs (49.05 percent gave it a high score) and filing petitions and complaints (46.75 percent scored it as high). In both cases, they are options that involve greater individual capacity of control and personal initiative. The noteworthy score of actions in virtual places can be explained according to the impact of the culture of technology on the student population and the widespread presence of social networking sites and forums, which has given rise to what has been called the emergence of the technological generation on campuses (Martinez and Link, 2009). There is a statistically significant relation between the level of studies and the use of political participation activities online (Anduiza et al., 2010, p. 40). Well aware of the potential of these new systems, universities have hastened to make their institutional presence known in them, with the creation of official spaces and profiles, and the inclusion of online systems for participation. Still, despite being a community of participants, in virtual spaces the subject retains a semblance of control over his or her involvement, protected by being physically absent, and sometimes by anonymity. A similar remark may be made of filing petitions and complaints, in which the initiative depends on the person, with no mediation. Students placed less trust in more collective practices, such as the action of associations (41.43 percent of the students gave it a low score), mobilizing by means of demonstrations and strikes (38.75 percent scored this option as low) or holding assemblies (scored low by 36.45 percent of the subjects). The least valued channel of participation is expression by means of posters, graffiti and so on (54.42 percent of the students gave it a low score).

Electing representatives to the organs of university governance is the option showing the greatest split on the positions while having the smallest difference between the high scores and the low scores (36.58 percent and 37.10 percent respectively). Other research studies have pointed out the limited scope that students feel the representatives have, due to their lack of real power, their commitment to political party positions, their little sensitivity to the needs of their classmates and the concentration of representation always being in the hands of a small group of people (Plantan, 2002, pp. 35–37; Menon, 2005, p. 177). In our case, the election of institutional representatives is the third highest-scoring option, above most of the other channels of participation. Particularly odd is the difference with electing

class delegates (scored high by 32.91 percent in contrast to 36.58 percent on the previous option). This difference may be explained in two ways. On one hand, it may be that greater value is given to representation to the highest levels of decision-making because of their greater impact. On the other, it may also indicate skepticism towards forms of representation, such as class or degree delegates, in whom there is a greater component of community identification (Lizzio and Wilson, 2009, p. 71).

We used a factor analysis to identify the structure underlying the different options of participation and allowing us to group them into two broad categories: institutional ways and alternative ways[8]. Institutional ways include: electing class, course or degree delegates; electing student representatives to the organs of university governance; belonging to student associations; and filing petitions and complaints with the dean's office, vice-chancellor's office or ombudsman. The second group includes: expressions by posters, graffiti, etc.; holding assemblies; mobilizing by means of demonstrations and strikes; and taking action in virtual spaces, forums and blogs.

Figure 11.2 shows the average score given by students to the institutional ways and alternative ways, along with the confidence interval for the average[9]. The first consequence we observe in this analysis is that the institutional ways come out scoring less low or more favorably than the alternative ways.

Figure 11.3 displays the scores by gender. In both genders, the institutional ways received higher scores that the alternatives. Furthermore, women gave higher scores than men to both institutional and alternative ways, with the differences for both ways being statistically significant by gender.
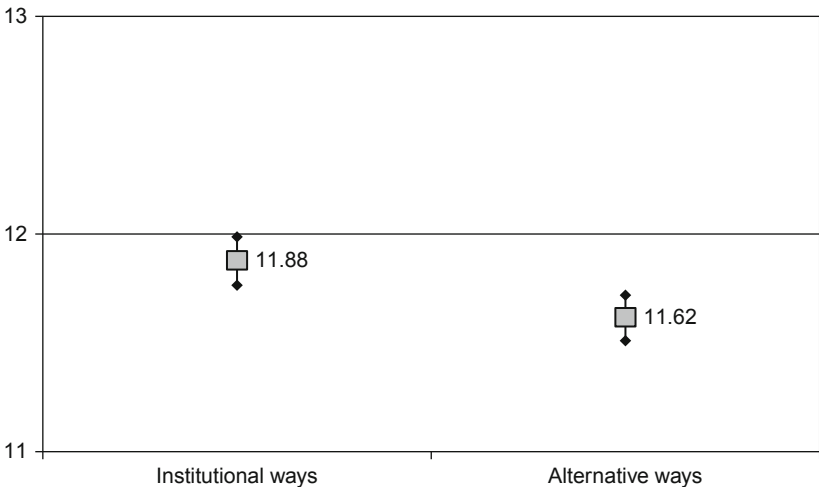
Figure 11.2 Valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation
Source: original research.
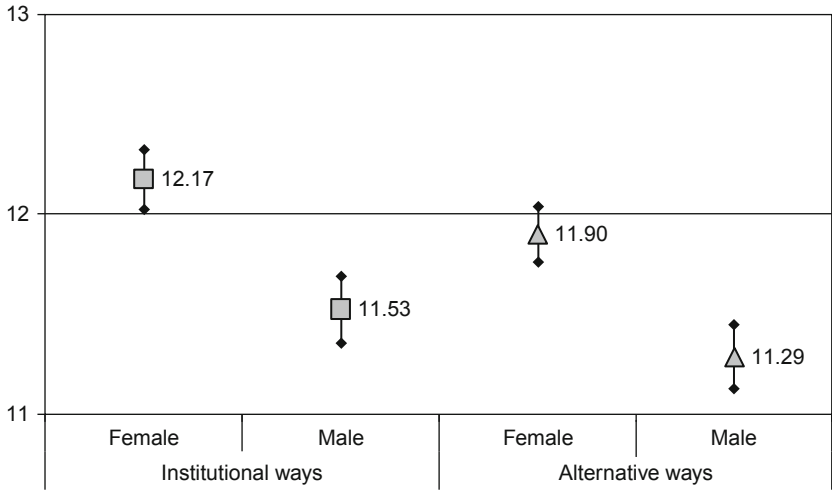
Figure 11.3 Valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation by gender

Source: original research.

The scores in Figure 11.4 on the ways of participation by age group show that the youngest students (aged 18–24) already prefer the institutional ways over the alternative ways, although the differences are not statistically significant. In the following age group (25 to 34 year olds), there is a drop in both ways, although slightly more sharply in the case of institutional ways, and the gap between the two narrows. For the oldest students (35 and over), the institutional ways once again dip slightly, while the alternative ways fall sharply, and the differences are statistically significant with respect to the scores given by the two other age groups to these less formal ways.

Figure 11.5 shows that students who do not have a job value the different ways of participation at the university, both institutional and alternative, more than those who work (regularly or intermittently) and study at the same time, the observed differences being statistically significant in both ways. The greater capacity for political participation and mobilization in the social sphere of students who work and study, relative to those who only work or only study, which Martín (2007, pp. 120–3), with data from INJUVE (2005), finds in Spanish youth, and Jarvis, Montoya and Mulvoy (2005) find in students at American colleges, does not necessarily mean they have parallel attitudes regarding their involvement in the sphere of the university. This result is consistent with the observation that, insofar as concerns Spanish students, their greater involvement in general politics is compatible with low degrees of participation at the university.
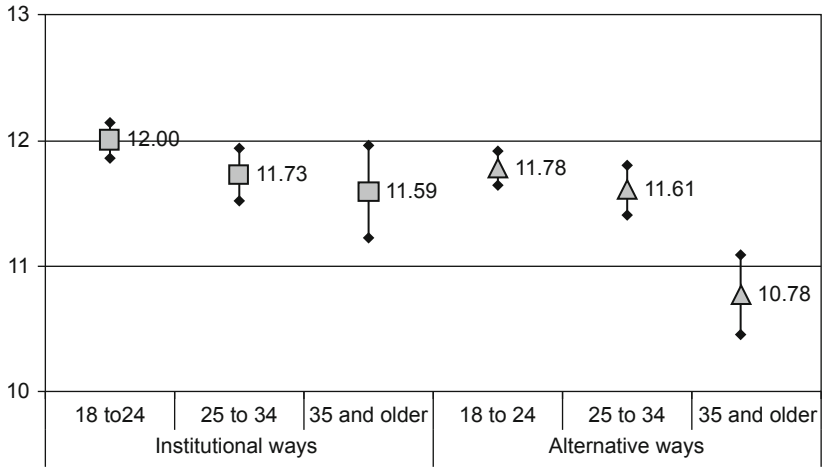
Figure 11.4 Valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation by age group

Source: original research.
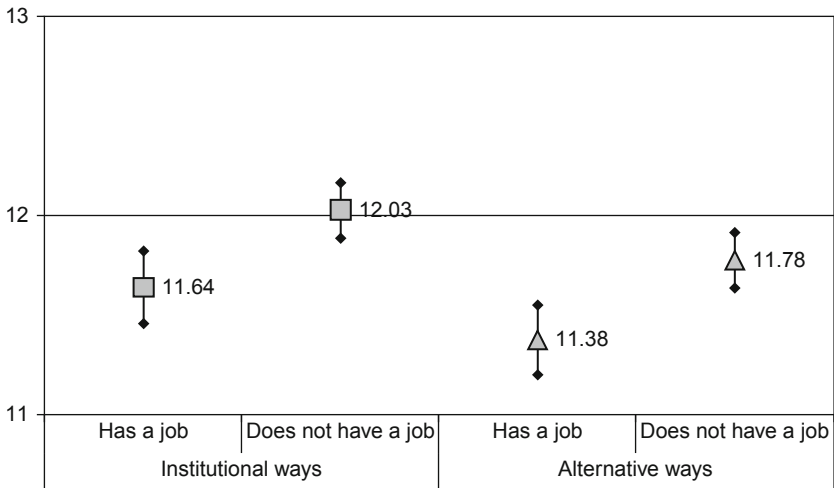
Figure 11.5 Valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation by job status

Source: original research.
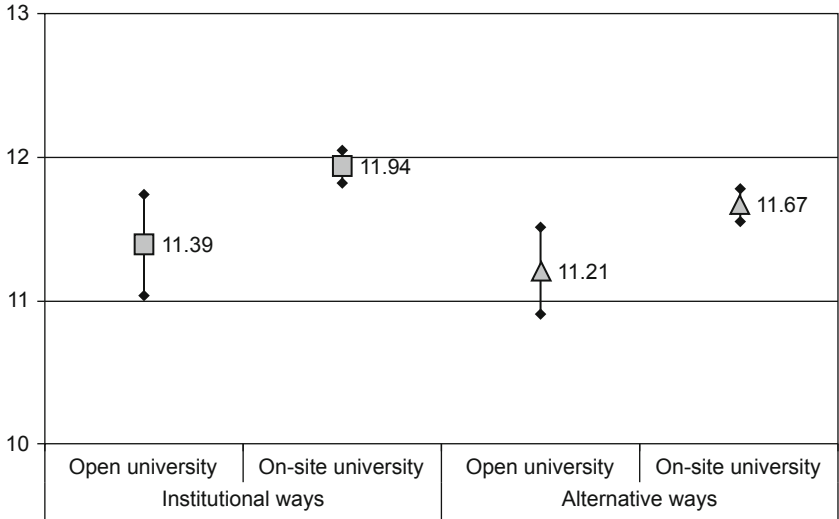
Figure 11.6 Valuation of institutional and alternative ways of participation by university type (open university/on-site university)

Finally, Figure 11.6 presents the scores students gave to the institutional and alternative ways of participation as a function of whether they are enrolled at an open university or an on-site university. Students enrolled at an open university gave less importance to both ways of participation than students at on-site universities. In both cases the differences are statistically significant.

Do we need a new model of interpretation?

On the walls of the Faculty of Education at the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (UCM) during the 2009–10 academic year, in the days leading up to elections for student representatives to the University Senate, a poster was put up that stated:

We, the assembled collective of bums and loiterers of the Faculty of Education, wish to state our position regarding the upcoming elections to the UCM Senate:

We do not believe in the hierarchical system of the present university nor in its political leaders. We want neither student representatives nor delegates. Their decisions are not ours.

We feel represented by our own assemblies in which we deal with things that truly interest and concern us. In horizontal assemblies, we are all

equal, we all make decisions by consensus, since it seems to us to be the only way to integrate all the opinions. We have no desire to crush the minority, nor do we believe the majority is always absolutely right. We manage our future and our present collectively.

From here we would like to show our deepest, most absolute and sincere loathing of those of you who have the pretension of representing the students, of those of you who compete for the crumbs of power, those of you who stuff your mouth talking of agreements, statutes, laws, and rules that we have never been asked about and we have never accepted. We also loathe any of you who have ever, at any time, entertained the notion of trying to govern any aspect of our lives.

To all of you who are as disgusted by this farce as we are, we invite you to join us at the assemblies, to organize your peoples, and to fight for what is yours: here and now.

Our dreams do not fit in your ballot boxes.

The visibility of this type of messages may provoke a misguided perception on the value students place on different channels of political participation at the university. The results of our research, carried out with more than 5,000 students of the Spanish university system, show that students value the election of representatives to the organs of university governance more than expression by posters, holding assemblies or mobilization by means of strikes. The two highest scoring options are activism in virtual spaces and filing petitions and complaints. In general, our results show a great deal of skepticism among students toward all forms of participation, but they prefer institutional means to the alternatives. Even though this difference becomes more pronounced among the older students, it is already present among the youngest as well.

The general preference within the university context for institutional over alternative ways of involvement (with the exception of taking part in virtual spaces) poses a challenge to what is still the most widespread interpretation on young people's participation in politics. The variation from that interpretation as seen in our results allows for a number of different yet complementary explanations, though as yet to be verified in subsequent research. The first one, methodological in nature, lies in the specificity of our survey, focused as it was on evaluating channels of participation rather than on practices. Between the two dimensions there is no automatic correspondence. One may value one means of participation or type of activity, but then when it comes time to act, opt for another or not to proceed at all. However, in our case, this would not explain the differences between our students' answers and those, for example, from Llorent's research (2006) cited in the section above, which also referred to valuations but found that the actions of associations and student delegations outscored actions of the organs of representation.[10]

Confirmation of this difference would require looking for other possible explanations of more substantial nature than methodological.

The first refers to the functional sense clearly on the rise at the university, reinforced by the reforms underway and their stress on aspects such as the centrality of the student and teaching profitable skills for the job market rather than education in becoming critical thinkers and socially committed citizens. This orientation may be favoring the aspect that the university is not being experienced as a space for participating in public life, but as temporary stepping stone on its own, one that students are just passing through, which would explain why they may be politically active outside the university but not in it, opting instead for more formal channels. We have seen that this is precisely what happens with students who study and hold a job at the same time. They are the most politically active ones outside the university and the ones the least value the various different ways to participate within it. In a recent research study confirming this interpretation, the students state that the opportunities for participating are affected by a lack of time as well as by a lack of information, whether because they work and study, or because they do not want any outside activities to distract them from their studies. As the authors of that study conclude, the profile of the Spanish university student is increasingly leaning toward the person who combines work and study, and for whom the university is a place to learn skills yet one that is less relevant in terms of participation (Soler et al., 2012, pp. 552–7).

Finally, as the third explanation, in conjunction with the previous one, it may be that we are at a point of change in tendency that requires new ways to interpret the students' valuations. In the early 2000s, Howe and Strauss predicted the arrival of a new generation of young students to university campuses: the 'Millennials.' In contrast to the earlier generations' rejection of formal politics, compensated with high levels of community commitment, they saw signs in this new generation of greater confidence in politics and public institutions (Howe and Strauss, 2000, 2003)[11]. Research carried out by Blackhurst and Foster early that decade corroborated Howe and Strauss's diagnosis. The comparison of the attitudes of undergraduates from three American universities in 1996 and in 2000 showed the later group to be less apathetic and distrustful and more optimistic politically. Thus, for example, 76.3 percent of the students answered in 1996 that voting is an important civic duty, whereas that proportion rose to 81.8 percent in 2000. The variation in attitudes toward social commitment was less pronounced. While 71.3 percent of the students stated some type of participation in community service projects in 1996, the percentage fell to 67.5 percent in 2000. The authors at the time pointed out the lack of enough empirical evidence to certify the possible shift (Blackhurst and Foster, 2003)[12]. Within the albeit limited scope of our research, restricted to the valuation of the channels of student participation at Spanish universities, the slight differences between the different options revealed in our results would tend to support this line of interpretation.

