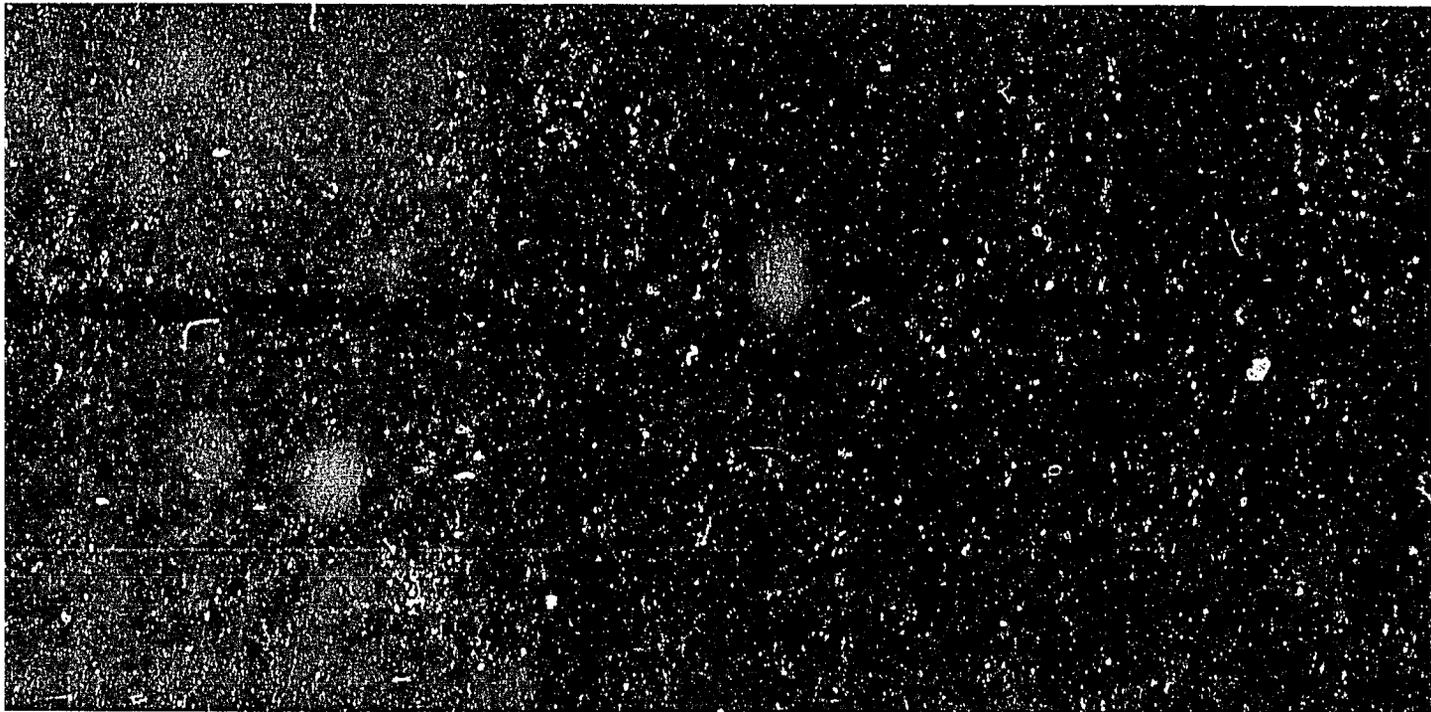


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COLLOQUIUM ON EDUCATION  
AND DEMOCRACY:

PROCEEDINGS OF A WORKSHOP



Sponsored by the  
*Social Sector Policy Analysis Project*  
operated by the  
*Academy for Educational Development*  
for the  
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(G/R&D/ED)

**COLLOQUIUM ON EDUCATION  
AND DEMOCRACY:**

**Proceedings of a Workshop**

**November 5, 1993**

Transcript edited and summarized by  
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Sponsored by the  
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## GOALS FOR COLLOQUITUM

FRANK METHOD  
*Senior Advisor*  
*Office of Education*  
*Bureau for Global Programs*  
*Field Support and Research*

In a way, it is odd even to be having this meeting. We have in this country, at least since Jefferson or deTocqueville or whoever you want to start from, assumed that democratic societies were educated societies and that the development of education was part of the development of democracies.

Since the forties, we have assumed in the development business that the development of an education system was part of what we meant by the development of democracies and support for the objectives of the free world in the post-war environment.

So the question of *why education*, is not particularly new. The answers keep changing on us, but the question and the advocacy is fairly old. In the fifties, the basic problem was that there was not enough education. During this time, more education was the answer.

By the end of the sixties, this was beginning to change and we were beginning to assume that what we had was the wrong kind of education, and that education reform was the answer. As we moved into the seventies, we recognized the real problem to be that we have the wrong kind of society and that at best, education is irrelevant to that.

By the eighties, education and schooling were back on the agenda. In some cases, it was back on with a vengeance. It was sometimes argued that education cures all ills, and the

challenge was to find ways to afford it. The emphasis during this period was on making education more efficient and effective.

We are now moving into a new era. It is a period beyond the Cold War, with a new administration, a new strategic context, and new countries. Some think that with NAFTA and other kinds of regional frameworks, we are moving beyond the nation-state. There are very new questions here.

I would like to make a couple of observations. One, during this 40 or 50 years, it is possible to count on one hand the numbers of serious professional forums organized around trying to enlighten ourselves on the exact links between education and democracy.

Most of the argument has been rhetorical; very little of it has been analytical or scholarly. There are a couple of people in our audience who I am pleased are here today that know that literature from the early years and perhaps can remind us of some that we have forgotten.

I was looking at the number of times we have asked this question seriously, rigorously, and strategically, and I do not find much. The literature is remarkably thin.

The second observation is that, to date, with the important exceptions of Central America, and Southern Africa, the objective of strengthening democracy has not been prominent in our education and strategic thinking. We have not really been on the table. In fact, we have been ruled explicitly off the table with respect to Eastern Europe and the NIS.

We are not currently part of the discussion, as far as I am aware, with respect to the transition in the West Bank, Gaza, Cambodia, and a number of other places where social policy decisions and related assistance is part of the attempt to develop or sustain democratic governance. And there are questions about the presence of education in the current strategic

planning. Treating education as a kind of a given, therefore, does not feed very concretely into our strategic thinking.

So, the first way to characterize what we are trying to do today is to ask what this means for A.I.D. and education. As of nine o'clock in the morning, the only honest answer is that we do not really know. As of four p.m. this afternoon, I think we should at least be able to answer the question of how seriously should we take this issue, how hard we should push to get this on the agenda, who can push it, how it can be pushed, and where it should be pushed.

I have established three broad goals for this colloquium, that is, three ways to cluster these questions. In short, they are the *so what* questions, the *what* questions, and the *what else* questions.

The *so what* questions ask what difference does it make whether we engage in education or use some other vehicle to try to support democracy? Where are the opportunities? What are the challenges? What are the cautions? What country is worth talking with in what types of situations?

If the *so what* questions conclude that it matters, the *what* questions emerge. We ask questions such as what is it that we should be doing? If we are going to engage in education for democracy, what do we do differently from what we have already been doing? Is this advocacy in any way significantly different or is it consistent with what we are pursuing within the education for all goals? If it is different, how is it different? Is it consistent with our current practice for training and human resource development? Is it consistent with our academic traditions for higher education, and intellectual exchange? If not, how is it different? Are we basically trying to reaffirm an existing human resources and development mandate that we

already have or are we talking about opening the discussion and reaching toward a new framework or construct for cooperation.

The third set of questions are the *what else* questions. We might ask, what other agendas are linked to education for democracy? Some that are on my mind include education for the 21st century, information rich environments, unprecedented telecommunications enabling communication that transcends borders, and accelerating change rather than reinforcing traditions. We may want to ask how education and democracy relates to those agendas.

In moving beyond the nation-state, this means the opening of economies as well as the opening of political environments, linking these issues to the kinds of things that Robert Reich is talking about in The Work of Nations.

We can also link rethinking of the learning community to small D democracy. Specifically, we can ask how people practice democracy in their communities and in their homes. How does education and democracy relate to home, violence, and attitudes toward their neighbors. We can also ask how this impacts the workplace community-level associations. And how does this impact general ideas of civility, autonomy, empowerment of individuals, et cetera.

Now, how are we going to use our day? I assume that most people are working with basic positive attitudes about democracy. That is not a fair assumption in all groups. I also assume that we have positive attitudes about education -- that education is basically good for people. If we push that, we arrive at some kind of normative statements about the fact that democracies are educated and education is good for democracy. These are just broad levels of generalities.

The first goal today is that after a couple of presentations, I would like to try to sharpen up some of those normative statements and see whether we can identify areas where we have

broad agreement, where more discussion needs to take place, and where we are beginning to realize we do not know what we are talking about at all.

After we hear from our panel, which includes five very substantive presentations on different aspects of program experience from different parts of the world, I think we should be asking quite sharp questions about specific kinds of education for democracy. Are we talking about adult education? community education? schooling for children? university reform? And does the answer change our question about the relationship of education to democracy?

What exactly do we mean by democracy? In what environments do we see various dimensions of democracy? Democracy of public affairs? in the workplace? in the home and school? And does that make any difference? And the issue becomes more complex. What, if anything, do we know about how to improve either education or democracy? Let alone, how do we improve both of them by working simultaneously and jointly?

In the afternoon, we will take those questions a bit further, beginning with some efforts to look at programming in Latin America. We will then try to develop a strategy around these concepts by working in small groups to answer a targeted set of questions.

Coming out of those small groups in the afternoon, I would like to be able to state questions fairly sharply. I would like to state main issues on which we should focus further. We should target a framework for action, detailing the priorities for further analysis, debate, and review.

## REINVENTING A.I.D.

ANN VAN DUSEN  
*Acting Assistant Administrator*  
*Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research*

When Frank Method and Sam Rea spoke with me about this session, they suggested that it would be helpful, especially for our colleagues outside of A.I.D., to provide some context for the kinds of questions that we are going to be looking at today. What is forcing the issue now? And in that regard, I think there are basically three relevant pieces of information.

The first has to do with basic malaise about U.S. foreign assistance. A.I.D. has probably been the most studied U.S. government agency in the last 10 years. And in the last two years, there were at least five separate commissions looking at U.S. foreign assistance, how it should be organized, whether it should continue, and so forth. Driving this concern about foreign assistance reform included a sense that our programs lacked coherence and were not keeping up with changes in the world. It was argued that with the conclusion of the Cold War, we were facing a different set of issues and our foreign assistance programs needed to revamp to reflect those.

Although the Agency is not particularly comfortable being the object of all of these studies, they prompted considerable soul searching within the government and certainly within this new Administration about the role of foreign assistance for the 1990's and beyond.

The result of this soul searching is a remarkable consensus within the U.S. government that the problems of development really are the new strategic threats that the U.S. needs to address. And that the problems of development really need to inform our foreign policy, whether we are talking about environmental degradation, rapid population growth, endemic

poverty that leads to economic migration, or certainly oppression, anarchy, or general lack of good governance.

These are all issues that we have to deal with not only as part of our development assistance programs, but as part of our foreign policy. So there is not a mainstream, but a remarkable coming together of the U.S. government around these development issues. There is agreement that development is not just a third world issue, but that it directly effects U.S. political and economic interests. This is something to which we need to give a great deal of attention.

In addition, something that you will hear a lot from both Secretary Christopher and Brian Atwood, is that action is prevention. We cannot afford to ignore these issues. If we ignore them through our foreign assistance and foreign policy programs, we will end up dealing with them as part of peacekeeping or much more costly emergency assistance programs. So, one piece of the context to offer to you is, I think, much more coherence in the way foreign assistance is seen in the larger U.S. foreign policy.

A second contextual factor is incredibly tight budgets. It has been coming for a long time. We have watched the deficit grow, but it is now affecting not only what we do, but how we do it. And part of the reinvention that A.I.D., and in fact the entire U.S. government, is going through is a search for more effective, less costly programming.

This is not meant to be a downer, but I would be remiss in not saying that the difficult budget situation is affecting not only the way we look at the areas on which our programs need to concentrate, but what countries within which we can work.

Brian Atwood often reminds us that we do not have the resources to be in over 100 countries. Certainly one aspect of our program will be to reduce the number of countries where

we have full-fledged field programs. We will also focus our programs in particular substantive areas.

But it is more than that. We are looking for ways to develop partnerships with other donors and with private institutions that are already investing in development work. In short, we are looking for a different way of pursuing our foreign policy and foreign assistance objectives.

The third contextual factor is the current reorganization and refocusing of A.I.D. Many in this audience are familiar with pieces of it, because we have shared widely with the communities that we work with and depend on, our draft strategies and reorganization plans. We intend to continue to rely on all of you for your advice and guidance.

In terms of focusing our programs, we will look at the countries where we work in basically three categories. I am not satisfied with these titles, but we needed to call them something.

The first category is *sustainable development countries*. These are the countries where A.I.D. will try to develop and implement an integrated package of assistance activities. I will outline later the specific priority areas that we will address in these countries.

The second category of countries is *transitional countries*. Included in this category are countries that perhaps recently experienced a national crisis, significant political transition, or even a natural disaster that needs to be bridged until more long term development can take place. We need to position ourselves to provide timely and targeted assistance to these transitional countries, of which there are an increasing number.

A third category of countries is *limited presence countries*. This category recognizes that there are some countries where we may not be able to, or it may not be appropriate to have a full-

fledged development assistance program. However, because of either special humanitarian concerns or some global issue or problem (such as the environment or population), it makes a great deal of sense to have a targeted program. So, we recognize that some of the global issues on which the U.S. government is focusing its foreign policy may mandate targeted programming rather than full-fledged programs in particular countries.

As probably many of you know, the strategy development exercise in which we have been engaged is focusing on five areas that are deemed fundamental to sustainable development. These are broad based economic growth, the environment, population and health, democracy, and providing humanitarian assistance in transition situations.

Fairly general strategies have been developed in all of these areas. We are now in the midst of the much more difficult job of developing specific implementation guidance -- what does this mean in practical terms in specific countries.

There is a reorganization underway at A.I.D. as part of this refocusing effort. One change is that the Policy and Program Coordination Office, which provides policy direction for the entire Agency, has been revitalized. In addition, a Global Program Field Support Research Bureau has been designed to provide technical support and advice to all parts of the Agency as well as to maintain *centers of excellence*. The idea is to try to corral technical expertise in areas that are critical to our programs. Another Bureau has been developed for Food, Disaster Assistance, and Crisis Management, recognizing that we need to organize to deal with transition situations. And a Bureau for Management has also been developed.

