

Russell F. Farnen*Preface*

This book is a direct result of two particular events (namely, the Research Committee on Political Education's panel contributions to the International Political Science Association's XV World Congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 21-25, 1991, and the IPSA/RCPE international round table conference, "Reconceptualizing Political Education and Political Socialization for the 21st Century," held in Boca Raton, Florida, USA, January 7-11, 1992). The papers either distributed or presented at the latter conference comprise the bulk of this book, with only a few coming from the IPSA World Congress. Since not all of the contributions could be included in this volume because of space restrictions, only those which focussed on political culture, socialization, cognitions, and/or education are presented here for the sake of conceptual and theoretical unity.

This book, then, would not have been produced were it not for these two conferences. Therefore, we are all particularly indebted to the panel chairs and organizers who gathered these groups of fine scholars and their professional products together so that we may share the benefits of international research on a common set of themes. In this regard, we are all especially grateful to Professors Bernhard Claussen of Hamburg (FRG) and Suna Kili of Bogazici (Istanbul, Turkey) Universities for their conference organizing work, while they served as the RCPE chair and co-chair persons, respectively, until 1991. Professor Daniel B. German of Appalachian State University (Boone, NC, USA) also assisted these efforts - gathering papers, diskettes, and mailing lists and attending to other conference planning essentials so that both these RCPE-sponsored activities came to pass. The result of these efforts has been a book representing views from ten countries (particularly those from the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, and the United States, which were the countries most fully represented at these meetings) on the major topic of reconceptualizing these four topical areas.

The publication of this book also affords us an opportunity to thank Eleanor and Elliot Goldstein of SIRS, Boca Raton, FL, USA, and members of their staff (particularly Jennifer Gulden, Rosemary Wilson, and Brenda Siebert) who co-sponsored the conference with Lynn University, Appalachian State University, and the University of Connecticut. This conference was excellently organized and superbly administered thanks to Ms. Goldstein's co-chairing and the SIRS Publishing Company (which made its dining and meeting facilities, transportation, and audiovisual equipment, and printing services available to conferees). The opportunity participants had to interact personally with members of the Boca Raton community (under Vice President Dr. Jennifer Braaten's leadership at Lynn University) was also both a memorable and unique experience, worthy of emulation in future meetings of this sort.

It would also be professionally negligent to omit reference to the fine editorial, computer, and desktop publishing work of Ms. Martha D. Bowman, whose assistance and careful attention to orderly detail is much appreciated. Her work, like mine, was underwritten with the University of Connecticut Research Foundation's generous help, without which assistance we would all have been hard-pressed, indeed. And, finally, to my wife, Christa, I thank her for the thoughtful gift of so much of her own time as well as our time together. Thanks also to Monika, Mike, and Erika Germaine (who shall surely inherit a better future) and to Tracey and Ted, and "Dexter" Farnen, my last three real fans. May also I take this opportunity to express to all of you dear people my heartfelt thanks for your enthusiastic support for these international ventures which so often take me so far away, yet keep you ever on my mind and always in my heart.

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PART I
Setting the Context

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1 *Introduction*
A Basis for the Reconceptualization Process

1.1 Abstract

This chapter introduces the reader to the major sections, themes, and content of the book, including its international, future-oriented, and thematic focus on politics, socialization, cognitions, and civic education, both using national and cross-national perspectives as a method of comparative analysis.

1.2 Part I: Setting the Context

This book is divided into six parts, including two introductory and concluding sections. The other four parts deal, respectively, with political culture, political socialization, political education, and the likely potential and future course of important developments in these areas. The primary focus of the volume is on concepts, emerging trends and topics, research fields, organizing frameworks, practical programs, cross-national comparisons, and

other recent international advances which have relevance to (and meaning for) the reconceptualization of politics, socialization, cognition, and education for civic purposes as we approach the *fin de siècle*. Practical and educational as well as social scientific and theoretical observations and proposals are presented throughout the volume, but especially in parts V and VI.

1.3 Part II: Contrasting Political and Cultural Environments

This section, the largest part of the book, lays out some of the unique and common political, economic, social, and cultural features providing a backdrop for socialization, learning, and educational experiences in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as Turkey and the United States. This background information provides a basic context to estimate the extent to which some of the imperatives for democratic government and education are present (or absent) in countries as diverse as Germany, the Ukraine, Turkey, or Slovenia, for example.

The Farnen/German study of political processes and institutions, communications, and education in seven Central and Eastern European countries summarizes responses from correspondents in these countries. They reported on pre- and post-1989 changes in three separate, but related, cultural sectors as well as on repressive forces, nationalism, and ethnic toleration. The significant growth in critical democratic tendencies was noted in all countries, except what was formerly Yugoslavia (where Communist Party control, threats of military force, restricted communications, and educational stultification combined with ethnic intolerance to produce a less-than-democratic character to that benighted area of conflict in the post-communist era). Minority toleration in eastern Germany also decreased, while indices of nationalistic fervor rose there and in all countries, except for Bulgaria and Romania. By far, Yugoslavia showed the least visible movement toward democratization, with big shifts seen in Bulgaria, the now-fracturing Czech and Slovak Republics, and Romania, and more modest gains reported in eastern Germany, Hungary, and Poland (which three states were further along this road in the first place). This baseline study also revealed that educational institutions were the slowest to change, following other societal trends in the move toward democratization. This study also provides some useful summary information on politics and government in the Eastern region (except for the CIS area) as well as some comparative results drawn from Western European public opinion surveys.

The eastern German case study on the New Forum's role in the October 1989 Revolution, as well as its subsequent development in the Rostock area, provides us with a microcosmic analysis of one group's contribution to the growth of middle-class democratic and political institutions and processes in this part of a unified Germany. Schmidtbauer's historical account provides detailed proof that the New Forum citizens' movement was broadly participative and had as its goals a multi-party system, democratic socialism, social reconstruction, anti-fascism, and legitimacy for two separate German states. The Rostock Round Table actually seized political power from the Communist Party and governed the city from February through May 1990. Their "draft constitution" provided for a broad degree of citizen participation, initiatives, and veto power. Although this alliance in the "Bundnis 90" electoral coalition in May 1990 netted them a 10% share in the Rostock city government, they failed to have a great effect on the new city charter's character or mode of operation. Continuing political activity since September 1990 in the form of a new civil rights group (or "Citizens Table") has kept a spirit of local initiative, consultation, and popular participation alive in Rostock, which has gradually incorporated a local tradition of continuing citizen involvement in its community politics, decision making, and local political culture.

The three chapters on Poland illustrate the continuing effect of previous political culture on recent political reforms, the retraining of university teachers for a new political/economic environment, and the reassessment of Polish nationalism and its dimensions, including respondents' views on Hungarians and Germans, for example. In particular, Mojsiewicz describes the hopeful prospects and inherent dangers in the Polish democratization process, including alternative models and options open to emerging political elites and their popular supporters (i.e., democratic socialism, market socialism, and capitalism). The institution of a strong presidency, a second legislative chamber, contested elections and division of powers, and liberalized laws on association, media, and crime have radically transformed the Polish political process. Mojsiewicz also describes the creation of the new party system in Poland as well as the leading role which Solidarity activists played in forming a new political anti-communist coalition, which came to power in September 1989. Subsequently, an explosion of new political parties (much as has occurred in Hungary and elsewhere in Eastern Europe) resulted in the fragmentation of both Solidarity and Communist Party support into peasant, labor, socialist, Christian, nationalistic, and other ele-

ments. These divisions have increased the practical relevance of the older concept of "contractual democracy" to present-day Poland, where negotiated power sharing, free voter choice, and guaranteed media access ensure a measure of compromise to prevent tyrannous majority rule from reinstating authoritarianism under a new guise.

With the establishment of the fourth post-communist government after free elections in 1992, Poland's experience with the popular round table movements and contractual (even if only nominative) democracy may provide some hints for other Eastern European states which are undergoing transition from totalitarianism to a new form of market, socialist, or mixed democratic politico-economic system (i.e., neither private nor state capitalism, but rather some form of social democratic convergence which would guarantee some form of a social safety net to provide employment, income, health care, education, and old age protections within a larger European climate of economic productivity, initiatives, and development and civil/human rights). Within this emerging context, Polish intellectuals and politicians must reconcile their traditional Catholic and Marxist (non-Stalinist) heritage with the new demands of capitalism, social democracy, and Europeanization amidst competing claims for control over people, property, and power.

Magala next examines how a group of Solidarity activists is faring in post-communist Poland. This group of Walensa supporters was active politically at the local level (where they supported democratic reforms), but they avoided similar university reforms as a group, preferring the status quo with its undemocratic organizational and institutional structures, without practical changes in curriculum, teaching methods, learning styles, or other modifications needed for "the long march through the institutions" toward future democratic growth and development in Poland.

Holly's chapter on national stereotypes uses a novel "Chinese portrait" approach to such an analysis, while the results confirm previous findings of widespread positive Hungarian and negative German attitudes among Poles. Assessing these attitudes at a deeper level indicates their complexities on both the cognitive and affective levels (along with their appropriate rationalizations), procedures for which this method is most appropriate.

The material presented on Hungary (Csepeli and Örkeny), Slovenia (Godina), and the Ukraine (Golovaha and Panina) provide contrasting views about nationalism, citizenship, political culture, and legitimacy in different

parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Hungary is used as a case in point for developing a modern concept of citizenship which adds social rights to previous political and civil rights guarantees and which requires a multi-cultural orientation/obligation for its members. Factors such as historical reassessment, multiple identities, tolerance, valuative appreciation, citizen contacts and interactions, and democratic education are all prerequisites for this new global citizenship role, increasingly required for the new Europe of the next century.

Godina's distinction between implicit and explicit political cultural features in Yugoslavia/Slovenia examines concepts such as nationalism, pluralism, Stalinism, dogma, brotherhood, unity, and solidarity, finding them explicitly real but implicitly (and more importantly) irrelevant phantasms. Radical democratic political pluralism must go beyond the status of dogma. It must also broaden its definition of politics and the political world while encouraging multi-party institutions to grow. In the Ukrainian case, the various survey findings reported in this study indicate that these former Soviet citizens have already grasped some of the most essential elements of democracy (e.g., individual freedom) and will not voluntarily return to their repressive past. A new political consciousness, sense of legitimacy, and favourable views of democracy are all underway in the Ukraine, with prospects for reversal becoming slimmer with each passing day.

By contrast, German and Hoffman's US public opinion survey at the state level (North Carolina) details the interplay among media, government, education, and environmental concerns. Distrust of government is mixed with positive views on the need for governmental environmental action. Attitudes about media utility are mixed with views about their environmental shallowness. Higher educational levels produced high distrust/cynicism levels, along with increased environmental concern. Other more-detailed educational/media effects in this area are also summarized in this report, focussing on specific educational/media effects and the environment.

Kili contrasts the Turkish constitutions of 1961 and 1982 with respect to their reflection of and impact on the prevailing political culture at these two different times. The former document was liberal, popularly-based, social-welfare-directed, pluralistic, and protective of individual rights and freedoms. The latter constitution, reacting to the political chaos of the 1970s, reversed these priorities and gave precedence to the authoritarian state's preservation and protection over human rights guarantees, political plural-

ism, and constitutional democracy (with certain freedoms listed, but also legally restricted), even in the increasingly-liberalized and EC-connected Turkish political and economic system. Universities in the country have increasingly reflected these humanitarian concerns in course work, institutes, and other activities which signify a growing interest in a more complete democratization if only to ensure Turkey's full EC membership.

1.4 Part III: Political Socialization

This section of the book focusses on socialization studies in Hungary, the Netherlands, and the US. It assesses youth and politics, stereotyping, study abroad, and future prospects in the socialization field, some of which observations and prospects apply to more than one country. Conflicts between traditional and religious orientations on the one hand with post-modern and civil-society demands on the other have led to an impasse in Hungary between pre-modern, conservative, Christian, nationalistic groups and their democratic opposites. The Church, allied with government, has taken over many socialization functions which state schools and political party once dominated. Post-communist societies can be very much like their pre-communist counterparts, with much recidivism from the 1989 revolutionary era already evident. Stumpf also details the dissolution of the old system, the growth of political cynicism, youth politics, and emerging value conflicts, all of which do not portend a near and certain victory for oppositional forces basing their appeal on liberal, pragmatic, and post-modern elements.

A complementary analysis (Keri) looks to the emergence of different socialization techniques to encourage new citizen roles and responsibilities along with the "natural" growth of civil society's principal features. Pre-modern challenges (in the form of traditional nationalism and ethnicity) will be competing with post-modern developments (such as the internationalization or globalization process, older systems for dual-track socialization processes, the new conflict between market needs and the redistribution ethic, and the total breakdown of the older political socialization structures, institutions, and processes). These have all produced the clear need for the encouraged development of persons with a new adaptive personality, people who can live within the confines of an ambivalent and confusing society, but one which combines high risk with chances for significant historical advances.

The two Dutch studies (Dekker, et al.) deal with Dutch images of the US and socialization effects of a joint US/Netherlands international study-abroad program (IJSP). The first study found that, while Dutch pupils have ready opinions about the US, they have little interest in or accurate knowledge of the country, being most interested in American everyday life, not politics or economics. Yet, over a third of them have pro-US attitudes, with a smaller number (15%) being negative (especially about American politics). While no relationships were found between watching TV entertainment programs, religion, or party preference and knowledge about the US, those who know more watch informative TV programs are male (except *in re* everyday knowledge), and are more educated. Positive attitudes toward US everyday life are influenced by TV fiction (but not news) programs. Yet no other statistically significant interrelationships were seen between secondary students' attitudes and the other variables mentioned previously.

The IJSP study of Dutch and US university students defines the subject; evaluates goals, objectives, and organizational structures; and surveys findings from other programs evaluated in the past. For example, a principal finding was that IJSPs aimed to improve knowledge of comparative democratic politics, which intended effect was generally achieved. Dutch nationalism levels increased, while American nationalism, it was found, did not. Overall, many student participants' responses indicated that they perceived even stronger effects than those being measured or researched.

1.5 Part IV: Political Education

The political education section, the second largest part of the book, examines this topic in some detail in India, Poland, Germany, Israel, China, and the Netherlands. Subtopics deal with women, Europeanization, German reunification and history, civics textbooks, peace education, and other aspects of political education and socialization.

The Indian case study (Pandit) found that the family, political parties, and women, themselves, do not want themselves or other women socialized to politics: instead, they seem to prefer to play a docile, second-class, inferior role while accepting male dominance. If men and women are to share political partnerships in the future, massive social, political, and cultural changes must occur. Education, in general, and political education, in particular, did not seem to have much impact on Indian women because they knew little about, were apathetic toward, and had scant interest in politics.

They also felt powerless, did not want to organize or exert political pressure, were socially uncomfortable, and were in obvious need of democratic political training, education, and experience (which would socialize them to politics and desocialize/resocialize both men and women to a changed role for women in Indian politics).

In stating his views from a Polish perspective on a unified European political education system, Mojsiewicz emphasizes the value of an interdisciplinary approach to a new system of political socialization and education. His concept of a new system stresses mutuality, trust, rationality, knowledge, and self-government. Transition to this new system is especially critical in countries (such as Poland) which are moving from their totalitarian past to meet the challenges of mass communications, parliamentarianism, European integration, political objectivity, disarmament, peaceful change, and an emerging democratic civil society. Political education advocates can help meet these challenges by developing a coherent teaching program; providing adequate teaching, teaching aids, and materials; and establishing links between everyday life and politics, religious groups, and the mass media. A primary goal of such education is to help a divided Europe become a united Europe and to help Eastern and Central Europe to both democratize and to join the greater European union. A new European Political Education Institute could assist this process further through a political education program stresses our commonality, appropriate political institutions, democratic values, Europeanization and globalization trends, links between politics and economics, and specific country studies to help us understand where these imperatives may lead us in the future.

The two chapters (Dümcke and Schulze) which focus on German reunification, German history, and a unified Europe discuss relevant changes in Europe as a whole and concomitant changes in political education which flow therefrom. Dümcke critically assesses the failures of the former GDR's political education system, while setting forth a challenging set of new criteria for a revitalized concept of civic education, useful for citizens living in a united Germany and an integrated Europe. Simply rejecting all of the pre-1989 Eastern socialist experience and accepting wholesale the market-oriented claims of the Western "risk society" might yield disastrous consequences, just as hasty acceptance of German reunification models in the East could also produce. The challenges of dual modernization (i.e., catching up with the West and meeting emerging global imperatives) require a

new sort of political education which is reflective, imaginative, historically- and culturally-based, standardized at its core, modern, and adaptive.

Schulze continues the analysis of the former GDR, describing what can be learned from the total collapse of this regime. She traces post-war history (in which the former GDR was established), along with its special form of historical, political, and ideological education designed to produce "a new socialist man." As socialization experiences and conflicts over life's goals separated the younger from the older post-war generations, cracks in eastern German social solidarity were seen in the growth of peace, environmental, and women's movements which preceded the 1989 revolution. Many of the goals voiced at that time of social upheaval have not been realized; a huge gulf between Eastern and Western parts of the country still exists. The socialization and educational experiences in the former GDR undoubtedly have had their effects, yet present indications are too recent to predict what impact they will eventually have on political socialization, education, politics, and cultural development in the five new *Bundesländer*.

Shifting gears from Europe to Israel and China, the next two contributions discuss textbooks and democratic education in Israel and political education in China. The central role of textbooks in Israel is described. Ichilov looks upon textbooks as devices which distill the political essence of the culture, including preferred citizenship roles. She also describes the principal features of Israeli political education, a taxonomy of citizenship objectives, and the results of her content analysis on this topic. She concludes that texts convey an oversimplified and very narrow definition of citizenship to students. This conception is passive, particularistic, national, political, legal, and structured. It ignores problems of democracy, in general, and those of Israel, in particular. Little attention was paid to internationalism, gender, ecology, the topic of oppression, or political action or expression. Such treatment limits students' choices for selecting democratic models from among a broad variety of options; thus, it needs to be revised.

The case study of political education in China (John Zane, pseudonym) illustrates the degree to which the Communist Party and its government control political education there to ensure citizen indoctrination, conformity, and loyalty. With the rise of new generations in China, the government has redoubled its efforts to guarantee system maintenance and political support. Students may be seeking new answers to old and new problems, yet they are allowed the intellectual wherewithal to think about little but the official

party line. While the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in 1989 showed that some political freedom (accompanying free-market reforms) was growing in China, the strong force of oppression has once again thrust students back into line, effectively squelching democratic developments there for the foreseeable future. The chapter author also describes Chinese political ideology, political classes, and collective life. The results of some surveys illustrate that communist ideology is bankrupt in the schools and universities, where students mainly use it to advance their personal careers and life's fortunes; they also show that party membership is off, the teaching cadre disillusioned, and the citizenry opposed to the corrupt, undemocratic, and moribund regime. Once again, however, the prospects for any immediate change are bleak, while silent hopes for long-term democratization still live on in the country.

The last chapter (Miedema and Berding) in this section looks at peace education from a Dutch perspective now that the conservatism, fatalism, and fear of nuclear destruction has evaporated with the end of the cold war. Definitions of, possibilities for, instances illustrating, and educational requirements of peace education are also presented. New topics for peace education include ecology, justice, hunger, energy, minority groups, and armaments in an extensive reconceptualization of the concept. A Dutch example of minority/majority interaction and integration is used to illustrate the principal dimension of this social problem, to show how educational systems can help us relate to it, and to demonstrate how democratic political systems can assist us to find common ground for reconciling these seemingly divergent interests in peaceful dialogical ways.

1.6 Part V: Reconceptualization, Integration, and the Future

The five chapters in this concluding section help us to bring together some German, American, and Dutch views on the themes of political education and socialization, reconceptualization, Europeanization, and integration of this field of analysis, study, research, and practice.

Meyenberg discusses the current state of Europe as an integrated entity; what young people know, feel, and think about Europeanization and politics; "Europe" as an educational goal; basic European and democratic curriculum requirements; and a quite complete introductory discussion of democracy as a school subject and as a principle or way of life. Democratic school practices are seen as a key method for learning the realities of demo-

cratic life, requiring democratic teaching and learning methods (such as case studies, role plays, research, and student projects). He also makes a case for greater internationalization of the curriculum, more treatment of the unfamiliar (e.g., the European parliament, commission, and community), and increased treatment of public problems, such as the environment, peace and security, hunger and poverty, and other transnational questions and issues. The democratic classroom and school in which empowered citizens/students learn the actual ways of democracy can help us in future to fulfil these common and necessary objectives.

Farnen's chapter on reconceptualization focusses on the utility of findings from cognitive studies, schema theory, and problem-solving research for civic education in its decision-making or problem-solving mode. He maintains that cognitive studies, political socialization research, and problem-solving skills can be combined to link social science theory to educational practice. In this respect, the core idea in political study should be based on problem solving, decision making, and policy analysis since this is so basic to the democratic citizenship requirements and tasks in every popularly-governed society. He also proposes linking psychological, communications, socialization, and cognitive studies and research projects to a common theoretical structure, based on decisional, problem-solving and policy analysis/making objectives. In this way, some common ground can be found cross-nationally and with culturally for new projects in political education and socialization. These may, in turn, produce some useful results, which may be practically applied to everyday teaching/learning situations.

Olgers' discussion of political education also centers on the need to develop learning skills around subject structures of political education in order to enhance citizen/student capacities for social and political problem solving. There is a need for a one-to-one congruence between the goals, rationale, contents, and structure of political studies and the ways in which students solve their everyday problems and reach final (causal) solutions to them, using the process of social-communicative reasoning. Along the way, he also differentiates among problems, values, objectivity, context, causes, reasoning skills, and both models and techniques for teaching and learning social-communicative reasoning.

Broadening this discussion a bit, Phillipens provides another example from the Netherlands for reorganizing political knowledge into a conceptual structure for social and political education, a field which is now in concep-

tual disarray. He argues the need for a common body of knowledge, basic and meta theories to organize political concepts, parallel cognitive learning theories and practices, and unification of political socialization research to evaluate and reinforce social and political education in its new forms. The Dutch method (called "Dossier") is based on cognitive psychological and learning theory. Content presented includes basic information about comparative political systems and political theory (i.e., using 16 different center, right, and left ideologies, such as democracy, anarchy, communism, fascism, and nationalism and their political party configurations). A discussion of the "Trias Socio-Economica" also presents various social and economic viewpoints and models (e.g., planned versus free-enterprise economies), including a discussion of different countries, political cooperation and conflict, and international relations.

Another Dutch contribution (Dekker) asks the question: How European are Europe's youth expected to be and how European are they in fact? This final substantive contribution to the book analyzes European citizenship as a concept to be encouraged and evaluated as part of the integration efforts of the EC Councils, Commission, and Parliament. The techniques for promoting EC citizenship include propaganda and public relations, EC symbols, education and training, and citizenship practices and opportunities. Studies report that youth are attracted to the idea of EC membership and the idea of a common European home, but that they remain aloof from EC problems or practical affairs. Therefore, European youth are ambivalent about the EC and their own nation's role in a united Europe. The EC's own information, education, and media agenda are mixed, of poor quality, ineffective, and sorely in need of revision, as the research reports summarized in this chapter indicate. Policy goals and research on effects should be less discordant, citizenship training needs further emphasis, and the legal, political, and psychological aspects of EC citizenship need to follow political science models as well as to use available social scientific information to increase young people's willingness to participate in EC elections and the emerging European democratic experiment.

1.7 Part VI: Summing Up

The last chapter in this work (Farnen) summarizes findings, interpretations, and conclusions specifically drawn from the previous chapters and which result from the integrated efforts of many scholars from different countries

who have researched and written on a common theme for reconceptualizing politics, political socialization, and political education for the next century. The findings presented here are useful for a summary view as well as for comparative and integrative purposes. For example, while EC countries are interested in the growth of transnational citizenship, Poles are mainly trying to organize their political system and economy, while Turkey still has not resolved the conflict between its passion for a secure state with its human and civil rights commitments. So while these three different systems seem so dissimilar, yet all three would like to be (and may eventually be) part of a larger Western political community (which would include not only UNO, CSCE, IMF and other international memberships, but also a shared role in the EC, itself). In consequence, these different systems must all teach something now and in the future about internationalism and globalism as well as transnational citizenship and the latest developments in the EC saga, whose future is less clear at the moment, owing to recent Danish dissent from the Maastricht Treaty. And so it goes on, with this same thread of mutual concern in that the US must also be fully aware of the EC's relative progress toward economic and political unity and its emerging citizenship experiences, which is much the same idea expressed in one of the Hungarian chapters (Csepeli and Örkeny) that focusses on the transnational aspects of citizenship. Therefore, this illustration provides a single example of how we are all talking along similar lines (albeit in different languages), with many of the same goals and intentions. It is useful, then, to share these common concerns and ideas since they may be of value to others as well as for ourselves.

PART II
Contrasting Political and Cultural Environments

Russell Farnen
Daniel German

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2 *Prospects for Democracy in Eastern Europe* **An Elite Survey**

2.1 **Abstract**

This study summarizes the results of a survey instrument received from 129 elite correspondents in seven Central and Eastern European countries. (Our "elite" sample consisted of social and political science university professors and researchers and occupational safety and health professionals in seven countries where the authors had personal and on-going contacts through joint conferences, meetings, and research projects.) The survey assessed pre- and post-1989 political, communications, and educational variables as well as measures of the extent of nationalism and tolerance toward ethnic minorities. Political changes occurred in all countries, with the largest noted in the Czech/Slovak Republic, Bulgaria, eastern Germany, and Romania. While unanimity in high Communist Party control was indicated in all countries (except Yugoslavia), some variation in use of military and police forces was seen before 1989, with the highest potential for the use of force in Romania and Yugoslavia after 1989, and much lowered prospects for the use of force in the other five countries. Significant democratization of communications also occurred cross-nationally (except for Yugoslavia). This was also the case for educational variables although change here was less than in communications and politics.

There was much less party and ideological control over political education after 1989, except to a lesser extent in Yugoslavia. Toleration of political and ethnic minorities also increased in most countries, yet decreased in eastern Germany, increasing least in Yugoslavia. While nationalistic tendencies decreased in Bulgaria and Romania, increases were reported in the other five countries.

An overall combined index of democratization for all three major groups of variables showed the largest changes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania; moderate changes in eastern Germany, Hungary, and Poland; and the least growth in Yugoslavia. It was also noted that the educational dimension was the slowest institution to reflect more democratization. These results provide a useful baseline for future assessments of democratization in this region of the world.

2.2 Introduction Theoretical foundations

The nations of Eastern Europe recently underwent a largely "bloodless" revolution in which more-democratic political processes and institutions replaced highly structured, single-party Communist governments. The 1989 revolutions signalled an unpredicted change in these nations. Western observers took for granted that they would remain under Soviet control with Communist regimes for the foreseeable future (e.g., Hancock, 1989). Several unsatisfactory or incomplete attempts to explain this lack of predictability for these waves of change in Eastern Europe have also been made (e.g., Tarrow, 1991, pp. 12-20).

Our present task is not an attempt to examine the reasons for over-throwing these Communist regimes. Instead, we are interested in predicting the immediate potential for the development of democratic political, communications, and educational processes in Eastern European nations. It is evident that movement in these areas will not be uniform across all nations. The former German Democratic Republic (GDR) has been united with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Thus, one previous Eastern European nation has ceased to exist. Yugoslavia is experiencing particularly divisive ethnic, regional, and nationalistic forces which have altered the political composition of that nation, and destroyed political structures existing since the end of World Wars I and/or II.

Our approach (examining relevant political, communications, and educational trends) is in the tradition of cross-national studies previously conducted mostly in Western democratic nations. This theoretical work includes *The Civic Culture* (Almond and Verba, 1965), *Political Action* (Barnes and Kasse, 1979), *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies* (Dalton, 1988) and *Continuities in Political Action* (Jennings and van Deth, 1989). We have also employed analytic categories used previously in *Politics in Eastern Europe* (Völgyes, 1986). Based on these works, our own research, and our theoretical interests, we created a survey questionnaire with indices for political, communications, and educational conditions and developments immediately prior to and since the Eastern European revolutions that took place in the Autumn of 1989. The instrument, a "Survey of Eastern European Politics, Communications, and Education Before and After the Central and Eastern European Revolutions of 1989", employed questions on diversity of political parties, citizen involvement, communications outlets, censorship, and educational content and practices. The survey

was administered early in 1991 to political/social scientists, health professionals, and other highly educated "elites" within all Eastern European nations, except Albania and the former USSR. Consequently, we obtained replies from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the former GDR (hereafter referred to as eastern Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. (The respective tables contain information on national response rates/patterns.)

This approach has several obvious faults. We have not measured any economic variables, although these surely impact on observed changes in our measures. This research project represents a focus on aspects of change reflecting both internal variables and external (i.e., relations with other nations) developments. It is not our intention to address all aspects of change in the nations under consideration, but only to measure these explicitly defined aspects of overall changes.

Our survey research may also be appropriately faulted for many of the same reasons that other approaches (such as *The Civic Culture*) have been critiqued by Eastern Europeans. That is, we use what could be considered "Anglo-American" and Western European concepts of political democracy as measures of progress toward generalized democracy. We have also not examined the history of each nation's political cultures. By using identical indicators in various nations, we run the risk of oversimplification, despite the fact that we recognize such developments are vastly more complex (see Wiatr, 1980, pp. 103-123).

Indeed, some of our more than 100 respondents characterized the survey instrument using terms such as "American bourgeois", "tendentious", and not being based on sufficient personal or practical experience in the region. While we recognize limitations in our approach, the instrument was returned largely without criticism by 36 of 115 (31%) respondents to whom it was mailed. Since each recipient also received four additional copies of the survey form and was asked to distribute it to colleagues, we received an additional 100 questionnaires from other respondents for a total return rate of 24% (136 out of 575 forms, including one written reply from eastern Germany and nine returns from Lithuania and Moscow (Russia) which were not tabulated). We believe our measures are genuine indicators of an overall movement from centralized, totalitarian rule to more-democratic political frameworks/processes. At the systemic level, evidence pertaining to the shift from Communist Party dominance to popular, multi-party mechanisms is presented (e.g., measures of popular input, voting/participation patterns,

interest articulation, and dissent/opposition behaviours). Regarding communications media, the measures locate the transition from tight state media control toward greater print and nonprint press freedom. In education, the inquiry examines developments such as decentralization and democratization of the formal political education curriculum, textbooks, policy, and the "hidden" curriculum/classroom environment.

Our primary hypothesis is that movement away from pre-1989 more-centralized control will vary from one nation to another dependent on a) pre-1989 trends, b) the relative success of new political participation practices, c) the emergence of multiple communications sources, and d) the degree to which new democratic educational processes emerge. It is obvious that each nation evolves from a different starting point. One respondent from eastern Germany (Olaf Manuwald, Thuringia, eastern Germany) commented that the former GDR differs from all other Eastern European nations in the extent to which Germans were previously exposed to Western media as well as in their economic, cultural, and family connections to the West. The role of media in support for revolutionary developments in eastern Germany has been examined in detail elsewhere (Buhl, 1990).

To be more meaningful, this research project will have to be an on-going one since each nation has barely begun a journey which may end not necessarily in democracy but in several other possible scenarios. These include right-wing military dictatorship or a variant of "third way" reformed socialism, "big party socialism", or benign Communist totalitarianism. Another major aim of this effort is to create a baseline body of evidence which might help predict later outcomes in the seven nations/political subcultures we surveyed.

Twenty questions in the Eastern European Survey formed a Political Index (e.g., questions on party control over the political system, multiparty mechanisms, popular political activities, use of force and intrusion, etc.). Sixteen questions formed a Communications Index (e.g., questions on government/party censorship, diversity of media ownership and programs, propaganda, etc.). Eleven questions formed a Political Education Index (e.g., questions on school democracy, Marxism-Leninism as school subjects, textbooks, and ideology). Three questions formed a separate Nationalism Index (e.g., questions on nationalism, patriotism, and international cooperation) and three others formed a Toleration for Minorities Index (e.g., questions on minority tolerance and civil rights). One question sought informa-

tion on the political role of television in each nation. Respondents were asked to reply to each item using a format of 1 to 7, with 4 as a mid-point (i.e., a semantic differential dichotomy relating to a specific variable). Here, we examine the results from each index for each nation. These indices may be considered more complex, complete, or generalized measures since they go beyond election results, institutions (such as a parliament), media ownership, and other singular measures.

2.3 Introduction Political Foundations

During 1989, revolutionary changes took place in these seven Eastern European nations. Hungarians and Czechs allowed eastern Germans to flee their nation, enter Hungary, set up refugee camps, and/or enter western Germany without new visas or passports. Demonstrations against Communist regimes and Soviet rule occurred throughout the region. The Soviet Union decided to relinquish its military control and to slowly withdraw its troops. Free elections followed in each country. In most instances, the Communists were thrown out of office. The anti-Communist Solidarity-backed candidates came to power in Poland; the Civic Forum dominated the Czech Republic, while the Public Against Violence alliance ruled in the Slovak Republic, with both movements sharing the spotlight in Czechoslovakia's Federal Government; the Communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was replaced and a non-Communist coalition installed in Hungary; and eastern Germany reunited with western Germany under a Christian Democrat majority to move from the sphere of Soviet influence (although 400,000 Russian troops were still based there). Romania and Bulgaria held elections, but the picture was not entirely clear whether Communists were still in control there, if under a different guise. Yugoslavia experienced extensive internal crisis with a civil war between Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, and other groups (such as Muslims) and between Communist, nationalist, liberal democratic, and other political groups.

Political changes in Eastern Europe have been mixed. For example, in Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR), which itself is fragmenting, and eastern Germany, about 80% of the Communist Party members (over 5 million people) have quit since the 1989 revolutions. In Bulgaria, only 13% have resigned; the Romanian National Salvation Front (successors to the Communist Party) has kept such figures secret. Poland has no Communists in its Senate; eastern Germany's Party of Demo-

cratic Socialism (the Communist Party heir) received only 16.5% of the parliamentary seats in its March 18th electoral contest; the Czech Communist Party has even fewer, 8.5% of the seats. However, the Romanian Communists hold 68.9% and the Bulgarian Socialist Party has 52.7% of the seats (Gati, 1990, pp. 131-132). While the removal of Communist Party dominance is assured in Poland, eastern Germany, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the role of Communism in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania may last longer in both time and influence. Yugoslavia has had a Serb-dominated, native Titoist Communist Party for over 45 years (as with Maoist/anti-Russian Albania). Both Romania and Bulgaria have been economically linked most closely to their Soviet neighbour. They have strongly entrenched Communist parties which faced little domestic opposition from other parties or reform groups (e.g., peace movements, women's liberation, environmental reform groups, etc.). They still are very popular in rural areas, if not in the cities. In Bulgaria, for example, the tide seems to be moving toward electing candidates from the anti-Communist United Democratic Party (which already holds the presidency and influenced the recent selection of a transitional, moderate prime minister) in the 1991 popular elections. However, it is economics rather than politics in Bulgaria which seems to be calling the tune for which party will rise or fall in the future. More sacrifices will still be required in the name of economic reform, capitalism, and a free-market economy (Chiodini, Spring 1991, p. 43).

The political future of the East European nations is not at all clear. In part, developments in the next decade will depend on the degree of success with which the economies of these nations can move from state socialism or a command economy to more of a free-market or mixed economic system. In early 1991, we gathered evidence of the transition on political, communications, and educational change during the pre- to post-1989 period of critical change in these nations. We believe that the performance on our indices are *predictors* of the path these nations will take in the immediate future. In most instances, our respondents have indicated that some significant changes have already occurred in each nation. The least institutional development or change appears to be in the educational system, where change is either "in the works" or it is business as usual. Not only is educational change the slowest, but it is also the least precipitous and least obvious. In other words, television ownership or newspaper policies and political changes can occur overnight, but it may take years before changes in the

teaching cadre, school textbooks, school organization, or classroom climate are obvious to even their own citizenry. In some instances, though, educational change has been quite radical, with extensive revisions of traditional Marxist-Leninist curricula (e.g., in eastern Germany, former teachers and administrators were fired and replaced wholesale with new teachers and textbooks from the West).

2.3.1 Comparisons of pre- and post-1989 survey results

2.3.1.1 Political variables

The extent of change in the development of political processes and institutions is presented in Table 1. This table combines information gathered from the pre-1989 and the post-1989 data and measures the amount of change between the perceptions of the two sets of survey respondents. (Note: To facilitate pre-1989 and post-1989 comparisons throughout this report and its tables, we refer to the former country known as East Germany and as the German Democratic Republic or GDR as eastern Germany. Of course, the former East and West Germanies have united within the Federal Republic of Germany.)

2.3.1.2 Pre-1989 political variables

The results of the pre-1989 survey show Romania, Czechoslovakia, eastern Germany, and Bulgaria with the lowest levels of democratic development. According to this analysis, Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia had the most democratic climate, but none is located in the upper segment of the medium category.

A prime measure of the lack of democratic tendencies in each nation is the extent to which the Communist Party exerted power over the political system. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, eastern Germany, and Romania had the highest degree of Communist Party control and, hence, the lowest levels of development in basic democratic processes. Yugoslavia had the lowest degree of party control, the most intra-party pluralism, and one of the highest levels of democratic development prior to 1989 among the countries surveyed. Bulgaria, prior to 1989, had only two political parties: the Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP) and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. The latter did not compete with the BKP since there was virtually no room allowed for political competition with the legally and constitutionally sup-

ported leading role reserved for the Communists. Romania had a strict one-party (Romanian Communist Party) rule, described as "uncontrollably omnipotent" in most decision-making areas.

Table 1: Extent of Change in the Development of Political Processes and Institutions*

Nation	Pre-1989			Post-1989			Change + or -
	H	M	L	H	M	L	
Bulgaria (6)**			2.7	5.3			+2.6
Czech/Slovak Rep.(14)			2.5	5.4			+2.9
Eastern Germany (10)			2.5		4.8		+2.3
Hungary (48)		3.2			5.0		+1.8
Poland (35)		3.5			5.0		+1.5
Romania (14)			2.3		4.9		+2.6
Yugoslavia (3)		3.1			4.7		+1.6

* Scale based on 1 to 7, with 5.1 to 7 = High, 3.1 to 5 = Medium, and 1 to 3 = Low.

** Respondent numbers are in parentheses.

In eastern Germany, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) exerted dominant one-party hegemony over the nation. Although minor parties existed, they were actually SED-controlled (Banks, 1988, pp. 77-80, 210-214 and 485-488). It should be noted that the eastern German Communists in part exerted domination over any political opposition through a state security police, the *Staatssicherheit Dienst* (SSD or "Stasi"). In particular, the Stasi intruded into the affairs of eastern Germans down to the village or family level; they became a symbol of oppression and were a hated governmental institution among nearly all Germans, both eastern and western. Eastern Germany in the early 1950s, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968 all experienced forceful repression of their liberalization movements only equalled in the 1989 period which saw bloody military and police repressions in Romania during this revolutionary period. Such violence daily threatens citi-

zens in what was once Yugoslavia as well, but has not yet been visited on Poles or Bulgarians to date.

With regard to using force to keep the population in line with Communist objectives, it is clear that Romania, Poland, and Yugoslavia rank higher than the other nations. Bulgarians have strong traditional political, economic, and military ties with the Soviets and apparently were the most willing population (along with a domestic variety in Romania) to embrace Communist rule at home, if not from the USSR. This explains their low ranking on the democratic index and the relatively low likelihood for the government having to employ military force. This phenomenon is also reflected in the lower ranking for the use of security police (called the DS in Bulgaria).

Romania ranks highest for use of troops to quell disorder; consequently, among these seven nations, Romanians experienced the bloodiest revolution. Thousands lost their lives in Bucharest and Timisoara where the security forces of former President Nicolae Ceausescu brutally killed strikers, revolutionaries, ethnic Hungarians, and other citizens in 1989.

The use of force was low in Hungary where, after the forceful Soviet suppression of an attempted revolution in 1956, repressive measures were not employed as much as in other Eastern European nations. Other nations (such as eastern Germany) had not had a Soviet-led military repression since the early 1950s, after which national "peoples" police (*Volkspolizei*) were used to keep order. Yugoslavia, which had its own Serbian and Belgrade-dominated army, never allowed the use of Soviet troops within its borders since the end of World War II. This situation in Hungary is also reflected in the relatively low use of police force, even though deployment of police is much higher in all nations as compared with the use of troops.

In this respect, we see Czechoslovakia emerging as the least repressive police state (which would likely hold true even in the probable event of Slovak secession). The violent Soviet-aided suppression of the domestic revolutionary and reform movement in spring 1968 would probably have predicted this. What made all of these revolutionary developments in 1989 both unique and possible was the absence of Soviet troops (even when present in eastern Germany, Poland, or Hungary, for example) in any counterforce movements against domestic insurrections.

2.3.1.3 Post-1989 political variablese

Such a dynamic and diverse set of events has occurred in each of these seven nations that it is impossible to report every significant development. The transitional phase from Communism to some possible hybrid form of democracy is only beginning. Therefore, our conclusions are only tentative and will certainly be subject to revision as events unfold in the future.

All Eastern European nations show dramatic movement toward increased democratization. A great deal of change is found in Bulgaria. Initially a new Communist Party (the Socialist Party) won election there. But anti-government protests forced the resignation of Socialist President Petar Mladenor in July 1990 and his replacement by Zhelyu Zhelev, former UDR chairman. Bulgaria now has a governing coalition consisting of the three main political forces - the Socialist Party, the United Democratic Forces, and the Agrarian Party. Since Bulgaria was dependent on Iraqi oil shipments to service the latter's \$1.2 billion debt, that country's support for the Persian Gulf Alliance stopped the flow of oil. More strikes and protests resulted in the resignation of Andrei Lukanov, the Socialist Prime Minister, and the establishment of a transitional, coalition government until the 1991 elections (personal correspondence from Zlatin Trupkov, Sophia, Bulgaria, January 1991; Chiodini, Spring 1991, p. 43).

There are several explanations for the Bulgarian move to the highest category along with Czechoslovakia on political democratization. First, all nations moved considerably toward democracy, are tightly grouped between 4.7 to 5.3, and are within 1 point of each other. Consequently, we may be witnessing a genuine move to democracy within all the Eastern European nations. Second, Bulgaria and Romania both moved from very strict Communist control to post-revolutionary Communist-led governments. These were subsequently ousted (at the chief executive level) for economic reasons or over the issue of using troops to quell dissent. Mladenor had earlier suggested that troops be deployed to quell dissent and he was forced from office. In Romania, Communist President Ion Iliescu used troops to silence anti-Communist protestors. He was subsequently nearly ousted from office. These developments represent *prima facie* democratic tendencies apart from the items in our survey form.

The two phases for movement in Bulgaria (from hard-line Communist to soft-line Communist and, then, to more of a multi-party coalition) were a result of popular economic dissatisfaction and a rejection of the use of overt

government force. Each nation moved away from the deployment of military troops and security police by 1991. Bulgaria moved more than Romania on use of troops/police, but was initially much lower in these respects. Perhaps in the future, Bulgaria may provide more fertile ground for democratic institutions and practices to grow than will Romania. (The notion of Bulgaria and Romania falling behind the other Eastern/Central European nations and needing to move through a "two-turnover test" to achieve democracy but not having done so by early 1990 - was credited by Michael G. Roskin to Samuel P. Huntington. As Roskin said, "Most of East Europe has completed one turnover, but not yet the Balkan Lands" [Roskin, 1991, p. 165]. They may now have achieved this initial turnover and are working on phase two.)

The relative ranking of the lowest-scoring nations on the political democratization measure can be explained, in part, by an "expectations orientation." Psychologically, pre-1989 Bulgaria could be expected to move farther than the other surveyed nations, while in eastern Germany and Yugoslavia, many new economic or ethnic problems exist respectively. Yugoslavia had such extensive internal developmental and nationalities problems that the nation split apart. Our Yugoslavian respondents expected troops to be used to quell dissent (as subsequently happened) and to maintain Belgrade's control, more so than similar views in most of the other nations; indeed, this was both the probable future and actual outcome in that former nation. Yugoslavia ranked below all but Romania in the expected use of police against demonstrators/strikers. These non-democratic actions, once taken, have lowered the chances for the increased democratization of what was once Yugoslavia and is now dominated by Serbia and Montenegro and their other occupied and "ethnically cleansed" territories. In the former territory of Yugoslavia, the dominant minority (bolstered by Communist control, economic dominance, and rule) has used force to maintain Serbian, military, and Communist power, carving up the country in the process. The likelihood of force being used in Romania to silence dissent or preserve power also seems to be far more probable than, for example, in eastern Germany (where it is still a possibility) or in any other country (except Yugoslavia) surveyed. One eastern German correspondent summed up his impressions of the new political reality in unified Germany in the following way:

"Contrary to the hopes of the civil rights movement of autumn 1989, there was no unification of the two German states in 1990, but the former GDR has been annexed by the ruling forces of the FRG. Under these conditions and its consequences, there is no freedom of

speech and action for the left-wing forces and organizations, especially in the territory of the former GDR. The growing mass unemployment and the activities of right-wing organizations create an unfavorable situation for freedom and democracy. Within the university, there is (contrary to the idea of pluralism) a witchhunt against those scholars who represent the ideas of Marx and Engels. These conditions are not favourable for free expression of opinions." (Personal correspondence to authors, March 30, 1991.)

Eastern Germany, while united with western Germany, is beset with many problems, both real and perceived. There is still a large Russian military presence in eastern Germany. They are experiencing rising part- or full-time unemployment (perhaps over 50% of the work force). This is higher than any of their Central European neighbours. Eastern German job loss has to be compared with lower unemployment and a much higher standard of living in western Germany, to the benefit of whose industry new Deutschmarks are flowing from the East. Western Germany regularly measures high on democratic indices, while eastern Germany is struggling to move away from its years of repression. Eastern Germans also feel "swallowed-up" by the western German political giant which has many more people and effectively dominates the political process.

Whereas eastern Germans should have higher expectations and in many ways were (and are) much better off than their neighbours to the East and South, they are initially faced with a significant struggle to reach an economic and political par with western Germany. Settlement of territorial claims, massive new investment in the east from the FRG and abroad, and the development of domestic industry, agriculture, and service industries are all needed if a new *Wirtschaftswunder* is to appear in the five new eastern FRG *Länder*, for whom pluralistic democracy is as distant and foreign a goal as are "free" enterprise and the "market" economy. The new *Bundesländer* are a study in contrasts with workers employed full time but paid at 50% rates, mandatory retirement of workers older than 55, and massive infrastructure and industrial renovations, which can only be compared with the post-1945 era. Eastern Germans frequently refer to their having been "colonized" from Bonn, meanwhile accepting their newfound roles as consumers of Western goods more willingly than their massive unemployment rates and uncertain political and economic future.

2.3.2 Communications variables

2.3.2.1 Pre-1989 communications variables

The results of the communications index are presented in Table 2. Again, the higher the score the more a pro-democratic, pluralistic mass media tendency is shown for each nation. As with the political democratization index, three nations (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania) initially scored lower than the others. Also, no country initially fell into the medium or high category.

One of the hallmarks of Communist totalitarianism was party-state monopoly over all formal communications media. Historically, V.I. Lenin had postulated the use of the press as a means to propagandize the people to support state and party objectives under the concept of "democratic centralism." Attendant to this Leninist goal was state ownership and/or censorship of most means of mass communication in Communist nations. This even meant attempts to control personal communication through security police, such as the Stasi in eastern Germany, the AVH in Hungary, or the "Securitate" in Romania.

As Völgyes observed, Eastern European Communist political systems depended considerably on television, radio, newspapers, periodicals, books, films, and the demonstrative arts (theater, painting, music, etc.) to politically socialize the people. Control was designed to avoid these media being used as "negative agents of political socialization" (Völgyes, 1986, p. 276). In this sense, then, formal communications are merely arms of the state in totalitarian regimes. This does not mean, however, that they were particularly effective. The lack of their effectiveness is evidenced in their inability to mold public opinion among those who (after over 40 years of exposure to Communist political propaganda) proceeded to reject this alien philosophy of government, economic, and social control, given their first opportunity to do so. Our analysis (based on Völgyes' description of the extent of party control over communications as a vehicle for political socialization) is summarized in Table 2.

Völgyes' estimates are substantially in line with our survey results, with the exception of our higher levels of reported control from Hungary. In Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary, non-Communist Western newspapers could be purchased before 1989. In Yugoslavia, public library reading rooms subscribed to the Western press. In Polish and Hungarian hotels which catered to international guests, one often found Western newspapers. Since 1980,

private publishing was allowed in Hungary so long as its content was not "contrary to socialist truth and thought." The latter criterion was also periodically applied and disallowed in Poland. Films passing censorship and depicting contemporary problems of socialist societies were also allowed in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary (Völgyes, 1986, pp. 271, 276-284). While Hungary is not in the medium or high (freer) communications category, it does rank as the most democratic, along with Yugoslavia. Such mutual reinforcement of independently derived results lends credibility both to this survey and to Völgyes' work.

Table 2: Extent of Change in the Eastern European Democratic Communications Index*

Nation	Pre-1989			Post-1989			Change + or -
	H	M	L	H	M	L	
Bulgaria (6)**			2.2		4.8		+2.6
Czech/Slovak Rep. (14)			1.8		4.9		+3.1
Eastern Germany (10)			2.6		5.0		+2.4
Hungary (48)			2.9		4.7		+1.8
Poland (35)			2.5		4.8		+2.3
Romania (14)			1.2		5.0		+3.8
Yugoslavia (3)			3.0		4.2		+1.2

* Scale based on 1 to 7, with 5.1 to 7 = High, 3.1 to 5 = Medium, and 1 to 3 = Low.

** Respondent numbers are in parentheses.

A special case among these nations is eastern Germany. Eastern Germany ranks low on open or pluralistic internal/domestic communications. While eastern Germany built a wall in Berlin and a guarded border along its western contact with the FRG to keep GDR citizens from fleeing West, they could not erect effective barriers to exclude western German and other Western-controlled electronic communications media. These included the

BBC, RFE, VOA, and western German television broadcasts (ARD and ZDF) and (though less frequently seen because of costs) *Eins Plus*, Sat 1, and RTL Plus (western German satellite television). It has been estimated that western German television covered 80% to 85% of the broadcast area in eastern Germany. Reports indicate that eastern Germans neither fully trusted nor believed GDR political media. Since they consumed both types of media, they gave complete informational credibility to neither, thus arriving in an ambiguous media no man's land between the two systems (Buhl, 1990, pp. 1-9). To a great extent, this applied also in Western and Southern Bohemia, Southern Moravia, and Southwestern Slovakia, where western German and Austrian TV programs were followed (from personal correspondence of J. Stepanovsky, May 11, 1991). In Romania, Yugoslavian television was received by satellite dish in Timisoara, for example.

The eastern German case demonstrates the complete failure of state-owned/controlled communications mechanisms (with state propaganda dissemination missions) when competing against Western entertainment, sports, news, and commercially oriented mass media with consumer marketing strategies. Without a domestic military/police force and the ever-present threat of Soviet troops, Communism would surely have dissolved as a functioning political system long before 1989. No amount of state-managed communications, no matter how effective, could have shored up these Soviet-dominated political regimes.

2.3.2.2 Post-1989 communications variables

In all the Eastern European nations (except Yugoslavia), there are rapid and definite changes in communications. Large state-controlled media are being sold to privately owned enterprises or central control over the news production process has lessened or disappeared. The post-1989 evaluations on communications are presented in Table 2.

New privately owned newspapers are presenting Eastern Europeans with Western-style political criticism and even nude photography, both equally abhorrent under Communist rule. As an example, the eastern German *Junge Welt* (*Young World*) features sharp political commentary and bare-breasted women. In Hungary, Western media investors such as Axel Springer (*Reform*) and Robert Maxwell (*Magar Hirlap* and *Esti Hirlap*) generated profits from their new Eastern media outlets. The American magazine, *Playboy*, printed its first Hungarian edition in December 1989.

Whereas Eastern European political changes can more easily be documented in election returns, the picture on media operations is still unclear. Media are still in the throes of a change-over from a climate of repression, censorship, and state ownership. Freeing the press should generate confidence in media news outlets and contribute further to progress toward democratization, civil liberties, and pluralism.

2.3.3 Educational variables

2.3.3.1 Pre-1989 educational variablese

From the creches (pre-school up to age 3) and kindergartens (age 3 to basic or elementary school) to the universities, Marxist-Leninist thought permeated nearly every aspect of education in Eastern European nations. So-called *Gesellschaftswissenschaft* (the science of society) was infused into the entire curriculum from mathematics, to foreign language and economics instruction. A "core" curriculum encapsulated all these bits and pieces of Soviet socialism into one or more courses on the ideology of Marxist-Leninist thought (Lovenduski and Woodall, 1987, p. 359; Buchstein and Göhler, 1990, p. 669; and Völgyes, 1986, pp. 273-274).

Education in Communist nations was considered an important vehicle of political socialization, a means of widening social opportunity, and a way to provide skills to supply a labor force. Overall educational objectives (created in the Eastern European nations by their Soviet "caretakers") had the following goals:

1. Transmitting socialist values and creating the "socialist man."
2. Controlling educational processes from a centralized agency.
3. Rejecting Western-style streaming in favor of universal comprehensive education (with special tracks for party elites).
4. Integrating school and work life for a unity of theory and practice.
5. Renewing commitments to adult or life-long education.
6. Widening higher education opportunities.
7. Setting a high priority on science and technology instruction.
8. Promoting the collective needs of society (Lovenduski and Woodall, 1987, p. 358).

Relative success at achieving these objectives varied from one nation to another. The index created for educational democratization specifically sought to measure the extent of Marxist-Leninist infusion into the curricu-

lum and the government's/Communist Party's centralized control over the system. Overall responses to the political education index are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Extent of Change in the Eastern European Political Educational Democratization Index*

Nation	Pre-1989			Post-1989			Change + or -
	H	M	L	H	M	L	
Bulgaria (6)**			2.3		4.5		+2.2
Czech/Slovak Rep. (14)			2.3		5.0		+2.8
Eastern Germany (10)			2.7		3.9		+1.2
Hungary (48)			3.0		4.5		+1.5
Poland (35)			2.9		4.4		+1.5
Romania (14)			2.2		4.9		+2.7
Yugoslavia (3)			3.0		3.7		+0.7

* Scale based on 1 to 7, with 5.1 to 7 = High, 3.1 to 5 = Medium, and 1 to 3 = Low.

** Respondent numbers are in parentheses.

As with the political and communications democratization indices, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania fall into the least democratic category in educational openness, pluralism, and democratization.

Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Poland were the most democratic on the index. Indeed, in Yugoslavia, the internal control structure over education had been deliberately decentralized as a result of the linguistic, ethnic, and historical forces and the wide range of economic development and living standards within its borders. In Czechoslovakia (as an example of a less-democratic educational entity), schools were managed somewhat like the American system, with pre-basic (elementary) schools run by a local educational authority, secondary schools by regions, and universities by the central ministry of education (Lovenduski and Woodall, 1987, pp. 360-361). Although there was some decentralization, mechanisms always existed to in-

sure central control over official ideology, testing, university admissions, and other matters deemed important to maintain party hegemony.

Regardless of differences in state party control over education among the countries, our survey respondents are substantially in agreement on the government/party control question (i.e., that centralization was overwhelmingly the norm in educational matters for all the Eastern European nations).

On another measure, the extent of infusion of Marxist-Leninist ideology into the curriculum, all nations (except Yugoslavia) fell into the highest category. Czechoslovakia fared better on the relative level of democratization on the political and communications indices, but not on these educational measures.

2.3.3.2 Post-1989 educational variables

As with communications, educational changes are only recently underway in the Eastern European nations. As noted by Bulgarian and eastern German respondents (e.g., Dimitrina Dimitrova, Sophia, Bulgaria and Karl-Ernst Plagemann, Potsdam, Germany), a new system for political education has not yet been fully organized. The process of change in all educational areas is still in transition, but especially in the area of political education, where Western textbooks and teachers have been imported. Real democracy here is still a goal for the foreseeable future.

The results of our educational democratization index (contained in Table 3) are significant in that no nation surveyed for this report (as with communications) moved into the high column (compared with two countries on the political index). This reflects the slower rate of change in institutions as large as a nation's communications and educational systems. Equally significant, however, is the fact that three countries moved from the highest to the lowest categories for extent of present day government and/or party control over political education. In eastern Germany, for example, many school principals, teachers, and the vast majority of university professors have been fired. However, the cadre of pre-collegiate teachers, many formerly loyal Communist Party members, has yet to be "de-communized", politically "sanitized", or "reprogrammed." The rate of educational change is the least in Yugoslavia since it was independently Communist before 1989, is still undergoing violent revolutionary change, and remained Communist-dominated for all intents and purposes after 1989. Whereas the other nations could move to eliminate the dominance of Marxist-Leninist

philosophy from their curricula, at best a mixture of Communist and democratic political teaching in what remains of Yugoslavia (e.g., Serbia, Montenegro, and their occupied lands) will likely remain under any Communist-dominated government, communications, or educational system, with far less centralization likely in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and what is left of other independent republics and autonomous areas which were "ethnically sanitized."

Two other more specific variables help to illuminate the slower pace of educational change in most nations. We documented the extent of central educational control by government and the extent of Marxist-Leninist content in the curricula. Change is most noticeable on these measures in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania (i.e., from 4.5 to 5.6 scale points).

Since it stands out so sharply, eastern Germany warrants special attention regarding its present educational system. There exists an apparent view among our respondents that although many Communists have been eliminated from administrative positions of control, government external control (both from Communists in East Berlin and within the new *Länder* governments, as well as stridently anti-communist conservatives from Bonn and western Germany) is still high. However, overall federal and state government control is still higher for education, even when compared to Yugoslavia, a country which saw little change on our survey results for education from pre- to post-1989. Secondly, there is still an attachment (founded on ideology, habit, security, and familiarity) for Marxist-Leninist commitment within the educational system of eastern Germany. Our survey results mainly applied to pre-collegiate education, but some respondents also described developments for university-level education in their countries. At all levels, there is an apparent tenacity to retain a silent hold on Marxist ideology. It is difficult to believe that other Eastern European nations (especially Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania) are not experiencing similar difficulties in this respect to those described in eastern Germany. Once again, expectation levels elsewhere may be distinctly different, with eastern Germans expecting their educational development to move more slowly than do those people in some other nations surveyed. It may also be that one people living in one Germany with two German states for so long a period of time can tolerate this continuing dichotomy and ambiguity since they have done so for over the last 40 years. How long western Germans may be willing to countenance the continuing commitment of their eastern brothers to theoretical Marxism (if not to Leninism or Soviet Communism)

is altogether another matter. Recent developments there indicate that Marxist-Leninist currents in the curriculum have been significantly re-routed along social democratic, non-Communist lines.

2.3.4 Tolerance of minorities

2.3.4.1 Pre-1989 tolerance of minorities variables

Many of the Eastern European nations are "Balkanized " into heterogeneous linguistic and ethnic groups. The most ethnically diverse nation in Eastern Europe is Yugoslavia with Serbs (36%), Croats (20%), Slovenes (8%), Albanians (8%), Macedonians (5.8%), and others (e.g., Bosnians, Italians, and Hungarians). Yugoslavia has a large Muslim minority (8%) in addition to the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christian majority. Hungary has Roma (5.2%) and Gypsy minorities. Romania has a significant Hungarian minority (7.9%). In Czechoslovakia, the large Czech majority was mixed with Slovaks (30%) and Hungarians (4%). Bulgaria has a significant Turkish population (10%). Eastern Germany is relatively homogeneous with no sizeable domestic minority (except for the Sorbs). Poland has a small Ukrainian (2.5%) minority (Kidron and Segal, 1987, p. 56).

A hallmark proposition in democratic political thought is toleration, appreciation, and protection of minority rights. Three survey items questioned this tolerance of minorities. The results are shown in Table 10. There was only a medium level of minority tolerance (although official policy) in most Eastern European nations prior to 1989. Bulgarians showed little toleration for their Turkish minority; the Czechs and Slovaks had perhaps irreconcilable problems with each other as well as both with Hungarians at home and across the border. A democratic tendency for minority toleration was not strongly present in pre-1989 Eastern Europe, according to a report received from Dr. Jiri Stepanovsky (personal correspondence, May 11, 1991).

2.3.4.2 Post-1989 toleration of minorities variables

Since 1989, conflicts among ethnic and linguistic minorities have become more visible in some Eastern European nations. These difficulties predate the anti-Soviet revolutionary period, but receive more public attention now that external and central controls were lessened, information sources are more numerous, and controls over censorship and peaceful demonstrations

and political activity have been lifted. Throughout Eastern Europe, as in the USSR, there is a resurgence of nationalism and separatism that is frequently tied to ethnic secessionist and independence movements and/or increased majority discrimination against these religious, linguistic, political, and cultural minorities.

Of all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia has experienced the most serious internal difficulty with a bloody civil war erupting between the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, and other native ethnic groups. Bulgaria has also experienced difficulties with its poorer Turks, as has Romania with its Gypsy and Hungarian minorities near its border areas. The Czechs and Slovaks have actually provided for the peaceful dissolution of their Republic. Although the nation was officially renamed "the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic", this did not settle the matter since the force of ethnic nationalism has overcome the honeymoon period of post-communist euphoria, democracy, and secularism.

All nations (except eastern Germany) surveyed experienced a higher level of tolerance toward minorities; but in Yugoslavia, movement was slight and the nation is still in the process of disintegration and fragmentation. Since no nation falls into the highest category, this may indicate another source of difficulty for the establishment and consolidation of basic democratic practices in this region in the future.

Yugoslavia was previously well known as an unusual conglomerate of six republics, five nationalities, four languages, three religions, two alphabets, and, now, an unknown number of political parties, which themselves are splintered and divided along ideological and national/ethnic lines. The political, ethnic, regional, economic, and national divisions in former Yugoslavia (with the Serbians and Montenegrans playing a dominant role) pit Albanians, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnians, Romanians, and Hungarians as well as Christians and Muslims against one another in the political battle for centralized rule versus a set of newly merged entities into a greater Serbia, or newly sovereign and independent states (Borrell, August 6, 1990, pp. 32-33; Odom, April 1990, pp. 1-8).

The survey result in Yugoslavia (with very little change noted) is quite understandable since that country has massive ethnic/linguistic divergences (which are of long-term duration). The eastern German decline, albeit very small, on the index may be a result of the re-emergence of a new sort of - or the expression of long-term, but previously suppressed - intolerance to-

ward minorities such as Gypsies and guest workers from Cuba, Viet Nam, and Eastern Europe. Moreover, since one of our questions dealt with toleration of political minorities, the persecution complex which Marxists, Leninists, and former Communist Party members in our elite survey feel may well be reflected in these results as well. Again, this may also represent a process of "soul-searching" in eastern Germany, something not occurring so rapidly in other nations surveyed. Only time will tell whether the worries expressed by our eastern German respondents are real or ill-founded as well as whether or not the higher level of expectations for respondents in other nations are realistic. Within their national contexts, Bulgaria and eastern Germany provide different cases; that is, former GDR citizens are definitely not anti-Sorbian and Bulgarians still seem likely to have trouble over their Turkish, Russian, and other minorities in the future.