What our results suggest is that the dividing line no longer lies between institutional and alternative options as it does between modes of participation in which individuals retain their capacity of control. In that way, the EUYOUPART study on political participation of young people in Europe, carried out between 2003 and 2005 in eight European countries, revealed some interesting data. For example, according to the study, and despite differences among different countries, European youth generally consider that the most effective channel to participate politically is by voting in elections, whereas boycotts and demonstrations are deemed not very effective (Spannring, 2008a, p. 49). Nevertheless, this does not mean they reject these other modes of action, aside from violent ones, which they steadfastly oppose. As Spannring says about the results of the study, 'there is unanimity about the ineffectiveness of demonstrations, but also of petitions and referenda. While for some this is a reason not to participate, it does not deter others, since it is more a matter of self-expression, self-determination and loyalty to one's moral convictions' (Spannring, 2008b, p. 79).

Young people have given up on the utopia of changing the world. Their attitude is that of 'yes, but...,' which implies the wish for independence from overly rigid affiliations. This wish explains their unwillingness to become involved in political parties, but also their reluctance to take part in some alternative systems of participation, such as belonging to social associations, and their preference for forms of participation that, though of limited effectiveness, do not require relying on other people or on an organization. Spannring concludes:

> The survey data also show a relatively strong involvement in individualized forms of participation such as signing petitions and boycotting certain products. They are clearly more attractive for young people since they do not demand long term commitment and do not endanger the integrity of the individual by imposing ideologies or demanding loyalty to an organization's aims and methods. Moreover, the relatively low cost of such low-intensity participation legitimizes the risk of low efficacy. Knowing that one cannot influence the course of political decision-making the expected benefit is reduced to a self-statement and political positioning. On one hand, this clears the individual's moral and political consciousness. On the other hand, it returns responsibility to the political players who have the power to take up and realize the (young) citizen's expressed preferences in the formal political processes. (Spannring, 2008b, p. 82)

Conclusion

Charles Taylor warned about the risks of the slide of modern ethics of authenticity that may exist in that attitude of 'low-intensity participation,' where the important thing is to be true to oneself. This slide, according

to Taylor, takes on a two-way direction: on one hand, toward the egocentric forms of the ideal of self-fulfillment in popular culture, which leaves us closed in on ourselves, and on the other hand, toward the postmodern nihilism of the 'high' culture, represented by thinkers such as Nietzsche, Derrida or Foucault, which heightens the anthropocentricism by negating all the horizons of meaning. To Taylor, the students are precisely at the crossroads of these two cultures, whose confluence reinforces the egocentric forms of authenticity with a patina of philosophic justification (Taylor, 1991, pp. 60–1). These derivations of the modern ideal of authenticity go deep into the risk of soft despotism Tocqueville warned of:

> It will not be a tyranny of terror and oppression as in the old days. The government will be mild and paternalistic. It may even keep democratic forms, with periodic elections. But in fact, everything will be run by an 'immense tutelary power,' over which people will have little control. The only defense against this, Tocqueville thinks, is a vigorous political culture in which participation is valued, at several levels of government and in voluntary associations as well. But the atomism of the self-absorbed individual militates against this. Once participation declines, once the lateral associations that were its vehicles wither away, the individual citizen is left alone in the face of the vast bureaucratic state and feels, correctly, powerless. This demotivates the citizen even further, and the vicious cycle of soft despotism is joined. (Taylor, 1991, pp. 9–10)

But if students find themselves at the crossroads of those forces, their situation is also the most likely to create a new participatory culture that can break the cycle Taylor speaks of. Within the collective of youth, students are the ones who show greater willingness toward participation in politics. This justifies a chance having been seen at the university to promote citizenship education through the curriculum and the structures of participation. Even so, given our results, any work in this way should insist on two aspects. First, it will be necessary to strengthen the community dimension of civic experience in our universities, for example by in-service learning practices as a form of social participation that fosters a sense of community and can help to improve the social well-being (Cicognani et al., 2008; Martínez, 2008; Naval et al., 2011). This would counteract the tendency perceived at the university today toward clientelistic attitudes that in the end are one more manifestation of nihilism. In contrast to the traditional propensity of considering political participation and community commitment as two separate dimensions, if not altogether antagonistic, there is empirical evidence of a more holistic view of both among university students, and therefore of their mutual reinforcement (Blackhurst and Foster, 2003, p. 169).

Secondly, civic education, as a form of education, needs to attend both the legal dimension of socialization in the existing structures and mechanisms of participation as well as the ethical or political dimension of critical

initiative. One thing this requires is to foster spaces open to ways less rule-governed of exercising citizenship. The progress that civic education hopes to promote is defined by the appearance of changes that break the continuity, by the opening of dissent in the margins of the consensus, of what is already instituted. As our students' provocative posters remind us, many of today's achievements were also dreams that once did not fit in the ballot box.

Notes

1. The LOU also introduced the Consultation Council as the consultation organ made up of the Rector, the Secretary General and a maximum of 40 members including professors and researchers of acknowledged prestige. This organ was dissolved in a later modification of the law.
2. There is no national rule homogenizing the delegations and student councils. Rather, each university, within the limits of its autonomy, sets its regulations on how they are run and what their competencies are. Generally, they are organs that organize student participation and representation in university academic life and channel their rights and obligations. One habitual structure is the existence of Faculty Delegations or Councils made up of the institutional representatives of the students of that Faculty on the University Senate, the Faculty Board and Department Councils as well as class delegates. The union of the Faculty Delegations constitutes the University Student Council.
3. With the People's Party coming to power in December 2011, the debate has been rekindled on university governance in the context of the reform packages announced in light of the new economic downturn. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports has created a *Commission of Experts for Reforming the University System*, which will analyze aspects such as how universities are to be governed.
4. History is of course also full of examples of possibilities of critical political action from representational mechanisms inside the system, as happened in Spain in the early 1970s, when groups of the opposition achieved significant representation in some of the Faculty Committees thereby introducing the defiance inside the official union, SEU (Hernández et al., 2007, pp. 174–85; González Calleja, 2009, p. 252).
5. Statements made by the Secretary General of the *Coordinadora de Representantes de Estudiantes de las Universidades Públicas* (CREUP, Conference of Student Representatives of Public Universities), an organization of institutional representatives of the students, defended that the University Student Council of the State 'is made up solely and exclusively of two representatives from each university via their student councils,' and denied the legitimacy of other alternative channels of participation, such as associations, whose leaders, he maintained, 'set themselves up as student representatives, and sometimes as more things. And this business of setting oneself up, although it sounds harsh, is typical of military takeovers and dictators' (Ortega, 2009).
6. This research uses data from the CIS study (2006).
7. The Spanish *Eurostudent IV* study was coordinated by a research team from the Universidad de Valencia led by Antonio Ariño and Ramón Llopis; we are grateful to them for their help in obtaining our data, which are complementary to the international study. The technical aspects of the study can be found in Llopis (2011). For other analyzes of the results, see Jover, López and Quiroga (2011a, 2011b).

8. The extraction method used was Principal Component Analysis (PCA), and the rotation method was Varimax (orthogonal rotations). It is worth noting from this analysis that 'belonging to student associations' is linked to 'institutional ways,' probably because these are usually included within the institutional structure of the University. In fact, this channel of participation has an ambiguous situation, since it presents a high factorial load on both factors: 0.715 on the factor 'institutional ways' and 0.410 on the factor 'alternative ways.'

9. The score on each factor was calculated by adding up the values given to all the separate indicators making up that factor. The scores fall between the extremes of 4 (the lowest score on the four indicators) and 20 (the highest score on the four indicators). The average score on the scale is 12.

10. In Llorent's research, the questions on participation were part of a questionnaire on knowledge, use and valuation of various university services, which may induce a reading oriented toward the real effectiveness of the systems of participation. In our case, the question was included in the part of the *Eurostudent IV* questionnaire on student living conditions, which has questions of fact ('How many hours do you spend in a typical week on attending class, on studying, and on paid work?') and of value ('How important to you are your studies in comparison to other activities?').

11. Despite the differences in tradition between American and European universities, current processes of internationalization of the university and the merging of cultural rules in a globalized world justify that the typology of the *Millennials* has also become a category for analysis at European universities (Bateson and Taylor, 2004).

12. In Spain, the INJUVE study (2005) detects greater confidence in parties as systems of political participation in the group of 15-to-18-year-olds than in the 19-to-24-year-olds, and in these more than in the 25-to-29-year-olds. Moreover, in research by Fraile, Ferrer and Martín, the willingness to abstain in elections is lower in the 18-to-25-year-olds than in the 26-to-34-year-olds. The authors ascribe this difference to the conditions of political socialization of both generations (Fraile et al., 2007, pp. 39–40).

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12

EDC/HRE in Croatia: Perspectives, Problems and Promises

Kornelija Mrnjaus

Introduction

In this chapter I will give a short history and overview of EDC/HRE in Croatia. It was a big challenge to write this chapter because data available from official reports are sometimes in contradiction. It is possible to find statements like Croatia is one of only a few countries in the world with a comprehensive model of National Human Rights Education Programme, or EDC in Croatia is not explicitly referred in any of the strategic papers; the Constitutional foundations for HRE and EDC do exist, but there are no legal provisions for their implementation; the Croatian Government doesn't have special policy for EDC/HRE; the Croatian government has yet to develop policies to serve as a basis for defining content and priorities in the field of teachers qualifying, training and improvement; teachers are required by statute to participate in ongoing professional development; teachers' training seminars are regularly announced in the Catalogue of Obligatory Teacher Trainings; Civic Education was introduced as an elective subject in the school year 2002/3; it is important that Croatian pupils have health and civic education, and those subjects will be introduced from school year 2012/13.

According to my knowledge there is no existing statistics about all the steps and projects undertaken by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport; agencies for different levels of education; NGOs; schools; and research centers. There are for sure many of them, because there are many exceptional persons, mostly teachers, university professors and NGO activists who work hard on dissemination of knowledge and development of skills and attitudes regarding human rights and democratic citizenship in Croatia. Unfortunately I couldn't find information about all of them. That's the reason why this 'report' on EDC/HRE in Croatia is incomplete, although it presents crucial information about efforts toward systematical implementation of EDC/HRE in the Croatian educational system.

The weakest point regarding EDC/HRE in Croatia is implementation. Out of the presented data it is visible that the Croatian government made all the

necessary formal and legal steps – prerequisites with the aim that EDC/HRE begin to 'live in real life' (development of a national HRE program, constitution of governmental human rights institutions, harmonizing legislation according to international standards and so on) – but unfortunately there is more on paper than in the field.

From the beginning of year 2012 the Minister of Science, Education and Sport announced that starting September pupils in Croatia will have health and civic education, but there is still no official decision about implementation of health and civic education in primary and secondary schools in Croatia. The Education and Teacher Training Agency director sent on August 31, 2012 a note to all primary and secondary schools about preparation and implementation of Health Education Curriculum from this school year (2012/13; school year started on September 3). Curriculum, with the Minister's official decision, will be officially published on September 30, 2012 on the web page of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport (AZOO, 2012b). Civic Education will be experimentally implemented in six schools during this school year (2012/13). Curriculum for civic education is still in development (AZOO, 2012a).

This chapter is based on literature research, mostly on reports on EDC/HRE in Croatia for the Council of Europe made by professor Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, the most recognized and distinguished researcher and 'fighter' for development and implementation of EDC/HRE in Croatia. Some data are more than ten years old. But it was not possible to find any newer reports on implementation of EDC/HRE in the education system.

I will start with a short presentation of development of EDC/HRE and steps made in the direction of EDC/HRE implementation in the Croatian educational system. After that I will present the National Programme for HRE and say something about teacher education for EDC/HRE and EDC/HRE at Croatian universities. Then I will talk about obstacles to EDC/HRE implementation and present practitioners' viewpoints on these issues. At the end of this chapter I will present a constitutional and legal framework for integration of EDC/HRE in the Croatian educational system and conclude with a list of relevant documents and related materials and important governmental and non-governmental organizations in EDC/HRE.

Steps toward the implementation of EDC/HRE in Croatia

The Croatian government published in 1999 a comprehensive model of the *National Human Rights Education Programme,* encompassing six subprograms (preschool, lower primary, upper primary and secondary, adult education and media). In 1999, *Education for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship* was integrated into the *Framework Plan and Programme for Primary Schools* issued by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport (MoSES). The document explicitly states that human rights and democratic citizenship

education are integral parts of the elementary school curriculum which may be implemented cross-curricularly, as an optional school subject or as an extra-curricular project activity.

Several steps forward in the implementation of HRE and EDC were made in 2002 and in the beginning of 2003. The National HRE Committee decided in 2002 to establish the coordinating units for HRE and EDC from preschool to university level, including adult education and media. A special coordination for EDC for all levels was also set up. The units are expected to develop a more efficient strategy for implementation of HRE and EDC throughout the system, which is still lacking in Croatia.

The Department for International Cooperation in Education of the MoSES sent in February 2003 to all local government offices for education a letter with a translated version of the *Recommendation Rec (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship* (COE, 2002). The purpose of this communication was to bring the local offices' attention to the *Recommendation* as an important contribution to implementation of the *National HRE Programme*. Local offices were explicitly asked to disseminate the *Recommendation* to all schools under their jurisdiction and to support school and NGO projects and initiatives in HRE and EDC with a view to better prepare Croatia for the European Year of Citizenship in 2005.

A special tender for NGO projects in education was launched by MoSES in spring of 2003 on the basis of the Government's decision to allocate lottery tax to NGOs activities which was also in line with the new *Law on Association* and the *Programme of Co-operation of the Government of Croatia with Non-governmental – Non-profit Sector in the Republic of Croatia*, of 2001. However, the decision has actually discriminated against schools, which are only rarely and insignificantly financially supported for such projects by the MoSES despite the fact that they are expected to implement HRE and EDC in their curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Another contribution to developing HRE and EDC in Croatia was the establishment of the *Research and Training Center for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship* as a self-supporting unit of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb in 2002. The Center aims to promote interdisciplinary research, curricula development, training and data collection in HRE and EDC, especially for the university level and in regard to teacher training.

Croatia also participated in *Education for Democracy and European Studies in CEE countries (EDES)* program[1], an in-service training program for Central-Eastern European countries (Croatia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine). This program was targeted to a comprehensive 'educational core group' comprised of teachers, educators and teacher trainers; education administrators; and officers of non-governmental organizations. The program was implemented as a two-year in-service course on the

post-graduate level. It used a combination of distance education methods and three-day weekend in-house seminars.

In 2003 the Government adopted the *Textbook Standard*, which, apart from scientific, psychological, didactic-methodological, linguistic, esthetical and technical standards, defines ethical standards for the development of school textbooks. Ethical standards are said to be based on the principles of 'truthfulness, authenticity, objectivity, universal human rights, democracy and patriotism' (COE, 2002, p. 13). Consequently, the textbook should, *inter alia*, strengthen the commitment to the principles of democracy and rule of law; oppose the promotion of anti-democratic ideologies; affirm respect for differences and minority cultures; reflect the plurality of Croatian society and accurately present different religious and ethnic groups, as well as oppose discrimination and hate speech on the grounds of sex, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic background, etc.

In 2006/7 the *Croatian National Educational Standard (CNES)* (HNOS, 2006) was introduced in primary schools (ISCED[2] level 1, 2) which encompasses the following common values: dignity of a human being – rights and duties of every individual; fundamental freedoms; democracy; welfare; peace, rejection of violence as a goal and a means; respect for others; solidarity; balanced development, equal opportunities; recognition of ethical norms; environmental protection; personal and social responsibility.

However, the implementation of HRE and EDC in Croatia is still unsystematic and sporadic, and it depends on the individual motivation of teachers and school principals, which makes this field even more vulnerable. This is mostly due to the fact that HRE and EDC are not explicitly referred to in any of the strategic papers on education reform launched by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport. This is inconsistent with the fact that human rights, democracy and citizenship are defined as the target values of educational reform.

