Welcome

To the International Conference

Transformed Institutions - Transformed Citizenship Education?

The Current Situation of Citizenship Education in Southwestern, Southeastern and Eastern Europe

Bielefeld University, June 7-10, 2007

(http://www.transformed-institutions.de)

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Transformed Institutions –
Transformed Citizenship Education?

Aims of the Conference and
Outline of the Research Project
Overview

1. Theoretical approach to the field of citizenship education
2. Democratic transformation of citizenship education
3. Dimensions of authoritarian and democratic identity
4. Main questions of the research planned
5. Methodological challenges and operationalisation
6. Main steps and expected results of the project planned
Understanding Change of CE in Transforming Countries

- "Europeanisation"
- "Post-communist Transformation(s)"
- "Post-authoritarian Transformation(s)"
- "Organised System(s) of Citizenship Education"
Processes Shaping the Field of CE

„Naturalisation“
- agency
- citizenship
- etc.

Citizenship Education (CE)

„Transformation“
- market economy
- „the past“ etc.

- education authorities
- school democracy

„Europeanisation“
- mutual observation
- isomorphy etc.

- curricula
- school subjects
- teacher education etc.

„Organisation“
- similar cultures
- common scripts

- nation
- democracy

- education
- identity

- education
- identity

- etc.
Changing CE as Changing Organisation

Conceptualising „Naturalisation“

„Transformation“

citizenship policy
education policy
politics of history
discourse on the past ...

policy statements
enlargement policy
public political
dialogue
standards and monitoring ...

Theory of Citizenship Education

Transformation Theory

Neo-Institutionalism

Theory of Democracy

Goals, content, quality

Structure, organisation, process

Organisation Theory

„Organised System of Citizenship Education“

Organisation(s)
Overview

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Main Research Question

Has there been a *Democratic* Transformation of Citizenship Education (CE)?

…but what does “*democratic transformation*” exactly mean?
Meaning of “Democratic Transformation”

Democratic Transformation of CE

means

Democratic Transformation of the Aim of CE

means

Democratic Transformation of the Political Identity = Kind of Citizen that CE intends to foster
Democratic Transformation of the *Kind of Citizen*
Aimed at in CE

↓

*Authoritarian* Political Identity → *Democratic* Political Identity

Clear Definition of these Terms

Behrmann et al. (2003)
## 5 Dimensions to Distinguish Between Authoritarian and Democratic Identity (Ideal-Types)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Human Rights</td>
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<td>5) Society</td>
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What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

Hoskins (2006):

Democratic Education as Promotion of “Active Citizenship”

defined as

“Participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy.”
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What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

1st Dimension:
Which mode of thought about Human Rights / Civil Liberties is supported by CE (explicitly or “between the lines”)?

**Authoritarian** Identity

**PARTICULARISTIC**
“Human Rights have to be restricted if this is necessary for system stability.”
(exclusion of minorities, gender discrimination, vilification of homosexuals, torture of terrorists etc.)

**Democratic** Identity

**UNIVERSALISTIC**
“Human Rights have to be applied equally irrespective of citizen’s status and it has to be critically examined whether they are actually fully safeguarded in our country.”

**General acceptance of Human Rights, but silence about (certain) violations of Human Rights in the country**
What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

2nd Dimension
Which mode of thought about International Relations is supported by CE (explicitly or “between the lines”)?

Authoritarian Identity

PARTICULARISTIC
Construction of ill-founded bogeymen; Construction of black-white categories (“us (good) vs them (bad)”) Interests of own country (and its allies) are given strict priority over those of other countries

Democratic Identity

UNIVERSALISTIC
Recognition that countries should have equal rights to pursue legitimate interests, to be embedded in a supranational system of impartial, binding civil law for states (as a long-term goal)
What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

Geißel (2006) / Kahsnitz (2005): Democratic Education as promotion of ”Critical Citizens” and “Post-Conventional Thinking” defined as

“ability to impartially examine and evaluate the adequacy of contemporary institutions and norms and possible alternatives to these under recourse to the criteria of democratic legitimacy, social justice & economic efficiency.”
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What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

3rd Dimension:
Which mode of thought about Current Institutions & Norms is supported by CE (explicitly or “between the lines”)?