There has also been a consolidation of eight bureaus into four. For those of you who have been with us for a long time, Asia and Near East are back together again. They were always contiguous, as we know, but bureaucratically they are now united. Europe and the newly

independent states are also combined in one bureau. The Global Programs Bureau that I mentioned earlier combines the former Research and Development Bureau with the Private Enterprise Bureau, and we will be looking to consolidate some of the technical staff elsewhere in the Agency. Finally, the Legislative and Public Affairs, formerly separate bureaus, are also combined.

What does all this mean? We are working through this as part of a "right sizing exercise", but the goal is to try to simplify A.I.D. to make it much more interdependent and much more focused on the goals of sustainable development.

One final piece of this refocusing and reorganizing, is that we are proposing new foreign assistance legislation. We have been operating under assistance legislation that was adopted in 1961, and there is a sense that the Foreign Assistance Act was too unwieldy and needed overhauling.

We are working very closely with Congress and throughout the U.S. government in this rewrite, and we will start our formal discussions on the Hill on a new Foreign Assistance Act very soon.

A number of important issues have been highlighted that this group today can and will usefully address. I now suggest a few more to assure you that, from my point of view, this is not an academic exercise.

The issues that you are dealing with are issues that we are grappling with as we go about the process of developing an implementation strategy, and of figuring out how to structure and restructure aid, how to staff it, and how to move ahead from fairly general strategy or policy statements.

There are currently five issues on my plate and I happily shovel them onto yours and hope to get some guidance. One of the issues is that within each of the five priority areas on which A.I.D. has focused its resources, can we further focus on what it is we are going to do. In, for instance, the health area, traditionally we have been highly focused on child survival, that is, the programs that are specifically designed to reduce infant mortality, and AIDS prevention. Should we stay focused, get more focused, or, given our goal of integrated, sustainable development, should we become more aware of new problems and to be ready to work in a variety of areas.

This certainly is an issue that those working on democracy are grappling with now. The democracy program covers a wide range of activities, and one of the issues we are dealing with is whether we can focus it further, and should we.

The second issue that we are grappling with is that if we organize ourselves to do a good job in each of these five areas, how do we prevent these five areas from becoming their own sectoral fiefdoms. That is, how do we make sure that people worrying about human resources actually talk to people worrying about democracy issues? Or democracy and health, or environment and population. This compartmentalization of our programs, which was reinforced by the earmarking of funds, as well as our own bureaucratic mechanisms, is one of the problems that the administrator and his new team are trying to deal with. One of our challenges is to find ways of building horizontal linkages, and not just very strong vertical programs.

A third issue, that I alluded to before, is the budget. However, it is more complicated than that. It includes learning to work better with other donors. I mean that in the very broadest sense. I do not refer only to multilateral development banks, international organizations, and the

other bilateral donors, but also to the range of institutions, PVO's, and universities, which are already active in many of the areas in which we are working.

And how do we move to real partnerships? This may sound hypothetical and it is not easy for an organization that tends to think in contractual terms to do. However, we recognize that we must redefine our relationship with the domestic and international organizations that are working in common areas if we are going to achieve results.

This leads to a fourth issue that we are dealing with. What kind of results should we be looking for? What kind of results can we expect? One of the goals of this refocusing effort is to focus not on inputs, such as how much are we spending on democracy programs, but on the kinds of outcomes we are getting. One of the issues we are dealing with is whether or not we can come up with quantifiable measures. A colleague of mine at UNICEF used to point out that some of the things you can measure are not worth measuring, and some of the things that you really need to measure just cannot be measured in any satisfactory way. Dealing with how to change our focus to look at results, and how to measure meaningful results and not just things that we are able to count, are real issues for us.

Related to this -- maybe the fourth and a half issue -- is what kind of goals, if any, should be set for ourselves, or for development assistance programs more generally, for the medium term, 1995, or for the year 2000. There is a sense that it is both appropriate and necessary to think in terms of results quantifiable where possible and targets to try and keep us on track.

The fifth issue that we are facing is what kind of skills and resources are we going to need to pull off this new refocused A.I.D. And we are definitely grappling with the financial resources. But more generally, what kind of human resources do we need? Are they different from the kinds of people we recruited to A.I.D. in the 1960's or 1970's or 1980's?

We also need to ask what kind of institutional partners we should be looking for and whether they are different from our partners of earlier years? And to the extent that we can figure out what kind of partners to have, we will need to ask what kind of resources we will need to implement these programs, what is our role or how do we develop or nurture those resources?

These are not simple issues, but they are very practical issues. And I think that this is a very good group to give us some advice in this area. So I do look forward to hearing the results of this day, and I thank you very much for inviting me.

## A.I.D.'S STRATEGY FOR DEMOCRACY

LARRY GARBER

*Office of Strategic Planning*

*Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (PPC/SP)*

It is a very useful opportunity to be here and to hear this discussion, because it very much forms part of the development of democracy strategy.

I will talk briefly about the draft strategy paper that has been written. But even in its final form, it will only outline the broad parameters of what we are trying to do. The next steps will include developing more specific guidelines for program implementation.

The purpose of my presentation is to describe a strategy process, some of the questions that we are addressing, and how I think some of the relevant issues come out of the session today.

When I was asked by Frank to participate in this program, I thought about what I could bring to the substance of the subject. It is a subject that I have actually thought about for quite some time.

When I was in law school about 15 years ago, I remember being intrigued by the issue of education as a human right. I explored this in the context of both the international human rights instruments and current U.S. legislation. As some of you probably know, in 1973 the United States Supreme Court refused to endorse education or the right to education as a fundamental right, with all of its Constitutional implications. However, several state Supreme Courts, most notably at that time, the courts in California and New Jersey, and since followed by several other courts, were willing to recognize education as a fundamental right. I was taking

a course on international human rights and what was interested in our own conception of international human rights.

Several weeks ago, I was discussing this with my students in a course that I teach on international human rights. And again, I was struck by the inability, in a sense, of the class to really view this as an integrated whole. A clear distinction still exists in their minds between the rights that they felt most comfortable with, specifically those in the United States Constitutional system, and rights like the right to education and other economic and social rights. These latter rights were considered as quite different and analyzed as such.

Therefore, I argue that trying to integrate education as a fundamental right into development programs is critical. I consider this to be directly related to our own development of a democracy strategy.

In terms of the democracy strategy, Frank said something at the outset that I just want to comment on with a short story from my brief two month stay here at A.I.D. I was at a session a few days ago where we were talking about evaluation, performance measurements, and the like. Someone commented about how we know whether something is good or bad. For example, we know that AIDS are bad. In other areas, like democracy, we are not always sure if it is good or bad in terms of development. I think the statement was made in the context of the difficulty of measurement, but I also think we need to develop what democracy means in the context of our sustainable development strategy, so that it is directly integrated into all that we do.

Four central themes have been laid out in terms of sustainable development. I would like to add a couple of the cross cutting themes that have already been identified in the context of developing the democracy strategy. Among others, these include participation, and the role of

women in development. Clearly, education may be another example of a cross cutting theme that should cut across all the areas in which we are going to be working.

We will be developing integrated programs. This is major challenge for us and one which we are only beginning to think about. We have put it in rhetorical terms, but implementing it is going to be much more difficult for us.

In the context of democracy and democracy strategy, other factors need to be considered. The question is whether democracy is different than the other areas in which the Agency will be working.

I have developed three possible reasons why the democracy strategy might be different. One is the political nature of it and the fact that there are lots of other actors outside of A.I.D. who are quite interested in what A.I.D. will be doing in the democracy area. These include agencies within and outside the U.S. government.

Another difference is that democracy issues are often put on a much tighter time frame than other areas in which we work, in terms of both developing and implementing programs. Much of the work that the Agency has done, quite important work in this area, has been within a very limited time frame surrounding specific events.

And finally, democracy may be different from other Agency areas because we know less about the impact of our interventions and also because we have not been working in it for as long a time in the manner that we hope to now.

Nonetheless, this administration and this Administrator are committed to insuring that democracy is an integral part of all our programs and all of our development efforts. It comes in at three levels. First is the question of allocation criteria for countries. Democracy and

human rights performance will be a factor, perhaps a key factor, in determining where particular country falls in terms of the categories referred to previously.

Second, democracy will be viewed as a cross cutting theme as well. It will be viewed in terms of for example, environment programs. We will assess their impact on the overall democratization potential in a particular country, specifically whether they strengthen or hinder the potential for democratization.

Democracy will be treated as an equal level with other issues. It will no longer be possible, I argue, to say within the Agency that we will support development aims that encourage a specific goal, but that are detrimental to democratization. Democracy will have to be factored in, and if the project is detrimental to democracy, we will have to reconsider it. In many cases, we will, I think, reject the approach and come up with a different approach that gives more emphasis to the goal of democratization.

What are we trying to do right now? We have drafted the strategies. We hope to soon finalize what will then be the broad policy statements of the Agency in this area. We are currently making some of the hard choices, dictated both by budget constraints and our own sense that we need to have coherent policies in the areas in which we are working. This requires us to make some difficult choices.

In the democracy area, we are determining which areas to develop skills and resources as part of the Global Bureau exercise, as well as our own emphasis in terms of what we think can work best. There are lots of possibilities, and I do not yet have a sense of what we will emphasize. In this area, the Agency has been working in both macro and micro issues.

The first is the macro issues on which we have been focusing. These include such matters as the rule of law, administration of justice, and election processes. Other issues include

the role that elections play in establishing democratic systems, as well as institution building related to the legislatures, local governments, other nongovernmental bodies such as civic organizations and political parties.

At the micro level, we have been focusing on empowerment and related issues through programs such as civic education and decentralization. We are also using alternative dispute resolution mechanisms that are sensitive to the particular needs of specific societies.

In preparing for this day, I have to confess that I was not sure where education fits in our democracy strategy. And so, I was very excited about the fact that we were going to have a colloquium in which we could explore this issue, both because it is a good opportunity to explore it in the context of education, and also and perhaps more selfishly on my part, because it will be a good opportunity for us to explore what issues should fit within our approach to democratization.

I would also like to suggest some questions that I hope can be answered or at least discussed in the context of the seminar. The first question is *Can we establish some direct links between education levels, education performance, and democratization?* Clearly, with our emphasis on performance and measuring results, this is an important factor.

Second, *Are there any differences between links that are identified between education and democracy?* This should also be asked in terms of education and any other of the core areas in which A.I.D. is working. That is, will education levels positively correspond with economic growth, environmental protection, and levels of health and population.

The third question, is *Assuming there are some direct or strong links between education emphasis and democratization, what are some of the programmatic implications for A.I.D.?* Where should our focus be?

Again, we want to move away from creating broad categories of subject matter and move toward focusing on what the Agency can do in a specific environment. This relates to the types of resources and skills that the Agency wants to recruit and develop. Broadly then, I ask, *Which types of programs have worked in the education field as they relate to democracy, and which have not worked?*

The fourth question is, *Are there particular differences between the types of countries that we are talking about working in and the types of programs that we are talking about developing in this area?* For example, in the sustainable development countries, is there one type of program that we need to think about in this context? Very different programs and interventions may be necessary in the context of a transition situation related to education. And how do we distinguish between them?

And, *In countries where A.I.D. will have a minimal level of involvement, are there specific roles that we see for education in these countries, particularly because they are nondemocratic regimes?*

Other questions include, *What do we know about the role that education plays in an abusive context, in a regime which is oppressive?* Is there anything that we can do in that context through A.I.D. programming, or in a more general way, to assist in alleviating that oppression in those countries?

Finally, and this point will be made over and over again, the importance for A.I.D. in terms of being able to measure results. What does that mean in the context of democratization, and specifically what does that mean in the context of developing programs in an area like education where you probably have more possibilities of measuring outputs. How do you define the links? What are the links that you can establish between education and democracy?

Those are some of the questions that I would like to see addressed. I am looking forward to hearing your ideas on these questions, based on what we have learned from our past experiences in this area.

Thank you very much.

## OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

MARY RAUNER  
*Stanford University*  
*School of Education*

In researching education and democracy, it quickly became clear to me that the connections between the two are historically very strong. And in today's world, these links are exacerbated by a worldwide increase in the number of political units, the expansion of political boundaries, and an increased interdependence among polities.

However, although the connection between education and democracy seems strong intuitively, it is important to step back and explore its empirical and theoretical bases. I will briefly outline the literature on education and democracy, breaking it down by societal-level and individual-level analyses. I will then speak very briefly to the literature addressing specific strategies for education and democracy, and finally will suggest some targets for further research.

Considerable democracy literature speaks to education, but normally in just a peripheral way. The literature that I will summarize is a sampling of what I found. Before I begin it is important to discuss some caveats in terms of comparing these studies. The first is that there are different definitions and measurements for both education and democracy.

Education measurements on the individual level include attainment and completion rates. And on the societal level, examples of measurements include the number of schools in a country and the extent to which an education system is centralized or decentralized.

Democracy is also measured in a number of ways. On the individual level, examples include democratic values, civics knowledge, political involvement, political cognition, the presence of multi-party elections, and different preexisting indices, such as the Freedom House

Index, which combines human rights and democratic variables. On the societal level, democracy is measured by the presence of democratic elections, the number of human rights violations, and other such measurements.

Actual definitions of democracy are particularly contended and merit an additional note. Some define it in terms of values and expectations that people hold, and others define it by the extent to which a government or rulers are elected and held accountable.

Other caveats in terms of comparing these studies, are that they are completed at various levels of analysis, in this case at either individual or societal levels. Because of this, they are answering fundamentally different research questions. Some studies explain the connection between education and democratic values, attitudes, and knowledge, and some connect this with the actual political status of a country. These are very different foci.

The first type of analysis is the individual level, which describes the effects of education on individuals. I have broken these studies down into three levels, individual variables, school variables, and societal variables. This first group addresses the effects of individual level variables on individuals. I found all of these studies to be surprisingly similar, even though they span a 20-year period. The early cross-national studies, in particular, studied mostly industrialized or so-called developed countries, and included perhaps one developing country for comparison. In general, these studies found that some measure of individual educational attainment has a positive impact on political cognizance and participation.

The second group of studies addresses the impact of school level variables on individual level increases in democracy. This literature purports to show a more direct relationship than the former group. In the previous studies, education, it seems, is embedded in other arguments, whereas it is the primary focus in these studies. School variables, such as classroom climate,

the type of educational polity, and overall schooling experience are shown to increase the development of democratic values and political citizenship orientation.