2.3.5 Nationalism variables

2.3.5.1 Pre-1989 nationalism variables

Lenin desired to destroy nationalism and sought to create a devotion to international proletarian brotherhood and Communist solidarity. It has been argued (with some justice) that Stalinism in much of Eastern Europe was very congruent with interwar authoritarianism. We created a measure of the extent to which nationalistic tendencies existed in Eastern Europe prior to and after the revolutions of 1989.

Nationalism is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it is necessary to have a sufficient national identity to have broken away from Soviet Communist control; yet, ultranationalism (especially when religiously reinforced) can lead to violence against minorities and an unwillingness to join or support international organizations such as the European Community or Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe (e.g., Yugoslavia was sanctioned by the UN and UNO and banned from CSCE participation in 1992).

2.3.5.2 Post-1989 nationalism variables

Nationalism levels declined significantly in only two nations: Bulgaria and Romania. They rose significantly in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Whether this is a long-term positive or negative development will have to await the evidence of future developments in each nation. But whatever its course, nationalism (like other constants such as religion, family, language, or ethnic-

ity) has been an inevitable part of Western political culture at least since it was sanctified through the peace treaties, nation-building, and recognition of self-determination which resulted from the Versailles and post-1945 peace settlements.

Our nationalism index is somewhat crude because in order to improve our knowledge of this phenomenon, it would be necessary to find out the degree to which this construct is religious (e.g., anti-Muslim, Christian, Catholic, or Orthodox), anti-Soviet, or anti-foreign (e.g., Hungarians versus Romanians and vice versa), anti-ethnic (regarding domestic minorities), anti-immigrant or guest workers, or patriotic and based on increased loyalty to and pride about one's nation as first among equals in the citizens' political orientations. The detailed description of this phenomenon in Hungary helps to explain the complexity of this strong and omnipresent political force which each of these post-Communist states will have to face in their future political development.

2.4 Conclusions

The failure of the former Soviet Union (which for over 40 years tried to establish Soviet-style politics, economics, and culture in Eastern Europe) is a remarkable affirmation of the power of culture over politics. When externally imposed national political institutions and processes and formal education, communications, and socialization mechanisms attempt to move a nation in political directions not in conformity with public opinion and mass attitudes, sentiments, and behaviors, they appear not to work or last. A political regime may change the basic political educational system, but if family socialization patterns are out of synch with formal education, the state's effort will likely fail, as actually occurred in eastern Germany. Soviet Communist ideology and institutions did not find fertile ground in most of Eastern Europe. Whether Western-style democracy will bloom and a free-market economy flourish in Eastern Europe is yet to be tested. Based on these survey results, we can make some tentative, professional judgments about the extent to which Eastern European nations have moved toward democracy and their potential for further development in this area.

In these conclusions, we are attempting to engage in predictive social science. While we do not have a crystal ball, we do employ our own and the judgements of professional respondents in each nation. Each respondent was requested to make an objective assessment of pre- and post-1989 polit-

ical, communications, and educational developments in his/her nation. We considered observed changes among these three variables to be interdependent and to be valid indicators of movement from centralized, totalitarian rule to more-democratic political frameworks/processes. At the system level, we have examined evidence relating to the pre- to post-1989 shift from Communist Party/Soviet dominance to more popular, domestic, multi-party mechanisms. These include such measures as interest articulation, non-coerced popular participation in elections, and dissent/opposition behaviors. Regarding communications media, the survey instrument indexed the transition from tight state control/censorship toward greater diversity of viewpoints/press freedom. For education, the inquiry examined movement from centralized control and the teaching of Marxist-Leninist ideology to increasing Westernization, decentralization, and democratization of the curriculum. The degree of military and security police suppression and indices of nationalism and toleration of minorities were also constructed and analyzed.

In Table 4, further statistical analysis supports the theoretical rationale for the interdependence of the pro-democratic variables. A factor analysis on the five indices employed in this survey shows that the politics, communications, and education indices track together. The nationalism index tracks *negatively* with the toleration index, which tracks positively with the politics, communications, and education indices. Theoretically, toleration should be negatively related to nationalism since high scores on the latter would show intolerance toward ethnic, linguistic, and other national minority groups. Toleration should also be related to pro-democratic orientations and, in this case, a positive association actually is shown among these four indices.

Table 4: Politics, Communications, Education, Nationalism, and Toleration Indices* (Factor Loadings for all Seven Nations Combined)

Index	Factor 1	Factor 2	h2 Communality
1. Politics	.85	-.19	.76
2. Communications	.83	-.12	.71
3. Education	.82	.06	.69
4. Nationalism	.06	.92	.85
5. Toleration	.46	-.54	.51

In order to expand our analysis of Central and Eastern European countries from pre- to post-1989 and to forecast possible future political developments, we have created an overall index of democratization, combining the three indices into one master/composite index. The results of this exercise are presented in Table 5.

There are certain political realities reflected in the data presented in Table 5. Yugoslavia ranks lowest in terms of progress toward recent growth in democratic political-communications-educational processes. However, the pre-1989 scores for Yugoslavia were high, indicating it was initially a more-democratic nation in the group (along with Hungary and Poland). This squares with political realities because Yugoslavia, while Titoist Communist, was free of Soviet control, has been more open to the West, and was less politically repressive than other Eastern European nations. Whereas the other nations went through a dramatic change from Soviet hegemony and various degrees of Stalinist Communism to more-democratic political processes, Yugoslavia went through no similar radical or immediate transformations, except for the bloodiest civil war in Europe since 1945. In fact, at least since the death of Tito in May 1980, Yugoslavia has witnessed such a resurgence of nationalism, ethnicity, and linguistic minority strife that its continued existence as a federation is over. In spite of Yugoslavia's affiliation (now suspended) with some major Western international organizations (e.g., International Monetary Fund, World Bank, General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), the shared failure of major ethnic groups to resolve the nation-

alities question and the absence of major democratic political changes are both readily apparent (Rollo, 1990, p. 135; Cohen, July 1992, pp. 301-319).

The figures indicate that Czechoslovakia has indeed undergone major democratic political changes. Indeed, outside observers have noticed the significant changes occurring there. Since Soviet and national Communists were "ruthless" in dealing with dissidents after the 1968 "Prague Spring", this helps to account for their low pre-1989 rating. In 1989, Communist power "collapsed remarkably quickly in Czechoslovakia" and ". . . at the level of top leadership, Czechoslovakia has gone further than any of its neighbors in removing Communist control" (Rollo, 1990, pp. 25-27). Even though Czechoslovakia has made remarkable progress, internal divisions between Czechs and Slovaks reached crisis proportions. However, this has not occasioned a resort to force or undemocratic repression of the Slovaks by the Czechs or by the (more equal) Slovaks of their (less equal) Hungarian minority (at least to date). The division of the country along ethnic lines is now planned for 1992, after which Slovakia's minorities may well fair badly.

Bulgaria and Romania also went through very real changes in moving from Communism to quasi-democratic systems. Lingering Communist control there is part of a general movement toward more-democratic multi-party politics, along with parallel changes in both communications and education in democratic directions. While many observers watched in anguish, anticipation, or disbelief, these two nations have undergone very significant democratic changes in a very short time.

Hungary has recently demonstrated/evidenced relatively little major democratic reform, but it was one of the most-democratic systems to begin with, especially when compared with its next-door neighbors in Romania and the former USSR. Poland also underwent relatively less basic democratic change, possibly because the first post-1989 President (Tadeusz Mazowiecki) was slow to replace Communists with more reform-minded civil servants (Roskin, 1991, p. 170). There is little likelihood of a set-back for democratization in Poland, especially if the economy can be salvaged with Western aid. Polish political pluralism, the role of the church, and the continuing quest for a measure of governmental stability and continuity are all important factors for Poland's political maturation.

Eastern Germany undoubtedly has the potential for greater change than any of the other Eastern European nations surveyed here. However, progress to-

ward democratic processes seems to be going rather slowly there, especially regarding political efficacy and educational change, much like the debacle of a crippled regional economy which breeds popular despair. The eastern Germans may be experiencing the greatest self-doubt about their new national identity and image after uniting with one of the most economically robust and liberal democratic nations in all of Europe.

Table 5: Eastern European Composite Index of Democratization (Politics, Communication, and Education Scores Combined)*

Nation	Pre-1989		Post-1989		Scale Change		Scale Mean Difference	
	R#	S*	R#	S*	R#	S*	R#	S*
Bulgaria (6)**	5	2.4	3	4.7	3	+2.3	1	+0.2
Czech/Slovak Rep. (14)	6	2.2	1	5.1	2	+2.9	1	+0.8
Eastern Germany (10)	4	2.6	6	4.6	4	+2.0	4	-0.1
Hungary (48)	1	3.0	3	4.7	5	+1.7	6	-0.4
Poland (35)	1	3.0	3	4.7	5	+1.7	5	-0.4
Romania (14)	7	1.9	2	4.9	1	+3.0	3	+0.9
Yugoslavia (3)	1	3.0	7	4.2	7	+1.2	7	-0.9
International Mean	3.5	2.6	3.5	4.7	3.5	2.1	3.5	+0.1

Ranked from highest (1) to lowest (7).

* Scale based on 1 to 7, with 5.1 to 7 = High, 3.1 to 5 = Medium, and 1 to 3 = Low.

** Respondent numbers are in parentheses.

Our findings on nationalism, patriotism, ethnicity, democratic processes, and minority rights are more interesting when compared with more extensive surveys conducted in the European Community (EC) in the late 1980s regarding citizens' opinions on human rights and immigration. Among these respondents (all are over 15 years of age), over 78% chose democracy

as the "best of regimes" and 60% believed that respect for human rights is worthwhile. Some evidence of intolerance toward racial, religious, cultural, social, and national groups was also evident in the survey results.

Eight out of ten of these Europeans disapprove of racist movements and approve of anti-racist movements. This result is higher for those with less national patriotism and higher pro-democratic and post-materialist (increased public participation and free expression) scores. However, one West European in three believes that there are too many people of another race or nationality in his/her country. Once again, those with a strong sense of national pride, materialist orientations (maintaining order and concern for price inflation), advancing age, lower educational level, and right-wing leanings are positively associated with the feeling that there are too many "others" in one's country. Additionally, there is not much evidence of mixing with "others" among Europeans as friends or in neighborhoods. However, one in three Westerners has contacts at work with those of a different nationality, but there is no more intolerance among these people than among those who have no such contacts.

The large majority of respondents also said that they had no problems living together with "others" (there is less of a problem seen in this regard by the more highly educated or politically "left" respondents). Most of the concern about foreigners or refugees centered on those who were members of a large national immigrant group, who had economic reasons for their migration, or who had a notably different culture from the native population. Half of the respondents looked upon immigrants as a positive force in their country, while a sizeable minority held an opposite view. Survey respondents were also positively disposed toward improving relations with non-nationals as long as it did not require them to approve of their naturalization or to learn another language. Three-fourths of EC citizens also approve of maintaining or improving the rights of immigrants in the community, through cooperative legislation if possible (Commission of the European Communities, November 1989, pp. 1-7, 20, and 106).

Observed differences among these nations in the post-1989 period are not really large or significant. All nations fall into the upper medium category and all have gone through major changes from their previous Communist regimes in the pre-1989 period. (Naturally, initially highest and now fractured Yugoslavia shows the least such change.) From a broader perspective, future growth toward pluralistic democracy will be slower. It will take

years to monitor whether - or how well - it works as well as in which other areas, such as economic and social reforms. This study should serve as a baseline for subsequent research efforts which attempt to chart the growth of democratic regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. Momentum toward democracy has been substantial in all Eastern European nations. We predict the most progress toward democracy in Hungary, Poland, eastern Germany, and the Czech (but not the Slovak) part of the former CSFR and the least in Bulgaria, Romania, and what was once Yugoslavia, especially with the civil war there, something which will retard democratization for everyone directly proportionate to the degree to which it further increases national/ethnic hatreds and divisiveness.

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3 *Prospects for Development of Democratic and Civil Society in (Eastern) Germany*

The Case of the New Forum Movement

3.1 Abstract

This chapter describes the history of the New Forum in eastern Germany from September 1989 to the present. The New Forum served as a mediator between the people and the old regime to institute democratically-indicated political changes (under Socialist reform, not its destruction, however) in the former GDR. As such, it taught its adherents valuable lessons in direct democracy, which proved useful until the western German political steam-roller (particularly the CDU) completely transformed eastern German political life. The lessons learned have not been forgotten; New Forum still

plays a mediating role between people and government, but its political days are numbered unless it broadens its appeal beyond minority and disadvantaged groups, increases its political and financial power, and becomes more institutionalized and more practiced in the new, formal German politics in the near future.

3.2 Introduction

The people's movement *Neues Forum* (New Forum) in the former GDR may be studied as an expression of the growth of a new eastern German political culture (as, for example, in Rostock). In September 1989, those people who wanted to stay and change their country joined together with other villages, towns, and cities of the former GDR, as was also the case in Rostock.

Within and under their protection, the old GDR churches helped New Forum (the people's movement) in Rostock and elsewhere organize and meet under clerical auspices. The following phases in the development of a new political culture within the New Forum and other people's movements occurred in 1989/90 in Rostock (Schmidtbauer, 1991a and b):

1. The first phase after constituting the people's movement coincided with initiation of political activity in all social spheres, breaking the political monopoly of the Socialist Unity Party, and encouraging a popular democratic and pluralistic public opinion (from the end of September until early December 1989). This phase may be subdivided into the following events:
 - The inaugural meeting of the New Forum complete with new information sources and offices (November 5, 1989).
 - Attendance at religious services preceded the outbreak of demonstrations.
 - Initiation of dialogue-discourses began between the people and their long-term rulers.
 - Discovery of the gun-running practices of a state firm (IMES).
 - The peaceful occupation of secret police buildings.
2. The second phase led to the use of newly gained political power for the further democratization of political and social life (early December 1989 until March 26, 1990). Events here included:
 - Initiation of "round tables" in cities, districts, and provinces.

- Establishment of a dual government composed separately of the old executive and the new "round table" representatives.
 - Organization of and staging protest demonstrations against the mayor and town council.
3. The third phase (i.e., joint political responsibility and power sharing and the democratic reconstruction of Rostock's institutional system) was an important part of Rostock's democratic development. Here, the elements were:
 - A new Rostock mayor was chosen from the New Forum, the people's movement.
 - Members of the people's movement took seats on the town council.
 - A democratic communal constitution was formulated.
 4. The fourth phase came as a result of democratic elections in Rostock for the town council and senate. Significant occurrences were:
 - A New Forum member became president of the town council.
 - Senators were elected from the people's movement.
 - A new Rostock "round table" was founded.

The people's movement serves as an example of the growth of a new political culture in the former GDR, but particularly in the Rostock area.

3.3 Some Further Background Information

It is interesting to reflect on some aspects of the recent radical changes (the *Umbruch* in the former GDR and, in particular, the example of the Baltic port city of Rostock) which illustrate the development of and trend toward citizens' involvement in democratic political process. Two questions regarding grass-roots democracy after Autumn 1989 are:

1. How is grass-roots democratic theory converted into practical politics in the transition from a socialist to a pluralistic-democratic society?
2. Which of these democratic approaches will most likely result in more permanent societal changes?

The city of Rostock is quite suitable for such an analysis since the civil rights movement had considerable influence over local government and politics. This includes:

- The role of round tables, especially during the era of round table rule (Spring 1990).
- The appointment of a New Forum representative as the new mayor in cooperation with the round table Rostock (March to June 1990).
- Over 10% of the votes in Rostock local elections (May 1990) went to citizen action group representatives.
- A round table sponsored local constitution was developed, displaying grass-roots democracy (e.g., citizens' councils, action groups, and provisions for tapping citizens' desires regarding local decisions).
- The establishment of a coalition government from the civil rights movement group (including the *Bündnis '90*) in the city and oppositional activities against the gun-running firm, *Kommerzielle Koordinierung*.
- The new *Rostocker Bürgertisch* (Rostock Citizens' Table) became the successor to the round table.

Three other problems include the proper analysis of the movement's politics as well as assessing its influence on party democracy; the analysis of the round table's role in the transformation process in the former GDR; and, finally, how to do a political-sociological analysis of members' and sympathizers' class affiliations in Autumn 1989 regarding programmatic demands and group structures.

3.4 Origins of Opposition Groups in the Former GDR

The civil rights movements and citizens' action groups in Rostock primarily came from the peace and environmental groups located mainly inside the GDR churches. Other support came from government-level organizations (e.g., the Culture Association or the Association for Nature and Environment), from Socialist United Party (SED) critical members and other former GDR parties, and from independent citizens. These groups had proposed social changes in the former GDR against the absolute claim over truth from the state/SED and for social individualization and pluralization.

The various phases for the *Umbruch* (period of changes) of 1989/90 in Rostock show that, especially before 1990, local elections were used to replace the old socialist structures in politics, the economy, the media, education, and other fields. The newly-founded citizens' movements set themselves the task of achieving the greatest possible degree of citizens' involvement during the changes. Representatives of the church, artistic, education, and state intelligentsia were proportionally over-represented in the formation

and direction of this civil rights movement. For example, New Forum (later to become the biggest and most influential of the citizens' movements) was founded with the aim of creating, outside the Church

" . . . a political platform for the entire GDR, which will enable people from all professions, from every walk of life, from all parties and groups, to take part in discussing and tackling the essential problems of this society" (Aufbruch '89, Neues Forum, Grünheide bei Berlin, 1989, p. 1).

To realize this aim, various means were used. There were announcements during services in Rostock churches, for example. During the demonstrations, tens of thousands of Rostock inhabitants demanded certain rights and freedoms (e.g., the legalization of opposition groups and parties, free elections, a free press, the dissolution of the Ministry for State Security - the Stasi).

These and other demands were often raised during heated discussions in public forums of community members, local politicians, and party functionaries. By Autumn 1989, the citizens' movements still pursued their goal to change "real existing socialism", to reform it, not to dismantle it. To illustrate, the Rostock *Neues Forum* had the following general aims in mind:

- A democratic society, with no single party having sole power.
- Democratic socialism.
- Changes to existing social structures.
- Recognition of the existence of two German states, east and west.
- Anti-fascism (see discussion paper, Was ist und was will das Neues Forum?, Neues Forum Rostock, Rostock, October 30, 1989, pp. 1-2).

The demands of Rostock's United Citizens' Initiative for a New Socialism (*Vereinigte Bürgerinitiative für einen neuen Sozialismus*) were also aimed at achieving a new, reformed, and democratic socialism. It called for votes of confidence in the city council and the regional administration, resignation of the current regional council members, appointment of citizens' committees, and establishment of an independent press. (See file note on discussions between representatives of the *Bürgerinitiative* and representatives of the city council and others December 4, 1989, Rostock, 1989, pp. 1-2).

3.5 Four Major Developmental Phases

The civil rights movement had made possible (through their activities in the different phases in the democratization of political and social life) the formation of a plural and democratic public as well as the democratic and nonviolent reorganization of the GDR's major institutional systems. This movement went through four major developmental phases.

3.5.1 Phase 1

The first phase for radical change in Rostock (from September to early December 1989) witnessed formation of the civil rights movement, citizens' action groups, and the growth of an independent public. At this time, the churches were centers for sharing public information. The civil rights movements provided their supporters with political information during prayers, demonstrations, and dialogues with the state apparatus, and through two independent newspapers, *Bürgerrat* and *Plattform*. At the end of this phase, a power vacuum result from fragmentation of the state system's opinion monopoly. Events that took place from December 1 to 9, 1989 clearly illustrated this political void, namely:

- Eliminating the SED's total power and primary role from the Constitution.
- SED members' protest demonstrations against the leadership.
- Resignation of the SED Politburo.
- Resignation of Egon Krenz from all state positions.
- First Central round table meetings in Berlin.
- Discovery and announcement of the links between the gun-running firm, IMES, and its state partner firm, Kommerzielle.
- Resignation of the Rostock district council.
- Initiation of talks between the "United Citizens Initiative for a New Socialism" and the Rostock mayor about proposed social reforms.
- The peaceful occupation, evacuation, and control of Rostock secret police (Stasi) headquarters.
- Resignation of the sitting Rostock county council.
- Resignation of the Rostock SED district leaders.
- Formation of a justice committee.
- Formation of a Rostock citizens' council.
- Meeting of the first round table in Rostock.

At this time, citizens' political movements were not only tolerated, but a majority of GDR inhabitants supported them. It even seemed possible that these movements could consolidate their political power. But this did not happen.

3.5.2 Phase 2

The second phase (from early December 1989 to March 26, 1990) saw the active control of the new civil rights movements over the old party and state apparatus and the establishment of the first democratic rights for these new groups in the previously mentioned and other local and national councils, committees, and organizations. Thereby, they advanced the cause of democratizing social and political life in the entire former GDR.

The practice of shared control and cooperative rights put the round table and other committees through many new trials. Six town senators without business connections were appointed in February 1990 from the round table to the Rostock town hall (see minutes of the Rostock round table, Rostock, February 16, 1990, p. 2). Conflict between the round table and the town council increased in March 1990. It became a real power struggle between "old" and "new" political forces. The round table finished its work on March 15, 1990 after mounting political protests against the town council. The Rostock mayor resigned after these demonstrations and a mostly symbolic town hall occupation on March 26, 1990.

3.5.3 Phase 3

The third phase (from March 26 to early June 1990) signalled consolidation of local power for the Rostock round table over all political parties, groups, and organizations, both old and new. The democratic and nonviolent reorganization of all institutional systems was then begun.

Neues Forum elected Chairman Kleemann from the civil rights movement as the new Rostock mayor with the support of 11 parties, citizens' action groups, and round table organizations. This unanimous election was an impressive democratic legitimation for the entire round table process.

The round table chose another 18 town senators (without business connections) for the town hall, replacing previous town senators. It thereby achieved a bigger role in local politics.

In order to achieve the primary aim mentioned earlier (i.e., the widest possible degree of citizens' involvement), a "Draft Constitution" for Rostock was published in April 1990. Many aspects of the round tables' political experiences were reflected in this document. It provided for citizens' committees, initiative, referenda, and petitions (see "*Entwurf der vorläufigen Kommunalverfassung der Hansestadt Rostock*", Rostock, April 1990, pp. 1-10).

The Rostock Constitution, in force since the reunion, does not bear much resemblance to this 1990 citizen-centered draft document. Local power was then centered in the new democratic groups and the citizens' round table. The national situation which developed was very different from Rostock's unique situation. The new direction was set after selections of the people's chamber on March 18, 1990 (i.e., the plan of the CDU: quick unity and the D-mark steamroller). A large majority of people decided for this route and not for the civil rights movement or the less-drastic SPD route.

3.5.4 Phase 4

The fourth phase began with the new coalition between the CDU, SPD, FDP, and the civil rights movements' group *Bündnis '90* (composed of *Neues Forum* and "Democracy Now"). *Bündnis '90* had received over 10% of the vote in local elections. This was a high share of the vote in comparison with other eastern German cities. This was, so to speak, a reward for the civil rights movements' activities in Rostock. In the district around Rostock, *Neues Forum* received over 12% of the vote; it had formed a new coalition with three other parties.

Some continuity with the autumn days of 1989 was found in the selection of Chairman Kleemann as president of the city parliament and in A. Peters as the chairman of the Rostock district (both were from the *Neues Forum*). The civil rights movements thus played a role in the local government and administration and exerted institutional influence over local policy. Thus, they remained active in the subsequent democratization process. After these local elections, party democracy limited the political role of citizens' action groups and the civil rights movement. One example of this is the big parties' refusal to allow formal participation of a new round table group (the *Rostocker Bürgertisch*) on a new consulting committee.

However, the Rostock round table resumed some political work once again in September 1990. Its goal was to ensure and promote

". . . by building upon the experience of the old Round Table, contact and dialogue between the city council and those parties, citizens' movements, organizations, and bodies which are unrepresented, or only present as minorities, in council (*Grundordnung für das Konsultativgremium Runder Tisch der Hansestadt Rostock - Entwurf*, Rostock, July 9, 1990, p. 1).

Nevertheless, the civil rights movement has begun to fade from the political scene in Rostock for several reasons. Many former members joined the big parties and many active members filled new positions on different committees or accepted administrative functions. Another part migrated from these groups to smaller local citizens' action groups, associations, and organizations. This trend toward compression was very strong, especially before elections for the county parliament. No civil rights movement member managed to win a seat in parliament. The only remaining activities of the round table in 1991/92, for example, were protest demonstrations against a new hard coal power station and group action for a new grass-roots constitution in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. There is not much positive influence from the civil rights movement since widespread ignorance about this groups' roles/opinions exists in the big parties.

Therefore, it seems that citizens' action groups and civil rights movements perform well in the local arena, the cities, and the villages. These are the best fields for such activities and grass-roots movements. An analysis of their activities in the last two years indicates that local policy provides a possibility for more citizen participation, personal interest in social and political life, and a way for people to become political actors and citizens.

3.6 New Social Movements or New Citizens' Action Groups?

Many civil rights movements, citizens' action groups, and other groups are now active in and around Rostock (for example, the New Forum, Democracy Now, the Green party, the Green League, the United Left, and the Independent Woman's Association). They are now in the process of structural and organizational change into a new civil rights movement, political party, association, or citizens' action group. New social movements rise and fall in the new German *Länder* much faster than in western Germany. This is one reason for the conflict between the new groups/movement on one side and institutional power on the other.

The civil rights movement and citizens' action groups in the former GDR were institutions designed for grass-roots political action. This action was in direct conflict with the ruling political class. These new groups became mediation committees between the people and the state and party leadership. Such functions were needed in early 1990. The role of the civil rights movement was less relevant to the framework of an institutionalized party democracy. The groups lost their roles as a coordinator of protests against state power, as a political alternative to the SED (and other parties), as well as a forum for articulation of civil rights reforms (press-, opinion-, assembly-freedoms). This development is very different from new social movements in the old FRG. Another difference is the allowable sphere for social activity, compared with those salient in the new political system (such as peace and environmental problems, the degree of political rights and freedoms, control of the secret police, developing social alternatives, and chances for a new grass-roots democratic society).

3.7 The Round Table An Applicable Grass-Roots Model for Mediation Between People, Politicians, and Public Policy in a Party Democracy?

The Rostock round table had taken on political, activist, governmental, and parliamentary functions. Representatives of the old ruling parties and of these new political groups wanted to reform "real, existing socialism", producing a new democratic socialism at local, regional, and national levels. The round table became both a decisional and a controlling committee, a kind of constituent legislature. Its primary function was to bring all social units and political groups together during the social crisis in order to discuss all relevant problems and their potential solutions (see W. Ullmann, "Conference on the Round Tables", December 1, 1991, Dresden, 1991).

The round table developed as a peaceful alternative to potentially violent arguments and political fights. It was an instrument for producing democratic legitimacy before the ensuing democratic elections. By January 1990, the Round Table became a veto and popular control authority.

Today, the round table has not lost its legitimacy as a consultation committee, searching for solutions to the present crisis situation in the five new Länder. The round table presently functions as neither a government nor parliamentary agency, but rather as a kind of mediation committee between politicians on the one side and the people on the other. It serves as an oppo-

ment to, or substitute for, democratic governments at different levels, and as a means for understanding the many views of different social groups and minorities: women, youth, foreigners, handicapped, and unemployed persons. These groups have no support or representation at the moment for resolving their problems.

The round table must learn to survive in other than crisis situations, before they totally dissolve. It must learn to survive not only in times of political catastrophe or during a transition from dictatorship to democracy. Today, members enjoy their legitimacy from past political experiences and representation of popular interests. This provides the possibility for their social renewal and self-reorganization. The round table needs financial support to survive, as well as continuing involvement in decision making and the ability to occasionally exercise the power of political veto. All of these are clear needs for the exceptional situation in which we shall find ourselves within the "special area" of eastern Germany over the next several years.

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4 *Ice-breakers, Free-riders and Postcommunists* **An Experimental Training Program for Solidarity Activists as University Managerial Cadre**

4.1 Abstract

Is there life after a social movement - even after it peaks? What happens to its participants after the group fades away or the movement changes?

These questions should be answered if we are to arrive at a balanced view of the contribution social movements have made (or are making) to the promotion of flexible institutional environments and to increased social equality. They are not easily answered. A social movement which begins what has often, and euphemistically, been called "a long march through the institutions" does so amidst the shower of sparkling images it produced during its heyday. An aura the movement retains from its inception often prevents us from seeing how it has disintegrated. Participants in the movement (even if they are busy dismantling and dividing it into various other movements or institutions) still tend to identify themselves with "the" movement. Nobody wants to be perceived as one of its grave diggers. This study concludes that while Solidarity teacher-activists served as "ice breakers" at the regional and national levels, they are still today considered "free riders"

with respect to this long march through societal institutions. Consequently, they have little moral capital to spend and no higher standing than other political opponents in struggles over power allocations and distribution of scarce societal resources. Prospects for their likely reform of what they have the greatest opportunity to effectuate (namely, university level curricula, organization, teaching methods, institutions, and other democratic changes) also seem unlikely to happen, given the strong prevailing influence of their prior socialization experiences, which were rarely democratic and always either ambiguous, contradictory, or both.

4.2 Introduction Solidarity in the 1990s

The 1990s have put Poland's "Solidarity" in a new and very difficult situation. "Solidarity", created in August 1980, had assumed the form of a trade union; yet it embodied the political will of the whole society. (It came into being nine years before the "velvet revolutions" and, to a large extent, paved the way for their swift success.) Communist institutions still firmly held Polish society in place; "Solidarity" offered an alternative political voice. In the entire Soviet-controlled block of nation states, it was the only oppositional political party created against fierce Communist resistance. Using the form of a trade union was a political compromise, but the Polish army tanks which drove through the gates of their country's factories and mines in December 1981 put a temporary end to this compromise. The Soviets, still convinced they could maintain their empire, had mobilized local support under General Jaruzelski.

Paradoxically, the same inner ambiguity, which had originally allowed it to score a political victory, plagues present-day "Solidarity." By claiming that it was just a trade union, "Solidarity" could strike a bargain with the ruling Communists and simultaneously begin dismantling the system. The introduction of martial law slowed this process down, but not for long. Nine years after the emergence of "Solidarity" as a mass social protest movement, other communist regimes started collapsing like houses of cards. The domino theory worked, but not westward. Poland was the first central European and Warsaw Pact country which witnessed Communist capitulation through their agreement to free parliamentary elections, gradual self-obliteration, and response to public opinion.

The essential by-product of this political victory has resulted in a profound crisis within a movement which found itself in political power. On the one

hand, it remained a trade union, albeit not the only one. On the other hand, it turned into the breeding ground for politicians competing for top positions in a rapidly democratizing state. To have worked during the creation of "Solidarity" and to have suffered under martial law became a wild card in the political game. Having a "Solidarity" past became a valuable political commodity. When this renewed repression proved to be unsuccessful, a personal record of having been persecuted became an asset in post-Communist political struggles. (The appearance of Mikhail Gorbachev signified a change of mind among the Soviet elite, who apparently decided that the catchwords of "modernization" and "democratization" could prolong their dominance better than sheer repression.) But by using the aura of a movement to compete for political power, one had to pay the price for skilfully disguising the political movement as a trade union. If a member wanted to play a truly political role, he/she had to sacrifice certain trade union interests. If leaders wanted to stick to the trade union side of the bargain, they had to sacrifice their aspirations for a broader, nationwide representation of interests.

The story of the disintegration of a mass social protest movement is, therefore, a story of groups of politicians emerging from within "Solidarity" and thereafter relying on different constituencies. Not surprisingly, almost all of them use the aura of the social movement to legitimize their interpretation of its legacy after the political victory. Their subsequent direct political participation has made them visible; it also has made it possible to trace this process, particularly in the national parliament and government. For instance, during the 1990 Polish presidential elections, a prime minister and former "Solidarity" adviser, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, competed against Lech Walesa, the "Solidarity" chairman and charismatic trade union leader. Both claimed to represent the "message" of the movement. Both were democratically elected to their posts. Both supported the privatization campaign and market transformation. Each was afraid of the explosive growth of unemployment. Both wanted to phase the Communists out of the bureaucracy. Each appealed to his core constituencies (Mazowiecki to the middle class and professionals; Walesa to the industrial workers and some professionals). Both used "dirty" tactics. (Mazowiecki's media portrayed Walesa as an emerging dictator and a *nouveau riche* from a social class which does not have table manners and would, thus, disgrace the country. Walesa's campaign specialists pointed out the slow pace of phasing out the Communists and of reforming the economy under Mazowiecki, hinting that his pre-

sumed "egg-headedness" hindered him from making quick decisions.) Each lost in the first round of the presidential elections, although the loss was much more serious for Mazowiecki than for Walesa.

4.3 Studies of Elite and Rank-and-file Viewpoints

For a sociologist who wants to investigate the dynamics of new social movements after they have succeeded, the study of the movement's prominent and articulate elite provides only part of the explanation. He/she also has to understand some of the underlying dynamics (e.g., what the rank and file do and how they evaluate their movement's success or failure?). This is a much more difficult task. First of all, the rank and file are less visible; a sociologist does not have a free scholarly ride, which the media provide in their focus on the top politicians. He/she cannot have an in-depth view of the numerous loci of opinion formation. It is also extremely difficult for him/her to measure levels of (dis)satisfaction with the movement's creative disintegration or evolution into new political institutions.

Prior to the October 1991 parliamentary elections, "Solidarity" decided (according to its acting chairman Marian Krzaklewski) that it would not enter the government in future, intending to "stabilize" and "mediate" support among those political parties which offered the best chance for continuing past reforms and for protecting trade union members. In other words, the trade union decided to compete directly in elections with political parties and former "Solidarity" activists (e.g., Mazowiecki, Geremek, and Bugajski) to legitimize their critical attitude *vis á vis* any future government through their indirect parliamentary representation. One of the radical "Solidarity" leaders, Jan Rulewski, maintained that, to prevent the former Communists from entering the new parliament under various guises, it was necessary to publish the secret documents which the former secret police (the "SB") had gathered. Both these declarations reflected the attitudes of the trade union's members who wanted their movement to retain its basic identity. The goal was to prevent merging this identity with democratic state institutions, to keep the former Communists from subverting democratic institutions, and to preserve their trade union to protect their jobs. In other words, they wanted their movement both to succeed in the long march through the institutions and to retain its identity as a movement in the process (i.e., "yes" to a presence in the parliament, but "no" to any ministerial posts in the government).

It is quite possible that this compromise coincided with rank and file trade union demands. A generalized distrust of government did not disappear after the Communists left town. As a matter of fact, a similar pattern of gloomy expectations has obviously and all-too-easily been transferred from the Communists to the "Solidarity" leaders. As a case in point, in August 1990 during a visit to a food production factory in Bydgoszcz, Poland, the local "Solidarity" leader entered the plant manager's office. Jokingly, the "Solidarity" leader commented on the Polish national emblem (an eagle) which was still displayed there without a royal crown. This had been a Communist directive since the royal crown was a symbol for Poland's aristocratic elite. After touring the premises, the group returned to the office. To everyone's (except for the manager's) surprise, the eagle sported a royal crown, hastily painted over the red background.

Having reconstructed some rank and file views (amounting to a certain post-victory nostalgia), let us try to focus on a single group of former "Solidarity" members and activists and to examine their attitudes in what can be termed the "post-movement" phase of the long march through the institutions. They have been selected for analysis in part because none of them capitalized on their personal commitments to "Solidarity" to advance their personal careers within their organizations. They have also been chosen because they are presently involved in an institutional transformation process which is turning very, very slowly towards a "postcommunist" mode of operations (i.e., as far as democratic decision-making, participatory management, and general reform go).

4.4 East European Management Teacher Development Program

Our sample is of former "Solidarity" movement members, all in a TEMPUS project, designed to prepare teachers to introduce elements of managerial education in legal, technical, economic, and agricultural studies. The idea behind the project was that the expected growth in entrepreneurial activity and small businesses could be assisted if future lawyers, engineers, agricultural specialists, and economists (average age between 30 and 40) had some managerial know-how and training. The project (JEP 0183-90) is called the "East European Management Teacher Development Program." Its sponsors include Lancaster University (Great Britain), Erasmus University (Netherlands), Copenhagen Handelshojskolen (Denmark), and the University of Poznan (Poland), with some assistance from the Economic University of

Vienna (Austria). We received a significant amount of feedback, both formal and informal, which allowed us to draw conclusions about the ways in which former active members of "Solidarity" (intellectuals who are presently in this age bracket belonged to the most active groups supporting the workers in their struggle against the former Communist regime) perceive their new roles in their domestic institutions. We were also interested in how they translate their experiences in the movement into actions within new institutional frameworks.

Although the project was barely one year old and the actual implementation of such courses would take at least another year, some observations are warranted. First, all of those participants (30 individuals, roughly half of them with doctorates, from Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, Bialystok, Torun, and Kielce) were members of "Solidarity." They had voted for "Solidarity" in the parliamentary elections of 1989. Their vote in the presidential elections of 1990 was divided, with a slight majority for Mazowiecki and the rest for Walesa. (However, all of them voted for Walesa in the second round of presidential elections.) Second, they were active in citizen's committees and played an active role in reconstructing the state administration and local self-government. Third, while their support for the top "Solidarity" leaders was consistent as was their unwavering commitment to regional democracy, their ability to carry these attitudes over to domestic institutions was much less evident. They had no difficulty in placing themselves within the context of the social movement or in sticking to this commitment through periods of repression. They also had relatively little difficulty in adjusting their general level of commitment to local conditions, regional reconstruction, and a democratic political system. However, they were much more inconsistent and hesitant regarding altered behavior within their respective institutions (i.e., universities).

Personal doubts began to appear when a transition had to be made from an overall social protest movement to piecemeal social engineering. Most lived through the period which saw swift removal of the most corrupt Communist top university managers and election of new academic authorities. But they also shared the feeling that a significant group of former conformists had successfully retarded the reform process and that the overall change at their universities was proceeding much more slowly than they had hoped. Both the way in which they designed their projects and the way in which they intend to implement them is highly indicative of their "social construction of reality." Since they are co-running a professional organiza-

tion, most of their decisions have direct influence on the members and can easily backfire. (This makes them much more cautious than would be the case in an overall political transformation of a national or regional system.)

When reviewing their projects (submitted during a Vienna workshop in August 1991), the following observations emerged:

1. Institutional loyalties were very distinctly compartmentalized. Only one project among 12 involved a cross-cutting integration of teachers from various departments and specializations and a horizontal networking of teachers from different universities. In most cases, the overall structure of the university, its relationships with other organizations, and its present curricular forms were not questioned. No project design aimed at restructuring the faculty or radically altering the curriculum. While quite ready to change the parliament, they appeared to shy away from changing the college, deans, or the university senate.
2. The overall structure of the university (especially with respect to the directors' and deans' discretionary powers) was never questioned. All participants expected to submit projects to their departments, to acquire their respective deans' approval, and to implement them thereafter.

Democracy and participation may flourish in parliaments or local city self-governments, but the factory/university gate is much more stable. Perhaps some of the structural reasons for a slow rate of, for instance, privatization in eastern Europe is at least partly due to this perceived reluctance to translate participants' overall social protest and democratic views into postulates for piecemeal social engineering within a functioning organization.

3. Links between theoretical and practical aspects of the courses designed were seldom recognized. They paid no attention to the "demand" side of the job market in the transition towards a market economy. (The notable exception to this were four case studies based on actual privatization procedures.) Moreover, there was no phase-in or attempt to tap an emerging network of state, commercial, and advisory resources and organizations which actually implemented the privatization programs. There was also very little planning for "opportunities" for "on-the-job" training and future job expectations for graduates.
4. Students' roles were still defined in terms of their being passive receivers of academic teachers' knowledge and skills. Even if actual attempts were made to introduce new participatory teaching techniques, there

were no provisions for feedback procedures and for potential program transformation as a result of feedback from students or from graduates' on-the-job experience. In turn, formal relations between students (as "recipients" of knowledge) and university teachers (as "transmitters" of knowledge) were conceptualized in an inflexible, institutionally "frozen" way. (This was true even though in private, informal conversations, they appeared to be aware of the need for interactive student-teacher relations and of the value of student feedback.)

These observations prompt the conclusion that while teachers of the "Solidarity" generation readily act as "ice-breakers" on a regional and national political stage, they are still "free-riders" as far as leading the long march through societal institutions goes. This situation leaves these postcommunists on a par with oppositional political forces in domestic inter-organizational struggles over power and resource distribution.

What are the reasons for these differences? Why are the same individuals ready to assume responsibility for major social changes, to identify with the movement in its pre-victory stage, and to support nationwide political action and integration of various population groups, while continuing to shy away from applying sociological and political insights and the movement's postulates to modest social engineering within their domestic organizations, daily routines, and professional duties?

In trying to explain this duality of attitudes, we have to apply a hypothesis about individuals and social movements, using George Simmel's distinction between dramatic and routine processes in the fabric of social life (Magala, 1980). The aura of a social movement probably makes it easier for individuals to perceive overall social and political change as a dramatic process, while the application of piecemeal social engineering to their immediate environment lacks such an aura. The distinction between a glorious revolutionary "drama" of social protest and change on the one hand and a mundane routine of daily negotiations to gradually transform and reform an immediate organizational environment discourages university teachers from adopting a more radical approach towards their own organizations. This distinction means that, for these individuals, "there is less glory" in the post-movement march through the institutions than there was in the movement's previous or subsequent activities. It also means that the umbrella-like solidarity of the broad social movement must compete with detailed, more personal, and institutionally bound solidarities, blurring the coherence

of individual action and its compatibility with certain general values. (A discussion of the managerial consequences of such "blurring" can be found in Magala, 1991.)

There are other reasons to suggest that such distinctions can also be traced with respect to activities within other social groups. To validate this claim would require future additional empirical investigations. From a more theoretical point of view, Melucci has discussed related problems of social movements in their disintegration phase, writing that:

"The decline of movements as characters' signifies the dissolution of the subject' and an increase in the formal capacity for self-reflection" (Melucci, 1989,p.74).

This blurring of the movement's message in the midst of institutional struggles is an expression of the new ways in which social movement participants view organizations. As he says:

"In contemporary collective action the organization has acquired a different status. It is no longer considered as a means to an end, and it therefore cannot be assessed only in terms of instrumental rationality. . . . It is also the laboratory in which actors test their capacity to challenge the dominant cultural codes" (Ibid., p. 74).

If Melucci is right, then the next two groups of program participants should demonstrate increased versatility and new skills in dealing with their respective institutions. (They will already have had considerable experience in ad hoc social engineering without a significant level of post-movement nostalgia.) Repeating this study in mid-1992 and mid-1993 should provide an opportunity for additional empirical verification of this hypothesis.

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5 *Polish University Students' Attitudes Toward Other Nationalities* **Research Results and Methodological Considerations**

5.1 Acknowledgement

The text of this chapter was developed at the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, for implementing a course entitled: "Citizen education in the process of democratic transformation." Students of the Special Pedagogy College, in cooperation with the APRO Company, both in Warsaw, used their own computer programs to calculate these findings. The author also thanks Professor Franciszek Ryszka and participants in his Warsaw University seminar for their valuable remarks. A rough copy of this text was published in *Pastwo i Kultura Polityczna*, No. 1, 1991 under my authorship.

5.2 Abstract

This chapter offers a new quasi projectional method called "Chinese Portrait", which allows us to scrutinize attitudes toward other social groups.

The selected names of animals, plants, minerals, colors, etc. (mostly used by respective groups for comparisons with people) are treated as key words, evoking various free associations. These standardized responses can be interpreted deeply and widely. This attempt should also eliminate uncontrolled influence from related values, thus essentially modifying the responses of tested persons when more traditional methods are used.

The chapter also includes applying the method in a case study. We examined and interpreted the stereotyped attitudes of Polish youth toward 16 well-known nationalities. Conclusions emphasize the advantages of the method, which allows us to measure results much more in depth and to develop a more reliable analysis system.

5.3 Assumptions and Hypotheses

Do contemporary Poles differentiate their attitudes toward various social groups? By answering "Yes", we give this issue a high priority in the hierarchy of problems that fascinate the contemporary political scientist, sociologist, ethnologist, and psychologist. Analyzing attitudes toward other social groups helps us to estimate the state of a society's integration; its sense of being threatened; its tolerance, openness, or closeness to new ideas or cultural patterns; the character, durability and scope of its superstitions or prejudices, as well as its readiness to cooperate with others; and the sources for and the nature of potential inter-group conflicts.

For many decades, research in this area focussed mainly on different tests and scales of attitudes. Some of the most important are the R. Likert scale (1932), which mainly reveals the direction and strength of the tested attitude; the C. H. Coombs disclosure technique (1964); the L. L. Thurstone equal interval method (1929), which allows more precise measurements and their comparison; the L. Guttman scale (1950), which shows the multiple dimensions of a given attitude and, therefore, its different aspects; and the C. E. Osgood semantic differential scale (1957), which probes these dimensions even further, allowing us to assume the conditioning of emotional and motivational components for stances and attitudes.

However, to analyze the attitude toward other social groups (mainly nationalities), variations of the E. S. Bogardus method are most frequently used in the USA and Western Europe. Bogardus, who developed this method from 1925 to 1928, first measured the "social distance" of white Americans toward other ethnic groups.

The Bogardus method (1928) is a technique for measuring "social distance" (gaps). It is based on a test composed of several phrases/statements expressing different degrees of readiness to establish contacts with a specific social group and/or its representatives. It is assumed that by virtue of the deeper, more direct contacts the tested persons are ready to establish with representatives of another social group, the smaller is their subjectively perceived distance from that group's members. Therefore, social distance is a measurement of the extent to which particular individuals (social groups) maintain (or are ready to enter into) various relations, associations, or contacts.

Depending on a studied group's socio-demographic parameters, the versions of this method are, of course, appropriately modified (e.g., when researching the attitude of one children's group toward another, one does not inquire about readiness to marry or to work in the same factory, but rather about willingness to go on a common excursion, or - in the case of pupils - to do homework together, etc.). Nevertheless, this does not eliminate a basic drawback of this method: the declarative character of indications obtained in this way and the strong interference from other orientations and values with the declared choices.

Therefore, this causes results to be excessively biased. Certain testing artifacts are practically impossible to filter out and to assess. Since the previously mentioned interference of deeply internalized value systems and other orientations are their main source. (For example, a person who accepts the principle of avoiding saying - or even thinking - negative things about others may express this principle when asked about his/her attitude toward a Chinese; therefore, the answer may not truly reveal the person's feelings and thoughts or what he/she would really do if meeting a Chinese). So the predictive value of the results obtained in this way turns out to be problematic. It is also difficult to use the results to predict tested individuals' actual behavior and entire groups' actions toward others. In particular, this concerns the results of studies presently conducted when the persons tested generally have a much higher level of political culture and education than a researcher might have encountered several decades ago. That is, the degree of complexity of value systems and attitudinal syndromes for tested persons today is much higher than in the past, when their feelings were most likely based on more simple stereotypes and superstitions.

Presently, a whole battery of various tests is often applied. But these tests are difficult to use in real life because of 1) the different theoretical and methodological assumptions and resultant diversification of test procedures, 2) the long duration of such studies, and 3) the high costs of analyzing results. Thus, in many cases, such studies are either abandoned or deliberately limited. Instead, various alternatives are used, concentrating mainly on adapting traditionally used methods and measuring scales which offer proven advantages, but which also have known shortcomings.

However, let us consider using another, nonconventional method. This idea was suggested by an article that appeared on November 12, 1985 in the French newspaper *Le Point*. The article described the person of F. Mitterrand (then president of France) as a combination of traits from various animals, plants, minerals, etc. The newspaper appointed specific "competent judges" who selected the objects/animals with which Mitterrand was compared.

When attempting to recreate the stereotype of respective nationalities in the consciousness of the Poles, we may not, unfortunately, refer to any specific theory. A specific theory would lead to hypotheses that could be verified using empirical tests, which somehow would allow us to either verify or reject this theory. It is difficult to even refer to the results of earlier systematic studies in this area because they are lacking. We only have at our disposal the recently conducted surveys (by the Warsaw Center for Surveying Public Opinions) which generally have confirmed the well-known opinion that Poles have the most favorable reflections about Hungarians; however, they have the biggest anxieties and negative associations about "the Germans."

In this situation, let us use as a working hypothesis these general opinions about the attitudes of Poles toward Germans and Hungarians (and, for background comparisons, some other nationalities). These attitudes are reflected in the popular legend of the suicidal death of a Polish princess (Wanda) "who did not want a German" and in the popular slogan about a Pole and a Hungarian, suggesting a friendly association between the "Hungarian-Polish pals."

5.4 Research Procedure

To construct and standardize a new, quasi-projectional method (known as "The Chinese Portrait"), we selected 54 animals, 18 plants, and 24 minerals

that contemporary Poles customarily use when comparing themselves with other people. In addition, we used 14 colors that symbolize other nationalities' traits in the best way. The names of these animals, plants, minerals, and colors were subsequently used as key words to evoke various free associations from tested persons. These persons were asked to submit at least three associations of this kind related to particular key words and to express their attitude toward the animals, plants, minerals, and colors that they specified by ranking them on a scale from 1 to 7 (ranging from "I like very much" to "I don't like very much").

The data obtained using this method allow for standardization of the method and for a deeper, more unambiguous interpretation of the test's results. The basic test required people to answer questions that respectively related to 16 nationalities or ethnicities, all well-known to Poles: Englishmen, Arabs, Americans, Czechs, Frenchmen, Greeks, Japanese, Canadians, Germans, Poles, Russians, Swedes, Turks, Hungarians, Italians, and Jews.

The following questions were asked:

- What would the representative of the given nationality be, if he/she were an animal or mineral?
- What (or what traits) constitute main differences between different nationalities? By what are they mostly characterized?
- What is the attitude of tested persons toward other nationalities using expressions chosen from the seven-point scale ranging from "I like very much" to "I don't like very much?"
- Who would the tested persons prefer to be if they were not Polish?

It was assumed that tests conducted in this manner would properly and exhaustively reflect the entire complexity of imaginations about other nations. The tested persons (university students) were not initially requested to declare their explicit orientation toward specific nations. In many cases, these explicit orientations could conflict with their other attitudes or values.

5.5 Tested Group

The study was conducted from 1987 to 1989 on a sample of 279 first-year students at Warsaw University, mainly those living on campus (163 women and 116 men, whose modal age was 21). The same sample was also used to standardize the Chinese portrait.

The study was not externally financed. Students at the Special Pedagogy College (Warsaw) who were participating in a seminar on social psychology used university students as their sample group and were also responsible for conducting the study. As a result, the studied group did not meet the criteria for representing an explicitly specified general population (e.g., the adult population of Poland). However, those included in the sample group were intentionally selected from different regions of the country to provide broader conditions for representing those stereotypes which interested us.

It was assumed that persons selected according to these criteria would relatively faithfully retain and transmit the cultural stereotypes present in the social groups in which they have undergone socialization and in which they have functioned up to that date prior to any significant new experiences. Also, it was assumed that the impressions of the selected student group (particularly during their first two years) evidenced the smallest influence of any social professional roles, specific ideological or political views, or other environmental entanglements in which older people (as opposed to youth) are immersed, or which the positions they specifically occupy in the widely perceived social structure may determine. Consequently, the conceptions and attitudes of tested students toward particular nationalities should mainly result from the cultural stereotypes present in the environments where they have previously undergone their socialization.

5.6 Results

To maintain clarity and flow in the narrative, let us begin the presentation of results of the study in the reverse order in which the test questions were asked.

One of the last instructions issued to the tested persons was to complete the sentence: "If I were not a Pole, I would like to be . . ." with the name of one of 16 nationalities. This sentence was completed by 223 of 279 of those tested; 56 persons (20.1%) did not respond. For results, refer to Table 1.

Table 1: "If I were not a Pole, I would like to be a(n) . . ."

Nationality	% Value
Frenchman	16.1
American	14.7
Italian	10.7
Swede	10.4
Canadian	7.9
Greek	6.4
Japanese	5.0
Englishman	4.7
Hungarian	2.5
Jew	2.5
German	1.1
Turk	0.4
No response	20.1

Note: in % (279 = 100%)

Figures total more than 100% due to rounding.

Nobody wanted to be an Arab, a Czech, or a Russian.

When analyzing the answers, one must take into account the possibility that when somebody responds with "Frenchman" (for example), it does not necessarily imply that he/she has some exceptional sympathy toward the French. Nor does it imply that the respondent would like to be such a person as he/she imagines the Frenchman to be (i.e., to possess the traits he/she attributes to a Frenchman).

One may also rationally assume (and such an assumption seems even more probable) that a Pole declaring his/her desire to be a Frenchman would like to possess the things that a Frenchman possesses (in his/her opinion), to live the way the Frenchman lives, and to do what the Frenchman does. Such reasoning may also be conducted "in reverse." Consequently, this could lead to the conclusion that the fact that few people wanted to be Hungarian or German (2.5% and 1.1% respectively) does not necessarily imply that they have an unfriendly or even hostile attitude toward these nationalities.

Let us try to resolve this issue. If we compare the data presented in Table 1 with appropriate sympathy-antipathy indicators, it is possible to illustrate the magnitude and orientation of emotional attitudes of tested persons toward representatives of particular nations, as they subjectively evaluated them. The results (shown in Table 2) were obtained in response to the instruction: "Please rank your attitude toward each nationality by choosing

one of the following possibilities: I like it very much (+3), I like it (+2), I rather like it (+1), I am indifferent (0), I rather do not like it (-1), I do not like it (-2), or I do not like it very much (-3). Enter an appropriate digit (from +3 to -3) next to each nationality listed." Taking the sign into account and adding the weighted values corresponding to each category in the +3 to -3 scale, the indicators were evaluated.

Table 2: Indicators of sympathy (+) and antipathy (-) toward nationalities.

Nationality	Weighted Values
Pole	+375
Canadian	+279
Greek	+267
American	+251
Japanese	+243
Swede	+244
Frenchman	+234
Italian	+204
Hungarian	+122
Englishman	+121
Czech	+15
Jew	-45
Russian	-63
Turk	-159
Arab	-223
German	-273

These results seem to confirm general opinions about negative German stereotypes in the Polish consciousness (the highest antipathy indicator). At the same time, these results somehow contradict opinions about the Hungarian stereotype (relatively one of the lowest sympathy indicators among compared nationalities).

Let us analyze which traits (properties or characteristics) the tested group associate with representatives of the two compared nations in answering a question about what characteristics distinguish the representatives of nationalities listed in the questionnaire from those of other nations. But first, note the high frequency (and, thus indirectly, the intensity) of associations which the names of particular nationalities evoked. One may likely presume that the number of traits which these nationalities evoked in tested

people's consciousness is an important indicator to evaluate stereotypic images for given nationalities.

Let us use (as the frequency-intensity for such associations) the percentage values calculated as the ratio of the number of associations for each nationality to the total number of all 10,150 associations that appeared in the group of tested persons. (Associations appearing fewer than 10 times were omitted in the calculations.)

We can see in Table 3 that the frequency-intensity of associations is very diversified - from the average 13 traits associated with a Japanese, to fewer than one trait related to an Hungarian and a Turk. This confirms the assumption that the image of an Hungarian in the consciousness of the tested persons is neither clear nor unequivocal. In a 279-member group, the key word "Hungarian" evoked only 260 such associations, thus yielding a score of 2.56%.

Table 3: Frequency-intensity of associating traits with names of nationalities.

Nationality	% Value
Japanese	12.7
Englishman	11.4
Italian	9.2
Jew	8.6
Pole	7.4
German	6.3
Czech	5.7
Canadian	5.4
American	5.3
Arab	5.2
Frenchman	5.1
Greek	4.6
Swede	4.1
Russian	3.8
Hungarian	2.6
Turk	2.5

Note: in % (100% = 10,150)

The stereotype of a German probably is much clearer and unequivocal. This fact is confirmed in that there are 640 associations, yielding a score of 6.3%.

One may conclude that the association with the identities of each nation depends not only on the number of traits associated with these nations, but also on what conditions this number is directly and indirectly associated with, on unequivocality of the set of traits associated with particular nations, and on the dispersion-cohesion of their meanings. Due to many traits being synonymous, a formal calculation of their degree of dispersion (e.g., using standard deviations) is less useful than the more qualitative analysis illustrated in Table 4.

Out of 640 traits attributed to a German, 360 are clearly negative (e.g., brutal, aggressive, malevolent) and 280 are relatively positive (e.g., pedantic, clean). Notice, however, that all these traits create a relatively unequivocal and clear image. The equivocality of the Hungarian image in the tested group's consciousness is confirmed in that his/her indeterminate nature was mentioned 92 times!

Table 4: Frequency of mention for negative/positive traits among Germans/Hungarians.

Trait	Indications
<i>The German is:</i>	
brutal	150
aggressive	71
malevolent	20
pedantic	230
clean	50
parsimonious	119
total	640
 <i>while the Hungarian is:</i>	
indeterminate	92
courageous	58
hospitable	62
lively	20
well-wishing	10
cunning	18
total	260

An even deeper analysis of problems of interest to us may be conducted using associations between nationalities and animals /a/ or minerals /m/. Table 5 lists the animals and minerals Poles most frequently associate with Germans and Hungarians.

Table 5: Animals and minerals most frequently associated with Germans and with Hungarians.

Nationality	Animal/ Mineral	s - a	%	S - A		
German	pig	(-72)	11.5	-6,951		
	wolf	(-11)	10.4			
	hyena	(-222)	6.1			
	viper	(-200)	5.7			
	lion	(+189)	5.0			
	concrete	(-82)	14.0			
	steel	(+18)	10.4			
	granite	(+88)	6.1			
	bronze	(+3)	8.6			
	mud	(-167)	7.2			
Hungarian	eel	(+68)	4.3	-4,448		
	mouse	(-74)	3.9			
	roach	(-87)	3.2			
	mole	(+59)	3.2			
	clay	(-80)	7.9			
	sand	(+203)	6.4			
	lime	(-36)	5.7			
	basalt	(+55)	5.7			
	tombac	(-64)	5.7			
	Canadian	eagle	(+166)		11.5	+4,534
wolf		(-11)	10.8			
horse		(+253)	6.8			
pike		(+65)	5.0			
water		(+369)	10.4			
basalt		(+55)	7.5			
air		(+254)	7.2			
mud		(-167)	6.8			
					+10,950	
					+13,763	

s - a = sympathy-antipathy indicators; S - A = Global indicators

In Table 5, the percentage indicator shows what part of the tested group considers the mentioned animals and minerals as symbols of the nationalities being compared. The names of animals and minerals and their respective sympathy-antipathy indicators (s-a) were calculated during standardization of the test in a way similar to the previously described sympathy-antipathy indicators related to each nationality. The results of these indicators were multiplied by the frequency of occurrence and then totalled (taking their signs into account) to provide a global indicator (S-A) for a full configuration of animals or minerals associated with particular nations. For purposes of comparison, Table 5 also contains analogous data pertaining to Canadians.

The associations in Table 5 may be analyzed from the point of view of:

1. Configurations in which specific animals and minerals appear.
2. Indicators for the frequency of associating various animals and minerals with a German and an Hungarian.
3. Sympathy-antipathy indicators for various configurations of animals and minerals associated with a German and/or an Hungarian.
4. Traits attributed to various animals and minerals.

Looking at the whole configuration of animals associated with a German, we notice that four out of the five animals are high antipathy indicators (hyena, viper, wolf, and pig); four are also animals of prey. This predacity is interpreted on one hand through the noble power of a lion and on the other through the insolent obstinacy of a pig.

Also note that the wolf (appearing in the configuration of animals associated with a Canadian) is co-interpreted through an eagle, a horse, and a pike. Therefore, it becomes more an element of rather "free space" than aggressive predatoriness. Such an interpretation is confirmed by associations of a Canadian with neutral minerals: water, air, basalt, and mud.

Let us supplement the emerging picture of a German with traits attributed to animals which are associated with him/her: insolent, obstinate, malicious, greedy, despicable, authoritative, and distinguished. Besides the traits just mentioned, the configuration of animals associated with a German has evoked characteristic expressions such as fear, disgust, meat, carcass, herd, and band. Therefore, the high antipathy indicator ($A(a) = -6,951$) calculated for this configuration is no surprise.

In addition, note that there is a similarly compact configuration regarding minerals associated with a German. These minerals symbolize solidity, compactness, hardness, strength, and durability; yet, they also represent potential problems (e.g., steel). Therefore, the A(m) indicator is also very high: -4,448.

In comparison to a clearly defined image of a German, the image of an Hungarian appeared in tested individual's minds as unclear and ambiguous. To this extent, the key word "Hungarian" evoked fewer associations of lower intensity. The animals associated with an Hungarian turn out to be small and, even though they are common, their characteristic traits are difficult to specify. These animals had low sympathy-antipathy indicators (from +68 to -87) and symbolized slipperiness, "expendability", darkness, anxiety, cheapness, and secrecy. Also, the sympathy-antipathy indicator resulting for this configuration of animals (A(a) = -25) is equivocal.

More often and in clearer ways, the Hungarian is associated with minerals. Nevertheless, the configuration they form (clay, sand, lime, basalt, and tombac) turns out to be particularly loose and expresses values that are not uniform: cheapness, usefulness, infirmness, difficulty, fragility, and cheating. This configuration also seems ambivalent from the emotional point of view: the weakly positive sympathy-antipathy indicator is a result of two opposing vectors: $S(m) = +4,534$ and $A(m) = -3,200$. Its total S - A value (+1,334) may best be assessed if we compare it to an analogously evaluated indicator related to Canadians ($S - A = +24,713$), which is many times higher.

5.7 Conclusions

The numeric indicators presented in these tables were not evaluated in order to settle finally on any concrete conclusions. However, first of all, they were used to illustrate possibilities for further analyses using the recommended method. Additionally (keeping in mind our reservations with regard to representativeness of the tested sample and consequent limitations on formulation of deep, unambiguous conclusions), let us repeat that these results generally confirm common opinions about the mixed sympathy of Poles toward Hungarians and hostility toward the Germans. They also indicate that young Poles' orientations toward particular nationalities are very complex, particularly their attitudes toward Germans. The stereotypic image of a German in the minds of young Poles is composed of traits that, on

one hand, evoke esteem and respect, but, on the other, show hesitance and deep anxiety.

The image (for both the cognitive and the emotional-motivational components) of an Hungarian is also neither totally positive nor unequivocal. It may best be seen in comparison to the parameters for attitudes toward other nationalities. Nevertheless, this study has shown that the Hungarians are really the most accepted (by Poles) from among all nationalities neighboring Poland.