Authoritarian Identity  Democratic Identity

SUBMISSIVE
Subjugation to authoritarian structures, norms and institutions

Mere acceptance of the current kind of democracy in the country and the current EU-system;

(Implicit) Messages: Further major improvements of democracy are not needed, for there is one right kind of democracy: Our current one.

EVALUATIVE
Independent thinking: Open deliberation about the adequacy of current institutions and other alternatives with regard to democratic legitimacy, social justice and economic efficiency
What does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

4th Dimension:
Which mode of thought about the Authoritarian Past is supported by CE (explicitly or “between the lines”)?

Authoritarian Identity

AFFIRMATIVE
Glorification of the authoritarian past (“good old times”)

Authoritarian past is not heralded, but some sensitive issues are whitewashed, neglected or taboo subjects

CRITICAL
Critical consciousness about violations of Human Rights & democratic principles in the authoritarian past and lessons for today

Democratic Identity
What Does “Democratic Transformation” of CE mean?

Behrmann / Grammes / Reinhardt (2003):

Democratic Education as Analysis of Conflicts

- Pupils should defy the “illusion of homogeneity” (i.e. the illusion of a single, unique interest of the populace)

- Pupils should learn that permanent political conflicts between different interests, groups, cultures, values etc. are inevitable in a plural society

- Pupils should learn to analyse those conflicts and think about & deal with them in a democratic manner
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What Does "**Democratic Transformation**" of CE Mean?

**5th Dimension:**
Which mode of thought about **Differences in Society** is supported by CE (explicitly or "between the lines")?

**Authoritarian Identity**

**MONISTIC**
Nation is propagated as an harmonious entity with a single interest; groups should give up their self-interest to further the "common" good.

**Democratic Identity**

**PLURALISTIC**
Acceptance of the plurality of cultures, values, interests and the concomitant political disputes; learning to put oneself in the place of various actors; searching for acceptable compromises between different interests.

"Most teachers in Hungary believe that sensitive issues should be kept out of the school. The majority of them prefer social cohesion-related topics (family, nationality) and avoid the discussion of issues belonging to diversity (ethnic groups, rich-poor)" (Matrai 1999)
## SUMMARY: 5 Dimensions to Analyse the Transformation of CE

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1. Theoretical approach to the field of citizenship education

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3. Dimensions of authoritarian and democratic identity

4. **Main questions of the research planned**

5. Methodological challenges and operationalisation

6. Main steps and expected results of the project planned
The Chain of CE: “Passing on?”

- International bodies: EU, CoE, …
- Parliament
- Government, Ministry
- Regional educational authorities
- Teacher training institutions
- Local school authorities
- School headships
- Classroom
Expectations Assigned to CE

Expectations from the environments of CE

National Politics
- strong national ↔ regional identity
- national constitutional rights
- affirmation ↔ criticism of the past; ...

International Politics
- global ↔ European citizenship
- inviolable universal human rights
- ...

Regional, Local Politics
- regionalism ↔ localism;
- apolitical ↔ involved school
- ...

Citizenship Education (CE)

Non-governmental Organisations
- expecting CE as its confederate
- affirmative ↔ critical attitudes to the establishment
- ...

Public Media Debates
- predefining topics and perspectives of CE
- redefining political as educational problems
- ...

Other …
Complex Organisation of CE: “Entangling in?”

- International bodies: EU, CoE, ...
- Parliament
- Government, Ministry
- Teacher training institutions
- Local school authorities
- School headships
- Classroom practice

- National politics
- Media debates
- Regional educational authorities
- Local political problems
- Church / religious groups
- NGOs
Understanding Change of CE in Transforming Countries

Analysis of institutional, conceptual, organisational change in CE

"Europeanisation"

"Post-authoritarian Transformation(s)"

"Organised System(s) of Citizenship Education"

"Post-communist Transformation(s)"

"Organised System(s) of Citizenship Education"

Analysis of actors' perceptions of change in CE

1975 1990 2008
Main Questions for the Research Project:

- Is the particular system of citizenship education *transforming*? In what respect, how and where to?
- Which *patterns of transforming* or establishing citizenship education in transforming countries are typical? Why?
- Which *expectations* are addressed to the educational system for organising the creation of citizenship identity / identities?
- Do actors of the educational system perceive them as *compatible or incompatible*? Why?
- How do actors of citizenship education *react* to these expectations?
- Which *patterns of reaction* do they typically use? (regarding different system levels, types of actors and of problems)
- Which features of political discourses and public debates on transformation, citizenship and citizenship education actually appear in the *classroom*?
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Main Methodological Questions:

- Operationalisation of the theoretical terms of *transformation* and of *transformation of citizenship education* and of *dealing with transformation in citizenship education* for empirical research.