The next group of studies measures the effect of national level variables on individual democratic measurements. These studies measure the effect of variables such as the character of the national education system or its degree of centralization in relationship to democracy.

The second type of analysis is conducted on the societal level. These studies look at variables that are not aggregates of individual level data, such as national completion rates, but are truly societal level variables.

Researchers who study at this level of analysis might challenge individual level findings on two counts. The first challenge is that individual level analysis can assume linear effects. For example, they might argue, that more education leads to increased chances of democracy or higher democratic values, whatever the dependent variable is. But this is not necessarily the case. Perhaps there are points of diminishing returns. That is, there is a point at which the maximum effect is felt, after which the effect lessens or diminishes. For example, if the maximum effect is found after three years of schooling, a fourth year of schooling may have a less significant effect, or no effect at all.

Another challenge is that other variables may be left out of the equation or an interaction effect may be taking place, wherein education, in addition to other variables, influences democracy. These issues make it difficult to separate out the individual effect of education. This, of course, is not just a problem on this level of analysis, but is potentially problematic at all levels of analysis.

Another challenge is that of time. The societal level studies reviewed here tend to look longitudinally, while individual level research frequently does not. Longitudinal studies are

advantageous because they can show, for instance, whether effects at one time period are statistical artifacts, or whether they hold true over time. This type of finding can be very important in terms of policy making and program planning.

Studies at the societal level of analysis have found that educational expansion, in this case at the primary level, leads to the maintenance and retention of democracy. There have been conflicting findings on the effect of the level of state control over, in this case, higher education, on measures of democracy. Meyer, et. al. estimate negative effects on democracy, while Kamens found positive effects.

Overall, I argue that both individual level and societal level research is helpful in trying to make sense of the complex relationship between education and democracy.

The studies that I have highlighted briefly here are those which lend support to the connection between education and democracy. It is also important to discuss those studies which found negative or tenuous effects. I will briefly mention three.

Jennings found that overall school related variables, such as the type of civic curriculum or teacher qualifications, had a minimal effect on democracy. He speculated that variables outside of school, such as family influence or the variations in students' psychological maturation, may explain this lack of effect.

Others have found that there is no universal effect of education on democratic values. Variables that they argue may be more salient are that of gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, dominant societal values, and maturity of a democratic system.

Another possible negative effect, and something I think we should all keep in mind, is the possibility of reciprocal causation.

There is an entirely different literature than that which I just described, which speaks to actual strategies for the development of education in democracy. Of the literature that I found this summer, very little work focused on developing countries. This section is based on work on industrialized countries, mostly the United States, but I still consider it potentially helpful in addressing issues in developing countries.

Time limitations do not allow me the luxury of going into much detail. I will mention, however, that the specific recommendations were under the broad headings of teaching methods, the organization of schools, and curriculum content. I hope we can address these important issues later in the day.

Perhaps it is timely to mention that there is a clear need for additional research, specifically in the area I just mentioned. In addition, more generalized research should be completed on the connection between education and democracy on both the societal and individual levels.

In conclusion, what we know from the literature is that education appears to be one factor in the development and maintenance of democracy, democratic values, attitudes, and knowledge. What we do not know is whether education takes a leading or a supporting role, whether the relationship is causal or whether a reverse causal relationship exists, and whether education itself or education structures and methods are responsible for any effect that might be found on measures of democracy.

## DISCUSSION

*Ken Schofield* of AID's Latin America Caribbean (LAC) Bureau began the discussion by asking questions from the perspective of the practitioner. He wanted advice about how to proceed when a country approaches AID for assistance in the democratization process, i.e. how to make best use of the education system as a socialization process.

*Constantine Menges*, of the American University commented on the notable dearth of research on education and democracy in, for example, communist dictatorships. Although, he argued that we can learn from the history of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan that education, specifically educational content, was a critical factor in the reestablishment of democratic institutions.

He suggested that there are three categories on which we should focus: elementary and secondary, post-secondary, and adult education. This latter category includes employees of the military and governing institutions, who he argues are in need of knowledge about the process of democracy. He also made the distinction between transition countries and sustainable development countries. The fundamental difference is made, he argued, in the unraveling of a dictatorship, at which time education can be used in the process of institutional nation building.

*Antonio Gayoso*, of the Global Programs Bureau, responded to the question about the link between education and democracy. He emphasized the need to look at the specific type of education. If education includes critical thinking skills, he argues that education will be a successful tool for democracy. If traditional teaching methods are used in a hierarchical and rigid structure, then education is less likely to lead to democracy. He suggested that both the knowledge and the attitudes that are imparted through education are important.

*Norm Rifkin*, of the LAC Bureau, revisited the issue of measurement. He inquired about the existence of a tool that can measure short term results as an interim measurement of the long term results. No suggestions were offered, as it is difficult to measure in the short run, what amounts to a lengthy process.

*Frank Method* of AID's Global Programs Bureau suggested to ask the question in a different way. Perhaps instead of looking at outputs, it is better to look at the process. He also observed that what is missing in the literature is any discussion about the management of regime transition, and the specific points at which opportunities arise to gain leverage on educational policy issues.

*Dick Remy* from the University of Ohio's Mershon Center, commented on the issue of integrated programs. He suggested taking a multi-sectoral approach to civics education curriculum, which includes educational administration training, in-service teacher training, government employee training (especially political appointees), and adult education.

*Steve Fleischman* of the American Federation of Teachers agreed that the issue of measurement is an important one. He suggested that further refinement of the measurement of education's effects on democracy should be made and that a measurement component should be incorporated into every project or program.

*David Dorn*, also of the American Federation of Teachers, commented that education for democracy is not new and that issues of measurement were not as salient in previous projects. He also suggested that our expectations should not be too high and that we should be modest about what we expect to gain out of building democracies. It is a messy process, he argues, and one that will not always be successful. He reminded the group that there is no magic bullet for teaching or developing democracy, and there is no miracle that we are going to get out of it.

*Larry Garber* of AID's Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination elaborated on two points. First, he argued that there should be no doubt that there are linkages between education and democracy and that each are important goals. He re-emphasized that it is not important to simply show links, because effectiveness must be a priority in the face of diminishing resources. This relates, he suggested, to the measurement issue, which is both important and challenging. He then clarified the distinction between the education process itself, which has implications for democracy, and civics education. This distinction, he argues, is important in developing AID's approach.

*Steve Moseley*, from the Academy for Educational Development, was struck by the fact that the discussion did not include democratization of the school system itself. He argued that the issue of allowing education to be organized in a democratic fashion is integrally connected to the role of education in democratization.

## PANEL ON PROGRAM EXPERIENCE

CLIVE HARBER  
*Professor*  
*University of Birmingham*

What I would like to talk about today is not really a program. It is a specific geographical context, sub-Saharan Africa, where issues of development, democracy and education are very much coming together these days.

First of all, I need to give you some background because not all of you are that familiar, I suspect, with sub-Saharan Africa. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, when many of the new states in sub-Saharan Africa gained their independence, there was considerable optimism about the development of democracy.

By the early 1970's, however, most regimes in sub-Saharan Africa were either one party or military. Moreover, even those that became independent in the mid-1970's, such as the ex-Portuguese colonies, Angola, Mozambique, or Zimbabwe in 1980, also failed to follow the path of multiparty democracy.

In fact, it became quite fashionable to argue that authoritarian regimes provided the necessary discipline for development. It was called the developmental dictatorship argument and it reasoned that the suppression of human rights and freedoms were justifiable if this led to more economic growth, better housing and a higher standard of living.

However, in the last three or four years, there has been a renewed interest in democracy in Africa. In Zambia, Kenneth Kaynda became the first ever African head of state to lose his position through democratic elections. And there have been democratic, multiparty elections now in many African states, all in the last two or three years.

Why is it on the agenda again in Africa? The first reason has been the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. This not only undermined the Marxist Leninist model of development, which had been espoused by a number of regimes in Africa, such as Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, but it also meant the American, British, and French governments stopped seeing Africa simply in Cold War terms.

It was no longer justifiable to support dictatorships simply because they were anti-Communist and pro-Western. Western aid and loan organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF have, as a consequence, begun to add political strings to economic packages; no multiparty democracy, no money. For example, the election in Kenya earlier this year was a direct result of suspension of aid for six months.

Other factors have come from within Africa. Opposition by African governments to apartheid in South Africa in terms of the principle of one person, one vote, began to look rather shaky when many Africans were denied this right in their own countries. And Africans have become increasingly self-critical in this respect.

After 30 years of independence, the previous tendency to explain poor economic, social, and human rights performance solely in terms of the colonial regime, and subsequently on colonial relationships, now look partly like shifting the blame. Moreover, authoritarian regimes in Africa have clearly not delivered the development promised.

Perhaps the most important factors in the near universal failure of democracy in Africa in the post colonial period, were deep ethnic divisions and a very shallow sense of nationhood at the level of the state.

The borders bequeathed by the vagaries of colonial power such as my own country meant there was little coincidence between the states and traditional notions of ethnic groups. If you

look at a map of Francophile West Africa, you will see the beautiful straight lines drawn by some official in Paris.

African states composed of many traditional national cultures and facing high population expectations in severely restricted economic circumstances were therefore very fragile and potentially unstable. This fragility has often led in an undemocratic direction, because as the writer Ali Mazrui said, the African state is sometimes excessively authoritarian to disguise the fact that it is inadequately authoritative.

This authoritarian reaction to weak state legitimacy must also be understood as consistent with a great deal of the African historical experience. One African writer, for example, argues that whereas many African scholars and politicians portrayed African societies before colonialism as harmonious, undifferentiated, and enjoying democratic tranquillities; "what comes out by careful examination and analysis is that the political institutions are mechanisms that prove colonial African society is a mixture of the rudiments of democratic tendencies and practices on the one hand; and aristocratic, autocratic, or militaristic practices and tendencies with varying degrees of despotism on the other".

However, colonialism unleashed such violence, discrimination, and exploitation, that Africans young and old, educated and uneducated, soon forgot the violence and undemocratic practices of their traditional roots. As this suggests, the tendency, with some exceptions, was for traditional authoritarian systems to be replaced by colonial authoritarian ones.

Faced with fragility and a lack of legitimacy, the new states were concerned with consolidation of power at the center, and maintaining political unity. Because of this, they soon adopted colonial policies that made it difficult for opposition to operate and therefore laid the foundations for one party and subsequently, military rule.

But the picture is not as uniformly bleak as I have just pointed out. There are some trends in favor of democracy. First, there are strong forms of cultural resistance to authoritarianism in Africa. One writer, for example, refers to the resilience of the democratic ethos in Ghana in the face of continuous abuse and corruption by civilian and political elites. So that is the first thing that helps democracy.

The second factor that helps democracy is the strong populist support in Africa for the idea of democracy and choice of leaders, even though the corrupt, unethically biased practices of politicians, institutions and the public themselves often leave much to be desired.

Third, some countries, like Gambia and Botswana, have successfully retained democratic political structures.

The above discussion suggests that in Africa there is the experience of both authoritarianism and democracy. The former has worked no better than the latter. And on the whole, both have failed to become fully institutionalized. There is, therefore, some hope that the renewed pressure for democracy can in the long term overcome major obstacles such as ethnic division and can lead to sustained, more democratic political institutions beyond the first World Bank general election.

In order to survive, these political institutions will need to be grounded in a more supportive democratic political culture. The values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge are not inherited genetically, but are done socially.

But schools have a potentially important role to play in the creation of a democratic political culture that is more tolerant and trustworthy and less sharply divided along ethnic lines. As the present Foreign Minister of Zambia, put it, "Of course democracy is going to be painful for Africa, very painful; there is a huge job of education to be done. We have to learn the art

of persuasion, not of fighting; but show me an alternative which is not worse. Our trouble with democracy is that we have never tried it." Winston Churchill once said that democracy was the worst form of government, apart from all the others.

Unfortunately, schools in Africa, as in many other parts of the world, and I think this is one of the big questions we have not yet addressed, are essentially authoritarian institutions. And I would argue that schools worldwide are really bureaucratic, authoritarian institutions. There are very few democratic ones. And I would argue that in Africa, this is because they are based on the bureaucratic model of organization inherited during colonialism.

The predominant values, which are supposed to be socialized by schools in Africa and elsewhere, are those necessary for functioning in bureaucratic organizations. Among others, these include: the maintenance of social order, obedience, abiding by the rules, loyalty, respect for authority, punctuality, regular attendance, quietness, orderly working groups, working to a strict timetable, and tolerance of monotony.

If you have watched students during over 350 lessons like I have, you know that tolerance of monotony is a big factor in schools. How kids put up with it is beyond me.

Classroom authority in most schools around the world, and it is certainly true in Africa, is highly authoritarian. In most African countries, the classroom is highly structured in terms of form and distribution of space. The teacher in the classroom exercises unquestioned authority in such matters as seating arrangement and movement. He or she not only initiates the activities to be pursued by the pupils, but also controls communication channels within the group.

We do not know the extent to which the style of classroom environment determines the political orientation of pupils. However, forced conformity to an authoritarian system throughout

childhood and early adolescence, if supplemented by other factors, is likely to encourage passive acceptance of authority in later years.

There are a number of reasons for this. One is the bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of the school. Another is the bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of the political system as a whole. And it is not surprising that in these highly repressive political situations, teachers have been afraid to democratically explore controversial issues in the classroom. A final possible obstacle to education for democracy in Africa is cultural conflict between family and student expectations of school, and democratic practice.

Yet, in Africa the school has been seen as the key social agent for incorporating disparate ethnic groups into the formal polity. In Nigeria, for example, a large effort has been made to enhance national awareness through messages on the need for national unity in school textbooks. Students cite the national pledge, sing the national anthem, and salute the national flag.

And another writer has suggested that ethnically mixed schools can make quite a contribution for furthering national unity in Africa. Unfortunately, the evidence that setting up such schools will have the desired effect is not very convincing. In fact, I did some research in northern Nigeria many years ago, which looked at an ethnically mixed school, and found that ethnic hostility and mistrust was higher in the deliberately ethnically mixed school than it was in the more homogenous local state school.

One reason for this lack of success may well be the failure to address the traditional nature of school and classroom organization. In fact, if schools in Africa are going to educate for democracy and human rights and against ethnic prejudice and hostility in the future, then the organization of classrooms and schools must be more congruent with these aims.

This means that the curriculum must become more active, more participatory, more cooperative, more investigative, and more critical, in order to develop democratic citizens. Most importantly, the curriculum will have to contain some form of direct and explicit examination of political issues and structures, including those concerned with ethnicity. Democracy is based on the notion of political choice, but in school, ignorance is not choice at all.