This study helps us to design an appropriate internal structure for stereotypic attitudes toward particular nationalities. The analysis of these structures allows us to conclude that Polish attitudes toward Germans are mainly based on a deeply internalized, decidedly negative, archetypes and on emotional attitudes subjectively considered as negative, as well as on extended rationalizations of these attitudes. Analogous attitudes toward Hungarians are based on weakly rationalized emotions, subjectively considered as positive, and on slightly clearer positive situational affects.

Generally, the Chinese Portrait seems to be a method providing more unambiguous results than do traditional methods measuring social relations, stereotypes, and attitudes toward other nationalities and social groups. It also allows a formulation of deeper, more universal, and multi-faceted interpretations (and, probably, more accurate prognoses) concerning behaviors toward other nationalities or ethnic groups or toward other social groups in general.

This method also allows consideration of a broader study program for the analysis of:

- Intensity of associations relating to respective nationalities.
- Dispersion of associations (their distributions and forms of diversification).
- Predominance of particular traits and/or their synonymous groups.
- Character of associations and structure of traits associated with particular nationalities or social groups (i.e., uniform, nonuniform, opposing, coherent, internally contradictory, etc.).
- Type separation for such associations:
 - a. traits and properties mainly expressed adjectivally
 - b. stereotypic associations (such as cat-mouse, mouse-cheese, etc.)
 - c. retrospective associations (e.g., cow-village, grandmother, etc.)
 - d. symbolic associations - original and stereotypic

- e. imaginary and abstract associations.
- Traits and properties that seldom appear in relation to particular nationalities.
- Identification of particular nationalities through:
 - a. traits important to identification of nationalities
 - b. hierarchy and degree of importance of these traits
 - c. configurations and quality of traits.
- Configurations of traits that mutually interpret each other as indicators of attitudes toward particular nationalities (i.e., interpretation of significance as a function of the configuration of simultaneously appearing traits).
- Stereotypic syndromes of traits and properties attributed to particular nationalities versus emotional-motivational feelings toward them ("I associate a Turk with . . .", "this means . . . to me", "so I do not like/avoid him", etc.; or a competitive hypothesis: "I do not like a Turk, so I rationalize that he is . . .").

The Chinese Portrait seems to allow both formulation of well-founded and far-reaching hypotheses and reconstruction of stereotypic images of other social groups, as well as explanations for psychological mechanisms and psychosocial principles underlying these stereotypes.

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6 *Recent Political Reforms in Poland* **Encouraging Prospects and Imminent Dangers**

6.1 Abstract

In 1989, Poland began its transformation from an authoritarian regime to a democracy. The first step for this journey was the establishment of a contractual democracy", an agreement between the Solidarity opposition and the government. Following in rapid succession, the Polish people voted in self-governmental, presidential, and parliamentary elections. In this way, Poland encountered different problems in organizing its political democracy and establishing a free-market economy. Poland continues to look for political education programs that will help meet its present and future needs.

6.2 Introduction

Between 1989 and 1990, Poland opened a qualitatively new chapter in the history of political reform in the formerly socialist states. Today, other Central and Eastern European countries are also on the way to their own revolutionary transformations. As a result of legitimizing the political opposition and opening the revolutionary process (moving from a one-party

state to a multi-party, competitive democracy), Poles have passed from reforming how the system operates to reforming the political system itself.

The situation in Poland and in Eastern and Southern European countries can be evaluated in various ways and from different points of view. Different political organizations have proposed various models for reform of the Polish political and economic system. These include transformation to another kind of socialism (democratic socialism with parliamentary democracy), limited market socialism, and a capitalist society with a free market. Such discussions about future models for post-Stalinist societies are underway in many Western and Eastern European countries. This major international theme, from a theoretical point of view, does not apply to Poland alone. In essence, this debate is underway in all the former socialistic countries undertaking such reforms. Together, they are radically altering the whole so-called communist movement which held sway for the last half century.

Two major social conflicts underlie the present political/economic situation in Poland, namely, between achieving certain basic aspirations and meeting the essential needs of the society versus meeting the new demands for reforms while tolerating their severe effects. The time factor remains as the most important parameter for all such actions, while the level of social impatience (quite high today) will continue to be a function of the degree of increased economic efficiency (which is still too limited) as well as the pace of the reform activity, itself.

At the moment, there is still a dangerous possibility for reactivating a chain reaction of contradiction-conflict-crisis. We may possibly see other negative effects emerging which the culmination of economic crisis, management chaos, social frustration, and demoralization of the general population have brought about. A similar phenomenon has been observed for several years in other regions of the world. It is reflected in the diminished role of traditional mass political parties, which are losing ground to atomized, loosely connected, economic, political, and social movements. This trend is clearly manifest in Poland.

Traditional parties in Poland - the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party - have been greatly transformed. Now, there are three different peasant parties, two social democratic parties (created from the PUWP), two socialist parties, and the now-self-transforming Democratic Party. The more than 25 new political parties

(often very small groups) and new legislation permitting the growth of still other political parties allow this process wide latitude. Only the Polish Constitution imposes broad limitations on this development.

6.3 The Round Table in Poland

Recent political reforms in Poland were based on the "round table" agreement of April 5, 1989, including legalization of Solidarity, Constitutional revision, and other political reforms. In 1989, representatives of the main political forces met in Warsaw for two months for these talks while agreeing on the following additional points:

- a) Establishment of a Presidency for the Republic, with strong prerogatives patterned after the third/fourth French Republics, and formation of a second Senate chamber, elected in free, competitive contests.
- b) Passage of a new electoral law for the lower (but more powerful) chamber (the Sejm), based on an elaborate division of seats between the political opposition and the ruling coalition (35%:65%) with a guarantee of contested electoral races.
- c) Liberalization of various other laws, such as the penal code, and those governing publications, mass media, and voluntary associations.

Particularly important was the agreement to do everything possible to ensure that the next election (to be held in four years) would be fully free and competitive. This meant that the agreement actually initiated the process for an evolutionary transition to parliamentary democracy.

Success for the round table proposals was in no way guaranteed. Strong forces opposed this process as well as its specific conclusions. Within the PUWP, hard-liners saw the agreement as a "sell-out", signifying capitulation to the political opposition, which not long before had been excluded from the political process "forever." Among the leaders of the official trade unions, there was also a feeling of resentment. This went against the growing tendency for party leaders to take the Solidarity membership away from their trade unionist allies. This situation also increased trade union leaders' sensitivity on matters of symbolism and protocol. Opposition groups kept rejecting any compromise, calling it a "betrayal" of principles or claiming that the Solidarity leaders lacked a "democratic mandate" for such an agreement. In 1991, one group of Solidarity leaders united in opposition to Teas Tawse, calling for an electoral boycott. And, finally, one had

to consider the skeptical popular mood. Economic hardships were frustrating and real prospects for national reconciliation along lasting principles seemed impossible for the time being.

The parliamentary election took place on June 4, 1989 in this political, economic, and social environment. Solidarity candidates won an overwhelming victory. In the Senate, out of 100 seats, they lost only one (to a non-party millionaire who ran a very successful private campaign). In the Sejm elections, they easily won all 161 seats reserved for non-party candidates. With very few exceptions, the governing coalition's candidates failed to receive the required 50% of votes in the first round; they had to face a run-off election (held on June 18). Most humiliating for the party and its allies was the almost-total defeat of their national list for the Sejm. This list, presented nationwide, was composed of 35 candidates (mostly national leaders of the three parties and those Christian associations which were part of the governing coalition). All ran unopposed, but needed more than 50% approval of all valid votes for election. Only two managed to exceed this limit, although most received about 48% of the votes cast. The 33 vacancies so created were then filled in a controversial manner (negotiated in small round tables of party leaders and groups). This allowed the governing coalition to nominate new candidates for these seats (i.e., two candidates per seat, added to the still-contested seats for the run-off).

The election resulted in an even worse defeat for the coalition's political parties since many of their leaders lost. Among those who won, there were many who owed their success to Solidarity support. Coalitional unity looked doubtful for the future. In fact, after the election, the Peasant and the Democratic Parties, together with Solidarity, formed a new parliamentary coalition. General Wojciech Jaruzelski was then elected President of Poland, yet he had the smallest possible majority. This result was only possible because some of the moderate opposition parliamentarians cast invalid votes or did not attend the session.

Following his election, President Jaruzelski began consultations with leaders of the political parties and unions. Upon his nomination, General Czesław Kiszczak (formerly minister of internal affairs and a trusted associate of the President) was elected as the new prime minister. His tenure, however, proved unsuccessful. When (on August 7th) Teas Tawse issued a public appeal for a new coalition (among Solidarity, the United Peasant Party, and Democratic Party), the two former PUWP allies deserted their alliance.

This, however, was not yet all. The President received the names of three Solidarity leaders and had to choose one as his nominee for prime minister. His choice was Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Catholic intellectual, journalist, and one of Tawse's top advisors. The Sejm overwhelmingly accepted Mazowiecki's candidacy. Before the vote, he had promised to form a cabinet "of all reformist forces represented in the Parliament." Indeed, he offered a number of portfolios (including the important areas of defense and internal affairs) to PUWP candidates.

Thus (on September 12, 1989), the Sejm accepted this cabinet - the first in Eastern Europe with a non-Communist majority since 1948. The majority vote of 402 (with only 13 abstentions) was impressive; there were no negative votes. Suddenly, the cabinet crisis was over. Poland opened a new chapter in its transition to democracy.

6.4 Transforming the Polish Party System

Political reforms in Poland usually are the result of a compromise between political parties and labor organizations because this reflects a basic consensus. However, most areas of political and economic life are still in transition. For example, the "old" party (until 1989) is now in transition to a "new" party (e.g., the Peasant Party is now split into three parties and the PUWP 11th Congress adopted a new organizational process which has not yet been firmed up). Major changes are underway in the Polish parliament (e.g., a new election system, new second chamber, new system of work, and other new parliamentary institutions). Changes are also underway in local political systems (e.g., new election procedures and more local self-government). There are other varying influences, such as a stumbling market economy, inflation, the absurd credit system, and other factors.

The "old" Polish left is now creating new party formats. These forms will most probably be social democratic and market socialist in a political system which will likely implement basic human rights as a major criterion for future social development. Political reform in Poland also involves different parties and organizations, such as labor, the socialists, Christian democrats, peasants, democratic parties, and other political organizations. After the June 1989 elections, the Polish party system radically changed along the following lines:

1. The PUWP was no longer the "hegemonic party." While remaining in the government, it is no longer *the* governing party.

2. Since the old coalition (within which the United Peasant and Democratic Parties kept a low profile under the hegemony the PUWP) was dead, there will most probably be no return to the old "hegemonic" formula.
3. A number of "new" parties (some of them once illegal) are appearing in public life. These are the Confederacy for Poland's Independence (KPN), with strong right-wing and explicitly anti-Soviet orientations; the Polish Socialist Party (already divided into three competing factions); the Labor Alliance of Christian-Democrats; the Polish Peasant Party; and the National Party (right-wing nationalistic, but favoring Poland's alliance with the former USSR for reasons of state). Every month, Polish citizens receive an invitation to a birthday celebration for a new party, but very few of these are ever likely to be confirmed, politically speaking.

Questions about any hope for these new parties are usually based on the assumption that Poland will continue on its journey toward parliamentary democracy. Many dangers still exist. One of these is the dramatically difficult and explosive economic situation. But, at least for this moment, it makes sense to project some scenarios, even if only with guarded optimism.

6.5 Which Form of Democracy is Best for Poland?

Polish political scientist professor, Jerzy Wiatr, in an interview given nearly a decade ago to the Brazilian journal *ISTOE*, formulated a concept which eventually was discussed widely both in Poland and abroad. He answered the question, "What is *contractual democracy*?"

This is, in essence, a mechanism of negotiated power sharing. Its principal components include:

- a) Independent political forces (like parties, associations, and trade unions), which can reach their publics (using the press, radio, and television).
- b) Electoral processes which allow voters freedom of choice.
- c) Arrangements between political forces which establish some power sharing concerning open access to electoral contests as well as a division of responsibilities within the next government.

Compared with classical or competitive democracy, contractual democracy differs in that participating parties agree to cooperate using certain rules, which (within the limits of time for which they are accepted) are binding for all. In this regard, leaders of the victorious Solidarity group claimed that the "round table" agreements prevented them from taking full power and obliged them to observe the rules of compromise, regardless of how strong their position was in the new Parliament.

Yet, contractual democracy raises many questions and concerns whenever it is publicly discussed. Some of these are:

1. Is it democracy at all? And this question: Why call it democracy when this system can deprive the majority of its right to govern? The response to this criticism is that, within contractual democracy, partners "voluntarily" agree to a certain division of responsibility, and - if they have a majority of voters with them - such a compromise is legitimated. Obviously, there are many reasons for reaching a compromise. One of them is that the new majority or the old opposition (no matter how strong at present) once the ballots are cast, still feels weak *vis á vis* the organized power of the state apparatus, which it may need more time to neutralize or win over. The other reason (given quite often) is that in Poland's present international position, it is advantageous to have had a President whom the former Warsaw Pact leaders, especially the Russians, knew and trusted. Finally, the opposition may realize that Poland's problems are too serious (particularly regarding the economy) for one group of politicians to solve them alone. But, whatever the reasons, if a compromise is achieved freely (as the round table compromise in Poland was), it cannot be labelled undemocratic. The fact that most Poles (62%) voted in the June 1989 election also gave this compromise a democratic mandate.
2. The concept of contractual democracy is often criticized as being unrealistic. Particularly after the collapse of the compromise in 1981 and the declaration of martial law in Poland, many suggested that the idea - even if it looked good on paper - was based on wishful thinking; therefore, it could not work. It is still too early to say that events have invalidated this criticism. But one thing is obvious: nothing else had yet worked better in Poland.
3. It is said that such a political arrangement can only be temporary; this is probably correct. Contractual democracy is a mechanism for transi-

tion to parliamentary democracy in its more complete form. How long such a transition may take is another question. It is largely dependent on what relevant conditions exist both within Poland and abroad. Even after eventually and completely free elections (probably not later than 1993), there may be an agreement to prolong these power-sharing arrangements, particularly since the new President (elected in 1989) will be in office until 1995. But nothing in politics is eternal. Contractual democracy may prove to be a useful formula to assist democratic transitions elsewhere in Central Europe. This could prove valuable since the experience in Poland with "round tables" and contractual democracy is useful for other countries seeking methods for national consensus and ways to democratically transform old-style authoritarian regimes.

6.6 Problems in the Democratization Process

In all the formerly socialist countries now undergoing reforms, respective changes depend more on the cultural environment in which communist parties operate rather than on the parties themselves. We are presently witnessing quite paradoxical phenomena, such as growth among those political forces (which previously should have been in the reform vanguard) for the express radicalization of the society against any elements of communist rule. This contradictory situation refers also to the PUWP. It is difficult not to agree with the sternly sounding, but accurate, opinion presented in a PUWP Plenum report in late June 1989, which stated that: "the majority of the society has had enough of a [PUWP] party, the way it has been up to now, or its present manner of wielding power and management" (*Nowe Drogi*, 1989, No. 7, p. 83). The dominant opinion within the ranks of the PUWP is that earlier practices should be jettisoned. Following the recent parliamentary elections (to the Sejm and Senate), appointment of a Solidarity prime minister, and establishment of a new government, we are dealing with a qualitatively new political situation. After the 11th PUWP Congress, two new parties were created (i.e., the Social-Democratic Polish Republic and the Social-Democratic Union).

Today, the left has infiltrated different segments of existing political forces and organizations, but it does not dominate them. There is even a question today as to whether the PUWP as a whole is actually part of the left; this has also generated some controversy. No doubt there is a strong, left-oriented trend within Solidarity (mainly a social-democratic one), a weaker, but

still-existent Christian left, and other left-leaning groups rallying around certain policies (for example, ecological movements).

The identity of the Polish left, especially the new social-democratic parties, is once again mainly being built on pragmatism, not on ideology. What the argument is all about is the state's active role in economic life (there may also, however, be other disputes about the scope and forms of such interventionism); developing an active social policy aimed at preventing spheres of excessive private affluence and penury; and affording social protection in the spheres of education, health services, popular culture, old age, pensions, and meeting other of life's hazards, including unemployment. These latter issues may become the main (because of their clarity) criteria of emerging leftist ideology (e.g., see the new program for Polish social-democracy in *Trybuna Kongresowa*, Number 4, February 1, 1990).

It would be well to put the discussion on reforms in Eastern Europe in a broader, global perspective, including the relation between capitalism and socialism and the transformation of capitalism, itself. Taking this into account, it seems that under present Polish conditions, three theoretical and practical options come into play:

1. An open return to capitalism.
2. A temporary withdrawal towards capitalism, using many of its mechanisms, only to move later towards socialism. (Supporters can refer here to Marx's idea of taking a step backward only to take a bigger leap forward.)
3. A bilateral assimilation of the previous two formulations, resulting in a system (convergence) with the best elements of both systems taken in different proportions.

A decisive majority of Poles rejects the first variant for many different reasons; mostly because they are afraid of it. There is great pressure to ensure some measure of social security and full employment. The second variant should be regarded as an accurate (although not-often-voiced) aim for Polish renewal and reconstruction. At least this seemed to be the case until September 1989, when a Solidarity representative took the political and economic helm. Temporary state capitalism should function in the interests (and under the control) of the working people. In this case, the rebirth of capitalistic elements and its intermediate forms creates not only threats, but also the conditions necessary for the evolution of socialism to a form more acceptable than it was

previously. The third variant, convergence, would constitute a synthesis (possibly quite durable) of the private-capitalist economy and the socio-collectivistic one. This would not, to quote professor Adam Schaff, "eliminate initiative and competition, but ensure a different [than in the free economy] distribution of national income" (Schaff, *Trybuna Ludu*, April 7, 1989).

Certainly, we should look at convergence in a different way than before. We should stop being afraid of the word itself since there were some basic similarities between socialism and capitalism. Despite the growing strength of this trend over the past two decades, generally (and often against persuasive arguments and facts), it was often rejected in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, these two economic formulations have a lot in common when it comes to ways of management, especially as the level of development of productive forces in the capitalist countries is approximated in Eastern Europe. In the past, capitalism often had learned a lot from socialism, probably more than vice versa. The Soviet social scientist, Oleg Bogomolow, made a very apt observation, saying that practice shows that within the capitalist system are born elements of what we could regard as socialism (see *Nowe Drogi*, 1988, No. 19, pp. 77-88 for a discussion about the future socialist movement). It sounds especially attractive to propose a synthesis of communist and social-democratic practices (particularly in its Scandinavian, Austrian, Australian, or New Zealand versions). At a minimum, this means guaranteeing the poor a minimum living standard, while simultaneously removing other barriers which stifle individual initiative and advancement.

The Polish left of 1989 has become a force working to create a civic society and a political system in which the implementation of human rights will become a major criterion for the development of socialism. It is not only the Polish left that needs to quickly develop their political theories or to make certain breakthroughs in the social sciences so as to catch up with the rapid pace of social transformations. What they have proposed is a solid application of classical Marxism to the analysis of any new socialist formulations. The most dangerous thing for socialism today seems not to be any particular enemy, but rather the existence of a new mental incapacitation. Let us hope that Marx's opinion that when the engine of history takes a curve, intellectuals often fall out of their railroad cars, will not prove true once again.

The new leader of the Social-Democrats, Aleksander Kwasniewski, in the interview for *Der Spiegel* ("Future New Socialist Party", February 5, 1990, p. 68), said that his "new party will continue the positive traditions of socialist thought. We will be a contemporary party of parliamentary democracy. We are preparing to be a member of the Socialist International. We are a Polish party, but also a European party, because we will be in a united Europe" ("Program for a New Socialist Party", in *Trybuna Kongresowa*, No. 8, February 2, 1990).

Former socialist countries' erstwhile Communist parties are also being transformed into social-democratic parties. In the former GDR, the old SED has had a new name since February 4, 1990 (i.e., the Party of Democratic Socialism). In the new nation-state of Slovenia (a former Yugoslavian republic), the Communist Party transformed itself into the Party of Democratic Renovation (with a social-democratic political/economic orientation) on February 4, 1990. Probably this process will continue in other Eastern European countries. It is a feasible process because contemporary Europe provides better possibilities for socialist movements. Traditional communist parties were dogmatic, lacked vision, and used old and unsuccessful methods to govern society. Now, in Europe at the end of the 20th century, what is left of socialist ideas can help create new attitudes toward society and meeting common problems among peoples.

Now discredited are Stalinism, Communism's basic economic faults, and the use of secret police. New social-democratic parties have shed the old dogmas of Marxism-Leninism (such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism, the planned economy, collectivism, the leading role of the working class, and Communist Party rule over the society and state). Democratization has a different set of values. In Poland, we can see rivalry between at least two basic orientations: the Catholics and the Social-Democrats. The Polish Catholic Church has much popular support and, in the past, it was at the center of the opposition movement. Prime Minister Mazowiecki and several of his ministers are closely connected with the Catholic Church (mainly the members of the Council nearest to Cardinal J. Glemp). Foreign observers are quite right when they speak about the present Polish government being extremely Catholic-oriented.

The other line - social-democracy - is very divided at the group and party levels. The word "socialism" is not a popular word today anywhere in Poland, especially after 45 years of Communist (PUWP) rule. In the future,

social-democracy may play a leading role in Polish political life, but not in the near future.

It is not yet quite clear toward which new socio-political and economic system the transformation from "real socialism" will take. As Prime Minister Mazowiecki said on February 1, 1990 in Brussels to the European Parliament, "Poland will not have 19th-century capitalism but the contemporary European market economy, which is a social market economy" (speech before the European Parliament reported in *Rzeczpospolita*, February 3, 1990).

In this regard, at a meeting of social-democratic parties in Berlin (February 9, 1990), the West Berlin President, Walter Momper, also said:

"We are at the start of the socialist development of Europe. The bankruptcy of Stalinism does not open the way for capitalism from 19th century Manchester economics . . . since Poland will likely turn to the modern European economic model. It will follow this way from real socialism' to modern capitalism" (speech reported in *Trybuna Kongresowa*, February 10, 1990).

Poles and Eastern Europeans need to quickly develop new theories or make social science breakthroughs to catch up with the rapid pace of societal transformation. If we do so, it will allow these new perspectives to govern the process of development itself since, in the end, all of this is based on decisions about the allocation of property and power in the most equitable, proper, and socially effective manner.

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7 *Conflicting Loyalties, Citizenship, and National Identity in Hungary and Eastern Europe*
Revised Conceptions of Education, Citizenship, and Democracy

7.1 Abstract

This chapter deals with the question of how definitions of nationality and citizenship have conflicted with each other throughout modern history in small Eastern European countries. Lacking stable economic and political boundaries, Eastern European nations which sought to identify members of their national community necessarily relied on definitions of ethnic descent and cultural identification. Conflicts between definitions of citizenship in hard, pure, or legal terms and national identity in soft, obscure, psychological, and cultural terms can be seen as necessary consequences of the emergence of independent nation-states in this region following World War I. This chapter discusses this historical development from the perspective of present international tensions, resulting from the collapse of state-socialist systems, which the former USSR had forcibly imposed. Specific proposals for political socialization and educational reforms directed at the new generation are also raised for consideration.

7.2 Introduction

The question of how national and ethnic groups relate to the states into which they are organized is on the political agenda again. The issues of peaceful or tense coexistence between minority and majority groups in Eastern European societies and the revival of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and discrimination against minorities (such as Gypsies) have returned as old/new dimensions in public affairs. This situation presents the societies of Central and Eastern Europe with an insidious situation that may slowly poison public life since it affects the way people relate, cohabit, and communicate with each other. Little heed was paid to it while the euphoria over the death of socialism lasted; but its various symptoms have multiplied since then, both in politics as well as among the general public.

Nationalist overtones are increasingly audible within Hungarian assessments of the Romanian national uprising. The Hungarian prime minister has stated that he feels himself to be spiritual prime minister of all the 15

million Hungarians in the neighboring region. The Slovak language has been declared the state language in Slovakia, which has also set limits on the use of both Hungarian and Ukrainian languages. In the very first days of Lithuanian independence, doubt was cast on the future citizenship of the country's Polish and Russian minorities. The Romanian national assembly has also proposed that the country's forthcoming constitution will declare Romania a uniform nation-state. Then, there is the gravest conflict of all: the bloody civil strife in what was Yugoslavia between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Albanians, Croats and Moslems, and Bosnian Moslems and Serbs. The adjective "national" has become ubiquitous in all post-socialist countries, attaching itself to everything from the middle class to the professions of medicine and education. Each country's ruling political groups and its emerging national ideologies are assessing the region's conflicts exclusively from a national point of view, using this as their guideline for political action.

7.3 A Comprehensive Definition of Citizenship

Almost all politicians and ideologies seem incapable of overcoming the personal sympathy they doubtlessly feel for the public's prejudiced opinions and value judgments. Both avoid concentrating in their public statements and political activity on the need to respect international law, declare present-day frontiers inviolable, apply the principle of territorial integrity to all countries, and promote the prosperity of all citizens at home.

These issues are clearly of fundamental importance in the light of the interstate conflicts and majority-minority dissensions in the Eastern and Central European region. There are obvious historical, political, and even social psychological causes and explanations to consider when analyzing these regrettable events, symptoms, and developments. Our aim, however, is to explore a basic concept of social organization to which we ascribe key importance as a prerequisite for smooth development of integration between and within the national societies of Central and Eastern Europe.

7.4 Modern Concepts of Citizenship and National Identity

In his analysis of the modern status of citizenship, Thomas Marshall (1950) distinguishes three major areas which successively accrued to it during the development of Western bourgeois society.

1. The 18th century saw the appearance of human and civic rights (freedom of speech, conscience and worship, equality before the law, respect for the dignity of man and protection of the individual, and freedom to acquire and own property).
2. These were followed in the 19th century by political rights (universal and equal franchise, secret voting, popular representation, self-government, freedom of assembly and association, the right to participate in political life, and the exercise of civic power).
3. The 20th century added social rights (reaching from the basic rights that allowed the development of a welfare society to the full range of rights guaranteeing social security, including the right to life according to a minimum social standard, the rights to a livelihood through work, to health, and to knowledge, equality for women, and protection of children, the old, the ill, and the disabled).

This extension and expansion of the status of citizenship came about through a long process of struggle. The fact that the values of social equality and justice were essential to the legitimacy of the modern bourgeois societies of Western Europe and North America also played a decisive role. Marx, of course, criticized these societies precisely for their inequalities and injustices. He pointed out that the market economy and its property relations led inevitably to social inequalities and an unjust distribution of goods. He saw bourgeois democracy merely as a device the ruling class used to hoodwink society; it was an ideology and practice intended to disguise the true nature of its rule. The truth is, however, that successive accretions to the status of citizenship allowed certain inequalities to be steadily smoothed out. Far from impeding the operation of the market economy, they positively assisted it, creating a dynamic class organization of society based on equal opportunity and ensuring the continuous reproduction of participatory, pluralist democracy.

The most significant element in this process of development was not a desire to reduce the inequalities arising out of the market economy, its way of life, and unequal consumption, all of which had been internalized in societies based on the modern concept of citizenship. Much more important is the fact that the modern theory and practice of citizenship status produces a universal standard. This serves as a yardstick that goes beyond evening out or harmonizing particularities in the hierarchy of class or status to tackle those specific inequalities arising from ethnic, national, religious, and even gender differences.

It follows from a comprehensive definition of citizenship that membership in a nation and access to it will be assured to those individuals who comprise the state so long as no constraints are placed on the special interests of individuals arising out of socio-cultural differences among them. This is the key to understanding how heterogeneous groups, denominations, ethnic minorities, or blacks and whites (e.g., in the United States) can call themselves first and foremost national citizens. It also explains why in 18th century France (which was shot through with national, ethnic, and religious differences), the primary constitutional criterion for citizenship during the revolution was not to be born French, but to be a member of the French republic, with the attendant legal status this conferred. The expansion of citizenship status has played a decisive part in lessening the distance between nation-states and effectively integrating peoples, ethnic groups, and minorities.

A comprehensive interpretation of citizenship provides the basis or principle for multicultural integration in present-day Western Europe. The intention is not to do away with cultural differences and multiplicity, but to provide a unified, integrated framework for a heterogeneous world. For any present-day discussion on the future for a united Western Europe to center on this unity born of multiplicity, rather than vague generalities, a central assumption must be made. This is that only a universal approach to citizenship status and a demand for such an approach can provide the kind of unity in which linguistic, cultural, historical, ethnic, and religious differences and diversities can live together. If so, all the frontiers can become spiritual ones, labor and money markets combined, and a new European culture envisaged. Then, the emerging Tower of Babel may not topple after all.

7.5 Nationalism, Citizenship, and Minority Status

Following Brian Turner's (1991) expansion of Marshall's classical model (so that the status of citizenship includes the right to meaningful work as well as rights to cultural communication), one arrives at a global criterion which can provide the foundation for political democracy, individual liberty, and a civilizing "progress" in the broadest sense. Being a citizen in this regard no longer amounts simply to having a national identity. It offers the chance to play a new role in a modern civilization that transcends frontiers and continents. The status of citizenship, in our interpretation, then will constitute more than a basis for state organizations, a complex of rights, du-

ties, and guarantees, and the key to relationships among nations. It can develop into a new way of life as well, providing scope for modern, civilized living while governing people's relations and contacts with each other, regardless of what languages they speak, what religions they practice, or where they live.

All this may seem worlds apart from the relations between the nation-states of Eastern Europe and the fate of the region's national minorities. But, in our view, this is far from the case. The development of nation-states marked a political climax for nations as players in modern European history. It culminated in replacing a feudal, dynastic concept of the state with one embracing popular sovereignty, independent statehood, territorial integrity, and modern international law. Regardless of whether or not the nation-state so produced grew out of an earlier feudal state or whether statehood was artificially constructed and then gave rise to the nation itself as a political entity, the formation of the nation-state framework necessarily produced certain side effects. It entailed, as Csaba Gombár points out,

". . . members of state-forming nations often living also as minorities in other nations, either because they were dispersed historically in the first place, or because international conflicts gave rise to historically impermanent border adjustments" (Gombár, 1980, p. 113).

So, the formation of national minorities is a general feature for European development. However, there are regional differences in Europe, regarding the gravity of the political and social problems and the fate of the various resident national minorities and the relative degree to which they are politically and socially integrated.

To explain this difference, we must examine the roots of modern nation-states, the legitimating origin which the sovereign democratic statehood ascribes to itself, and what other factors provide its main sources of legitimacy. Of course, citizens breathe life into the state through effectively exercising their constitutional rights and duties (Gombár, 1980, p. 13). Thus, the state derives its political legitimacy from the sovereign individual, who is first of all a member of the political community (which the state constitution devines) and, through this process, becomes a member of other communities - defined in psychological, ideological, cultural, or world-view terms. This results irrespective of whether these other community outlines coincide with those for most other citizens in a given state.

7.6 The Case of Central and Eastern Europe

The nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe in the post-communist period appear at first sight to have reached this level. The gap between Eastern and Western Europe in terms of political rights seems to be narrowing. But the disquieting symptoms previously listed show that things are not so simple. The layers of citizenship status that Marshall described developed in Western Europe for centuries before maturing into our present concepts. It would be a mistake, of course, merely to idealize the product of this development. The position of national and religious minorities in some Western European countries is also disquieting. Yet, nowhere do the ideological bases behind present conflicts impugn the concept of a democratic citizen. So this concept remains as a principle for eventual cooperation, based on negotiated mutual concessions and a search for consensus, even if chances for new agreements may occasionally seem hopeless, such as in Northern Ireland.

The nation-states of Eastern Europe developed relatively recently. Today's independent nation-states existed earlier as parts of empires (able, in some cases, to retain some remnants of a previous feudal statehood and, in others, to have no history of statehood at all to reflect on). But, regardless of their histories, the status of citizenship never developed completely or received full political and ideological consideration in these nation-states. Therefore, the social struggles to extend citizenship status could not have previously taken place. When today's nation-states appeared in Central and Eastern Europe after the World War I, the status and consciousness of their citizens exhibited subordination, rather than their expression of a set of democratic, political, economic, and cultural rights. Moreover, all these states experienced enormous economic and social inequalities. This relative "backwardness" produced a desire for modernization, development, and comparative social integration. As Miklós Szabó aptly remarks,

". . . issues of social integration [in developing countries] appear as a national problem to a greater extent than they do in developed countries [and more importantly, these issues] become mingled with ethnic prejudices, or what would count as mere social prejudices in more highly developed countries may appear as expressly ethnic prejudices" (Szabó, 1989, p. 233).

7.7 Nationalism, Socialism, and Democratic Citizenship

During the course of the 20th century, the political elites of the countries in the region espoused two great political ideologies as ways of eliminating backwardness: nationalism and socialism. With hindsight, both can be said to have failed their citizenries. Even though some modernization objectives were attained, there was no essential progress in social development as it centered on citizenship, as previously described in this chapter. So the Eastern European region in the post-socialist period remains outside the new emancipatory, humanist, multicultural civilization of the late 20th century, just as it was excluded from modernity in previous years.

The dominance of nationalist ideology forced upon society a process of national homogenization that squeezed out democratic forms of citizen identity. Affiliation to the nation turned into a moral imperative that led to arbitrary categorization of citizens and discrimination among them. The full development of individuality was blocked. Instead, centralized, absolutist structures sought legitimacy in an idealized, pseudo-historical, and fabricated national tradition. Where the economic, political, and cultural institutions of a modern civil society managed to develop at all (as they did in Hungary, for instance), they appeared to be superficial and alien by comparison with the predominant national element.

The newly created nation-states in Central and Eastern Europe were uncertain of themselves and territorially dissatisfied. This is why many of them seized the first opportunity to compromise their independence; they competed for the favors of Nazi Germany, which also sought to dominate the region. That drew them into World War II, which brought their total defeat. It also fatally weakened their chances for a democratic, civil, self-transformation. Many citizens of ostensibly independent Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, and Romania were forced to change their citizenship without, in return, receiving any increase in their rights. Meanwhile, national minorities, Jews, and Gypsies found themselves in irrevocable conflict with a national identity formulated in terms of ethnic origin and citizen identity. Racial laws were passed. Subsequently, there was nothing to contain a surge in political discrimination that brought persecution and mass murder on an unprecedented scale.

Sadly, it was not possible anywhere in the region, after the total defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies, to encourage national self-examination and a democratic redefinition of the relationship between citizenship and national

identity. The Soviet Union, whose ideology of socialism (though seemingly international) was very prone in practice to collective discrimination, took over domination of the region.

7.8 The Advantage of Socialist Modernization and Nationalism

Socialism's goal was modernization, too. In its pursuit, the Eastern European societies were totally centralized. Nearly every instance of autonomy, practiced in certain countries before World War II, was eliminated. Power passed to a bureaucratic elite that openly despised most European democratic ideas emerging since the Enlightenment.

Since there was no democratic state or democratic citizens under the socialist system, the subordination of those who constituted the state could only increase. Serious discussions of the citizenship relation or the national question were shelved and their resultant problems left unresolved. The attitude of the state-socialist bureaucratic elite to the national question was aptly summed up in the Stalinist slogan "national in form, socialist in content." Initially, the political elite largely ignored national and ethnic problems. It can be said (particularly of Hungary) that the forced transformation of society, collectivization, industrialization, and elimination of the bourgeois past was not based at all on the use of ethnic or national categories. When the national question eventually emerged, the notion of national independence took the form of competitive bidding among the "colonized" for Soviet favor. It also appeared in the form of violent uprisings which the system's subordinates fomented (e.g., in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland). Later, as it became more apparent that the route of state socialism led nowhere, political elites in some socialist countries (notably Romania) resorted to the nationalism of an earlier era. However, without democratic political and economic structures, the result blurred any prospect for harmonious relations between the competing concepts of citizenship and national identity.

Although democratic slogans provided an accompaniment to the fall of state socialism in all Central and Eastern European countries, the democratization of political power as such could hardly resolve problems of asymmetrical relationships between the state and its citizens. Currently, economic changes are far slower than political changes during the present post-socialist transition. All post-socialist countries reveal the same signs of strong resistance from advocates of the old redistributive economic system and its

bureaucracy. This resistance is strongly inclined to draw on nationalism for its ideological support.

An equally important factor is the absence of a bourgeois stratum in these societies. Since a modern class society failed to develop there, Eastern Europe never acquired the frames of reference in which citizenship status could be perceived as an integrating force capable of combating social and cultural inequalities. Thus, recent proposals for social integration as these systems change have tended to come from above. They have also assumed a national or nationalistic complexion. This is highly dangerous psychologically because the cataclysmic changes in all the Eastern European countries have taken people unawares. Their earlier frames of identity and reference are gone, leaving them wide open to the blandishments of false political solutions. Nor can Western European-type alternatives for them be expected to appear swiftly from below, since there is hardly any basis at all for a civil society.

In 1989, we were particularly interested in discovering what people thought of the nation, the criteria for belonging to the nation-state, and how far nationalist attitudes affected popular thinking. We then conducted a survey of ideological and political consciousness among certain groups of the Budapest intelligentsia (Csepeli and Örkény, 1992 and Csepeli, 1989). The finding that sheds most light on our present subject was that a very high proportion of the sample (over 50%) rejected citizenship as a primary criterion for membership in the Hungarian community. This confirmed our position that modern citizenship status and a citizenship criterion for defining the nation (which are increasingly prevalent in the West) are almost absent from intellectuals' everyday interpretations of national integration in this part of the world. Among this group, there was a clear preference for criteria of culture, language, and consciousness of being Hungarian, which pointed to reinforcement for the revival of an historical national consciousness, a process of national homogenization, and a social preference for a single-factor identity. All of these must entail some measure of rejection of other socio-ethnic groups and potential discrimination against them. This probably cannot be excluded or limited by legal guarantees. Our findings, to borrow György Konrád's (1991) expression, show signs that Eastern European "monocultural disintegration" has been socially accepted.

7.9 Some Suggested Solutions

To sum up, we have argued that if a society's effort at integration is grounded on an approach to nation-state affiliation (based on the cultural, rather than the political nation), it will require forcible homogenization, excluding some and discriminating against others, while introducing new inequalities and social injustices. By contrast, if citizenship status is the sole yardstick for defining the nation-state and its social superstructure, some leeway remains for developing varied, multifactorial integration and identity. Looked at from this point of view, the conflict between the national and non-national identity is freed from its irrevocable contradictions. In the latter case, citizens can still find a path to reducing inequality and injustice based on socio-cultural relations. National identity and ethnic and religious autonomy can then find places alongside other cultural and communicative priorities.

But this process will not take place automatically. However benign emerging economic, political, and social changes, we cannot ignore certain considerations for educating the new societies. Now, we would like to make some general proposals about what should be done in each Eastern European country to ensure that ethnic groups there can find and identify with one another.

7.9.1 Reassessment of historical knowledge

Historical scholarship in all Central and Eastern European countries is riddled with ethnocentric distortions. This prevents one country's historians from taking the views of another's into consideration. Looking back from present day divisions, these historians often try to parcel out the common past as well, with one nation's gain being at another's expense. So long as each nation's historians look at the past exclusively from their nationalistic point of view, their opinions clearly cannot be reconciled. The recognition that history is relative can also thrive through a climate of open debate and free communication. The present practice, drawing false historical parallels with today's economic and political conflicts and adjusting historical findings to present ideological requirements, must come to an end.

7.9.2 Tolerating multiple definitions of national identity

The members of each Central and Eastern European nation can define their national identities in various ways and on various bases. No criterion can

preclude other criteria if someone wants to consider himself a member of a certain nation. Consciousness of national identity contains a positive emotional core which cannot serve as a basis for the kind of tribal national identification that involves distinguishing between "authentic" and "spurious" membership. The identity framework cannot impose an obligation to be assimilated or serve as grounds for one's discrimination or exclusion.

Various groupings in modern societies allow the development of an involved matrix of cross-categorizations on whose axis citizenship identification lies. This renders the majority-minority situation a relative one. That is, the same person may belong concurrently to both a majority and a minority. The minority experience is then transformed, becoming a bond of empathy in all encounters between citizens and persons in a minority situation.

7.9.3 Recognition and acquaintance with others' facts and values

A frequent obstacle to the development of harmony between nations is a lack of relevant factual knowledge. The facts and findings accumulated in the various social sciences are indispensable to any consideration of national and international problems. Such interpretative and explanatory constructs require wide-ranging debate. But the debate can only be fruitful if a firm knowledge of the appropriate facts provides it adequate support. Of course, differences over values are inevitable, but freedom to speak and publish and mutual respect for each other's values can take the edge off prejudiced perceptions and attributions of hostile intentions.

Schoolteaching, mass communications, book publishing, and free educational activities have the joint task of cultivating the cognitive patterns which scholarship and the arts have constructed. The stress should be less on providing direct instruction than on continually projecting an image of people and societies that is free of harmful prejudices and stereotypes.

7.9.4 Citizen contacts and joint activities

It is worth promoting and giving state support at various communal levels (neighborhoods; sports clubs; professional societies; twin, sister cities; transnational ideological and religious movements; youth organizations; etc.) to forms of cooperation that cross the lines of national and minority identity. Such contacts help to replace feelings of difference with feelings of similarity.

Another important integrating factor is joint business undertakings in which profits or losses are made in common. Joint political action on issues such as the environment can also facilitate mutual acceptance and shared reactions free of prejudice. The state can grant tax relief and provide services to assist economic, political, cultural, and scientific institutions, and business undertakings operating on an inter-ethnic basis or consciously seeking their clientele in a variety of groups.

7.9.5 Education for democratic citizenship

The succeeding generation is innocent in all of this. Prejudice and national partiality are acquired, not inherited, traits. It should be the purpose of schools, youth organizations, and other special situations involved in the socialization process (e.g., camps, study trips, children's language learning, multicultural education, and school exchanges) to promote new public opinion patterns. Members of the younger generation can then recognize that they would do better not to succumb to the prejudices prevalent among their parents. They would lose stature as people and members of churches, nations, or minorities unless they appreciate those different from themselves and seek common ground with them. Doing so provides a surer path to self-knowledge. This is as true of nations as it is of individuals.

7.10 Conclusions

The therapeutic proposals listed here have contributed greatly in Western Europe and the United States to making people realize there is no attractive alternative, either politically or psychologically, to that of a modern citizenship identity. Of course, these proposals do not offer an automatic guarantee that prejudice will not reproduce itself. However, democratic political socialization can provide an immunity that produces a climate of public opinion which imposes sanctions on manifestations of prejudices and puts them to shame. No one should have the freedom to feel there is no risk in being anti-Semitic, chauvinistic, or in hating Gypsies.

There cannot be a democratic state without democratic citizens. And democrats do not appear out of thin air. They are the product of a succession of energetic, well-planned acts of social education and social therapy over several generations. Modern citizens will eventually emerge in societies practicing free enterprise, pluralist politics, and equality of opportunity. These are free, thinking people able to overcome their prejudices, able to

adapt, and inclined to rational action. Not that such citizens will automatically be content either; for the awareness of their own transience in their constant search for the truth will also be troubling. But today, the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe are discontented for quite other reasons.

7.11 Acknowledgement

The authors appreciate Brian McLean's translation of this piece from Hungarian to English.

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Vesna Godina

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8	<i>Dogma, Pluralism, and Contemporary Slovene Political Culture</i>
	Implications for Political Learning

8.1 Abstract

If the present Yugoslav crisis has succeeded in explaining anything at all in relation to political culture, then it has helped to explain the utter insufficiency of reducing it to explicit political learning. Quite well-known theoretically, it has become evident that the effects of explicit (political) socialization retain the impression of efficiency while social situations are stable. However, the moment a crisis appears, "irrational" scenarios frequently occur in apparently sharp contradiction to explicit socialization (i.e., explicit political learning). Yugoslavia is used as a case in point to discuss the interplay among dogma, phantasm, old-style Stalinism, and pluralism as well as their implications for political learning and political culture.

8.2 Introduction

How is it possible that the explicitly learned slogan "brotherhood and unity" carries within itself militant nationalism, while the masses have been

explicitly taught that these two ideas have nothing in common with each other? Searching for an answer to this question, linear logic has to be suppressed to eliminate astonishment that the political culture in one part of what was Yugoslavia is different from that of another; this fact was quite familiar to every researcher delving into the socialization processes in Yugoslavia well before the outbreak of the recent Yugoslavian crisis (Juznic, 1973; Juznic, 1989; and Novosel, 1969).

Another area of social science theory has to be applied; the slogan "brotherhood and unity" as a shield for militant nationalism is not contradictory and is based on classical learning of politics as a sphere of "signified" practice. In the sphere of politics and political ideology, one deals with the multitude of signifiers that have no meaning by themselves; the point of the seam (*point de capiton*) determines their meaning, which indicates that the signifiers have different meanings in different modalities of this point or even have contradictory meanings (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/89; Žižek, 1984; and Žižek, 1987). The case of "brotherhood and unity" is thereby explained.

8.3 Political Culture and Pluralism

There were actual differences within political cultures in the former Yugoslav territory. Such an understanding can be reached only if we bear in mind that the influence of a political phantasm (of a "united" Yugoslavia with a "unitary" socio-political system) produced an illusion of unity. This state of affairs has at least two meanings: first, that the differences between the parts of the old Yugoslavia (not only the differences between Slovenia and Serbia, which are now somewhat exaggerated) have always existed in reality; second, that the current political crisis illustrates the depth of this real-existing fact (strictly theoretically speaking, one should say: the penetration of the "Real"). The symbolic universe, which the self-managing socialist phantasm produced, has collapsed. The search for a political solution is, in a sense, the search for a new possible point of the seam (*point de capiton*). In this search, the concept of political pluralism appears to have a somewhat privileged or special position.

With respect to this concept, however, some problems have recently appeared. As far as these problems are concerned, it is not a question of whether it should be adopted (on the level of explicit political ideology), or not. In the light of this most recent crisis, even the most frantic adherents of

the mono-party system have adopted notions about the inevitability of political pluralism. For this reason, the problem is not to be found on the level of explicit political culture, but rather somewhere else (i.e., on the level of so-called irrational scenarios, that is, at the level of the implicit political culture).

My thesis holds that establishing political pluralism as a modality or as a solution on the level of the explicit political culture is not sufficient. It is essential, but not sufficient, for the same reasons as mentioned in the case of "brotherhood and unity"; the explicit political culture is not at the same level for practical decision-making in the political culture.

Considering the fact of the libidinal structure of the individual, which is still very much bonded to the old Stalinist discourse (Žižek, 1985), some further questions related to the problem of political pluralism are now a concern; among others there is the question of its status. The attained status for the concept of political pluralism shall decide whether this concept is likely to contribute to the introduction of pluralistic and democratic political culture and politics, or if it will not.

8.4 The Role of Dogma and Stalinist Discourse

What is this all about? In political discourse of the Stalinist type, dogma plays a crucial role. Dogma is understood as a form or status, but not as content. In the Stalinist type of political culture, a special sort of paradox is dealt with. It is evident that this political culture tolerated no pluralism. We would, however, be jumping to a conclusion if we stated that there was no pluralism whatever in this type of political culture. Pluralism was actually incorporated within one (seemingly the most nonpluralistic) element of this political culture - in dogma itself. We are dealing, paradoxically it seems, with the pluralism of dogma: some contents of dogma were actually "optional" (for example, in one case, the emphasis was placed on heavy industry; in the other, on a mono-party system; then further, on self-managing socialistic democracy, and so on).

The contents of dogma are changeable. Which is the most important? The variability in content does not contradict Stalinist discourse. Quite to the contrary, it is a prerequisite for its own preservation. The contents of dogma have to be changeable, not for the sake of abolishing Stalinist discourse, but, conversely, for the sake of its preservation. When dealing with Stalinist dogma, the essential part on the one hand is ascribed to the question of its

form or status, and not to the question of its content. On the other hand, it is vitally important whether pluralism succeeds in developing into a dogma or not. The elimination of pluralism as dogma and the dispersion of pluralism into the wider sphere of politics are apparently the crucial presuppositions for replacing Stalinist discourse and, concomitantly, Stalinist political culture.

8.5 The Problem of Political Pluralism

The previous statements evoke some further consequences related to the problem of political pluralism. My thesis, arguably, holds that the introduction of political pluralism does not necessarily result in the rise of pluralistic politics and pluralistic political culture. Whether this happens or not depends on what kind of a status is ascribed to political pluralism. To put it more precisely, if political pluralism gains the status of dogma, it would (even though this may seem paradoxical) perpetuate Stalinist political discourse and its corresponding political culture. Furthermore (and, once again, apparently on its face, absurd), it means that some machinery, which encourages such politics and political actions and would not tolerate any pluralism in practice, would be established. It would (under the cover of "liberal slogans") preserve and perpetuate illegal decision-making mechanisms, amoral familiarism, and other typical aspects of the old Stalinist political culture (examples of this are already discernable). In this case, political pluralism would only present one of the possible "choices of dogma itself." It would come into practice merely as an outgrowth of the pluralism of dogma. Thus, political pluralism would become a constituent of utterly nonpluralistic politics and its corresponding political culture; consequently, its latent radicalism would be entirely discredited. This possibility has to be taken seriously.

Only if political pluralism could succeed in breaking through the form or status of dogma, only if it could succeed in satisfying the principle of affirmation of the basis, which simultaneously denies its being basic (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/89, p. 193), only then would the principle of political pluralism actually provide for the introduction of pluralistic politics and pluralistic political culture.

8.6 Conclusions

I am perfectly aware of the fact that the previous statements are by no means novel. An analysis close to these possibilities was done in 1985 in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (Ibid.). There, Laclau and Mouffe suggest a fundamental change in our logic for understanding politics and political culture, the change thus produced is based on the theory of signifiers. Another of their findings, namely that the logic of totalitarianism grows in the very soil of democracy (Ibid., p. 186), was also clearly enunciated then. This proposition, particularly in reference to the problem of political pluralism, is to be taken literally, as literally as a third proposal finding that radical pluralistic democracy is not possible until there is an abolition of universalistic discourse and its presupposition of having a privileged point of access to "the truth" (Ibid., p. 191-192). Only then may we develop a theoretical field which provides for understanding the term "radical plural democracy" (Ibid., p. 166). If we agree with the fact that subjective positions cannot return to a positive and uniform fundamental principle, only then can we state that pluralism is radical. Each link in these multiformed identities must discover a principle for its own validity without searching for this principle in a transcendental or fundamental basis in the hierarchy of meanings for all of them, including their sources and guarantees of legitimacy (Ibid., p. 166-167). Nevertheless, such a fundamental principle is the basis for the principle of political pluralism.

It seems that the demand for "political pluralism" needs a bit of adjustment. It needs to fit into a "radical political pluralism" which presupposes at least two things: first, a radical widening of the sphere of politics and the political realm; and, second, a radical pluralization of this sphere, along with institutionalization of pluralism in a multi-party system. Both are essential prerequisites for political pluralism.

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9 *Political Consciousness, Legitimacy, and Personality* **Transition from Totalitarianism to Democracy in the Ukraine**

9.1 Abstract

The process of democratization (based on inconsistently applied principles of political and economic pluralism) has created tensions in the formation of a democratic consciousness and personality in Ukrainian society. Contradictions in the transformation of a totalitarian into a democratic system have resulted in the growth in the Ukraine of a "transition type of personality." A pronounced ambivalence in attitudes toward future democratic reforms is one of its characteristic features. Study data show that development of fundamental democratic values are major landmarks in mass consciousness and behavior. This is true despite all the felt difficulties and observed contradictions in Ukrainian political consciousness and sense of legitimacy during the destruction of the former totalitarian system.

9.2 Introduction

The prospects for all the peoples living in the former Soviet Union could not be termed promising. Many of them (at least, those who were born before 1945) have experienced a total fragmentation of their life's foundations in this century. For example, they have twice changed their social character. After all of this, they have now returned to a more "natural state" from that characterizing the communist social experiment (as colossal in its scale as it was tragic in its consequences), which has proved to be such an unproductive historical interruption.

History does not appreciate such experiments because their societal costs are too high. A country which already suffered through one "great social experiment" treats such new experiments with care and hesitation, despite the promised benefits of modern democratic civilization. For this reason, it has been both difficult and even contradictory to cultivate a democratic consciousness and personality in this society.

This study elucidates special features of personality development resulting from this destructive social experiment. After its failure, a new experiment seeks a different route to democratic society. This journey started before April 1985 and resulted from changes in basic personality types at different stages in the development of Soviet society. The social-historical typology of personality is (in its most general form) comprised of three basic types.

9.3 Basic Personality Types and Democracy

The previous Soviet personality was one dissolved in its society. It was not distinguished from the system of traditional social relations. It assimilated a collectivistic ideology in which the individual was only a functionally determined element in the social system. Only in this system could the person find his/her role to play as well as his/her dignity and worth. This type of personality held a leading position in socialist history until the "stagnation" period, when "the separation of the personality from the state" (with privatization of interests and their estrangement from the interests of the totalitarian system) took place.

With the personality estranged from the society, coupled with a gradual decline in totalitarian ideology, a dual system of values emerged. One system allowed expression of a person's own "selfish" interests; the other ensured conformity to external requirements and strict ideological control. A person

living in this two-dimensional moral and ideological space differs from the "single-dimensional" personality of the collectivistic-community type. In the latter system, the individual is only an infinitesimal particle in the united social stream. And, though he/she still feels infinitesimal when compared with the society, this feeling has another qualitative aspect. It does not dissolve itself in "the common cause" or "common interest", but rather in exactly the opposite: in deep, inner estrangement.

The process of democratization (based on principles of political and economic pluralism) has created prerequisites for forming a Ukrainian democratic consciousness and social personality. Basic contradictions emerging in the transition period from totalitarianism to democracy have produced a "transition personality type." Ambivalent attitudes about future democratic and social reforms are primary characteristics.

This ambivalence is least conflicting regarding democracy as a common purpose for joint social development. Based on their common-humane meaning, "socialist democracy" and "democracy" share many similar classic values. Also, many people consciously hold a stable association between the existence of Western democracy and its high level of economic development. Therefore, there is a double effect (socialist and Western ideology/influences) in this respect. Socialist ideology continually inculcated the idea of common freedom and equality in one's consciousness; the other filled these abstractions with real content. A synthesis of these two ideologies created a conflict in mass consciousness between the idea of "democratic possibility" (i.e., providing improved living conditions) and real results from political and economic transformation in the Ukraine.

This conflict between democratic ideals and realities has a rational foundation. It influences the formation of negative evaluations regarding both the rate and depth of democratic transformation. The current duality in attitudes about democracy reflects this ambivalence in social and individual consciousness. Social-psychological ambivalence divides the society into supporters and opponents surrounding the myth of equality and security for people living under socialist state patronage. Proof of individual ambivalence is evident in perspectives on Ukrainian political and economic development. These may be mutually exclusive (for instance, support for a market economy *and* price controls or approval of a multiparty system *and* distrust of all parties).

People have also begun to forget that Ukrainian society existed under conditions of intensified "socialist democracy." Socialist democracy as "power to the people to achieve the people's interests" existed only in the collective social imagination. Yet, it was an essential part of Soviet life, where individuals customarily lived in an imaginary world, defended illusory gains, and existed to build a "perfect" society in the future.

Deideologization of individual consciousness/personality as a result of *perestroika* raised very serious doubts about the word "socialist" as adding anything to the idea of democracy. Moreover, a suspicion grew that these terms were actually mutually exclusive (one orients humans to the defense of one's rights and freedoms and the other to accepting their suppression). For this reason, nobody questioned society's movement from socialist democracy to real democracy when it was called "democratization." This process actually meant the separating out of a democratic system of values from the socialist accretions of previous years.

Supporters of the concept of the "invariable socialist preference of the Soviet people" have found themselves in an uncomfortable situation. They have found a way around it by using "democratic socialism" as the aim of social development (and a new stimulus for personality activation) instead of "socialist democracy." Opponents of mixing the "righteous" with the "sinful" (more experienced in formal logic, perhaps) want a final separation of "socialist" from "democracy." Both sides invoke popular interests and public opinion for their support. If we consider a referendum as a complete and legal form for expressing the popular will, it could help us answer questions about which kind of democracy is best, thereby reaching another landmark in social transformation.

Our experience with the first referenda in the Ukraine showed that direct democracy may allow us to determine the popular will, but not in all situations. A country with no effective system of representative democracy and a political culture inexperienced in direct democracy could produce enormous political contradictions. For instance, how can we evaluate results from the Ukrainian referendum (March 1991), where the majority of the population favored keeping the federal system (a renovated Union), yet simultaneously, even a more imposing majority (when they answered questions about having a republic) supported a confederation in which the Ukraine would become sovereign?

Of course, such ambivalence in popular positions is not universal. The current social situation is its cause; the ambivalence in consciousness and personality is more widespread than any political consistency and validity. When two opposing political forces say to a person, "Tell us 'yes' if you do not want any aggravation" and any choice might bring some improvement, one is ready to agree with both alternatives if only to avoid a war.

Until there is no effective interaction between the state and public opinion and until the state's control over mass media ends, any freedom for expressing the popular will remains illusory. Under such conditions, a referendum reduces freedom of speech to freedom to choose between two words: "yes" or "no." Therefore, this tool of democracy can actually be directed against democracy, itself.

Such an understanding of freedom of popular will is typical for any democracy originating in the womb of authoritarian power. For instance, the English Queen Elizabeth I supposed that "freedom of speech" in parliament existed not to give any "fool" the opportunity to discuss difficult questions, but only to have the English people's representatives say "yes" or (as a last resort) "no" to the government's questions. Anything else was considered abuse of free speech. In order not to put the voter/participants in Ukrainian referenda in the situation of "queen's parliamentarians", Ukrainian society must reach a level of political culture wherein the legislative power can choose clear alternatives for development, public opinion is competent to choose and evaluate these alternatives, and an executive power can implement the accepted decisions.

9.4 Special Features of Political Consciousness and Legal Culture (Legitimacy)

What about the competence of Ukrainian legislative and executive powers? All of the country's experience testifies to its very low level of development. There is hope for a new generation of politicians who could move democratic development forward. But they inherited not only a destroyed economy and an illegal (illegitimate) state, but also a long tradition of totalitarian culture. This determines negative reactions within the mass and individual consciousness to many democratic initiatives, which, by comparison, probably would not exist in light of modern information systems in place in more democratic political cultures.

All innovations in economics, politics, and law always first face informational resistance. The first attempts at economic reforms in the USSR (connected with different patterns of workplace operations and a sense of self-reliance) happened in a climate of ignorance among the majority of participants in these transformations. For example, one of the surveys of industrial workers in the Ukraine in early 1989 revealed that only 31% were familiar with basic economic indicators, though state enterprises were very dependent on such indicators. (Survey conducted by the Central Ukraine Department of All-Union Center of Public Opinion Research, using the program created by N. Panina, N. Churilov, and E. Golovaha. In all, 1744 workers, engineers, and administrators were surveyed.)

We can also make some judgements about the level of political culture through assessing the amount of one's legal knowledge. In one opinion poll in Kiev, it turned out that only 17% were satisfied with their knowledge in this domain (57% were not satisfied, 26% did not answer), and only 30% knew the main elements of the labor code, which determined their rights. (Survey carried out in July 1990 by Panina and Golovaha, using a program created by N. Popov. A sample of 542 persons, representing the adult population of Kiev, was used.)

Many people who live in other countries believe that there is a high level of politicization of the Ukrainian consciousness and that it is typical of the current situation. But this is nothing more than an illusion, resulting from the thousands of meetings, demonstrations, and frantic political discussions which different parties and public movements sponsored. The majority of the population is far removed from these political passions and has no idea about their own supposed obsession for politics. So, when the success of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was at its height and its activity was devoted to a total attack on the communist forces, 61% of the people in Kiev did not know about its existence; another 71% did not know anything about the United Front of Working People, which defended the socialist movement.

Ukrainians who love their TV sets are not great fans of politics. Representative survey questioning in the Republic has shown that only 32% of the inhabitants paid significant attention to politics on TV, as compared with their 31% interest in such newspaper coverage. (Survey conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Ukraine in January 1991, using standardized interviews. The sample of 1,747 persons represented the adult Ukrainian

population. The questionnaire was created by János Símón and László Bruszt and adapted by I. Burov, E. Golovaha, N. Panina, and N. Churilov.)

Fewer than half the people read about politics in newspapers. Regarding more active participation in political life, 7% attend political party meetings very often, 5% take part in such meetings, 7% are active members of political parties and groups, and 4% take direct part in public-political movements (Ibid.).

The politicization of an active minority and the growth of political forces which harangue their predecessors with cries and curses to leave power (in turn, these predecessors question the new leaders' consensus, legitimacy, power, and privileges) both arouse estrangement in mass consciousness and threaten the growth of a democratic political culture. Social anomie may result from conflicts among different normative systems, generating a kind of gridlock over the whole of social reality, with all the attendant economic, political, and legal problems. These tendencies were considered in our own study of popular attitudes toward increases in crime and toward the legal system (July 1990; sample size of 542 persons, representing the Kiev adult population).

Our questionnaire included questions on social estrangement and social bewilderment. The generalized social estrangement index varied from 0 to 18 points (moderate significance level for respondents was 11.9). This indicator was composed of the degree of grasping social reality and the extent of feeling social estrangement and distance from current social processes. Regarding the current state of Ukrainian society, the process of destroying old totalitarian structures and building democratic forms of social life/organization are typical. An increase in the index of social estrangement attests to a lack of any basic political change in Ukrainian society.

Pensioners have the highest index of estrangement among social strata (13.8), whereas students have the lowest (10.1). This result is associated primarily with age particularities: the elderly feel estranged from all radical social changes in the society, particularly the most recent. So, while the estrangement index in all age groups under 30 years is 11.3, in the post-55 age group, it is 13.3. Association of changes in society and level of education are also very close since this index for people with the highest level of education is 10.3, 11.9 for those with secondary (specialized) education, 13.3 for those with universal secondary education, and 14.0 for those with no secondary education.

Higher levels of education promote less social estrangement despite the actual contradictory conditions of social democratization with the parallel growth of social conflict. The general belief in a law-governed (legitimate) society and a democratic future relates to the level of the population's culture (its economic, political, and legal dimensions). This conclusion was confirmed when indices of popular social estrangement were compared with peoples' answers to the question, "If you considered that your rights are infringed by any official, to whom/where would you appeal?" The index of estrangement among those who would appeal to a law court was 10.7, whereas those who did not know to where to appeal had 12.4. The highest index level (12.8) was among people who answered that "It does not matter where you appeal; there is no control over administrators and bureaucrats."