- Methodological instruments to grasp *how CE-actors perceive* the expectations addressed to citizenship education and *how they react* to them (international, national, federal, local; administrative, societal environments etc.).

- Methodology of *constructing patterns* of transformation, perception and reaction and of *comparing* them within a country and between countries.
Complex Organisation of CE: “Entangling in?”

- International bodies: EU, CoE, ...
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Theoretical Frame: “Hypocrisy”. Organisations Dealing with Conflicting Expectations

- **Nils Brunsson’s Approach of „Organized Hypocrisy“**


**Definition:**

- *Organized hypocrisy* emerges when an organization has to react simultaneously to inconsistent demands in order to satisfy main conflicting interests because it can’t ignore them.

- Being confronted to external normative and material pressures as well as internal expectations, organizations might use different forms of reactions to satisfy differing demands.

- These inconsistent reactions must be causally unrelated to avoid their interfere with each other.

- If this is accomplished through decoupling of rhetorical talk, decision and real action, we speak of organized hypocrisy.
Organisational Reaction to Inconsistent Demands of Environments

**Demand A**
“national politics: establishing strong national identity”

Reaction A: Using Ministry approved textbooks; communicating the importance of national education

**Demand B**
„Council of Europe: educating active European citizens”

Reaction B: Decision to intensify pupils exchange with European twin towns

**Demand C**
“municipality: no increasing of the costs for education”

Reaction C: Relaunching and renaming of existing activities (cost neutral)

**Demand D**
“church: handing down traditional family moral”

Reaction D: Round-table “The importance of our values today” as an public event

**Demand E**
“NGO: stop discriminating homosexuals in schools ”

Reaction E: Policy statement for teaching human rights and tolerance in schools

Organisation e.g. a local school authority
Instruments for Grasping Organised Hypocrisy and Transformation of CE

Organisation

Authoritative vs. democratic Citizenship Education?

Demand A 
Demand B 
Demand C 
Demand D 
Demand E 

Reaction A 
Reaction B 
Reaction C 
Reaction D 
Reaction E
Working Steps

Step 1
Analysis of relevant political and media discourse

Step 2
Analysis of particular patterns of introducing models and concepts into the educational system, of perceiving CE related expectations and demands, and of organising viable reactions
Empirical Work

International actors: EU, CoE, …

National Ministry

Regional educational authorities

Local school authorities

School headships

Classroom practice

Interviews

Analysis of documents

Video observation

Expectations from the environments
• public positions of perceiving the totalitarian past (among other the retrospective construction of the (totalitarian) past is to be described);

• patriotic ideas and movements;

• minorities;

• gender;

• freedom of speech and media

• democratic legitimacy of political system and political decisions.
Step 1
Analysis of relevant political and media discourse

Step 2
Analysis of particular patterns of introducing models and concepts into the educational system, of perceiving CE related expectations and demands, and of organising viable reactions

Step 3
Typification of the particular processes of CE transformation found

Step 4
Comprehensive and comparative analysis of CE transformation(s)

Step 5
Theoretical and methodological results for future research on CE

Step 6
Policy recommendations
Expected Results

• *Types of organised hypocrisy* in the CE systems of countries which share common features of the transformation and democratisation processes

• Understanding of the *intertwined processes* at the European and the national levels: European institutionalisation of CE, national implementation and reinterpretation of the shared rules for CE

• Empirically based *typology of citizenship conceptions and CE* approaches being presented and practiced in the national systems of CE

• Better understanding of *actual conditions for implementing* CE in schools by taking into account specific patterns of organised hypocrisy

• Revision of usual *indicators* for CE and elaboration of indicators adequate for CE as a matter of organisation and for the specific conditions of transforming countries
Thank you very much for your attention!