National programme for human rights education

Since 1999, the Curriculum for Elementary School included a *National Programme for Human Rights Education*[3] (in further text the *Programme*) as a constituent part of regular school activities, under the name *Human Rights Education and Democratic Civic Education*. The text of this document stated that this *Programme* can be realized 'interdisciplinary, through all subjects and extracurricular activities such as projects' (Nacionalni program…, 1999), at the discretion of the teacher. The original text of the *Programme* advised teachers to make decisions about implementation of this program in cooperation with their pupils, other teachers, parents and the local community, taking into account the quality of their knowledge, experience of their pupils and availability of local resources, including non-governmental organizations.

The *Programme* was developed by experts under patronage of the Government of the Republic of Croatia National Committee for Human Rights Education within the implementation of the *UN Decade of Human Rights Education (1995–2004)*. The *Programme* relies on results of a project, *Education for peace and human rights for Croatian elementary schools*, which was supported by UNESCO and the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and on results of a project, *Citizen and Constitution – Basis of Democracy*, which was originally developed by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California, USA (CivicEd). After more than 40 non-governmental and international organizations sent their feedback on a draft, and after Governmental approval, the *Programme* was published in 1999 as a separate publication and delivered to primary and secondary schools in Croatia.

Unfortunately, a strategy for implementation of the *Programme* is still not elaborated. To many teachers and school principals, it remains unclear whether such teaching lessons are obligatory or not. Consequently, implementation of that *Programme* depends on the level of interest of teachers and/or compliance of school principals who can refuse to allow implementation of the *Programme*, citing overwork of pupils with core curricula.

The *Programme* starts from an integral multidimensional and life-long approach to learning *about, for* and *in relation to* human rights, democracy and civil society. For now this *Programme* encompasses programs for pre-school education, elementary and secondary school education, and a program of adult education[4]. The underlying premise of this *Programme* is that realization of one's right to education is the basis for realization of all other rights and freedoms, which are recognized as universal, indivisible and inalienable values of humanity.

In accordance with that, the *Programme* calls on education which is (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002, p. 30):

- Equally accessible for all, regardless of individual differences between pupils regarding their national, ethnic, religious, linguistic or other origin, belief or attitude;
- Diverse in organization, content and method to simultaneously attend to individual needs of every pupil and the common interests of community to which pupils belong;
- Based on humanistic science and with applications of modern information and communication technologies;
- Conducted with respect for human dignity and basic values of democratic community.

The main goal of this *Programme* is to offer help to children, youth and adults in learning about basic principles and values of democracy and civil society, as well as development of intellectual and social skills for active

and useful participation in a pluralistic and parliamentary democracy. Human rights education is defined as a holistic and life-long process of acquiring knowledge, skills, values and perspectives necessary for promotion of the dignity of each person, and a democratic society. This *Programme* revolves around the terms: universal human rights and basic freedoms, equality, social justice and inclusion, civic consciousness and responsibility, pluralism and intercultural understanding, tolerance and respect of differences, co-operation and partnership, peace and nonviolent conflict resolution, and social stability and security. The text mentions that freedoms of the individual and social development depend on individual understanding and acceptance of those values, as well on strengthening of social institutions in which they are promoted and protected.

The *Programme* implementation relies on two strategic concepts (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002, p. 32):

1. Multilevel approach 'Mrkva'[5] – from synergic individual experience in lower classes, through descriptive analysis and interpretation in higher classes of elementary school and in secondary school to interdisciplinary synthesis on the level of tertiary education;
2. Multimethod approach 'PIRA' (abbreviation for: participation, interaction, reflection and anticipation).

Global units which pervade the *Programme* at all levels are (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002, p. 32):

- *Me* – refers to development of self-consciousness, independence, self-respect and self-criticism;
- *Me and Others* – refers to development of awareness about diversity, encouraging of openness, tolerance and respect of others, cooperation and solidarity;
- *We* – refers to understanding of common needs of society/community organized on principles of human rights and freedoms, equality, justice, pluralism and mutual interdependence;
- *World as whole* – refers to development of global consciousness, multiple perspective, awareness about connection of natural and human world and on development of responsibility of individual for global changes.

In contrast to other teaching programs for elementary and secondary school, the *Programme* encompasses conditions and measures for program application. Beside the defined goals, contents (lesson units and themes for every age group), methods and evaluation, constituent parts of the program include guidance on legal provisions, organization and management of schools, preparation of teachers and parents, cooperation with

non-governmental organizations and other local community associations, teaching and learning materials, financing, etc.

The *Programme* doesn't refer directly to education for democratic citizenship and managing diversity, although it includes all its key dimensions, such as terminology about strengthened, active and responsible citizens; complex strategy of application (cross-curricular, as part of existing subjects, combination of both, etc.); determination of special knowledge, skills, values and competencies; procedures for assurance of human rights education goals in lesson plans and programs, as well in teaching and learning materials, etc. *Ad hoc* observations of implementation of the *Programme* in some schools confirm that properly prepared teachers succeed to efficiently integrate contents of that program in teaching of their subjects and that they sometimes do that in cooperation with local non-governmental organizations.

The Ministry of Science, Education and Sport strives to elaborate guidelines for application of the *Programme* for elementary and secondary schools based on review and evaluation of existing practices. It is expected that these guidelines will also encompass the issues of education for democratic citizenship and managing diversity.

Teacher training for EDC/HRE in Croatia

Before implementation of the Bologna process there were two types of teacher training institutions in Croatia: (a) non-university teacher colleges with four-year programs (for all elementary school teachers) and two-year programs (for pre-school teachers) and (b) four-year university pedagogical and other teacher training faculties (for some categories of elementary and secondary schools teachers). Teachers trained in the former context were required to complete pedagogical, psychological and methodological training prior to or upon their employment by the school.

After implementation of the Bologna process, teacher training in Croatia became more complex, derived in multiple formats: (a) three-year professional preschool education study, (b) three-year university early and pre-school education study, bachelor level, (c) two-year university early and pre-school education study, master level, (d) integrated five-year bachelor and diploma university programs for primary school – lower level teachers, (e) three-year university bachelor programs for primary school – upper level and secondary school teachers, (f) two-year university master programs for primary school – upper lever and secondary school teachers. Teachers holding a non-teacher bachelor or master diploma must complete pedagogical, psychological and methodological training prior to or upon their employment by the school.

University programs for teacher education develop special departments within their faculties which must be adopted by their respective Faculty Councils and University Senates. These programs are financed by the MoSES. Strategies and mechanisms for program evaluation and quality control either don't exist or are insufficiently developed.

Teachers are required by statute to participate in ongoing professional development, which is generally conducted at the school level and overseen by teacher councils. Unfortunately, in the absence of broader requirements, the work of most such councils is oriented only toward needs and problems of that school or general topics such as student discipline. However, at the national level, the MoSES established a Senior Advisory position in 1997 to oversee implementation of Human Rights Education, and in 1998 began organizing regular in-service teacher training programs to support this effort in cooperation with *Human Rights Associates*, a U.S. based NGO. In September 2000, after training more than 1500 teachers (pre-school, elementary and secondary) the MoSES took on sole organization and funding of this program. While there is no recent official data available, it is estimated that by 2010 approximately 20,000 educators have finished such seminars. Unfortunately, there remains no official policy on EDC/HRE for teacher education and continuing professional development programs (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002, p. 53).

HRE teacher training seminars, including all other seminars and professional meetings, are regularly announced in the *Catalogue of Professional Meetings,* which can be found on web pages of the *Education and Teacher Training Agency.* They are often realized in cooperation with external experts and some NGOs (Small Step; Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights; Forum for Freedom in Education; Croatian Red Cross; Kulturkontakt; and so on). In the last several years the training has included a wide range of topics, such as: curricular approaches to HRE, protection of the child's rights in school, cooperative learning, project and workshop teaching, partnership with parents and the local community, student-oriented HRE planning, quality communication in HRE, HRE and students with special needs, European dimension in schools, prevention of risk behavior, HIV and AIDS prevention in education, the Holocaust and so on.

The reactions of the teachers who have received training in HRE indicate that the *Programme* may be used as a broad framework or 'glue' for a variety of projects and activities carried out by schools and NGOs in this field. Some HRE and EDC projects have brought considerable changes into schools and their local communities, especially in regard to students' participation in decision-making (Students' Clubs in schools, Youth City Councils, youth volunteer initiatives and so on), as well as in regard to new approaches to school organization, planning and management (self-improving schools, all-school development planning and so on).

EDC/HRE at Croatian Universities

Universities in Croatia are autonomous institutions and therefore have full freedom to make decisions about programs and program content (subjects) which they will offer. In reviewing web sites and programs of six Croatian state universities it was found that every university includes at least some subjects dealing with EDC/HRE issues. This initial research did not include a content analysis, but rather a determination that the topics are represented as follows:

Table 12.1   University topics

Faculty/Program	Subject
University of Dubrovnika	
Study program Media and culture of society	Democracy and human rights[b]
University Juraj Dobrila in Pula[c]	
	Education for human rights and democratic citizenship[d]
University of Rijeka[e]	
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences[f]	Education for democratic citizenship,[g] Human Rights Education[h]
Faculty for Teacher Education[i]	Education for democratic citizenship,[j] Human Rights Education[k]
University of Split[l]	
Faculty of Philosophy[m]:	
a) Department of Pedagogy	Education for Democratic Citizenship,[n] Education for Peace and Tolerance[o]
b) Department of lower-primary and pre-school education	Social Ecology, Man and Health, Nature Protection, Development of Ecological Sensibility of Children, Law in Common Life, Child in Society, Croatian Society (in transition), Semiotic Construction of Ethnic Identity[p]
c) Department of Sociology	Society between Holocaust and Human Rights[q]
University of Zadar[r]	
Department of pre-school education	Ethics and Human Rights[s]
University of Zagreb[t]	
Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Education	Interculturality and Education, Anthropology of Education, Intercultural pedagogy[u]

Continued

Table 12.1   Continued

Faculty/Program	Subject
In academic year 2000/1 Department of Education started with integrated approach to doctoral study which elaborates on the following subjects	Human Rights, Civil Society and Education; New Paradigms of Minorities Education; Educational Programs for Cultural Plural Society: Comparative Analysis of Goals, Content and Methods; Global Dimension of Interculturality: Theoretical Parameters and Implementation; Strategies of Intercultural Teaching; Educational Policies of International Organizations; Partnership of Community, Family and Educational Institutions in Pre-School Education; Children's Rights in Valid Family Law; Democratization of Education; Active Learning Strategies; Educational Innovations: Choice-Movement, Home-Schooling and E-mail Education; Integration Processes in Europe and Changes in Education; Global and Regional Strategies of Changes in Education; Self-Organization and Autonomy of School; Alternative Schools; Active and Cooperative Learning[v]
Teachers Academy	Human Rights Education;[w] Education for Development[x]

Notes: [a] Sveučilište u Dubrovniku; www.unidu.hr [b] Demokracija i ljudska prava [c] Sveuciliste Jurja Dobrile u Puli; www.unipu.hr [d] Odgoj i obrazovanje za ljudska prava i demokratsko građanstvo [e] Sveučilište u Rijeci; www.uniri.hr [f] Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci; www.uniri.ffri.hr [g] Odgoj i obrazovanje za demokratsko građanstvo [h] Odgoj i obrazovanje za ljudska prava [i] Učiteljski fakultet u Rijeci; www.ufri.hr [j] Odgoj i obrazovanje za demokratsko građanstvo [k] Odgoj i obrazovanje za ljudska prava [l] Sveučilište u Splitu; www.unist.hr [m] Filozofski fakultet u Splitu; www.ffst.hr [n] Odgoj i obrazovanje za demokratsko građanstvo [o] Obrazovanje za mir i toleranciju [p] Socijalna ekologija, Čovjek i zdravlje, Zaštita prirode, Djelatnost u razvoju ekološke osjetljivosti djece, Pravo u svakodnevici, Dijete u društvu, Hrvatsko društvo (u tranziciji), Semiotička konstrukcija nacionalnog identiteta [q] Društvo između holokausta i ljudskih prava [r] Sveučilište u Zadru; www.unizd.hr [s] Etika i ljudska prava [t] Sveučilište u Zagrebu; www.unizg.hr [u] Interkulturalizam i obrazovanje, Antropologija odgoja i obrazovanja i Interkulturalna pedagogija [v] Ljudska prava, civilno društvo i obrazovanje, Nove paradigme obrazovanja manjina, Odgojnoobrazovni programi za kulturalno pluralno društvo: Komparativna analiza ciljeva, sadržaja i metoda, Globalna dimenzija interkulturalizma: Teorijski parametri i implementacije; Strategije interkulturalnog poučavanja, Obrazovne politike međunarodnih organizacija, Partnerstvo zajednice, obitelji i odgojnoobrazovnih ustanova u predškolskom odgoju i obrazovanju, Prava djece u važećem hrvatskom obiteljskom zakonu, Demokratizacija odgoja i obrazovanja, Aktivne strategije učenja, Obrazovne inovacije: choice-movement, home-schooling i E-mail education, Integracijski procesi u Europi i promjene obrazovanja, Globalne i regionalne strategije promjena u odgoju i obrazovanju, Samoorganizacija i autonomija škole, Alternativne škole, Aktivno i suradničko učenje. [w] Odgoj i obrazovanje za ljudska prava [x] Odgoj i obrazovanje za razvoj

Established in 2002 at the Faculty of Philosophy[6] at the University of Zagreb, the *Research and Education Center for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship*[7] plays an important role. The Center's web site was a great resource on EDC/ HRE international, European and national documents, reports and teaching materials. For a year this web page was inactive for unknown reasons. In the academic year 2005/2006 at the Research and Training Center for HRE/EDC at the Faculty of Philosophy of Zagreb a postgraduate HRE/EDC program was offered for the first time.

Obstacles to implementation of EDC/HRE in the education system

In 1997 implementation of project *Education for peace and human rights for Croatian primary schools* started under patronage of UNESCO, Government of Kingdom of the Netherlands, Government of the Republic of Croatia and Croatian Commission for UNESCO. In June 2001 as a part of this project, there was a meeting of 22 representatives of different organiza- tions and/or institutions including NGOs, teachers, youth organizations, government, local government, teacher unions and the media. One of the results of this meeting was the identification of two main groups of obstacles to implementation of EDC/HRE in education system – struc- tural/institutional obstacles and psychological obstacles (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002, pp. 81–9).

Practitioners' viewpoints: between theory and practice

Since no resources were provided to survey the practitioners' and stock- holders' viewpoints on the development of HRE and EDC in the country after 2001 (when the first stocktaking research on EDC policies was carried out) we shall briefly summarize the results of two regional studies conducted by the Research and Training Center for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Philosophy University of Zagreb. First, the *Project on Education for Democratic Citizenship: From Policy to Effective Practice through Quality Assurance (EDC-QA)* has been coordinated by Center for Educational Policy Studies (CEPS) from Ljubljana, Slovenia (COE). The Croatian part of the research was conducted in May–June 2003 on the basis of structured interviews with 48 decision makers, strategy writers, superior advisers, researchers, teachers, NGO trainers and trade union leaders. *The Research on Croatian Youth*[8] was carried out in December 2002–January 2003 as part of a regional study coordinated by the Proni Institute, Sweden. The questionnaire was completed by 950 respondents.

When compared to the 2001 Stocktaking research, the results of the EDC-QA study confirm that very few obstacles to development of EDC in

Table 12.2   Structural and institutional obstacles

Conception of Education	Education is still identified mainly with schooling; pupils are viewed as recipients and teachers as givers of knowledge; academic learning is mostly identified with learning of facts, and skills development is identified with professional or technical training. A major obstacle to promotion of education for active citizenship is the broadly accepted opinion that *politics have no place in the classroom* and that we should *teach children to be obedient and not how to protest.*
Educational Policy	There is no general, coordinated and consistent educational policy.
Implementation Strategy	Nonexistence of effective and consistent implementation strategy with measures and mechanisms for achievement of agreed educational goals (action plan).
Evaluation	Quality control policy is not defined either for any level of education or for the education system in general; national standards of school achievement are non-existent; development of education policy and teaching plans is centralized and evaluation of pupils' achievements highly decentralized.
Legislation	Laws in the area of education are developed and adopted without coordination between them, not taking into account needs of pupils and local community, and do not provide a basis for development of lifelong learning.
Structure, Organization and Management	Education system has deep organizational and structural problems; management style is quite authoritarian and unparticipative.
Decentralization	The process of decentralization is accepted, but with the critique that this process started too abruptly and without proper preparation of local governments and schools.
Teaching Plans and Textbooks	Educational goals and content for every subject in elementary and secondary school is defined by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport; and the program is still oriented toward facts instead of skills.
School Climate	Relations between teachers and pupils are still very formal and authoritarian; pupils are more often punished than encouraged for their initiative; level of competition is very high and level of cooperation and solidarity very low.