Low level of legal cultural development may appear in three forms:

1. As "legal ignorance", when a person does not know his/her rights and legal tools for a defense.
2. As "legal nihilism", when any opportunity for a legal defense of one's rights is denied.
3. As "legal extremism", when the conflict over legal infringements is associated predominantly with increasing the cruelty of punishment and justifying illegal measures for offenders and persons suspected of a crime.

These data showed that a low level of legal culture in its first and second forms is related to feelings of social estrangement. As to the last response, this relation is even more obvious. Table 1 shows the distribution of answers to the question "In your mind, what measures must be used to reduce criminality in our country?" (Respondents could choose no more than three answers.) As we can see from these data, increasing the severity of punishment and increasing the number of "fighters" against criminality is related to a heightened level of social estrangement and opposition to social reforms.

It is also very interesting that increased anxiety about the possibility of becoming a crime victim is very high among supporters for the army's and state security organs' involvement in the fight against crime. This anxiety could increase with the rise in the current tempo of crime. It could reach an even higher level should a significant part of the population support anti-

crime methods similar to those used during wartime. People with the lowest level of social estrangement stressed the importance of strict legality and changing those social conditions which increase criminality. The first group prefers more capital punishment as a concrete measure; the second preferred life imprisonment and weapon use by reliable people. These latter answers are more similar to those in countries with a developed democracy.

Table 1: The index of social estrangement, depending on choice of measures directed to reduce criminality.

Measures to reduce criminality	Number of positive answers (%)	Index level for social estrangement
- Use capital punishment more often	16	13.1
- Make prison regime more strict	5	13.0
- Involve army and state security organs in fight against criminality more often	5	12.9
- Create special detachments from veterans of the Afghan war, workers, and others to preserve law and order	5	12.8
- Increase wages of militiamen and raise prestige of security organs	24	12.3
- Provide for more militia	45	12.1
- Punish criminals, but also reform their characters	8	12.1
- Bring up children better	41	12.0
- Organize popular tutoring in selfdefense	6	11.9
- Introduce life confinement for particularly dangerous criminals	22	11.4
- Not only influence criminals, but change social conditions bearing on their criminality	49	11.3
- Allow sale and wearing of weapons by reliable people	6	11.2
- Impose stricter laws as well as more inevitable punishment	28	10.6

Note: Respondents could choose up to three answers, so total exceeds 100%.

The belief that punishment of criminals is too soft in the Ukraine is still widespread. A significant part of the population shares this view. To illustrate, 28% of respondents expressed the need to make punishment more severe, while only 11% thought that "We need to make our justice more humane." About half (49%) believed that it was necessary to combine more cruel measures for some criminals with more humane ones for others; 13% did not answer. Although Ukrainian criminal legislation is not among the

most humane in the world, suggestions to make it more severe are very popular. People who support increasing the cruelty of punishment have an index level for social estrangement of 13.1, while those who call for increased humanization had 10.8. This corroborates the idea that people will not accept humanization of a criminal security system to the extent that they feel bewilderment and distrust for the democratic renovation of the society, with all the attendant difficulties and problems connected with this process. The attitudes of Kievites to capital punishment were distributed in the following way: 7% to abolish it immediately, 18% to move gradually toward its abolition, 33% to keep its use at the current rate, 27% to extend its use, with 15% not answering.

Lawyers often state the belief/legal maxim that abolition of capital punishment or its use in exceptional cases for the most extreme crimes is very important for building a state where just laws govern. However valid their opinion, this measure does not find support in contemporary Ukrainian public opinion. Our data verified this point of view (i.e., 60% opposed abolishing or reducing its use). The great hope for softening such dispositions and overcoming cruelty in human relations are now often linked with the current revival of traditional religion and religious values. But, in reality, 25% of the disbelievers supported extending capital punishment, whereas 33% of respondents belonging to the Orthodox Church support increasing it. Apparently, the present form of religiousness does not support a reduction in cruelty and intolerance. Instead, the roots of these phenomena lie in the deeply embedded economic and social-political strata of the old totalitarian system, which still retains its strong influence over social practices and popular consciousness.

9.5 Possibilities for Democratic Options in the Ukraine

The conflict between highly valuing democracy (as the means/purpose for social transformation) and lower values for the actual consequences of democratization represents the ambivalence of public and individual consciousness. This conflict is first reflected in contradictions seen in popular emotional states of being. Data on the dynamics in the emotional state of the population during the *perestroika* years were gathered in one opinion poll (see Table 2). (Population of Kiev over 18 years old was the general population. The 450-person sample was representative of sex, age, and education in April 1990. Form created by N. Panina and E. Golovaha.)

As we can see, respondents recorded an increase in initiative and a decrease in submissiveness. This corresponds with tendencies in mass psychology from a state typical of a totalitarian system to one more according to democratic conditions. However, the "price" for democratization is very high. The majority of respondents evidenced moods usually connected with aggressiveness (e.g., bitterness, intolerance, and irritability). These moods provide the emotional ground to support both individual repression and eventual suppression of democracy, itself. The coexistence of contrary tendencies (such as growth in aggressiveness and increasing indifference and boredom) is noteworthy. Decreasing optimism among the majority is natural, given such an emotional background. Moreover, loss of trust in the future forces a person to return to his/her past as his/her single sure foothold in this unstable and unpredictable social situation.

Table 2: Kievites answers to the question, "In what way, in your opinion, have the following popular feelings and states changed during the last 3 to 4 years?" (as a % of all answers).

Feelings and psychological states	Have decreased	Unchanged	Have increased
Bitterness	2	10	88
Tolerance	63	25	12
Boredom	6	14	82
Justice	35	45	19
Indifference	20	29	51
Optimism	53	32	15
Envy	6	37	58
Responsiveness	45	37	18
Irritability	5	12	83
Initiative	28	34	39
Submissiveness	63	32	6
Mercy	20	32	48

People may have started to consider the idea of democracy as being too far from social reality since they regularly have to solve their everyday problems. So, in this survey, respondents who agreed with the statement that all problems of their republic would be solved under democratic conditions was only 35%, whereas 26% considered that such problems would become more and more serious (14% said that nothing would likely change and 25% did not answer). Consequently, most people do not consider creating a democratic environment as a clear prerequisite for ending the present crisis. Moreover, a significant number see possible aggravation of the current situation and fear an "orgy of democracy." However, this point of view is more

typical of inhabitants of small towns and the countryside, of elderly people, and of those with lower levels of education.

With all this said, the possibility for developing truly democratic and popular political achievements (despite known difficulties and problems from conflicts between democratic ideals and realities) is becoming more likely. This trend is corroborated in instances such as that where the negative assessment of the value of the Ukrainian state (e.g., only 3% considered it positively and 50% negatively) and the insignificant trust levels for all political organizations (e.g., only 11% trust political parties). However, the majority of the population (61%) does not support a return to the single-party system (e.g., 19% favor it and 20% did not answer).

A preference for democratic participation is also seen in answers to questions such as "If the party in power is abusing its power and you fear limits on democracy, would you organize a strike or take part in it?" In this case, 47% answered positively, 37% negatively, and 19% did not answer. Of course, such democratic choices are only abstract decisions associated with the most general indications of political consciousness. However, the weight of evidence at this time is that, behind this abstract democratic thinking, there would be a concrete popular reaction against any attempts to limit the use of democratic political processes.

We have solid ground on which to maintain that the old fears regarding obedience to Communist Party officials (who tried to return to the old times in August 1991) are a thing of the past. Then, everything seemed to favor this plot (e.g., people were tired of *perestroika*, army officials and military-industrial leaders opposed their weakened positions, and the prospects were ripe for anarchy, international discord, economic bankruptcy, and a return to conservative central legislative control). One primary factor which proved decisive was not taken into consideration at this time. This was the new atmosphere of freedom, without which only people who knew nothing but slavery could survive. The strongest devotion to freedom and democracy first appeared in the large cities, which had a concentration of the major intellectual and political forces of Ukrainian society. If it is normally true that revolutions are made predominantly in capitals, the antidemocratic counterrevolution was also stopped in the two largest cities of the country (namely, Moscow and Kiev). Although Kievites did not take an active part in the struggle against the Summer 1991 putsch, their clear preference was for the defenders of the new democracy.

The Department of Public Opinion Research at the Institute of Sociology of the Ukraine obtained data supporting this view in a survey taken from August 20 to 26. The first survey (August 20-21) involved 150 Kievites; it produced an interesting result. In spite of the real threat of a return to those times when a disagreement with the Communist "national leadership" guaranteed political repression, 75% of the respondents decisively opposed the Communist Party (the GKChP) coup leaders' legality; only 16% accepted it. Not afraid of the GKChP, Kievites agreed to answer "provocative" questions on August 20th. On the morning of the 21st (when the political situation was very unclear and the real threat to democracy was at its height), they also responded against the coup.

A majority of the survey respondents recognized these dangers. Two-thirds of them answered this question positively "Could mass repression begin now or not?" (Only 27% did not foresee impending repression.) As we can see, the expectation of mass repression was significant, but this did not prevent the large majority from opposing the GKChP coup.

Our next survey (which focussed on the attitudes of 167 Kievites to dictatorship or democracy as solutions for the country's escape from social crisis) was carried out on August 21 and 22. Although half expressed their disillusionment with the present course of democracy (33% were not so disillusioned), the great majority of Kievites (82%), regardless of social-demographic category, opposed establishing any form of dictatorship.

9.6 Conclusion

Data gathered from our studies in the Ukraine indicate that fundamental democratic values are major features of contemporary Ukrainian mass consciousness, socialization, and political behavior/culture. This is true despite all the difficulties and contradictions experienced during the formation of a new political consciousness and popular legal culture during this period when, hopefully, the final destruction of the old totalitarian system was completed.

9.7 References

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10 *A State-wide Survey of North Carolina Public Opinion on Governmental Regulation and Toward the Environment* **Effects of Education and Media Use**

10.1 Abstract

This chapter presents the results of a statewide survey of North Carolina public opinions on the environment, government, and the media. These results are then correlated with certain variables relating to the level of the respondents' educational attainment, environmental education, political education, and media use. The results showed a remarkably high level of concern about the environment and, additionally, that people (perhaps erroneously) did not necessarily think environmental problems existed in their immediate locale. Respondents held very negative attitudes toward govern-

ment (e.g., "special interests"). Even in the face of such cynicism, however, people stated that government should provide environmental protection; reliance on private business to police itself was an unacceptable solution. Attitudes toward the media were generally positive, stating that the media were accurate on environmental matters, but did not help them to improve their understanding. With respect to the backgrounds of respondents, all educational levels showed increased concern for the quality of the environment. People with higher levels of education apparently were more distrustful of government; these respondents believed that political decisions rewarded special-interest groups. Educational level was related to a positive evaluation of media environmental coverage, as well as the impression that the media did not help people to understand what was happening in government. Media use impacts were less pervasive, with television having no measurable effects.

10.2 Introduction

Concern about the state of the environment has become a worldwide phenomenon. After a decline in interest in environmental protection in the late 1970s in the United States, the issue is more strongly than ever supported in the 1990s. With the increase in public concern over the environment beginning in the 1980s, there has been a corresponding increase in news media environmental coverage.

This study reports the first systematic statewide random survey of adults in the state of North Carolina regarding their attitudes toward the environment, government regulation, and the media. The results document how people feel about their natural environment and what they think can be done about it. Information resulting from this inquiry began with a list of various problems and their relative priorities. Information on the intensity of feelings toward environmental problems, the extent of public involvement, and what the public is (or is not) doing is also provided. We also present data on public attitudes toward government, governmental regulation, sources of information (electronic and print media), as well as the level of the respondent's education on political and environmental matters. The final part details the interactive effects of educational attainment, environmental and political education, and media use.

10.3 Survey Design

We used a random-digit telephone survey of adults to collect data on citizens' attitudes about the environment. Survey Sampling, Inc., of Fairfield, Connecticut, designed the sample which included households in each of the 100 counties in North Carolina; the sample size (N=488) is large enough to ensure statistical representativeness from all three regions (Coastal, Piedmont, and Mountain) in the state as well as metropolitan/rural counties.

The sample size allows for a margin of error of + or - 4.5%. The US Census Bureau data show that the counties in the Mountain region have 8% of the total population, whereas our sample has 7.6% from this region, indicating that the sample is representative.

The questionnaire was designed with the assistance of political science students in 1991. It was pre-tested in Watauga County, North Carolina, using a list of random-digit telephone numbers. A final questionnaire was administered in North Carolina, using such telephone numbers for all North Carolina counties.

10.4 Survey Results

Survey respondents were first asked what they thought was the most serious problem facing North Carolina. Although the environment was not the problem most respondents cited, environmental concerns were the fourth ranking problem. This choice was closely grouped with the top three problems identified (see Table 1, S. 154).

The high ranking given to the environment illustrates a considerable level of public concern about this issue. To further illustrate North Carolinians' attitudes about the environment, when asked directly about the problem rather than in an open-ended question, 93.4% of respondents agreed that they were concerned (see Table 2, S. 154).

It should be noted that a sizeable minority (43.2%) stated that they strongly agreed that the environment is a concern; another 50.2%, a majority in itself, agreed that it is a concern, but not one which was as intensely felt. This poses a policy-making, action-taking, and implementation problem which is addressed more thoroughly later. When less-interested citizens (who may not feel strongly about the issue) perceive a problem, they are less likely to act to resolve their concerns. Still, the data clearly demonstrate wide-spread public concern about the issue.

Table 1: Responses to: "What do you think is the most serious problem facing North Carolina today?" (in descending high to low/rank order).

Response	Number	Percent
Drugs	105	21.5
Education	104	21.3
Economy	70	14.3
Environment	67	13.7
Crime	34	7.0
Taxes	16	3.3
Budget deficit	14	2.9
Poverty	7	1.4
Moral decline	5	1.0
Aids	3	.6
Other	41	8.4
Do not know	5	1.0
No answer	17	3.5
Totals	488	100.0

Table 2: Responses to: "The quality of the environment (air, land, and water) is a concern to you:"

Response	Number	Percent
Strongly agree	211	43.2
Agree	245	50.2
Do not know	16	3.3
Disagree	14	2.9
Strongly disagree	1	.2
No answer	1	.2
Totals	488	100.0

Data were gathered about a variety of possible environmental concerns. Responses indicated that widespread and deep-seated concerns about various kinds of environmental problems are extremely high: concern over garbage disposal (95.3%), industrial pollution (91.6%), agricultural herbicide/pesticide run-off (89.3%), and acid rain (80.7%) are all examples. However, the intensity level varies for each of these problems. For example, the "strongly

agree" response was: 44.7% on garbage disposal, 43.0% on industrial pollution, 34.2% on agricultural pollution, and 26.4% on acid rain.

When asked about the condition of the environment in the United States, 64.3% of the respondents stated that it was getting worse (see Table 3).

Table 3: Response to: "In your opinion, is the condition of the United States' environment getting better, getting worse, or is it staying about the same?"

Response	Number	Percent
Better	53	10.9
Worse	314	64.3
Stays the same	115	23.6
No answer	6	1.2
Totals	488	100.0

While there is a significant concern that the environment is worsening on a nationwide basis, an interesting distinction appeared regarding the local environment. When asked, a majority (50.2%) stated local conditions were staying the same (see Table 4).

Table 4: Response to: "What about the quality of your *local* environment, that is the community in which you live? Is it getting better, getting worse, or is it staying about the same?"

Response	Number	Percent
Better	83	17.0
Worse	144	29.5
Stays the same	245	50.2
No answer	16	3.3
Totals	488	100.0

Since respondents perceive a nationwide environmental problem, but a majority does not see the quality of their own environment getting worse, we have a potential policy-making problem. The problem is seen as being "not in my back yard" (i.e., somewhere else). Consequently, most people are not

as likely to do something themselves to help the environment, or to actively work to eliminate the problem, or to promote governmental action (see Table 4).

This response pattern is also reflected in the information about what people are doing personally to attack environmental problems. While a slight majority (50.2%) indicate that they are actively involved in the effort to protect their community from environmental hazards, a quarter (24.8%) state that they are not involved. Furthermore, only 11.5% report strong involvement in such problems.

The survey elicited several types of information about what people were actually doing to ease environmental pressures. More than two-thirds (68%) recycle paper, 67.6% cans, 51% glass/bottles, and 20.1% compost. Although these numbers are no doubt heartening for those who are concerned about the environment, more can be done at the personal level. For example, the data indicate that considerable improvement would come through recycling bottles/glass. The policy question is whether these actions should be voluntary (as is the case in North Carolina on all recycling measures) or mandatory (as is true in states such as Iowa and Oregon).

10.5 Views on Government

North Carolinians view their government in a rather negative manner; yet, they still seem to feel that government intervention is the main solution to the widespread nature of environmental problems.

To illustrate this bifurcated set of attitudes, it is interesting to detail several of the answers. When asked to respond to a statement that "you can trust the government to do what is right for the people", an overwhelming 63.8% of the respondents disagreed (nearly a fifth of the sample *strongly* disagreed). Further, when asked whether government cares about people, 64% disagreed with the statement based on an assumption of government so caring. When asked if government was so complex that people do not know what is going on, 67.4% agreed. A remarkable 72.3% of the respondents stated that government was mainly concerned with satisfying special interests rather than ordinary people (see Table 5).

While the general view on government is negative in North Carolina, people have a substantial interest in government doing something about the environment. For example, although nearly 58% stated they would prefer that

private industry (and not government) be responsible for protecting the environment, 78.1% stated they felt that more government regulation was needed to protect the environment. Moreover, it is important to note that 65.5% of the respondents stated that regulation should occur at all levels of government (local/county, state, and national).

Table 5: Response to: "The government is primarily concerned with addressing the concerns of special interests, lobbyists, and citizens like you have lost their place in politics."

Response	Number	Percent
Strongly agree	110	22.5
Agree	243	49.8
Do not know	53	10.9
Disagree	71	14.5
Strongly disagree	4	.8
No answer	7	1.4
Totals	488	100.0

Public feelings about protecting the environment apparently outrank feelings about generating jobs and cutting taxes; 71% of respondents stated that a project which would generate more jobs and tax revenue in their community, but could also hurt the environment, should not be approved. An overwhelming 89.1% stated that their community needed strong controls over what can be constructed and where things can be built in order to protect the environment.

In addition to eliciting responses concerning public feelings about the environment, data were also sought on how respondents perceived the commitment to environmental protection in the different regions of the state. Of those surveyed, 24% indicated their belief that the Piedmont was the most active region in addressing environmental problems; 19% mentioned the Coastal region; only 9.8% referred to the Mountain region. Statewide, then, there is a widespread public perception that the Mountain area has made the least effort to control development and protect the environment. However, 45% said that they "do not know", indicating that there is also quite possibly a sizeable knowledge gap in citizen comprehension of environmental issues.

It is apparent in the survey results that the public supports strong governmental action to protect the environment. In addition to their beliefs that all levels of government should do more to protect the environment, 58% stated that they would be willing to pay more taxes to do so. The number of those supporting increased taxes for environmental protection was more than twice as large as those opposed to increased taxes for environmental protection: 28% stated that they would not be willing to pay more taxes and only 12% indicated that they did not know how they felt on this issue. Political rhetoric about public outrage over taxes being too high appears to miss the fact that people seem willing to pay more taxes for those things in which they strongly believe.

Attitudes such as these serve as strong indicators for environmental protection. However, there are times when people say they endorse a policy, yet it is difficult to gain their active support. This may be because of many cross-pressures or because talk is cheap, but action requires a stronger commitment. With respect to the assumption that perhaps people are just too busy in their day-to-day activities to focus on other things, we found that 39.5% of respondents agreed with the following proposition: "I am so concerned about keeping my job and providing food and shelter for my family that I don't have time to be more active in my community on environmental problems." However, 49% disagreed with this statement, tending to indicate that, in general, people recognize the importance of environmental action and are not using other responsibilities and activities as excuses for their lack of concern.

10.6 Attitudes Toward Mass Media

Respondents have much more favorable views of mass media than of government. When asked if media effectively reported on environmental problems, 58.4% agreed, although the "strongly agree" category was only 4.5% (see Table 6).

While North Carolinians believe media are doing an effective job of environmental reporting, they are less sure about their overall job. For example, regarding the media's providing a broad picture of "what is going on" in America, 57.2% felt the media did not provide such information.

Table 6: Response to: "The media (TV, radio, news magazines, newspapers) effectively report the environmental problems in your community."

Response	Number	Percent
Strongly agree	22	4.5
Agree	263	53.9
Do not know	47	9.6
Disagree	127	26.0
Strongly disagree	20	4.1
No answer	9	1.8
Total	488	100.0

10.7 Political and Environmental Education

As for political and environmental education, most North Carolinians have not had either subject in their formal education; 59% state that they had no political education. Of those stating that they did have some political education, most obtained this in college. Even fewer (22%) have had any formal environmental education, usually obtained in college or from on-the-job training. Although some school systems now emphasize environmental education, only a small number of adults have learned much about the environment while in school.

10.8 Educational and Media Effects on Attitudes Toward Environmental and Governmental Matters

Are environmental attitudes related to the respondent's extent of formal schooling? Over 90% of our respondents stated that they were concerned with the quality of the environment, with 43.2% strongly agreeing. In order to examine the effects of education, the gamma statistic (a measure of association) was employed. This statistic has a range of values between zero (0) and one (1) and measures the degree to which two ordinal variables (traits which have been broken down into "more than" and "less than" categories) are related. If the statistic approaches 0, a weak or absent relationship between variables is indicated. As gamma approaches +1, a positive association between variables is likely. When the statistic approaches -1, variables are inversely associated since cases high on one variable tend to be ranked at the low end on the second variable.

Also presented in our findings is the level of significance. This is a statistical calculation of the likelihood that the relationship being observed in a sample is due to chance and would not be found in the larger population from which the sample was drawn. We consider an association to be significant if it could occur by chance no more than five times out of 100.

Three types of schooling (formal level attained, environmental, and political education) were examined in order to determine their impact on the respondent's concern for the environment. Varied impacts due to education were found. Formal educational attainment produced a gamma of $+0.29$ ($p < .01$ significance level). Consequently, survey respondents with more education tended to be more concerned about environmental quality. The relationship became even stronger ($+0.43$; $p < .01$) when having environmental education and expressing environmental concern were examined. Additionally, there is also a positive relationship between education and attitudes when we look at the effect of political education ($+0.32$; $p < .01$).

In Table 7, the associations between educational attainment, formal environmental education, formal political education, and survey questions on the environment, government, and the media are presented.

Education in its several forms is related in a complex way to concerns about the environment. For example, increased levels of educational attainment are associated with increased disagreement with trusting private industry to protect the environment. Furthermore, more formal education is associated with increased disagreement that one can trust the government. Additionally, having formal education is related to increased rates of disagreement that the media are effective in helping us to understand environmental problems and to reject a belief that government is too complex to be understood.

Higher levels of environmental education are also related to rejection of the proposition that private industry (and not government) should be responsible for protecting the environment. There is a positive relationship between environmental education and feelings that the media effectively report on environmental matters. Recipients of environmental education tend to feel that government is not too complex to understand. Finally, those who had formal environmental education were the least likely to feel that they were too busy with other matters to be concerned about the environment.

Table 7: Education variables related to selected environmental, government and media questions (Gamma correlations).

Response	Educational Attainment	Environmental Education	Political Education
Environmental activism	+07	+13	+14
Private regulation	-.13*	-.21*	-.13
Government regulation	-.02	+16	+02
Trust in government	+17*	+12	+11
Special interests benefit	+11	+10	+24*
Government caring	-.08	+03	-.11
Media effectiveness	-.13*	+19*	+09
Government too complex	-.22*	-.18*	-.22*
Media help knowledge	+07	-.02	-.10
Pro development	-.16*	-.06	-.03
Control development	+01	+01	-.06
Increase taxes	+09	+06	-.06
No time for environment	-.20*	-.28*	-.22*

Note: An asterisk denotes the 95% level of probability ($p < .05$).

Formal political education (most likely gained in college courses) was related to increased levels of environmental activism and increased feelings that government (and not private industry) should lead in environmental protection. Persons with formal political education courses were most likely to believe that government operates to benefit special interests while being more likely to be involved in environmental issues.

Education has other effects as well. The higher the level of educational attainment, the less trusting respondents are of government. Persons in this category were more likely to feel that government is primarily concerned with addressing the concerns of special interests and lobbyists and that the person on the street has lost his/her place in politics.

It appears that the more people know and the more people study government, the less favorable impression they have of it. Our respondents stated that they were formally and usually educated about government in college. College-level courses often contain serious, in-depth discussion of interest groups, political action committees, and lobbyists. These courses apparently convey information that questions government being of, for, and by the people. However, all types of education appear to lessen citizen fears of a government so complex that people cannot understand it. In sum, educa-

tion helps citizens' understanding while it confirms views that special interests run the government.

People with more education (but not those with environmental education) tend to feel that the media effectively report on local environmental problems. However, better-educated persons do not feel that the media improve their general understanding; attitudes on this question do not markedly differ among better- or less-educated persons. The weak relationships observed are apparently due to chance. Level of educational attainment is also inversely related to approval of a developmental project that might hurt the environment, even though it would generate more jobs and tax revenue. No category of education was related to whether or not people are willing to pay more taxes each year to improve environmental quality. Education is positively related to respondents being active in local environmental causes.

10.9 Effects of Media Usage

Media usage affects attitudes toward environment regulation, but the effects are less pervasive than one might imagine. Table 8 lists the gamma correlations between three media use variables and a number of environmental questions.

One's media intake was related to environmental attitudes in only a few ways. A number of relationships (see Table 8) were found between print media and environmental attitudes than was the case with electronic media usage. Specific effects noted include:

- News magazine usage was positively related to concern about the environment and inversely related to feeling too busy to be environmentally active.
News magazine readers were more likely to feel that government was understandable; those who read fewer news magazines tended to feel that government was too complex to understand.
Frequency of newspaper reading was related to concern about environmental matters: newspaper readers were more concerned about the environment than those who tended to read fewer papers.
- Television viewing was not found to be statistically related to the array of environmental attitudes which were included in this study.

- Newspaper intake was related to greater willingness to pay higher taxes for environmental protection and to a decreased likelihood that the respondent felt too busy to be active on environmental issues.
- The most frequent readers of newspapers tended to believe that government is run to benefit special interests.

Table 8: Frequency of media use and environmental, government, and media issues (Gamma correlations).

Response	Newspaper	Television	Magazines
Concern for environment	+ .12*	-.12	+ .21*
Environmental activism	+ .05	+ .07	+ .13
Private regulation	-.05	+ .10	-.07
Government regulation	+ .06	+ .05	+ .00
Trust in government	-.08	+ .03	-.06
Special interests benefit	+ .13*	+ .02	+ .06
Government caring	+ .02	+ .01	+ .07
Media effectiveness	+ .01	+ .02	+ .01
Government too complex	-.01	+ .01	-.13*
Media promote understanding	-.07	-.12	-.06
Pro development	-.06	+ .05	-.04
Control development	+ .19	+ .01	+ .10
Increase taxes	+ .17*	+ .16	+ .22
No time for environment	-.15*	-.08	-.23*

Note: An asterisk denotes the 95% level of probability ($p < .05$).

Note: Complete copies of the survey form and coding sheets are available by contacting the authors at the Political Science Department, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608, USA.

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11 *Human Rights and Political Education* **The Case of Turkey**

11.1 **Abstract**

There is a direct connection between the evolution of Turkish political culture and constitution-making in Turkey. The viability of the state and modernization have influenced and, in a sense, determined the direction of political life. However, in recent decades, human rights have emerged as essential components of Turkish political culture and political education. The 1961 Constitution was based on the primacy of human rights. Since the 1970s, acute political conflict and persistent anarchy made the viability of the state a primary factor in Turkish political life. All this has had repercussions in the nature and quality of Turkish education. The 1982 Turkish Constitution was based on the primacy of the state. And Turkish education was directly influenced by this commitment to the need for the state's survival, rather than the protection of human rights. However, Turkey has had a growing commitment to constitutionalism ever since the first half of the 19th century. This has proved to be a continuing commitment which has, once again, emerged as an important factor in Turkish political life; hence, it has influenced the nature and direction of Turkish education.

11.2 Introduction

Since the 19th century, the state of the human condition has increasingly become the concern of all. The 19th century witnessed the growth of treaties to abolish slavery and the slave-trade; conventions designed to make war less inhumane; and protections for the sick and the wounded, prisoners of war, and noncombatants. After World War I, the International Labor Office promoted international conventions to establish minimum standards for working conditions and other social welfare programs. After World War II, the peace treaties required the defeated states to respect the human rights of their inhabitants. Since then, human rights became a subject for international concern and politics. A growing number of agreements have been concluded between states for the protection of human rights. Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been both a less-successful and more-cumbersome process. This is due to the heterogeneity of the systems that this Declaration encompasses, as well as the reluctance of several governments to accept its binding force. However, implementation of the European Human Rights Convention has been more successful since political similarities between the signatories and its effective structure both increase its willing implementation.

The question of human rights in Turkey can best be evaluated from two perspectives, First, from the perspective of Turkey's association with the European Council and her relationship with the European Human Rights Court, as well as the stages of her accession to the European Human Rights Convention. Second, an evaluation of Turkish constitutional developments will shed light on the matter of the human condition in Turkey because the growth of Turkish democracy has paralleled the development of Turkish constitution-making. A great deal can be learned about the nature of Turkish politics, political culture, and education if one studies Turkish constitutional history. This chapter assesses these two factors within a Turkish context for human rights and political education.

11.3 Turkey, Europe, and Human Rights

A major source for present Turkish commitments to Europe lies in the Kemalist reform movement. Kemal Atatürk employed a strong parliamentary government and expanded secularist system of education to turn Turkish national identity from its Ottoman history toward closer identification with Europe. He commissioned a French linguist to convert the Turkish alphabet

to Latin characters from the traditional Arabic script. Atatürk's Westernizing movement involved a cultural break with its Ottoman heritage. While the Atatürk reforms were implemented, a Western scholar commented:

"The outstanding conclusion of a study of special conditions in Turkey at the present time is that an Oriental people is passing from the inherited social customs of the past to the rapidly changing social values of the West; from the social and religious ideas of Islam to secular ideas; from autocracy to democracy; from loose allegiance to Khalif and Sultan to a vigorous nationalism; from women's isolation and inferiority to equality of sexes; from primitive agriculture to European transportation, trade, manufacture and modern agriculture and it is all being attempted at the same time" (Rose, et al., 1929, p. 176).

A_David Barchard (1985, p. 2) added: "Those who advocated like Mehmet Akif Ersoy in the 1920s that Turkey should adopt the technology but not the values of the West were relegated to the sidelines." The Kemalist educational system aimed to inculcate an allegiance to the new Turkish frontiers, a belief in the Republican regime and secular and national values, and acceptance of the need for international cooperation.

Atatürk's Europeanist legacy flourished along with Turkey's Westernized middle class, bureaucracy, and military. When defining modernization, Atatürk often used the terms "contemporary civilization", "common civilization", and the "civilized world." Hence, Atatürk's intellectual framework encompassed the whole world, while mainly focusing on Europe. The Kemalist heritage (be it in the main tenets of Turkish foreign policy or the principles guiding the restructuring of Turkish society) has brought Turkey even closer to Europe.

Atatürk and the 1920 revolutionaries were not interested in imperialist adventures. They did their utmost to inculcate a popular, rational, and emotional loyalty regarding the new Turkish frontiers. This was one of the most noticeable accomplishments of the era. Kemalist foreign policy was also anti-irredentist and anti-imperialist. As Yalman (January 1947, p. 48) stated: "Mustafa Kemal's regime cured Turkey of the terrible disease which had proved to be the unmaking of many national organisms: it eradicated all germs of irredentism, imperialism and aggressive militarism."

After the Republic was born in 1923, Turkey increasingly asserted its Western identity under Kemal Atatürk's leadership. Following World War II,

Turkey entered a variety of Western institutions (such as the International Bank and Monetary Fund, the Council of Europe, and NATO). On July 31, 1959, Turkey applied for associate membership in the European Community (EC) and became an associate member in 1964. Although the stages outlined by the Ankara Agreement (1963) had not yet been completed, Turkey applied for full membership in April 1987. There are a number of underlying reasons for this decision. Membership had been established as a national goal and the EC had previously decided to integrate Greece, Portugal, and Spain. Furthermore, the Turkish government asserted that membership was the next logical step in Turkey's unity with the West. This brief analysis illustrates the forces behind (and the extent of) Turkey's wish to integrate culturally, economically, and politically with Europe.

In March 1954, the Turkish Parliament accepted the European Human Rights Convention. Turkey accepted the binding legitimacy of all Convention protocols, except for numbers four and six. In January 1987, Turkey accepted the right of an individual to apply to the European Human Rights Court and, in January 1990, recognized the jurisdiction and authority of the European Human Rights Court. All this served to impose legal and moral obligations on Turkey and to further liberalize movements favorable to human rights.

Turkey's desire for a closer association with Europe found its echo in Prime Minister Özal's talk before the European Council in September 1989. Özal summarized the reasons why Turkey wanted to become a full EC member in these words:

"The term West has little to do with geographic limits. In reality the term West connotes a way of life based on freedom and human rights. This is where we all meet and unite. The different cultural background of Turkey not only enriches Western culture, but it also provides a door that opens to the East for the West, and a door that opens to the West for the East. We believe we have a right to want and expect to be admitted to EC from our allies and partners with whom we share the same values, the same goals and in fact a mutual destiny especially since the past fifty years. Moreover, Turkey has undertaken great responsibilities for the defence of Europe. We believe it is Turkey's right to be a full member. . . . The democratic system which Turkey is practicing is not a copy of the West, but the natural culmination of those processes which were in the making in Turkish society over many decades. But one has to remember the special difficulties the West itself experienced in terms of the practice of democracy when it itself was industrializing. The Western

understanding of human rights then and today shows some differences. For this reason the West has to understand the difficulties that a country confronts when it is attempting to industrialize within a democratic system. The Atatürk reforms constitute the very essence of the pluralistic political life that Turkey has embarked on for some time" (*Cumhuriyet*, September 28, 1989).

11.4 Turkish Constitutional Heritage and Human Rights

Among other developing states, Turkey stands out as a country that early on made an effort to establish constitutional government. These efforts started in the days of the Ottoman Empire, dating from the mid-19th century. Even earlier, there were a few Ottoman documents which contained some provisions that related to constitutional democracy. Throughout the course of the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks came increasingly under the impact of Western constitutional developments and theories. However, efforts to establish constitutional government in the 19th century cannot all be ascribed to Western influence. Domestic developments allowed the Young Ottomans, and later the Young Turks, to see constitutional government as a way to reform the Empire. These efforts resulted in the first Ottoman Constitution (1876). Although this document had many shortcomings, nevertheless it determined important changes in Turkish political structures. These involved the transition from absolutism to a limited constitutional monarchy. More rights were extended to Ottoman subjects, including the right to elect members to the Chamber of Deputies. It was Sultan Abdulhamit II who abrogated the Constitution of 1876. Thereafter, the Young Turk movement's principal aim, which was the reinstatement of the 1876 Constitution, was realized in 1908. Subsequently, a second constitutional period commenced.

Ottoman constitutional practices and developments had many shortcomings. They were not finally able to maintain constitutional government nor were they able to preclude the disintegration of the Empire. Nevertheless, they gained experience valuable for the future of constitutional democracy in Turkey. They instigated a desire, in an ever-growing number of Turkish people, to create the conditions that would ensure acceptance of the rule of law in the country.

The Period of National Struggle (1919-1922) constituted yet another important stage in Turkish constitutional development. The Constitution of 1921 was based on the principles of unconditional national sovereignty. This and

other constitutional principles set the country on the path to establishing a new regime. The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed on October 29, 1923; the Caliphate was abolished on March 3, 1924.

The Constitution of 1924 established the Turkish Republic and the nation-state of Turkey. As its fundamental tenet, this Constitution also maintained the principle of unconditional popular sovereignty; the 1921 Constitution had been based on the same principle. During the Kemalist era, a prime focus of attention was on the total modernization of Turkey. However, there was no lack of confidence in, nor contempt for, the principles of constitutional democracy as was witnessed in several European countries in the 1920s and 1930s. On the contrary, under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk, the modernist elite believed that constitutional democracy would be fully realized as a result of the Kemalist reforms, which proposed a modern, secular, and democratic Republic.

During the Kemalist transformation, a modernizing central elite (composed chiefly of retired military men, bureaucrats, and intellectuals) exercised political power. Barbara Ward (1942, p. 51) made a perceptive analysis of the nature of this transformation as follows:

"It is important to understand from the start what Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] meant by 'Westernization' and modernization. His training and mental formation belonged to the period of Liberal Enlightenment. He believed in the inalienable right of the nation to lead a completely independent and sovereign existence. He believed in the rights of men, in the equality of citizens before the law, and in the State as an association to serve their common well-being. He believed reason and scientific method could create an almost unlimited future of material progress for mankind, that the Western world, through science and industrialism, had discovered the key to this progress, and that if Turkey were to benefit from it, then the Turks too would have to apply rational and scientific methods to every sphere of their national life. He believed that 'unrational beliefs' - which virtually meant processes of thought not amenable to scientific proof - were in almost every case hostile to his ideal of progress."

The Constitution of 1924 was essentially a democratic Constitution, yet it had a major weakness. It did not provide for effective checks on the legislature. This weakness became glaringly evident after transition to a multi-party system, especially in the 1950s. The majority party and the government blatantly used these rights for their own purposes, thus violating oppositional and basic citizens' rights. Added to this situation was the Demo-

cratic Party's increasing encouragement of incipient reactionary movements. This situation represented a retreat from secularist Kemalist reforms. Therefore, they instigated great anxiety, particularly among Turkish intellectuals and youth. The economic difficulties in the late 1950s and their negative impact on social structures constituted another source of social restlessness. The modernist group regarded all these factors and events as developmental regressions until the May 27, 1960 Revolution broke out. The modernists viewed the Revolution as the victory of constitutional democracy, for Kemalist reforms, and for modernization. The military intervened in 1960, allegedly to "protect" the Turkish state. They believed the policies of the Democratic Party government violated previous reforms, sponsored a regressive turn from modernization, sullied the prestige of Turkey, and undermined constitutionalism.

After the establishment of the multi-party system in 1946, constitutional and political developments demonstrated clearly how majority rule (without effective and regularized restraints) could violate constitutional democracy and human rights principles. In short, by 1960, Turkey had experienced one man's (Sultan Abdülhamit II) violation of the Constitution; executive (the Union and Progress government) violation of the Constitution; and, after the transition to the multi-party system, the majority party's (the Democratic Party) violation of the Constitution and human rights.

The framers of the 1961 Constitution remembered all of these Turkish constitutional experiences. Not only was majority rule provided for, but minority rights were fully guaranteed. Article 4 stated that since sovereignty rests with the nation, it cannot be delegated to any one person, group or class; no person or agency can exercise any state authority which does not originate from the Constitution. The 1961 Constitution thereby sought to bar all types of dictatorship. Article 4 also pointed out that sovereignty was represented by the majority, together with the rest of the nation. Thus the majority, alone, did not represent the general will. This new understanding from 1961 meant the abandonment of the 18th century view that emphasized majority rule without protection for minority rights. In its place, there was the more modern democratic understanding regarding representation of national sovereignty, and majority rule with due respect for minority rights and the rule of law.

The 1961 Constitution signified a revival for the 1920 Turkish Revolution's principles. This Constitution extended more rights and freedoms to Turkish

citizens than any previous constitution. Generally, this Constitution extended the necessary guarantees for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the individual and of the organs that are essential for the modern democratic state's functioning. This 1961 Constitution also established the necessary institutions and concepts to accelerate the pace of development in the country. However, it was simultaneously decided that such development would take place within the confines of a constitutional regime.

11.5 Human Rights in the Turkish Constitutions of 1961 and 1982

The 1961 Constitution was the first which a Constituent Assembly prepared and which came into force after receiving a majority of affirmative votes in a popular election in October 1961.

Part Two of the Constitution was devoted to Fundamental Rights and Duties. This part contained a comprehensive Bill of Rights. Section One (Articles 10-13) dealt with General Provisions, which stated that every individual is entitled to fundamental rights and freedoms which cannot be usurped, transferred, or relinquished. In this Section, it was clear that fundamental rights and freedoms can only be restricted by law and in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution; but at the same time, it pointed out that the law cannot infringe on the essence of any right or freedom (not even for such considerations as the public interest, public morality, public order, social justice, or national security).

Section Two (Articles 14-34) included a long list of the individual's rights and duties. Section Three (Articles 35-53) was devoted to Social and Economic Rights and Duties. This Constitution was also the first to include a separate Section on such rights as work, vacation with pay, minimum wages, trade unions, strikes and collective bargaining, social security, medical care, and education. The relationship between political and social rights and liberties was stated from a welfare-state point of view, as was true of the Constitution in general. It was assumed that the exercise of political rights and freedoms required economic and social security. The framers, therefore, provided for social concepts, making them compatible with individual rights and freedoms. It was believed that social and economic security would lead to self-development so that, in turn, an individual would enrich the society.

The Constitution writers carefully detailed citizens' rights, freedoms, and duties. At the same time, they provided the necessary protection of these

rights and freedoms. This was a very carefully prepared document which used basic principles to establish organs to maintain constitutional government and national development. It was, indeed, unfortunate that 30 years of development in Turkey (especially since the mid-1960s) were not conducive to the maintenance of political stability. Instead, Turkey suffered from severe intra-state and other conflicts among the power elite.

Since the 1960s, ideologization of political life became a reality in Turkey. However, Kemalism was the only political ideology that still enjoyed nationwide respectability and allegiance. The politics of left versus right and the polarization of politics became more vital factors in contemporary Turkish political life than the role of Islam. Religion continued to be important in Turkish politics, but it was no longer a key factor. Beginning in the mid-1960s and repeatedly since the 1970s, Turkey was plagued with widespread violence and a breakdown in elite unity. Along with basic economic problems, these realities became the most important negative factors for Turkish development. Inter-elite conflict extended to almost all major domestic and foreign problems. This, of course, reduced the capacity of the political system to act responsibly and effectively. Successive governments and leaders were not able to devise effective policies and programs to tackle further economic and social development (e.g., effective transformation of the infrastructure). The capacity of the Turkish political system lagged behind the Turkish masses' awakening to their own needs.

These were some of the reasons behind the country's political instability. The viability of the political system was, in fact, in question. Accelerating anarchy clearly threatened the state's indivisibility and right of survival. It was feared that foreign powers too, acting from their own national interests, might profit from such instability. Acute political conflict, polarization, and weak leadership, with widespread anarchy and violence, brought national development to a stalemate. The Turkish state neared the brink of civil war and disintegration. All these circumstances led to the next (September 12, 1980) military intervention.

A Consultative Assembly prepared The Constitution of 1982; thereafter, the Turkish people accepted it by a referendum (November 1982). Having risked near dissolution, these framers aimed fundamentally at preserving the state, which was guaranteed by "The determination that no protection shall be afforded to thoughts and opinions contrary to Turkish historical and moral values" (Preamble, Turkish Constitution of 1982). As a reaction

to extreme leftist activities in the 1970s, emphasis was placed on national and moral values. To this end, the Constitution of 1982 (Article 24) provided that: "Teaching and education in religion and ethics shall be conducted under State supervision and control. Religious culture and moral education shall be compulsory in the curricula of primary and secondary schools." Islam, the backbone of the traditional Ottoman-Turkish community, had thus made a comeback in a Turkish constitutional document, giving it a legitimacy previously withdrawn during the Kemalist era.

The 1982 Constitution permits extensive restrictions on individual legal rights, including the principle of legality, protection of personal freedom, and independence of the courts. By contrast, the Constitution of 1961 was based on the principle of legality (i.e., that administrative authorities' interference in the individual's legal sphere must be in accordance with law). Moreover, it was stated that restrictions on basic rights and freedoms could only be implemented after a law was passed, not by mere administrative decrees. The Constitution of 1982 lacked such a general principle.

In order to adequately assess human rights and the 1982 Turkish Constitution, it is necessary that we compare it with the 1961 Constitution in this and other regards. For example, what is the understanding of the "state" in these two Constitutions? As Article Two (1961) states: "The Turkish Republic is a national, democratic, secular and social State governed by the rule of law, based on human rights and the fundamental tenets set forth in the Preamble." On the other hand, the subsequent Article Two (1982) characterizes the Turkish state as follows:

"The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social State governed by the rule of law, respecting human rights within the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice, loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk, and based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the Preamble."

It is easy to observe that the new Turkish Constitution had personified the national state by adopting Atatürk nationalism, and had inserted "public peace" and "national solidarity" as new concepts describing the state itself. This is an important difference.

Which basic rights and freedoms have these two constitutions extended to the individual? And do both of these constitutions envision a functional relationship between these rights and freedoms and the state? The 1961 document constituted an important milestone in Turkish constitutional heritage.

It included new concepts, rights, and freedoms which were not previously specified. In addition to classical political rights and freedoms, it guaranteed such social rights as the right to work, health care, and social security. The state had a duty to remove obstacles to the realization of these freedoms. Paragraph Two of Article Ten read as follows:

"The state shall remove all political, economic and social obstacles that restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in such a way as to be irreconcilable with the principles embodied in the rule of law, individual well-being and social justice. The State prepares the conditions required for the development of the individual's material and spiritual existence."

This obligation of the state to remove obstacles in the way of the true enjoyment of rights and freedoms amounts to its purpose being "to hinder hindrances to the good life." On the other hand, the corresponding Article in the 1982 Constitution does not obligate the state to remove any such obstacles, but only to work to remove them. Clearly, the obligation on the state to remove these obstacles has been lifted in the new Constitution along with much of the welfare state understanding on which the 1961 Constitution was based.

The important questions that need to be asked include: Do the Constitutions of 1961 and 1982 put limitations on rights and freedoms? Do they allow for infringements on the essence of these rights? Do they impose restrictions on them?

Article 11 of the 1961 Constitution reads as follows:

"The fundamental rights and freedoms shall be restricted by law only in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The law shall not infringe upon the essence of any right or freedom not even when it is applied for the purpose of upholding public interest, morals and order, [and] social justice as well as national security."

By contrast, the 1982 Constitution brought in some important restrictions. Article 12 of this Constitution states that: "Everyone possesses inherent fundamental rights and freedoms which are inviolable, non-transferable and inalienable." But immediately afterwards, it allows for their restriction in cases such as those in Article 13, which reads:

"Exercise of the fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted by law, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, with the aim of safeguarding the integrity of the State comprising its

territory and the nation, national sovereignty, the public wealth, public morals, and public health and also for special reasons designated in the relevant articles of the Constitution."

Certainly, it is difficult to get a proper consensus on the definition of such concepts as public wealth, health, and morals. Moreover, Article 13 states further that: "The general reasons set forth in this Article relating to the restrictions are valid for all fundamental rights and freedoms."

Article 14 of the 1982 Constitution lends itself to similar criticism because, while declaring that it is important to avoid destroying fundamental rights and freedoms, it permits the actual exercise of such rights and freedoms to be hedged with conditions such as "violating the indivisible integrity of the State comprising its land and nation, of jeopardizing the existence of the Turkish State" and so on. Article 15 of the same Constitution deals with the entire or partial suspension of the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms in times of war, mobilization, martial law, or state of emergency. The 1961 Constitution did not have a clause mentioning a state of emergency (in itself, a vague concept) as a reason to suspend citizens' rights and freedoms. In addition, Article 119 of the 1982 Constitution states that natural disasters, epidemics, diseases, and serious economic depression may be reasons for declaring a state of emergency. This the government may do for a period of six months. As a result, suspending basic rights and freedoms is possible because Article 15 mentions declaring a state of emergency as a reason for their suspension. For example, earthquakes, extraordinary climatic conditions, droughts, famine, and adverse economic conditions constitute some of the reasons for allowing such a suspension. Thus, the 1982 Constitution allows for the administrative restriction and/or suspension of rights and freedoms. To declare a state of emergency under such conditions or to suspend citizens' rights and freedoms is not typically encountered in modern democratic constitutional governments.

Courts' jurisdiction (with regard to executive decisions on restriction or suspension of rights and freedoms) is greatly curtailed in the 1982 Constitution. One of the predominant characteristics of the 1961 Constitution was the Article which provided for the independence of the judiciary. Article 114 of this Constitution stated that: "No act or procedure of the administration shall be immune from the review of law enforcing courts." The 1982 Constitution does not require that administrative decisions be open to judicial review. The independence and the independent competence of the

courts are not given as clear a guarantee in the 1982 Constitution as was true in 1961. Moreover, the role of the Constitutional Court with regard to the protection of human rights and freedoms has been restricted in the 1982 Constitution as compared with the 1961 Constitution. For example, Article 153 of the 1982 Constitution allows Constitutional Court declarations that a law is unconstitutional not to take effect until as much as one year following publication of the relevant ruling. Given this possibility, in fact, laws which infringe on fundamental rights and freedoms (which the same Constitutional Court has ruled illegitimate) may remain in force for a further year, even after they have been ruled unconstitutional. Moreover, the 1982 Constitution deprives the Constitutional Court of the power to review those decrees which carry the force of law which the cabinet issued during a state of emergency, martial law, or war. These provisions also constitute negative aspects of this latest Constitution with regard to protecting citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms.

A more significant question that may be asked with regard to understanding human rights and freedoms in these two Constitutions is the following: What is the relative priority, role, and weight given to the individual and to the state in these respective Constitutions? In the historical development of constitutionalism in the world, priority has been given to protecting individual rights and freedoms against the state, as with the 1961 Constitution. The 1982 Constitution lists the rights and freedoms of the individual, but each such freedom or right has restrictions, suspensions, and the reasons to do so (in the same or in other articles). The main reason for this is that the 1982 Constitution gives priority to the state and its indivisibility regarding its territory and people. Although the 1961 Constitution stated (in Article 3) that, "The Turkish State is an indivisible whole comprising its territory and people", it gave priority to individual rights and freedoms. Furthermore, it gave the state a duty to remove obstacles to the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms. In the 1982 Constitution, the contrary situation is the case: the state has priority, while individual rights and freedoms have a secondary position. Therein lies the fundamental and most important difference between these two constitutions.

11.6 Summary/Conclusion

While the 1961 Constitution mainly concerned itself with individual rights and freedoms and with matters related to social justice and social security,

the 1982 Constitution mainly focused on matters affecting the state's viability. This was a reaction to over a decade of widespread anarchy and violence in the country. Protecting the "indivisible entity of the state with its territory and people", limited constitutional guarantees of human rights in the 1982 Constitution. The present Turkish Constitution clearly reflects the historical and political situation from which it arose.

The 1982 Constitution has not established a system/government which meets the requirements of a constitutional democracy or a pluralist political system. The 1982 Constitution, itself, does not guarantee a system of constitutional government. As a result of the normalization processes which have been underway since the parliamentary elections of 1983, 1987, and 1991, it is possible that constitutional democracy can be established, irrespective of the 1982 Constitution's wording. Moreover, a more open regime may amend the Constitution in favor of more human rights and freedoms. This, however, requires not a legal, but a political, judgement since Turkish politics moves faster than any legal responses in the country. There is already considerable debate about either amending the present Constitution or drafting a new, more liberal one, with a growing consensus emerging in this respect, especially since the general elections of October 1991. Some preliminary strides in this direction may be observed in concrete instances.

Several Turkish universities have set up institutes or programs exclusively devoted to studying the cultural, economic, political, and social problems related to Turkey's full membership in the European Community. These questions are constantly being discussed and debated in panels, newspapers, and journals. All these academic and political activities keep the matter of human rights on the political agenda of Turkey. Although there are no specific courses on human rights at Turkish universities, this subject is covered in several courses (especially those on constitutional law). Turkey's political realities and its prospect of becoming a full EC member are the major reasons for a continuing debate on human rights.

For the liberal person or intellectual in Turkey, full membership in the European Community is most important for political and humanitarian, as well as economic, reasons. Turkey would then have to adhere more closely to protection of human rights and freedoms, as do other full members of the Community. There has been considerable improvement in human rights in Turkey, reflecting both the results of national and European pressures in this respect. Turkey remains sensitive to criticisms because progress in the

area of human rights will be one of the determining factors in deciding on Turkish EC status in future. After the parliamentary elections of 1983, 1987, and 1991, Turkey progressed a long way toward the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy.

Concern about democratization of the regime has been one of the primary items on Turkey's political agenda since the 19th century. In spite of some occasional setbacks, a commitment to constitutional democracy and human rights constitute important basic elements in Turkish political culture.

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PART III
Political Socialization

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12 *Value Conflicts in the Political Socialization of New Generations in Hungary*

12.1 Abstract

The unpredictable nature of the future political behavior of different social strata (including national and ethnic minorities and youth, both of whom face the greatest dangers from the present economic crisis) constitutes one of the main risk factors for political change in Eastern and Central Europe. While, through power reallocations, the political institutional system can be more easily restructured, the "soft" elements of a political system (such as political culture, behavior, attitudes, and customs of participation) are much more difficult to transform.

There are only limited possibilities for power-driven intervention in the socialization (including political) processes of the society. The basic objec-

tive of all such powers is to transform institutional systems and political socialization in a way that "produces" the greatest possible number of citizens who are nominally loyal toward the existing regime. This thesis is especially true for periods following the advent of great social and political transformations.

12.2 Introduction

There are at least two limitations on "political power-aspirations" in developed democratic societies, namely:

1. Norms of constitutional law, which legislate separate branches of power and respect for basic human rights.
2. Social and cultural limits, such as a strong civil society with democratic traditions, cultural patterns, political behaviors, and plentiful economic resources.

These factors mainly limit or prevent tendencies advocating expansion of political power in the sphere of political socialization.

In this regard (in connection with a change in the political system), we must also recognize that the previous negative attitudes and biases against politics and the existing power structure (which were widespread as a result of previous processes of political socialization) cannot be changed overnight.

One of today's great challenges is ascertaining the new direction, rearrangement of content, and operant institutional spheres for Hungary's political socializational processes. Another challenge is determining which traditions or new characteristics of political culture will be most prominent.

Consequently, the focus of this chapter is on the political socialization context of a new political generation in Hungary.

12.3 The Legacy of Political Socialization

12.3.1 The Power of Hidden Tendencies as Socialization Processes (Last Years of the Kádár Regime)

From the start, the so-called communist regimes preferred to use force to reach their ideologically formulated aims and to transform the society. Political leaders were convinced that the thinking, political views, and behav-

ior of citizens were malleable. Political socialization, directed from above with Communist-Party-determined content, could influence this process. The political socialization of citizens, especially in the early period of systemic life, played a leading role within the political system. Controlling and influencing the behavior of citizens were basic tasks for such socialization agencies as the school, youth organizations, army, workplaces, and mass media. The family, peer groups, and small cells of community and civil society were weakly developed and thinned out over time. With the expansion of the party-state, there remained only a few small surviving islands of cultural, economic, and political autonomy among the citizenry.

Strengthening civil society was dependent on growth of these islands, independent family enterprises, less state assistance and more personal resources, and a liberalized party-state; all offered real alternatives for citizens. Similar changes could be seen simultaneously, not only in the sphere of independent socialization agencies, but also in unintentional political socialization processes, even in institutions under direct political control.

Communist youth organizations (i.e., youth groups, where they had power monopolies) gradually lost their major role in political integration and socialization. Starting in the early 1980s, the influence of the so-called democratic opposition was growing, especially among young intellectuals and university students. Organizing a network of movements (e.g., environmental, peace, university/college, and club movements and organizations) independent from the party-state system began at that time.

Although the structural system of general education was unchanged, more and more educational elements offered alternative democratic possibilities (e.g., election of educational directors and a choice among new methods of education). In universities, the so-called "professional college movement" taught previously banned disciplines, sponsored lecturers who belonged to the opposition, and encouraged foreign contacts to provide a very favorable climate for students to learn scientific and "forbidden" knowledge, all up to contemporary standards.

Additionally, the need to earn money outside one's main workplace (i.e., the "second" economy) was organically built into the life-coping strategies for most employed citizens. Those who could sell their labor in the second economy, which worked on semi-market principles, were fully prepared to fend off any economic restrictions which the party-state imposed. However, in this period, many people (because of their educational background or

personal situation) were ousted from the gradually shrinking general labor market.

Most spectacular changes in the world of political socialization agencies occurred first in the field of mass media. In the mid-1980s, following the independent citizen movements, a new mass media (including journals and publishers who emerged from the *samizdat* culture) with alternative publicity emerged. More and more programs (mostly broadcasting late at night, thus mainly reaching intellectuals) on the state TV and radio criticized the existing system. In all corners of the country, lectures (which opposition politicians, reform-intellectuals, or reform-politicians delivered) became fora for indirect exchange of information, for free expression, and for learning a new political culture based on real interchange and factual discussions.

These historical changes had political socialization antecedents. Their history could be traced easily. New political socialization agencies (e.g., social movements, alternative publicity and education, and employment in the second economy) were very influential. More traditional agencies were somewhat freed from totalitarian political control. The new content in the hidden political socialization process emphasized respect for the citizen, autonomy, human rights, protection of the environment, the value of contested knowledge, and positive attitudes toward business initiative and private enterprise (Völyges, 1992).

12.3.2 Citizen Distrust and Politics

During the 1980s, Hungarian research documented the fact that political socialization, when directed from above, works like a boomerang. Alienation from politics was most spectacular in the younger generation. Membership in Communist youth organizations was radically reduced. The party, which directed these organizations, tried to cover growing deficits in legitimacy through increased political and financial support. Young people adapted themselves to formal political requirements only to the degree deemed necessary. Many kept away from any political involvement with the official party-state system. Lacking any possibility to exercise real influence on actual political decisions and recognizing the uselessness of interest-assertion inherent in formal political participation, they developed strong feelings of distrust toward politics, in general, and toward political institutions, in particular.

Informal and personal interest-assertion channels were created which, in turn, laced the whole society into an invisible network. Older generations used the mechanism of "social back-doors", the result of a silent agreement or political "deal." They thereby accepted the official political framework which the party-state offered them in exchange for freedom over their private sphere of life, especially in the economy and popular culture. For this generation, strategies for interest-assertion as well as for survival were individualized; therefore, they were invisible not only to the regime, but to other citizens as well. This state of affairs was favorable to those in power since it was totally impossible to achieve any political organization in a polarized society. Instead of developing small circles of trust and solidarity, the climate of mutual mistrust and lack of solidarity had strong influence as socialization factors. However, this latent "deal" between the regime in power and the rest of society did not include the young political generation, which appeared on the political scene at the beginning of the 1990s.

12.4 A New Political Generation Takes Shape

How do we explain the following contradictions: If the political socialization process (briefly described above) alienated the majority of young people from politics, how did a group from this same generation play a determining role in Hungary after the first free parliamentary elections? Furthermore, while the massive participation of youth in street demonstrations helped to force changes in the political systems in Eastern and Central Europe, apart from the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), why is there no influential political force in Eastern and Central European parliaments which represents the political opinions of the new generation?

The explanation behind these contradictions may lie in the previous political socialization experience of the young generation regarding the acquisition of political roles. This generation's elite were alienated from official politics because they realized that their fathers' compromises were no longer personally acceptable. They believed that any such policy which determined their future should be radically changed. The youth did not urge political reform; instead, they wanted civil society to be organized and established and to rapidly develop its ability to handle power. A Western slogan for alternative movements was valid here as well: "Think globally, act locally."

Special colleges within universities, clubs, and environmental- and peace-movements provided an institutional framework for the new generation's political socialization experiences. Since the majority of the activists in these new social movements came from university or young intellectual groups, they managed to ensure their relative independence from the political integration and socialization forces of the party-state system as well as from the strong pressures of the social division of labor. Moreover, they, themselves, created influential agencies for their own political socialization. They developed an alternative system of professional education (free from dominance and Marxist ideology) which provided relevant knowledge about contemporary society (e.g., special colleges for students of economics, law, engineering, and management).

Students made up a subcultural age group with strong internal coherence. They created their own publicity and journals, and managed to ensure an independent flow of information and communications in contrast to official fora. Previously isolated institutions and movements established fora and forms for horizontal cooperation (e.g., joint conferences), creating networks for mutual defence and solidarity in opposition to administrative intervention from outside. This new social movement and its leaders were in constant contact (mostly conflicting) with their political environment. In these conflicts with the regime, they learned new roles and behavior patterns which proved very useful later in their somewhat familiar activities as professional politicians.

A minority from privileged families constituted the representative, politically sensitive core for the new generation. They were among the fortunate few who managed to enter the universities (only 10% of this generation enjoyed higher education in Hungary) and participated in a new and liberating form of education. This provided even more favorable conditions for promoting change in comparison to other parts of higher education. After failing to achieve more student representation in higher education during the early 1980s, the majority of students turned away from direct participation in politics. They followed the wait-and-see, individualized strategy of Hungarian adults. Not only was the regime unprepared for the foundation of the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) as a political organization to defend the interests of young people, but its emergence surprised the students, themselves. Founding this new political organization virtually canceled the silent agreement between the regime and the younger generations. The cre-

ation of FIDESZ was the first step in organizing this young generation into a new political generation. As Kéri observes:

"There are several other conditions needed for organizing an age group into a generation. It is necessary as well for the formation of a generation that for this specific sensitive age not only the experience of being different would be the basic experience, but the possibility - in the mass - for real political and cultural participation should be ensured besides their conscious perception of being different. . . . Younger age groups seldom have possibilities for such participation, which could be called massive.' Usually this opportunity is provided only when the society is facing a crisis, a large, long-term restructuring, when historical and political alternatives become absolutely clear. . . . The possibility that these determining, long-term social changes can provide for the younger generations a common social and political experience, in which experiences of participation and real action to reform the society, also become fixed. A generation can leave its mark on an era during several decades, especially if the conclusion of a new social agreement coincides with creating the basis for the personal lives of its members" (Kéri, 1989, pp. 164-165).

All the important questions about political change in Hungary relate to the previously mentioned points (e.g., will a change in system go together, in the long run, with the change of political generations or with the acquisition of a new historical role for this young group of politicians?).

12.5 Value Conflicts and Restructuring the Political Socialization Sphere

Radical change in the political system has fundamentally changed the role of political socialization agencies. Naturally, it was impossible to make an overnight change of attitudes from those which the previous political socialization system created.

The wave of parties founded just before the first parliamentary elections halted the self-organization processes of a civil society. Leaders of the new social movement became leaders of the newly formed parties which competed for parliamentary seats. Previous ways of thinking (oriented to social problems) gave way to thoughts about winning the fight for power. Civil society, which had just stood up, fell to its knees again, robbed and alone. The best schools for forming autonomous citizens and developing civil techniques were dismantled. Fighting ruthlessly in electoral campaigns, participating in politics, and engaging in battles with the government and

the opposition now absorbed the young reformers. The early euphoria became a new disillusionment, reduced participation in elections, sharpened ethnic conflicts (previously forcibly suppressed), and increased threats of social crisis. As a result of these first elections in almost all Eastern and Central European countries, conservative parties (basing their appeal on historical legitimacy) won and formed new governments.