Indeed, the major reason why civic education courses in schools in the past have had so little impact is because they have been didactic, descriptive, passive, and noncontroversial -- more or less useless, in my experience. And, I was a politics teacher and a politics teacher trainer. *Mea culpa.*

It is also encouraging that more open democratic classrooms are making greater use of discussion and participatory methods. Considerable evidence also suggests that democratic classrooms foster greater political interest, less authoritarianism, greater political knowledge, and a greater sense of political efficacy.

A recent comparison study of ethnically mixed schools in the southeastern United States offers additional evidence. One school stressed cooperative learning, the development of interpersonal relationships, values clarification, and the heterogeneous grouping of students, while the other three traditional schools tracked students by achievement and race and taught in a lecture-recitation style. The study found that cross-race interactions and friendships and a positive evaluation of different race students was significantly higher in the more progressive schools than in the traditional school.

So there are encouraging signs. If it is done correctly, there are policy implications. A difference can be made in terms of learning both democracy and ethnic racial tolerance. It is not

that we know nothing about it. I think we know quite a lot about it. The big problem is why we do not ever do it. That is the issue.

There are some encouraging signs that attention is now being paid to these sorts of arguments in Africa. In South Africa, people's education developed by the African National Congress (ANC), seeks to restructure classroom relationships from the standard teacher-centered, authoritarian climate to a more student-centered democratic form.

In Eritrea, following the liberation against Ethiopia, there is a determination to change the authoritarian styles of school inherited from British, Italian, and Ethiopian colonialism and produce students with the ability to discuss with self-confidence as a way of strengthening unity between ethnic groups.

Last summer, I came across a major change of policy in Namibia. A decision was made to introduce more participant and investigative classroom methods and democratic decision making in schools as a way to improve democracy.

In fact, that is final topic I wish to discuss -- democratic school structure. I argue that learning democracy will be greatly enhanced if schools as a whole were more democratic and involved students in decision making. There is research evidence that democratic school structures can indeed help to foster democratic values and skills, although additional research is needed.

Tanzania, as part of its policy for education for self-reliance, has taken democratic school structures very seriously. However, it exists at a policy level, and currently has not been implemented at the level of the school, with a few exceptions. In my research of those schools with democratic school structures, both staff and pupils felt that participation, apart from

improving certain aspects of school management, helped develop responsibility, confidence, problem solving, true discussion, and a more friendly and cooperative environment.

It is important to remember that measurement of these variables does not always have to be quantitative; there are qualitative measurements as well. In Tanzania, from the participants point of view, schools which have democratic school structures improve matters.

So to conclude, if democracy is to become sustainable as an institution in Africa, as elsewhere, then international agencies, donor countries and African governments will need to pay attention to the role of education in the creation of a more democratic school culture.

This means improving access to education, on a continent where there is not universal primary education, and where access to secondary and higher education is extremely limited. It also means improving the quality of education in Africa, where a significant proportion of teachers are often poorly trained or not trained at all. This is especially problematic in rural areas, where there is a terrible shortage of teaching materials.

And most importantly it means altering the nature of schools and classrooms in a more democratic direction in order to encourage democratic values and combat ethnic prejudice and hostility.

PANEL ON PROGRAM EXPERIENCE *(continued)*

STEPHEN HEYNEMAN

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If you do not mind, I will confine my impressions to the former Soviet Union and to Central and Eastern Europe. Let me first begin with my final conclusion. What I am going to tell you is the bottom line, which may sound extreme, but I do believe it now. And that is you will have no democracy without attention to a democratic education system. It is not the other way around -- it is not what influence education has on democracy. It is a sine qua non. The essence of my remarks is that no matter what you do in privatization, no matter what you do in the banking system, no matter what you do in monetary policy, no matter how deeply you feel about training of parliamentarians or a new constitution, the sine qua non will be in education.

We did not start out this way in the World Bank. When we began working in Central and Eastern Europe, education was last on our list. Even within Human Resources, our first preoccupation, and it remains a significant preoccupation, has to do with something called the social safety net.

We envisioned massive unemployment, and there was not a method of sustaining people who were about to be unemployed. So we threw our resources into attempts to establish unemployment compensation systems, cash benefit systems, re-employment proactive employment services, and very significant attention was paid to pension services and health insurance. We then got involved in issues of scarcity of pharmaceuticals, privatization of pharmaceutical industries, and the health care system.

But education kept returning. In fact, a letter will soon be sent from my vice president to every Education Minister (and every Minister of Finance) in this 20-country region, asking them to come to an upcoming meeting in the Netherlands to discuss the issues that I am about to discuss.

We originally believed that education was not a very high priority for several very good reasons. One is that access is not a problem. This is not sub-Saharan Africa. This is not even Latin America. These countries have done an extraordinary job, frankly, of going way ahead of where you would have expected them to be, with respect to their gross national product per capita.

In Turkmenistan, sixty-five percent of children under age six are in pre-schools. That is better than my country. And they are good pre-schools. And this is only 42 kilometers from Afghanistan. This is not a bad accomplishment.

And they did not get there by market forces. They got there by making access to education a priority. And access to primary and secondary education is virtually universal. They have books in the schools, which is, as you know, one of my preoccupations in Africa and Latin American and parts of Asia and South Asia. The teaching force is highly disciplined. Schools start on time. The curriculum as designed is essentially delivered. It is effective in the sense that the through put is one of the highest in all regions of the world. A very high percentage of students who begin at grade one, probably a higher percentage than in the United States, complete the compulsory years of school.

Math and science scores in the Soviet Union are better than ours. Now what is wrong with this picture? This is not the kind of thing that you would argue should be a first priority

when you face a large number of issues. In fact, the more we got involved, the more we began to discover some problems.

One of the things that we discovered was that the entire education system is structured upon assumptions of centralized planning and no unemployment. The distance between the end of school and the first job was very small. In fact, contract labor existed such that technical schools ended up contracting three to five years of their life in the enterprises which sponsored those schools.

We also found that there were artificially high wages in manual labor and therefore, the demand for higher education and the admittance process itself was not a political problem, it is in other parts of the world.

In addition, ministries that control the economy, such as agriculture, transportation, telecommunications, heavy industry, and light industry, control the access of training opportunities for individuals who will enter into those sectors.

Today, all that is gone. Wages are increasing in variation from low to high, and from east to west. The demand for access into higher education is exploding because people can see that higher education is suddenly a determinant to very high earnings, particularly in what we call white skills. These are parts of the curriculum that were not taught before, such as, business administration and management, English language, and computer skills. In addition, the ministries that used to control the economies, such as the ministry of agriculture, have lost their power.

I was recently in a town called Ladislav, 250 miles north of Moscow, where there are twelve different universities controlled by the 11 different federal agencies, all of which are underfinanced. A student in the pedagogical university cannot take a course in the state

university because the minister of heavy industry will not allow it. As you can see, this is a structural problem of major magnitude. There will never be an efficient labor force until this issue is sorted out. That is the first thing.

There is also a financial problem. These economies are declining an average of 15 to 20 percent per annum. The education system, therefore, is about to collapse. What Russia has done with this financial problem of major magnitude is essentially what every rational state would do. They have downloaded the problem under the auspices of decentralization.

These financial problems are now the challenge of Russia's 88 regions. These regions now have very different tax bases. The per pupil expenditure, which used to be virtually even across the former Soviet Union and virtually even within the Russian federation, are now one to 30. That is to say, those with the lowest tax base are spending one thirtieth of what those with the highest spending tax base are spending. This differential is higher than any range we have in the United States and we have one of the highest ranges of per pupil expenditures in the Western World. This is causing significant problems and is something that must be addressed.

There are also educational problems, including the areas of curriculum, teachers, and head masters.

But let me conclude with my four reasons why I think educational attention or what I would call educational democracy is a sine qua non. First of all, we are deeply involved in curricular issues. That is to say, the rules of the game. What you decide you teach children is essentially what you are going to allow in your society. You can have legislation, but it will be meaningless. You can have a parliament or a constitution, but it might change every 30 days. However, what you decide you are going to teach children about that will, in effect, bless it.

So if you teach children to respect ethnic heterogeneity, if you teach children that *yes, you are learning Russian, but these other children who are learning Uzbek in your school are as good as you are*. If you teach children about how political parties are designed to operate, if you teach children about the responsibility of the judiciary, it means that you have come to some conclusion. I would not argue that teaching children is more important than having an independent and well-informed judiciary. It is not replacement of that. However, it is a requirement to teach what you are trying to create.

The second reason involves exams. Educators previously considered exams as bad for children. But exams determine who gets ahead. This was not very important when wages were controlled, but it is deeply important now that they are not. And there is not a single country in Eastern and Central Europe and in the former Soviet Union where the methods of selecting for higher education are not deeply pernicious. They do it because there is no standardization and it is verbal. In addition, students must travel to the exam location and answer the questions designed by the professor to meet his or her needs. There is no comparison across institutions and in a country with eleven time zones, getting to the exam location is not a trivial issue.

The major institution is in Moscow, off-budget of course, not controlled by the committee on higher education, but controlled by the Ministry of Finance. It can set its own curriculum, one of two higher education institutions in Russia that can do that; and therefore, is the epitome of excellence. The Eskimos and Uzbeks and have no idea how to get into the place. It is difficult to imagine a feeling of democracy in terms of success in a country where people do not have an equal stake.

The Bank is in deep dialogue with the Russians on this issue and it is a difficult one. I suggest that in any country, until there is a fair examination system which is perceived as such, there will never be democracy because people will not feel that they have a stake in the system.

The third reason for a focus on education and democracy relates to text books, materials, computer programs, and software. A few facts: Educational publishing is the elephant that drives the copyright protection as well as privatization issues. This occurs because Russia now has 6,000 publishers, up from 3,000 two years ago. Three institutions in publishing control 40 percent of the market. One is controlled by the Ministry of Education, one controlled by the Ministry of Culture, and one controlled by the Committee on Higher Education. Until we help them privatize, there will be no free, fair, and profitable industry publishing literature.

Russia does not want to privatize for a variety of reasons. First, they are concerned that if they go private, they will not have the exclusive monopoly on school materials, meaning that anybody could steal their products. And they are correct. For example, 98 percent of all computer programs in Russia are illegally copied.

Although Yeltsin has signed a law requiring a fine for copyright infringement, enforcement is a major problem. I argue that the key to enforcement is the Ministry of Education because it does 40 percent of all business. Without cooperation from the Ministry of Education in deciding how materials get into schools, a private publishing industry will not work. And, without a strong and reliable industry, none of the manufacturers of books in this country or in Britain or in Western Europe will feel comfortable. It then becomes a linkage issue. Education is the big source of profits. Until we get the prices right and the copyright enforcement right in the field of education, it will not occur anywhere else.

The fourth reason to focus on education and democracy has to do with the rules of the game. How do you decide what to learn? Who decides? What language do you teach in? Just take one example. Take Lithuania or Estonia, which have decided to teach in their national language, and not Russian. In one case, 40 percent of the school children are Russian speaking. Therefore, it means 40 percent of the children will not be allowed to be taught in their own language. The tolerance of language of instruction is a deeply problematic issue for governance. It is, I argue, the vanguard of everything that you want to do in terms of governance and political tolerance.

Another curricular issue is what is to be prohibited. A list of what is prohibited places boundaries around a definition of democracy. Is it allowed, for example, to teach racism in schools? Is it allowed to teach that other ethnic groups are subservient or inferior? Is it allowed to teach history in such a way that is disrespectful to others?

If these issues are not decided in a manner familiar to you in terms of western democracies, problems will emerge. And it is not just a cognitive problem. That is to say, it is not just a problem of what children have learned, it is a symbolic problem. If these issues are not solved in the schools, it means that adults are not going to be expected to solve it. So, as I say, it is a bit of *sine qua non*.

Another critical issue is that of the role of religion. Here is a part of the world, with the exception of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, where religion was virtually prohibited. The process by which this issue is approached and the tolerance with which we address people's relationship to God will determine the essence of whether they are going to be successful.

These are the four rules of the education game. First of all, the rules of the game in curriculum, what is taught about a country's governance. Second is the issue of exams and who

gets ahead. Third is the nature of the materials published for schools, both electronic and print. And fourth is the rules of how educational issues are decided.

All of these are essential elements in a political democracy and lead me to believe that education is very high on the list of priorities. I am not saying, for instance, that it is more important than monetary policy, more important than public sector management, or more important than the environment. That is not the issue. The issue is that unless these four things are done correctly, it is very difficult to be effective in the other areas.

## **DISCUSSION**

*Ned McMahan* from the National Democratic Institute, suggested that specific attention be paid to nonformal or nontraditional methods of education, particularly in the context of transitional situations. He also stressed that in many countries, civics organizations that were developed around the theme of elections need new strength and focus.

*Dick Remy* from the Mershon Center, advised the group to avoid drawing a dichotomy between learning knowledge and learning skills. Skills, he argued, are not learned in a vacuum, but must be applied to something tangible, such as ideas, constitutionalism, and the meaning of democracy. He also suggested that it is useful to draw a distinction between applying a political philosophy, i.e. democracy, to the organization of the classroom and applying democratic principles to the operation of the schools.

*Julie Owen-Rea*, from AID's Africa Bureau, responded to an observation that although we seem to know what to do, we are not doing it. She explained that in 11 African countries, AID's Africa Bureau is currently working to assist in the democratization of education systems. Among other things, this includes, issues of access (particularly for girls), and textbook dissemination.

*Clive Harbor* agreed that there should be a focus on nonformal schooling. In fact, he suggested that he would like formal schools to look more like informal ones. He concurred that good examples of democratic schools exist, but suggested that they are not very widespread. He agreed that there is no dichotomy between knowledge and skills, but that the balance is completely skewed -- that skills are not taught most of the time.

In response to a need for clarification, *Steve Heyneman* of the World Bank argued that education as a sine qua non for democracy does not indicate causation. Rather, it is due to common sense, which, he argues, is the ultimate lesson. He reiterated that until democracy is worked out in the teaching of children, it will not be worked out in any other area. In terms of democratic structures, he argued that we should not focus on specific "democratic" models, but on the process of decision making about what is taught.