Continued

Table 12.2 Continued

Teacher Education and Professional Development	Teacher education is primarily oriented to subject content and less on skills and methods; many teachers are not prepared for promotion of active, participative and cooperative learning, teamwork, non-violent problem solving, critical and argued thinking, action research, social and intercultural sensitivity, peer mediation, multiple and global perspective and so on.
Administration	National and local government administration in charge of educational issues are not prepared to take on their role in democratic changes; they are mostly authoritarian, highly bureaucratized and far away from any notion of being in service to the public (citizens).
Horizontal and Vertical Cooperation in Government	Cooperation within and between different sectors and government bodies in the field of education is rare or very poor.
Relations between School and Local Community	Many schools are disconnected from their local community and haven't established partner relations with parents and local actors.
Relation between Teachers and Civil Activists	Relations between teachers and NGO activists are not clearly defined; teachers are not ready to entrust realization of educational tasks to non-professionals while civil activists tend to view their own experiences as more advanced than that of teachers.
Professional Organizations	Professional organizations are undeveloped, disconnected and marginalized.
Dissemination and Exchange of Information	Information dissemination is unsatisfactory at all levels; effective system of information dissemination and exchange within education system is nonexistent.
International Cooperation	Information about possible international cooperation and exchange is not distributed equally; some schools have dozens of international projects and programs, and some have none at all.
Finances	National and local government financial support for innovation of teaching programs and project oriented teaching in schools is extremely low.
School Equipment	The majority of schools have insufficient space and equipment for implementation of active and team learning, project teaching, workshops and so on; furniture and classroom organization are oriented toward lecturing rather than engaging.
Civil Society Activities	NGO programs lack sustainability, cooperation and transparency.

Table 12.2 Continued

Media Coverage	Interest of media about education is very low, and journalists are not prepared for reporting about educational issues, especially about HRE/EDC issues.
Psychological Obstacles	
Prejudices about NGOs	Misunderstandings and an underestimation of roles that NGOs play in democratic changes is still present in many schools, government, state administration and media.
Self-stereotyping and Self-underestimation between Civil Activists	Civil activists sometimes underestimate their own work, believing that their activities are mostly connected to local needs and that they don't have the potential for promotion of social changes on a systemic level.
Depreciation of Non-formal Education	Teachers whose formal education about pedagogy was oriented toward transmission of knowledge and impersonal relations with pupils are prone to underestimate the importance of non-formal education conducted by NGOs; teachers in formal education institutions are afraid that an open education system could cause a de-professionalization in schooling, and jeopardize their position and authority with pupils.
Fear of Innovation	Some teachers and school principals are afraid of implementation of innovation in their practice, especially of new teaching and learning methods and strategies as interactive, cooperative and participative styles, team-work, critical analysis and so on.
Stereotyping of East and West Europe	Many teachers and school principals reluctantly accept cooperation with schools from Eastern European countries; and they invest a lot of effort to become members of school networks in Western Europe.

the country were efficiently removed between 2001 and 2003. However, it seems that the awareness about EDC has been raised considerably among the practitioners and that more schools have been implementing such projects alone or in cooperation with local, international or national governmental organizations. The most promising aspect in this respect is the fact that interest in HRE and EDC has been growing among schools located in small towns.

Several reports confirm that the implementation of HRE and EDC has an important impact on curricula, methods of teaching, teacher-student

relations and school climate, as well as on the relations of schools to parents and local community. Many respondents from the EDC-QA study confirmed that HRE and EDC had a central role in developing the system of quality assurance in education since they provide teachers and students with skills and competences which are necessary for schools' planning and self-improvement. It has been said that the definition of quality necessarily includes the issues of EDC, in particular the awareness of human rights and freedoms, participation, equality of treatment, respect for diversity, environmental awareness, individual responsibility, etc. One of the respondents put it briefly: 'Education quality without human rights is problematic' (ibid.).

Many practitioners are concerned with the fact that HRE and EDC have no place in education strategy papers and that no clear directive has been launched yet by the MoSES. Besides, they see the barriers to development of HRE and EDC in 'an outmoded approach to knowledge that stresses quantity of information instead of intellectual, social and communicative skills and competences by which learning is set free from school and linked to life' (ibid.). The lack of school autonomy, formalism of the national inspectorate, inadequacy of advisory service and the lack of accountability were often mentioned as factors which hinder the integration of HRE and EDC into teaching. In addition, an important suggestion was made to include HRE and EDC among the indicators of education quality.

The data from *Research on Croatian Youth* (ibid.) demonstrate that the decision-makers should put more effort to promote learning for participative and responsible citizenship based on respect for human rights and freedoms at all levels of Croatian society. A strong argument for this is the necessity to bridge the gap between the ideal and the real, which characterizes young people's perception of Croatian society. Namely, values that are mostly preferred by Croatian youth are a healthy environment, peace, gender equality, individual rights and freedoms, solidarity, social justice, economic security, respect for differences and the rule of law. However, when asked about values they see as the most important for upward mobility in Croatian society, many young people mention adaptive behavior and 'important' connections and acquaintances. Moreover, over one-third of the surveyed think that national background and party membership, as well as bribing and corruption, are equally important for someone's success. These findings are even more troublesome when compared to earlier studies on youth in which almost the same factors of social promotion dominate. The fact that there is no significant difference in perceptions of Croatian society by 'socialist' and by 'transitional' youth is the strongest argument for the development of HRE and EDC.

Another research project, *Democracy and Human Rights in Elementary Schools: Theory and Practice* (Novak, 2010) was conducted in 2009 with the aim to examine means and effects of implementation of EDC in elementary education on the national level and to offer further guidelines for

implementation of EDC in the educational system. This research has two parts: content analysis of relevant strategic documents and textbooks (from Croatian language, History, Nature and Society and an elective subject, Religion) and empirical research conducted in elementary schools through questionnaires for teachers, school principals and parents.

Content analysis of textbooks showed that textbooks generally promote values in accordance with human rights principles and give correct presentation of different groups. At the same time, textbooks don't give enough information about the democratic political system and insufficiently encourage the 'practicing of democracy,' civic activism and activity for common good, which are preconditions for the development of responsible, conscious and active citizens, like the development of a democratic political culture of youth.

The textbooks examined were relatively successful at promoting gender equality, but there is no discussion at all about socially sensitive subjects such as dealing with war and post-war history, marginalized groups, persons with different sexual orientation and so forth. National minorities who live in Croatia are only rarely mentioned and are not presented as important and integral parts of the culture of society in which we live. The situation is similar with persons with disabilities.

Surveys in schools showed that responsible participants in education – teachers, school principals and parents – put EDC among the most important goals and tasks of education. They think it should start very early within the educational system and that contents of EDC and HRE today are not sufficiently represented in elementary schools.

It is especially interesting that parent attitudes place goals connected with EDC and HRE on an average level of priority, immediately below their child's subjective contentment with school and ahead of the commonly expected goals of education such as good school success, knowledge of foreign languages and IT literacy, development of patriotism and European values (all of which are on the bottom of priorities of all participants).

Research results showed that in elementary school, EDC content is sporadic and elective, mostly depending on the affinity and additional engagement of some teachers. Very often, teachers and school principals are of the view that they do not have sufficient training and skill to successfully implement EDC. Moreover, they do not have systematic support to include EDC on its own or in relation to an already highly demanding expectation to cover primary subjects, leaving little if any time for its incorporation.

Pupils,' teachers' and school principals' attitudes showed that existing elementary education (at the levels of system, school and classroom) insufficiently contribute to the realization of EDC goals. Hence, the system is more successful in transmission of elementary knowledge about human rights and children rights, promotion of gender equality, encouragement of pupils to behave responsibly and in solidarity; and less successful in prevention of violent behaviors of pupils, encouragement of interest in things happening

in the community (society) and encouragement of civic activism, strengthening of mechanisms of school democracy and democratic practices within the educational system in terms of those making decisions in relation to those implementing them.

Research also showed that there are regional differences between elementary schools in Croatia in terms of characteristics of democratic culture. Researchers detected five different types of school culture: democracy, authoritarianism, traditionalism, egalitarianism and responsiveness.

Institutional and legislative framework for integration of EDC/HRE in the croatian educational system[9]

> Freedom, equal rights, national and gender equality, peace-making, social justice, respect for human rights, inviolability of ownership, conservation of nature and the environment, the rule of law and a democratic multiparty system are the highest values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.
>
> *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Article 3* (SABOR)

Although education is defined as a strategic priority for the overall development of Croatian society and despite the fact that all strategic documents on education reform in Croatia[10] implicitly or explicitly mention human rights, democracy and citizenship as the target values of educational reform, EDC is not explicitly referred in any of the strategic papers. The Constitutional foundations for HRE and EDC do exist, but there are no legal provisions for their implementation either in the *Law on Elementary Education* or the *Law on Secondary Education*.

Regarding an analytical basis for integration of EDC/HRE in the educational system, the legislative framework of the Republic of Croatia incorporates a qualitative and rich application of international and European standards and key documents, yet an insufficient implementation of many standards in praxis. Further, it does not include clear strategic guidelines for development of common and specific educational aspects.

The Croatian Government doesn't have a special policy for EDC/HRE. With the exception of the *National Programme for Human Rights Education* where they are explicitly named, democratic principles and basic human rights are more or less integrated in special policies or action programs (such as those for equality promotion). Here I will mention only some of such documents: The Constitutional National Minority Rights Act (Narodne-novine [b]), The National Programme for Roma (OGI, 2003), The National Programme of Protection and Promotion of Human Rights 2008–11 (*Nacionalni program zaštite…*, 2007), The National Programme for Youth 2009–13 (Narodne-Novine [a]), The National Strategy for Creation of Stimulating Environment for Civil Society Development 2006–11 (UZUVRH), Programme of Activities

Table 12.3 National educational policies

Law on Elementary and Secondary Education (Narodne-novine [c])	This Law defines the goals of education as follows: 'to ensure systematic teaching of pupils; stimulation and improvement of pupils intellectual, physical, aesthetic, social, moral and spiritual development in accordance with their abilities and tendencies; development of awareness about ethnic affiliation, protection of historic-cultural heritage and national identity; educating pupils in accordance with common cultural and human values, human and children rights, make them competent for life in a multicultural world, respect of diversity and tolerance and for active and for active and responsible participation in democratic development of the society; to ensure acquisition of basic (general) and professional competencies; to make pupils competent for life and work in changeable socio-cultural context according to the requirements of a market economy, modern information-communication technologies and scientific insights and achievements; and to make pupils competent for life-long learning.' Special attention is given to pupils' rights, particularly a section which defines their right to act in student councils[a] and their right to propose improvements for educational process and work.
Law on Adult Education (LAE) (Narodne-novine [c])	Goals of adult education defined by this Law include affirming rights and freedoms associated with personal development; training for employability (advancing professional knowledge, skills and attitudes); education about human rights and the responsibilities of active citizenship; and a commitment to lifelong learning.
Croatian National Educational Standard (CNES) (HNOS, 2005)	Some of many goals of CNES are: promotion of common values; development of personal responsibility, self-respect and respect of others; promotion of tolerance; gender equality; development of abilities for teamwork; development of personal and social responsibility; solidarity and abilities for social engagement; and direct and responsible participation in democratic society.
National Curriculum for Preschool, General Compulsory and Secondary School Education (MZOS, 2011)	This document prescribes guidelines for development of the educational process. The aim of this Curriculum is the development of new competencies and knowledge such as innovation, creativity, IT literacy, teamwork, constant acquisition of new knowledge and adjusting to changes. Values promoted in this document are knowledge, solidarity, responsibility, development of identity, equal education opportunity for all, respect of human and children rights, democracy and pedagogical and school pluralism. This national curriculum also includes the goals of *personal and social development* (development of skills and attitudes, responsibility for own life, promotion of knowledge about others, management of intercultural situations, preparation for life in a democratic society) and *civic education*. The latter includes development of awareness of the importance of democratic institutions and processes in students' own society, within Europe and globally; development of a positive attitude and interest among pupils for constructive and effective participation in school and community life; awareness and development of gender equality; tolerance toward other nations, cultures,

religions and opinions; peaceful and constructive conflict resolution; critical reflection on societal issues; usage and assessment of information sources for decision-making and social engagement; *learning to learn* (effective organization and management of own learning) and so on. This document suggests introduction of *Civic Education* as a school subject, the goal of which would be to 'train the pupils as active and responsible citizens in their own society, for intercultural interaction and internationalization of modern society.' The development of civic competence among pupils includes the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of basic concepts of democracy and civic roles, including: 1. democratic institutions, civic rights and duties; 2. basic principles of functioning of economic life; 3. national identity, European identity, globalization, international relations and being a citizen of the world; and 4. social coherence and diversity. Development of *civic skills* includes: critical thinking about political, economic and social issues; independent decision making; cooperation with others in public life; estimation of the effects of one's own engagement; *development of positive attitude toward democracy and civic roles on the different levels of society* (for example, school, local community, society and broader international community); development of *interest and readiness of pupils* to participate in political and civic activities and adult citizens; encouraging pupils toward participation in school life and in organizations and activities in the local community.

The National Programme for Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship (*Nacionalni program odgoja*...[1999])	This a fundamental document which organizes the field of human rights education and education for democratic citizenship nationally on pre-school, elementary and secondary school levels. This document was adopted by the Croatian Government in 1999. The Programme includes the following content: human rights education, education for democratic citizenship, education for peace and non-violent conflict resolution, education for sustainable development, education for prevention of prejudices and discrimination, and research of humanitarian law. The Programme recommends implementation of this content interdisciplinarily in all subjects whose themes are related to human rights, as elective subjects through extracurricular activities such as projects and out-of-school activities and systematically throughout the entire school's plan and program.

Note: [a]Article 71 of the Law on Elementary and Secondary Education anticipates establishment of Student Councils constituted of representatives of every class in school.

for Prevention of Violence Among Children and Youth (DIJETE, 2004), Programme of Activities for Prevention of Violence Among Youth for 2009 (VLADA, 2009).

Democratic and basic human rights principles are found in some general strategic documents which determine reforms of the educational system. In the following table are some of those documents with short excerpts regarding democratic and human rights principles they promote and support.

Conclusion and next steps

According to the *Mid-term Review of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education*, Croatia is one of only a few countries in the world with a comprehensive model for the *National Human Rights Education Programme*. Yet the implementation of HRE and EDC in Croatia is still unsystematic and sporadic depending mainly on the individual motivation of teachers and school principals. It also depends on the readiness of schools to cooperate with NGOs, which conduct numerous educational projects on human rights and human freedoms protection, non-violent communication, promotion of culture of peace and the like. Unfortunately, in Croatia there still does not exist serious and systematic education about human rights in schools and at the universities, notwithstanding the existing *National Programme for Human Rights Education*.

At the university level, promotion of human rights education similarly depends on the enthusiasm of a few professors who try to promote this subject within a context resistant to changes from longstanding programs. Ironically, this is especially the case within the area of teacher education. Indeed, the post-secondary institutional environments are not supportive – and even hostile toward – implementation of EDC/HRE subjects. The prevailing view seems to be that EDC/HRE is either a passing fad, or that it is already covered in the context of other subjects to which students are exposed. As such, faculty and administrators tend to believe there is no need to educate pupils and students in areas of EDC/HRE.