But how do we answer the question: Is it possible to be a democrat in post-Communist countries? One should keep in mind the potential danger that Marxism, once a "state religion", can be easily replaced. A conservative, nationalist state ideology, based on Christian values is the likely choice. State support for churches and new governmental efforts to use general education to preach a new, dominant ideology prove the reality and relevance of this claim (Kamerás, 1992). Canceling the Yalta agreements, ending the Cold War, and dismantling the Soviet Union unleashed old border disputes, national problems, demands for reparation for historical grievances, and old orientations toward the distant past, instead of a focus on the future.

These conservative values (with their historical basis, which emphasizes national feelings and interests) frequently and seriously conflict with a system of values (which the younger generation often endorses) containing liberal-pragmatic-postmodern elements. Fights between these two value systems have not yet reached the level of a struggle between competing, coherent ideologies of modernization. Instead, they appear in the form of an emotional political argument in the Hungarian parliament and mass media.

There is a lot at stake here for everyone, including closing up Eastern and Central Europe (including Hungary). Even though the future of the younger generation is at risk, it is an open question if they can really influence political outcomes or not. Most people have concluded (from experiences both at home and in the West) that "citizens should grow rich and leave politics to someone else." A devastating spread in this coarse materialistic value system (which differs little from Marxist labor values and materialism) can be expected in those countries rushing to introduce a market economy. Everyone will likely become less tolerant and understanding toward the economic "losers" as social tensions increase and rampant individualization takes over as the dominant value system in a rudimentary Hungarian civil society.

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László Kéri

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13	<i>Approaching the Year 2000</i>
	Prospects for Political Socialization in Hungary and Central Europe

13.1 Abstract

What might be the basic question for the coming decade is: will new socialization techniques, which can overcome the worst consequences of the past, emerge or not? To put it in more specific terms: what can be done to overcome the domination of the citizen as subject role? What socialization methods will be most suitable for forming citizens' everyday role-consciousness and responsibilities? Which natural and spontaneous social processes are leading today in this direction?

While we may focus on chances for the near future, attention should also be directed to the fact that other than positive processes have also begun to emerge after the collapse of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe. National and ethnic emotions (suppressed until now) will gain more importance than anyone had earlier predicted. This is why the institutions of political socialization in Central and Eastern Europe at the turn of the millennium will simultaneously have to face both pre-modern and post-modern challenges.

13.2 Great Changes May Be Coming

The Third Millennium has, in some respect, already begun in certain countries of Central and Eastern Europe. From 1989 to 1990, the Soviet block countries experienced dramatic changes which created fundamentally new social and political conditions there. These conditions will allow a more stable, modern, and historically more-likely-to-be-successful system to emerge. It may provide the framework for political life in this region for the next thousand years. These epoch-making changes in the area are mainly due to the collapse of previous communist regimes.

We have to emphasize this seemingly evident thesis because we can observe throughout the region that the previous political system (supposedly now dead) is considered to have been merely "political" in character. This is the reason for the widespread illusion that the previous regimes (socialist, Stalinist, totalitarian, and party-dominated) could be so easily dismantled using political consensus and laws. In other words, we can take this past into an historical pawnshop, where (waiting for a poorer customer) it will bide its time. Meanwhile, on the so-called supply-market, we can buy a new, more-democratic, and more-European political system for our people, using loans and leased facilities. As we shall see, this widely popularized belief is very problematic from the viewpoint of socialization processes. From this perspective, such changes are dualistic.

- a) On the one hand, trends toward increasing globalization (which have been observable for about two decades now in some 30 industrialized and developed countries of the world) are becoming more visible in this region. What this means is that, after a period of forced isolation, Eastern Europe now has a real chance to find its place in a more natural world order. The world is open to these people. Earlier, only those few who belonged to certain narrow economic strata could see where the world was going; now, the entire population can experience these changes.

This openness cannot be regarded as an absolutely positive phenomenon. During the last two years, superficial patterns of consumerism (which are most easily internalized) are spreading at an extremely rapid pace. This globalization and openness is linked to increasing Americanization, which earlier culturally infused Europe and later influenced major third world countries. We see the quick diffusion of mass media, fashions, superficialities, customs (all lacking any roots in a social

sense) from Slovenia to the Baltic states. Of course, certain signs of this process were observed earlier, especially in urban youth subcultures. What is new today is the fact that these patterns are quickly spreading throughout social substructures.

Through this process of globalization, Eastern European people will sooner or later learn how to connect their own problems with others of worldwide dimensions. This applies to everything from environmental problems, to changes in relationships between the two sexes, and to various areas of ordinary life (which Western researchers describe as the diffusion of post-material values).

We must not forget for a moment that another absurd phenomenon will inevitably (and probably painfully) occur: these post-materialist values will prove attractive to young people in those countries which still must face "pre-materialist" difficulties for some time. In other words, building a market-basis and an industrial civilization will happen despite strong opposition to this having been expressed all over the civilized world. These criticisms (many of which are well-founded) as well as the market system of values, will significantly influence the mental attitudes of the next generations, along with solving the long-delayed problems of the past.

- b) Another important factor regarding changes in political socialization is the fact that previous, dominant socialization practices have been abolished. Previously, all agents and major messages of socialization were controlled. Direct political intentions, actual political needs, current values, and power relationships were all out of manageable proportions. Such control meant that socialization processes were "politicized" even in fields which had little to do with political power. When the political sphere tried to control all processes of socialization, it resulted in a dual socialization process. It is no accident that Polish, Hungarian, and other Eastern European researchers again and again pointed to a fundamental difference between formal (or official) and informal socialization practices. Although formal socialization and purely political intentions were closely linked, informal processes allowed those values that contradicted official political values to be transmitted. This sharp duality came to an end when unilateral political power gave way to a measure of freedom and autonomy.

Despite the expectations of many, a new harmonious world will not replace previous sharp antagonisms. This harmony will include a great variety of

factors. Previously prevalent ideological-political instruction marked the transferable and preferred spheres of political culture; all public institutions were obliged to repeat these instructions like parrots. By contrast, the private sphere could provide something more and different - often in the face of serious danger. After all this, the official-institutional sphere will also become more diverse. A significant number of contradictory messages will come from the sphere of direct politics. These political messages will clash with one another and, consequently, will produce a forced "freedom to choose." We could also illustrate this paradoxical phenomenon if we analyze political culture and electioneering in Hungary in the early 1990s.

There is another disturbing aspect to the failure of earlier political socialization practices. All those forces which were previously in opposition had vehemently criticized the state's efforts to monopolize the official ideology presented in the educational system, the press, and other important spheres of culture. They also criticized the state's endeavor to secure an exclusive position for Marxism (or what they thought to be Marxism) over all socialization channels. However, two years after the first free elections in Hungary, it seems that the new rulers would like to maintain this previous model of socialization, which is also based on the logic of exclusion. In fact, they would only like to change the content of the message. Thus, they either did not notice or they did not want to see that it was just this socialization structure which represented, secured, and maintained the previous political regime. If they want to revive this old structure, then it is insignificant (from the point of view of results) just what messages go through this system.

These two features (globalization and resocialization) will appear in the region in a trend-like manner. That is, their realization will take at least one or two decades to achieve. Alternatively, it may also deeply influence the mentality and life styles of younger generations. These tendencies and features will also be affected by the fact that certain socialization habits and routines inherited from the previous regime will survive for quite a long time, also fighting any new system of values. The comparative Eastern European political culture research of L. Bruszt and J. Simon (1991) shows that even though the population of the region rejects the former regimes, a separate social and political system of social democratic values has deep roots in the area. These contradictions reveal that millions of people in this region got quite accustomed to certain pleasant features of state-supported social welfare. This remains as a very important fact, even if the same peo-

ple rejected those political regimes (which, in all areas of their lives, meant for them the domination of a one-party state). The question of solutions to this dilemma or discrepancy may require decades of follow-up research in the region.

Such contradictions are actually built-in socialization time bombs (which it seems impolite or ungrateful to speak about); yet, we should try to grasp at least the basic elements of the problem. Retrospectively speaking, it is clear that everybody hated and detested the previous regime and fought against it whenever possible. It is not clear, however, why it was possible to peacefully endure it for so long. By now, this old world consists only of oppressors and oppressed, and, as in a folk tale, everybody who was lucky enough to survive it had actively resisted it.

Accordingly, we have nothing else to do than mutually believe what we, as survivors, tell one another. Living under this new-found harmony, one is inclined to forget the fact that after a definite pattern of socialization and indoctrination was prevalent for decades, it was naturally expected that all basic needs of life should be state-guaranteed - even if this required repeated shortages, queues, and various corrupt mechanisms. It did not matter whether it was housing, workplace, public health, or educational opportunities. In other words, I am not to be blamed for the unfortunate course of my career; responsibility lies with the state. The new regimes in Eastern Europe inherited crisis-ridden, decayed, and excessively exploited economies (which now have even lost the resultant benefits from this past cooperation). These new states will be able to meet citizens' "natural demands" only at a significantly lower level than before. These contradictions can lead to a number of potential conflicts in future decades, but we cannot begin to analyze these tensions while we are still blinded by the light from the fireworks which accompanied recently achieved political freedoms.

Third Millennium trends (as both demands and as affirmations of a different, emerging society) can be clearly perceived in these Eastern countries. However, the most difficult problem comes from the fact that it is an incredibly long and hard way before the realization of this new society, which is both necessary and desirable for the popular majority. A crucial dilemma underlying such changes is the fact that the market logic will conflict with the logic of redistribution in the everyday life in Eastern Europe. There are, however, significant differences between the countries of the area as to the relative chances for survival of these two logics. These differ-

ences partly depend on what stage of capitalization these countries reached before they became a part of the Soviet block. Differences are also related to the different degrees to which the rigid militarized system had dissolved prior to its fall in 1989. When considering future developmental trends, these differences may become even more important in the next decade. All in all, the interaction and mutually destructive influences of these two logics will certainly help to determine the new scope for emerging political socialization agents, such as the school, the family, and the mass media.

13.3 Changes in Political Socialization Processes/Structures

Since we cannot examine in much detail the future prospects for agents of political socialization, we can discuss discernible changes at four crucial points which later will become even more important.

1. In the last two years, deep changes occurred in the political/institutional/organizational order in all Eastern countries. The multi-party system and the possibility of free elections are most important in this respect. These changes obviously opened up new ways of political participation and, consequently, will have a significant impact on political socialization processes. The new political variety also helps hitherto clandestine political interests to become manifest. Elections force popular thinking in Eastern Europe toward pluralism. Nevertheless, two important facts should be heeded, even over the short run.

On the one hand, the possibility for free political elections and political organizations appeared suddenly in the area (presumably as a result of unknown political bargains and rearrangements, which have not yet been sufficiently investigated). That is, current multi-party systems were formed by countless accidents and events which were important only "at the time", during this period of the change. Hence, these systems cannot be expected to be both firm and durable. Present political alternatives and the current multi-party systems may represent only the first stage in a long process of pluralization or a new homogenization.

On the other hand, the political structure of these societies is extremely primitive. The decades-long Communist domination managed to disperse and atomize these societies. A long-lasting political structure can hardly rely on such meager social foundations. Instead of a great variety of methods for political participation, only one or two forms have

taken root. At one pole is spontaneous mass movements; at the other, conscious party preferences and party membership.

In the 1990s, political participation in Eastern Europe will most likely fluctuate. Within a few years, political apathy is expected to rise and new political movements (which will electrify hundreds of thousands of people) will grow. This may seem to be a contradictory statement; however, the present political situation encourages political participation to oscillate between extremes until it eventually settles, perhaps reaching a more "normal" state.

2. The way the new mass media overran these peoples is an extremely important lesson with regard to the future of political socialization. It is not necessary to point out how much the radio, television, and press were previously controlled. At present, it is precisely the mass media where the free market could first and most likely succeed. Hundreds or thousands of newspapers, magazines, and leaflets appeared suddenly during the 1989 revolutions. A group could found or find its own forum. However, this variety of riches is a rather contradictory phenomenon because the necessary social background (which is more available in developed countries) is lacking. In Eastern Europe, a mass media with a market logic prevails; it offers itself to individuals who live in a non-market-based economy and society. This contradiction may lead to serious problems for political socialization in the next few years. This observation seems to be especially disquieting from the viewpoint of the younger generations' *Weltanschauung*. Since they find their places in the world of work only belatedly (for which several factors account), in their everyday life this new, market-oriented, and diversified system of mass communications plays an even more important part. It operates as an almost exclusive factor for influencing their new values. It brings them the "world" almost every minute of every day. This includes yesterday's London list of top hits, tomorrow's New York fashions, shared experiences from a journey to Thailand, Parisian cosmetics, and Japanese computer wonders. Since this supply-market can already be found to a certain extent everywhere in Eastern Europe, there is hardly any large city in the region where almost anything that is advertised by the illustrated magazines and television stations can be bought (although sometimes at enormous prices). Availability, therefore, becomes an increasingly stronger illusion. The problem, however, lies in the fact that the employees/workers who undergird prevailing

consumption patterns and their financial support have not yet definitely formed any economic patterns. In other words, there is a danger that our basic economic logic will be reversed (i.e., the formation of widely-held consumer values will precede any sound foundation in the production of such goods); we may see demand without production, but with limited supply. One can hardly find anybody today who can predict the incalculable consequences of such an economic world, which seems to be standing on its head. But this situation may prove to be quite longlasting.

3. Earlier, lesser-known factors which influenced the agents of political socialization included religious communities. Several Eastern European researchers showed that religious communities influenced political socialization more through covert messages and informal means. However, it was also clear that this influence both opposed and hindered the effect of official political messages. This situation has perceptibly changed in the region. In a number of countries, religious organizations have become just as important and strong as official political organizations. Moreover, in some countries, official organizations of the dominant denomination represent one of the most important bases for new political organizations and parties, even in some cases for the ruling party. Religious socialization (once hardly tolerated, always informal, and considered a hostile social influence) has suddenly been elevated to the official level. It cannot yet be predicted what impact this unexpected and drastic shift will have on socialization activities in religious communities. Nevertheless, religious ideologies will definitely be more important. We can now see that in certain countries (e.g., Poland, parts of the former USSR, and parts of what was once Yugoslavia), religious ideologies are replacing the failed official Marxism without much difficulty. This spectacular substitution is especially characteristic for peoples (such as Slovaks, Croats, Romanians, and Lithuanians) with a more homogeneous religious structure. Alternatively, in the case of other people, it is exactly their religious heterogeneity which may make religious communities important for future political socialization. The composition of Ukraine is intriguing in this respect because not only its ethnic but also its religious diversity may become important factors in its existence as an independent country. Bulgaria's case is just as interesting, as is that of Hungary, where these populations cannot be regarded as adherents to any specific religion.

4. Similar features appear when examining the role which national membership, feelings, and consciousness play in political socialization. By and large, it can be said that while previous regimes used the forced dominance of internationalism to suppress national feelings, the last few years' experience in these new political systems indicates that nationalism will play a prominent role. Doubtless, there had been earlier attempts to match the communist regime with an exclusive "national way" (as in Romania). However, these attempts were bound to remain artificial and hopeless. Today, Eastern Europeans, having been freed from a great power's control, are free to celebrate the importance of their renewed sense of nationalism. It is no accident that those political movements whose first and foremost concern emphasized national values and political culture became the most important political forces in almost all of Eastern Europe. These people are not only united but also divided by a common history. They are also burdened with the memory of old conflicts as a consequence of numerous wars. This flourishing of national feelings is, therefore, far from being an unambiguously positive phenomenon. Therefore, we must consider some further implications for political socialization stemming from this mixed historical bag.

13.4 An Ambivalent Heritage

Nowadays, a relentless condemnation of the last 40 years can be seen in all the successor countries in Eastern Europe. The result is an illusion that all the successor states have to cope with today are the problems resulting from the socialist period. The new political elite has fallen back on the history of the period preceding 1948 as the only positive heritage left in most of the countries. However, the heart of the problem is that it is not only problems from the last 40 years that have to be set right now. These countries are situated in a region where the processes of capitalization and the emergence of a bourgeoisie were blocked much earlier, not just after 1945. Like the Poles and Bulgarians, the peoples of this area went through an erratic process of capitalization during the 19th and 20th centuries. This led social development to a dead end even before the war. Social relations before 1930-1939 were also affected by massive state intervention to undergird certain feudal economic features which hindered, as well as helped, the emergence of capitalism and the growth of a bourgeoisie. It is absolutely false to say that these countries can or should find their ways back in order

to continue with the period which preceded post-war socialism. Not only has the world changed a lot since then, but pre-war Eastern European development itself was so hindered it created serious, inner, social, political, economic, and cultural problems, all not worth repeating today or tomorrow.

The peoples of the region have to "correct" or "revise" the effects not only of the last 50 years, but of the whole of their contradictory modern history. This correction requires positive solutions to questions raised about processes for forming a bourgeoisie, ownership problems, a national state, and guarantees of basic civil rights, to questions of how to integrate with the modern world economy.

In this sense, a common history is an ambivalent and unreliable heritage, quite useless for nations in the region. Positive traditions can be continued; but the problem is more than that. In subsequent years, these societies will have to formulate clearly and explicitly the common, basic tasks they have to face together. In its most simple form, this program includes a transition from the single-party system to a parliamentary democracy; from a planned economy to a market economy; and from producing subjects to educating free citizens. As to unified objectives, there seems to be no disagreement between dominant political forces and the public. However, under present circumstances, there is no smooth and easy way to achieve these aims in Eastern Europe. Paradoxically, we must say that the spectacular changes occurring in the last few years were necessary so that the people could finally freely face this immense historical task without statist constraints.

Recent political changes actually made it possible for these people to see how serious the future crisis will be. There is no people/nation in the region that can smoothly develop into the civilized state model described previously. During this transition period, it will be extremely important to see to what extent these new conditions encourage the emergence of adaptive personalities. The earlier type of personality, subordinated and subject to political control, needs to be replaced with a new personality type which is able to adapt, according to its own aspirations, to the rapidly changing economic, political, cultural, and international conditions. This requires radically new practices of socialization and new ways of political learning. What Eastern European sociologists, psychologists, and political researchers can do for their people is to identify these new practices and define those barriers which might prevent this new adaptive personality from becoming more

common. Thus, researchers need to understand and examine both the dangerous and the promising features of this historical heritage much more deeply than in the past. In a world of nationalistic enthusiasm and overestimated national values, we should also heed something even more important: it is the whole of the region (with or without the West) that may rise or fall together. Moments like this, when official decisions can influence significant social and cultural development, are rare in history. Today, we can all do important things that have significance and meaning for us all.

13.5 Acknowledgement

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14 *Images of the US in the Netherlands*

14.1 Abstract

This chapter reports research on the images, knowledge, and presence of opinions and attitudes with respect to the United States of America among secondary education pupils in the Netherlands and into related variables.

Reconceptualizing political education for the 21st century will have to include the international dimension. One element of that dimension is teaching about foreign countries, in general, and about the world powers, in particular. To be effective, that teaching has to be an intentional and explicit

addition to (and, where necessary, a correction for) preceding socialization. Therefore, teachers need information about the "pre-concepts" which pupils have. The aim of this chapter's empirical study is to gain insight into the preconceptions of youngsters about the United States.

14.2 Previous Research

14.2.1 Motives and Aims

Research into the images, opinions, and attitudes with respect to the United States of America has several motives and aims.

The first aim is clarification. Regularly, Americans have made public statements that there is a strong anti-Americanism in Europe, believing (for example) that anti-Americanism was the underlying theme behind the trend toward neutralism in Europe. Many European researchers in the 1980s, however, concluded that anti-Americanism is at most marginal (e.g., Lenhardt, 1987). Are some American authors hypersensitive? asks Thornton (1988, p. 16). Maybe this is an "unsophisticated adjunct of the desire to be liked" adds Thompson (1988, p. 34). Who is right?

Another research motive is a concern about the relationship between these countries, both on the micro- and macro-levels. Negative and incorrect images and stereotypes may create deep fears, may bias future information acquisition and processing, and may create false expectations, misunderstandings, and frictions in personal interactions and communications. For example, one person complained: "I still do get quite upset when proper respect is not shown my flag and when the President [Reagan] is ridiculed because of his Hollywood past" (Fry, 1986, p. 145). On a macro-level, individuals' images and attitudes create a public opinion which may influence foreign policy.

The third aim relates to education. In Europe, education for international understanding has been one of the Council of Europe's main priorities since its establishment in 1949. In 1983, the Council's Committee of Ministers recommended that "schools should encourage all young Europeans to see themselves not only as citizens of their own regions and countries, but also as citizens of Europe and of the wider world." The Medium-Term Plan (1981-1986) stresses the importance of facilitating and strengthening "possibilities of dialogue and mutual understanding with other parts of the world" (Stobart, 1985). Teaching about the US in Europe should "overcome the misconceptions held by European teachers and students, especially

those with their roots in the media and popular culture" (Torney-Purta, 1985, p. 70). Before starting such teaching, these "misconceptions" need to be investigated.

14.3 Images, Stereotypes, and Pro- and Anti-Americanism

What people know, think, and feel about the US is a topic which social and political psychologists, political scientists, and educational scientists, among others, frequently study. The concepts and conceptual structures used differ. Social and political psychologists use concepts such as "image" or "belief", "proto- and stereotype", and "prejudice." Political scientists apply concepts such as "knowledge", "opinion", and "attitude." Educational scientists distinguish "pre-educational concepts", "misconceptions", "subjective knowledge" or "perceptions", and "(objective) knowledge."

The term "image" refers to "the organized representation of an object in an individual's cognitive system" (Kelman, 1965, p. 24). If a category of people is the object of study, the term "prototype" is used. "Prototype" refers to the whole of characteristics which are seen as typical for a category of people. The distinction between "image" and "prototype" corresponds with the observation that a judgement about a country may be not necessarily in accordance with a judgement about the people living in that country (Hewstone, 1986). "Image" and "prototype" are more or less interchangeable with concepts such as "subjective knowledge" and "pre-educational concepts." A stereotype is "an exaggerated belief associated with a category" (Allport, 1954, p. 79). Often, the boundary between a "prototype" and "stereotype" is difficult to draw because data are lacking about "reality." A negative or unfavorable image or proto- and stereotype is a "prejudice." A prejudice is one type of "attitude."

Other concepts, frequently used in the literature are "Americanism" and "pro- and anti-Americanism." "Americanism" can be both an image and a proto- or stereotype; it is the whole of characteristics which are seen as "typical" for the US (country) and for Americans (people). Verhagen (1988, p. 184), a Dutch journalist living in the US, offers an example of an image of the US. He says that freedom, priority for the individual, the free market and production by private enterprises, and an aversion to government and to centralization are characteristic of the US. Pro- and anti-Americanism are the extremes of a scale indicating respectively a positive or negative attitude toward that whole of characteristics perceived as typical of the US

and/or Americans. These range from "enthusiastic acceptance to bitter hatred" (Kroes, 1986, p. 41). Pro- or anti-Americanism is not identical with criticism of specific US characteristics. "The critique of specifics does not necessarily lead to a diminishing of the general appreciation of another country; it could even be understood as a sign of the existence of such general positive attitudes toward that other country" (Koch, 1986, p. 98).

Two types of (pro- or) anti-Americanism are distinguished in the literature:

". . . an anti-Americanism rejecting cultural trends which one tends to identify as American, while admiring America's energy, innovation, prowess, as inspired by its message of optimism, *or* an anti-Americanism in reverse, rejecting an American creed which for all its missionary zeal is perceived as imperialist and oppressive, while admiring or adopting American culture, from its high-brow to its pop varieties" (Kroes, 1986, p. 41).

The first type, cultural anti-Americanism, originated in 18th century England when Britain lost the War of Independence, and continued into the 19th century (Ibid.). The second type, a political anti-Americanism, developed in the 1960s and 1970s, criticizing the US because of its domestic and foreign policies. The favorable attitudes toward the US in the late 1940s and 1950s may be called "honeymoon" attitudes (Ibid.).

14.3.1 Research Topics on the US and Anti-Americanism

Past research has almost exclusively given attention to attitudes toward the United States, in general, and to anti-Americanism, in particular. In many publications in different countries, a love-hate relationship or an ambivalence in popular feelings in these countries toward the US has been either assumed or argued (for example, De Franciscis, 1988).

Some of these studies have used bivariate analysis, providing empirical evidence of a relationship between attitudes toward the US and age (Walker, 1988), gender (NIPO, 1987), level of education (Turner and deCilley, 1988), and class (Ibid.). Anti-Americanism in Europe now is viewed as largely an elite or intellectual phenomenon (Spiro, 1988). As one observer notes: "In case after case . . . anti-Americanism appears mainly as the preserve of the upper classes while the masses of the population is more tolerant of American shortcomings or even seeks to make American culture, if not values, its own" (Thornton, 1988, p. 13). Other research variables include political party preference or political ideology (Müller, 1986; NIPO,

1987), how individuals see their own country using the US model for positive or negative domestic changes (Turner and deCille, 1988), mass media reports of major US events (e.g., the Martin Luther King and Kennedy assassinations, racial discrimination, and Watergate), and the US in the international domain (e.g., the US and the Marshall Plan, involvement in the Indonesian Revolution, the Suez crisis in 1956, and the Vietnam war). Other such issues include the neutron bomb and deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles on European soil, President Reagan's crude language regarding Russia and his off-the-cuff jokes, the Libya air raid, Black Monday on Wall Street, the El Salvador affair, Panama, Grenada, and Kuwait (Ibid.).

Relationships between international political socialization processes and structures of learning have been rarely studied. From our own studies, we know that samples (non-representative) of Dutch youngsters see the television, the (national) newspaper, and a study program in the US as the most influential socializers in this field. Formal education in school plays only a marginal role (see Dekker and Oostindie, 1988 and 1990 as well as their chapter with Hester in this book).

In such studies, several different methods, techniques, and instruments were used. Images were measured using an open question, such as "Please write down the first five words that come to mind upon hearing the word "America"/"Americans." Factual knowledge was measured using closed questions (e.g., asking the correct name of the President). Questions tapping opinions asked one to agree or disagree with a particular statement or to say that a given situation was good or bad. Attitude measurement used many different questions (such as asking one's willingness to move to the United States under the same working and living conditions; general feelings about the US; opinions on US foreign policy and world peace; opinions about the US President; one's preference for the US or the USSR as an ally or neutral partner; the acceptability of US investment capital; worth of US economic assistance; having confidence in the US' ability and responsibility in world affairs; importance of maintaining good relations with the US; the extent to which one's basic values are generally close or different; and popularity of US products and travel in the US). By contrast, stereotypes toward Americans were measured through content-analysis of official speeches (Herrmann, 1985), publications, and textbooks (e.g., Social Studies Development Center, 1984); films (Waller, 1981), television programs, and conversations; and experimental procedures, in-depth interviews, standardized inter-

views, and surveys. In standardized interviews and surveys, Osgood's "semantic differential" (Osgood, et al., 1957) and Katz' and Braly's (1933) "adjective check-list" or the "nomination technique" (Stephan and Ageyev, 1991) were used as well as the "percentage technique", the "diagnostic ratio technique", and the "pathfinder technique" (Ibid.).

14.3.2 Research on Attitudes Toward the US in the Netherlands

The first Dutch study after World War II examined perceptions and judgments of the population about the Marshall Plan (NSS, 1949; cited in Koch, 1986). NIPO (1975 and 1979) asked Dutch respondents if they had confidence in the US's peaceful intentions (Ibid.) and if the US was peace-loving (Ibid.). In a 1981 USIA survey (Ibid.), a Dutch sample was asked if they had confidence in the ability of the US to handle world affairs in a responsible way. Other studies asked how the Dutch perceive the US: as a good friend, a business partner, or an enemy, and if they had a positive attitude toward the US. Koch (1986, p. 98) concludes that the figures from opinion polls since 1975:

". . . suggest a remarkably stable attitude of the broad public toward the United States: some 10% is typically anti-American, some 30% is typically pro-American, in 1975 as well as in 1983, and a clear majority of the neutrals, when pressed to a choice, rally behind the United States."

Another study into anti-Americanism in 1983 (NSS, 1983), however, concluded that almost half of the Dutch adults (47%) have a "moderately negative" attitude (29%) or a "very negative" attitude (18%) toward America. The highest percentage of negative respondents was in the group of 18-29 year olds. A NIPO (1987) study also reported that one out of every five or six Dutch individuals is negative about the US. President Reagan was judged (60%) negatively. In 1987, on behalf of the Directorate General of Information, Communications, and Culture of the Commission of the European Community, a representative sample of the population aged 15 and more in all EC member states was surveyed. Half the EC citizens had a favorable opinion and 20% an unfavorable opinion. In the Netherlands, 54% claimed "good" or "very good" feelings about the US, 13% "neither good nor bad", 27% "bad feelings", while 5% gave "don't know" or no answer (cited in De Franciscis, 1988).

Commercial public opinion poll companies have conducted most studies into the images/stereotypes about the US or anti-Americanism in the Neth-

erlands. Such studies were frequently commissioned using party, partisan, or other interest group's or organizations' funds. In many cases, only one or two US-oriented questions were asked in a questionnaire embracing many other issues. Methodological accounts were missing in many cases and were not available for review. The research populations consisted mainly of adults, with children and adolescents excluded.

14.4 Research Design

In 1988, we decided to study Dutch young peoples' cognitions and affections with respect to the US. Our aim was to offer teachers and professors empirical results needed for an adequate preparation for courses on the US and adequate preparation for students in a NL/US joint study program (see section on "Our Motives and Aims"). The definition of our research problem was: What images, knowledge level, or opinions and attitudes do young people in the Netherlands have about the United States of America and what are the related variables?

The objects of research were the images, knowledge, and level or presence of opinions and attitudes with respect to the US. Two attitudes were included, namely interests and attitudes toward the US. Three aspects of the US were selected: politics, economics, and everyday life. "Politics" was operationalized through items relating to political structures, political processes, and political personalities. No questions included "the" American people or "the Americans."

The independent variables in this study were gender, level of education, political party preference, and television viewing behavior (subdivided into watching informative, current affairs programs or watching American entertainment and dramatic series). The selection of these variables was based on findings from previous studies (see section on "Research Topics on the US and Anti-Americanism") and on international political socialization research and theory in general (e.g. Brouwer, 1986; Hagendoorn, 1986; Claussen and Kili, 1988; Claussen and Mueller, 1990; and Dekker, 1991). Data were acquired via a written survey with 62 questions. Questionnaires were completed during school time. To avoid "socially desirable" answers, no social studies classes were used.

Images ("subjective knowledge") of the US were measured using an open-ended question. "Objective" knowledge was measured using 12 factual questions: five about politics, four about economics, and three about every-

day US life. Together, they formed a knowledge index (Cronbach's alpha: .2968). Each correct answer scored a certain number of points. A correct answer to a politics question resulted in either 0.5 or 1.0 point, while a correct answer on an economics or everyday life question received 0.8 or 1.0 points. The maximum score was 10 points (4 points for the politics questions, 3.6 points for the economics questions, and 2.4 points for the everyday life questions). Someone was considered as having no or little knowledge if he/she had less than 4.1 points; a score between 4.1 and 6.0 meant a moderate level of knowledge; and a score of 6.1 or more indicated much knowledge.

The presence or absence of opinions was also assessed. Ten questions were used, four about politics, three on economics, and three concerning everyday life in the United States (Cronbach's alpha: .7068). The answer category, "no opinion", was explicitly provided. For each question, 1 point was given if an opinion was expressed. A respondent was considered having an opinion on the US when he/she had 6.0 or more points.

Respondents' interest in the US was also measured. There were 10 questions: three on politics, three about economics, three concerning everyday life, and one about the US in general (Cronbach's alpha: .7087). The maximum score on each set of questions for the index were respectively 3.5, 2.5, 2.0, and 2.0 points. A respondent was considered being slightly interested in the US when he/she had 4.1 to 6.0 points and very interested with a total score of 6.1 or more.

Attitudes toward the US consisted of four questions about politics, one on economics, three on everyday life, and two for the US in general (Cronbach's alpha: .5401). Maximum subset scores for the index were 4.0, 1.0, 3.0, and 2.0 points, respectively. A respondent was considered having a negative US attitude when he/she had 0.0 to 4.0 points, a partially negative or partially positive attitude in the case of 4.1 to 6.0 points, and a positive attitude with 6.1 or more points.

The index for viewing information programs on television consisted of two questions about the frequency of watching the 8 o'clock news and other current affairs programs (Cronbach's alpha: .4824). The maximum scores were 4 and 6 points, respectively. The index for watching American drama consisted of one question, with 25 subquestions, each offering the title of a program broadcast at the same time as the study period. Respondents were

asked to say whether or not they watched these programs (i.e., never/rarely, sometimes, regularly, often, or almost always) (Cronbach's alpha: .8564).

Data processing used SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Correlation coefficients used were chi-square, Pearson's r (for variables of at least interval level), t -test (for comparing the means of two groups on an interval or ratio scaled variable), and the one-way analysis of variance (for comparing the means of different groups on the basis of one independent variable of ordinal level).

Subjects of the survey were secondary school pupils between 14 and 17 years old. The stratified sample consisted of 750 pupils from 30 third form classes in 30 schools, proportionately subdivided into various educational levels, religious and nonreligious groups, degree of urbanization (town or country), and geographic region. The questionnaire was completed by 723 pupils from 30 third forms of 23 schools in April 1989. Their ages were as follows: 14-year-olds, 26%; 15-year-olds, 49%; 16-year-olds, 21%; and 17-year-olds, 4%. Gender was represented in the following proportions: 350 boys (49%) versus 373 girls (51%). School types consisted of lower vocational education, 22%; lower general secondary education, 41%; higher general education, 19%; and pre-university education, 18%. Lower vocational education pupils were under-represented, while lower general secondary education and higher general secondary education pupils were over-represented. All these school categories form about one third of the total secondary population, according to figures from the Dutch Ministry of Education.

14.5 Findings

14.5.1 Image and knowledge

Concerning the US image, students were requested to write the first five words that came to mind upon hearing the word "America" (see Table 1). In total, 3277 words were mentioned (i.e., 4.5 words per person on the average). The greatest number (40.7%) of words concerned everyday US life (e.g., hamburger, milk shake, McDonalds, drugs, rape, sport, criminality, hard working, eating a lot, and pop music). In second place (23.4%) were words concerning US society/geography (e.g., beautiful nature, big cities, busy, crowded, rivers, states, sky-scrapers, and biological races). In the third place (15.1%) were terms concerning politics (e.g., world power, Reagan, defense, Iran scandal, democracy, East-West relations, and White

House). After this (11.3%), ascriptions concerning general characteristics and behavior of Americans were scored (e.g., chauvinistic, materialistic, beautiful people, desire to be popular, cowboys, family life, sturdy, and adventurous). Finally (9.5%), there were words relating to economics (e.g., dollar, homeless people, Wall Street, and poverty).

Table 1: What come to students' minds upon hearing the word "America."

Category	Number	%	Example
Politics	494	5.1	"world power"
Economics	312	9.5	"poverty"
Everyday life	1335	40.7	"hamburger"
Geography	766	23.4	"beautiful nature"
Americans	370	11.3	"chauvinistic"
Total	3277	100.0	

The factual knowledge measure used 12 questions about US politics, economics, and everyday life.

b

Figure 1: Dutch students' images of the US.

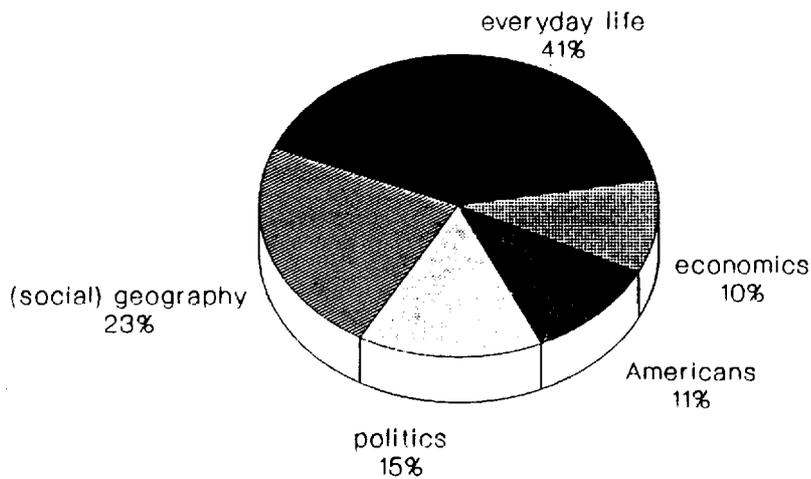


Table 2: Students' knowledge about US politics, economics, and everyday life (in %, by question).

Question	Correct Answer	Wrong/No Answer
- Name of present President	92.8	7.2
- Name of present Vice President	15.9	84.1
- Period between presidential elections	77.2	22.8
- Names of the two political parties	27.8	72.2
- Manner of electing a president	24.2	75.8
- Approximate percentage of unemployed (answer: between 4% - 7%)	6.8	93.2
- Is there a trade deficit/surplus?	13.3	86.7
- Is there a budget deficit/surplus?	32.7	67.3
- Percentage of population living below poverty line (answer: between 10-20%)	30.0	70.0
- Number of church members	23.0	77.0
- Most important means of transport	45.3	54.7
- Second language	27.2	72.8

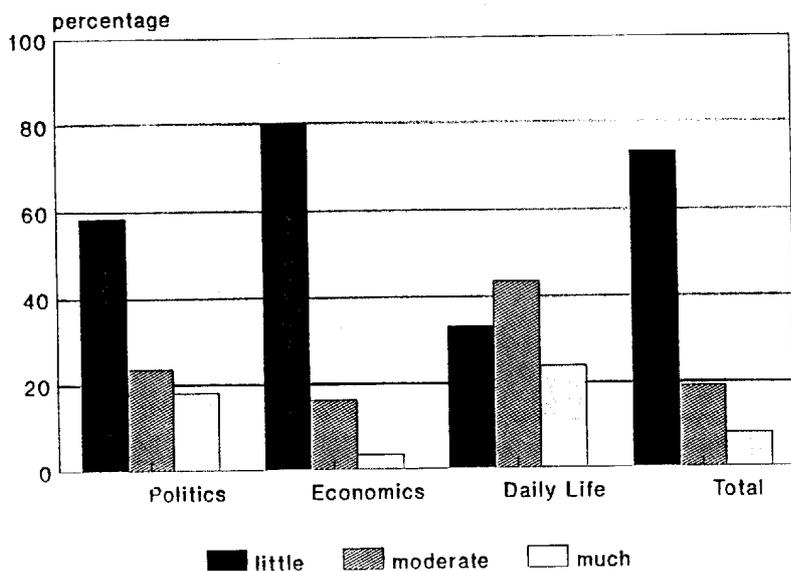
Total score results indicate a lack of factual knowledge about the US (i.e., 73.2 % had no or little knowledge, 18.9 % had moderate level knowledge,

and only 7.9 % had much knowledge. Knowledge about American economics, in particular, is poor.

Table 3: Students' knowledge about US politics, economics, and everyday life (in %, by category).

Knowledge Level	Politics	Economics	Everyday Life	Total
Little	58.6	80.8	33.1	73.2
Moderate	23.5	15.7	43.2	18.9
Much	18.0	3.5	23.6	7.9
N=	723.0	712.0	722.0	712.0

Figure 2: Dutch students' knowledge of the US.



14.5.2 Opinions

The presence or absence of opinions used ten questions: four about US politics, three about economics, and three about everyday life. The answer category, "No opinion", was also explicitly provided (see Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4: Students' opinions on US politics, economics, and everyday life (in %) (N=723).

Opinion (from above)	1	2	3	4	5
The US forces its policy on our country.	13.1	23.9	28.5	32.6	1.9
NL security is through cooperation with the US.	15.2	27.2	42.6	13.6	1.4
US policy is in favor of East/West detente.	25.2	25.2	13.3	35.1	1.2
Presence of US military advisors in Latin America.	15.9	32.0	23.2	27.2	1.7
US economic growth benefits all US citizens.	11.3	25.2	45.4	17.8	0.3
Reagan's decision to increase military spending.	3.6	15.9	76.4	3.6	0.5
Policy for increasing employment through military spending.	28.8	40.7	19.41	0.8	0.3
US is country with endless opportunities.	25.9	49.9	16.1	7.6	0.5
There is much crime in the US.	61.7	28.5	5.4	4.3	0.1
There is discrimination against blacks in the US.	44.5	33.9	13.2	8.3	0.1

Opinions about politics appear least frequently, while opinions about everyday life are most frequent.

Table 5: Presence or absence of students' opinions on politics, economics, and everyday life in the US (in % per category) (N=723).

Opinions	Politics	Economics	Everyday life	Total
Presence	71.1	88.6	93.4	90.0
Absence	27.5	11.1	6.5	10.0
No answer	1.4	0.3	0.1	

Total scores on the opinion index show that 90.0% of respondents had an opinion on the US.

14.6 Interests

Respondents' interest in the US had ten questions: three about politics, three about economics, three about everyday life, and one about the US, in general. All three questions about politics, economics, and everyday life asked about respondents' degree of reading newspaper articles, participation in discussions with friends, and the desire to know more about a subject (see Table 6).

Table 6: Students' interest in US politics, economics, and everyday life (in %) (N = 723).

	Politics	Economics	Everyday Life
Reading newspaper articles			
often/(almost) always	5.8	5.4	19.9
regularly	11.5	7.7	23.1
now and then	32.0	26.0	34.6
rarely or never	50.6	60.6	21.9
no answer	0.1	0.3	0.6
Discussions with friends			
participation	16.1	13.3	49.8
just listening	50.8	49.0	40.4
not listening	20.6	23.3	5.0
don't know	12.3	13.7	4.1
no answer	0.1	0.6	0.6
Wish to know more			
yes, interested	23.9	32.1	80.2
no, not interested	44.0	40.6	11.5
don't know	31.1	27.0	8.2
no answer	1.0	0.3	0.1
General interest in the US			
very interested	25.3		
a little interested	68.3		
not interested	5.8		
no answer	0.6		

Figure 3: Dutch students' interest in US

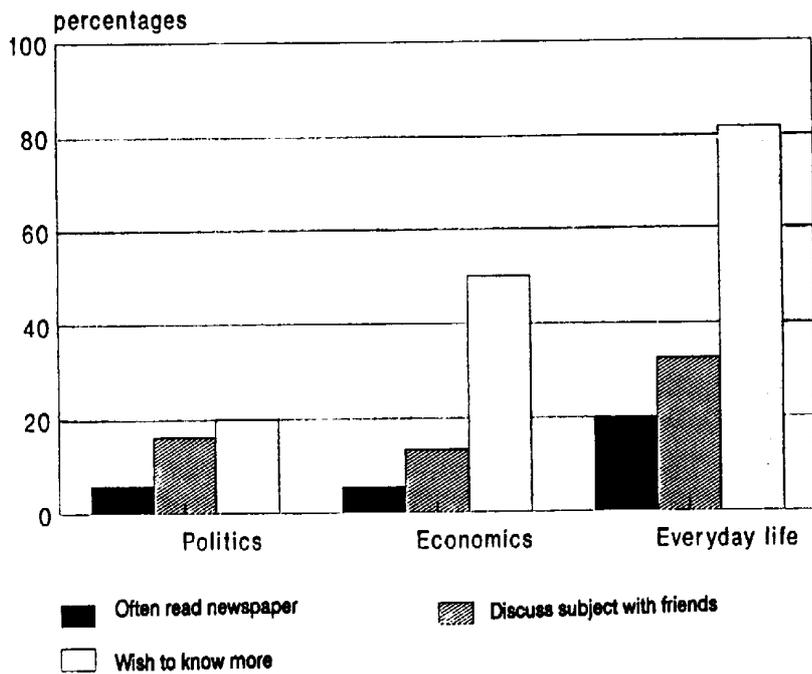


Table 7: Students' interest in US politics, economics and everyday life (in % per category).

Interest	Politics	Economics	Everyday Life	General US	Total
None	58.6	66.1	24.1	5.8	47.3
Slight	25.5	20.4	35.0	68.3	35.5
High	15.9	13.5	40.9	25.3	17.2
N=	711.0	717.0	717.0	719.0	701.0

The total scores on the interest index show that 47.3% say they are not interested (a score between 0 and 4.0), 35.5% are slightly interested (a score between 4.1 and 6.0), and 17.2% are very interested in the US (a score between 6.1 and 10).

14.6.1 Attitudes Toward the US

Attitudes toward the US used a second series of eight questions on opinions about politics, economics, and everyday life and two questions about the US, in general. This resulted in an index which ranged from 0 to 10. Findings on the eight opinion questions about US politics, economics, and everyday life are shown in Table 8.

The question about the US in general directly related to respondents' general US views. One-third (33.0%) indicated their attitude toward the US was positive to very positive; 47.1% had a partially positive and partially negative attitude; and 1.8% indicated that their attitude was negative to very negative (6.9% had no opinion; 10.8% did not know; and 0.4% did no answer).

The other question about the US in general consisted of two parts. As mentioned before, respondents were asked to write the first five words they associated with "America." This question included a request to give a value judgment for every word they mentioned. For every positively evaluated word, a positive attitude score was given; for every negatively evaluated word, a negative attitude score. In calculating the score, it was taken into account that when a respondent wrote just one word, the value judgment attached to it should be considered of greater consequence than those judgments attached to each word in a series of words. The maximum score for a positive attitude was 1.0. More than half of the respondents (57%) scored 0.6 or more on this question. The most positive value judgments were connected with words concerning American economics; the least positive with those about politics (see Table 8).

The whole body of questions about the respondents' attitudes toward the US resulted in a total attitude toward the US index score (see Table 9). It showed that 15.0% of all pupils had a negative attitude, 49.8% a partially positive and partially negative attitude, and 35.2% a positive attitude. Attitudes were most positive toward economics. Most negative were attitudes toward American politics; 30.3% of all respondents had a negative attitude in this category.

Table 8: Students' attitudes toward US politics, economics, and everyday life (in %) (N=723).

Opinion (from above)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Approach to drug problems	15.6	33.9	31.2	10.6	7.7	1.0
Policy observing world						
human rights	35.7	29.2	12.0	9.0	12.4	1.7
Policy on Israel	9.4	21.8	20.8	21.7	26.0	0.3
Policy on USSR	33.2	31.8	12.6	10.7	11.3	0.4
US economics	20.2	39.3	13.3	14.7	12.0	0.5
Belief in American Dream	32.4	28.4	17.7	4.3	6.6	0.6
Americans' behavior						
toward one another	18.1	44.0	16.1	11.9	9.8	0.1
Working in the US	35.7	36.5	17.0	6.1	4.0	0.7

Table 9: Students' attitudes toward politics, economics, and everyday life and the US in general (in % per category).

Attitude	Politics	Economics	Everyday Life	General US #1	General US #2	Total
Negative	30.3	13.3	25.2	1.8	18.2	15.0
Partially	52.1	66.3	54.5	64.8	25.0	49.8
Positive	17.6	20.4	20.3	33.0	56.8	35.2
N =	705.0	706.0	705.0	719.0	718.0	705.0

14.6.2 Correlations Between US Knowledge, Presence of Opinions, and Interests

The correlations between respondents' levels of knowledge, the presence or absence of opinions, the level of interest, and attitude toward the US are shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Correlations among students' US knowledge, presence of opinions, and interest and attitudes.

	Knowledge r =	Opinion r =	Interest r =	Attitude
Opinion	.3781**	-----	-----	-----
Interest	.3115**	-.2528**	-----	-----
Attitude	.0419*	.1110*	.3021**	-----

Note: 1-tailed significance level = * -.01 ** -.001

14.6.3 Independent Variables

The degree of knowledge had a relationship with gender, level of education, and watching current affairs programs on television. There was no relationship shown between either political party preference (with the exception of US economic knowledge) or viewing American drama on television. Girls showed a significantly lower degree of knowledge of American politics and economics than did the boys (see Table 11).

Table 11: Students' US knowledge correlated with gender, education level, and television information viewing (in %).

	Gender		Education level			TV-info viewing		
	Boys	Girls	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
<i>Knowledge</i>								
Little	63.7	81.9	94.0	79.9	53.5	82.4	68.3	56.8
Moderate	23.7	14.3	05.3	16.1	29.7	14.1	25.1	21.6
High	12.6	03.8	00.7	04.1	16.8	03.5	06.5	21.6
N =		720			718			721
X =		32.7			101.8			53.3
r =		S, p<0.001			S, p<0.001			S, p<0.001
								.2639, ** -.001

The presence or absence of opinions on the US had a relationship with gender, level of education, and viewing current affairs television programs. There was no relationship with political party preference or viewing American television drama (see Table 12).

There is a difference between boys and girls in interest (see Table 13) in the US in general and in US economics; between respondents with higher

and lower levels of education in US politics and economics; and between respondents with a high or a low degree of viewing current affairs television programs with regard to interest in US politics, economics, and daily life (r 's are respectively .3578, .3766, and .2026). No significant differences were found between the amount of interest in the US and watching US television drama and political party preferences.

Table 12: Presence or absence of students' opinions on the US, correlated with gender, education level, and television information viewing (in %).

	Gender		Education level			TV-info viewing		
	Boys	Girls	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
<i>Opinion</i>								
Presence	94.3	86.3	84.2	87.6	96.7	86.4	93.0	95.8
Absence	5.7	13.7	15.8	12.4	3.3	13.6	7.0	4.2
N =	722		720			723		
X =	12.8		21.2			12.2		
	S, $p < 0.001$		S, $p < 0.001$			S, $p < 0.05$		
$r =$.2266, **-.001							

Table 13: Students' interest levels correlated with gender, education, and television viewing (in %).

	Gender		Education level			TV-info viewing		
	Boys	Girls	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
<i>Interest</i>								
None	39.9	47.5	53.7	44.8	36.6	56.8	36.3	17.9
Slight	35.4	36.8	33.3	38.1	36.2	34.9	38.6	35.9
High	24.7	15.7	12.9	17.1	27.2	08.3	25.1	46.2
N =	700		698			701		
X =	9.5		18.8			102.8		
	S, $p < 0.05$		S, $p < 0.001$			S, $p < 0.001$		
$r =$.3832, **-.001							

When relating *attitudes* toward the US to the independent variables, we are first struck by the fact that there is practically no relationship with viewing current affairs television programs ($r = .1429$). There is a somewhat stronger correlation between attitudes toward everyday US life and viewing American television drama ($r = .2524$; ** = -.001). No relationships were found with pupils' gender, education level, or political party preference.

The latter finding is quite surprising because it contradicts findings of other studies (e.g., NSS, 1983; NIPO, 1987; Turner, et al., 1988).

Table 14: Correlations between student dependent and independent variables (summary).

Dependent:	Knowledge			Presence/absence opinion			Interest			Attitude		
	Pol	Ec	EL	Pol	EC	EL	Pol	EC	EL	Pol	Ec	EL
<i>Independent:</i>												
Gender	+	+		+	+	+		+				
Education level	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Party preference		+										
TV info viewing	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**		
TV drama viewing												**

Note: EL = everyday life; ** = r; + = S.

14.7 Conclusions and New Perspectives

The aim of this empirical study was to gain insight into the images, knowledge, and presence or absence of opinions and attitudes of Dutch secondary education pupils aged between 14 and 17 regarding the US. Furthermore, we wanted to understand the relationship between these images and other variables, such as television viewing behavior (i.e., viewing television current affairs programs and American drama).

We asked third form pupils from a number of secondary schools to complete a questionnaire. It included questions about American politics as well as economics and everyday life to measure students' comprehensive orientations toward the US. In April 1989, 723 pupils completed the questionnaire. Pearson's r, chi-square, t-test, and one-way analysis of variance were used in the analysis.

The main findings were as follows (see Table 14). The image of the US is predominantly one of everyday life since students used words like "hamburger", "milk shake", "drugs", "rape", "criminality", "sport", and "hard working" in their descriptions. Almost three out of four pupils had no or little knowledge about the US. They knew least about American economics. However, as many as 90% of them had opinions about the US. Only one out of five pupils was very interested in the US, mainly in everyday life, not in politics or economics. About one-third of the respondents had a

positive attitude toward the US; 15% had a negative attitude. The component of American politics lowers this score on the attitude index.

Those who watch current affairs television programs often have more *knowledge* about the US than those who do not. No relationship was found between degree of knowledge and viewing American television drama. Boys knew more about the US than girls, except with regard to everyday American life. Degree of knowledge increased with higher levels of education. There was no relationship between degree of knowledge and political party preference.

The presence or absence of *opinions* had a relationship with gender, level of education, and viewing television current affairs programs. There was no relationship with political party preference or viewing American drama on television.

There is a difference in *interest* in the US in general and in US economics between boys and girls. Interest in the US in general and interest in US politics and economics differs among respondents, with respect to educational level. Finally, there is a difference in interest in US politics, economics, and daily life between respondents with a high or a low frequency of viewing television current affairs programs. No significant differences were found between amount of interest in the US and political party preferences.

No relationship was found between *attitudes* and viewing current affairs television programs. Students who watched American drama on television frequently had a more positive attitude toward everyday US life than those who did not. No significant relationship was found with students' gender, educational levels, or political party preferences.

The research results offer interesting directions for further study. Knowledge of, the presence or absence of an opinion about, and both interest in and attitudes toward Americans could be used as additional dependent variables. Other independent variables that could be included in future studies are travel or study experiences in the US (on this point, see Dekker and Oostindie, 1988 and 1990) and classes about the US at school (Social Studies Development Center, 1984; Council of Europe, 1985). In conjunction with this, we could investigate which factors are responsible for the viewing behavior regarding current affairs television programs (e.g., general political interest). Bi-variate analyses should be complemented with multi-variate analyses. Comparable studies should be done in other EC member states, thereby including nationality and national identity in the analysis.

The findings of this and future studies would provide an empirical basis for subsequent educational decision making. Teachers, educational authorities, and information services in Europe and/or the US should be able to increase the desirable quantity and quality of accurate knowledge about the US which is disseminated in Europe.

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15 *International Political Socialization Through an International Joint Study Program*

15.1 Abstract

International joint study programs (IJSP) will be an increasing part of the future political education curriculum. The question is whether or not IJSPs have their intended impacts on participants' international political competence levels. In this chapter, a Dutch/US IJSP is the object of study. This IJSP included a group of 26 students from the University of Groningen in

the Netherlands (14 students) and from Harvard University in the United States (12 students). The effects were measured through two types of analysis: test questions and questions about perceptions of influence. The pre- and post-test indicated that this IJSP had a considerable impact on the intended effects in the cognitive domain for both groups. The most obvious unintended effect was a weakened nationalism level among US students and a strengthened nationalism level among Dutch students. The perceptions of both the Dutch and US student participants indicated that the program's impact on cognitions was even greater than that "proved" by the knowledge "tests" results.

15.2 International Political Socialization

The aim of international political socialization research is to find an answer to the questions: when, how, and as a result of what do which people acquire what international political knowledge/beliefs, opinions, attitudes, values, behavioral intentions and behavioral patterns, and what is the relationship of these cognitions, etc., to (inter)national political systems? Attention is often focused on political socialization with respect to one foreign country; to a group, community, or commonwealth of countries; to organizations for international political cooperation; and/or to relations between countries.

"Popular" topics in international political socialization research are images of foreign countries and peoples, including national stereotypes and prejudices (for example, what do Netherlanders know, think, and feel about the US and Americans?) and attitudes toward international cooperation (for example, what value do Europeans attach to the European Community, and when, how, and under what influences have they developed these values?).

Several publications have claimed that studying, living, and having contacts abroad are potentially strong influential factors for international political socialization because the individual learns through direct experience. In this chapter, we present a study of the effects of just such an organized international joint study program (IJSP). The question is whether or not such a program has an actual impact on participants' international political competence.

An answer to this question is relevant for policy-making in this field. Many countries offer financial support to encourage students to participate in an IJSP or another type of study abroad program (SAP). Examples are the "In-

tegrated Study Abroad Program" (German Academic Exchange Service), the "STIR-program" (Dutch Ministry of Education and Sciences), and the Swedish "Internationalizing Higher Education Scheme." The European Community intends to promote the "European dimension in education" through student study visits as well. Four such "action-programs" are "Comett", "Erasmus", "Lingua", and "Youth for Europe." Examples from the US are the "President's International Youth Exchange Initiative" and the "Samantha Smith Program." An important policy question is: Do these programs have the desired results?

Secondly, such an answer is relevant for refining interactive political socialization theory (Dekker, 1991). The central components of this theory are the individuals being socialized, the agencies of socialization (including various socializers), and the dominant and peripheral sub-systems of the society. Relationships among these components influence one another. It is an interactive theory because political socialization is seen as a process of interaction between the individual and his/her particular situation. Individuals are not seen as passive "victims" but rather as active subjects who can influence the situation and/or its impact on him/herself objectively and/or subjectively. Until now, using IJSPs as an international political socializer received very little research attention.

15.3 Study Abroad Programs

Before preparing our research design, we asked ourselves in which ways previous study abroad programs (SAPs) and/or international joint study programs (IJSPs) tested their effects or results. We consulted a wide variety of sources for answers to this question. Roger Meyer's, who assisted us, findings were reported separately (Meyer, masters thesis, University of Groningen, 1989).

The results of this literature survey are presented in this section. In the first five sections, we presented some findings about SAPs as such (types, motives, goals, ways of organizing, participation). The sixth and seventh sections deal with the effects of such programs.

15.3.1 Types

There are two basic types of SAPs: organized programs and independent or "wild" programs, whereby a student goes to study in another country on a completely individualized basis. There is no organizational preparation or

connection with a school or university. An organized SAP is an arrangement negotiated between individual schools or universities (or specific departments therein), whereby students are given an opportunity to spend part of their educational time at an educational institution abroad (see Baron and Smith, eds., 1987, p. 1).

Despite the great variety of such programs, according to Opper (1986), organized SAPs share certain characteristics. They use negotiated arrangements between a "sending" or "home" institution and a "receiving" or "host" institution. These arrangements make some provision for organizational infrastructures. These can be orientation sessions on prospective host cultures, intensive foreign language training, or academic advisory services.

They ensure integration of periods abroad within a participant's "overall educational program" (although the degree and manner in which this is accomplished may vary from one program to the next). They facilitate regular and recurrent movements of students abroad, in contrast to one-time events.

15.3.2 Motives

Motives for study reported in the literature (for example, Meijerink, 1984) for internationalization of education are also quite varied.

For example, there is the economic motivation. Since transnational corporations and international institutions need an internationally oriented staff, they prefer school or university training instead of having to organize and/or to pay for such training themselves.

Secondly, there is improvement of students' career prospects. The expectation is that international students have a better chance for appropriate employment than students without such experience. Employers often consider international education as a mark of an excellent education.

In the third place, organized study abroad is socially and politically motivated. More favorable opinions and attitudes with respect to international cooperation (e.g., European integration) can develop. Strong nationalistic feelings, ethnocentrism, and prejudices about other peoples and countries are factors that work in opposition to such cooperation. The expectation is that international experiences will decrease uncooperative attitudes. SAPs may contribute to better communication between peoples, resulting in mutual understanding, peace and security, and economic growth and prosperi-

ty. More favorable opinions and attitudes toward the host countries are intended and expected as well. In the report of the Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education (1986), the following comment in 1982 from the editor of *Science*, appears:

"I have repeatedly encountered scientists who have spent a year or more in the United States. Their friendliness has been most heart-warming. These people have often been successful in science and, in addition, have reached important positions in their homelands. All too frequently, around the world the United States is lied about or criticized unfairly. Our scientist friends quietly help to limit the damage from such propaganda. They are some of the best ambassadors of goodwill for this country" (Abelson, ed., November 19, 1982).

Fourth, there is a pedagogic motivation. In some publications, a SAP is considered helpful for individual development and "personal maturity."

And, finally, there is the didactic motivation. An expected benefit is that a person who knows something about another country from having studied there and who has become "cross-culturally aware" is a valuable resource for educating others. For example, exchange students can play a role in enriching the school's or university's curriculum. These students can contribute to discussions about the host country, assist foreign students in school, a

15.3.3 Goals

Some goals for organized study abroad, taken from the relevant literature, include the following; knowledge and insight into international dimensions of subject areas; understanding of other countries' scientific theories and research; and familiarity with the social, political, and cultural systems of other countries.

In the domain of attitudes, the following effects are intended: openness toward foreign countries and foreigners; adaptation to cultural differences; overcoming parochialism; interest in international cultural, social, economic, and political developments and global affairs; tolerance toward people in other countries as well as minorities in one's own country; cross-cultural awareness; and willingness to seek a job in another country.

Cross-cultural awareness is mentioned frequently. Hanvey (cited by Wilson, 1985, p. 6) distinguished four levels. The first level is a readiness to respect and to accept others and the capacity to participate. He said:

"A two-week trip to Europe as a tourist [from the US] rarely leads to real cross-cultural awareness, but rather is a tasting party of a smorgasbord of delights and irritations, because of missing respect and participation" (Ibid.).

The second level is awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own. Level three is a new awareness which, through intellectual analysis, becomes believable. Through their immersion in another culture, some exchange students may have begun to understand how another culture feels from the viewpoint of an insider. This is level four of cross-cultural awareness.

"So the exchange student living in a midwestern town [in the US] finds the lack of public transportation frustrating and the dependence on fast food irritating at first, but eventually accepts the American love affair with automobiles and McDonald's french fries as all right for Americans. At level four, he may get hooked on the french fries, but even so, is glad to buy real French bread back home in Paris" (Ibid.).

Some specific skills are also expected to develop; for example, an enhancement of foreign language proficiency, a sharpening of intercultural communicative abilities in general, and travel skills.

The most important goals (in the view of SAP directors) are enhancing foreign language proficiency, training students to function in an international/European environment, developing the individual's personality, increasing the likelihood of a better position in the professional sector, and learning facts about other cultures and countries. Studying academic content not available at home institutions and raising students' general academic level were not at the highest priority level (Baron and Smith, 1987).

Prior to their departure, two important goals for students going abroad are improving knowledge of a foreign language and making acquaintances in another country (Ibid.). Dutch graduate university students, interviewed after a SAP, agreed with the following goals related to their field of study: more knowledge about theories (45%); more knowledge about practice (39%) and research experiences (28%); and more knowledge about research methods (36%) and experience in research practice (26%). The other goals named were: understanding the culture of a host country (46%), living in another country (26%), meeting people in the host country (26%), growing

personally (23%), increased language proficiency (22%) and learning more about the host country (19%) (Meijer, 1989).

15.3.4 Ways of Organizing Study Abroad Programs ;

The following differences in the way SAPs are organized appear in the literature. In the first place, there are differences in the respective preparation level of individual students. Some sending institutions offer no preparation. Others offer their students foreign language courses; introductions to cultural, social, economic, and political developments in the host countries; and/or introductions in European, international, and/or global studies. Courses of study organized for individuals or for groups also differ. Some educational institutions send (or host) individual students to (or from) other institutions; others send (or host) groups of students.