**PANEL ON PROGRAM EXPERIENCE** *(continued)*

**RICHARD REMY**  
*Ohio State University*  
*Mershon Center*

and

**STEPHEN FLEISCHMAN**  
*American Federation of Teachers*  
*International Division*

**Richard Remy**

At the Mershon Center, a social science research organization at Ohio State University, we have been working with the Ministry of National Education in Poland since February of 1991 on the development of a plan for reform of civic education. In discussing the project in Poland, I will describe the key assumptions that are behind our work, review the major activities that we have undertaken, and then comment on what I consider two important aspects of our program.

There are two very simple key assumptions in our program. The first is that we believe our role as a United States organization, as Americans scholars and educators, is to make the best and the worst of the American experience, materials, and ideas available to Poles. From these, they include what they find useful and what they do not find useful. We do not always agree with what they choose. We sometimes wish they would make other choices, but it is clearly not our role to tell them what to do in this area. At least that is the assumption under which we are proceeding.

We realized from the very beginning that we might eventually encounter a situation where we would not agree with their conception of good civic education. We concluded that we would

have to deal with that when we get to it. We have come close occasionally, but we have not reached that point yet.

The second key assumption is very simply that civic education is absolutely essential to the building of democracy in emerging democracies. Those are our key assumptions.

What are we doing? Our original plan called for us to do five things. One, we are developing curriculum guides that outline the rationale, objectives, and content of a primary and secondary school civics course for Poland.

Second, we have just finished the completion of a primary school civics course. Implementation of that course in the schools will begin in September of 1994.

Third, we are developing an undergraduate college course, a course that focuses on how democratic principles apply to the organization and operation of schools. In it, we address issues such as student rights, textbook censorship, parents' rights in school or with respect to school authorities, and the like.

Fourth, we have established a network of five centers for civic and economic education. In our view, the two are inextricably intertwined in education for democracy in developing democracies. We agree that one cannot teach about the meaning of democracy in these countries without teaching about free market economics. And you cannot teach about free market economics without saying something about the political system.

Finally, we have planned an international conference in Warsaw this December. These five parts make up our plan. In addition, we have three unanticipated activities underway. The first is assisting our Polish colleagues in establishing a society for civic education, a professional society for civic educators.

The second is assisting in the development of what we would call a Close-up Foundation type program. Under this program, teachers and students will be brought to Warsaw to observe and meet government officials firsthand. This is a big deal in Poland because there is an enormous amount of alienation and distrust of politicians. This largely stems from the fact that some of the same politicians from the old regime are still in government roles.

Finally, we think it is time, since we are in a university, to start to analyze and reflect on what we are doing. We are therefore, preparing a book, which we hope will be of interest to others.

We are still seeking funding for a long term research program for training the school administrators in democratic principles and, for the development of a secondary school course to match the primary school course.

I will conclude my description of the Poland project, as we call it, by calling your attention to a key characteristic of this project -- the multidimensional approach. That is, we have taken a look at the problem of educational change in a country like Poland and have recognized that it is not enough to try to do one thing or another. We realized that we must try to do a lot of things simultaneously, in hopes that they will reinforce each other.

It is also important to recognize that all of these specific projects are ends in themselves, but they are also means to a larger end. For instance, is an end in itself to create a primary civics course. It is very important and helpful. The Poles told us that this was a priority.

But by the same token, the creation of that course, if done in the right way, (i.e. by involving a lot of scholars, teachers, parents, and other people from Poland), a dynamic, national dialog on civic education and what it means in a country like Poland will begin to be created. And this is the larger goal. In addition, relationships between American scholars and

Polish scholars and educators will be built, so each of these things is an end in itself and it is also a means to a larger end.

### **Stephen Fleischman**

I want to very briefly say what the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is doing before moving on to what I think is probably most interesting to the largest group of you here, which is practical considerations about issues in implementing civic education programs in emerging democracies.

The longest term program that the A.F.T. is doing is in Nicaragua. In Nicaragua, we are a year and a half into a three-year A.I.D. funded major civic education reform project, that is made up of three major components.

The first component is the creation of a curriculum framework and out of that, a whole program for civic education, running from kindergarten through 12th grade in U.S. terms. That curriculum is in its fourth draft and will be ready to be introduced at the beginning of next year.

From that, there is a whole set of secondary school courses being designed for different grade levels. We are not dealing with primary grades, although the curriculum framework does address issues that go all the way from kindergarten onwards.

The second component, in which I have been most involved, is the creation of a master teacher training program for 25 selected Nicaraguan teachers. This has been done, as the whole program has been, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in Nicaragua.

These 25 participating teachers will be working with a center that was created jointly by the AFT and the Ministry of Education, called the Center for Education for Democracy in Nicaragua. These 25 teachers spent six months being trained in the basic knowledge skills and attitudes required for an educator to teach children about democracy. In addition, they were

trained to be teacher trainers. There are approximately 1,000 social studies teachers in Nicaragua and by the time the program is completed, every single one of them will have attended a workshop put on by these 25 Nicaraguan master teachers. These programs are conducted, and part of the training was conducted, by volunteer AFT members from the United States, who were bilingual, and quite experienced teacher trainers and civics educators. We have also used resources from other countries, such as Costa Rica and Colombia.

The third component is the creation of teacher's guides and other materials. This is a very important part of a whole civics education reform program. In it, we address questions about how to use techniques that produce active learning or what some people might call democratic teaching methodologies. We suggest lessons that can be taught and answer questions about the purpose of teaching democracy. This manual will be distributed and become the basis for further education of the teachers in an in-service teacher training program. We will also offer a resource book on the history of democracy, both worldwide and within the context of Nicaragua.

We also have also offered some short term teacher training workshops. These have been done in the Czech Republic, in Poland, and most recently in Russia. These are not intended to be stand alone teacher training workshops. Rather, they are intended to be a beginning, an introduction to teaching democracy, which will ideally grow into a longer term in-service teacher training program, eventually being led by folks from the Czech Republic, Russia, or with whichever country we work.

The model for this is our work with the Foundation for Education for Democracy in Poland, with whom we have had a longstanding relationship. They are an independent

organization and they mostly do their own training. We were instrumental in helping to set the Foundation, and still do some training with them.

We have a very strong partnership in the sense that we work with them on an equal level. They have some very high level expertise in this. They have a wonderful packet of about 100 lessons and have developed their own two and a half day teacher training program, based on those packets, as well as experiences that they have had with us after an initial start-up period. That is really where we try to move.

The AFT has another project called an Education for Democracy Clearinghouse. I mention this because I invite anybody who has materials on civic education to please pass it along to us so we can act as a place to disseminate material.

Now, I move to more practical considerations -- challenges and constraints.

One of the constraints is a kind of unpredictability. There are some real constraints that involve local situations which make it difficult to do these kinds of programs. Some of them involve a potential for misperception -- that we are pushing a "U.S. agenda" or are trying to enforce Americanism. Although we have not really encountered this, quite honestly, in any of the programs that either of us has done, we include this because it is the first thing that every single U.S. trainer is concerned about.

Therefore, we want to address it and say, yes, there is this potential concern. In Nicaragua, where you have a very divided population of teachers belonging to very politicized unions, it is possible that politics will enter it, and we have to be aware of it. Nevertheless, this has not occurred. And maybe it has not occurred because it has been taken care of in structuring the program.

Political culture is another challenge that we face in civic education programs. An additional challenge is that of political and social instability. In a system that is constantly changing, where the political equation is changing from day to day, it is a very hard thing to address. This is a very real issue that has to be considered in doing this sort of program.

Another point is that there is a lack of experience with democracy which often leads to frustration. For example, in Nicaragua, the vice president currently has no official function in the political system, because he is in opposition to the president. How do you explain that situation as a democratic one. When people question this, we can point to comparable examples in the United States, where in some states, a Lieutenant Governor is of a party different from that of the Governor. Democracy is a complex system and people make some very simple assumptions. Teaching democracy therefore, is a real challenge.

Confusion about basic concepts is an additional challenge. Economic concepts and political concepts are often interchangeable in a lot of people's minds. Due process is a difficult thing and a dearth of history from a particular country that can be used to teach about democracy compounds these challenges. I was trying to think of the heroes in Peru, where I grew up. In primary school, the hero was the guy that rode off of the cliff with the flag when the Peruvians lost the battle. The equivalent in the United States, I suspect, Betsy Ross or Frances Scott Key, as opposed to Abraham Lincoln or George Washington.

There is a qualitative difference in those kinds of things. This does not mean that it cannot be done, however. In every society, there are people who have struggled for democracy, and instances can be found, but it is sometimes challenging to do it. This is important to keep in mind.

These are specific challenges when working with teachers in emerging democracies. The most salient challenge is that the level of professional preparation is generally inadequate, and often based on ideological principles. In the Czech Republic, for example, the civics teachers were selected because of their party affiliation. This poses problems in terms of knowledge base in beginning a program. Recently, someone who works with former East German teachers suggested that their strategy for reforming civics education was to fire the old ones because they were affiliated with the party.

Low pay and status of the teaching profession is yet another problem. In Russia, brain drain is a real issue because people prefer to become businesspeople. Working conditions and career opportunities are ill-defined in many societies. For example, in Albania, teacher is unlikely to get in-service training because the requirements are not defined. In Nicaragua, teachers have clearly expressed a desire to know what will result from training sessions, such as a promotion, raise in pay, or a change in title. These are practical and reasonable considerations for a teacher when they commit to go through a period of in-service training to improve civic education in their country.

Another challenge that we face is the attitudes of teachers toward their profession. And one last constraint before we move on is institutional weakness. It is challenging to engage in educational reform where there is no infrastructure. For example, in Nicaragua, there is essentially one curriculum specialist in the Ministry of Education who is responsible for all disciplines for all grade levels.

Another example of institutional weakness is in the Czech Republic. There used to be 550 in-service teacher trainers. After the revolution, however, 500 of these trainers were fired in order to change the former indoctrination sessions into real training sessions.

## DISCUSSION

*Beryl Levinger* from the Educational Development Center drew an analogy between democratization and changing health practices in developing countries. Some similarities that she highlighted are that both deal with intimate choices and go through a period of decentralization. She described the KABNS model, in which knowledge is transitioned to attitudes, to beliefs, and finally to an institutional change, which in the case of health is a change in health status.

In applying democracy to this model, she suggested that content is the equivalent of knowledge, moving toward the culture of the classroom. Behavior would be measured by student activities, and the health status equivalent would be tangible evidence of civic participation and the existence of democratic institutions.

Some conclusions that she drew from the analogy are that school based programs would particularly benefit when there are mass media campaign-type complements to in-school strategies. She also suggested that change is best accomplished when there is a clear message that focusses on behaviors. Change, she found, is best brought about and accomplished by incremental stages, going from simple behaviors to more risky, or complex behaviors. She also argued that it is particularly important to create ties between schools and communities.

*Steve Fleischman* reminded the group that it is not just learning structures or formal education that we are focussing on. Democracy, he argued, is an overarching concept, which forms a way of life and a way of behaving toward other people.

*Manzoor Ahmed*, from UNICEF, brought to the group's attention that in the transition to democracy, education is used to support the process -- just as it was in the transition to previous authoritarian systems. He argues that this is universal -- education is used to support political social systems. And it can be approached, as a much larger issue -- as more of a real

life philosophy. He argued that in this case, it is a problem all over the world, particularly in terms of issues of equity and access.

*Mike Morfit* of AID's Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (PPC), made the distinction between the three levels or types of problems that were identified in the discussion: informational issues (such as the definitions of democracy and participation), pedagogical issues (such as how information is conveyed and how the classroom is managed), and political issues (that is, the political processes by which curriculum gets established and resources get allocated). He emphasized that there is overlap among these levels, but that it is important to recognize the different levels as well as the different problems and responses that come with them.

*Frank Method* of AID's Bureau of Global Programs, noticed that the group primarily referred to situations where the decision to move toward democracy was already made. He reminded the group that in a number of countries, the turmoil leading to the decision to make the transition to democracy surrounds arguments about education. In South Africa, for example, the issues of language policy and unfair examinations are impossible to separate from the politics of mobilization to bring about these changes. The same, he argued, was true in Europe from 1968 on. He also offered the anecdotal example of Zimbabwe's expansion of education after independence, in which a colleague suggested that if the white regime had the sense to make the same reforms, it would have been difficult to sustain the struggle for democracy. He suggested more discussion on education as a catalyst for the movement toward political change.

*Diane Prouty* of the Institute for International Research (IIR), shared that in her recent work in Tanzania, she was struck by the paradox that teachers are expected to teach about democracy when they have little autonomy in their own jobs. This is especially important, she

suggested, in that many countries are undergoing decentralization, thereby giving communities, parents, and teachers more decision-making power.

*Mike Morfit* noted that the final two comments point to the larger political sphere within which some of these curriculum reforms or pedagogical reforms have to take place. He argued that there has to be some recognition of the relationships between them.

PANEL ON PROGRAM EXPERIENCE *(continued)*

WILLARD KNIEP  
*American Forum for Global Education*

I will spend a few moments describing for you an initiative in which the American Forum for Global Education and some U.S. parties have recently become involved in the Republic of Russia. It is called the Global Schools Initiative.

I have to start with the disclaimer that I am neither an expert in education for development nor am I an expert in Russia. I got into this by the back door, and listening to Steve Heyneman this morning, I decided that I, too, want to start with my conclusion first. I think my conclusion relates to some of the questions that were raised this morning about whether there is a clear relationship between education and democracy, whether there is proof, and what the sources are.

It seems to me, based on my experience so far with this project, that the most important piece of data that we can have are the people that we are working with in the country concerned.

My experience is that the reformers in Russia absolutely know that there is a relationship between education and democracy. Because they had stated that so strongly, I felt we had almost a moral obligation to listen to them and to offer whatever resources we could in partnership.

The Global Schools Initiative in Russia is an outgrowth of a conference which was called by the then Russian Minister of Education in April of 1992. At that time, the Minister of Education was Edward Duieprov, who has since been replaced, and is now a special advisor to President Yeltsin.

There had already been, before this conference, a lot of discussion about something called global education within Russia. And I will try to explain why global education has become a fairly compelling idea for them.

The American partners in this conference were invited to offer our experience and our perspective on the design of educational programs with a global perspective. We were asked to join with a number of teachers and administrators from schools and the Ministry of Education and pedagogical institutes and universities in Russia, to assess the feasibility of developing this new generation of schools which they would call Global Schools.

A concrete result of that meeting was that we signed a protocol with the Ministry of Education. This committed us to assist our Russian partners in the development of pilot schools and a resource center.

On the American side, the partners are the American Forum for Global Education, taking the lead, along with Florida International University, the Dade County Public Schools, and Indiana University.