Implementation of EDC/HRE in the Croatian obligatory education system has been mandated by the beginning of school year 2012/13, but it remains to be seen whether this is indeed happening. Thus, the status of Croatia's national strategy and component curricula are open questions at this point in time. What is clear however is that laws and policies are not sufficient to realizing the aspirations of EDC and HRE. Much more work is needed to infuse the hearts and minds of Croatia's students, teachers and citizenry with a shared commitment to achieving the vision of a truly inclusive and engaged society. In the meantime, we place a great deal of hope in the hearts and minds – and courage – of the minority of people in education who already hold this commitment.

Glossary of terms

CEPS	Center for Educational Policy Studies
CNES/HNOS	Croatian National Educational Standard
COE	Council of Europe
EDC	Education for Democratic Citizenship
EDES	Education for Democracy and European Studies in CEE countries program
EDC-QA	Project on Education for Democratic Citizenship: From Policy to Effective Practice through Quality Assurance
HRE	Human Rights Education
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education, UNESCO
MoSES	Ministry of Science, Education and Sport
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PIRA	Participation, Interaction, Reflection, Anticipation
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Notes

1. *Project Outline of EDES* – Doc. DECS / EDU / CIT (99)13. In Bîrzéa (2000, p. 46).
2. The 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'. It was approved by the International Conference on Education (Geneva, 1975), and was subsequently endorsed by UNESCO's General Conference when it adopted the Revised Recommendation concerning the International Standardization of Educational Statistics at its twentieth session (Paris, 1978).
3. Document published by the Government of the Republic of Croatia National Committee for Human Rights Education in the year 1999, in which all human rights education programs are conjoint from pre-school to secondary school. Additionally includes the Programme for Adults. The university program and the program for media, which were earlier announced as parts of the complete National Programme, are still not finished.
4. Work on Education Programme for Human Rights of Adults was finished in the year 2000.
5. Mrkva – Eng. carrot
6. Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu; www.ffzg.hr
7. Istraživačko-obrazovni centar za ljudska prava i demokratsko građanstvo
8. The Research on Croatian Youth was carried out by the Research and Training Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Philosophy University of Zagreb in December 2002–January 2003 as part of a regional study coordinated by the PRONI Institute, Sweden. The questionnaire was administered to 950 young respondents. Source: Council of Europe. *Overview of EDC in Croatia.* Available at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/

edc/2_Edc_hre_in_member_states/country_profiles/profile_croatia81007_ EN.asp; December 3, 2010.

9. In preparation for this part of the manuscript, the author utilized an analysis published in Bužinkić, (2011), pp. 32–44.

10. *Working Programme of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for the Period 2000– 2004, White Paper on Croatian Education (2001)* (part of an overall *Strategy for the Development of the Republic of Croatia 'Croatia in the 21st Century)', Concept of Changes in the Education System of the Republic of Croatia* (Project *'Sources'*) (Education Council, 2002), *The Project on Croatian Education System for the 21st Century (2002), Priority Measures in Education System for 2002–2004.*

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Important Organizations in EDC/HRE

Due to lack of research on the national level, the lists given here do not contain all relevant actors in the field. There are many more institutions/persons that deal with EDC/HRE and in order to obtain a more reliable list, a nation-wide survey should be performed.

Governmental Institutions Involved in EDC/HRE

Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta (Ministry of Science, Education and Sport); http://www.mzos.hr.

Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje (Education and Teacher Training Agency); http://www.azoo.hr.

Agencija za strukovno obrazovanje i obrazovanje odraslih (Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education); http://www.aso.hr.

Agencija za znanost i visoko obrazovanje (Agency for Science and Higher Education); http://www.azvo.hr.

Nacionalni centar za vanjsko vrednovanje obrazovanja (National Centre for External Evaluation of Education); http://www.ncvvo.hr.

Vladin ured za ljudska prava (Office for Human Rights, Government of the Republic of Croatia); http://www.ljudskaprava-vladarh.hr.

Povjerenstvo za ljudska prava Vlade Republike Hrvatske (Government of the Republic of Croatia Commission for Human Rights).

Nacionalni odbor za odgoj i obrazovanje za ljudska prava i demokratsko građanstvo (National Committee for Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship).

NGOs and Other Organizations and Institutions

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Centar za direktnu zastitu ljudskih prava (Center for Direct Protection of Human Rights); http://www.zamir.net/~dphr/.

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava – Osijek (Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights – Osijek); http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/.

Centar za mirovne studije (Centre for Peace Studies); http://www.cms.hr/.

Centar za zenske studije Zagreb (Centre for Women's Studies Zagreb); http://www.zenstud.hr/.

CESI – Centar za edukaciju, savjetovanje i istraživanje (Center for Education, Counselling and Research); http://www.cesi.hr/.

Drustvo za psiholosku pomoc (DPP) (Society for Psychological Assistance); http://www.dpp.hr/.

Europski dom Zagreb (Europe House Zagreb); http://www.europski-dom-sb.hr/.

Europski dom Slavonski Brod (Europe House Slavonski Brod); http://www.dpp.hr/.

Europski pokret Hrvatska (European Movement Croatia); http://www.europe.hr/.

Europski klub mladih (EuroYouth Club); http://www.europe.hr/.

Forum za slobodu odgoja (Forum for Freedom in Education); http://www.fso.hr.

GONG; http://www.gong.hr/.

Hrvatski Crveni kriz (Croatian Red Cross); http://www.hck.hr/.

Hrvatski helsinski odbor za ljudska prava (Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights); http://www.hho.hr/.

Hrvatski pravni centar (Croatian Law Centre); http://www.hpc.hr/.

Hrvatsko debatno drustvo (Croatian Debating Society); http://www.hdd.hr/.

Istrazivacko-obrazovni centar za ljudska prava i demokratsko gradjanstvo Filozofskog fakulteta Sveucilista u Zagrebu (Research and Training Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship, Faculty of Philosophy University of Zagreb), email: hre-edc@ffzg.hr; web: http://www.ffzg.hr/hre-edc – not active anymore.

'Korak po Korak,' Udruga roditelja ('Step by Step,' Association of Parents); http://www.korakpokorak.hr/.

Mali korak – Centar za kulturu mira i nenasilja Zagreb (Small Step – Centre for Culture of Peace and Nonviolence Zagreb); http://malikorak.hr/.

Portal za škole (School portal); http://skole.hr/.

Web-stranice hrvatskih osnovnih i srednjih skola (Web-pages of Croatian Elementary and Secondary Schools); http://skola.sys.hr/skole/indeks.htm/.

ZaMirNET; http://www.zamirnet.hr/.

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13
Women, Universities, Leadership and Citizenship

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The under-representation of women in decision-making positions in universities is a problem not always addressed in terms of the enlargement of citizenship and democracy. Universities are, within our expectations, a place where social science should be able to uncover social realities and inequality (social class, gender, ethnic origin and so on) as Wallerstein et al. (1998) point out, researching ways of overcoming them.

Some policy documents, as the ones produced by the European Universities Association (EUA), demonstrate a concern for increasing the participation of women in research and teaching, seen as essential 'in a competitive Europe,' but this concern does not appear to involve gendered changes on leadership positions. This issue is addressed in the United States in different terms, mainly by a myriad of women's university organizations.

Gender equality certainly aims to promote and to establish extended forms of citizenship and more enlarged forms of democracy. Statistical data reveals that gender equality at the level of university students appears quite significant regarding access and as a story of success in several European countries (including Portugal). But it is quite puzzling not to see significant changes in what concerns the presence of women in decision-making positions in these institutions. Are women, so well prepared with diplomas and qualifications in higher education, in positions of responsibility in similar numbers? Are they being recognized from political and other institutional powers to share power, to lead institutions, in equal numbers? In the light of the feminist authors' arguments that science, as for instance political science, has been built with a male bias, sharing decision-making in universities and being represented at the top level of public institutions is an important form of concretization of a democracy (Rhode, 2003). Gender equality matters certainly as an issue of social, political and cultural rights as well with deep implications in the social process of producing science and educating citizens.

My purposeful aim here attempts, within a framework where political writers lead us to think on the potential of democracies, to analyze collected data on the occupation of decision-making posts in universities and faculties by women and men, in the light of issues of participation and citizenship, to substantiate: (i) an accurate and more recent perspective on numbers of women as leaders of universities and faculties as institutions; (ii) to frame the Portuguese situation within the situation of other EU countries and the United States; (iii) to call for the urgency in changes when the number of women with university diplomas is more than 50 percent of the total, in several countries, which renders it quite difficult to accept the continuation of leadership as 'jobs for the boys' (Brooks, 1997). Statistical data both concerning Portugal and other European countries (Spain, France, Germany, England) as well as concerning universities in the United States will be analyzed and debated in the light of citizenship, gender equality and the 'politics of presence' (Philips, 2001).

Is women's participation in universities an important issue?

Participation appears to contain an important message for women, when the apparent larger expectation underlining the equal capacity of women as a social group to live and construct the polis is so strong. This is certainly one of the reasons that lead women's studies to stress the importance of participation.

Many studies have already underlined that women are expected to participate since they are, equally as men, supporters of a democracy based on equal rights, on the intention to construct a common space where rights are shared and where members of a community have the possibility of contributing to construct the polis. Lalage Bown (1999, p. 6) also argues that it is 'valuable for women to shore up their base within academia by taking on roles in public policy agencies which intersect in some way with university work.' Women's participation has been fought intensively, for many decades: for the suffrage, the enlargement of other rights, such as education, paid work, social security, and so on. Other women's struggles have focused against domestic violence, for the right to decide the control of their bodies, for respect and inclusion for non-white women.

The participation in the construction of the polis has been argued with different *visions*: liberalism with its emphasis on individual rights and a restricted vision of participation; and civic republicanism claiming for the construction of a common good, where individual interests are forgotten and group differences silenced.

With other arguments, participation has been underlined as stressing the plurality of forms, the elaboration of personal and group autonomies, as the capacity of informed choices of what needs to be done and how this can be pursued. Participation is also understood as a form of cultural and

social production, as debating social inequalities and practices, as interpreting social needs and fighting for their concretization and as a recognition of differences (Lister, 1997). The concerns of the late Iris Young are here mentioned regarding democracy, when she stresses the importance of people participating in decision-making activities in which they are involved, in which they live and the influence they might exert in the decisions taken (Young, 2000). Democracy and enlarged forms of citizenship point out to a participation level sustained on equality or equity.

From these perspectives, women's participation in universities, as in other institutions, is a right that needs to be appropriated by policies and practices. It remains difficult to look at democracies that claim to be based on equal rights yet where women are absent or with a quite minor presence in decision-making positions in universities.

It is worth remembering that not in the distant past women were much less present in universities. The history of their access analyzed in several studies has illuminated the non-existence of equal rights and the situations of discrimination (Bown, 1999; Dyhouse, 1995' Araújo et al., 2010).

Participation in terms of access

Nowadays, the picture is quite different: women are present in secondary and higher education as students, having access to different courses, in areas where traditionally they had been absent. This is a story of success for women and for an educational system that built on the basis of equal opportunities, of non-discrimination based on sex.

Their numbers in secondary and higher education are visible and were presented in a recent paper (Araújo with Oliveira, 2010). In the graphics below Figure 13.1, it is possible to see the girls' numbers as students in secondary education (level 3 ISCED[1]) in the 27 European countries.

Briefly, it may be pointed that the feminization rates, concerning female students attending secondary education, in 2007, vary between 45.8 percent (Malta) and 54.3 percent (Sweden). These rates are above 50 percent in 12 countries and the average of EU-27 is close to 50 percent. Some countries (Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovenia), have moved downward from values higher than 50 percent in 1998, to less than 50 percent in 2007, for reasons out of reach of this paper.

In the next graphics Figure 13.2, the student female numbers in higher education in EU-27 countries are presented. Again the numbers are from 2007.

All the EU-27 countries, with the exception of Germany and Cyprus have, in 2007, feminization rates in higher education greater than 50 percent. The ones from the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) are even above 60 percent. Some countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Netherlands, Romania) show a gradual rise, since 1998 until 2007, from below 50 percent to values above 50 percent.
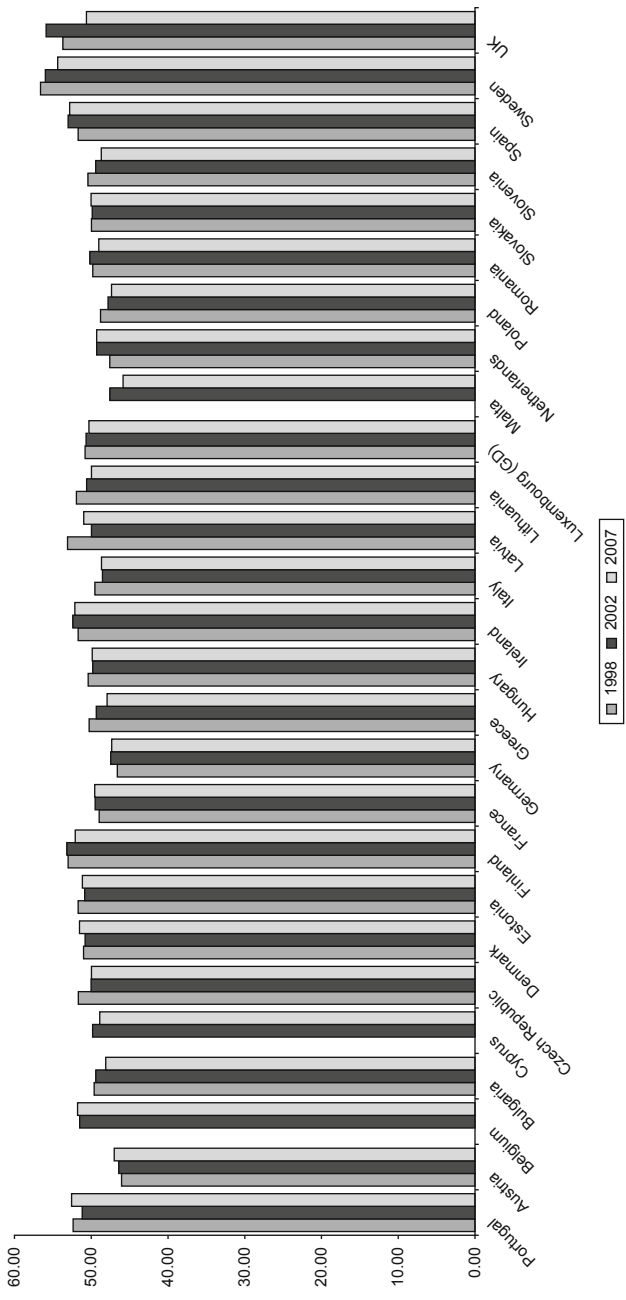
Figure 13.1 Feminization rates, students, level 3 ISCED97, EU-27

Source: Eurostat (2010).
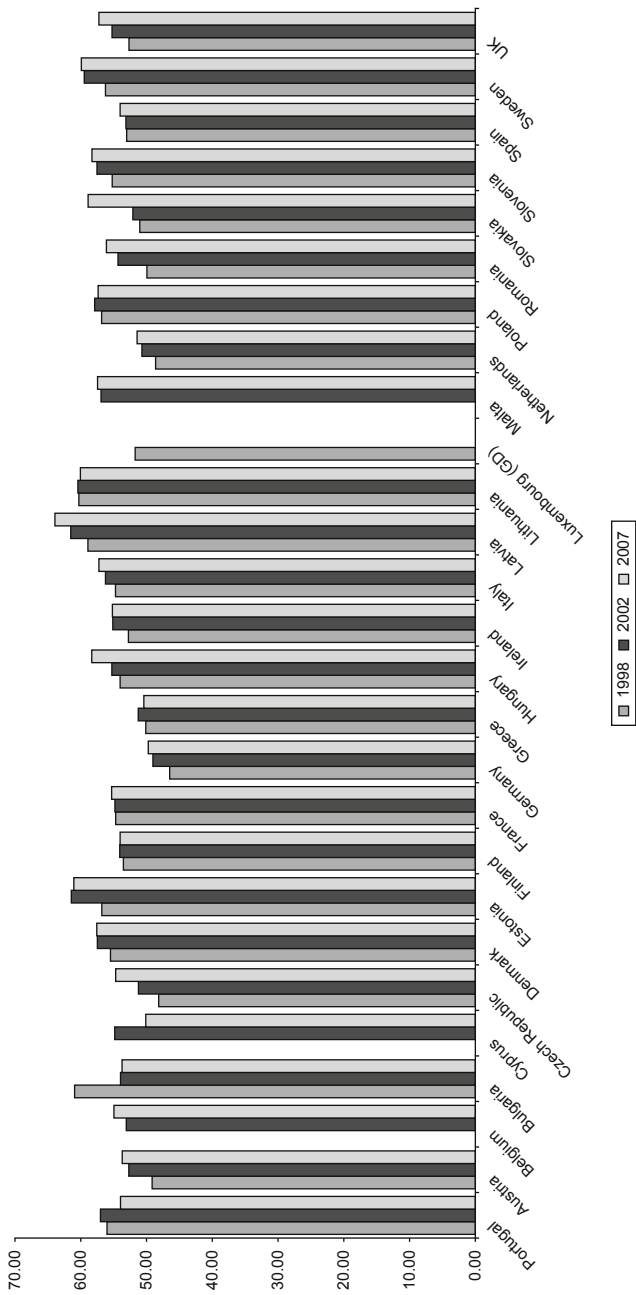
Figure 13.2 Female students, levels 5 & 6 ISCED97, EU-27

Source: Eurostat (2010).