There are also differences in the curricula of host institutions. Some offer students regular courses; others offer special courses (in combination with regular courses) for foreign students.

The composition of the participant group also varies. Some programs are for foreign students alone; others are for foreign and one's own students, in one group (e.g., an IJSP). Some institutions offer students housing and others a homestay, living with a foreign student and his/her family.

Some programs have or lack an organized follow up. Wilson (1985) observes that students who lived overseas often have difficulties in "passing on" the experience. Students who had spent the summer in Japan were asked to list examples of what they considered silly questions and stereotypical comments about their exchange experience and to describe their responses to these questions and comments. Analysis of the questionnaires led to the development of four categories of questions and comments: confusion between the Chinese-Japanese; generally neutral questions; stereotypical questions; and anti-Japanese comments. The categories which emerged from the responses were: telling the facts; speaking positively; using humor; feeling angry/frustrated; and recognizing cultural relativism. More than half of the questions and comments which students listed were in the first mode, telling the facts. Exchange students have "role involvement" in the subject (i.e., they know from first-hand experience). In the study, the mode of response with the most potential for helping exchange students act as "bridges between cultures" and for encouraging "cross-cultural awareness" was "recognizing cultural relativism." In answer to the question "Do

Japanese wear normal clothes?", an American exchange student gave the following answer:

"They wear a lot of the same clothes Americans wear. Sometimes people, especially older people, wear Japanese kimonos, but mostly just for festivals. Our clothes are not right or correct or normal. You were just raised differently and not knowing any other way makes you think you're normal. What if you were born in Japan or elsewhere?"

An IJSP is a special kind of SAP. Such a program is organized by two (or more) institutions for a group of students from both institutions for a certain period of time.

15.3.5 Participation

Up to now, only a limited number of European students have participated in a SAP. Estimates vary from 2-5% of university students. Many European students who did study abroad took a course in the US instead of a course in another European country. Obstacles for student participation in a SAP include: high costs, language barriers, and housing difficulties; a maximum of allowed years for study at one's own university; differences in objectives and contents of the same academic program in different countries; no academic recognition for diplomas and study periods in a foreign country; international differences in course/program titles; and no academic assistance or support.

There are relationships between interest in a SAP, social economic background, and prior international experiences (Bundesministerium, 1985). Klineberg (1976) reported that 55% of his respondents spent at least a month abroad prior to the period they participated in the SAP under study. Baron and Smith (1987) found that 71% of their respondents spent at least a month abroad before the SAP; 25% of the students lived or worked abroad; and 27% studied abroad. Meijer (1989) found that one third of Dutch graduate university students participating in a SAP in 1986/1987 were repeaters.

15.3.6 Effectiveness Research

Most of the research on effects of SAPs was done in the US (e.g., Smith, 1955; McGuigan, 1958; Leonard, 1964; Bicknese, 1974; Nash, 1976; James, 1976; Hensley and Sell, 1979; Marion, 1980; Hansel, 1986; and Murray, 1988). Only a few studies were done in Europe (e.g., Rahn, 1980;

Baron and Smith, 1987; Dekker and Oostindie, 1987 and 1988; and Meijer, 1989).

Research projects into the effects of SAPs can be divided in two categories. The first consists of studies in which the effects of the SAP are the dependent variable in the research design. In the second category, the SAP is (one of) the independent variable(s).

In studies of the first category, the basic research question is which type of SAP is most effective in reaching one's educational goals. One or more of the following elements are used as independent variables: the participants themselves; their motives and goals for travelling abroad (Klineberg, 1976; Koester, 1985; James, 1976; Baron and Smith, 1987; and Meijer, 1989); their prior international experiences (Klineberg, 1976; Baron and Smith, 1987; Hansel, 1986; and Meijer, 1989); their personal and social variables (such as age, gender, nationality, and personal relationships); their knowledge, opinions, and attitudes prior to the program (Smith, 1955; Leonard, 1964; Hensley and Sell, 1979; James, 1976); and their foreign language proficiency. In the next case, we find the preparation program (Morgan, 1975; Klineberg and Hull, 1979; Grove and Torbiörn, 1988; Bachner and Blohm, 1988; Dekker and Oostindie, 1988; Meijer, 1989) and the SAP itself, such as its goals, content, strategies for teaching and learning, structure, staff, and duration (Bicknese, 1974; Hansel, 1986); housing (Klineberg, 1976; Marion, 1980); host country (Klineberg, 1976; Marion, 1980); interaction with people from the host country (Klineberg, 1976; Hofman and Zak, 1969; James, 1976; Meijer, 1989); and the presence, absence, or content of a follow up program. These findings hope to give empirical support to the development of a *theory of learning through international educational experiences* and to the development of curricula in this field.

In studies of the second category, in which SAPs are (one of) the independent variable(s), the influence of the SAP on other, dependent variables (such as students' careers and students' international political competence) are investigated. The ultimate goal for this category of studies is contributing to the development of a theory (for example, in the field of the sociology of work) or, in our case, to refining a *theory of political socialization* (Dekker, 1991).

15.3.7 Effects

Some of the research findings on SAPs in general and IJSPs in particular are as follows:

- *Effects on international political knowledge*

Meulema (1991) found that pupils in the Netherlands who have had contacts with other Europeans have more knowledge about politics in the EC. In earlier studies (Dekker and Oostindie, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990), we found an increase in knowledge of politics of the US among Dutch pupils after a Netherlands/US JSP. Nine out of ten Dutch graduate university students in Meijer's study (1989) reported that their knowledge about the host country increased "much" or "very much" through study abroad. They learned most about others' "way of living" and the "language."

- *Effects on international political attitudes*

Dekker and Oostindie (1987, 1988, 1990) found an increasing interest in US politics among Dutch secondary school pupils after a Netherlands/US JSP. Meijer (1989) found great attitudinal changes with respect to the host country and to people from other countries (among more than a third of the respondents). There are publications which advocate travelling abroad as an effective way to diminish stereotypes and prejudices with respect to foreign countries and peoples. However, findings from several studies show that making observations about and having contacts with people in the foreign country are not in themselves enough to change existing stereotypes and prejudices (Allport, 1979; Vassiliou, et al., 1972; Amir, 1976; Schäfer and Six, 1978; Hagendoorn, 1992). Since selective perceptions may stem from having a preconceived negative attitude, quite the opposite can result. Also, one's observations about another country can be emotionally unpleasant because the traveller is often confronted with the unknown or with information that fails to tally with knowledge/beliefs acquired earlier. The result can be a defensive reaction against this threat, ending in a strengthening of one's own beliefs (Neubauer, 1981).

The most positive effects are expected to result from cooperative international contacts between individuals (with equal status) to reach common goals. In such forms of contact, participants are forced to discuss

different points of view and to work and enjoy free time in new cross-national subgroups. Especially in the case of competition between cross-nationally contrived groups, the chance for overcoming national differences, rivalries, and/or stereotypes is estimated to be high. In education, groups can be cross-nationally composed through organized SAPs, in general, and organized IJSPs, in particular. McCrady and McCrady (1976) found changes in American students' descriptive stereotypes through classroom study supplemented with direct exposure to national groups living in their own environment.

Another expectation is that travelling abroad will diminish extreme nationalism. However, Armitage (1987, p. 95) found no verification for this hypothesis: "the more often a student has been to foreign countries, the weaker his nationalism will be." The majority of the 14-16-year-old respondents in the UK and the FRG made frequent visits to foreign countries "because tourism is now more or less institutionalized in Europe, foreign travel does not constitute a differentiating element for explaining the strength of an individual's nationalism vis-à-vis internationalism" (Ibid.). Wilson concluded that:

". . . awareness and appreciation of host country and culture characteristics, foreign language appreciation and ability, understanding other cultures, and international awareness are the characteristics in which exchange students show the most growth as compared to non-traveled students" (1985, p. 5).

"Understanding another culture" is defined as "interest in learning about other people and cultures and the ability to accept and to appreciate their differences." "International awareness" means "an understanding that the world is one community; a capacity to empathize with people in other countries; an appreciation of the common needs and concerns of people of different cultures." The average increase on "understanding other cultures" and "international awareness" was less than half that of "awareness and appreciation of host country and culture characteristics." This finding was significant when compared to effects on non-traveled students.

- *Effects on international political behavior or intentions*

Meulema (1991) found that pupils in the Netherlands who have had contacts with other Europeans are more willing to vote for the European Parliament.

15.4 Research Design

The object of the study presented here is an IJSP offered to a group of 26 students from the University of Groningen in the Netherlands (14 students) and from Harvard University in the US (12 students). The program consisted of three parts: a preparation program at the students' home university; a political science course about the EC political system and the Dutch national, provincial, and local political system (organized by the University of Groningen for three weeks); and a political science course about the federal, state, and local political system of the US (organized by the Close Up Foundation in Washington, DC, and Harvard University in Cambridge/Boston, MA, for three weeks).

The ultimate goal of the program was directed at "comparative politics" (i.e., participants should be able to find for themselves an answer, based on empirical data, to two questions: What are the similarities and differences between the political system of the US, the European Community, and the Netherlands? and What is the democratic level of development in these three political systems? The criteria for democratic development were freedom of speech, press and assembly; equality of distribution of power; distribution of [im]material values; and popular political involvement and participation.) To reach this goal, the program had the following specific objectives (regarding the US, EC, and NL):

1. Knowledge and insight into:
 - Political structures and processes
 - Foreign policies
 - Political socialization, structures, processes and effects
2. A well-founded opinion about:
 - Political structures and processes
 - Foreign policies
 - Political socialization
3. Attitudes:
 - Interest in political systems and foreign policy

The European part of the program took place from June 17 to July 7, 1988. The American part started on July 23 and ended on August 13, 1988. Program activities included on-site seminars, lectures, workshops, excursions, guided tours, and homestays.

Our research problem asked whether or not this IJSP was an influential international political socializer. The answer to this problem was sought indirectly through a pre- and post-test of the students' knowledge, opinions, and interests and through participants themselves estimating the role of the program in their own international political socialization. Participants filled out three, partially identical questionnaires: one before the program (but after initial preparation), one at the end of the European part, and one at the end of the American program. The questionnaire was developed in the following way:

1. The goals of the program were identified through analysis of organizational documents and interviews with program administrators. The goals thus obtained were then ordered into three categories: knowledge, opinions, and attitudes.
2. A selection was made from the goals on the basis of interviews with program administrators and their priorities.
3. The three categories of goals were operationalized, using questions previously tested for reliability.

The goals selected were already presented above. Besides the questions derived from program goals, the questionnaire asked about other, unintended (though expected) effects (political attitudes), personal data, and the students' own political socialization processes and agencies. In sum, respondents answered 131 questions.

The data obtained were processed and indices made for each of the studied effects. For example, knowledge of federal political structures in the US had four questions to test any change in this knowledge. A respondent could score 10 points (= the maximum score for each index). The weight given to the correct answers to the different questions varied according to the program administrators' priorities. To avoid mistakes, each questionnaire was processed twice with two researchers working independently. After results of both researchers were compared, different results required reprocessing and agreement.

All 14 NL and 12 US students were asked to participate in the research. The number of US students who were willing to fill out the complete questionnaires decreased, however, from 12 (at the beginning of the program) to 9 students (at the end of the European part).

Since all the data obtained are quantitative in nature, a quantitative criterion is a logical choice for their assessment. This criterion comprises a minimum boundary. The knowledge level, presence of opinions, and attitude levels are judged to be changed if the number of answers lies above this boundary. There are two minimum boundaries. The first one is an absolute minimum boundary, indicating a sufficient level of knowledge, presence of opinions, and level of attitudes. This indicates clear attainment of the goals. The second one is a relative minimum boundary, indicating significant changes in the level of knowledge, presence or absence of opinions, and level of attitudes. This means attaining the goals only relatively.

The absolute minimum boundary is a score of 6; a goal is seen as realized if the index score is 6 or more. The relative minimum boundary for a "change" ("more knowledge") is a change in the index score of at least 0.5 to 1.5. There is a "great change" ("much more" knowledge) if the change in the index score is at least 1.6 to 2.5. For a "remarkably great change" ("remarkably much more" knowledge), the change in the index score should be 2.6 or more.

15.5 Effects

15.5.1 Effects on US Students

Which objectives of the IJSP were realized and which were not? And which of the other expected changes in attitudes occurred? (Table 1, S. 243)

First, we present data relating to US students. None of the ten knowledge goals of the NL/European part of the program were realized before the program began (but after the preparation program at the home university). After the program, two goals were accomplished. Although not reaching a satisfactory level, there is a change in knowledge with respect to two other goals, a great change with respect to three goals, and a remarkably great change with respect to three other goals (Table 1). Four of the five opinion goals were realized before the program. After the pro-

Table 1: US students' knowledge of political structures, processes and foreign policy of the NL and the EC (before, I, and after, II, the European part of the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 12	II N = 9	Change
<i>Goals: Knowledge of:</i>			
NL political structures			
bstate level	3.17	6.26	+ 3.09
provincial level	0.75	2.56	+ 1.81
local level	0.42	3.50	+ 3.08
NL political processes			
state level	0.98	4.50	+ 3.52
provincial level	1.67	2.22	+ 0.55
local level	0.00	2.22	+ 2.22
NL foreign policy	0.33	1.33	+ 1.00
EC political structures	2.24	6.43	+ 4.19
EC political processes	1.48	5.57	+ 4.09
EC foreign policy	0.92	2.78	+ 1.86

Table 2: US students' opinions on political structures, processes and foreign policy of the NL and EC (before and after the European part of the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 12	II N = 9	Change
<i>Goals: An opinion on:</i>			
NL political structures	7.50	9.44	+ 1.94
NL political processes	1.67	7.78	+ 6.11
NL foreign policy	7.13	8.22	+ 1.09
EC political system	8.33	10.00	+ 1.67
EC foreign policy	7.29	8.61	+ 1.32

Table 3: US students' interest in politics, in general, and foreign policy, in particular, of the NL and EC (before and after the European part of the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 12	II N = 9	Change
<i>Goals: Interest in:</i>			
NL politics	6.87	6.16	- 0.71
NL foreign policy	8.06	7.89	- 0.17
EC politics	7.13	8.19	+ 1.06
EC foreign policy	7.51	8.12	+ 0.61

Table 4: US students' other political attitudes (before and after the European part of the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 12	II N = 9	Change
<i>Goals:</i>			
Positive NL attitude	5.88	6.22	+ 0.34
Nationalism	9.17	7.78	- 1.39
Internationalism	4.58	4.44	- 0.14

gram, all opinion goals were realized (Table 2). All four interest goals were realized before the program (Table 3). Positive attitudes toward the Netherlands reached a satisfactory level after the program. Only one of the other attitudes changed, namely, a lower level of nationalism (Table 4).

Table 5: NL students' knowledge of political structures, processes, and foreign policy of the EC and US (before, I, and after, II/III, the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 14	II or III N = 13/14	Change
<i>Goals: Knowledge of:</i>			
EC political structures	4.82	6.77	+ 1.95
EC political processes	1.96	5.46	+ 3.50
EC foreign policy	1.96	2.81	+ 0.85
US political structures			
federal level	2.87	4.59	+ 1.72
state level	4.32	6.73	+ 2.41
local level	1.57	4.29	+ 2.72
US political processes			
federal level	1.55	3.71	+ 2.16
state level	0.71	0.00	- 0.71
local level	0.64	0.36	- 0.28
US foreign policy	5.21	6.39	+ 1.18

15.5.2 Effects on the NL Students

Before the start of the program (but after the preparation program at the home university), none of the ten program knowledge goals were realized. After the program, three goals were realized. Although not reaching a satisfactory level, there was a growth in knowledge with respect to one other goal, a great change with respect to two goals, and a remarkably great change with respect to two other goals (Table 5). All five opinion goals

were realized before the start of the program (Table 6). Two out of four interest goals were in place before the program. After the program, all four interest goals were realized (Table 7). After the program, changes in two other political attitudes included in the study were observed: a higher level of internationalism, and a much higher level of nationalism (Table 8).

Table 6: Presence of NL students' opinions on political structures, processes, and foreign policy of the EC and the US (before and after the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 14	II or III N = 13/14	Change
<i>Goals: An opinion on:</i>			
EC political system	8.57	10.00	+ 1.43
EC foreign policy	8.79	8.71	- 0.08
US political structures	7.86	10.00	+ 2.14
US political processes	10.00	9.29	- 0.71
US foreign policy	8.71	8.94	+ 0.23

Table 7: NL students' interest in EC and US politics, in general, and foreign policy, in particular (before and after the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 14	II or III N = 13/14	Change
<i>Goals: Interest in:</i>			
EC politics	5.24	6.59	+ 1.35
EC foreign policy	4.89	6.18	+ 1.29
US politics	6.99	7.19	+ 0.20
US foreign policy	8.31	7.95	- 0.36

Table 8: NL students' other political attitudes (before and after the IJSP).

Scores	I N = 14	II or III N = 13/14	Change
<i>Attitudes:</i>			
Positive US attitude	3.00	2.51	- 0.49
Nationalism	3.85	5.83	+ 1.98
Internationalism	7.12	7.92	+ 0.80

15.6 Perceptions

The answer to the question whether or not the studied IJSP was successful in improving participants' knowledge was found in a more direct way when we asked participants to indicate the role of the program in their international political socialization process. Two questions were asked, namely:

- "Everyone obtains information about political events and topics in the European Community [NL or US] via different channels (persons, groups, media, experiences). Via what channels have you obtained your knowledge and insight in political events and topics in the European Community [NL or US] up to now? You may fill in more than one circle." and
- "Which five channels (persons, groups, media, experiences) have contributed in your opinion the most to your knowledge and insight into political events and topics in the European Community [NL or US] up to now? You may fill in five circles."

Table 9: Most influential socialization agents with respect to knowledge/insight into political events and topics in the NL, EC, and US (NL and US participants).

Politics in the:	NL	EC	US	US
Students from the:	US	NL	US	NL
II N=	9		9	
III N=		14		14
<i>Program parts</i>				
Preparation	-	-	-	-
NL program	1			
EC program		(2)	1	
Washington, DC, program				2
Cambridge, MA, program				-
Direct contacts with NL students	2		2	
Direct contacts with US students			(3)	-
<i>Other:</i>				
travel experiences	(3)			
national newspaper	(3)	(2)		3
sophisticated magazines			(3)	
television		1		1
radio		3		

Key: 1 = first position; 2 = second position; 3 = third position; () = shared with other socialization agents

In combination with all these questions, a list of 35 possible channels (i.e., "socializers") was offered, including "television, national newspaper, state or local newspaper, friends, father, mother, travel experiences, preparation for this program, this program in Europe, this program in Washington, DC, this program in Cambridge, MA, direct contacts with Dutch students in this program, direct contacts with American students in this program." (See Table 9.)

With respect to knowledge/insight into politics in the NL, the US students considered the program in the Netherlands as the most influential channel. Direct program contacts with Dutch students took up the second position. In third position were travel experiences and the national newspaper.

With respect to politics in the EC, the Dutch students considered the European part of the program as the second-most-influential socialization agent (together with the national newspaper). Television was in first position and radio in third. The US students considered the European part of the program to be the most influential channel. The direct contacts with Dutch students in this program took second place. In the third position were direct program contacts with US students and sophisticated magazines.

With respect to knowledge/insight into politics in the US, the Dutch students considered the Washington, DC, part of the IJSP as the second-most-important socialization agent. Television was in the first place and national newspaper in third.

15.7 Conclusion

The conclusion of this research (see Table 10) is that this IJSP had a considerable impact on intended effects (in the cognitive domain) for both US and NL participants. After the program, US students attained two goals and NL students three out of ten. Although not reaching a satisfactory level, there is a (large) growth in knowledge with respect to eight and five other goals respectively. The most obvious change in the domain of attitudes is a weakened nationalism among US students and a strengthened nationalism among NL students.

Table 10: Overview of IJSP effects on NL and US students.

Effects	NL students		US students	
	I N=14	II/III N=13/14	I N=12	II/III N=9
<i>Knowledge:</i>				
NL state structures:				
provincial structures			-	+
local structures			-	-
NL state processes			-	-
provincial processes			-	-
local processes			-	-
NL foreign policy			-	-
EC political structures	-	+	-	+
EC political processes	-	-	-	-
EC foreign policy	-	-	-	-
US federal structures	-	-		
state structures	-	+		
local structures	-	-		
US federal processes	-	-		
state processes	-	-		
Table 10 (cont.)				
local processes	-	-		
US foreign policy	-	+		
<i>An opinion about:</i>				
NL political system			+	+
NL political processes			-	+
NL foreign policy			+	+
EC political system	+	+	+	+
EC foreign policy	+	+	+	+
US political structures	+	+		
US political processes	+	+		
US foreign policy	+	+		
<i>Interest in:</i>				
NL politics			+	+
NL foreign policy			+	+
EC politics	-	+	+	+
EC foreign policy	-	+	+	+
US politics	+	+		
US foreign policy	+	+		
<i>Other attitudes:</i>				
Positive NL attitude			-	+
Positive US attitude				
Nationalism	-	-	+	+
Internationalism	+	+	-	-

Key: I = before the program; II = after the European part; and III = after the whole program.

Index score is lower than 6 (-) or 6 or more (+).

The perceptions of both the NL and US student participants indicate that program influence on cognitions is even greater than that which was "proved" in these knowledge "tests." Dutch participants thought that the European and Washington, DC, parts of the program had a very strong impact on their knowledge and insights. US students said that the NL and European program were the two channels which contributed most to their knowledge and insight into NL and EC politics.

These two ways of measurement have resulted in two different, although both positive, conclusions. One of the explanations for differences in findings could be that the test questions do refer to objects other than those in the perception questions: "political structures, processes, and foreign policy" versus "political events and topics." Another explanation is that these questions do not refer to the same type of knowledge. The test questions relate to factual knowledge, while the perception questions offer the opportunity to include other, higher types of cognitions, as well. A final explanation is that respondents were inclined to give socially desirable answers to the perception question because they appreciated the work of the IJSP administrators.

15.8 References

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PART IV
Political Education

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16 *The Influence of Pluralistic Politics, Political Education, and Political Socialization on Two Generations of Indian Women*

16.1 Abstract

The study of political socialization and political education have received much attention from psychologists, sociologists and political scientists during recent years. However, there is a paucity of empirical studies examining important relationships between political socialization and political education. For example, very few studies in India have examined the role of political education as an agent of political socialization. In this chapter, we examine the role and impact of political education on political socialization of two generations of women in India, a pluralistic society.

In addition to discussing the position of Indian women in their society, the chapter also describes what we mean by the concept of "political socialization" plus the role of "political education" as a socialization agent.

16.2 Political Socialization The Concept

Rosav (1977), Elkin and Handal (1972), and Stacy (1978) state that socialization refers to that developmental process whereby a person obtains knowledge, abilities, beliefs, values, attitudes, and dispositions that make it possible to function as a more or less effective member of a society. Socialization allows each society to shape its members while preparing them for successful incorporation into group life. Stacy (1978) takes the view that the study of socialization should also take into account those people in a society who are socialized to reject conventional norms, values, and behavior, thereby contributing to radical changes.

Greenstein (1968), Langton (1969), and Nimmo and Bonjean (1972) maintain that the study of political socialization includes both the study of individualistic and systemic orientations. While the individualistic approach focusses on the individual as the main unit of investigation, the systemic approach inquires into the role of political socialization stabilizing and maintaining the system.

Taking into account this variety of definitions, it seems that Greenstein offers both a narrow and a broad conception of the term. Narrowly speaking,

political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political values, information, and practices by those instructional agents who are formally given this responsibility. The broader aspect of Greenstein's definition focusses attention on the study of all political learning (formal or informal, deliberate and unplanned) at every stage of life cycle, including political as well as non-political learning. Generalizing from these different viewpoints, one can conclude that political socialization involves the study of individual roles, content, and agents in a process of learning about politics.

16.3 Political Socialization and Political Education

One of the important issues of political socialization research is the impact of political education on political socialization. Basic political orientations are reinforced by political education, an important part of educational practices in a society. Political education may help members of a society to either form or reject their views about politics. It can directly or indirectly influence one's later political orientations. Though it can be argued that political education plays a relatively limited role in socializing people politically, yet its role cannot be underestimated. In India, religious issues (like *Ayodhya* and *Babari Masjid*) and social issues (like attitudes toward backward social groups) may change the attitudes of the members of society, especially the younger generation, through political education. Though it may take a long time to socialize people politically, radical changes can occur in the political orientations of people who are politically illiterate and otherwise uneducated.

Political education plays an important role in socializing people to political life. However, in India, no serious attempt has been made so far to study it. Scholars only recently started looking into this matter. In spite of its importance in transforming Indian society, political socialization has not been the subject of serious scholarly study. In this chapter, an attempt is made to fill this gap by examining the impact of political education on the political socialization of Indian women.

16.4 Changes in the Political Socialization and Political Education of Indian Women

In the classical Indian tradition (according to one point of view), the various cults of the mother goddess are believed to be the sources for energy,

power, and fertility, and to be the protector against all cruel and evil forces. This tradition believes that women are very powerful and can be dangerous, if required; so a balance between the two sexes is maintained.

The other viewpoint in the classical Indian tradition often presents conflicting opinions and pictures of women. Some believe that women in the family were not born to live a life of subjugation. They were to be paragons of beauty, wisdom, and learning. They were to be politically socialized (like men) to participate in decision making and the exercise of power. Still others believed in male supremacy. In case of a conflict, the interests of a man had to be upheld. A woman should accept the authority of man and should never disobey him. Women as a group were not to participate in political affairs or to be politically educated.

16.5 Education of Women

During the first half of the 19th century, education for women was limited to only a small minority of aristocratic families who educated their women to manage their huge family estates. With the passage of time and from the efforts of missionaries and social reformers, educational opportunities were opened to women, resulting in a large number of girls attending schools. However, a large part of this advance was confined to urban areas.

The aim of education was not to prepare women to become literary luminaries and scientific prodigies so as to enable them to question the superiority of man while claiming equal rights with him, but rather to make them loving, sweet-spoken, and helpful companions to husbands while passing through life's wilderness.

Western education helped the upper middle class Indians to play an important role in the Indian national movement. Women were indirectly politically socialized during the first waves of the independence movement. Though their political education was informal during this period, they started playing important roles. Some Indian men who believed in the progressive liberal Western philosophy also supported a view that women could play a vital role in public life.

Mahatma Gandhi added completely new dimensions to the debate on the role of women. He said that woman's subjugation and exploitation was the result of "social teaching" which was only based on the interest of males. He preached absolute equality between sexes and stressed that women

should directly participate in the nationalist struggle. The *Rama Rajya* (non-exploitative social order), which Gandhi envisioned, could only be achieved if both men and women actively participated. He said women were better than men in waging nonviolent protest because they have greater capacity for love, sacrifice, and moral courage. Women needed to become conscious of their historic role and should reject the disgraceful role of being "man's plaything." Equality of legal and political rights, freedom from any coercion, and autonomy to choose her own way of moral and self-development were the basic conditions to enable a woman to play her destined role (Gandhi, 1921, 1927, and 1940).

During the last phase of the national movement in India, it was not merely the leaders of the Congress Party who pleaded for equality in the education of women. At that time, revolutionary leftists gave women major responsibilities for political activities.

Modern education, with its all limitations, along with their participation in the national movement made women familiar with concepts such as freedom and dignity of the individual. Along with ideas about social reform, the seeds of social liberation also sprouted among middle class Indian women. During World War II, there was an increased political awakening among women. The leaders of the women's movement then pressed for the acceptance of women's equality in all spheres. They pleaded that women should not merely be considered housewives and mothers, but also citizens and active participants in the country's social, economic, and political life.

After independence, in order to recognize the needs and problems of Indian women and to promote equality with men, the Indian Constitution guaranteed certain fundamental rights and freedoms to all citizens of India. To ensure that women were the beneficiaries of these rights (in the same respect as Indian men), the Constitution empowers the state to enforce "special provision for women and children", Article 15(3).

With constitutional pronouncements on equal status between men and women and the declared state policy to encourage women to take their rightful place as equal partners with men in the cultural, economic, political and social life of the country, there has been a change in the attitudes, perceptions, status, and roles of Indian women. But are they any different today from those women who were born and raised in the pre-independence period? If yes, in what respect? Is there any change in the attitudes and perceptions of Indians toward women? If yes, then in what direction? Examin-

ing these questions will help us not only to understand patterns of political socialization for Indian women, but also to evaluate their contribution to re-constructing their society. Such an analysis may also help us to rethink public policies and programs aimed at women's development.

This chapter looks into the political socialization of Indian women over a period of time in answering the question: What role has political education played in this respect? For a deeper insight into the continuities and discontinuities in their political socialization processes, two generations of Indian women are the subjects of the investigation. By comparing and contrasting data on these two different groups, we can hope to better understand the political socialization process for Indian women and the role which political education plays in this process.

This exploratory study was confined to 50 women: 25 belonging to each of two generations; namely, from those 40 years and above and those in the 20 to 39 category. All 50 women were Delhi residents and were selected randomly. Data were collected through interviews using an open-ended questionnaire with a series of questions pertaining to sources of political socialization, political attitudes, and various political roles. The objective was to find out whether or not women show any consistency across generations in their political thinking and style. That is, is there a change in their political life style over periods of time? The overall sample socio-economic characteristics are given in Table 1.

16.6 The Views of Indian Women on Their Place in Society

16.6.1 The First Generation

The first generation of women were raised with a lot of social restrictions. A woman's childhood barely lasted seven to nine years; thereafter, she had to behave like a grown up girl. Those who were the first child in the family had to run household activities by the age of 10. From the beginning, they were taught to be shy, reserved, modest, and traditional. For most, education was not considered essential; so, no effort was made to educate them.

Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of sample population.

Item	First Generation (41+ years)	Second Generation (20-40 years)
<i>Education</i>		
Post-graduate	5 (20%)	8 (32%)
Graduate	1 (4%)	9 (36%)
High School	3 (12%)	4 (16%)
Literate	8 (32%)	1 (4%)
Illiterate	8 (32%)	3 (12%)
<i>Religion</i>		
Hindus	22 (84%)	20 (80%)
Muslims	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
Sikhs	2 (8%)	3 (12%)
Christians	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
<i>Caste</i>		
Upper Caste	10 (40%)	14 (56%)
Middle Caste	9 (36%)	6 (24%)
Lower Caste	6 (24%)	5 (20%)
<i>Occupation</i>		
Business	1 (4%)	-
Service	4 (16%)	12 (48%)
Laborer	1 (4%)	3 (12%)
Housewife	19 (76%)	5 (20%)
Student	-	5 (20%)
<i>Income</i>		
Rs. 2,001 and above	5 (20%)	12 (48%)
Rs. 1,001 - Rs. 2,000	-	-
Rs. 501 - Rs. 1,000	-	3 (12%)
Rs. 100 - Rs. 500	1 (4%)	-
No Income	19 (76%)	10 (40%)

Most of the women of this generation married at an early age (12-15 years). They were socialized in such a manner that they could bear hardship. These women were taught to be obedient to their husbands and in-laws and were not expected to rebel against authority and family elders. They spoke highly of their elders. Their ideals were "duty", "obedience", and "sacrifice" for other family members. When asked if they ever considered revolting against the authoritarian family structure, the answer was usually negative. Family life was their highest priority, so they never felt independent as an individual. Therefore, they could easily adopt their new roles as wives, mothers, or mothers-in-law. Most of them were satisfied with their lives,

having great faith in religion and fate. Only a few (2%) showed dissatisfaction toward the major events in their life.

For most of these women, religion, religious practices, and their deep faith in the existence of God helped them to cope with life's problems. Rituals associated with various festivals added color to their lives. They obsessively observed these religious rituals and customs and expected their daughters and daughters-in-law to do so as well. Also, they believed that the younger generation was not as duty-conscious and responsible as they had been. In spite of the fact that they were happy (because they had sincerely taken care of their in-laws, husbands, and children), a certain sense of dissatisfaction and a yearning desire for more freedom was noticed during the interviews. Education played a very minor role in their lives. Although 18% of the women in this age group had been educated, their views on their place in society were not very different from those who were illiterate.

Most of the women had no concept of health or hygiene and suffered from various life-threatening diseases. No proper medical facilities were available to them. The elders in their family did not consider it worthwhile to provide them with medical attention. Strict seclusion was observed. This was true regarding upper class women, Hindus and Muslims alike. The houses of the rich and upper class had separate *Zenana* (ladies) quarters, which was like a prison for women. The position of these Indian women was inadequate from the point of view of literacy, individuality, health, social status, and freedom of movement.

16.6.2 The Second Generation

The majority of the women belonging to this generation were also raised with nearly the same restrictions as their predecessors. However, they reported that they enjoyed more freedom in their childhood than did their mothers or mothers-in-law. The onset of adolescence meant curtailing their freedom and mobility. Married women felt that marriage gave them higher status and some freedom in society but simultaneously gave them more responsibilities. Although their parents and in-laws expected them to give priority to their wishes, this generation valued education, jobs, and economic independence. While the younger women were liberated from the traditional *purdah* system, they still wanted to be dutiful and responsible as daugh-

ters and married women. They also believed in religion and fate, like the women of the older generation.

Similarities in the thinking of the women of these two generations are noticeable. While some said that they have adopted (or would adapt to) new roles in life quite easily, others said that (by nature and temperament) the best and happiest place for a woman is at home. She is to be a mother first and last, although economic needs may have forced her to pursue a public career. Her life has, therefore, been divided into two-worlds: her career (where she has to work like a man) and her home (where she has to act as wife, mother, or daughter-in-law). Few (2%) women felt that, because of changing roles for women, a complete transformation of values was required so that they could perform both roles more confidently, effectively, and efficiently. For these women, education played a great role in the socialization process. A majority of this generation showed preferences for more education and changes in social attitudes, but they accepted the same kinds of social roles and similar life styles as the older generation.

16.7 Political Socialization Initiation into Politics

In India, cultural prescriptions have deep roots. Political activism among women is nominally discouraged. Therefore, it is interesting to study the female socialization process, which teaches them to be subordinate. It is also interesting to see just how such subordination is rationalized, reinforced, and transmitted from one generation to the next through socialization processes.

16.8 Family, Education, and Political Socialization

16.8.1 The First Generation

The vast majority of first-generation Indian women were not provided with broad political socialization opportunities, especially those which encouraged active political participation. They were discouraged from forming political opinions or expressing political views. Still, some of the women developed an interest in political affairs during the last phase of the Indian national movement. To ascertain their initiation into politics, they were asked to tell whether their family members encouraged them to discuss politics or to become interested in political developments. Their responses were that they were not encouraged in these directions. These women

pointed out that whenever they tried to understand or ask about politics, the elders in the family (both males and females) said that "politics is not meant for girls; you have to get married and go to your in-laws, so you better learn about good housekeeping, cooking and sewing rather than wasting your time on discussing matters which are not meant for you." Some of the women of this generation did not even dare to speak about political issues, though they were interested. Many pointed out that, although their family members (father, grandfathers, uncles, husband) were either members of a political party or actively participated in demonstrations, women were not encouraged to express their related views.

Those women (8%) whose present profession is being active in politics presented a different picture. They reported intense political activity among the male members of their family. One respondent mentioned that her father-in-law, who was also in active in politics, encouraged her to play a role in politics. The other active female politician said that since "my husband was a member of Parliament, I decided to perform my duty by continuing his work." The family as an agent of political socialization does not play a similar role for all women. Family members encouraged the elite women to be socialized politically, but women belonging to the middle or the lower-middle classes did not get such chances.

Some of the women belonging to first generation pointed out that they developed an interest in politics because they listened to political discussions among male family members. Such males discussed events such as the national movement and its leadership. They were especially delighted when the role of Mahatma Gandhi was being discussed. For these women, the nationalist movement (under Gandhi's leadership) was not merely a political movement, but a way to regenerate Indian society.

These women thought this in spite of the fact that their position might not change during this period. They opined that some of them (those who could get out of their homes and could get training and education) would be able to help improve the position of the next female generation. Some might even may become leaders, inspiring others to follow them. During the national movement, Gandhi either directly or indirectly educated and socialized this first generation of Indian women.

For this generation's women, education did not play a large role in making them politically socialized. Those who got a chance to study said that the objective for the educated woman was not to imitate man, but to become a

better spouse. There was very little chance of exposure to mass media for these women. A majority (64%) were either illiterate or had very little background knowledge; therefore, they were not able to read or understand newspapers. Those who were educated sometimes did not have newspapers to read, while those who read newspapers were interested in issues other than politics.

The women of this generation hardly attended any public meetings because they were not allowed to leave their homes. They were also not allowed to join any political or social organization. There was also little desire among them to join such organizations because they were satisfied with their traditional family roles.

16.8.2 The Second Generation

The women belonging to the second generation specified that schools, rather than their families, played an important role in socializing them politically. Like the older generation, family members did not encourage them to know or talk about politics. One woman remembered an incident when her brother and she asked her father almost the same question about politics. She was told to go to the kitchen to help her mother, while her brother's question was very happily answered. These women pointed out that they wanted to know about politics from their teachers. However, teachers had very little interest in making them politically aware. Their female teachers did not provide political knowledge because learning about politics was considered inappropriate for girls. Ultimately, they believed, a woman has to perform her household duties after finishing her education, so she should learn how to become a good housewife, rather than wasting her time on political matters. One of the young respondents revealed that: "Once, my grandmother asked me, "Do they teach you how to make pickles in the school?" I answered negatively and said, "They teach us Indian politics." My grandmother answered, "This is not going to help you in the future. You must learn household activities from your mother. After all, you have to get married." These women believe that formal education and textbooks play a minor role in socializing women politically. At the same time, they agree that they are better informed about politics than earlier generations because of their formal education.

Very few women (20%) said that the opportunity to get modern education helped them in knowing about the concepts of freedom, equality, and digni-

ty of the individual. This is strange for a pluralistic, democratic educational system since women are not merely housewives and mothers. They are also citizens and equal participants in the socio-economic and political life of their country.

Women of the second generation were more exposed to mass media than the older generation. They read newspapers, magazines, and listen to the radio. But the most important source for their political socialization is television. It is also disturbing, if not unusual, to find that these women prefer watching entertainment programs on television rather than seeking political information. Some of these educated women indicated that at news time, they either switch off the TV or perform household duties. Whatever political information they get comes via television. Radio does not have great importance for them, except for listening occasionally to film music.

The women of this generation do not like to attend public meetings or want to become members of socio-political organizations. A woman, who previously was convener of the Young Women's Committee of a party, reported that she resigned her membership because these activities do not help poor women and because such memberships get in the way of household duties. Some believe, especially after marriage, women should direct themselves to benefit their husbands and children. Elite women politicians also provided a role model for middle class women. Thus, though family does not play a very important role in making women politically socialized, rigid traditional norms are loosening since they can occasionally discuss politics with their family members. Among the mass media, television is the most important source of their political socialization; but, for others, friends were significant socialization agents.

16.9 Relationships Between Political Socialization and Political Participation

There is a direct relationship between political socialization and political participation. The more politically socialized a person, the more he/she takes part in political activities. Let us look at this relationship among our sample respondents.

16.9.1 The First Generation

Only 10% of women belonging to this age group admitted that they participated/participate in political activities (e.g., public meetings, demonstra-

tions, welfare work, and membership in political parties). These women belonged to the upper/middle class/caste and were highly educated (post-graduates). Of these, 90% were Hindus and only 10% were Muslims. This result is due to the general trend in political socialization among different castes and religions in India.

Those who participated in politics observed that most of their involvement was during the national movement. The national movement (especially under Gandhi's leadership) created new opportunities for females' political socialization. According to these women, their political education and participation never influenced them to deviate from the ideals of Hindu culture. They declared that political participation during that time was necessary to uphold the ideals of the national movement and to protect their culture and the moral superiority of Hinduism. Then, the primary political objective was achieving the nation's freedom and not furthering women's causes. Those who participated in any kind of political activity accepted the stereotypical image of a woman. Their participation in any political activity supported male family members. These women generally hesitated to deviate from the acceptable Indian behavior norms, never challenging or questioning established norms. They explained this position by stating that even women leaders at that time filled the role of a dutiful wife/sister/daughter by helping or supporting their male family members. This was significant because it reassured the society about the righteousness of females' participation in politics. Since the structure of authority within the family was accepted, they participated in politics only with the permission of male family members. They believed that their participation in politics was a socially sanctioned activity. This helps to explain their conventional attitudes and their lack of anxiety over issues such as the general emancipation of women.

These women accepted the existing pattern of gender-structured roles, never joining any forum which demanded women's political participation on an equal basis with men. Almost all the women of this generation said that voting in elections was their "religious duty." They, therefore, voted in each and every election. A "vote" was very valuable to them; that is why they thought all political parties reached out to them. When asked whether they exercised their voting rights independently, 50% of them said "yes." They could not, however, tell why their vote was intrinsically valuable or how their participation in elections could help to improve the status of women.

16.9.2 The Second Generation

The large majority of the women in this generation (80%) did not want to become members of any political organization. They also did not like to participate in activities such as public meetings and demonstrations. Like the older generation, they vote in elections.

Those who participated in political activities said that they attended public meetings only for that political party whose leaders, policies, and programs they liked. Some of them attended public meetings just to see these leaders. Others went to see how local leaders and national/state leaders looked in person. Some participated politically because they had nothing else to do; it helped them in passing the time. Those who participated once or twice in demonstrations indicated that they did not know the issues on which they were based. They went just because their friends asked them to do so. Most of these women indicated that they do not like to participate in political activities because, first, they have to get permission from male members of their families and, second, their preoccupation with household and professional duties leaves them with no time for or interest in political participation.

The women of this generation also did not like aggressive and bold female political participation. They believed in the inherent moral superiority of the male and felt that women's participation should be within the established order of the society and the family. According to these women, there are inherent differences between the talents and the temperaments of the two sexes. They saw no compelling reasons to alter the conventional functions and divisions in the family. Therefore, they did not want to participate as male members of their families do.

Women who are active politicians not only took part in political activities but also organized these activities. They felt that participation should not disrupt the male-female relationship in the family. Also, they felt that women should be active in politics only after fulfilling their other responsibilities such as raising children. These women accepted male authority and guidance in both their personal and political careers.

The younger generation of women (like the elder one) participated in elections. They felt that an educated women should always exercise her right to vote. A majority (60%) very proudly exclaimed that they exercised this right independently. Contradictorily, 10% of these women, all highly educated, said that they always supported the party their husbands favored.

Casting a vote is not necessarily an indication of political consciousness among women. Even the women of this generation voted without knowing its importance and significance. They took part in this activity as they would any other social activity. Though they claimed to vote independently, this was not true. As a matter of fact, they confessed that they do keep in mind the likes and dislikes of male family members in this respect, just as with the older generation. Once these women voted, they forgot about politics.

Trends in political participation among these two generations of Indian women suggest that women of first generation had national objectives in mind and that the national movement was an important part of their political socialization. It inspired them to participate politically. They wanted to participate within the traditional norms of the society; electoral participation was considered essential to them. Despite wanting to attend meetings and participate in demonstrations against foreign rule, they could not do so because of the authoritarian family structure. In independent, post-colonial Indian society, they cannot find any high ideals like those once prevalent in British-ruled India. They exercised their right to vote because they considered it a "duty."

The second generation of women felt that women's political participation is possible, acceptable, and limited. Their only concern was their right to vote. They did not participate in demonstrations or strikes because they did not feel like doing so. Transformation processes in India have placed an additional burden on their shoulders, so they do not participate actively in politics. Since they do not want to be political party members, they seek advice and concurrence from male family members.

16.10 Political Education, Political Socialization, and Role Perceptions

Some questions which arise in debates about political education and socialization of different generations of Indian women are: Has education, in general, and political education, in particular, played any role in the socialization of Indian women? Are there any changes in their educational and socialization patterns? If yes, then how do women view them? Do women think that they have any special role to play in socio-economic and political processes or do they adopt and accept traditionally defined values and roles? How do different females view the future of the Indian women? Do

they want women to be independent from the old social norms or do they merely accept traditional values and roles?

16.10.1 The First Generation

From the analysis of the responses of these women, it was found that very few women (i.e., only 5%) think that there is scope for their political participation. The rest (95%) accept the traditional educational pattern which socialized and prepared them to discharge their foremost duty (i.e., looking after a family and household). They avoid any confrontation with male family members and believe that women should be ready to make sacrifices, including giving up a career for their husbands and children. A woman should respect the views of her parents-in-law, they believe, even when taking part in political activities.

When talking about relationships between political participation and family life, a large majority of women (96%) said that they preferred domestic happiness and would sacrifice anything to achieve it. They believe that it is better if both husband and wife have the same political opinion and support the same political party. If the wife has different opinions, she must modify them according to her husband's views. However, a few women (4%) have a different point of view in this respect. They explained that both a husband and a wife can have different opinions and that the husband should also show tolerance and respect, while encouraging his wife's opinions.

When these women were asked to state whether women should participate more in political affairs, the large majority (85%) of them felt that there is no need for this. Those who were illiterate (7%) did not know just what to say. Only 8% said that greater female political participation is very significant, indicating it will generate awareness regarding their rights and lead to general progress and improvement in women's social status. Women's participation in political affairs also would help solve their problems and could provide equal opportunities for both sexes.

A majority (85%) of these women believed that women should keep away from politics because it might hinder their domestic performance. Even the highly educated women (5%) felt that women should not enter politics because it is a dirty game. Politics is not suited to the female temperament because of their high moral values. One of them went so far as to say that "women belonging to respectable families will never come near to politics."

Active women politicians felt that politics was just like any other profession open to women. However, after Indian independence, women's enthusiasm and political activity decreased. If the pre-independence tempo had been maintained, women would have assumed greater political responsibilities both at the state and national levels. These women accept as a fact that they have to support male domination in politics because it is a male activity. Some women felt that integration of women in politics is not possible until the woman's traditional family role is changed and redefined. As long as women are assigned primary responsibilities for homemaking and child-rearing, their participation in politics will be problematic.

With regard to preferences these women have for political parties, we found that 60% gave first preference for the Congress-I because they believed it to be a secular party capable of ruling the country. The remaining 40% preferred the Bharti Jante Party (BJP) because they felt that it was the only party which could save and promote the values of Hinduism. Whereas the women preferring Congress-I belonged to various castes and religions, those who preferred BJP were only upper caste Hindus.

When asked whether women should vote only for women candidates, 85% of women rejected this. They said that they would like to vote for the party they liked rather than merely voting for women. They felt that if women take an active part in politics they will not properly perform their household duties. These women claimed that they were satisfied not only with the existing women's representation in the Parliament (4.9%) but also with female performance there.

Since this survey was completed only a few weeks before the mid-term elections (May 1991), it was interesting to study women's prior commitments to and awareness of the then-upcoming elections. All the women said that they would vote in the forthcoming elections. When asked which party they would vote for, 90% of them named the Congress-I. Though critical about the performance of all Indian political parties, their answers also showed a measure of political apathy. They said that it hardly mattered which political party came to power because all were basically the same. They used women's votes for political power and hardly worried about improving the condition of women in the society.

16.10.2 The Second Generation

Only 15% of women of this generation felt that Indian women have a wide scope for political participation. Most (85%) thought that household responsibilities, illiteracy, subordination of women to men, and social attitudes toward women were the factors responsible for women's limited political role. They, themselves, felt that women should not ignore their household duties; political activities should be limited to their spare time.

Most of these women did not want to discuss political issues with their husbands, especially when they supported different parties. According to them, women's political participation could lead to unpleasantness in family life. A majority (60%) of these women maintained that many women who participate actively in politics have ruined families or have lost their husbands. Only 5% of these women wanted women to leave the home to take part in active politics, like men. Some of these women believe there should be equality of opportunities for both men and women for political participation. Others hold that men should share the household duties with women and should encourage them in active participation. But 95% of these women feel that, because of increased responsibilities, both at home and outside, they do not want to participate in political activities. They claimed that female participation in politics is becoming increasingly difficult because of increasing violence, character assassination, and decline in moral values.

On the question of women voting for a female candidate, these women answered in the same manner as the other generation. They felt that they did not want to vote for a candidate just because she was a woman. They just wanted to be sure about the qualities of a person before voting for him/her. A fourth (25%) of these women felt that more representation should be given to women in legislative bodies. But 75% felt there was no point in having more women representatives because, ultimately, men (who are in majority) control decision making in legislative bodies. Some of these women even raised questions about the decision-making capabilities of women in representative bodies.

All the women interviewed said that they would vote in the upcoming elections. When asked to indicate a choice of party, 50% felt that Congress-I would give the country stable government. Another 30% felt that supporting BJP would ensure a better government, while 20% could not name the party for whom they would vote. Surprisingly, none of these women preferred any left party. Though 80% of these women would vote in the

next election, they were not very enthusiastic about past party performance. They felt that all political parties are basically alike. Party leaders do not have proper values as in earlier times. They just wanted power, were not concerned about how they acquired it, and seldom bothered about peoples' welfare. When asked whether they read party election manifestoes, 98% said "no." They either had no time or did not want to read them, saying these manifestoes made false promises. In their opinion, no party tried to fulfill any promises. Almost two-thirds (60%) of these women indicated that they would vote independently during the upcoming elections; 20% said that they would consult their husbands/male family members before casting a vote; and the remaining 20% did not respond. Although these women showed an interest in voting, this does not mean that there is no political apathy among them.

16.11 Concluding Observations

Though it is difficult to reach definite conclusions in the present study, certain patterns of political education and socialization of Indian women emerged. In Indian society, no one wants to socialize women politically for a variety of reasons. For example, the family does not want to do so because members believe that a woman is meant for home and will not be in a position to discharge her proper duties. The family does not encourage women to take an interest in politics; any effort in this direction is strongly resisted and suppressed.

Similarly, no political party wants to socialize woman because it fears that a politicized woman will be a difficult person to "control." A party just cannot take for granted the prospect of a politically socialized woman. Such women might give rise to new challenges which could not be successfully met within existing party structures, orientations, and philosophies.

Surprisingly, women themselves do not want to change politically. They just accept their "inferior" status, limited roles, and denigrating treatment. What is most surprising is that most of them are, as they say, "happy" with the present state of affairs. There is no urgency for them to change this situation. Practical experience clearly points out that chains have been broken only by those who realize that they are "slaves"; they, alone, can break the chains to free themselves. If we really want Indian women to become equal partners with men in the reconstruction of their society, then we have to encourage in them a realization that they are now second-rate citizens and

that they (alone or with help) can change their fate. We do find some seeds of liberation here and there, but they have to be consolidated, nurtured, and strengthened. If this is done, a fundamental change will occur in overall social thought and in that of women, too. Once this change takes place, we are likely to find women and men moving together as equal partners, thereby granting women what has been due them for so long.

Education has been regarded as an important agent of political socialization. It has a direct bearing on the formation of political attitudes and values. Therefore, educational institutions and political education play an important role in the process of political socialization. Almond and Verba (1965, pp. 315-324) have discussed in their five-nation study the important role which educational institutions play in the process of socialization. However, the current study does not confirm their findings.

According to Almond and Verba (Ibid.), the better-educated person is more aware of the impact of government on the individual than is the person with less education. In the present study, it was found that educated women from both generations did not show such awareness. These women attended formal educational institutions and even studied political science, yet failed to understand how government can influence ordinary citizens' lives. Their replies in this respect can be summed up in one phrase borrowed from the *Ramayana* and actually used by a few: "Let anybody be the king, it hardly makes any difference to us."

Almond and Verba (Ibid.) further point out that more-educated individuals are more likely to follow politics and to pay attention to election campaigns than do less-educated persons. The present study indicates that educated women from both generations know little about politics. Instead, they are rather apathetic toward politics. They neither liked nor wished to read election information which the different political parties produced.

Almond and Verba (Ibid.) also believe that the educated individual is more likely to consider himself/herself capable of influencing the government, yet we noticed a feeling of helplessness in our sample of 50 respondents. They believed that they just could not influence their government. They even asked in reply to our questions, "Why should the government listen to us?" On the question of organizing themselves as a pressure group, they also said that they had neither the inclination nor the time to plan activities through which they could influence their government.

Almond and Verba (Ibid.) also found that the more-educated individual is more likely to be confident in his social environment and to believe that other people are trustworthy and helpful. The present study indicates that most educated Indian women did not feel confident in their society. Rather, they felt uncertain about their position, role, and status as Indians. Thus, education seems to play a very marginal role in helping Indian women to become politically socialized.

Education makes no guarantee that a person will become wise and humans less prone to prejudice. Its indisputable virtue is that it promotes empowerment of the individual. It gives him/her just a little more ability and self-confidence. It enables persons to discover things for themselves and gives them a chance to say "yes" or "no." This is a basic element for citizen empowerment. Literacy thus constitutes the first defense against exploitation.

There is an obvious need to restructure and strengthen the Indian educational system. Indian education will have to play a more active role in socializing women to politics. A strategic interrelationship between education and development has to evolve so that women can become conscious of their status while emancipating themselves from old, outdated, undemocratic, and irrational social thinking about women in general.

Here, education has to play a dual role. It has to desocialize women (and men) from old values, attitudes, knowledge, and information. Then, it must resocialize both women and men. Unless the society gets rid of age-old, traditional, male-dominated values, no improvement or better results can be expected in Indian women's social, economic, or political positions.

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17 Political Education in a Unified Europe **A Glimpse from Poland**

17.1 Abstract

In this chapter, the author answers the question, "What is political education?" He describes the need for political education in both Poland and the soon-to-be unified Europe. A key part of this chapter is devoted to a proposed program for European political education. Any current democratic model for political education must prepare to meet challenges confronting the whole of Europe. Thus, a new program for European political education is required.

17.2 What is Political Education?

Since ancient times, Plato and Aristotle spoke of the need to prepare citizens for community life. However, political education in those times primarily promoted the state's own welfare. Therefore, it was regarded as civic training. Before World War II, special studies on political education in the US were also developed (e.g., Merriam, 1931 and 1934). They continue today, based on a conception of functioning within the American political system and the part a citizen plays in it.

Of key significance for democratic systems is the citizens' approbation of the systems' legal validity. Also of consequence is the recent appearance of two notions: political education and political socialization. The latter is broadly defined and the former enters into the composition of the latter. Let us look for a moment at each concept.

Political socialization denotes preparing young citizens to assume varied social roles which are important for fulfilling community functions and for adapting to the social system. It also includes political education (conceived of as learning the political culture), citizen cognizance of political values, and accepting rules for political behavior.

Political education is an important element in the whole socialization system. It is understood as knowledge of political events, processes, activities, and relations; the place of humans in that system; and both individual and social group impacts on the community as a whole. Political education is conceived of as a socio-technical discipline, delivering and verifying patterns of opinions, action preferences, attitudes, and values. The main subject of this educational effort is the citizen who has a definite store of knowledge at his/her command to enable him/her to perform civic duties; these are freely accepted in a democratic political system (Malanowski, 1983, pp. 96-97). The concept of political education also allows possibilities for various interpretations. As A. Bodnar put it:

"Political education occupies a particular place among other kinds of social and political and professional education. They differ, first of all, in that they are characterized by continuousness and uninterruptedness. This is occasioned by the dynamism of social relations, as a result of which we are witnesses of ever new facts (occurrences) and processes in which many times we ourselves take part. Policy is one of the spheres of social practice. That sphere is not autonomous to such a degree as is economics" (Bodnar, 1983, p. 139).

This same author is right in pointing out that knowledge of politics helps one gather data about many other factors that shape public policy (e.g., relations of the citizens to authority and vice versa and the selection of major objects for political activity).

Since communities are not socially uniform, contests and political wars take place over the importance of social and political goals. Politics is also concerned with the allocation of values and criteria governing funds and expenditures for various social and individual ends (investments, taxes, social relief, health services, school instruction, and the like). In all these matters, political forces appeal to the citizens, particularly during election campaigns. Hence, the great need for citizens' political knowledge and their formal education to enlighten this process. Public opinion surveys also provide data about citizens' judgements, opinions, and knowledge about public matters.

Political education is also related to other scientific disciplines, such as sociology, history, economics, and social psychology. Its results also depend on the degree of citizens' practical experience, on how much one's acquired knowledge conforms to reality, and on how far political theory strays from political practice.

Following the US example, studies of political education and socialization have more recently evolved in Europe. The widest range for this scholarship is in a few Western European countries (e.g., Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands). These tend to be interdisciplinary studies in which politicalologists, sociologists, educationists, and social psychologists cooperate. Recent attempts have been made to construct an interdisciplinary theory of political socialization (on these points, see Dekker and Meyenberg, eds., 1991; Claussen and Wasmund, eds., 1984; and Englund, 1986).

There is a most extensive European and American political literature on political socialization and political education concerning cognitions and youth experiences (see Clausen, ed., 1968 and Claussen, ed., 1976). As for the two most important approaches over time, these include:

1. Cultural anthropology and child and personality psychology, which relate socialization to basic processes that are characteristic of early stages of individual development, when some permanent features of individuality are formed which may affect the conduct of adults.
2. Sociology, social psychology, education, and politicalology broaden the time sphere for socialization, perceiving it as a lifetime process.

Political education has a certain permanence about it, though its duration depends on the citizen's political situation and environment. New and revised programs and textbooks for political instruction and specialized periodicals testify to the continuity in this process.

Since the process of unification in Europe has begun, political education has very different problems and new tasks. Testifying to this is the rise of the *Europa-Haus* movement in 19 European countries joined in the FIME (*Federation Internationale des Maisons de l'Europe*), presently consisting of some 80 different schooling and information centers. The main subject of interest is the integration of Europe. The momentous process of moving from totalitarian systems in Eastern Europe toward communities based on parliamentary democracy in conjunction with other worldwide changes requires new approaches to the substance, forms, and methods of European political education.

The rapid pace of change in Europe, particularly in the East, involves both internal affairs and international circumstances. This affects the citizens' political consciousness in many ways. On the one hand, there is the need to reevaluate hitherto fixed notions, values, and opinions; on the other, there is the need to comprehend the essence of progressive change, adapt to new democratic values, and reshape political opinions and views. At present, we find ourselves in a transition period with collisions between previously acquired mentalities, attitudes, and beliefs and a new world of political values, substance, and meaning. The political conduct of East European citizens is thereby erratic, unpredictable, and hindered. We see this, for instance, in the roles they play in parliamentary and other elections (such as the 1990 Polish presidential election) (Wiejacz, 1982, pp. 165-170). Such situations bring to the fore the need for a new political educational system.

17.3 The Need for Political Education

We all live in an increasingly complex world. We have to contend with scientific change and technical progress, with increasing aspirations to live under better material conditions, and with the desire for a more worthy existence. Many states and their social groups share a desire to reach the level of living and democracy similar to the most developed states. The latter, however, constitute only a minority of the world. At the same time, these goals will only increase the disproportions between the number of people

living in poorly developed areas and the number of those living in opulent countries.

More and more, the common global problems of humanity are threatening to destabilize the lives of people in many countries. The weightiest are the problems of ecological interdependence and the menace of armed regional conflicts (e.g., in Yugoslavia, the former USSR states, and the near East). Also of concern is the increasing disproportion between the unevenly increasing world population and the decreasing volume of renewable resources and natural raw materials.

Mass media continue to intrude into this process. Of particular note are various kinds of television influence. Media affect the development of human personality, knowledge, and culture. At the same time, they are potential instruments for political manipulation in the hands of unscrupulous political forces. Not only do they have a great influence on human behavior and knowledge, but often too, on citizens' emotions (which may escape the control of reason). Consequently, it is increasingly necessary that citizens be well-informed. One's present knowledge must be constantly supplemented to equal the fast pace of change underway in the world. There is a continual need for human instruction and re-education.

Knowledge may provide a protective shield and filter for misinformation. It may help citizens develop a critical approach to evaluating other information and to make rational choices. Only a mentally strong personality may make appropriate choices regarding individually and socially correct ways of life and thought. To achieve this task, one needs knowledge of national problems, of the nearest environment, of Europe, and of the interdependent features of the whole world. Acquiring knowledge about the political, social, and economic world allows us to understand individual interests and those of one's socio-professional groups, the nation, the region, and the global area as well. It does not protect (as we know from practice) against irrational behavior, actions, or emotions. It is a sound belief today that to live a fruitful and normal life, one should think globally and act locally. One is not isolated from other people, from human collectivities, from their problems, dreams, hopes, and fears. All of this must be comprehended and considered from the individual viewpoint and that of neighboring people.

Everywhere, we can observe an increasing desire for conscious action, for influencing what is going on about us, and for deciding our own lot, rather than being mere pawns in the hands of others (i.e., political gamblers).

Hence, we endeavor to develop democratic, self-governed, parliamentary structures where one's freedom and rights may amply manifest themselves in a climate of simultaneous responsibility for the consequences of one's actions and conduct in terms of their effects on other people.

To be able to take part in political and social life in a conscious way, one should have a broad-viewed political horizon, be acquainted with the mechanisms of socio-political life, as well as be aware of the objectives of politicians and political institutions. Only then can one be a conscious member of a civic society. At the same time, we can observe diminishing political interest among young people. Testifying to this fact is the poor voting record of young citizens everywhere, their scant knowledge about public policy, and their deliberate escape into private areas of life. This seems to be both a lasting and widespread phenomenon. There is a popular misimpression that improvement of one's personal material lot requires political apathy, passiveness, and escape from politics.

Characteristic of the recent past is a dialogue between states, political forces, and the people. An elementary precondition for such a dialogue is knowledge of our mutual problems and common endeavors. One must understand what one talks about, what one wants, and the substance and purpose of politics; otherwise we end up talking to the deaf. Once we depart from the criterion of the power of arms, then the power of reason, knowledge, ideas, and arguments can replace armaments. Instrumental in this is European political education, providing knowledge of the people and states of Europe, of what they have in common, and of what divides them. Personal contacts bring people closer together, prevent the growth of hostility and suspicion, and help build mutual trust.

It is an old truth that any professional preparation itself, whether in the domain of the natural or technical sciences, is not entirely sufficient for understanding other people around us. Knowledge of the arts, of society, of politics, and of economics protects against such limitations and against becoming what the Germans call *Fachidioten* (professional idiots).

In Eastern and Southern Europe, we may concentrate on the process of passing from totalitarian socio-political models to new democratic communities, to civil society, and to systems of self-government. In these states, there is a particular need for political knowledge (variously called knowledge of society, education for democracy, and civic knowledge). Particularly needed is helping each individual to become aware of his/her role and

position in relation to the state. Totalitarianism glorified the role of the state at the expense of the individual. It depends on one's awareness of his/her rights, whether or not the individual will be able to make use of freedom of thought and action to influence the state and its responsible authorities.