Since we signed the protocol almost a year and a half ago, one of our main priorities has been to find support funding to get the initiative underway. It has been a difficult struggle.

For one reason, as you will see, it is a long-term project. It is going to require quite a bit of investment in planning and in human resource development and there will not be immediate results.

Since the protocol was signed, we have now received our initial funding through the cultural initiative in Russia, which is part of the Soros Foundation initiative. We are also optimistic about some other sources.

The interesting thing is that in spite of the fact that we have lacked financial backing, our Russian partners have continued with their commitment to this. They have on their own, with their own limited resources, established a resource center at one of their pedagogical universities. They have staffed it and have begun to translate materials that we have sent to them. They have also begun to develop their own materials in the field of global education.

Things are finally in place and we think we are finally going to get this project underway. I was in Russia the last week of September and the first week of October and I had a grandstand seat at the Ukraina Hotel, which is right across the river from the Parliament Building. It was a very exciting time to be there, but again, I was struck by how serious people in the Ministry of Education are about this project. Even in spite of all the turmoil during those two weeks, they wanted to discuss the project and make sure that we got it underway.

I will now describe two parts of our work at the American Forum that the Russians have become very interested in, and will then spend a few moments describing how this project is playing out and will play out in Russia.

Let me start, first of all, by just giving you a brief overview of what global education is. I do not know how many in this audience really know what global education is and how it is defined. Global education in the United States is approximately 25 years old. It was initiated or it has been centered on the need to prepare young people for citizenship in a world that is increasingly characterized by pluralism, interdependence and rapid change.

Its development was based on the belief that American schools have done very little to prepare young people to live in such a world. This is evidenced by the fact that American students know very little about other cultures, groups and nations, and in fact, are suspicious and

ethnocentric in their own attitudes towards those who are different from themselves. This is not a surprise to anybody.

People who are interested in remedying that situation have been engaged over the last 25 years in developing curriculum materials, approaches to teacher education and staff development, exemplary school programs, information centers, et cetera.

As one of the first organizations established to promote global education, my organization, the American Forum, has been instrumental in both the conceptualization of the field and in the dissemination of this approach to education among teachers, administrators, policy makers and the general public.

In Russia today, those who are responsible for reforming their educational systems in order to move their country toward democracy and toward full and responsible participation in global society, have been strongly attracted to the underlying premises, definitions, goals, and conceptual frameworks that characterize global education in the United States. Two conceptual pieces have proven particularly attractive to these reformers and have been adopted as the conceptual underpinnings for the strategies and activities in this project.

The first of these pieces, and perhaps the most powerful, is a monograph called An Attainable Global Perspective. This treatise was completed by Robert Hanvey in the early 1970's and is considered by most people engaged in global education in this country to be the classic conceptualization of the goals of a global education. Hanvey describes not only what an individual with a global perspective would know, but also the modes of thought, sensitivities, intellectual skills, and explanatory capacities that would be part of those outcomes.

The idea of perspective consciousness is that we recognize that our view of the world is not universally shared. It involves knowing what is going on in the world, and what the state

of the planet is. It requires cross cultural awareness and understanding and a knowledge of how the world works, which he calls global dynamics. And probably most importantly, it involves the awareness of human choices.

Now, the other definitional piece which has been adopted by the Russian reformers and will serve as a foundation for this project, is a framework for curriculum development which we developed at the American Forum for Global Education called "The Essential Elements of a Global Education".

Somebody said this morning that content matters; that what really matters is what you teach -- education in and of itself. And that has been a basic premise of our work. In the final analysis, what the objects of inquiry are and what the content of a curriculum is going to be is the most important aspect of education.

I will now summarize the four elements or parts of the framework that we think are most important as essential elements of education for a changing world. The first is the study of a global system. I must emphasize that we must start with the ecological system, and that we have to get out of this idea that the economic and political systems stand aside from that, but rather are nested within the ecological system within which we live.

Another important element is the study of human values and cultures -- the study of persistent problems and issues. This is the study of global history, that is, an understanding that civilizations and cultures have borrowed from one another for centuries. And that, in fact, world history is not necessarily the way that we teach it in our schools, which one of my colleagues has described as being the history of Plato to NATO.

Now, in light of Russia's continuing struggle to move toward a democratic, open, civil society and toward a market economy, educational leaders there are convinced that education

must be fundamentally reformed if they are to have a citizenry that can cope with and support the new political and economic structures being built.

They believe that Russian young people must know how to participate as citizens and as economic actors within the systems that dominate the globe today. They must see their own local problems related to environment, human rights, and national development in the larger global context. They need a sense of history that provides a perspective on the place of their own country's evolution relative to the rest of the world.

And most compelling of all, in light of the events of the last month or so in Russia, which is characterized primarily by a rise of nationalism and more ethnic conflict, the educational reformers in Russia, I believe, are passionately convinced of the need for young Russians to develop cross cultural understanding and an appreciation for cultural differences, which is at the core of global education goals and programs.

So that is the global education piece. Now, in the United States, we have been quite successful in developing programs and curriculum materials. We have even been successful at getting educational policy in place related to global education.

However, in about the mid-eighties we stopped and questioned whether or not this work made a difference. Our schools were still designed for a different age and schools are not fundamentally different. It was at that point in 1987 that we started a project called Education 2000. This project which began to work with these frameworks and basic concepts, and began to imagine what schools would look like if we began to design schools to fit the 21st century, or even the last part of the 20th century. And that is the Education 2000 project which was mentioned in the introduction, not to be confused with America 2000.

We have initiated this project in six communities. It has not been successful in all six communities, but we have several communities that are moving very far along in redesigning themselves.

At the center of the systemic design effort is the creation of an educational blueprint. In the final analysis, this blueprint is designed to provide an overarching conceptual framework for defining the domains as well as the comprehensiveness and balance that student and curricular encounters throughout their school should reflect.

The process that I want to emphasize is that to develop this blueprint, we attempt to engage the broadest possible range of stake-holders, such as teachers, administrators, students, parents, business people -- the whole gamut of people that live in a community -- in addressing one central question: What kinds of schools and schooling do our children need to be prepared for the changing world of the 21st century.

I do not have time to go through the whole process right now, but in the Russian global school initiative, our efforts and those of our Russian partners will be directed toward helping ten pilot schools located throughout various parts of the Russian Republic develop their own blueprints. This is a rather modest project compared to some of the other things that we are hearing about today.

Our role will be to work with the resource center in a Pedagogical Institute. We will help them develop their own technical assistance capabilities to work with ten schools to develop their own vision.

The blueprint, when it is completed for the global schools, will be very similar to the blueprint that is happening with our Education 2000 schools in the United States. It includes six elements. It begins by restating the goals for education in that community and for that school.

It sets new exit standards based on those goals and outcomes. It describes a new system for assessing student performance, based on the outcomes and standards. And it is then that we begin to get into the process of curriculum design. Following that, we encourage communities to set standards for professional performance. And finally, an organizational plan for management and shared decision making is developed.

The adaptation of the Education 2000 process to the Russian global schools initiative meets the needs of our Russian partners in two ways. First, as we have already said, and they are very adamant about it, there is a need to develop new models for Russian education. By using this kind of process, the project will result in ten new home-grown models which can then be widely disseminated to other schools within the Republic. And it is likely that in the context of this conference today, the Ministry of Education, as part of the larger movement toward democracy in Russia, is committed to devolving control of education to local communities and schools.

This project will be one of the first attempts to implement site based management and shared decision making in creating a new vision and a new design for schools in a systemic and sustained way.

Again, I have been very moved by the commitment of the Russian education reformers to both the basic premises of global education and the movement they have made toward creating new models and involving local stakeholders in that effort.

## **DISCUSSION**

In response to questions about the definitions and roles of the community, *Willard Kneip* explained that community can be defined in a number of ways. In this country, he argued, the community within which he worked in Yonkers, for example, includes numerous segments. He

explained that he will try to replicate this complex community involvement in the Russian community of Raisan, where they expect both parents and community business leaders to be involved in educational decision making. He explained that the Russian educators with whom they work, specifically the Deputy Ministers and the Ministry of Education, are committed to devolving control to the local level because they see it as democratization of their society.

*Frank Method* highlighted the importance of defining the political unit of analysis, whether it is the community, the city, or some global community that extends beyond the traditional nation-state boundary.

In response to a question about the tradeoffs in decentralizing, *Willard Kneip* responded that they are still in the process of working through this in Russia. In the United States, he explains, he deals with the tradeoff issue by going to local design. He then cautioned against assuming that there is no role for the state in this situation, because the state must still concern itself with issues of equity, minimum standards, and so on.

*David Dorn* commented and *Willard Kneip* concurred that experiences overseas in civics education can also help the United States understand some of its own educational problems,

**PANEL: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

**NORM RIFKIN**

*Moderator*

*Latin American Caribbean Bureau*

*Education and Human Resources Division (LAC/DR)*

**LEO GARZA**

*General Development Officer*

*and*

*Deputy of the Education Office,*

*Latin American and Caribbean Bureau*

**ELEONORA VILLEGAS-REIMERS**

*Professor*

*Wheelock College*

**Norm Rifkin**

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to make a couple of brief remarks before we move on to the presentations.

Thus far, I feel that something very important has been left out of the dialog. Steve Heyneman said that without education you will not have democracy, and I think he is right; I think it is absolutely critical.

Our democracy strategy, lists the impediments to democracy, but no mention is made, strangely, of illiteracy or a lack of education in that strategy. I think it belongs there.

I have asked several people whether they can think of any countries with high illiteracy or very poor aggregate education indicators, particularly in secondary education, that can be called democracies.

And there may be a few, but there really are not very many. In fact, Luis Crouch of Research Triangle Institute (RTI) has done some research on this, which I would like to share with you.

This study compares matriculation in secondary education in 1975 with the Freedom House Index, which is one of the more reliable indices that we have. The results show that there are a lot of countries with very low secondary enrollment, which also have very poor record on the Freedom House Index. There are also a lot countries with very high secondary education and very high performance on the Freedom House Index. In fact, there are very few countries with minimal educational attainment and high levels of democracy. Of the few countries that might be in this category, there are some reasons, such as a dual population with perhaps a very large modern sector, or a rural sector where the government is set by the modern sector.

The point I am making here is not that education causes democracy. I am indicating something that is subtly different. It is the point that Steve Heyneman made that without education there will not be democracy.

It appears to me that if we are developing a strategy and if we are trying to inventory impediments to reaching democracy, we should certainly consider the lack of education as one of those impediments.

Having said all of this, one could conjecture that democratic societies do a better job of educating their people, and certainly there are many countries that have done that. But how would we account for what has happened in places like Singapore, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, where other forms of government have effectively educated their people.

So I am not saying at all that education causes democracy, but that without it, you are not going to get the democracy. For what it is worth, I wanted to make that point.

The question of where we go from here is certainly foremost in the minds of A.I.D. officials. You heard from Ann Van Dusen this morning that A.I.D. is in the throes of a wrenching reorganization that creates five strategically oriented centers within a global bureau that will house all of the agency's technical specialists.

A.I.D.'s Administrator Brian Atwood has repeatedly warned about the danger of what he calls stove pipe development, wherein each of these strategic areas evolve independently of the others. He is concerned with the need to approach issues from a multisectoral perspective, bringing all appropriate resources and people to bear upon areas of strategic concern, not simply leaving the task to the people in those centers that are specifically focused on one objective or the other.

During the previous administration, offices for private sector development were created in most overseas A.I.D. missions, and in most bureaus here in Washington. These offices tended to regard private sector development as being within their purview, and some developed a remarkably strong sense of turf. Other offices were free to work on other things, because private sector development was not seen as their job, but rather the job of the private sector office. I am not picking on the private sector people here, but I am trying to make a point.

My point is that many A.I.D. offices can be seen as contributing to private sector development and the same can be said for democracy. The role of the Democracy Office in addition to the multitude of activities that they undertake relating to the administration of justice and free elections and so forth, is really to orchestrate the work being done in other centers and support units within that Bureau and within the Agency, including education and training. That strengthens the scope of their program.

So the question of where we go from here, I think, is not going to only be in education and it is not going to only be in those centers. It instead is going to require an interdisciplinary approach, which I think is the intention of the administration.

With that, I would like to introduce Leo Garza, who has been with A.I.D. for quite a long time. He is currently the General Development Officer and Deputy of the Latin Bureau Education Office. Previously, in USAID/Quito, he was the Director of the Office of Education and Training. He has worked in the Latin Bureau Private Voluntary Office and has a very strong interest in this particular topic, which is why he was asked to come today.

### Leo Garza

I will very briefly share with you what we in the Latin America and Caribbean Bureau are doing and where we are headed. And in particular, what we are doing within the context of dwindling resources, and the reorganization.

From a Bureau perspective, one of the things we have been challenged with is how we can be useful not only to our field missions in the human resources development area, but how we can be helpful to other sectors.

And in particular, we want to establish the role of education in terms of complementing and reinforcing other Agency priorities such as democracy and democratic initiatives.

Toward that end, our Washington office as well as our field officers in various missions in Latin America, have found a lack of knowledge about what varying countries were doing, what models have been successful, and what is actually was happening.

In response, we have commissioned a study, to research two things -- two Agency priorities.

The first is a survey of formal curriculum in countries in Latin America, including the more developed like Mexico and Argentina as well as the lesser developed countries, such as Nicaragua, Honduras, and Ecuador. We are looking for models of civic education, and the inclusion of the important area of environmental education in the formal curriculum.

We plan to put this together and share it with all our various missions, as well as our colleagues. This experience has been an interesting one, and not dissimilar to the other experiences articulated earlier today. This is where we in the Education and Human Resources Office are headed in terms of our work -- not just doing education for the sake of education as a narrow sector, but rather education as a way to support our colleagues and the Agency's strategic objectives, such as democratic initiatives and environmental improvement.

And with that, I would like to introduce Eleonora Villegas-Reimers, the principle researcher and author of the survey.

**Eleonora Villegas-Reimers**

I would like to talk about the information that we have recently collected.

The information that we have recently collected comes from very different sources. In this study, the first thing that we decided to do was a literature review to find out what has been written about models of civic education in Latin America. We tapped not only the literature written in English, as well as in Spanish. I will not discuss this in detail today, but it will be incorporated in the survey.

Our second step, and many of you were contacted for this purpose, was to contact organizations both in the United States and in countries in Latin America, that were designing, implementing, collaborating, consulting with, or doing something in relation to civic education

and education for democracy in Latin America. This information will also be incorporated in the study.