So, participation in the sense of access looks real – there are no formal discriminations by sex, in general. Looking at the recent data, girls and boys, women and men have access to all levels of the system on equal terms. Nonetheless, it is clear that it is not only the disappearance of discriminatory regulations that brings equal opportunities of access and success. Much more complex issues connected with ideologies, stereotypes, social class inequalities and so on are very much alive, but also they are reconfigured and contested, many times.

Participation in terms of achievement

Participation in terms of achievement such as defined by ordinary definitions also appears in positive numbers. The common discourse even underlines that women are having much success, getting more diplomas than men in terms of percentages, mainly when referring to higher education. Clearly, there are areas of knowledge such as engineering and technologies in general, where women are a minority, but in other areas it is stressed that they are getting a greater number of diplomas than men as it will be seen below. They are visibly getting university (and other higher education) diplomas, in contrast with the past – twenty years ago the picture was quite different. Hence, at the level of participation in terms of achievement of levels of concretization implied by specific institutions, knowledge, diplomas, this is a level where the large participation of women is visible.

Figure 13.3 presents data on the number of diplomas awarded to women and men, 2007–8, at bachelor, master and PhD levels in Portugal. In all of them, even at the level of the doctorate, women get diplomas in greater numbers than men. In Table 13.1, this data is presented in percentages.
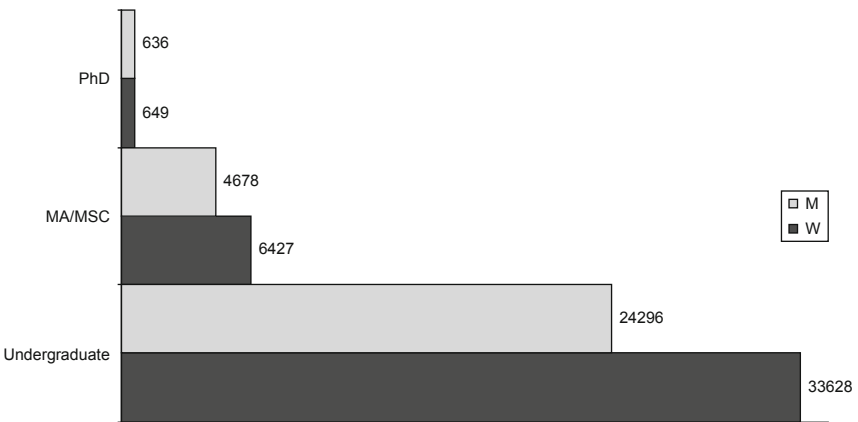
Figure 13.3 Higher education diplomas numbers by sex and course, Portugal, 2007–8

Table 13.1   Higher education graduates by type of course, Portugal, 2007–8

	Total	% of Women
Undergraduate	57924	58.1
MA/MSC	11105	57.9
PhD	1285	50.5

Source: GPEARI (2009).
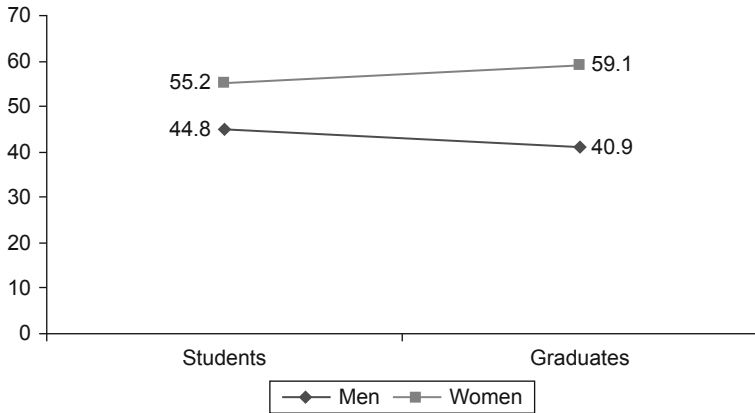
Figure 13.4   Proportions of men and women among students and graduates, EU-27, 2007

Source: Eurostat 2009, in *Guidelines for Equality Programmes in Sciences*.

Broadening this issue to Europe-27, it is also female graduates that are in greater numbers. It is quite visible that as students their difference is lesser than as graduates where the gender gap gets bigger: 55.2 percent female students compared to 44.8 percent male students; 59.1 percent female graduates to 40.9 percent male graduates.

In Table 13.2, the percentages of female graduates in higher education (ISCED 5 & 6) are presented.

In all the 27 countries, these percentages are above 50 percent. Several of them (Portugal, the Baltic countries, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden) exceed 60 percent. And one of these latter ones, Latvia, is even over 71 percent.

As far as the United States is concerned, the following graphics also point to the deep changes, from the 1970s onwards, regarding higher numbers in university and other higher education diplomas.

On doctorate diplomas, women count in 2006–7 for 50 percent, which is close to European data, at least the Portuguese one where the percentage

Table 13.2   Percentages of female graduates, higher education, EU-27, 2007

	2007
Portugal	61.42
Austria	52.46
Belgium	59.93
Cyprus	58.94
Czech Republic	57.08
Denmark	57.37
Estonia	68.89
Finland	63.16
France	55.08
Germany	58.65
Greece	59.49
Hungary	68.47
Ireland	58.57
Italy	59.91
Latvia	71.89
Lithuania	68.66
Malta	57.35
Netherlands	58.48
Poland	65.18
Romania	59.75
Slovakia	61.74
Slovenia	61.77
Spain	58.39
Sweden	63.68
UK	58.1

Source: Eurostat, retrieved May 2010.
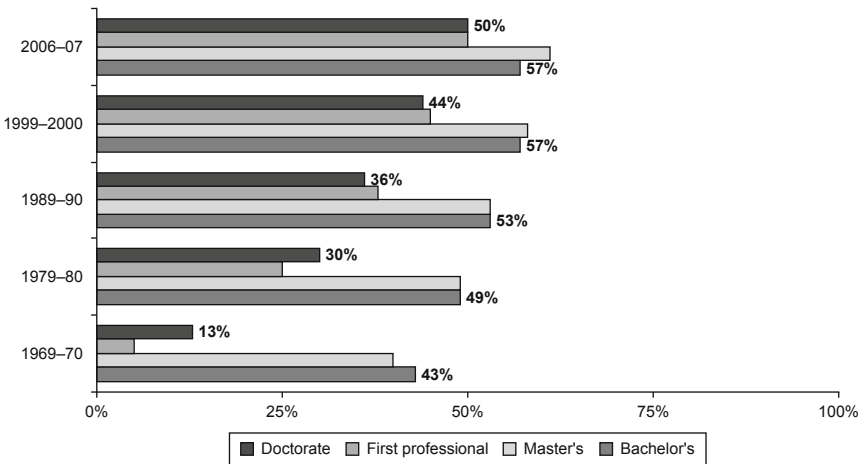
Figure 13.5   Percentages of female graduates, higher education, USA, 2007
Source: *The White House Project Report,* 2009, p.17.

is slightly higher. As far as the other degrees, the percentages appear quite similar. In general, it may be stressed that women graduates in higher education in the USA are over the 50 percent mark, similar to the general data on European countries.

Universities as places of work for women academics

In this section, the attention is focused in universities as a place of work for an adult labor force. Universities are within our expectations a place where the production of science takes place. As such, there is also an expectation that social science will be able to uncover social realities perceived as given and to make visible social inequalities (Wallerstein et al., 1998) underlining a transformation of relations of power. In that sense, universities and other higher education institutions could be more attentive to the process of social inequalities that they sustain.

Universities and other higher education institutions in Europe have received many women as lecturers, professors, etc. This is a process that is more clearly configured in the last years of the 20th century. Many women are teachers in higher education compared to the 1980s, where they were only a third. Figure 13.6 presents data on women academics in universities by four grades: senior, second-level posts, third-level posts and junior posts.

Some countries (among Europe 25, in 2004) have been selected: Portugal (red), Denmark (white), Germany (light blue), Spain (green), France (yellow), UK (light green) and the EU 25 average (blue). In senior posts, women's presence varies between 21 percent (Portugal) and less than 10 percent (Germany) – in the maximum, only one fifth of the total at this level. As we move to the lower academic categories, women's numbers increase.

In the four grades, Portugal, UK and Spain have higher percentages than the European average. France presents the same in senior and second-level posts. Figure 13.7 summarizes the comparison between Portuguese percentages and the European average.

It may be said that the changes in female academics numbers in European countries (at least in EU-25) are visible, when compared with former times, although with sizeable differences among them concerning their presence in the different level posts.

The next graphic (Figure 13.8) shows that women as female students have best results (on levels ISCED 5 & 6, corresponding to higher education) but their academic career will not have the same marks of professional success as men's. As far as male students are concerned, they have less academic success, but their academic careers, in global terms, have a higher rate of success: 80 percent of them attain the level A in their academic career, while only 19 percent of women academics attain this level. This constitutes a shocking distance that should imply specific policies to change such a situation.
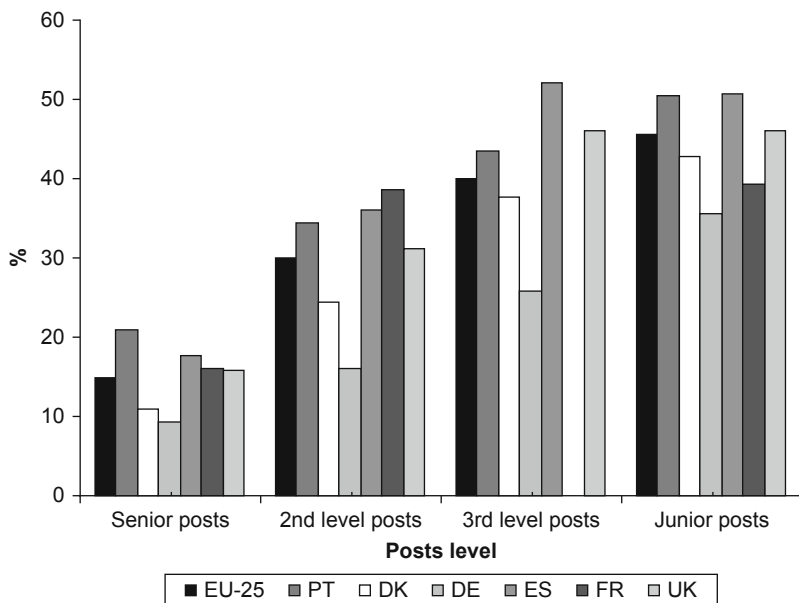
Figure 13.6   Percentages of female academic staff by post level, EU-25, 2004

Notes:

Senior posts: the single higher grade/post at which research is normally conducted within the institutional or corporate system.

Second-level posts: should include all researchers working in positions which are not as senior as the top position (A) but definitely more senior than the newly qualified PhD holders (C).

Third-level posts: the first grade/post into which a newly qualified PhD (ISCED 6) graduate would normally be recruited within the institutional or corporate system.

Junior posts: either postgraduate students not yet holding a PhD (ISCED 6) degree who are engaged as researchers, or researchers working in posts that do not normally require a PhD.

Source: Eurostat (2008). *The life of women and men in Europe – 2008 Edition.*
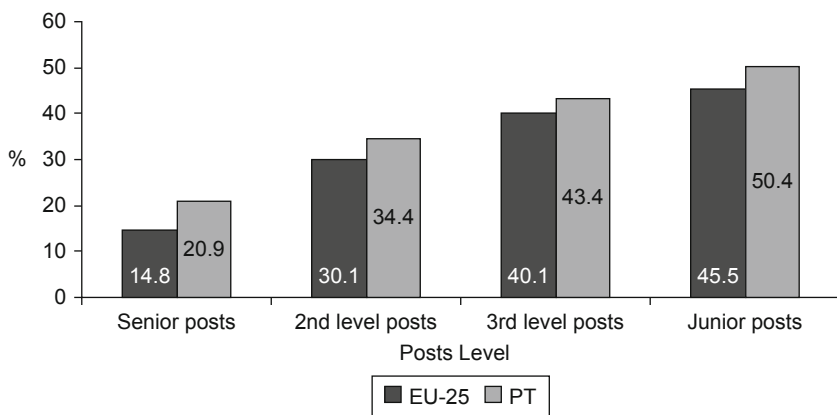
Figure 13.7   Female academic staff in universities by grade – Portugal in comparison with EU-25 average, 2004

Source: Eurostat (2008). *The life of women and men in Europe – 2008 Edition.*
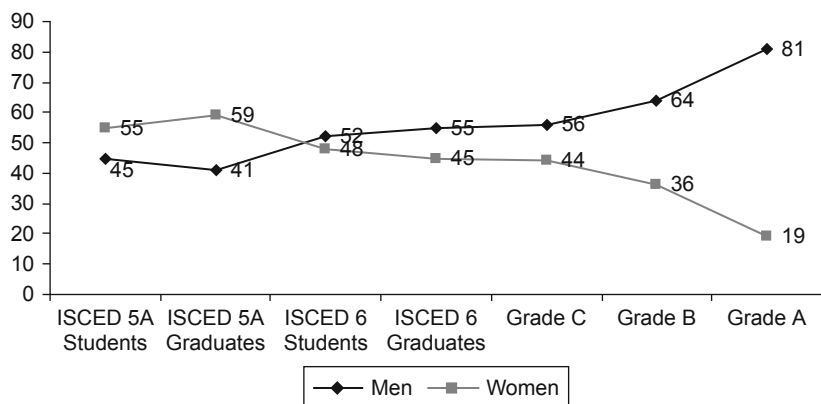
Figure 13.8 Proportions of men and women in a typical academic career, students and academic staff, EU-27, 2006

Source: European Commission, She Figures 2009, First data and preliminary results, in *Guidelines for Gender Equality Programme in Science*.
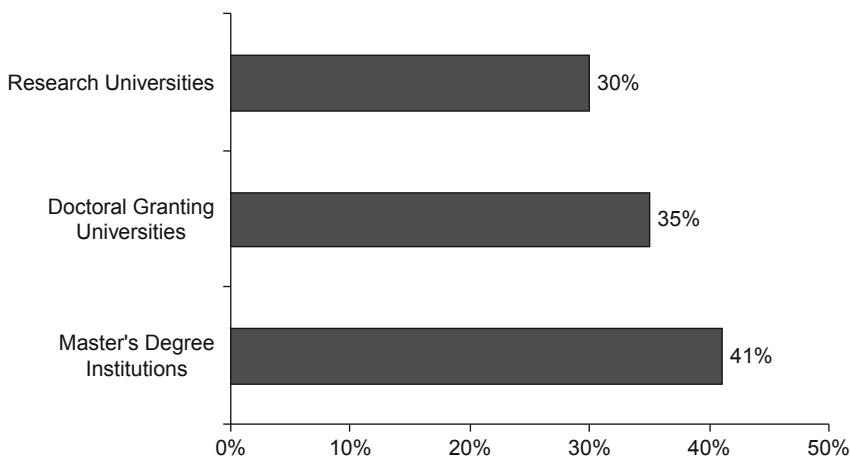
Figure 13.9 Percentage of female academic staff, USA

Source: *The White House Project Report,* 2009, p. 19.