Governing political forces may use education to serve party interests and for political-ideological indoctrination. Such was the case in totalitarian states. A solid political education must rise above the details of mere party contests; it must be fortified with civic sophistication and practical knowledge. What use the citizen will make of this higher order knowledge is his/her business and a private right. However, one must practice the art of using one's knowledge as an instrument of liberation and action. It may be used in the best interest of the state and its citizens, or in the interest of local, selfish forces. Political education helps us become acquainted with the rules of conduct in matters of importance to the nation; it helps us relate the individual's aspirations and objects to the higher order reasons of the state and nation as a whole.

In Poland, the system of political education was for many years

". . . treated in a highly instrumental way, particularly by [party propaganda managers. This system of] subordination and indoctrination was initiated not so much for the . . . affirmation of the socialist system, as for the . . . justification of the actual, often mutually contradictory, political decisions of the [country's] political [administrators]" (Edukacja Polityczna, 1982, p. 37).

Now, Poland is searching for new ways and means for political education, based on (among other things) the experiences of the Western European countries and the US (Cohn, 1981, pp. 181-194).

17.4 The Objects of Contemporary Political Education

Why seek at the beginning of the 1990s once again for the proper objects, assumptions, and conditions for political education in Europe? One reason for this stems from the entirely new political situation that arose after the unification of two German states and after the transformation in Eastern Europe from totalitarianism to parliamentary democracy. New possibilities regarding the reintegration of Europe, cooperation among all European countries, and large-scale progress in disarmament point to the need for alterations in the substance of political education, particularly in the East.

Citizens throughout Europe need to comprehend trends and changes, transformations and processes (calculated over a long period of time), probably resulting in a Europe quite different from that of today. Perhaps one future day, we will even answer the question of "Who are you?" with the response "Europeans" of Polish, German, or Czech origin. We have to reconcile the recent political changes in Europe with the substance of political education. Of course, the relationship between politics and political education may be differently conceived and outlined when different political forces set the priorities. This was apparent during the heyday of states practicing so-called "real socialism." There, political education was highly centralized and subordinated to the governing Communist Party's goals.

The democratic model of political education does not avoid politics, but prepares citizens for a partnership with those in power. In a democratic state, the politician should plead for the support of citizens. He/she must persuade them to his/her reasons and objects, with his/her every move designed to obtain the electoral support of the largest possible number of citizens.

Political education encompasses a school for democracy in the midst of pluralistic political, economic, and ideological forces. And it is just such a European temperament that we all wish to attain now. The significant goal of this school for democracy consists of helping to frame the consciousness and *subjectivity* of the citizen, who can evaluate the surrounding world *independently*, while being unsusceptible to the siren call of ever-present political propaganda.

The misconception of this view is that political education may only be acquired through participation in everyday, rough-and-tumble, dynamic political life and not through the framework of the educational system under the *professional* guidance of vocational lecturers. Such indirectly acquired knowledge can considerably augment the effectiveness of one's participation in political affairs.

Political education has an immense significance for the formation of a society's political culture. It has two parts, namely its relation to the affairs of state (civil society) and to the civic society. It allows us to see and understand the limits of democracy, the transgression of which may lead to anarchy in social life. The general motto "democracy" is ambiguous and, as past practice has shown, it may be variously conceived and practiced. We need

only remember how often democracy is readily applied to "one's own" causes, while it is repudiated with respect to those who think differently.

The most difficult task in education is the preservation of objectivity. This stems from the fact that, in the sphere of politics, we have much to do with discrepancies of interest. Objectivity may too easily transform itself into a subjective approach. As Podoski observes:

"The worst situation is when the statements enunciated officially in the framework of institutional conveyance of political knowledge, do not correspond to the broad feelings of society. Such a danger becomes evident when, for example, there is a want of sufficiently thorough scientific studies from the domain of political science, when it is intended to attribute science, to a large extent, to a propaganda role, the role of giving support to earlier decisions taken when some scientific workers consented to it. The negative effects of such actions make themselves felt for a long time afterwards. . . . They contribute to a considerable lower level of effects for political education" (Podoski, 1983, p. 220).

Political education fulfills a number of functions, namely scientificdidactic, educational, and cognitive. It helps citizens, particularly youth, to acquire a solid knowledge of one's country and the world. An important (and maybe even the main) role is performed by schooling and didactic activity in the whole educational system up to (and including) the university level. In this system, political knowledge comprises a systematic store of useful substances. The generalization of knowledge goes on with the help of available means and didactic methods appropriate for a good educational system. Modern mass media play a major role in this respect (with television at the fore) along with socio-political literature.

Political education yields good results under the conditions of a logically composed teaching program; a well-prepared (theoretically and methodically) lecturer; the use of technical means as instruments for conveying knowledge (video cassettes, films, tapes, image and text projectors, and the like); and appropriate textbooks and auxiliary materials for the teacher and students. Obtaining desired effects in political education depends on the quality and types of instruction. They are varied and include political education as it is practiced in schools of any type; extra-school forms of influence which broaden political knowledge (such as family influence, peer and social groups, and organizational participation) direct or indirect mass media effects; and the influence of religious groups (such as in Poland).

A well-coordinated system of political education strengthens our grasp on political phenomena, processes, political decisions, and policy actions. Good education teaches political realism, while distinguishing political demagoguery from an honest presentation; and it teaches frank evaluation of realistic political and economic possibilities. Also, it teaches how to discern between wishes, intentions, and emotional approaches and common-sense knowledge, empathic action, and appropriate behavior.

Political education does not require imposition of specific views and values. Recipients of such knowledge range over a considerable age span, have very differentiated political orientations, and are at varied levels of social and political consciousness and development. Democratic political education must be current, pluralistic, objective, and as scientific as possible. It needs to show, for example, how complex our modern world and particular societies are. It must ensure possibilities for many-sided views of reality; for an abundance of values, attitudes, and opinions; and for a constant search for elusive truths. It must practice multicultural discussion, encouraging a mutual regard for all participants, tolerance towards those with different ideas, and free exchange of viewpoints. Tolerance and empathy are particularly important with respect to people of different religious beliefs and different nationality groups. Important also is teaching independence of judgement and correcting (as a result of new facts and counter-arguments) one's pre-existent political perspectives. All of these requirements indicate just how complex present-day political education has become.

17.5 Political Education and European Unification

The main problem and task for European political education is to elucidate how we can come from a diverse and divided Europe to a united one. The other primary task involves the transition from post-communist society in Eastern Europe to a social situation exhibiting full democracy. The European unification process will last a long time. This process may last at least to the middle of the 21st century. One of the conditions essential for the unification of Europe is a popular awareness in all countries of both its necessity and the major advantages flowing from such a union. The social, economic, structural, and political heterogeneity of over 40 European states leads us to expect a long process of transition. Therefore, when political education is under discussion, a principal question is the matter of its concrete substance. Some particular content will be important in the EC countries, other

content in EFTA countries, and still another in Central and Eastern Europe. In the latter group (which includes Poland), democratic political education must be intensive since European integration proposals have produced increasing misconceptions and ignorance, rather than enlightenment. For example, one frequently encounters the view that everything depends on the good will of the rich Western states and that integration will bring a rapid rise in living standards. Very little is known about the pre-conditions for integration or how to allow a market economy and the evolving democratic society to do their separate and/or interconnected work. There is still only a weak comprehension of requirements for civil society, a free press, social discipline, thriftiness, quality production, efficient work, and like conundrums.

All this confusion requires substantial programs of political education (apart from the mere pain of introducing a free market) perhaps with a central coordination agency such as a European Institute for Political Education, with branch locations in every European and North American country. As a specific case in point, we can begin to discuss a European program of political education if we consider the following suggested program (in six parts) which may have some cross-national utility and validity.

17.6 A Program for European Political Education

17.6.1 Part 1 - The European Common Home

1. Supranational institutions, their organization and operation (e.g., European Common Market, European Free Trade Association, Council of Europe, and European Parliament).
2. The Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe - its resolutions, institutions, realization, and relation to the WEU, NATO, and the UN.
3. The integration process in the economic and political sphere, history, stages, assumptions, present conditions, and programs for the future.
4. Collective security in Europe: reforming pre-existent military-political organizations (such as NATO and the now-defunct Warsaw Treaty Organization), their transformation, disarmament in Europe, and international confidence building.
5. Knowledge about the particular countries of Europe, including different paths for each country (e.g., Poland in a united Europe).

17.6.2 Part 2 - Political Institutions in European Countries

1. Political parties and party systems in Europe.
2. Parliamentary elections and operations.
3. Other socio-political organizations (e.g., trade unions, environmental, women's, youth, and religious movements).
4. Self-governing institutions and organizations, their rights, and operational features.

17.6.3 Part 3 - Political Values in Europe

1. Democracy in Europe, its conception, forms, and substance.
2. Parliamentary democracy.
3. Political, economic, cultural, and ideological pluralism.
4. The role of public opinion, its articulation, and scientific investigations thereof.
5. Freedom of religion.
6. Human rights in Europe, including relationships among the individual, society, and state.
7. Democratic political culture (e.g., tolerance towards those thinking and behaving differently, human solidarity, and the need for a spirit of compromise).
8. The national interest and the interest of Europe; unity in diversity.

17.6.4 Part 4 - Europe and the Surrounding World

1. The major economic and military powers in the present-day world - their roles in, and policies toward, Europe.
2. The UNO; its role today and tomorrow.
3. Europe and solving regional conflicts.
4. Africa, Latin America, and Asia, their problems and Europe's relation to them.
5. Chances for, and hindrances to, uniting Europe.

17.6.5 Part 5 - Global Problems and Their Relevance to Europe

1. Protection of the natural environment.
2. Demographic and population problems.
3. The problem of food production, pricing, and distribution.

4. Fights against drugs, AIDS, and other diseases, both medical and social.
5. Re-evaluations of terrorism, criminality, racism, and nationalism.
6. Ensuring peaceful cooperation among states and nations to produce a world without wars, starvation, and enemies.

17.6.6 Part 6 - Problems of Political and Economic Life in a Specific European Country (i.e., in Poland, about Poland)

This outlined program may be modified and improved, depending on particular concerns (such as the age and previous educational level of pupils). The work of perfecting the substance of political education must accompany a concern for the material-technical aspects of the didactic process. Textbooks for the students and teachers, monographs on specific countries and their unique problems, visual aids (maps and large-scale drawings), video cassettes and films, periodicals devoted to political education with model texts for lectures, and curriculum material sharing relevant experiences among course lecturers and students are just a few of the more important elements to improve this form of European education.

There is a pressing need to educate a new staff of teachers/lecturers while giving additional training to those already doing political education work. It would be ideal to further educate students who intend to become teachers or course lecturers in two countries, with the first half of their studies in their own country and the other half in some other European country. Also of value in this respect is the idea to create a European University, at which there would be a resident faculty for political education.

These ideas sketch only a few of the more important views on a momentous subject - political education in a new and unified Europe. Some of the questions and ideas delineated here provide only a point of departure for additional discussions, exchanges of views, and suggested revisions. The future of Europe demands that we initiate such discussions, although (as is the case with democratic decision making) we may not know exactly where it will lead us.

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18 *Implications of German Reunification for New Theories and Concepts of Political Education*

18.1 Abstract

The enormous, eruptive transformations and radical changes occurring every day in Eastern Europe are reflections of an emerging situation that cannot be measured by pre-existent standards for European political evolution. Those not stricken with political blindness will accept this situation as a fact while trying to properly reorient themselves. Efforts to form a new political identity grounded on the geopolitical status of the last 40 years are doomed to failure. Undoubtedly, this new situation in Europe presents a challenge for political education, which itself is everywhere undergoing changes. But the point to be discussed is not whether this thesis is acceptable or not; instead, the total collapse of the former GDR and the rest of the socialist world compels both East and West to consider the consequences this has for political education.

18.2 Introduction

The social system of so-called "real socialism" no longer exists (i.e., the political system of the Eastern block has disappeared from what was once considered its sanctuary). The images and self-images previously used have also been lost or, at least, become questionable. As a result, new spaces

have opened up, new questions arise every day. This provides an ample field of activity for those who feel committed to the not-always-attractive domain of political education.

In this respect, there seems to be agreement across the political spectrum (from conservative views to liberal positions as well as socialist ideas) among different approaches to reality in the social sciences. "There is a lot of work to do, let us make an effort" seems to be the shared motto mobilizing researchers and writers facing this multitude of new social challenges. Seen from the angle of eastern German socialization experiences, especially since 1991, the actual problems are best reflected in the following questions: Who will make this effort? In what fields will this effort be made? Who will define the appropriate scholarly fields?

There is no risk of dissent regarding the acceptance of these difficult tasks, the dynamics of which could not have been foreseen by anyone, or regarding the clear need for appropriate action. But there is (and will be) dissent concerning the qualitative assessment of current processes, specific conceptions and strategies to be implemented, as well as analysis of the past in order to anticipate future developments.

18.3 Changes in Eastern and Western Europe

We must discuss opportunities for, and the necessity of, a change in political education paradigms based on an analysis of current challenges and changes in Europe as a whole. The process of German reunification may be used to exemplify some of these considerations. German unification is a direct social experience which people from what was the GDR and from the "old" Federal Republic of Germany shared. The ambivalent character of this process also has its influence on both peoples. Furthermore, German unification may serve as a model for greater European integration in the future. Overcoming the previous political bipolarity of Europe has taken place within one nation. Still, this model is ambivalent at best. German unification has exposed both the potential and the immense dangers which, if neglected, could cause irreversible damage. To copy this rapid process in a naive manner or to follow the arrogant advice of others "to emulate Germany" could destroy innovative national capacities while having disastrous longterm effects.

The tremendous historical challenges facing Europe include the following three major factors:

1. Political bipolarity has disappeared with the collapse of "really existing" socialism. So today, we have what is left of the inhuman and anti-democratic outgrowths of this political system, but not its major global problems. As early as 1985, Jürgen Habermas said:

"The future looks bleak; on the threshold of the 21st century we see a horrifying panorama where vital interests are threatened on a global scale; the spiral of the arms' race, the uncontrolled spread of nuclear weapons, the structural pauperization of the developing countries, unemployment and increasing social imbalance in the developed countries. Problems of environmental pollution, large-scale technologies operating on the verge of disaster provide the catchwords that have infiltrated . . . public opinion via the mass media. The response of the intellectuals reflects, no less than that of the politicians, helplessness" (Habermas, 1985, p. 143).

Beck's (1988) term *Risikogesellschaft* (risk society) is an appropriate characterization of the modern day Federal Republic, one of the most successful contemporary capitalist societies. Only through radical changes in modern Western society can the dangers of the risk society be overcome. This requires a break with that logic in human civilization which mainly relies on the quantitative use of resources with a basic pattern of action espousing the domination of subjects over objects.

2. Eastern European countries are facing a twin challenge (i.e., that of dual modernization). They have to close the economic, political, and social gap between them and Western modern societies and, at the same time, initiate a social learning process to cope with other global risks. A two-phase therapeutic plan (i.e., to catch up with Western societies first and to tackle global risks afterwards) would most probably not only be inappropriate but would inevitably lead to disaster.

These two challenges cannot be separated from each other since there is a connection between dual-track modernization and the risk society as well as between the state of crisis and change in Eastern Europe and the logic of development in Western societies, including both its achievements and limitations.

3. European integration, the reorganization of Europe, and construction of a new "European house" to ensure inner stability and a meaningful life for its citizens (present and future) will have no prospect of success if

the North/South conflict is not accepted as a major challenge for resolution in the future.

There are many opportunities for successful responses to these and other challenges in today's Europe. German unification symbolizes many of these opportunities. They are most manifest in the Enlightenment traditions in Western parliamentary democracy, in the high economic and technological standards of Western European economies, and in the development of citizens' movements which, early on, responded to emerging ecological risks. In contrast to the Eastern block, Western society as a whole has proven to be more innovative and viable in meeting past, present, and unfolding (in particular) challenges.

One should also include the process of change, itself, in Eastern Europe (along with its proponents) as other opportunities for the future. Some practical, institutionalized efforts to stabilize society in the former GDR during its 1990 political crisis reflect the spirit of this potential, too. Political life in the former GDR in the months just preceding its demise not only tried to overthrow an authoritarian regime, but also to find a different pattern and scope for a new social model. They sought one which would ensure economically reproducible social equality and would include those whom political decisions most impact to help shape, implement, and supervise them. The effort to unite different political groups (not only political parties) through institutionalized forms of the "Round Table" (first practiced in Poland) and to examine and model the relationship between material and representative democracy could be considered one such example, perhaps useful for future political life in the region.

The present process of German unification has produced many dangerous aspects which may even outweigh its positive potential. Against the background of the collapse of socialist society for all socially relevant sectors, the task of German unification seems to be tackled mainly in a way that Habermas has so aptly described as an ". . . administrative act that has not gained any democratic dynamics of its own" (Habermas, 1991, p. 63).

There is a strong tendency toward fetishism about market forces. The uncritical copying of Western society and imposing the economic and political patterns of the "old" Federal Republic on the new *Länder* (states) increases the danger of losing control over the entire process. It also foretells irreversible damage, frustration, and other socio-pathological conse-

quences. The fact that public life in eastern Germany has not yet been destabilized is mainly due to the capacity of the "old" Federal Republic to mitigate the financial consequences of its present policies and to mobilize its huge personnel and economic resources. This, however, will not ward off all encroaching dangers. Examples can be found in the growing tendencies for hidden, open, and even organized forms of hatred, violence, xenophobia, and right-wing extremism. A mixture of fear, frustration, and helplessness nourishes these trends, including the classic background of anti-Fascism, which had been perverted to the status of a state doctrine in the former GDR. Such tendencies and social sentiments will hinder building the new "European house."

If the mechanisms currently employed in overcoming bipolarity in Germany were uncritically applied to Eastern Europe, this would lead to a dangerous situation for the whole of Europe. In contrast to eastern Germany, Europe has no Deutschmarks, no know-how, and no western German public servants ready to render needed assistance. Such a system would inevitably lead to national conflicts instead of the development of national identities on a democratic basis; it would also prepare the ground for political terrorism and speculative business practices instead of a climate for more peaceful national advancement.

Difficulties and problems in establishing internal German unity are also reflected in a partially one-sided reception and assessment of the failure of the system of "real socialism." This, whether intended or not, results in the self-immunization of the "victorious" Western system. The "real-socialist" society of the former GDR was not viable; from its beginning it had a genetic defect. It was not innovative and had a very limited social learning capacity. Still, this society tackled some of the basic problems of mankind, such as the right to work, the elimination of privileges in education, and the equality of man and woman. However, such principles were implemented in a way that undermined the social and economic basis of the society. Social security was perverted into social care and state-provided safety, which blocked any innovative potential; the price for the right to work was concealed unemployment, while prices for basic goods remained stable at the expense of a functioning domestic market. These are not just superficial pros and cons of the project for "real socialism", which was started more than 89 years ago. Nor is this pleading for its continuation. There is also a danger in the uncritical and biased, uniform identification of "real social-

ism" with totalitarianism. Even the FRG President, Richard von Weizsäcker, had reason to say the following:

"Socialism is not booming at present. But it remains to be seen whether it has definitely ceased to function as a counterpart of capitalism. It made an essential contribution to the criticism and to the correction of outgrowths of capitalism as a system capable of learning. This role would only be completed if there was nothing to be criticized or to be corrected anymore. And who could seriously claim that this was so? We still heavily depend on sober judgements about the strong and the weak aspects of the market" (von Weizsäcker, 1990, p. 10).

A differentiated assessment of the reality in the declining system in Eastern Europe is essential for a stable European integration. We must avoid wiping out those positive aspects which "real socialism" has contributed to European history. We are all too much caught up in the euphoria surrounding the seeming victory of liberalism and the subsequent race in the East to catch up with Western standards.

It is impossible to treat in detail the entire process of European integration and its potential, risks, and deficits. We need to make clear that the future development of Europe is still open, indeed. This is not meant in the sense that it has any certain end, but mainly with regard to its long-term development problems, emerging critical events, developmental trends, and continual challenges to its past, present, and future.

18.4 Qualitative Challenges to Political Education?

What are the implications of the foregoing analysis for political education? The thesis of the "new" openness of history in East and West (resulting from the end of the relatively stable status quo in Europe during the last 50 years) raises this question: Has there actually been any real political education since 1945 in Western and Eastern Europe? Either the answer has to be "no" or at least one has to state that political education, in general, in Europe has become arguable.

For what was once the GDR, the answer clearly has to be "no." The genetic defect determining the "real socialist" society of the GDR (i.e., the permanent reproduction of authoritarian social patterns designed to stabilize and maintain the system; the reduction of driving forces in society to discipline, enthusiasm, and force; and the permanent suppression of individual poten-

tial resulting from it) were the preconditions for, and the essence of, "political education" there. It was perverted to indoctrination in the normative patterns of a macro-subject, external to the individual. Unity in governmental/party policy and political education was the prevailing mode. Consequently, any "political education work" in institutionalized forms and in everyday practice can best be described as being tendentiously segmentary, fragmentary, narrow-minded, and provincial (Dümcke, 1991, pp. 17-24). Yet, these terms need better definition.

- *Segmented* in the sense of a generally unproductive relationship between scientific-theoretical considerations and approaches, private opinion, group-specific ways of communication on the one side as against an official opinion which the political system determined on the other.
- *Fragmented* in the sense that essential problems of social development were hidden and blurred.
- *Narrow-minded* and *provincial* in the sense that comprehensive international experiences (especially that of other Western countries) were ignored. Legitimization of such political education was sought with claims about implementing the humanistic aims of mankind. This was reduced to the values and advantages of socialism that were no longer questioned, through antifascism (that became a taboo) as a state doctrine, and through a so-called anti-imperialist effect that reproduced itself as a biased negative attitude toward bourgeois modernism. Political education in the former GDR stood on an unstable foundation. It taught people the rules of a political system that was not critically challenged on the one hand and taught the finding and defining of one's identity through the denial of modern Western society on the other.

But the question remains (and it is still worth discussing) whether there are not some similar parallels in political education as practiced in the "old" Federal Republic. Acting and thinking in the context of antagonistic blocks and contradictions (such as, for instance, the anti-imperialist effect versus the anti-communist effect) stigmatizes the respective other side in order to legitimize one's own system of political education. Only if such questions are discussed will there be a proper scope for political education in anticipating a common future. Despite all relevant critical considerations, there is a large potential for such considerations which has to be utilized. This includes the decade-long tradition in political education in modern Western societies which has proven successful in moving between the two poles of

freedom and indoctrination as well as those traditions of political education in the countries of Europe that most clearly reflect the influence of variety in national identities.

Speaking about a change of paradigms in political education in view of recent changes, a possible outline would include a consistent orientation among institutions, conceptions, and didactics of political education toward democratic learning processes. The educational objective should not be to adopt standards which learned experts set but to seriously question political patterns and approaches using a common background of critically useful/relevant knowledge. In sum, such aspirations have certain prerequisites:

1. They require, among other things, institutional imagination (i.e., institutional conditions have to be provided to foster a reflective approach for teachers and learners alike). Such considerations are apart from the framework of school-centered political education and the stringent inclusion of political education in the spectrum of school subjects and in a curriculum packed with set subjects.
2. They should ensure that the everyday background of all educational subjects (teachers and learners) of political education are included (i.e., the completely different and new social experiences of people in the East and their historically determined social character have to be considered in political education).
3. They should not be implemented in the rest of Europe until the material and cognitive preconditions for political education are established according to the motto: "Let us first establish proven standards for political education in Eastern Europe."
4. Finally, political education also has to meet the challenge of dual modernization in order to fulfill these lofty aspirations.

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19 *Learning About German History and Politics* **Educational Lessons for a Unified Europe**

19.1 Abstract

This chapter is concerned with answers to the following questions:

- What goals will guide the world after the collapse of the previous and, perhaps, morally more ambitious alternative to capitalism?
- Is it to be a market economy, pluralism, a new economic determinism, and/or administrative rationality?
- Does it include freedom and self-determination for the people?
- How is Europe likely to develop under the present tendencies and conditions?

Trying to answer these questions gives rise to a multitude of other questions. Three problems which figure prominently involve the need to:

- Analyze the reasons why socialism could keep its power for such a long time and why it collapsed.
- Describe the expectations and orientations that emerged during the current transition period.
- Discuss new outlooks resulting from the change in the global political situation due to the effects of German unification.

19.2 The "German Question"

Special attention must (and will be) attached to analyzing developments in Germany. The fact that the division of the world into blocks is the result of World War II and the defeat of Nazi fascism and that it was most significantly reflected in the division of Germany makes the "German question" a key issue. Previously, relations between the former two German states functioned as a sort of seismograph, measuring the level of political stability between the superpowers.

After 1945, the inability to achieve self-liberation from fascism resulted in the division of the nation: democracy as a "present" for the west versus an imposed socialist "revolution" for the east. Yet, in view of German history since 1914 and 1933, the decision in favor of an anti-fascist-democratic alternative and the option for socialism resulting from it cannot be considered merely an act of arbitrary rule.

The call for democracy and human rights, freedom, equality, and fraternity in the former GDR in October and November 1989 revived the legacy of 1789 and 1848; but the idea of these concepts being realized in the context of a renewed socialism and a separate GDR identity (which was, in fact, the aim of the grass-roots democratic movement in those early days) was based on the principles taken from the years 1871, 1917/18, and 1949. With the end of *Realsozialismus* (real socialism), the various approaches to socialist renewal were doomed to failure, too. But was a revolution in and for socialism the end of the heroic illusion of those days in October 1989?

In contrast to the combination of capitalism and civil democracy that have been growing in the West over centuries, socialism has so far remained a mere fiction. Despite the decline of socialism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, the socialist and social democratic parties of Western Europe have not abandoned it. Rather, they have been encouraged in striving for democratic socialism. They do not consider that the present model of society is the ultimate one or that the definitive stage in the history of mankind has been reached.

The feeling of the discrepancy between the ideas and the reality of the recent revolution is still lingering. The collapse of old ideas will not come without some iconoclasm; both the just and unjust will be smitten. Being against the old seems to justify dissociating oneself from one's own past. It is not so rare in history that a revolution outstrips its own activists (e.g. M. Gorbachev and V. Havel) or that reluctant converts become future proph-

ets. The recent peaceful and nonviolent revolution started with a cry for reform through citizen obstructionism. It ended in integration, annexation, and incorporation.

Against the new social background of frustration, bitterness, and excessive expectations, the lack of viable democracy and tolerance (so often characteristic of German society) has borne its harvest in the form of animosity against intellectuals, a decline in coherent culture, provincialism, intolerance, abandonment of solidarity, shunned dissidents, and xenophobia.

Ownership over intellectual traditions is obtained in a different way from the political occupation of a territory. What remains today are the experiences from the past 40 years during which people in the former GDR made their own history; a history often not self-chosen but, still, their own. Shared past experiences, mentalities, ways of life, and a feeling of identity shaped a political culture that is not dead and probably cannot soon be extinguished.

Trying to block out the history and historical consciousness of several generations or to reduce 40 years of history to Stalinist oppression and dictatorship will mean neglecting the historical and social context of these older generations. And, in a sense, there were as many generations as there were significant political stages and changes (i.e., different experiences affected the socialization of individuals; this is true both for eastern and western Germany). The "German question" is not just of national, but also of European and global importance. Since World War I, the rise of fascism, and World War II, the Germans have been making their fate the fate of Europe and the world.

In view of present developments, it is still uncertain how a "unified" Germany can be brought into line with the concept of a European house. So far, we have only the term "European house", while European integration is marking time. Meanwhile, the progress of the *Deutschmark* deals only in hard facts.

19.3 The Roots of the Autumn 1989 German Revolution

The increasingly emerging lack of identification of the majority of western Germans with the people and their problems in the eastern part of the unified country shows that basic feelings and attachments still are different. This is mainly a result of European post-war history. The lack of a common

history and common experiences on both sides will surface more and more with the widening of the economic gap between east and west. Whereas most of the western Germans thought that German unification would not affect them, the majority of eastern Germans expected to be integrated into a unified Germany as "brothers and sisters." But the pace of development and economic pressures are inseparably linked. This has forced discussions about needed cultural integration into the background.

History and historical consciousness, as well as political and historical education, will have to play a key role in this process if Germany and Europe are to be linked in their continuing development. This requires a commitment to the legacy of the revolutionary emancipation movement for democracy, justice, and human rights which are of historic significance for mankind.

The revolution in the former GDR in October/November 1989 was the result of a sharpening economic, social, and political crisis; an increasing discontent among large parts of the population with reality in the GDR; and the growing opposition of the citizens' movement against the rule of the SED (Socialist Unity Party). The structural and functional reasons for the crisis of "real socialism" in the former GDR lay in the basic conditions of its foundation. This was the adoption of the primitive Soviet-Stalinist model of socialism to a formerly highly-developed industrialized country. The foundation of the GDR and its continued existence were joined with the power of the Soviet Union and its political objectives. The former GDR considered itself as one part of a nation and, finally, a majority of its citizens considered the other German state to be the more attractive. Other cracks in this foundation were the increasingly malfunctioning, centralized, and inflexible economic management and the contradiction between the pluralistic interests, needs, and values of the people and the totally party-centered political system. It led to a gradual destruction of the social system through corruption, nepotism, neglect of the performance principle, abuse of power, subjectivism of the state and the political bureaucracy, the black market, and a shadow currency in the form of the *Deutschmark*. The crisis and collapse of the former GDR were part of the crisis and collapse of all the state-socialist systems in Central and Eastern Europe. In these countries, too, the crisis did not come overnight but was the final result of gradual historical developments.

Despite the existence of a potential for disaster from the very beginning, the history of the former GDR was not just an automatic sequence of crises and failures. No country could have existed under these conditions for over 40 years. In spite of repeated reform attempts, no serious efforts were ever made to renew and democratize the system. Even this, however, would not have eliminated the genetic defects inherent in it; hence, the historic "experiment" failed. Moreover, the flexibility of the party and the state were overestimated as were its ability to solve its problems and to overcome emerging crises.

It was mainly the young generation which initiated and implemented recent political changes in the former GDR. This leads to the conclusion that (in the context of the above-mentioned crisis potential inherent in the system) administrative socialism in the former GDR had not been able to win popular legitimation and support through the political socialization of changing generations of citizens. Therefore, what we need is a differentiating analysis and evaluation of historical processes, institutions, and individuals that developed under this political socialization process. They are also going to continue to develop in a unified Germany, one that will consider both official intent and the actual practice of future political socialization efforts.

In the reconstruction of the specific arrangement between the system of institutions of state socialism and the behavior of political individuals that was inspired through their political socialization, more importance should be attached to what was called *Befindlichkeit* (general feeling of life) in the former GDR. This is especially true in view of recent political experiences during the rapid pace of German unification.

Political socialization is that part of socialization, in general, in which political knowledge, attitudes, values and positions are acquired and in which the foundations for concrete political and social behavior are laid. Therefore, political socialization in the former GDR was experienced through organized political and ideological education in schools, in youth organizations, during military training and service, at universities or colleges, and in adult political education courses as well as through social and political experiences in families, with friends, in the church, or other informal, non-state, or alternative groups.

By the beginning of the 1980s, it was well-known both inside and outside the GDR that German society had undergone a process of extraordinary differentiation. New political groups such as the independent peace move-

ment, women's groups, human rights campaigns, and environmental initiatives had sprung up. An increasing number of people were internally isolated or externally exiled. Those who stayed in the country were seeking new forms of political expression and social activity. This indicated a major attitudinal change among some parts of the population. In glaring contrast to this intellectual differentiation of society (which, in the beginning, only took place in informal groups and in the churches), there was the rigidity of the political leadership. The SED openly opposed any real reforms, especially rethinking socialism along Michael Gorbachev's initiatives. Instead, the party and state leaders of the former GDR clung to traditional patterns in policy and decision-making, thereby isolating themselves more and more from the real world, both outside and inside their country.

The increasing decline in the acceptance of this ruling arrangement (especially among young people) was a phenomenon familiar to the SED. It was well aware of these trends based on sociological research it had conducted among GDR youth. The leadership deemed an intensified political and ideological education for youth a political necessity. As a result of this, the 1980s saw imposition of a complex system of re-ideologicalization.

Looking back, it still seems necessary that we explain the long rule of the system of state socialism on the one hand and its rapid collapse on the other. In this retrospective view, the party leadership had the means of power as well as the material resources of society at its disposal as well as a Soviet guarantee for the existence of the former GDR as a state. These facts appear to be the two columns on which the system rested. The longterm relative stability in the former GDR was also due to a "partial consent", an "arrangement", or a "social contract" that also needs to be explained.

The generation whose background was in World War II and the post-war world was being more and more replaced. A new generation arose; their basic experience stemmed from the historical breaking point as the 1980s turned into the 1990s. The generation who remembered the year 1945, who experienced post-war misery and the years of reconstruction, had a different view of the emerging GDR society. It was enough that it guaranteed them a certain standard of living and a small measure of regular social progress. But the new generation could not identify with the problems and difficulties of these earlier years. It considered submission, political subject-ion, and isolation too high a price to pay for social security and moderate progress. The more numerous that part of population which had not experi-

enced the birth of the GDR became, the more difficult it became for the SED elite to compensate for the increasing lack of democratic legitimation through its stress on economic growth, improved social measures, and socialist political and ideological education.

It is well-known that the shift from war to peace after the Allied victory in 1945 did not go all that smoothly. The anti-Hitler coalition considered changes in society to be of utmost importance (e.g., denazification and demilitarization) so that Germany would never again threaten world peace. It was also agreed that the pre-existent spheres of political culture and political life had to be democratized.

In the spring of 1945, there were far fewer Nazi supporters than in the entire 1930s. Nevertheless, the majority of the German people conceived of 1945 as the year of defeat rather than as its liberation day. The anti-Hitler coalitions' use of the term "liberation" was a delicate concept (resulting from a one-sided historical interpretation) which served to undergird the political systems established through post-war agreements. It aimed at developing a new historical awareness through selectively viewing history, a concept that neglected the close connection between social consciousness and collective memory. With regard to its educational manifestations, there was agreement among the allies that the German people were to be brought back to Western humanistic and democratic values through "re-education." But when it came to interpreting "re-education" and the way in which it would be carried out, vast differences became evident. Every side of the question considered its own ideas the most appropriate ones. Seen from this angle, "liberation" is a useful euphemism and is valid only for a minority of Germans, namely those who had opposed fascism.

The establishment of a dependent, authoritarian, Stalinist society in eastern Germany reflected the idea that Germany in general (and the Soviet occupation zone in particular) would not develop as a *terra incognita*. Instead, it would bear the imprint of the victors. This seemed to make it clear that the anti-fascist-democratic system which the victors imposed was based on specific expectations. Because of the presence of the victors, the establishment of a Soviet military administration, and the division of the country, the majority of people in the Soviet-occupied zone (and later in what became the GDR) saw themselves as being among the defeated. Fiction was omnipresent in everyday life (i.e., the first state of the workers and farmers on German soil and the common identity and purposes of producers and owners

that was declared to be a reality). The working-class movement and the political concepts and ideas belonging to it had already been deeply discredited. Fascism had had its effect on the hearts and minds of the German people.

The authorities put in power under the occupation and those actually loyal to the Soviet side represented only a minority of the population. This minority had either been in exile or in prison during fascism. Thus, they were largely isolated from the rest of the population and did not share their basic socialization experiences.

From the very beginning, the establishment of a society which cut across the grain of the previously-mentioned socialization experience made it difficult for activists on the ideological front to cope with the objective and subjective reality of German society. It started from the premise that, despite all present or future difficulties, the political activists were on the side of historical progress. This meant that the progress and victory of socialism were inevitable. It was based on laws occurring independent of the subjective will of the individual. As a natural outcome of this, everyday political work became the standard for all social activities. This meant that almost anything could be justified as being the result of historical necessity.

Historical interpretation was assigned a legitimizing and stabilizing role. The presentation of selected and usable facts tried to elicit affirmative reactions among recipients. This was in direct contrast to the way history and present reality were actually experienced. This was true for most of the very people who were to be educated and re-educated. Having no alternative, the former GDR and its historiography (as well as its intentional political education system) adjusted to a difficult situation. It was connected with another state through a common history - but, from the very beginning, it insisted on being the more "progressive" German state.

On this basis (built on feelings of opposition), with a belief in fulfilling the historical mission of the working class, a specific GDR identity was developed. This view was particularly apparent in the field of education, where it took the form of the so-called "socialist ideal of man." This ideal man had characteristics such as a higher educational level and better productivity of labor but he also had to bring his personal interests and needs in line with those of society as a whole. The task for political education derived from this view was Marxist-Leninist indoctrination to develop a socialist class-consciousness. The explicitly defined aims of education based on these

ideas (i.e., the permanent confrontation between educators and educated over fictitious values and ideals) led to a collective loss of identification in the former GDR. Its system of political education used political and ideological indoctrination mixed with apologetic support of the system. Thus, it ultimately produced the ideological conditions for its own fall.

The reasons for this were inherent in the system and lay in the concentration of power and information (denied to the people) in the administrative center of the party and state apparatus. The foundation for the rule of a dictatorial party leadership and a multitude of administrative bodies had been laid as early as 1945. Although there were alternative ideas in politics and education in 1945, they all clashed with the wishes of an almighty authority: the liberating power, the Soviet Union. Occupation rule and the fact that German anti-fascists represented only a small part of the population were very unfavorable preconditions for generally democratizing society and for overcoming the fascist heritage.

The impulse for radical measures to overcome fascism in the Soviet-occupied zone came from the Soviet military administration. They were in line with the basic aims of the radical left-wing forces, especially the KPD (German Communist Party) which shared Soviet views on steps for German post-war development. This is especially true of a catalogue of measures aimed at overcoming fascism in the political and ideological sphere. It accompanied the infiltration of Stalinism into the theory and practice of political re-education.

Based on Allied power decisions and regulations, new historical facts were established and developments were started via administrative reforms (orders) which more than just a small part of the population approved of (or at least tolerated). This may have been so because it complied with peoples' desire to break with fascism as a chapter in their history. They wanted to close this Nazi door in order to make a new start. And what is more, after the main demands for the "anti-fascist-democratic reorganization of education" had been published and the institutional prerequisites for their implementation had been established, this provided many people with the opportunity to make this new start.

In the Soviet occupation zone, denazification of the whole system of education was carried out more consistently than in other occupation zones. A uniform school system was introduced and new regulations for admission to universities and colleges were passed so many people saw tangible opportu-

nities for a better life. New chances for young people were welcomed, in particular, since they aimed to guarantee equal educational rights for all classes and strata of the population. Intolerance against the traditional elite and temporary restrictions on the education of their children were factors which led to the most severe clashes.

The majority considered the relatively early introduction of rigid patterns into political education necessary to nip any reactionary impulses in the bud. A social experiment in training thousands of novice teachers proved to be an historically successful approach to the problem of providing the new staff necessary for schooling. The almost-unanimous approval the new ideas and values in education met with was interpreted as a manifestation of the public's general, anti-fascist, and democratic attitude. But this error allowed time for only a superficial reflection on fascism.

The death of fascism was carried out persistently, systematically (e.g., eliminating the economic and social structures that had fostered its formation) uncompromisingly, and radically. Finally, the process was declared a success with the establishment of a new economic system and reformed political conditions. However, the mental heritage and traditions of fascism could not really be overcome in this simple way, so the process was actually not completed. Some of the old traditions, though, did not have a chance to be questioned since Stalinism required obedience, submissiveness, and a lack of moral courage as its most unfortunate demands.

Based on newly discovered anti-fascist traditions, political education became one-sided and tendentious. It aimed at indoctrinating and stabilizing the post-war system. The new policy and ideology had an anti-fascist foundation, which incorporated broader historical movements and progressive processes, whereas the other, unpleasant part of German history was not included in schooling until the very recent past.

This conception of tradition soon ossified into a new ritual. It submerged the desiderata to overcome fascism at the individual level. Yet, it also provided the basis for an identity that was of vital importance for many German people. It provided them with a feeling of contributing to the construction of an altogether new society. Many prominent artists and scientists who left Germany during fascist rule shared this view. Many returned to the Soviet occupation zone. Not just a few of them were soon disappointed and left again. The deliberately selective historical heritage together with the permanent confrontation with the adversary (in the form of the Federal Re-

public of Germany) finally lead to renewed repression. It officially denied everything contrary to it.

History and the teaching of history were of vital importance in education in the former GDR. They were considered essential in legitimizing and stabilizing the Soviet-imposed system. They could also be readily interpreted and easily adapted to current political needs and intentions.

However, the question yet remains as to whether and how intense a result this political and ideological educational system affected in the development of the political consciousness of people living in the former GDR. Until we have this answer, it seems that the emotional phase underlying German unification cannot be taken for granted as a full-scale, popular approval of the market economy and a new social system.

19.4 Conclusions

Summing up, one can say that the revolutionary changes and the collapse of the former GDR's ruling institutions can be attributed to a pre-existent shift in the balance of power. This had taken place long before the large citizen demonstrations in Autumn 1989. It was not only due to a generational shift and the renunciation of the arrangement with the state but also had deeply-rooted historical roots. The loss of communication between the leadership of the party and of the state and the rest of the people only marked the final stage in this long-term development. German reunification is the second part of this post-1945 historical development in which the experiences of the last 45 years are sure to play an as-yet-uncertain part.

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20 *What Textbooks Teach Israeli Youngsters About Democracy*

20.1 Abstract

This study examines the overall message which textbooks communicate to Israeli students about the nature of democratic citizenship. It is based on content analysis of instructional materials.

There are three major sections. First, background information is provided about political education in the context of Israeli society and about the place of textbooks in political education. Second, a taxonomy of democratic citizenship objectives is presented, on the basis of which categories for the content analysis were drawn. Third, the data are presented. The study included 184 textbooks and teachers' handbooks in the following subjects: civic education, social sciences, Jewish studies, literature, social studies, and extracurricular activities. These materials serve a diverse student population at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels; in academic and vocational tracks; and in state schools and religious state schools.

Overall, the materials which were analyzed project a narrow definition of democratic citizenship. The major emphasis is on the legal and structural

aspects of Israeli political institutions. Controversial issues are generally avoided. Very little attention is paid to the international arena. Universalistic issues (such as gender egalitarianism and ecology) are slighted or ignored. Many of the conventional and the less-conventional avenues through which citizens may exert political influence are seldom discussed, analyzed, or advocated.

20.2 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine, via content analysis, the overall message which textbooks communicate to Israeli students about the nature of democratic citizenship. Textbooks are only one component of political education in the schools; nevertheless, they are a central one. For teachers, especially in the lower grades, they serve as an important source of preparation for various subsequent curricular and extra-curricular activities. Students spend a great deal of time reading, summarizing, and discussing topics included in textbooks. Textbooks are educational tools specially produced to represent the central values, norms, knowledge, and skills within a particular culture and society. Their content is often perceived as an authoritative statement about the state of the educational art. Concerning political education, textbooks can be viewed as "showcases", which exhibit selected characteristics for desirable citizenship role patterns within a specific political culture. Therefore, it is important to examine what they actually tell youngsters about democratic citizenship.

20.3 Political Education in Israel

The state of Israel was established in 1948. However, the Israeli school system emerged in the pre-state (Yishuv) period and served the Jewish population in what was then known as Palestine. It was a modern system based on progressive educational philosophies. Hebrew education was affiliated with the Zionist movement. It was totally mobilized to inculcate strong nationalist feelings in the younger generation, including a desire for them to become pioneers in laying the foundation for the future state and a willingness to sacrifice their personal dreams for the benefit of the entire nation. In that sense, all Hebrew education was political education which served a nationalist social movement. Interestingly, Arab public schools also assumed a nationalist character during this early period. Their students and teachers

took part in protest actions against Zionism, Jewish immigration, and settlement in Palestine.

Political education in the schools during the Yishuv period took on several forms. First, all school subjects revolved around Zionism: Jewish history, the Bible, Hebrew language and literature, and Jewish studies. The latter emphasized the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their homeland after 2,000 years of exile. The study of geography, for example, was designed to inculcate love and devotion to the land of Israel. Textbooks were written like tourist guides. They invited youngsters to explore the beauty of their country. Even problems in arithmetic were related to calculation of, for example, the age of Jewish settlements, the size of farms, and the income of the Jewish National Fund.

Secondly, a specific school subject was introduced entitled "Zionist citizenship." It was felt that the term "citizenship education", was more suitable for mature states in which established traditions were transmitted to the younger generation. By contrast, the goal of Zionist education in the pre-state period was to produce a pioneer, an innovator, a rebel who would question Jewish existence in the Diaspora. It was, therefore, decided that education for "Zionist citizenship" would consist of the history of the Jewish people and the land of Israel, the Jews during the Diaspora, activities of the Zionist movement in Palestine, and the structure of the Zionist and of the Jewish community's institutions in Palestine.

Thirdly, national holidays and memorial days were celebrated in schools. Students actively participated in these festivities (e.g., on Arbor Day, students planted trees). Students also participated in community projects, such as assisting agricultural settlements and collecting money for the national funds. This political education was mainly affective, with critical and cognitive dimensions neglected.

In the pre-state period, as well as during the first years of statehood, the educational system was politicized in other ways, too. Until 1953, when the Israeli Parliament passed the State Law on Education, the educational system was divided into so-called "educational streams." These represented different scenarios concerning the outlines for the future state. In the pre-state period, these "streams" were affiliated with the various factions within the Zionist movement. Following the establishment of the state, they were linked to political parties. These streams were the general liberal, the labor/socialist, and the religious. Following the establishment of the Israeli

state, Ben-Gurion (one of the chief architects of the state and its first prime minister) advocated the idea of "statehood." This meant unity among the various social groups and precedence for national interests over sectorial ones. The implementation of statehood included replacing politically affiliated pre-state services with centralized state services. The educational system underwent depoliticization and unification as provided in the 1953 Education Law. The educational system played a leading role in creating national unity, based on achieving consensus. To avoid the discussion of controversial issues, politics was banned within the schools.

The depoliticization of the school system helped to obscure Israeli political divisions and public ideological controversies. Wide rifts existed, for example, between religious and nonreligious Jews, as well as between right- and left-wing political parties. These political controversies are primarily ideological, concerning different concepts and images of what Israel should be. In this sense, as a country that throughout its existence absorbed immigrants (most recently large numbers from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia), Israel can be viewed as an emerging society, one still in the making.

The depoliticization of the educational system greatly affected the nature of schoolroom political education. Controversial issues were either avoided or dealt with abstractly and theoretically. Issues that occupied a central place in the daily news were ignored. This gradually changed over the years. More recently, teaching materials were introduced to deal with more sensitive and controversial topics. These include ethnic relations, Arabs and Jews, orthodox and nonorthodox Jews, and subjects high on the public agenda. This includes the recent Palestinian uprising on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The Ministry of Education and Culture directed educators to discuss divisive and sensitive issues with their students. Educational policy has changed over the years from leaving all controversies outside the school to granting schools the legitimacy to deal with sensitive and debatable issues. This change in policy is not yet fully reflected in textbooks and school practices.

In a recent study (Ichilov, 1986), civic education and social science teachers in Israeli high schools were asked to comment on the statement: "civic education textbooks are very suitable for civic education." Most of the respondents objected to it, with only 2.3% of the them accepting the statement without reservations. Then, the teachers were requested to specify the

most-covered and most-neglected topics in teaching materials. Subjects which predominate in textbooks represent formal-legal topics and governmental structures. Neglected subjects included both universalistic values (such as tolerance, gender egalitarianism, and law and order) and national values (such as love of country, absorption of immigrants, and respect for the national flag, anthem, and emblem). Current textual materials are of little use to teachers who want to join the change in educational policy through discussing public issues and topics in the classroom.

Political education in Israeli schools today is very similar to that provided in the US and other Western democracies. It is not as emotional and ideological as was education for Zionist citizenship in the Yishuv period. Instead, it consists of factual knowledge about political institutions and analytical thinking, using social science concepts.

20.4 A Taxonomy of Democratic Citizenship Dimensions

Democracy has had many incarnations over time in various societies. It elicits such a variety of meanings for individuals and groups that one should speak of many "democracies" rather than a "democracy." The objectives of political education are drawn, explicitly or implicitly, from one's perceptions about the nature and characteristics of democratic citizenship within a particular society, political culture, and historical period. It is, therefore, important to identify the dimensions used as building blocks to create the numerous role models for citizenship in different democracies. The taxonomy presented in this chapter is an attempt to lay out the basic dimensions of democratic citizenship which are rooted in these diverse democratic philosophies and traditions. These dimensions will later be used as categories for the content analysis of Israeli textbooks. (For a detailed analysis of the theoretical background on which this taxonomy is based, see Ichilov, 1990, pp. 11-25.)

The concept of citizenship is analyzed using 10 dimensions that differentiate among the various aspects of this role. These dimensions have been further divided and discussed in terms of eight dichotomous factors and two three-dimensional facets, all of which are shown in Table 1. The categories in the taxonomy represent alternative considerations which may guide citizenship actions and inaction. The ordering of the elements within each dimension represents a hierarchy. For example, these facets may range from

"less" to "more" on a particular dimension, or from "easy" to "difficult", or from "simple" to "complex", and so forth.

Table 1: The 10 dimensions of citizenship, broken into facets.

1. Theoretical vs. practical	6. Value orientation
1a. Verbal adherence to principle	6a. Particularistic
1b. Actual behavior	6b. Universalistic
2. Attitudinal orientation	7. Participatory objective
2a. Affective	7a. Expression of consent
2b. Cognitive	7b. Expression of dissent
2c. Evaluative	
3. Motivational orientation	8. Participatory means
3a. External/obligatory	8a. Conventional
3b. Internal/voluntary	8b. Unconventional
4. Action orientation	9. Domains of citizenship
4a. Inactive	9a. Political
4b. Passive	9b. Civic/social
4c. Active	
5. Means/ends orientation	10. Arenas of citizenship
5a. Instrumental	10a. National
5b. Diffuse	10b. Transnational

The first dimension, "Theoretical vs. practical", differentiates between verbal support of a principle and actual behavior. It is assumed that verbal commitment alone is less valuable to a democracy than is the willingness to engage in actual behavior. Voting, for example, represents a greater commitment to democracy than verbal support of elections. Verbal and actual behaviors are interrelated in the sense that behavior may not only result from support of a principle but lead to support of one as well.

The second dimension, "Attitudinal orientation", is divided into the affective, cognitive, and evaluative facets of responses toward a particular citizenship object. It is assumed that affection represents a less-sophisticated approach than cognition and evaluation. Evaluation, however, can reflect emotions and cognition simultaneously.

The third dimension, "Motivational orientation", refers to the source of individual obligation and distinguishes between external/imposed stimuli and internal/voluntary preferences. Acting upon external pressure reflects a

weaker internalization of, and commitment to, democratic values and norms than does voluntary action.

The fourth dimension, "Action orientation", is comprised of three facets: inactivity, passivity, and activity. It is assumed that inactivity is generally the least desirable response, reflecting apathy and indifference. When inactivity signifies passive resistance, however, or withdrawal due to resentment, it may overlap with either the active or the passive dimension, depending on the circumstances.

The fifth dimension, "Means/ends orientation", differentiates between instrumental and diffuse considerations of others. It is assumed that the diffuse perspective is more desirable since it represents a more total consideration of others, compared with the instrumental view of people merely as the means for furthering personal or social ends.

"Value orientation", the sixth dimension, differentiates between the particularistic and universalistic orientations of actors. In this case, the salience and valence assigned to each perspective depends on the history and heritage of a particular society. In new democratic states, for example, it can be assumed that particularistic considerations will have precedence over universalistic ones. Contrarily, in mature democracies these two facets may be more equally balanced.

In the seventh dimension, "Participatory objective", a distinction is made between expression of consent and dissent. While both facets are important, expressions of dissent are considered more difficult, usually taking more civic courage than expressions of consent. Similarly, concerning the eighth dimension, "Participatory means", it is assumed that the use of unconventional means may reveal greater daring and imagination than conventional means.

The last two dimensions, "Domains of citizenship" and "Arenas of citizenship", refer to the scope or sphere of citizenship. In both cases, the broader, more inclusive view is considered to be the more effective and fully developed trait. This means relating citizenship to a plurality of civic/social domains, rather than restricting it to the political sphere; it also means extending the arena beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. It reflects, for example, concern about global issues (such as war and peace and the environment) and, in the domestic sphere, "citizen involvement in causes, movements, organizations, or groups be they PTA or Boy Scouts, suicide

prevention centers or the Sierra Club, antivivisection league or dog-curbng crusades" (Sigel and Hoskin, 1981, p. 40).

These dimensions are the building blocks for a plurality of citizenship role patterns in democracies. These patterns can be arranged along a continuum from a narrow to a broad definition of citizenship. The narrowest extreme involves verbal support of principles (based primarily on affection) and is characterized as obligatory and passive. Particularistic and instrumental orientations provide its guidelines. It expresses conventional consent and perceives citizenship as related to objects exclusively in the political domain, within a national arena. The broadest extreme consists of actual behavior (based upon cognition and evaluation) and is characterized as voluntary and active. A diffuse orientation guides it and reflects the more equal balance between universalistic and particularistic orientations. It may include expression of dissent via unconventional methods. Citizenship is perceived as related to a plurality of civic/social domains, including the national and transnational arenas.

The dimensions outlined in this chapter may have a variety of applications in political education. For policy makers, curriculum builders, and teachers, this taxonomy may be suggestive of the kinds of objectives that should be pursued through diverse educational activities and materials. It can also be instrumental in reevaluating existing textbooks, teacher-training programs, and classroom and school practices. In the present work, we shall use it to answer the question: After examination, what do Israeli textbooks tell youngsters about democratic citizenship?

20.5 The Study of Israeli Textbooks

The materials analyzed consisted of 184 textbooks in various school subjects, all used in Israeli elementary, junior high, and high schools. These books serve diverse student populations within academic and vocational schools, state, and religious state schools. It does not include textbooks which are used exclusively in Arab state schools. (The public educational system consists of religious state schools, state schools, and Arab state schools. Israeli citizens, including Arabs, may select the type of school that best suits their children.) The number of books analyzed per school subject is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of textbooks analyzed by subject.

Subject	Number
Civic education	38
Social sciences	45
Jewish studies	28
Literature (readers)	18
Social studies	27
Extracurricular activities	28
Total	184

At the elementary school level, we have analyzed materials in social studies and readers in literature. Junior high school materials included Jewish studies and civic education and, in the high schools, social sciences, civic education and Jewish studies. Also included were materials produced for a variety of extracurricular activities.

The rationale for this selection was that the major direct and intended effort to socialize for democracy is made through social studies in the elementary school and through civic education and social sciences in the junior high and high schools. The social sciences represent general concepts of social and political order, while civic education emphasizes the structure of Israeli government. Jewish studies portray the particularistic dimension of citizenship. The topics covered here often overlap with those discussed in civics books, illuminating issues using the vantage point of the Jewish tradition. These subjects include, for example, labor relations, law and order, the public domain, treatment of minorities, and the community.

Categories for the content analysis were drawn from the preceding taxonomy of democratic citizenship objectives/results, emerging from the texts themselves.

20.6 Research Findings

First, we should consider the number of text pages devoted to key topics in the various school subjects. The data are presented in Table 3.

Concerning instructional materials used at the junior high and high school levels, the data shown in Table 3 reveal that the structural/legal dimension (representing factual knowledge of Israeli political institutions) is most em-

phasized in civics and social studies/sciences. Next, but at a great distance away, appear social problems and the Israeli-Arab conflict, also mentioned. Economic issues are discussed somewhat, while national and Jewish symbols and values and the topic of the individual and society occupy only marginal places. About half of the materials included in Jewish studies were dedicated, as one might expect, to treatment of Jewish symbols and holidays. The Israeli-Arab conflict and the individual and society were marginally represented here as well. Materials designated for extracurricular activities emphasized national and Jewish symbols, with some emphasis on the structural/legal dimensions of citizenship.

Table 3: Space allocated to key topics within school subjects (in %).

Key topics	Civics	Social Sciences	Jewish Studies	Social Studies	Literature Readers	Extra-curricular Activity
Structural/legal	31.0	55.1	23.0	40.5	-	25.1
Social problems	20.0	15.0	6.5	3.8	-	5.7
Social concepts	4.7	5.2	0.6	2.4	-	1.0
Jewish holidays, symbols & values	8.0	7.6	49.2	22.0	66.3	22.6
National symbols & values	1.1	1.1	15.8	13.0	15.7	25.1
Economic issues	13.4	11.3	0.6	7.0	-	2.0
Israeli-Arab conflict	21.2	-	0.2	0.8	-	3.0
Individual & society	0.6	4.7	4.1	10.5	18.0	15.5
Total pages	1748	274	1928	1893	3531	1624
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Materials used at the elementary school level in the social studies once again emphasize the structural/legal dimensions. This is followed, at a great distance and with different degrees of emphasis, by Jewish values, national symbols and values, and the individual and society. Social problems and the Israeli-Arab conflict are treated marginally. In literature, the readers'

dominant subject is holidays. At a great distance and with a similar degree of emphasis, the individual and society, national symbols, and Jewish symbols follow.

Next, we examined the frequency which various democratic orientations received within school subjects. These orientations were derived from the taxonomy presented earlier. However, Tables 4 and 5 include only those orientations which actually appeared in school textbooks. The data presented in Tables 4 and 5 use as the unit of analysis the number of references (concerning a specific orientation) made in textbooks for each school subject.

Overall, the number of references to passive civic orientations was much larger than the number of active ones. Similarly, the number of particularistic was twice the number of universalistic orientations. The number of political orientations was about 2.5 times larger than that of civic/social orientations, while the number of references made to the local arena was more than six times larger than those for the international arena.

By subject matter, the social sciences barely represented all of the democratic citizenship orientations. The percentages ranged between 3.1% of the total references made to the political domain to 7.1% concerning the civic/social domain.

Concerning civics, the political domain was the most prevalent. Furthermore, 53.1% of all references made to this dimension were included in civics. References to the national arena were also frequent (34.6% of all references). The active dimension, however, was almost twice as large as the passive one; particularistic and universalistic orientations were similarly stressed.

Jewish studies emphasized (almost twice as much) the passive over the active dimension and the particularistic over the universalistic. However, the civic/social domain was mentioned much more frequently than the political domain (21.4% and 3.1%, respectively).

Social studies represented almost equally both the active and passive and the political and civic/social dimensions. Also included were three of the four references made to the transnational arena, more than a third of the references to the universalistic dimension, and 28.1% of the references concerning particularistic orientations.

Materials designated for extracurricular activities represented the active (more than the passive) dimension and the civic/social more so than the political. The national and transnational dimensions were similarly represented; they included about a quarter of the references concerning each dimension. The universalistic dimension was slightly more emphasized than the particularistic one.

20.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Support of democracy is a learned behavior that is vital for the existence and survival of democracies. Yet the concept of democracy is very complex, whether taken from a philosophical, institutional, historical, and/or behavioral perspective. These complex ideas must be within the intellectual reach of the average person or the perpetuation of the democratic way of life could be endangered (Saratori, 1976). Studies have shown that even in veteran democracies (such as the UK and the US), adolescents have difficulty in comprehending various meanings of the term "democracy" (Sigel, 1979; Abramson and Hennessey, 1970).

Table 4: Frequencies of democratic action and value orientations in school subjects (in %).

	Action Orientation		Value Orientation	
	Active	Passive	Particularistic	Universalistic
Social studies	4.3	3.7	3.2	5.9
Civics	21.0	11.0	15.5	15.3
Jewish studies	16.0	30.4	31.0	14.7
Social studies	24.0	28.2	28.1	35.3
Extracurricular activities	34.7	26.7	22.2	28.8
Total references	322	464	338	170

Table 5: Frequencies of arenas and domains of democratic citizenship in school subjects (in %).

	Arenas of citizenship			Domains of citizenship		
	Nat'l.	Trans-nat'l.	Unspecified	Political	Civic/Social	Combined
Social studies	3.9	-	3.2	3.1	7.1	5.4
Civics	34.6	-	32.2	53.1	14.3	16.2
Jewish studies	11.5	-	-	3.1	21.4	10.8
Social studies	23.0	75.0	51.6	21.9	21.4	46.0
Extracurricular activities	27.0	25.0	13.0	18.8	35.8	21.6
Total references	26	4	31	32	14	37

Since textbooks are a central component of political education, the purpose of the present study was to examine what features of democratic citizenship are thereby communicated to Israeli youngsters, as well as which ones are neglected. Based on the content analysis of textbooks presented in this work, one may conclude that textbooks generally conveyed a narrow definition of democratic citizenship. The dimensions that were mentioned most frequently were passive, particularistic, national, and political orientations. The major emphasis was on the legal and structural aspects of Israel's government. There was no discussion of the problems of democracy, in general, and of Israeli democracy, in particular. Very little attention was paid to the international arena, or to issues such as gender egalitarianism, ecology, and ethnic oppression. Many of the conventional and the less-conventional avenues through which citizens can exert political influence were seldom, if at all, discussed.

Democratic schools should consider exposing youngsters to the full range of citizenship topics and orientations, thereby enabling them to adopt those that best suit them. Findings from this research project suggest that Israeli textbooks should be reformed to meet this basic requirement of schooling in all democratic societies.

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21 *Political Education in China*

21.1 Abstract

There is an extensive system and an intensive process of political education in China; both are directed and controlled by the Communist Party and the Chinese government. The party sees itself both as an organizer and as an educator. The purpose of education is to indoctrinate people into the communist ideology and to strengthen their loyalty to the party, the system, and the government. Communist ideology and the political education process played a role of paramount importance in the founding of communist China. They continued to work well for the leadership through the 1970s. Since then many events have occurred in China and, with a new generation, the Chinese government has continued efforts to improve the political education system to meet new challenges. Yet, how does the current system work and to what extent does it contribute to shaping political attitudes and public opinion in the process of political socialization?

This chapter partially answers these questions. Currently, the political education system in China can no longer guarantee the indoctrination of people

into communist ideology, no matter how sophisticated and powerful it is. A new era has come for the Chinese people. They are not willing to take for granted all that they are taught. But even when they are able to find some room for their own thoughts, what is available for them to think about? Again, communist ideology and its educational process are the only things that most of them have access to. So, most people have little chance to develop new ideas, especially democratic ones. For this reason students were not politically well prepared for the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations. In fact, when soldiers confronted them then, the song they chanted for inspiration and courage was the "Internationale", a long-revered and famous communist song.

21.2 Introduction The Role of Political Ideology and Education in China

From the middle of the 19th century to the middle of 20th century, after the collapse of the empire and foreign invasions, China was struggling for its independence and a new form of unity. It was a period of suffering and chaos. The Chinese people lost their pride and their sense of being "in the middle of the world." In 1949, the Communists attained the goal of unity for the Chinese people. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong, the founding father of communist China, announced in Tiananmen Square: "The Chinese people are standing up from now on" (Mao, 1969). People burst into cheers or tears, as if expressing religious fervor as evidence of their political enthusiasm. Both the common people and their leaders believed communism was an invincible truth in the irresistible trend of world history. This had led them to the new China and to restoration of their morale and a common vision. Following communism, China would become a utopian society, once more outstanding in a world split into two camps: capitalist and communist.