The main point of the study is the survey. The survey was designed and distributed to 15 countries in Latin America. The 15 countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru. Basically, we covered all of Central America except for Belize and most of South America except for Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay and Paraguay. We also included the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean, and Jamaica.

The survey was designed to determine what official curriculum exists on civic education and education for democracy, and what the Ministries of Education say about the programs which exist. We knew that we were limiting our scope by not looking at other curricula, but we were interested in only official curricula. In Latin America, most of the countries have a centralized curriculum, which means that most schools, if not all schools, follow the exact same curriculum.

Specifically, we asked questions about the scope of the national curriculum. We wanted to know whether a national curriculum exists and if so, what its structure is. We asked how many grades there are in elementary school and secondary school, in order to get a sense of what it means in terms of the big picture. We asked who designs these curricula and whether there are any variations. We also asked whether or not the Minister of Education supervises alternative curricula and who is consulted in this process.

We then inquired about the history of the curriculum. We wanted to know when and under what circumstances it was last updated, how is it kept up to date, and who does the revisions. We also asked if teachers were included in the revisions.

In addition, we requested information on how the curriculum was distributed to teachers. These questions were based on my experience in my own country where I have done research. When I tried to get a copy of the national curriculum, it was not found anywhere. People suggested going to the Minister of Education, but the Minister of Education told me that I could buy it in book stores. And I went from one place to the other and could not find it. Based on this experience, we decided to include questions about the availability of curriculum in the survey.

Under the broad heading of civics education, we inquired about the status of the civic education curriculum in general, asking how the country defines civics education, and who designs this curriculum. We asked if it is taught as a separate subject or as part of something else, such as social studies or social science. We also asked how many hours a week civics education was taught.

We asked two questions about teaching methods as well. The first question was about the types of activities in which teachers engage in civic education classrooms. The second question was about the kinds of activities that students do. The mismatch that we found was just fascinating.

We also included questions about other activities in the schools. Some schools organize themselves around some student government or other activities outside of the formal civics curriculum, but are certainly still teaching students about civics.

We also wanted to know what kind of instructional materials they had. We inquired as to whether the work was provided by the Ministry of Education, as well as when they were designed, and who designed them. We also asked about the type of teacher education given to those who teach civics education. Questions included, what type of education was offered, who

offered it, and is there any kind of follow-up? We also asked questions about NGOs that have programs in school settings about civic education.

The last two sections of the survey were on moral education and education for democracy. We did not give any definition for moral education, we simply asked the question in order to elicit a response. We asked if moral education exists in the curriculum, where is it taught, and who teaches it.

The questions under the section on education for democracy included whether it is a part of the curriculum, in what grades it is taught, what is the content taught, and what are the teaching materials and activities completed.

We sent the survey to the 15 countries and have received information from 14 of them. The results I present have included all countries but Nicaragua, because I just recently received that data.

The first finding was not a surprise. We found that there is, in fact, a national curriculum. Only three countries indicated that they do not have a national curriculum. The first is Argentina, which decentralized in 1983, after which time the curriculum went to the provinces. The second is Guatemala, where they are attempting to create a curriculum that responds to the needs of the various ethnic groups in the country. The third country that said they did not have a national curriculum was Colombia. However, people from Colombian organizations have indicated that they are in the process of revising the curriculum to make it non-central, but at this point the curriculum is still centralized.

The survey indicated that there are very few variations in civic curriculum. In most cases, the variations are determined by the teacher, and are always supervised, and in a way designed, by the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education can be described as the all powerful decision maker of education in relation to civic education. Everything. The first finding is that if we are going to be working with a country, we have to work with the Ministers of Education.

The second finding is related to the history of the national curriculum. There are several countries that are currently undergoing reforms. Those countries are Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Argentina. Putting them aside, we then address the date that the curriculum was designed. In Bolivia, it was 18 years ago -- in 1975. It is amazing to think that despite all the political changes in that country, they are still using the exact same curriculum.

El Salvador designed its curriculum in 1976. Jamaica, Argentina, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile and Panama designed their curricula in the early 1980's. And very recently, in the late 1980's or early 1990's, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Mexico, Peru and Jamaica each designed their current secondary civics education curriculum.

There is something to be said about the relevance of the curriculum that they are using if many of them were designed 15 to 20 years ago.

In area of civics education, we found that most countries define it as preparing citizens to live in a democratic society. Most countries make this explicit in their goal. However, when it comes down to the objectives and the themes, it is not represented.

On the primary level, civics education is taught together with other subjects in most countries. In secondary education, however, it is considered a separate subject and is taught about one hour a week or at the most, two hours a week.

One concern I have is when it is taught as a subject combined with other subjects. Some have responded that it is included math, aesthetic education, and physical education. I wonder what are they teaching if they call that civic education.

I was fascinated by the responses about curriculum. Issues such as teaching about the constitution and human rights is not included in all countries. However, all countries teach about the family, marriage, and in many cases, parenthood and responsible fatherhood.

In terms of democratic issues, some countries are very advanced. And Colombia is doing wonderful things in terms of education for democracy.

There is also a great emphasis on knowledge, such as learning the national anthem, and about the flag. This knowledge may somehow be relevant to something that we call democracy, but it is not the kind of knowledge that we have been talking about in this colloquium, for example. In terms of skills and values, there is no mention in terms of themes about the importance of participation, responsibility as a citizen, or volunteer work.

Teaching methods is another fascinating area to think about. We found that teachers described their activities as role play, debate, conferences, lectures, guest speakers, field trips, et cetera. The students, on the other hand, responded that their activities included listening to the teacher, memorizing, writing down, and coping. It is unfortunate that there is a discrepancy, because it is not only education, it is the nature of education that we are teaching.

Children learn from seeing and from practicing, and if what they learn is that they are in silence and that they do not talk and they do not give an opinion or do anything, that is what they are seeing. Students may be told to participate, but are not allowed to. Learning does not really happen then.

I am presenting a lot of issues that I think we need to think about. One is teacher training. Teacher training is critical because the kinds of methods that the teachers are using are extremely traditional and they are not offered any alternatives. I have found that even though the curriculum says to encourage participation, the survey responses indicate very traditional teaching methods.

I found an ethnographic study of 53 schools completed in Mexico in 1987. The researchers visited schools and classrooms where the national curriculum said that participation had to be encouraged -- that all these values were supposed to be part of the curriculum. However, in every single one of those classrooms, the teacher spoke and the students listened. Participation was not part of it and the disciplining included a great deal of insult and lack of respect for the students as human beings.

In terms of other activities that occur in the school, several countries mentioned that they have a school government. The school government is not a very progressive model, such as Esuela Nueva in Colombia. Instead, the school government is one in which the best student is elected to be the student representative for minor decisions, such as what sports the school will play. No real student participation exists in school decision-making.

We also found that in most countries, the Ministry of Education determines the curriculum and gives some guidelines for the teachers, usually in the same book.

Mexico has a very good program which disseminates textbooks to all children in elementary school, and Colombia has a very good program of giving books for free to all children in the rural areas. Those countries are unique. In all other countries, the Ministry of Education approves the books and only books that have been approved by the Ministry of

Education can be used in schools. Furthermore, those books are not given to students by the Ministry, but must be purchased by the children in book stores.

It is the actual teaching of civic education that concerns me the most. On the whole, it is very, very poor. Most countries report that the civic education teachers have a general training as teachers, and we know that in Latin America, general training for a teacher may be just a high school diploma. I know this first hand because I was a teacher of civics for six years and had only a high school diploma. The training is very, very poor.

At most, the teachers in some countries attend one day workshops and are then expected to train their colleagues. This training is usually given either by universities or by the regional supervisors of the Ministry of Education.

We did not find any regional NGO's that are involved in civics education. However, there are numerous NGO's within any one country, including religious institutions, the Boy Scouts, the Red Cross, and youth organizations, to name a few.

In addition to the survey, we received a wonderful response from a network of female groups in Latin America called Conciencia and another one called Participa, both of which do wonderful jobs. However, in these and most other cases, they are doing work outside of the school and have to work very hard to be accepted by the Ministry of Education. They sometimes develop curriculum, which I have found to be excellent. But they are not able to bring them to the schools because it has not been approved by the Ministry of Education. And they have to spend hours trying to get approval.

Moral education was reported to be taught as part of civic education in most countries. Education for democracy, however, is not taught in all countries. In fact, in Mexico, Panama

and Chile, it is not taught in elementary school at all. This is surprising in Chile, as it has very active Participa and Conciencia groups.

All the other countries reported that education for democracy is taught in schools. Some countries say that it is included in all subjects and some say that it is part of civic education or social studies.

The topics that are discussed in education for democracy usually include elections, voting, and the organization of the state. Even in Panama, they say that they study the Panamanian state as "the most important and perfect human organization created on earth."

So those are the results that we have received. Issues that I want to identify for discussion include teacher training, materials, and specific curriculum content.

There is one more thing I want to mention. The curriculum is designed by the Ministry of Education and teachers are rarely involved in the process. This is problematic. There should also be more emphasis on civic education, real civic education, and there should be a better relationship between the NGOs and the Ministry of Education.

I conclude here by arguing that we first need to first reorganize schools if we want to make democracy a reality. With schools the way they are, it does not matter what we do in the curriculum, we are not teaching about democracy. Thank you.

## **DISCUSSION**

*Diane Prouy* of the Institute for International Research, discussed an Africa Bureau study that is similar to the LAC Bureau study just presented. In addition to democratization, this study covers private sector, HIV-AIDS, family life, and the environment. She described similar findings to that of the LAC Bureau study. An additional finding was that if these issues were

not included in the social sciences portion of the curriculum, it was not included in the state exams, and therefore teachers did not teach it.

*Eleanora Villegas-Reimers*, in response to a question about the comparative effectiveness of formal or informal education, suggested that one can not be separated from the other. She argued that a school can teach civics without having a student government, but a student government will be meaningless without teaching civics education. They are usually separate, she explained, but complimentary.

*Julie Owen-Rea* inquired about how far nonformal education can go before a Ministry of Education clamps down on them. Villegas-Reimers reiterated that although Participa and Consciencia in Chile and Argentina have produced high quality teaching guides, they can not be used in formal public schools because the Ministry of Education has not accepted them.

*Owen-Rea* commented on the increased awareness of NGOs by donor organizations, leading to feelings of competition for funding in the Ministry of Education. AID's Ken Shofield suggested that NGO's may need to cast their nets wider and include the Ministry in their process, so as to minimize the competitive feelings.

*Constantine Menges* from the American University suggested that an interesting addition to the LAC study would be an inquiry into whether political parties have taken a position on the inclusion of civics education in the curriculum.

*Norm Rifkin* summarized the previous discussion under the categories of what children are learning, how they are learning, who is participating, and in what capacity.

## REPORTING OUT: WHAT NEXT?

SAM REA

*Moderator*

*Director, Office of Education*

*Bureau for Global Programs Field Support, and Research (G/R&D/ED)*

I would like to make a few comments before we hear the reports from the two groups.

I would first like to recall the origins of this colloquium. We originally conceived of this idea at a retreat that our office held about a year and a half ago. It occurred at the time of importance of the NIS and we wondered what education could do in the context of A.I.D.'s work in that area. Then, the proximate reason for this colloquium today is the democracy strategy that Larry Garber talked about this morning, which in a sense left education aside. It did not say we should not do education, but it certainly did not make the links between education and democracy that we have highlighted today.

I consider both of these opportunities are still open, both working in the transitional countries from authoritarian rule to the democracy and of course, in the sense of the democracy strategy itself. We have the opportunity today to contribute to those two areas.

I have two questions in mind as we hear the reporting out. The first is how strong and essential is the link between education and democracy. And secondly, what should educators actually do, in a programmatic way, to support democracy in countries where we work. As Ken Schofield, formerly of the mission of Nicaragua, asked this morning, if somebody comes to us from, in this case a PVO in Nicaragua, and requests help in changing toward democracy, what can an A.I.D. mission actually do in using education to change political structures. What is it that we are recommending?

Associated with that is the question that both Ann Van Dusen and Larry Garber raised: how do we measure the effects of what we do. A very good point was made today, that we are really looking for both short to medium term, as well as long term measurements. This issue is very important.

It is also important to recall, as Mike Morfit suggested, that there are really three levels of discussion. The first level involves the content of education. I think we have a great deal to say about content, much of what we could discuss in detail today. The second level is the pedagogical side of things. We looked at the construction of school, the climate in the school, and how classes are designed for learning. The third level of discussion addressed the education system as a whole. We asked questions about the process of educational decisionmaking, the nature of the education debate, and how A.I.D. can help manage this debate?

Another important issue made today is that in addition to formal education, nonformal education is very important.

With this preface, let us move on to the reports from our groups discussions to put some specific ideas and content behind some of these questions.

### **Reports of Two Breakout Sessions**

Two groups presented what they discussed in the afternoon "breakout sessions". The combined responses fall under the following categories: Major Issues, Strongest Findings, Cautionary Issues, and Policy and Programming Recommendations.

#### **Major Issues**

Some major issues that were highlighted by both groups included issues of the definition, focus, scope, measurement, and content of education and democracy.

Definition questions included whether the distinction should be made between education for democracy and civics education -- and whether or not a relationship exists between them. It was also considered important to determine whether there should be a focus on formal or nonformal education, or both. Issues of the lack of appropriate measurements for education and democracy was also highlighted. In terms of content, both groups emphasized that the impact of education on democracy is determined by a focus not on what is taught, but how well it is taught (i.e. methods, techniques and values).

### **Strongest Findings**

The strongest findings highlighted in the groups' discussions are that school systems and classrooms are generally authoritarian, and that education is essential but not sufficient for the development and maintenance of democracy.

### **Cautionary Issues**

The primary cautionary issue discussed in the two groups is that although governments recognize a need for education for democracy, they are generally cautious. AID, therefore, should find ways to help governments overcome this fear of working in the area of civics education and education for democracy.

Another programmatic caution was to realize that education is not sufficient for democracy, so it should not be given sole emphasis. It was also considered problematic to rely on western democratic traditions without combining them with indigenous democratic processes.

### **Policy and Programming Recommendations**

Policy and programming recommendations were both general and specific in nature. General recommendations were to support more policy projects (such as curricula materials

development or teacher training policy), include an educational component in all democratic programs, and continue to keep the debate open to further discussion.

One specific recommendation was to perform analyses of current educational sector projects to determine the possibility of low-cost incremental add-ons in democracy and education. Others suggested using conditionality to encourage countries to make macro-level changes, such as decentralization, or the requirement of democratic participatory methods. Using an integrated approach (including educational structure, curriculum, teacher training, and administrative training) to programming was encouraged for maximum effectiveness. And the use of media was also suggested, as it is one of AID's strongest suits.