As far as the United States is concerned (see Figure 13.9), the percentage of women academics in higher education varies according to the kind of institution: research universities, doctoral granting universities and master's degree institutions. However, they are at least one third of all teaching staff. And on the others, they represent more than 40 percent. It is already a significant presence, in quantitative numbers.

It may be noticed that institutions with higher status present more obstacles to gender equality than the other ones. These numbers do not appear so different from European numbers.

To sum up, the changes in women's numbers as lecturers and professors are indeed visible (see for instance Doherty & Manfredi 2006). In fact, there are more women in these recent years as lecturers and professors than in former times. This needs to be underlined. However, the distance between female and male numbers as academics is still significant. In the less prestigious institutions in terms of level of production of knowledge and degree attributed, female academics appear in more visible numbers, with 41 percent for instance as in Figure 13.9. However, in those instituitions considered most prestigious as the 'research universities,' their number is only one third.

These numbers and percentages have their relevance in the way that they should put pressure on universities to look at them to accomplish their mission. Besides the production of knowledge and the dissemination of methods, universities need to question themselves and to readdress their contribution to the construction of democracy. Do higher education institutions in these European and American contexts have processes of monitoring their institutions as places of gender equality?

Gender equality and decision-making positions

Decision-making positions distribution according to gender equality is also important for sustaining democracies in enlarged ways. However, this concern does not appear at the center of the production of policies and debates on leadership in universities. Universities and other higher education institutions, as places of production of knowledge and critical debate, should not be exempted from a balanced composition of decision-making bodies. There are countries that have introduced gender equality regulations concerning work relations but have exempted higher education and research of their application (see European Commission, 2008).

It is worth considering in this section how universities are positioned when the decision-making posts are considered.

Some data has been collected regarding Portuguese state universities, decision-making positions and gender[2], concerning the period 2008–9. This data is organized on the basis of the percentage of women occupying the posts of deans and presidents of scientific boards, among others[3].

In Figure 13.10, the data shows that women only occupy 21 percent of posts as deans in Portuguese universities, approximately one fifth of these positions.

In Figure 13.11, the data presented points out that this proportion, concerning the coordination of scientific boards, is even less visible: women only constitute 19 percent of the scientific boards in Portuguese university faculties and departments, lower than the percentages for deans.[4]
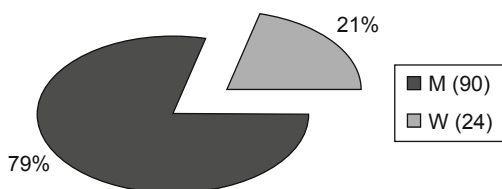
Figure 13.10   Deans in State universities, Portugal 2008–9
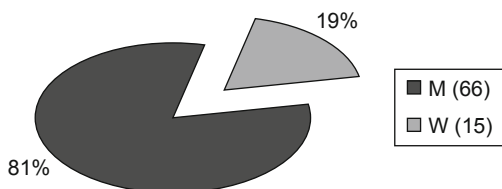
Figure 13.11   Presidents in scientific boards, State universities, Portugal 2008–9
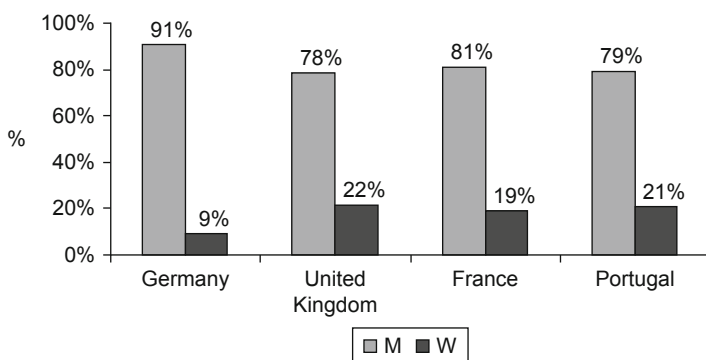
Figure 13.12   Deans in EU universities by sex, 2009
Source: Site of EUA: www.eua.be (members directory); sites from each university.

As far as other European countries are concerned, the situation does not appear any good, at least considering the countries selected. In Germany, the percentage of women as deans is extremely low. In 2009, the percentages in the UK and Portugal are quite close, and France presents a lower percentage (Figure 13.2).

As it could be forecast, women as vice-chancellors are reduced in numbers in 2009. In Figure 13.13, their percentages in universities of seven European countries (Netherlands, Sweden, Romania, Germany, United Kingdom, France and Portugal) are very low (Portugal, Germany, Netherlands) or even
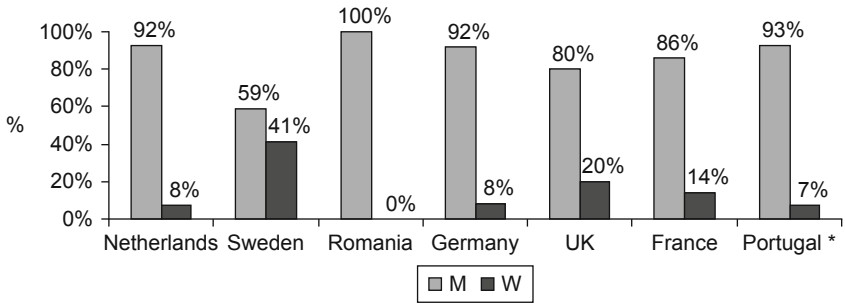
Figure 13.13   Vice-chancellors in 7 EU universities by sex, 2009

Source: Site of EUA: www.eua.be (members directory); sites from each university.
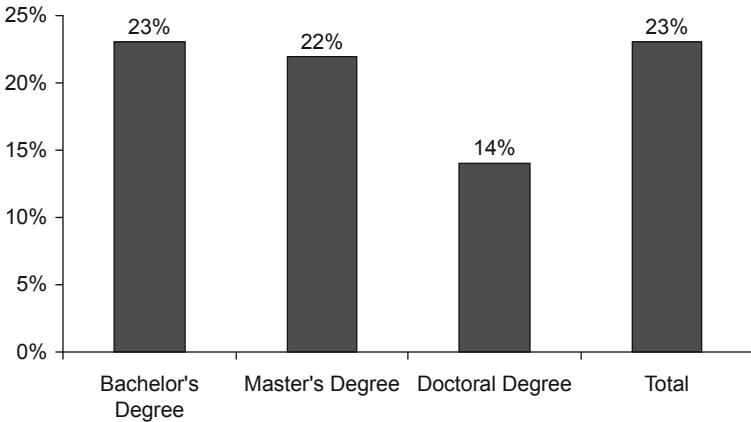
Figure 13.14   Percent of women U.S. college presidents, by type of institution

Source: *The White House Project Report,* 2009, p. 20.

inexistent (as Romania). The UK presents 14 percent female vice-chancellors. The noticeable difference is Sweden with somewhat more than 40 percent.

In the United States (Figure 13.14), the percentage of women presidents of higher education institutions does not appear as visible as in the Swedish case. The percentages are quite similar to those of women as deans in some of the European countries, varying between 14 and 23 percent.

A politics of presence?

The question of the presence of women in positions of power takes here a central place: sharing decision-making in institutions, state or private, and being represented at the top level of public institutions, is also an important

form of concretization of a democracy. Participation in the classical model of the Athenian so-called democracy was pursued with the exclusion of women and slaves (Philips, 1991). More recently, democracy has lived with women's almost exclusion from the public sphere in terms of representation or sharing of decision-making positions. Political theory has been quite indifferent to such exclusion as Anne Philips has stressed:

> The entire debate on democracy has proceeded for centuries as if women were not there, or it has, as with Rousseau, only acknowledged us to show us our place. [...] It has been left to feminists to explore how far the relentless privileging, not just of real living men, but of the very category of the male itself, has formed and deformed political theory and practice. (1991, p. 2)

Philips' statement has special impact when one is focused on issues regarding democracy, where it is assumed that citizens intrinsically have similar value (Philips, 1999). In this way, social groups' exclusion from specific social areas becomes a focus of attention for legitimate democratic intervention. It is unavoidable to bring up women's sub-representation in institutions. 'What kind of democracy is this?' rhetorically asks Anne Philips in her seminal work (1991, p. 61). When one is confronted with the high university qualifications women acquire, it is difficult to accept such sub-representation on decision-making posts. This is even more difficult to accept when it appears to be considered as irrelevant in institutions claiming they are concerned with democracy: still they are basically male, middle class and white in decision-making posts.

Therefore, the basic argument here is one of the right of being present and being able to participate in equal terms and build social realities equally. Besides that, voices are heard that women will bring to institutional life and politics a series of life experiences, diverse visions from their male peers – originated on gender differentiation and on different possible pathways processes – and that women's interests are not being taken into account within decision-making processes, due to their more or less residual presence in public bodies. It is in women's interest, certainly, to be at decision-making posts and contribute with their presence to change the situations criticized by Bagilhole:

> Some of the discrimination was described as subtle, and the women were not sure whether it was intentional or deliberate, but it was present and had an effect. There seems to be an undervaluing and stereotyping of women as part of the male organization. Subtle behaviour is both prevalent and more problematic than overtly discriminatory behaviour ... creates an environment that wastes women's resources, takes time and energy, undermines self-esteem and damages professional morale. (1993, p. 270)

Some will claim that essentialist assumptions support the argument mentioned above on the relevance of women's presence. Are women identified with more ethical attitudes and values? Are they sharing a common identity? Certainly, after the intense debate in recent years, their heterogeneity is more emphasized (Stromquist and Fishman, 2009). As already argued, the diversity of situations women live, due to social class, ethnic identities and others, do not build a unified identity: 'Women are not homogeneous and do not speak with a single voice' (Philips, 1991, p. 77).

It is possible, however, while stressing the non-homogeneity of women and their diversity to counterweight essentialist assumptions, to underline at the same time the processes of discrimination that attain them as women (Macedo and Koning, 2009).

Other arguments stress that their presence in decision-making posts in democratic institutions is also relevant since they represent women there. In fact, one of liberal democracy's assumptions is that people speak in the name of their electors, not only in terms of responsibility but also of autonomy (Philips, 1991, 1993). Are women expected to represent women in general? It has been widely underlined that the view that women in decision-making posts represent women as group is quite a problematic argument. Therefore, arguments get more diverse: women's increase in decision bodies may bring changes to political agendas, but that this does not mean that those changes necessarily will occur nor that women will be represented as women in these bodies as it is difficult to defend that there are unique and homogeneous interests, for women (Philips, 1991, 1999).

This debate is re-elaborated by more recent contributions by Anne Philips (2001), attempting to build an alternative view which underlines that probably there are experiences of women which should be brought for the building of the public sphere, while at the same time, this view attempts to escape essentialist perspectives. She delineates two views that explain political exclusion and reclaim political inclusion. The *politics of ideas* is built around ideas and action plans; it is not much the persons who are in charge of them that matters. In Philips' perspective, this is a view not attentive to the social groups excluded from decision-making posts such as those defined by gender, 'race,' ethnicity and so on, who want to speak for themselves, through their difference, as women, as blacks and so on, and claiming against their marginalization.

Philips asks, 'how can a man substitute a woman with legitimacy, when the question focused is the representation of women per se?' (Phillips, 2001, p. 273). The *politics of presence* is also argued for, as women and other groups have the right to be there, to be present. The politics of presence brings a stronger support to difference than the politics of ideas. However, there have been arguments that to base the composition on grounds of the social divisions of gender or ethnicity can contribute to a 'balkanization' of the polis, to a dangerous fragmentation (Philips, 2001, p. 281). Philips argues then

that both politics of ideas and politics of presence should not be presented as opposite sides, but more in the way that needs to be articulated: 'it is in the relationship between ideas and presence that we can deposit our best hopes of finding a more just system and not a false dichotomy between one and the other' (ibid., p. 289).

Therefore, decision-making and social justice go in the direction of recognition of different groups with less power and privileges (Young, 2000) while emphasizing the importance of finding ways of overcoming fragmentation. As Philips puts it: 'a vision of democracy *through* difference; a politics that neither denies nor capitulates to the particularity of group identity' (1993, p. 5).

Final remarks

It has been stressed that decision-making positions and representation are in general perceived as male activities. Many would also say that frameworks and styles maintain the male definition of doing the job and occupying the posts. Expectations are of a male figure; stereotypes are constantly around us, albeit many times they are fought, or reconfigured, or even re-appropriated in new forms that are more open. The data in fact presents a picture that points to a problem of democracy: that of the under- or sub-representation of women in posts of decision-making, in a time where women's qualifications are partially a successful story. To denounce it is important for perspectives concerned with 'clear principles of redistributive social justice, processes of deliberative democracy and inclusivity' (Blackmore, 2005, p. 192). The effective participation of women in democracy needs to include women (as well other social groups) to share decision-making positions. It may be again stressed that the greater access and success of women in higher education has not corresponded to the sharing of the decision-making position between women and men.

Notes

1. International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), developed by UNESCO to facilitate comparisons of education statistics and indicators across countries on the basis of uniform and internationally agreed definitions.
2. The data presented here has been collected with the collaboration of Alexandra A. Oliveira. Previously, I have coordinated with C. Nogueira, the project 'To Share the World – building a participative democracy', financed by European funds, on women's and decision-making positions in state and private institutions, in the period 2001–6. Other colleagues were E. Macedo and W. Costa. The database can be found in http://www.apem-estudos.org/?page_id=20. As far as higher education decision-making positions are concerned, the data refer the years 2005–6.
3. Portuguese higher education had, at the time of the collection of the data, 2009, as government bodies deans (executive activities), and scientific and pedagogical committees.

4. The data has been collected through the web sites of each institution. Some of the institutions do not present more detailed and complete information. Alexandra A. Oliveira, MA, has been central in collecting this data in a rigorous and careful way.

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14

Taking It Personally: Engaging Democracy, Human Rights and Civic Participation as the Vocations of Higher Education

Jason Laker

This text was developed from shared intellectual and more personal interests in examining how issues and tensions associated with human rights, democracy and citizenship education manifest in the three approximate regions of North America, Eastern and Western Europe. Our guiding motivation has been the hope that such an approach could illuminate opportunities to reinvigorate scholarly and civic commitments. The use of the qualification, 'approximate' in reference to the geographic boundaries under study is an effort to respect their contested nature, yet we asserted there are political and cultural elements of these three locations that make them valuable as cases for comparison.

The chapter authors elaborated on those similarities and differences, leaving me with the formidable task of synthesizing their eloquent treatments of the issues, and of giving voice to potential implications. This is indeed a formidable task, given the obvious wisdom, expertise and experience evidenced in their chapters. Beyond this, I have been struck by the complexity, irony and paradox inherent in our subject matter, and how profoundly unfinished these remain.

There was a great deal of information and insight in the chapters, yet I find myself with more questions and fewer answers than when we first started this project. My inclination is to view this as a positive result rather than a problem. As a contemplative person, I am appreciating the chapters for what I would describe as taking me further into unknowing. After all, the areas of inquiry are dynamic, as are their lived experiences and the viewpoints of people contending with them. Our primary goal has been to report on historical and present contexts, and stimulate insights about potential areas where readers might direct their own contributions to the projects of democracy, human rights and civic participation. Holding all of

this in its complexity is important for maintaining intellectual and cultural humility, and I would argue that we must have such humility in order to be effective in making progress on our desire to foster democratic citizenship, human rights, and social inclusion.

As a Social Scientist and Ethnographer, I tend to make meaning of complex social phenomena through collection of people's stories, and that is also how I generally report on their themes. Therefore, it seems apt to share the story behind the development of this book to illustrate my key conclusions, the first of which is that theoretical study of topics as consequential as democracy, citizenship and human rights is extremely interesting, yet profoundly incomplete if it is unhinged from their fundamental humanity. My second conclusion is that policy frameworks and legal structures are essential tools for demarcating and holding the metaphorical land of rights and freedoms, but they can be more thoroughly understood as artifacts. The social historian Iain Boal is credited with defining artifacts as 'congealed ideologies' (Boal, 1995, p. 12). From this perspective, policy instruments, charters, constitutions and legislation are expressions of prevailing beliefs at the time of their implementation. It is for this reason that I encourage readers to actively seek and examine counter-narratives and engage with the people associated with them. I will explain further through my story.

The personal is political

I didn't have opportunities to travel outside my home country as a younger person for lack of economic resources. Even to this point, I have traveled to a number of countries but only a fraction of those in existence. But today I am easily able to develop and maintain friendships and collegial relationships with people all over the world because of technology that was not available to me when I was at university. I first met fellow editor Dr Mrnjaus, who is from Croatia, at an institute in Costa Rica I attended in response to an emailed announcement. Dr Naval, who lives in Spain, and I became acquainted after I read about her research on a professional listserv and was motivated to send her an email introducing myself and expressing interest in what she was doing. She was kind enough to answer my message, and we have been able to actively collaborate from our respective geographic locations. That is a truly wonderful aspect of modern times.

The three of us were physically in the same room for the first time in 2009 when we attended a conference in St. Petersburg, Russia, entitled *Participation: Goal, Content, Method of Citizenship Education*. The Centre for German and European Studies (a partnership between St. Petersburg State University (SPSU) in Russia and Bielefeld University in Germany), SPSU's Faculty of Sociology and their Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR) jointly organized this international conference. My invitation to attend and

present a session at the conference arose from the kind introduction that Dr Naval made on my behalf to colleagues she knew at the host institution.

At the time of the conference, I was working at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada as the Associate Vice-Principal & Dean of Student Affairs, a faculty member in Women's Studies and Cultural Studies within the College of Arts & Sciences, and a Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Democracy in the School of Policy Studies there. I am originally from the United States, and I moved to Canada in 2006 when Queen's University appointed me to the administrative post, which I occupied for four years before returning to the U.S. in 2010.

Moving between institutions every three to four years had been an unplanned but longstanding habit caused mainly by my primary professional identity as an administrator whose scholarly and teaching work was additional. This migration was at times stressful, but it made for an interesting life and cosmopolitan children, and fairly rapid professional advancement. My 'addiction' was such that I was interviewing for university presidencies (which mercifully did not happen) before moving to California, USA, where I now serve as Professor and Chair in a Department within the Faculty of Education (and hopefully where I will remain for the foreseeable future, allowing for more stability in my work, home and climate). Because of these experiences, the questions examined in our text hold a great deal of personal resonance, as do broader notions of a global citizenship related to but not synonymous with its legal version. In any event, this personal history has complicated my thinking in such a way that I see being uncertain about our subject matter as a business condition rather than a problem to solve.

So, it was an especially interesting and significant personal and professional time in my life when I had the opportunity to travel to Russia in 2009 for the first time. Growing up in the U.S., my lifetime so far had included the latter period and end of the Cold War, President Reagan's infamous demand for President Gorbachev to 'tear down this [Berlin] wall.' At that time a Visa was required in order to enter Russia, and because of my hesitation to mail my U.S. passport, especially because I was living outside the U.S., I chose instead to drive to their Consular Division Office in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am a gregarious fellow, so when I arrived at their office I found myself chattering about how excited I was to be visiting their country, but they seemed to prefer that I provide my papers and payment without commentary. This made me feel uncomfortable, especially since no one was smiling there. I wondered if this was about them, me or perhaps I was using the wrong paradigm for interpretation.

When my flight landed in St. Petersburg, glancing out the window left me thinking that this was a vastly different place from others I had been. I wish I could explain in more specific detail, but it was a feeling more so than an observation. As my fellow passengers and I exited the airplane, I

was surprised to see a woman with a video camera posted outside the jet bridge, recording us as we entered the terminal. There was nothing about the woman herself that was notable to me. She was wearing professional attire and didn't speak to us, yet this surveillance made me uncomfortable and gave me the impression that such monitoring would be ongoing until my departure.

I must digress for a moment to mention that my master's level training was in psychotherapeutic practice. My intellectual tendency to analyze ethnographically is therefore coupled with what I think of as an intuitive antenna for subtle shifts in posture or demeanor as a path for inquiry into deeper meaning, whether working with another person or for critical introspection for my own growth and learning. So, for instance, when I encountered this videographer and had a viscerally hesitant reaction, I also spent some time thinking about how my own socialization and cultural lenses might be implicated, including the aforementioned stereotypical images of Russia present in my mind. In this case, my fellow passengers did not appear – at least outwardly – to find this woman's presence notable.

In considering this critically, it seems strange that this had not been my feeling in the U.S., Canada or Western European countries where security cameras are ubiquitous. Perhaps it is convenient to ignore surveillance when the person monitoring the cameras is unseen, an abstraction in a distant and invisible place. Ethically though, the two are similar, so their differences must be cultural, as are our reactions to them. In critical social theory, we also think of surveillance and policing as a cultural hegemonic phenomenon. The appraising gaze is value-laden, and it has impacts on those being observed by it. This process can serve to socially enforce certain standards of behavior without a word being uttered.

Proponents of the cameras tend to invoke security interests, so the analysis can be extended to the question of whose security is being protected, and whose voices are involved in deliberating the merits and costs in relation to rights, freedoms and privacy. In this particular situation, cameras can be installed on their own, and arguably it is less expensive to install several rather than to pay someone to stand with one. I am therefore led to wonder whether having an actual person present to hold it is connected to a set of expectations that are being communicated intentionally. I certainly became more careful as a result.

The conference itself was very interesting, even enjoyable. But what struck me the most was an ironic situation that occurred alongside it. I picked up a copy of the October 30, 2009 issue (the first day of the two-day conference) of *The St. Petersburg Times*, an English language newspaper, in my hotel. There was an article on the third page entitled, 'City Hall Gives Go-Ahead to March Against Hatred' (Chernov, 2009, p. 3). As the headline suggested, the story reported on an 'anti-fascist March Against Hatred' to be held in protest of what the organizers described as 'the growth of national and

religious intolerance and xenophobia in society'. According to the article, this annual march was started shortly after the murder of scholar and hate crimes expert Nikolai Girenko, who was 63 years old at the time of his death. The march is held annually on October 31st, which is his birthday and in this case was also the second day of the conference. The march required a permit, and the City refused to issue one for a nationalist march intended to be held on November 4th, suggesting that those organizers instead hold a stationary meeting in a remote park. The story also mentioned that the City of St. Petersburg had recently been awarded the UNESCO Tolerance Prize, though also that it was second only to Moscow in the number of racist

Figure 14.1   St. Petersburg

Figure 14.2   St. Petersburg

crimes committed in Russia that year, with 32 wounded and seven killed in the region between January 1 and October 15.

While I do not speak Russian, the conference was conducted also in English, and I do not recall any mention of these events. I say this not to criticize the conveners, only to contextualize my astonishment by the paradoxical experience of standing at the window in the second floor conference room listening to interesting but dispassionate academic papers about pedagogical methods and education for democratic citizenship as protesters assembled approximately 150 meters away outside. From the window, I could see them waving flags and cheering as various speakers took to a small stage to give impassioned speeches. Standing around them were police or perhaps military guards. It was unclear to me, but in any case these authorities were wearing military uniforms, and some of them were armed with large rifles. They were watching too.

As Russia goes, so goes everywhere else …

In the Introduction to his book, *Tiny Publics: A Theory of Group Action and Culture*, Sociologist Gary Alan Fine (2012) asserts, 'Although downplayed in much recent social science, small groups order and organize human life, emphasizing the power of immediate surroundings and microcultures' (p. 1). He further argues, 'not only that these groups are discrete zones of action but that through their power in defining rights and privileges, they

fit into and constitute society. As such, the small group becomes a tiny public for the purpose of civic engagement (p. 1).

In short, Fine is arguing that the seemingly vast arenas of public policy and governance are merely the cumulative and synergistic products of intimate microcosms. This is much like the ways in which a body is merely a collection of cells acting to sustain it in their small ways. Each cell contains the DNA, a recipe that is reproduced through countless divisions of the same. To be sure, there are real and metaphorical cancers that can severely sidetrack a body's growth and health, but as well there is always the prospect of healing, regeneration and restoration. These processes occur at the microscopic level, but they happen with such consistency and frequency as to continuously render (more or less) that same body unless a rare and radical change occurs.

It seems to me that our politics operate the same way. Personally, I have worked on six university campuses in two countries. On each of them I have found buildings containing classrooms with chairs and desks. There have been people angry about budget cuts and parking shortages. There have been photocopiers, inter-departmental envelopes, classes to schedule and student concerns to alleviate. Frankly, I have developed the hypothesis that all universities are the same, save for the possibility of three to five distinct features. Perhaps this could be said of communities, or even countries as well.

I heartily agree with Fine's idea of pointing to the small, local group as the symbolic and actual workshops of the body politic. He contends that Civil Society is a collection of these smaller units and the ways in which they interact construct social order. Applying his argument to policy-making, it seems for example that the big debates about whether, how and on what scale to allow immigration in any given country vacillates between the relative merits of accommodation or assimilation in the host culture (with its concomitant debate about whether there is or should be a common culture).

Voices from various quarters will argue that certain parties to the debate are infusing coded or overt racism and xenophobia on the one hand; or that there is over-representation of so-called special interests and meddling from outsiders on the other. In this example I do not wish to demean or otherwise diminish these consequential issues or their associated experiences. Indeed some of these are violent and even deadly. I am rather pointing out that these debates contain similar themes and logics as they occur over a pint in a tavern, in Parliaments, within thousands of online forums, privately in people's minds, at rallies and marches, and in the intimate spaces of our kitchen tables.

Many of these conversations are interchangeable despite the passions they animate, and notwithstanding the insertion of alternating geographic locations and the details about which immigrants and origins are being debated, what constitutes citizenship and who merits qualification. The consequences are a product of the concentration of a critical mass of these metaphorical cells and their proximity to the levers of power, but the clusters of the cells themselves are similar.

Technology and the murky modern

One variable that is more impactful than most, however, is the influence of technology. There is no longer any question that the exponential growth of these media combined with their accessibility to most of Earth's inhabitants has recast these questions. The majority of literature on Citizenship, Human Rights and/or Democratic Education roots in an implied or overt assumption of the nation state. I don't personally believe the nation state will cease to be the primary unit of citizenship, since it is literally the legal sense of that. Even migration is discussed in terms of moving across geographic borders (even if they are sometimes contested ones). But I do believe we are merely beginners in exploring how our transnational relationships and participation will change our local ones. So, the question might not be whether there will continue to be geographic borders, but instead the extent to which they will matter in people's sense of belonging and place.

Since this text focuses on conceptual and policy issues of citizenship and its implications for higher education, I will not delve into nebulous explorations about digital citizenship or theorize about a future with no countries. Our reality is that postsecondary institutions continue to get most or at least much of their funding and student enrollment from within their national borders even if the external sources are growing. So, I connect the question of technology to that. Today we not only communicate with people outside our countries, but we are immediately and virtually present witnesses to, and even participants in, things that are happening around the world.

We can no longer discuss democracy, human rights or civic engagement in the vacuum our forebears inhabited. This reality complicates the Tiny Publics (Fine, 2009) concept in at least two ways. First, any one of us may be living in one place but engaged (possibly more so) in social, professional or civic activity taking place outside our home country, or in activities for which national borders are irrelevant. Second, technological tools provide, force or are incidental in our substantially broadened awareness of human rights and environmental abuses taking place at any given moment, calling us to respond. While there are people who can manage emotional and other immunities when witnessing harm, I believe most of us cannot. As scholars, teachers, students or policy makers, we are under increased moral and intellectual pressure for these truths to inform our work and our own civic commitments in and beyond our official countries.

We cannot, for instance, fulfill governments' expectations to prepare students for engaged democratic participation without contending with evidence of their direct or condoned hypocrisy, abuse or complicity with oppression which is being exposed in real time. We cannot ethically portray for students the prospect of being influential contributors to human rights in an environment in which the electronic device in their hand might be reporting gross abuses without our partnering with them to interrupt or stop

it. Moreover, we must not become hypocrites ourselves by sequestering in the clinical safety of theoretical explanations for poverty, violence and abuse.

While awareness of oppression and violence is longstanding, the immediacy of reporting has ballooned. Once again invoking my training as a therapist, I believe that human beings are innately social and curious, and that we would not harm each other if we ourselves had not been harmed. This is in no way to condone abuse of any kind. Rather, it is a preface to asserting that it is not only direct physical abuse or poverty that causes us harm. I believe the constant and increasing reminders of abuse through direct observation or through technology and media are also a source of what I will call psychic violence. I would argue that this breeds fear, mistrust, willful ignorance, preemptive aggression and cold disregard for suffering.

This is further reproduced through stories told in schools, families and other formal and informal institutions through which we develop our worldview. In humans, anger is a secondary emotion to fear. We see or hear about intimate or public violence and abuse, products of anger, but we rarely consider the fear that gave rise to that anger because the latter is often so loud, shocking or otherwise offensive. It activates additional fear, and so the cycle continues.

When I read the news story about the march in St. Petersburg, I had no context or connection to it. When I looked out the window and saw its stark contrast to the cerebral treatment of the same subjects that animated the passions on display, I had a context, and I made a connection. My only regret is that I stayed inside; when it seems to me that I should have gone out to join with them. It's not that I would presume to have substantive knowledge of their reasons for assembling, but I would certainly have been able to feel their energy, and to lend some of mine in a spirit of human solidarity.

My final conclusion in reflecting upon the chapters, and my own experiences during the journey with Kornelija and Concepción to develop it over the last few years, is that the ingredients of democratic citizenship worthy of pursuit, and the remedies for hate, intolerance, marginalization and oppression, are kindness, relationships and intimacy. We in the Academy often overtly or implicitly regard such things as illegitimate, unscientific and/or irrational, and distance ourselves from these fundamental human needs.

The colleagues who wrote chapters in this book presented compelling arguments for the importance of conceptual and theoretical frameworks for making meaning of the issues; and for the criticality of legal and political structures to demand and enforce access, equity and human rights. I suspect if I were to interview them about how they came to study their subjects that I would find their motivations were rooted in deeper relational needs and histories. My assumption here relates to the fact that I have yet to supervise a single thesis or dissertation on a topic that is not somehow connected to my students' personal stories. When I teach courses on social identities such as gender or ethnicity, I can see plainly on my students' faces that moment

when they finally have a conceptual name for deeply personal experiences or longings. Some of their strongest social justice commitments arise from such connections.

In hindsight, I am not surprised to think about the experience of developing relationships with Concepción, Kornelija and the colleagues who contributed to this volume, and to arrive at feelings of joy, gratitude and hope. Our geographic regions became irrelevant to whether we could be friends or learn from each other; and technology served as an enabler rather than a hindrance to this experience. If we can be distanced from each other, then it seems to me we can also develop relationships with each other, our students, actors in civil society, dissidents, neighbors and friends we haven't met. I believe as Academics we have a special opportunity, as well as a duty, to reconnect our scholarship and pedagogy to our and our students' humanity, and to build capacity in our colleagues, students and community partners to do the same.

The theologian Fredrick Buechner said of vocation that it is 'the place where our heart's deep gladness meets society's great need' (1973, p. 95). On behalf of Drs Naval, Mrnjaus and myself, I wish you great success, and deep gladness in the practice of your vocation as a publicly engaged scholar and teacher of Citizenship, Democratic and Human Rights Education. Together, let us take personally the project of replacing disconnection, mistrust and violence in this world with the tools for healing, relationships, dignity and a place for each and every person, one student, reader, colleague and community partner at a time.

Figure 14.3   Jason Laker, Concepción Naval and Kornelija Mrnjaus

Note: Pictured: Jason Laker (San José State University, United States, right), Dr Concepción Naval (University of Navarra, Spain, left) and Dr Kornelija Mrnjaus (University of Rijeka, Croatia, center) in St. Petersburg, Russia at an international conference, 'Youth Participation as Goal and Method of Citizenship Education in Russia and Europe', hosted by the Centre for German and European Studies at St. Petersburg State University in October, 2009. Their forthcoming books were devised at this conference.

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