## DISCUSSION

*Bob Leetsma* of AID's Bureau of Global Programs highlighted the importance of paying attention to the short term measurements of education and democracy, especially through the schools. He argued that it would be a problem to yield to criticism that we can not do work in education and democracy because we do not know how to measure it -- the answer is to find out how to measure it.

*Michelle Schimp* of the Academy for Educational Development suggested that a logical place to integrate some sort of democratic criteria is in education sector reform, due to its current salience.

American University Professor, *Constantine Menges*, reminded the group that education and democracy work would be relatively inexpensive, giving AID enormous opportunity to do a lot of good with modest resources in the near future.

*Beryl Levinger* of the Education Development Center (EDC) disagreed with the idea that curriculum content across the board must change. She argued that more specificity is needed in

the discussion, citing the example of primary schools in Latin America, where the problem is primarily not a content issue, but a teacher training one. *Hortense Dicker* and *Matt Gandal* of the American Federation of Teachers emphasized that this does not indicate that process is more important than content. In fact, *Dicker* argued that focussing concurrently on both content and process is usually the most successful strategy.

*Julie Rea* of AID's Africa Bureau suggested that focussing strongly on content from the outset may raise red flags due to the political weight of curriculum. She suggested that focussing on teacher training can be far more palatable. *Diana Putnam* of AID's Asia Near East Bureau concurred, and added that this work is particularly practical in the face of AID's diminishing resources.

*Steve Fleishman* suggested that an important distinction should be made between countries that actively seek education and democracy projects and those who want to promote democracy but are unsure of the process through which it can be achieved.

*Hortense Dicker* reminded the group that it is important to concentrate not only on the schools, but on various other groups as well, such as the legislature, the justice system, the municipal system, NGO's, the family, and preschool programs.

## CLOSING REMARKS

FRANK METHOD

Office of Education

Bureau for Global Programs Field Support, and Research (G/R&D/ED)

I think that the importance of this topic and the seriousness with which we take it is measured by the fact that we still had in this late afternoon discussion session more than half of the people who attended the morning sessions.

When I was talking about goals for the day, I suggested that one of the things we wanted to do was to sharpen up our questions. I did not expect that we were going to get answers on this very complex topic, but that we might be able to sharpen up some of the questions and cluster them a bit. I think we have been fairly successful in doing that -- perhaps a bit more successful in sharpening up our questions about what we mean by education, than democracy.

One thought is that next time we start this conversation, it might be useful to limit the discussion in terms of democracy. This may enable us to be more clear about which education variables relate to that. That is not a criticism; just an observation. As we understand this topic better, it gets more complex and needs more specification.

I suggested three types of questioning, the "*so what*" questions, the "*what*" questions, and the "*what next*" questions. On the "*so what*" questions, I think we have done quite well. I think there were some very strong arguments made, both rhetorical and otherwise, for why we should be taking education and democracy more seriously.

I think we have also made considerable progress on the "*what*" questions. The only exception is that we failed to discuss higher education and the academic traditions at that level. It is interesting that our focus has remained at the level of basic education.

Some have observed that our discussions should have focussed more on adult education, community education, the role of the mass media, et cetera. This is, I think, a valid observation.

In general, we are operating within our existing human resource and development mandate. Most of the conversation has been affirming that there is a great deal that we can do within the currently defined education and human resource development field. It is a matter of doing better within our operating mandate, rather than doing something quite different. This begs the question of whether we should be doing this in a different set of countries, which needs to be discussed.

The "*what else*" question asks how the education and democracy agenda relates to some of these other agendas. I think we have done fairly well talking about education and democracy with respect to small D democracy, civil society, participation in the community, and civility. However, I do not think we have gone far enough in talking about how education relates to the workplace, how education relates to the economy, and how education relates to the future. And I think these questions bear further discussion in other fora.

Commenting on Diana Putman's observation, I think much more candid discussion in a comfortable environment is needed to discuss the question about whether the United States has a right to bring a moral message to the rest of the world. This is part of another issue that we have not yet addressed -- the future role of assistance agencies such as A.I.D.

Our interest in education and democracy marks the beginnings of a conversation about the 21st century, beyond the Cold War, beyond bilateral relationships, beyond some of the patronizing resource transferring, and more towards technical cooperation, people to people cooperation, and collaboration on inventing a new world in which we are all going to live.

Rethinking our role in the world, both as Americans and A.I.D. professionals is part of reinventing A.I.D. I think that is where the education and democracy dialog opens up. And I think it appropriate to caution against being moralistic about this. We are all in this together; we are going to share this planet. We have got to learn how to live together and we have to collaborate. I see this as the essential message -- not that "we know the answer", but that we are learning to listen.

**APPENDIX A**  
**Flipchart Notes**  
from  
**Colloquium on Education and Democracy**  
**November 5, 1993**

By Mildred A. Morton

**10:00 a.m. Plenary Discussion** (after presentations by Method, Garber, Van Dusen and Rauner)

- Countries tell A.I.D. they want to change political structures. We don't know how.
- Program implications for A.I.D.?
  - Education was critical in re-establishment of democracy in former fascist countries
  - Three categories of education
    - 1) Young people
    - 2) Post-secondary
    - 3) Adults
  - The opportunity for using education is enormous
- What kind of education are we talking about?
  - Teaching people to ask why, not just a package that supports authority
- What time frame for measuring results?
  - Can A.I.D. consider interim progress toward long-term results?
- No good measures exist
- Literature is inconsistent on effects of educational reform, but the debate over education reforms serves as a catalyst for democracy
  - Literature doesn't tell us how to manage transition from one regime to another
- Need to take a multidisciplinary approach
  - teacher training
  - adult education for parents
  - training for mayors, city officials, school superintendents
- American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is involved in education for democracy in the U.S. - 1988
  - What criteria to use in determining who needs support for democracy?
- Education for democracy is not new--it was almost intuitive. Don't build up expectations too high. We need to have modest expectations.

- Need to show comparative advantage of link between education and democracy. Therefore, measurement is an issue. Education for education and targeted civic education call for different approaches.
- Democratization of education system itself--important for promoting democracy in the country.

**11:20 Discussion** (after presentations by Harber and Heyneman)

- Pay attention to non-formal and non-traditional education
  - Civic organizations focus on understanding and monitoring elections--may be looking for a purpose after elections to strengthen democracy. Therefore, target civic organizations.
  - In Africa, role playing has been successfully used as an approach to education.
- Learning knowledge and learning skills -- not a dichotomy
  - Democratic classrooms vs. democratic principles in the organization of schools
- Not easy to introduce democracy in education in Africa, but it is happening
- Democratic schools involve students in decisionmaking. There is a literature on the few schools.
- Causation is a dead issue
- Until you learn how to work things out in teaching children, you won't solve them in the society
  - e.g. How are minority views adjudicated?
  - Who makes decisions in the system?

**12:00 Discussion** (after presentations by Remy and Fleischman)

- Analogy to changing practices in health
  - Need fusion between content and practices
  - Health model -KABNS (Knowledge, Attitude, Belief, iNstitutional change, Status)
  - Content -- culture of classroom
    - student activities
    - tangible evidence of civic participation
- Conclusions:
  - School-based programs benefit from mass media messages that reinforce
  - Incremental stages
  - Innovative ways to involve students and reach parents and siblings

- Is the issue teaching democracy (political systems)?
  - Using education system to support transition now (was used previously to support authoritarian systems)
  - Problem is that democracy and education are the same thing--a philosophy of life--a large issue (not just indoctrination in a political system)
  - In most of world, issue is equitable opportunity for education
- Problems:     informational  
                  pedagogical  
                  political
- Education was an issue before political change in many countries
  - Role of education issues as a catalyst for democracy
- Donors to African Education  
Paradox of asking teachers to teach about democracy when they don't have empowerment themselves

**12:40 Discussion** (after presentation by Kniep)

- Education 2000 is working with new concepts of political unit--not the nation state
- How to deal with tradeoffs in decentralizing vs. equity, etc. (c.f. Sun. N.Y. Times article)
- Still have role for central authority with decentralization
  - minority standards
  - equity
  - Moving away from one way to assess outcomes
  - In Russia, regional organizations now taking more responsibility for funding and oversight
- This work is helping U.S. understand issues in the U.S.

**1:40 Discussion** (after presentations by Rifkin, Garza and Villegas-Reimers)

- A.I.D. study shows that in Africa, democracy, HIV AIDS and family education are not taught if they are not on state exams.
- Can teach civic education without school government, but not vice versa

- How far can non-formal education push a government to change?  
In Latin America - Consciencia and Participa have produced curricula but not accepted by Ministry of Education in formal curricula
- In Africa, limited resources
  - Much innovation is taking place outside the Ministry of Education -- leads to competition
- Have pro-democratic political parties encouraged civic education? No information in survey and no evidence in literature review.
- Need to focus on:
  - What children learn
  - How children learn
  - Participation and empowerment of communities

### **Breakout Group (in main conference room)**

#### **Major issues**

- Education for democracy doesn't happen
  - Hasn't reached critical masses except in certain cases and countries
- A.I.D. must see need for education, e.g. post-election Haiti
- How to get more democratic schools
- No education, no development
- Need better empirical data - for education
  - for education for democracy
- How do you measure?
  - Evaluate education systems in terms of pluralism, decentralization, access, etc. Not a linear relationship
- Is it an end or a means to an end?
  - Emerging regimes realized how important education was to their agenda

#### **Strongest Findings**

- Surveys show that: 1) schools are authoritarian; and 2) where have democratic classrooms
  - get skills associated with democracy (i.e. ability to participate)

- Works if you do it, but not much being done to change. Why not? Governments are scared.
- Democracy programs in A.I.D. must have an education component to be successful. (Is there empirical data?)
- A lot of folks in emerging democracies want to do more education programs (i.e. they think it's important even if we debate it)

### **Cautionary issues**

- As soon as you talk about "education for democracy" it raises a red flag
- Not just content, skill, attitude  
Goes beyond what you teach to how you teach
  - Is an open or closed process, macro or micro level?
- Don't overthrow indigenous democratic processes, BUT many ideas come out of Western, liberal democratic traditions
  - Meld two to come up with something sustainable
  - Student assessment is crucial

### **Specific actions A.I.D. can take in terms of policy and programming for education and democracy**

- Support more pilot projects
  - Curricula materials development, teacher training, student assessments
  - Evaluate to develop models
  - Clearing house? Networks?
- Research, generally positive on quality in developing world
- Conditionality - push countries to make macro change
  - e.g. if think decentralization is important, does A.I.D. make it a condition for funding education?
  - civic education is important, but unless done in a democratic, participatory way, it is pointless.
- Democratic programs must have an educational component to be successful (Finding or recommendation?)

**Breakout Group (in 4th floor conference room)**

## **Major issues**

- For A.I.D. - how civic education is defined in terms of programs
- How should we distinguish between civic education and education for democracy? Should they be separated? (Distinction is important)
- Issue on in-school vs. out-of-school orientation and focus
- Danger of focusing on democracy at expense of other programs in education
- Not just what is taught but how it's taught as well
- Education for Democracy includes methods, techniques, values more than the content  
- Civic education may or may not promote democracy
- Education for democracy institution building/question of choice
- Is there a relationship between education for democracy and civic education?
- Use same vocabulary for educational assistance as technical -- need help to engage in debate and dialogue about transition -- need short-term assistance with this
- Value content, human relationships, objective view of history, etc. --content of education fundamental in normative terms
- See societies with high levels of education which are not free and education systems reinforced power of regimes
- Education is not enough
- How to create ways of organizational culture to work together  
- way to approach reform agenda critical  
- Human resource development hasn't caught on at A.I.D. -- reluctance because education hasn't been perceived as being strength of American society
- From another perspective (partnerships, pedagogical, tech., active learning, etc.) U.S. has done a good job -- question of selectivity/impact of decentralization
- Decentralization, multicultural - U.S. system seen as leader/content leadership in economics
- In Latin America, countries want to know how we teach democracy.
- Strategies for educational change -- U.S. has learned how to cope/do this

## **Specific actions A.I.D. can take in terms of policy and programming for education and democracy**

- Democracy is more like Women in Development (WID) than a sector -- way you do things  
Encourage host country participation at all levels.
- Curriculum is important -- tolerance, institutions, values
- In previous dictatorships, reform of curriculum is important (civics)
- Out-of-school courses for adults
- Integrated approach -- community development, teacher training, administrative training
- Assist in debate about reform
- Effectively use media -- what is role?
- Identify sources of expertise, experience, both in U.S. and overseas
- Make distinction among emerging democracies and countries with no history of democracy - ecological basis to democracy programs
- We should view our task as keeping debate open rather than complete "anything"
  - curriculum
  - goals
  - structuresHow can we manage this process of keeping things open?
- Way to promote national debate is to undertake specific projects which engage large groups of people to dialogue issues/concrete tasks using democratic procedures
- To perform an analysis of current educational sector  
Inventory what's going on to determine low cost, small incremental add-ons.

### **3:15 Plenary Discussion**

- Urgency of requests for civic education from other countries (Fleischman has had contacts from 35 countries) A.I.D. help is wanted.

- We say we don't know how to assess civic education. Therefore, need to pay attention to assessing progress and how education contributes to democracy. Let's find out how to measure.
- Re-analyze the WID experience to see what lessons can be learned
  - Get a constituency
  - Engage in activities
 Compare also with environment and private enterprise sectors, e.g. in education, the privatization of publishing
- We need better information on how to use resources to get policy environment right  
Could introduce democratic criteria into educational reform efforts
- Lots of work doesn't cost much. Content of curriculum needs to change. AFT has experience. Unless we change toward democratic values, little chance to consolidate democratic institutions
- Need to be more specific about changing content -- that is not always the primary issues
- Integrated approach - working outside (judicial systems, family, preschool programs) and inside schools
- Content issues is basic -- cannot be ignored, e.g. Nicaragua
- Changing content is a political activity, long-term effort to get action. Can work with process. In-service teacher training leads to working with content (more palatable)
- A model in Nicaragua of working on content and process simultaneously
- A.I.D. is facing diminishing resources. Need to integrate education into the four pillars, e.g. informal education of adults, policy reform in another sector, such as agriculture
  - Most discussion has focused on former totalitarian countries. Moslem and Asian world is very suspicious of our motives -- will accept process but not content change.
- Some countries want democratic programs and others don't -- may approach in other ways

## APPENDIX B

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