Since then, the whole society has been politicized. Communist ideology has penetrated all aspects of peoples' lives. Political education permeates all processes of education; communist ideology is not only one important part of the content of education, but also provides the basic guideline for the whole of education. As Mao stated : "Education must serve proletarian politics and the goal of education is to create successors in the course of the proletarian revolution" (Ibid., p. 154).

There are three dimensions of communist ideology, each corresponding to an aspect of political education. First, is the belief that a communist society

will reach a summit in human history. The main world religions did not have a strong influence on Chinese society. Communism (which is a radical atheism) made Chinese society even more secular. It criticized all religions, including traditional faiths, such as Confucianism. The government expected that communism would generate faith in this future utopia, thus giving people a spiritual meaning for their lives. The Central Committee reinforced the central task of political education to establish popular belief in communism.

Second, Chinese communist ideology is a form of "social science" based on the works of Karl Marx. Chinese students are taught over and over again that communism is not only an ideal, but also a "science." It has already been proven to be historically true. Students are required not only to believe in communism, but also to understand it. The government requires students to master the four parts of Marxist theory : philosophy, economics, "scientific socialism", and the history of communist movements. All four help to explain how societies go from a primitive to a feudal and then to a capitalist stage. The latter cannot solve its many class-based problems and contradictions and must disappear. As a result, society irresistibly moves through a socialist society, finally arriving at communism, the ideal society for human beings.

Third, people should also put communism into practice. Communism here is seen as a sort of morality which sets norms for behavior. To be a communist or Marxist is the same as to be a good person. Based on communist ideas, the Chinese government tries to educate people to be collectivistic. During the whole process of political education, individualism and "capitalist liberalization" are severely criticized. The model of a good person is the one who is loyal to the party, is ready to sacrifice himself for the party and the people, and dedicates himself to the cause of "socialist construction."

An important point is that political education in China puts much weight on criticizing capitalism, capitalist theory, and capitalist values. It seems that the Chinese government always feels the danger of "peaceful evolution into capitalism." So, whenever there is some evidence for "capitalist influence" from the West, there must be some reaction to this influence through renewed political education. In an extreme case, a political campaign could be initiated. In 1965, just before the cultural revolution when Mao believed that the Soviet Union had changed its socialist nature, he said "the capitalists have put their hope of peaceful evolution' on the third or fourth Chinese

generations, so we have to maintain sharp vigilance and do a good job of cultivating the successors of the cause of the proletarian revolution" (Ibid., p. 154). In October 1991, when the Soviet Union transformed itself, the Chinese National Education Committee issued a political document saying "now the central task of political education is to prevent "peaceful evolution."

In general, political education in China plays a coordinating role. It brings together education in belief, political science, and morality; all three aspects come from communist ideology. Its goal is to create faithful, informed, and dedicated communists, who are safely immunized from the capitalist virus.

21.3 The System and Process of Political Education in China

21.3.1 Political Classes

What are called "political classes" are required from elementary school all the way through university. They are seen as one part of the basic course at each level of education. In elementary schools, the political course is called "common political knowledge" and includes general Marxist ideas and interpretation of history. In high schools, there are two political courses required: (1) "the common knowledge of dialectical materialism", a basic part of Marxist philosophy, and (2) "the history of social development", which is a version of social history and civilization from the Marxist point of view. In universities, there used to be "theoretical political courses" required of all students regardless of their majors: (1) Marxist philosophy, including "dialectical materialism" and "historical materialism"; (2) Marxist political economics; and (3) the history of the Chinese Communist Party. In recent years, the government has been making efforts to improve those courses. One method is to eliminate repeating material taught in high school and elementary school. They have also tried to make general Marxist theory relevant to the "Chinese socialist revolution and construction." So, a new system for "theoretical political courses" has been initiated on a trial basis over the past few years. Those courses are: (1) "basic Marxist theory", including Marxist philosophy, political economics, and so-called "scientific socialism"; (2) "Chinese socialist construction", which is the result of combining Marxist theory with Chinese practice; and (3) "the history of the Chinese revolution", which replaces "the history of the Chinese Communist Party" with an expanded historical background.

In universities, the department undertaking those courses used to be called the "Marxist-Leninist teaching and research office." It was directly under the leadership of the university Communist Party Committee. In recent years, many such offices have changed their name to "Social Science Department" without changing either their systems or functions. Faculty members in these departments are encouraged to make personal contact with students and to do "political ideological work" with them. In comprehensive universities, all social science and humanities classes must follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism. All the social sciences and humanities are thought to have their "specific class brand." This is to say, they either stand for the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

In addition to political theory courses, there is another class named "moral cultivation" which is also required of all college students, regardless of their majors. This course teaches communist morality, highlighting collectivism and discipline, with critical views on individualism and "capitalist liberalization." This class also teaches the communist way and philosophy of life. Its goal can be summarized as "helping to create new people with the four so-called "to have" aptitudes: (1) the "ideal"; (2) the "morality"; (3) the "culture"; and (4) the "discipline." All of this the Chinese senior leader, Deng Xiaoping has endorsed (Deng, 1986). The "Moral Education Office" of universities, under the leadership of the Communist Party Committee, teaches this course.

Entrance exams for students entering graduate schools have political theory as a very important requirement for admission. In addition to covering the contents of all undergraduate political courses, the exams also include questions about current issues, usually concerning current political policies and party propaganda. Exams may also contain some questions requiring students to confess their faith and favorable political attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism, socialism or communism, and the Party.

21.3.2 Political Education and Collective Life

The more effective political education process is conducted through "collective life" rather than in classrooms. "A class" in Chinese universities means more than a course; it also means a unit or group of students with the same major and grade. They will study and live together from their registration all the way through graduation. For example, "'90 Management" represents the group of students in management registered together in 1990.

These students will study together because most courses for any major are required. They usually have their own classroom and are assigned to one dormitory with their rooms close to one another. Thus, each class forms a stable community in which students can find their common identity.

There are three organizations of students in each class: the class committee deals with daily affairs of the class; the Communist Youth League Branch and Communist Party Branch help to do the "political ideology work" for the class. A Communist Party Branch in each class is usually formed. A handful of people holding party membership are its leaders. Most college students only become members of the Communist Youth League after one or two years of college. The whole class usually meets once a week to study assigned political materials and to discuss current political issues. The Youth League Branch holds "political study meetings." This Branch also has its own meetings in each class (called "organization life"), during which members of the Youth League study and discuss political documents issued from the top. They also do "criticizing and self-criticizing" among themselves for any deviation from party discipline and evaluate other students in their class who have applied for membership in the Communist Youth League.

The Party Branch in a class also has its "organization life", in which party members in a class do the same thing as the Youth League. Communist Party membership is not only a symbol of political standing, but also a symbol of morality; furthermore, it is important for a student's future. Many students apply for membership in the Youth League; after attaining it, they apply for Party membership, which has stricter entrance criteria. To earn membership in the Communist Youth League is relatively easier in colleges than in high schools. Yet, even in college it is very difficult to achieve party membership. People who really want it have to work hard to show their sincerity and fidelity to the party. They must also show their political maturity and faith, as well as demonstrating Communist morality.

"Fudaoyuan" (who are faculty members assigned to be in charge of each class) play a very important role as political advisors for political education. They designate the "class cadres" and class leaders such as the class monitor and secretary of the Youth League Branch. Leaders thereby achieve access to all advantages available in the university. Fudaoyuan also nominate recipients of scholarships and other honors; they also qualify candidates for party membership. Consequently, they can easily control their

classes. Class cadres and party members in classes are responsible for reporting on the "political behavior" of their classmates to the Fudaoyuan. When something is wrong with a student, the Fudaoyuan will come to him or her and have a "heart to heart talk" to help solve the problem. At the end of each academic year and upon graduation, the Fudaoyuan will give each student a "political appraisal." This is filed in one's permanent personnel records. Such appraisals are important for a student's career after graduation. Based on such records, the government assigns jobs to all college graduates. Fudaoyuan are under the leadership of the Party General Branch of each department, which in turn is under the leadership of the Party Committee at the university level. The Communist Youth League works under the party and has a similar organization. Thus, all students are organized in one big system under the leadership of the Party. Before the recent economic reforms, the Party Committee had to perform administrative duties. Now, Party affairs and administration are differentiated; the main job of the Party Committee is political education. In recent years, both the Party Committee at the university level and the Party General Branch at the department level have opened Party schools where "Party classes" are offered to students.

In addition to the regular process of political education, a political movement or campaign could occasionally be initiated to strengthen and refresh group ideology or to rectify any seeming deviation from the Party line. After the "Great Cultural Revolution", the biggest political campaign was entitled "Opposing Spiritual Pollution."

21.4 System Failures, But It Still Counts

The Chinese political education system worked very well until the cultural revolution. The fact that the Communist Party successfully mobilized people, especially youth, to throw themselves into successive political movements demonstrates its effectiveness. This includes the Cultural Revolution, as well as ridiculous economic campaigns such as the "great leap forward", the establishment of the "people's commune", and the "mass production of steel and iron." Even after those economic campaigns totally failed (because of Party leaders' mistakes), people still cooperated in the struggle through the subsequent "three years' difficulty." This was a time when almost every Chinese suffered from starvation. When recalling that period,

many people reported that a belief in communism and faith in the party sustained them.

After the Cultural Revolution, the following economic reformation, and the policy of opening China's doors to outsiders, the political education system could not reverse the fact that the light of communism was becoming dimmer and dimmer. The process of political education became nothing more than routine work and burdensome memorization. Yet, it still exists, if only because it is compulsory.

In 1988, the Shanghai Education Committee conducted a survey among 2063 students at 18 Shanghai universities to assess their attitudes concerning Marxism and the Communist Party. The survey showed that 87% of the respondents felt that university students had no interest at all in classes on Marxism. When reasons were asked, 29% said that the principles of Marxism are good, but it cannot solve practical problems today, so it is useless to study it; 10% said that they felt that Marxism-Leninism is obsolete and has no value; 17% said the content taught is the same as in middle school; and 22% said that teachers' lectures are poor and provide no new material (Zhao, 1988, p. 29).

As Table 1 indicates, there were quite a number of students joining the party each year from 1984-1986. But when questions were asked about their motivation, only 4% of 2036 respondents said they believe in communism and want to make a political/social contribution; 59% of the respondents said that people joined the party because they wanted a "party card" which they can use as capital to receive future benefits (Ibid., p. 30). Not only are the students tired of such compulsory political brainwashing, the people who do the political-ideological work in universities also have become demoralized. Many of them want to change their profession. Tables 2 and 3 from another survey among universities in Beijing illustrate this fact as well as the reasons why (Li, 1987, pp. 138-139).

Table 1: University students in Beijing and Communist Party membership.

	1984	1985	1986
Total number of university students	105,307	125,861	137,282
New Party members recruited	3,096	6,072	5,879
Total number of Party members	8,678	13,562	15,833

Source: Wang, et al., 1987, pp. 180-187.

Table 2: Beijing university-level political-ideological work cadres' desire (not) to continue their work (multiple reasons allowed) (in %).

University/School	Want to continue	Do not want to continue	Hope to transfer out
Qinghua	0.0	73.0	20.0
Beijing	12.5	50.0	37.5
Normal	7.7	51.3	25.6
Engineering	41.2	23.5	29.4
Teacher's College	37.5	37.5	17.5
Steel Institute	12.8	79.5	23.1
Capital Medical	50.0	6.3	27.6
Forestry	27.8	55.6	44.5
Northern Communication	37.5	37.5	25.0

Source: Li, 1987, p. 138.

There are widespread feelings among political-ideological cadres (including political teachers and advisors) that they are held in low social esteem. The younger ones also feel uncertain about the political future of China and for themselves. Many of them find their work meaningless because they cannot teach the content of their academic interests. Furthermore, their teaching is always subject to political censorship.

In the later part of 1980s, the repeated university students' demonstrations clearly indicated the failure of political education for the new generation. There are some particularly memorable dates every year when people celebrate past protests against imperialists and feudal rule in Chinese history. Most of these demonstrations are under Communist Party leadership with university students' help; but, now, university students are likely to use these dates to express their own political dissatisfaction. Consequently, these dates regularly frustrated the communist government because it has to

watch things closely to prevent the students from turning

Table 3: Reasons why Beijing work cadres do not want to continue political work (multiple reasons allowed) (in %).

Univesity/ School	Did not receive good evaluations	Fear of political changes	Useless for one's future	Political work is mean- ingless	Fear making political mistakes	Cannot use studied material
Qinghua	100.0	53.33	6.7	-	-	-
Beijing	43.8	37.50	31.3	6.3	-	12.5
Normal	60.0	56.40	28.2	5.1	-	15.4
Engineering	64.7	52.30	23.5	5.9	5.8	-
Teacher's	55.0	35.00	30.0	5.0	10.0	-
Steel	15.5	46.20	7.7	41.0	7.7	-
Capital	25.0	62.50	25.0	-	-	-
Forestry	22.2	50.00	11.1	50.0	5.6	-
Northern	87.5	75.00	25.0	-	12.5	-

Source: Li, 1987, p. 139.

an official demonstration into a popular protest. Before the communists took over, the Communist Party led most such student movements. As Mao Zhedong once said, "whoever suppresses student movements never has good results" (from a well-known in China, but unpublished, speech). Yet now, after university students have turned against the government, it is the Communists' turn to forcibly repress students. In evaluating the job which the Communist government has done in recent years, Den Xiaopin once said: "Our biggest lesson of the past is not having paid enough attention to education" (Den, 1986, p. 2). But right after the crackdown on the Tiananmen demonstration, Den Xiaopin changed his statement to read that the biggest lesson was not having paid enough attention to "political education." Nevertheless, there are more intrinsic reasons for traditional political education's failure.

The first thing which destroyed the dominance of communist ideology was the Cultural Revolution. At the front line of the Revolution was the "educational revolution." Just before this Revolution, Mao said: "The domain of

education now has become the kingdom of bourgeois intellectuals, and this phenomenon must be stopped" (Mao, 1969, p. 81). During the Revolution, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zhedong's thoughts became the main course for schooling at all levels. Criticizing bourgeois ideas became the other main subject of education. All the people were judged according to their political attitudes, loyalty to Mao, and the extent to which they devoted themselves to the Revolution. Since everyone wanted to be true revolutionaries, they criticized and persecuted each other and even fought with lethal weapons. At that time, it became so chaotic that all the schools had to be closed until order returned. All of the people who devoted themselves to the Cultural Revolution had a negative experience, especially since it was later officially declared to be completely wrong. The most unhappy with this result were those students known as the "Red Guards." They were sent to the countryside after graduation to receive a peasant "re-education." The nightmare, blood, and tears of the Cultural Revolution taught the Chinese people how dangerous blind faith or worship of a charismatic figure or an ideology could be.

The second effort undermining old beliefs and values was the economic reformation and its drastic social effects. Its power over and effects on social trends seems to have driven people in opposite directions from the goals of political education; however the former was far more powerful than the latter. After the Cultural Revolution and Mao's death, the first big reformation decision which the new leaders made was to shift the central work of the Party from politics to the economy. The Party set up "Four Modernizations" as practical goals to mobilize people for economic reconstruction. The free market mechanism was introduced; being rich then became a permissible ambition. As the society became more economically oriented, people became more materially devoted. The love of money took the place of love for political principles as the dominant social theme. People then dedicated themselves to making money rather than to Communist ideals, although in schools they were still taught old values.

The economic reformation and the resulting process of decentralization encouraged people to be autonomous, successful, and creative. This also posed a serious challenge to political education, which required people to have the same faith and values. There was an intense debate among university students about whether or not students should design their own lives. Thereafter, Party leaders forbade its continuance and insisted the Party should plan students' lives, rather than vice versa. But in the new Chinese

society, it seemed that only autonomous people (such as the self-employed) had the best chance to succeed. And it seemed that the society became more and more welcoming toward such people who thought for themselves, rather than toward those who did not. As one author wrote in a newspaper:

"Youth educators expect all people to behave like one or two models and set the limits for all people with one mode of behavior and thinking. What China needs most at present is not millions of duplicates of one model, or many in the form of one. Just the contrary, what China needs now is one in the form of many. That means we need millions of individuals each with his/her own spirit of criticism and creativity, quality and style" (Jiefang Ribao, 1988).

The new policy of opening doors to outsiders and the resultant cultural exchanges also offered people new opportunities to see and to know the democratic life style of Western countries, once viewed as evil incarnate. People have also had opportunities to experience non-Communist ideologies. In fact, the study of Western philosophies was very popular on university campuses in the 1980s. Students even read non-Marxist books in classes on Marxism. Relaxed political controls under the leadership of Hu Yaobang (the officially discredited, former general secretary of the CCP) also contributed to creating an atmosphere in which unorthodox ideas could be discussed. Taken together, though, it appears that the Chinese government deliberately and subsequently exaggerated the degree of Western influence on university students.

All three major aspects of communist ideology are facing collapse in China. The first one to be destroyed was the belief in a communist heaven on earth. The religious glamour of a communist utopia is as vulnerable to replacement as was the personal charisma of Mao Zhedong. People had already waited for a long time and had made sacrifices for their ideal; yet there was no sign that the promised paradise would appear. Many Chinese people might still think that communist ideal is good; but it no longer attracts them, seeming too vague and remote from reality. By contrast, capitalist societies seem to prosper. They appeal more and more to young Chinese intellectuals who suffer from an ever more acute "emigration fever." There has also been a widespread perception of what has been called a "crisis of belief" since the end of the Cultural Revolution.

What has happened and what is happening in China and in the rest of the world put Chinese Marxist theorists and teachers in a very awkward position. This involves two basic principles of Marxist philosophy: first, the

truth of a matter depends only upon its practical outcome. Second, the worth of a political system depends upon its economic productivity. If students accept these two philosophical principles, then they will naturally doubt Marxist theory, social history, and its conclusions about the demise of capitalism. They see that the practice of communism is unsuccessful around the world and the gap in economic productivity between the two worlds remains very large. The boom in special economic zones on the Chinese coast (where the free market system is dominant) offers students a concrete example of the greater efficiency of capitalism. When students find that their political teachers have a hard time explaining what is going on in the world, they discard their dull and dry texts, except to perfunctorily prepare for examinations.

Communist morality seems to have already said "goodbye" to Chinese society. Deteriorating social morale makes the sermons on communist morality in schools sound empty and vague. For example, we may cite this popular saying : "In the '50s, people helped each other; in the '60s, people persecuted each other; in the '80s, people ignored each other." Pervasive corruption in the government also serves as negative moral education. No teachers can prevent students from thinking that, since government officials have thrown away communist morality, why should students stick to it? The campaign to emulate Lei Feng, a soldier who devoted his life to serving the people, had awakened the morale of the Chinese people in the 1950s and '60s. The incumbent government has tried again and again to renew this campaign, yet results have been negligible.

In general, the pillar of political education can no longer support the collapsing building of communist ideology. After the Tiananmen demonstrations and the political changes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we can reasonably assume that communist ideology has been further discredited. With regard to attitudes toward the Party and the government, people's dissatisfaction about their behavior has become transformed into doubts about their legitimacy. Furthermore, it is obvious that university students have become politically apathetic, rather than activist. This is partly due to their past political education. The extensive education which they experienced has not successfully spread communist ideology among them. Yet, it did prevent most of them from acquiring democratic values. Right after the Tienanmen demonstrations, a Chinese political education teacher asked more than 200 of his students about their motivations for attending the demonstrations. About 70% of the students answered that they attended

mainly to protest government corruption. Only 20% answered that they attended mainly to demonstrate for democracy and freedom. Since most attended just to show their dissatisfaction with the government, they only expected the government to improve itself, not to dissolve and form a new democratic government. That is why, when the soldiers confronted them, they sang the "Internationale." Since the government responded with bullets, the students felt that they could do nothing except to wait for whatever the future would bring.

21.5 Acknowledgement

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22 *New Politics and Peace Education?*
European Perspectives

22.1 Abstract

Since 1988, important developments have taken place in international politics. Recognizing our West-European bias or myopia, we just want to mention a few very important ones: the end of the "Cold War", dismantling communist ideology in the former Warsaw Pact countries, reunion of two Germanies, and European Community integration, starting in 1992.

During the 1980s, peace movements (together with theoreticians and practitioners dealing with peace education) focused on conservatism, fatalism, and fear of nuclear weapons and the total destruction of the world.

Now, the situation has changed so dramatically (and, fortunately, positively), we now "only" have to deal with feelings of uncertainty and confusion. Old political structures which once provided us with a measure of "uncertain-certainty" no longer exist.

The main question answered in this chapter is: What can be the task(s) for peace education in the last decade of the 20th century in Western Europe, taking recent developments into account? We think that, theoretically speaking, we also have to deal with new developments in philosophy and the social sciences (e.g., postmodern theories and analyses, which are clearly stumbling blocks for the project of modernity). The outcome of our theoretical undertaking is a more limited and contracted perspective on the politics of peace education for the 1990s, with an eye on a human future in which individuals and groups still play an important role in achieving this task.

22.2 Introduction

"We must accept the fact of imperfection of everything. A thing may be imperfect without being bad" (Jewell Brownstein, 1991, p. 9).

In 1987, hardly anyone would have predicted that the first initiatives would be taken between the superpowers in 1988 for a new policy of *détente*, severely reducing and limiting the number of nuclear weapons to end the Cold War; that in November 1989, the Berlin wall would fall and, as a result, in 1990, the former two Germanies would be unified; or that by 1991, Gorbachev's Soviet *perestroika* would result in the complete rout of communist ideology in the Warsaw Pact countries. Any such predictions would have contradicted nearly everyone's considered prognostications.

Nevertheless, however completely unexpected, this is exactly what happened in the last three years. Moreover, by the end of 1992, the inner borders of countries in the European Community may disappear so that a United States of (Western) Europe will be a fact (despite the recent Danish defection in 1992). At first, this bond between the different states will be based on economics, but we may soon expect it to be enlarged to include financial, political, and other social aspects as well.

For Dutch peace movements and peace educators, these dramatic changes have resulted in a new kind of insecurity. The crucial question has become: What are the goals and ends we need to strive for after these important historical events? In the 1980s, the main focus for peace movements and educators was nuclear disarmament. This issue was, of course, related to both ecological threats and the still-growing economic gaps between the rich countries of the First World and the poor countries of the Third World.

Seen from the perspective of peace education and peace politics, one of the main characteristics of this era was that peace educators believed they could give complete answers to pressing global problems in the form of a blueprint for a peaceful society. They advocated these ideas in their crusade against conservatism, fatalism, apathy, and fears about the total nuclear destruction of the world.

Currently, the (uncertain) certainty about former political structures no longer exists. We have learned that these sudden historical changes did not take place because of any practical effectiveness of the "grand narratives" in the discourse of modernity (i.e., the modern assumption of an autonomous subject and the "*grand récits*" of liberation and emancipation [Miedema, 1991]). On the contrary, for example, the grand narrative of peace educators (that peace education was the human counterbalance against nuclear war and narrowing the gap between rich and poor) often turned into opposite positions in schools. According to Kunneman (1989, pp. 87-88), this happened because these special curricula used Habermasian horizontal communication, yet school practices were embedded in the vertical, hierarchical communication structures of the traditional school, which peace educators were also resisting.

Therefore the main questions guiding our analysis are: What can be the task(s) for peace education in the last decade of the 20th century if we take these developments into account? And, how do we deal with criticisms from postmodernists and neo-pragmatists about the grand narratives of modernity in this context? In this process, we are likely to produce a more restricted perspective on the politics of peace education with an eye on a human future in which individuals and groups still play an important role.

22.3 Restrictions on Peace Education

The most important product of our experiences over the last few years is the insight that we need to recognize that peace, as an object or educational process, cannot be steered or planned. Peace is not feasible. The power, impact, and effect of peace education was enormously overestimated in the 1980s. We really are not able to, and cannot produce, a humane future; we can only strive for it!

The German educational philosopher Rolf Huschke-Rhein (1991) developed some fruitful ideas about peace education possibilities and restrictions, using a few conceptions from systems theory. Following the systems

theoretician Niklas Luhmann, he points to the so-called autopoietic (the Greek *poiesis* = to make) character of the elements of systems, which he refers to as the "quasi democratic aspect" of systems. According to Huschke-Rhein, there is no direct influence from one person to another or from one organization to another. Operations in one system can only have an indirect effect on others by means of "perturbation" (i.e., by giving little pushes and cues moving in the direction of the other system). The autopoietic character of people and organizations requires modesty in our actions, recognition of and respect for everyone's self-determination (autonomy), and self-realization of others and the "other", including nature.

There are theoretical as well as practical consequences for educational theory and educational practice if we follow Huschke-Rhein in using this concept of autopoiesis. Theoretically speaking, it is problematic to fully plan pedagogical processes because of the self-referential character of a system. The internal conditions and circumstances of the system determine which outside pedagogical influences the system will and will not connect. Practically speaking, there can never be a direct, linear, and full-blown effect from the pedagogue or educator on the child, nor is the child "constructable" or "feasible" by his/her activities. One needs to connect to the internal development of the child in this process, giving it some little pushes (i.e., perturbation).

In this context, the concepts of self-consciousness, self-determination, and self-realization are very important. Here, we encounter immediately the hard-core concept of the modernity project, the modern interpretation of the subject (Kunneman, 1989, p. 79). From this, we can learn a lesson for peace education that effects of actions on systems are not calculable. We further ought to reduce our expectations for any changes in the consciousness of our "petitioners." The notion of the pedagogical relation does not mean that the child will be led externally by an adult. Instead, the pedagogue (in the process of perturbation) will provide little impulses, but he/she has to wait to see how this will work out in the child's/student's unique personality system.

22.4 Possibilities for Peace Education

Now that we have limited any pretensions about the broad scope and hope for peace education and have stated what is (in our view) a more realistic

perspective, we may consider some restricted and piecemeal possibilities for peace education.

First of all, we need to use an extensive concept of peace. What we mean here is a broad concept so that attention can be given to an interwoven complex of problems and tasks. These include ecology; peace in the narrow sense of the word; prospects for the future; the complete cultural system; justice; the idea of a participatory and sustainable society; food shortages in certain parts of the world (notwithstanding the global surplus in *toto*); energy policy; population increases; environmental pollution; problems of immigrants and refugees; and, of course, the still-extant problem of (conventional and nuclear) armaments. In peace education, we cannot simply focus on a single issue and expect big changes to happen in all places at the same time. The previously mentioned problems and tasks have a strong internal relation to each other. Even though we sometimes must start somewhere, yet we have to keep in mind the all-embracing, ecological-irenic context of the larger problem.

In the 1970s, critical peace educators especially emphasized the macro and structural sides of international systems. The economic basis for the capitalistic production system was seen as the sting in the flesh of peace. That is why most critical peace pedagogues conceived of meso and micro problem levels (e.g., the acting and thinking habits of individuals) to be less important in terms of possibilities for change. Nevertheless, some of them, such as Wulf (1973, pp.7-19), thought that it might be good (for both pedagogical and motivational reasons) to do more work at the micro level. For example, he wanted to explore important linkages between the macro and the micro levels. However, he also saw the difficulty of a peace-education-with-engagement scenario, in part because of the limited possibilities to exert political influence at the micro level (Miedema, 1986, pp. 13-14).

Although peace education in the school will not produce miracles and will have little direct impact on politics, we should not underestimate its possibilities. In line with our previous remarks, we want to point to the importance of (and the need for) a kind of congruity between the ends-in-view for peace education (including horizontal communication structures) and the communication in, and organization of, the school at the micro and meso levels of interaction.

Through the years, schools have performed a distribution and renewal function when it comes to knowledge and abilities. As separate systems, they

accommodate the transfer of interpretations, value patterns, and expressive schedules. From a critical pedagogical aim, to achieve communicative competence, they also anticipate counterfactually the situation in which the person being educated will be able to act communicatively, measured against the standards of the rationality of knowledge, the solidarity of those involved, and the accountability of the person himself. Within this critical pedagogical view (the hard core of which is the Habermasian theory of communicative action [Habermas, 1984 and 1987]), the school as a pedagogical institution can function as an enabler for the production of social and cultural meaning. It can fulfill its renewal functions as viewed from societal perspectives.

Just like other social subsystems (i.e., the market and the state), the school is relatively autonomous. This freedom allows the school to function, if it will, as a workshop or laboratory. Of course, influence, power, and money are not barred at the school doors. Schools always manifest the dangerous tendency toward over-bureaucratization (i.e., in the form of regulations which teachers themselves demand). Such regulations involve legal status, task setting and definition, or regulations which parents request (Oelkers, 1983, p. 274). Even if schools are publicly funded, they can be subject to market competition. However, schools can react to these colonizing influences not just defensively, but also offensively in practical and constructive ways. In this case, horizontal communications need to be used on the micro as well as on the meso levels. According to Klafki (1985, p. 42), the school ought to give children space for political-democratic experience, to experiment with behaviors, and to prepare optimally for participating in relevant societal processes. But here we return to our starting point: the indirect meaning of peace education for politics.

22.5 The Case of Minority Groups A Test for the Autopoiesis Theorem

We can take the autopoiesis theorem as a basic postulate, describing actions oriented toward peace in contrast to actions oriented toward violence. This signifies the right of other systems to exist (be it persons, groups, organizations, or nature) as a basic point of departure for every interaction and communication in everyday, societal, and political life. This also presupposes the acceptance of diversity as a general value.

When dealing with our extensive peace concept, we mentioned the problem of immigrants and refugees. This is a very pressing issue at the moment in Western-Europe. It will likely become even more critical because we can expect a growing stream of immigrants and refugees coming from the poor areas in the East and South as a result of German unification, open borders in the former Warsaw Pact countries, and the beginning of the European Community's free access and movement policy in the next few years.

Here, we have a very current and relevant test case which enables us to examine whether the autopoiesis theorem can function as a basic postulate for the affluent countries of Western Europe. In our democratic welfare states, with a relatively common political culture operating along with the acceptable principle of political acculturation, is it possible that a number of different cultural ways of life can coexist coequally? (Habermas, 1991). Can the concrete impact of education, for instance, diminish the separation between and distinctions among "black" and "white" schools?

In a number of European countries, the signs are not very hopeful. In Belgium, the extreme-right Walloons recently had an unprecedented electoral victory. Those begging for asylum there still fear for their lives in the "great", unified Germany. France still exhibits its traditional anti-North-African bias. In Eastern Europe, the persecution of the gypsies has almost become a national sport. In the Balkans and the former Soviet Union, ethnic and national minorities are in daily conflict. Anti-Semitism is on the rise, making one wonder if it was ever really unfashionable. A number of mechanisms seem to work simultaneously here: fear about the unknown, and the "strangers" among us; scapegoating; the new nationalism; and replacing old enemy images with new ones.

There is no doubt that Western Europe is, and will remain, a multicultural society. In the Netherlands, a variety of non-European and non-white ethnic groups have established themselves since the 1960s. Traditionally, Holland has had among its inhabitants people from its former colonies of Surinam and the Dutch Indies (Indonesia). There has also long been a rather self-contained Chinese community.

In the 1960s, industries (looking for cheap labor) recruited workers from the Mediterranean area: Spaniards, Italians, Yugoslavs, and especially Turks and Moroccans. These people (initially mostly men, but eventually also women) were ready for tasks the Dutch thought themselves too well-educated for: cleaning work, work on the assembly line, and manual labor.

During the first years of their stay in the Netherlands, it was assumed that the migrants were to stay for only a short period of time. No social, civic, or educational policies were developed for them. The belief was that, in a few years time, the immigrants would return to their homelands. That was not to be the case, however. In the 1970s, when the first generation of immigrants bore children, it became clear to the policy makers at the national and local levels that the immigrants (whatever their ethnic, political, cultural, or religious diversity and backgrounds) must be given some "special" attention.

In the 1990s, a multitude of public policies were deployed to guarantee minorities access to most of the institutions and provisions that other Dutch people have access to. One of these policies is a changed teacher-pupil ratio in primary education; it has been cut in half when a school has many minorities among its school population. For pupils of non-white background, there are special lessons in their own language and culture (for instance Berber-Arabic). Some larger cities have experimental classes where children are taught exclusively in their own language. There is the development of employment projects that focus on the individual needs and capacities of younger workers and women from ethnic minorities. Then, there is a subsidy for projects (in the area of the arts and culture, religion, media, sports, and education) that focus exclusively on one or a few ethnic groups. To further minority participation, acknowledged ("legal") migrants have the right to vote in local elections. There is an increasing number of local council members and aldermen from ethnic minorities; in 1992, it is expected that the first mayor from a non-Dutch background will take office.

In spite of all these policies, recent research and debates show that the integration of ethnic minorities into the Dutch majority has not gone very far as yet. But from a pragmatic perspective (like John Dewey's) that goes beyond democracy as representation and focuses on participation and richness or fullness of communication and interaction between individuals and societal groups, we may pose this question: How successful has integration been in this case (Dewey, 1916/1966)? Integration cannot be conceived of as a one-way process; both the cultural majority and cultural minorities have to integrate themselves within and into one another. This is no "soft" issue since several sharply divided worlds (that hardly communicate with each other) exist today. Among Dutch people, there is an astonishing lack of interest, knowledge, and insight into the minority cultures who live with them in the Netherlands.

On the other hand, there is a lack of understanding among non-Dutch minorities of how their very presence has brought about changes in the daily lives of the native Dutch population: feelings of uncertainty and fear in a world that has not become safer in any way; having to live together, whether you like it or not; and subcultural codes that are slowly (or even rapidly in some cases) disintegrating.

22.6 The Role of Education

We believe that there are a small number of societal institutions that have some power (not "the" power) to function as a vehicle for democratization in a Deweyan (and perhaps Habermasian) sense: the enriching of communication and interaction (Berding, 1991). It is no surprise that these institutions share an educational character; we are thinking especially about compulsory primary and secondary schools, but also about child-care provisions and systems.

In Holland, where schooling is compulsory to the age of 18, primary and secondary education have a lot of opportunities to empower young people. They can instill knowledge and attitudes about cultural orientations other than their own. In this sense, learning to be inter-cultural can be practiced in schools. The national law regarding primary education (4 to 12 years of age) now explicitly states that education must focus on the inter-cultural aspects of Dutch society. Unfortunately, this was discontinued for secondary education (12 to 18 years of age); nevertheless, there are opportunities for all teachers to work in this direction within the subjects of language, history, geography, and civics. The limitations of schooling and schools to further societal change were recognized long ago. That is why schools should work together as much as possible with other, non-educational or semi-educational institutions, such as leisure time clubs, social settlement work, libraries, and the like. Again, the richness of communication and interaction constitute the effectiveness of any such interventions.

A very interesting development is underway in child-care, especially center day care (children up to the age 4) and after-school care (ages 4 to 12). Thanks to new Dutch governmental policies, the number of places in child-care will expand rapidly in the next few years. This will finally close most of the gap between supply and demand. In the larger cities, a large proportion of the total population in day care centers is already non-Dutch. It is expected that this group will increase in size. In child-care as a whole, in-

fants and children from over 40 nationalities and ethnic backgrounds are represented. This means that these new provisions uniquely function not only as a mirror of society, but also as a place where "cultures meet" (i.e., children, parents, and staff alike).

This is very similar to the way in which Dewey (1899/1976, p. 12) once pictured his "ideal" school - as "a miniature community, an embryonic society." Although the first task of child-care is to provide care, its educational (but not merely in the sense of "schooling") and inter-cultural functions should not be underestimated. In the Netherlands (as in other European countries, such as Sweden), many projects and experiments have given us insights into new possibilities for working with inter-cultural childcare. These show us that it is important to focus on both pedagogical and cultural factors in teacher/staff relations with children and parents.

We do not want to leave the impression that child-care is a new sort of panacea now that the real limitations and lessened possibilities of schools have come to light. Certainly not. We must also guard against having too strong expectations on the part of policy makers, parents, minority groups, and society as a whole. Nevertheless, the opportunities for "practicing living together" are too valuable to let them slip through our fingers.

22.7 Modernity, Postmodernity, Pragmatism, and Peace

This is not the place for a profound analysis of the debate between modernists, postmodernists, and (neo-)pragmatists, especially since it can be found elsewhere (Miedema, 1991). We can learn from postmodernists and post-structuralists (like Foucault and Lyotard) about perspectives on peace education by being attentive to the ways science and technology are involved in the dynamics of the (neo-)capitalistic production process. These scholars stress the colonizing effects the social sciences can have on their surrounding lifeworld. For instance, Lyotard (1986) points to the oppression and atrocities that have been committed in the name of the meta-narratives of emancipation and liberation. Foucault's analyses make us aware of the potential for pedagogical complicity in the panoptical and over-disciplining educational system (Foucault, 1975).

From modernists, particularly Habermas (1984 and 1987), we can learn not to surrender, but rather to point to the possibility for practical learning processes. That is to say, we can focus on processes directed to bringing about symmetrical communicative relations. Habermas continues to see history as

a process which carries the necessary (but not sufficient) conditions for humanization and to realize better societies through rational means. In his view, diversity and pluralism are not only problems, but possibilities as well. As he says, "We perceive [the] pluralism of contradictory convictions as an incentive for learning processes; we live in the expectation of future resolutions" (Habermas, 1985, p. 194).

The neo-pragmatists (e.g., Rorty, 1982; Bernstein, 1983) state that if we give up any hope of finding metaphysical comfort in the a priori structure of any possible inquiry, or language, or form of social life, then:

". . . we may gain a renewed sense of community. Our identification with our community - our society, our political tradition, our intellectual heritage - is heightened when we see this community as ours rather than nature's, shaped rather than found. . . . What matters is our loyalty to other human beings clinging together against the dark, not our hope of getting things right" (Rorty, 1982, p. 166).

Bernstein wants to cultivate "the types of dialogical communities in which phronesis, judgement, and practical discourse become concretely embodied in our everyday practices" (Bernstein, 1983, p. 233) in order to deal with pluralism and the irreducibility of conflict grounded in it. He is willing to seek some common ground to reconcile differences through debate, conversation, and dialogue. He states that in democratic politics (which is an encounter among people with different interests, perspectives, and opinions), views and interests are mutually revised, both individually and commonly.

22.8 Conclusion

Our deliberations have led us to advance a much more limited conception of peace education than we would have done just a few years ago. Yet, this "tactical retreat" must not be conceived of as being any form of a "new realism." It is much more like the quest for answers to new problems, where the old ones have lost their place in time. It was because of our awareness of the interconnectedness (and attendant possibilities) of problems in a multitude of areas (as well as on the micro, meso, and macro levels of society) that we previously put forward our extensive conception of peace. In the European situation, the more-restricted and primary problems that have to be tackled are in the area of living together in both old and new groups. Possibilities for schools and other educational institutions to learn this simple formulation can and must be further developed.

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PART V
Reconceptualization, Integration, and the Future

Rüdiger Meyenberg

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23 *Political Education, Germany, and Europe*

23.1 **Abstract**

This chapter emphasizes the link between Europe's future and European political education. Political education was previously based on a nationalistic and provincial point of view, being very attentive to our own countries. Nowadays, with borders falling and different nationalities living everywhere, we have to redirect the aims of political education toward even greater internationalization.

When dealing with political education, we sometimes have to vary our methods of instruction. Learning democracy requires democratic teaching methods. More international political education also means more contact with unfamiliar political institutions, such as the European Parliament and Commission.

Besides learning more about democracy, we have to place topics like environmental problems, questions of international security and disarmament, and poverty at the center of political education. These are international problem areas which cannot be solved alone. No nation/state on its own initiative can do so. By necessity, increasing awareness of a new transnational political education can gradually permeate existing national systems for civic instruction.

23.2 **The Current European Situation**

Beginning in 1989, one Eastern European country after another exhibited political crisis and social turmoil. No ready schemes, plans, or master responses for "peace breaking out" had been prepared in the West. The most difficult question in the FRG was that of German unification. This meant not only uniting two separate states, but also including the former GDR in the European Community (EC) as well as quite different arrangements for all-German links with NATO.

The often-heard slogan of constructing a "new European architecture" has, up to now, been reduced to collecting the rubble of formerly existing organizations. The EC emerged as the only single regional economic organization of considerable operational significance. As a result, it became more and more the focus for new cultural orientations. This is not only the case

for those countries which had applied for association membership but also for the Baltic states and others (like Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Croatia) which were in the midst of sharp internal political and military conflicts. As a consequence, a two-fold task confronts the EC: to consolidate its internal economic and political coherence and to be an active partner in future within this wider European structure, one not yet designed.

We can now see that the EC is presently faced with more new challenges than ever before in its history (e.g., the recent Danish anti-EC political unification referendum). Consequently, there are more questions than answers today. If it cannot resolve its basic internal problems over the next few years, the EC may lose its chance to become one of the more important world political actors in the coming decades.

The EC has been politically constructed much like a national state, using symbols (like flags, emblems, political institutions, etc.) similar to those of nation-states. In the future, it may have a political structure with a parliament, government, and legal powers located in the West (i.e., in Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg). But can the EC structure be the basis for a new "European House?" Is it possible to rule all of Europe using these Western institutions when the Eastern European countries may join the EC in the future?

There are many doubts about whether the political integration of Western Europe will continue on its past course. There will be further integration in economic, domestic, and educational areas, but (although the presidents and prime ministers of EC member states have already partially agreed to it) there may be less integration on political, foreign, cultural, and security affairs.

National member states may actually become more independent (viz., Denmark) and, perhaps, there will be a repeat of the political situation we had after World War II. A new political basis for Europe as a whole is needed, one necessarily including Eastern European countries.

23.3 Young People and Europe What Do They Know?

In the field of European socialization research, useful specialized studies as well as general empirical results are rare. This is due to the fact that European research into political socialization is fairly new in political science. Moreover, it still does not play a very important part in scholarly research.

The concept of "a European attitude" is so complex that statements about the political behavior of young people are true only to a limited extent. Nevertheless, the Shell Study on "youth and Europe" claimed "that among the European youth, there are even detailed European values" (Shell Study, 1977, p. 25).

23.3.1 Political Attitudes of Young People (Empirical Results)

Today, some of what we know about young people and politics indicates that:

- The better-educated they are, the greater their knowledge of political events and interest in politics.
- Pupils and students (compared with working youth) express a greater interest in politics and, thus, are more willing to join an existing political party.
- Boys, on an average, are more interested in politics than are girls.
- Decisions (in the case of choosing political alternatives) are seemingly based on rational reasons, while, in fact, they are often emotional at root (Baake, 1983, p. 133).

The political behavior of young people, their attitudes about political institutions, and their actual and potential political commitment are always of particular interest to social scientists. Whether the political socialization of young people is regarded as "successful" in a particular political system seems to depend on the extent to which they share prevailing social norms and values. A desire for social change among youth causes fear in politicians and often leads to counter-measures on their part. A problem in this connection is the question of what politics means. Does it only refer to the system of activities in which political representatives are engaged or also to any activity which smaller or larger groups use in settling their common affairs? A good case can be made that political activity must not be limited to that of a small number of politicians. Rather, it is a decisive dimension in all human behavior. Unfortunately, this debate cannot be dealt with here in any greater detail, however important it may be.

The Shell Study "Young People and Adults '85" interviewed more than 1,000 youth about their political interests. According to this study, 55% were interested in politics (63% boys, 37% girls), while 45% were completely uninterested in political questions (see Table 1).

Table 1: European youths'/adults' political interest according to sex, 1984 (in %).

Interest	Youth			Adults		
	boys	girls	total	men	women	total
YES	63	47	55	73	43	58
NO	37	53	45	27	57	42
N =	725	747	1472	358	371	729

Source: *Young People and Adults '85*, Vol. I, p. 124.

The 18- to 20-year-olds were particularly politically attentive (54%), while 38% of the 15- to 17-year-olds expressed an interest in politics (see Table 2).

Table 2: European youths' political interest by age, 1984 (in %).

Interest	15-17 yrs.	18-20 yrs.	21-24 yrs.
YES	38	54	68
NO	62	46	32
N =	422	473	577

Source: *Young People and Adults '85*, Vol. 1, p. 124.

As far as the EC political system is concerned, young people have even less knowledge than adults. Only 21% state that they know enough information about the EC. This fact is rather alarming since it shows that the process of European integration is not very much part of youths' experience. This already indicates that an important task is waiting in the wings for educational institutions in the future.

23.4 Europe as an Educational Task

23.4.1 Learning the Objective Europe

In June 1987, the FRG state (*Länder*) Ministers of Culture, Education, and Church Affairs agreed that the subject "Europe" should be taught more intensively in the schools. In this connection, the task envisioned for the school was "to make the pupils aware of the process of rapprochement among the European nations and states, and of the reorganization of their relations by way of setting up a community" (Resolution from the

Conference of the Ministers of Culture, Education, and Church Affairs, June 8, 1987).

This teaching objective aims at enabling young people to recognize their own position and that of their nation in Europe and to fulfill their tasks as EC citizens. In this connection, teachers and pupils are not only to acquire knowledge, but, as the Resolution continues:

" . . . they should also gain personal practical experience, if possible. Special activities, such as teacher and pupil exchanges, visits to the European institutions, participation in European competitions within the framework of the European schoolday, are . . . meaningful additions to the classes, thus helping pupils to form well-founded opinions" (Ibid.).

In this connection, teachers are confronted with a number of difficulties. Although there is no doubt about the objective significance of European integration for the future political, economic, and social life of FRG citizens, most people hardly ever feel directly concerned about the EC or, at least, pupils are not particularly aware of how the EC affects them. Negative impulses (such as anger at agricultural prices or waste in agricultural goods, lack of understanding for stubborn national positions in EC negotiations, contempt for poverty in the marginal regions of the EC, and dislike of Germany's financial burdens due to high EC dues) are the first reactions to be noticed. Any understanding about increasing interdependence in the Community's political, economic, and social living conditions as a result of European integration is rare.

Apart from this, the pace of European integration produces an often-confusing and not easily understandable maze of facts, problems, and questions. Therefore, didactical reduction is unavoidable.

For this reason, the following central guidelines should be considered when treating this subject in the classroom: "the motives of integration; the aims of the treaties, and decision-making processes and competencies of the bodies; democratic involvement of the citizens; perspectives for the future" (Bundeszentrale, 1986, p. 39). In sum, the primary objective of instruction on European integration is to make available to the pupils instruments and criteria for analysis and opinion formation.

23.4.2 Guidelines for Europe in the School Curriculum

Efforts at teaching unification in Europe are reflected in FRG state (*Länder*) guidelines (e.g., Lower Saxony) in many ways. Particularly in social studies on the secondary school level (*Sekundarstufe I*, classes 7 to 10) and in the upper classes of the gymnasium or grammar school (classes 11 to 13), the subject "Europe" is a compulsory part of the curriculum. It is only in the first classes of the grammar school that teachers are not obliged to treat Europe in their classes. Under the heading of "Efforts at unification; people are meeting" as well as "Europe joins together" and "The West-European integration", five to eight lessons are laid down for this subject in the entire secondary school (*Sekundarstufe I* and *Sekundarstufe II*). At first sight, this may seem to be too few. Considering, however, that Europe is also treated in geography, in those subjects promoting technical skills (in Germany, *Arbeitslehre*), and in foreign languages (in Germany, English and French), pupils obtain considerable relevant knowledge. The objective here is for students to become aware of the fact that the European states are politically and economically interdependent and have common historical lines of development. It is not clear, however, to what extent teachers will be able to achieve these objectives with their classes. Here, too, further investigations in future will be necessary to ascertain related results.

23.5 Why Not Venture More Democracy?

"Let us venture more democracy!" So said Willy Brandt, then Federal Chancellor, in his inaugural speech to the German Bundestag on October 28, 1969. The statement was often criticized and even ridiculed. The two main political parties (the more conservative CDU and the more progressive SPD) frequently argued in following years about the socio-political intentions reflected in Brandt's inaugural.

Christian Democrat Party (CDU) members were in favor of democracy as a form of organization for the state, but not as a formative principle for society. By contrast, Social Democrats (SPD) said that democracy was the principle that should govern people's whole social existence. Subsequently, the controversy about more or less democracy characterized a major difference between the two parties. However, we need to discuss if there is really such a thing as "more" democracy. Is the "democratization" of all areas of life what is really meant by "more" democracy?

The concept of democracy, itself, is still controversial, not only among political parties, but also for political scientists. However, even referring to the Athenian polis in the 5th century before Christ, we do not find incontrovertible information on this subject. Consequently, both Wilhelm Hennis (a more-conservative political scientist) and Fritz Vilmar (a more-progressive political scientist) can refer to Pericles' famous funeral oration (as Thucydides reported it) as evidence for counterarguments on the subject (Hennis, 1970, p. 24; Vilmar, 1973, p. 56). Nevertheless, socio-historical and ideological reflection about democracy is important. In this way, we can clarify the real meaning of democracy as well as describing its results and achievements.

In an historical treatise about democracy, one outstanding German historian stated that such Athenian discussions usually dealt with the questions of rule by one person, or by a few, or by the people (Meier, 1970). Although democracy meant "rule of the people", at that time, the term "people" meant only part of the people (namely, those in power or the privileged classes). Consequently, those who had no possessions, the unfree, strangers, or women were excluded from power. From the start, democracy existed in contrast to tyranny, monarchy, or oligarchy. Democracy was the goal for a social order where other than a few people would rule and where everyone could freely participate in those social decisions which affected their personal lives. Thucydides emphasized how important it was for citizens to live freely in Athens (i.e., not constricted by fixed rules from the polis) in contrast with political life in Sparta and other oligarchies. In this respect, there was already a certain sense of freedom from the state (polis) even at that time.

23.6 Clarifying the Basic Concept What is Democracy?

Like political power or interest, democracy is a commonplace concept in politics and political science. In the 19th century, democracy was both a radical and fighting slogan. Nowadays, everyone embraces the concept, including genuinely new democracies as had "the people's community" in the national-socialist *Führer* state of the pre-1945 period. The literal translation of democracy means no more and no less than "rule of the people." But who are "the people?" Who are "the people" to exercise power ("rule")? The basic problem with the concept of democracy consists of three dimen-

sions that are often confused: democracy as a political principle, as a type of state, and as a way of life (Mickel, 1983).

23.6.1 Democracy as a Political Principle

Although discussed in political theory since the late middle ages, the first constitutional declaration about democracy does not appear until 1776 in the American Declaration of Independence and the subsequent Virginia Bill of Rights, where it is stated that: "All power belongs to the people and therefore emanates from them." The basic legitimation of political power from the people is common to all constitutions in both East and West. For example, the German Constitution states that "all state authority emanates from the people" (Basic Law, Article 20). The people exercise their power by means of elections and ballots and special legislative, executive, and judicial bodies. This popular sovereignty means that the basic principle behind opinion formation is "from below to the top." The practical translation of this sovereignty into political decisions can be expressed in two ways: The first is direct popular legislation and the second, the delegation of power to representatives.

One of the most important means for enforcing popular sovereignty and representation is through elections. The universal, equal, free, direct, and secret franchise, therefore, is a basic prerequisite for any democracy. Democracy is often equated with "rule of the majority." In reality, however, the majority principle is nothing but an auxiliary of decision making and validates the political equality of citizens through representatives of the peoples' sovereignty. In contrast to this, there are very diverse rules of decision making in current political life: from unanimity to two-thirds majority, to absolute majority, to relative majority, to minority rights, and so forth.

The extent to which a constitutional state, separation of powers, or federalism are part of the nature of democracy remains controversial. Undoubtedly, fundamental rights, legal guarantees, and legal security are values which a liberal state and social democracy can hardly do without. And yet, the tendency toward excessive legalisms can cut off the democratic process of opinion formation to a considerable extent. Even the separation of powers as horizontal checks and balances and federalism as vertical ones are not dogmatically bound to democracy. Instead of separation of powers, one could better speak about inhibition of powers, while federalism as a system exists only where it has been found to be a necessary political convenience.

23.6.2 Democracy as a Type of State

The old question about the best type of state, asked again and again since Aristotle, has often been answered. The response is a call for a mixed constitution, combining the best elements from all models. The fact that, today, democracy is generally accepted all over the world only shows how many mixed types are actually possible. On the one side, there are presidential democracies with a strict separation of powers (as in the US where the executive is frequently predominant); and, on the other side, there is a clear preference for the parliamentary form with a tendency to have an assembly government that is more or less regarded as the parliament's executive committee or caretaker government. In between, there are semi-presidential types of states (such as the French 5th Republic) or the parliamentary prime ministerial government and the German Chancellor forms of democracy.

23.6.3 Democracy as a Way of Life

Politics cannot be limited to the state. It can be found anywhere in a society where, through the use of political power, equality and freedom are either guaranteed or limited. Therefore, democracy as a fundamental political principle has to be considered as a structural feature of society.

Some form of organized mediation is required for the formation of political opinion between the population, on the one hand, and political decision makers, on the other. Therefore, it is an essential and fundamental democratic right to found societies, associations, and parties and to establish economic coalitions. The process of free opinion formation in society also requires a democratic structure for these communications channels to meet the needs of the population. According to the peculiar political orientations of different individual federal states, basic elements in this catalogue of demands have more or less been put into practice. In this context, it must be recognized that in the German Federal Republic, we are dealing with so-called "state" schools. According to the FRG Constitution, appropriate state (*Länder*) institutions determine both educational organizations and teaching content.

23.6.4 Schools are Independent from the State

As previously mentioned, one essential criterion for democratization is the increasing independence of the school from state (i.e., school) authorities. Thus, one important prerequisite for the involvement of teachers, parents,

and students in organizing the school is for them to be empowered when dealing with school authorities so as to be able to further their own initiatives. The German Lower Saxony Education Act accounts for this. It states that:

"Within the framework of government responsibility and the legal administrative regulations the schools are independent with regard to planning and giving instruction, with regard to education and administration" (Nds. Schulgesetz, 1974).

Consequently, the Act limits the authority of supervisory bodies with regard to educational matters. This limitation applies both to the school, in general, as well as to the individual teacher. The latter's freedom includes power over educational evaluations as well as instructional and other decisions. Insofar as school authorities make certain types of decisions themselves, both school "conferences" and headmasters are subject to the same educational limitations as other supervisory bodies. However, the freedom of an individual teacher is not unlimited. The school-conference may restrict teachers with regard to educational, methodological, and didactical matters. This is considered to be necessary, particularly with regard to application of those guidelines that give the schools more decentralized latitude in the curricular area.

23.6.5 Democratic School Organization and Student Participation

Individual schools have been legislatively assigned a certain scope to make their own decisions. In the school, the persons/bodies who are responsible for these decisions are the headmaster/headmistress, the school conferences, and/or the teachers.

The Lower Saxony Education Act emphasizes the position of the headmaster/headmistress in the school. They run and administer schools; overall responsibilities lie in their hands. Their tasks include preparing and leading the general conference, observing legal and administrative regulations, carrying out the decisions of the general conference, and caring for regular administrative work. However, the headmaster/headmistress is not superior to the teachers since personnel matters are dealt with elsewhere.

The Lower Saxony Education Act distinguishes two types of conferences, namely subconferences and general conferences. The most important subconferences are the class and subject conferences. Based on the decisions which the general conference makes, the class conference decides any mat-

ter exclusively concerning a class or individual students in that class. This includes (among other things) school reports, promotion to the next form, examinations and transitions, and other educational matters. Subject conferences decide matters concerned exclusively with respective subject areas. This includes suggestions for new textbooks, achievement evaluations, and subject curriculum for an individual class or the entire school. The general conference decides all school matters, except those which the class, subject conference, or headmaster/headmistress shall deal with. Its tasks include establishing school rules and budgets in addition to deciding general instructional and educational issues.

The "educational freedom" of fully trained teachers gives them the right to teach, educate, and evaluate achievements in their own area of responsibility. However, in doing so, certain legal and administrative regulations bind them, as do conference decisions and orders which supervisory educational bodies provide. Moreover, they are obliged to observe official guidelines which cover their respective subjects; but they are free, within this framework, didactically and methodically, to act at their own professional discretion.

23.7 Methodical Behavior in Political Instruction

23.7.1 The Primary Aim of Political Education Learning Democracy

In general, the social sciences study social reality, analyze socio-political phenomena, and describe activities of people living within social groups and institutions. Essentially, they inform students about society, how to stabilize it, and how to analyze it critically.

Didactics promote the analysis, reflection, and observation of educationally focussed events; they bring a systematic influence to bear on the cognitive, emotional, and instrumental behavior of people. Didactics in the social sciences are aimed at the socio-scientific education of people. Both inside and outside school and in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, didactics provide information about and orientation for social actions and behavior in an increasingly complex and seemingly incomprehensible society.

The aim of political instruction, then, is to enable the pupil to perceive political facts, to obtain any necessary information, sort it out, evaluate it, and form an independent opinion that will then prepare him/her to take political action. In other words, its aim is to develop abilities and attitudes that are

required for concrete situations in life (political situations, in particular) in order to be able to act in accordance with the personal/social values and attitudes developed, for instance, through political instruction. Political education tries to contribute to the student's learning democracy for him/her to be able to live it. In this context, the danger in today's school is that too many democratic concepts are being conveyed, while fewer social behaviors are being taught. In other words, there is a combination of overinformation and a huge lack of practical experience.

Democratic behavior, therefore, refers both to social/political action or inaction (i.e., the way people deal with each other in social and state institutions). Social democratic behavior uses humanism as a guide and has characteristic tolerance, a willingness to compromise, the ability to cooperate, and the readiness to help; by contrast, political behavior is more and more subject to the criterion of rational expediency, requiring the capacity to assert oneself, the ability to solve conflicts, to form alliances, and to act in solidarity.

The schools are finding it very difficult, however, to achieve these aims. Boredom and listlessness among the students are not infrequent phenomena during political instruction. However, apart from the structural deficits of the educational system mentioned previously, the teachers' standardized methodological decisions also reinforce these behaviors (i.e., the focus is on teacher monologues or asking students to analyze texts).

We must finally put an end to this form of teacher-centered instruction that reduces political education to its utility for political institutions. The focus for educational activities rather has to be on the student and his/her interests and needs. If the student is not being lectured to, but rather given project- and product-oriented issues to work on, he/she is thus enabled to develop appropriate democratic behaviors. Democracy cannot just be learned intellectually; democracy and its inherent values must be experienced both in and out of school. Schools must become part of democratic society. Thereby, students may learn and internalize those fundamental political experiences that are of existential significance in our modern society (Mickel, 1988).

23.7.2 Learning Democracy Requires Democratic Teaching Methods

The most important distinction with regard to methodology concerns the question as to whether teaching assumes the form of concentric or linear instruction at the macro level (Bundeszentrale, 1988). Concentric instruction means that the focus is on a problem, task, or question to be answered/solved, irrespective of where the instruments, processes, or information needed to do so come from. At the other end of the scale is linear instruction, the typical example of which is a training course (Nitzschke, 1988, p. 49). A training course mainly imparts knowledge and skills. Such instruction requires that the subject matter to be imparted is known and can be described in structural terms. Assuming that political facts and situations are always complex, concentric forms of teaching are usually given priority. If, however, the goal of instruction is to give students the opportunity to work on details instead of making unsubstantiated assumptions and value judgements, linear parts have to be combined with concentric forms.

The basic elements of concentric instruction are, above all the project, the case study, role plays, on-the-spot investigations, and internships. Concentric forms of instruction take the form of learning projects that have the same structure as real life projects.

The Project

The project is a teaching unit that derives its motivation from a concrete aim, one codetermined with students; it aims to achieve a certain behavior that has realistic character for students and that serves a practical purpose. Learning is achieved on the way to this aim, making it possible to deal with the complexities of reality.

Case Studies

In case studies, the students deal with current and, if possible, unsolved problems. The point, here, is to mobilize relevant facts; to gather, organize, and evaluate information; to make decisions about possible approaches to an undertaking; and to do so in a methodical way.

Role Plays

Role plays serve the purpose of recognizing structures, tracking down interactions, and becoming aware of influential factors. Above all, however,

they make it possible to elucidate decision-making processes as well as their possible consequences.

On-the-spot Investigations

Unlike case studies, on-the-spot investigations do not deal with an unsolved case/conflict. Instead, they deal with a longer-term structure that is the cause of problems leading (potentially) to ever-new conflicts. Here, the students investigate relevant causes, interests, and interconnections.

Concentric forms of instruction, combined with training courses, are very important for political education because, in general, political reality, problems, and questions require more than that sort of knowledge which can be imparted in any one course. This requires knowledge, abilities, and skills from different fields, all of which must be interlinked. Practicing this kind of work teaches students to cooperate with teachers and one another and to study in an interdisciplinary way, making necessary interconnections along the way. Students also learn to procure, organize, and evaluate information; to think and discuss in alternatives ways; to make decisions; to plan, prepare, delegate, and learn different modes of working; and to reflect on and evaluate their work, checking for other possibilities, combinations, and alternatives for action.

Besides specific forms of teaching, forms of social behavior are also important (i.e., those processes of instruction regulating cooperation among students). Whenever structured knowledge is to be imparted, cooperation between students and teachers requires a certain dominance on the part of the teacher. If, however, open alternatives are to be developed, if new ideas are to be produced, it is useful to have students discuss the problem in small groups or in a plenary session. They must be able to work alone, to cooperate with others, produce results in groups, and listen together with others present.

All the major forms of social behavior are related to prevailing styles of teaching. Here, we may distinguish among the authoritarian style, the democratic style based on partnership (also called the integrative style), and the *laissez-faire* style. In the authoritarian style, directions, initiatives, and activities usually come from the teacher. He/she has a special position. The socio-integrative style is the most important social form for political instruction. Treating each other as partners should always mean that people who may have different interests and points of view deal with each other as

equals. In the authoritarian style, one-person decisions are made; in the *laissez-faire* style, no decisions are made at all. This style is virtually useless for political instruction because, here, the students are left to their own devices.

23.8 Conclusion

In summary, it can be said that concentric forms of teaching, combined with linear elements, are particularly suited for fulfilling the aims of political instruction. This means helping students to develop the faculties to judge and act politically. The question as to whether these forms can be realized in each student's case depends not only on the teacher but also on the structure of the respective school as well as on the students, who must first learn this style and form of work. While certain teaching methods are dominant in FRG political instruction, others play a less-well-known and less-important role. If political instruction aims to develop the ability to judge and to act, the most important criterion is to use a methodology which is appropriate for each respective learning situation.

Political instruction must teach students gradually to work in those ways a politically-minded and committed citizen would act in reality. Students have to learn to organize learning processes themselves because it is a realistic form of political information, judgement, and preparation for action. The structure of the school and the way students work and act in it should approximate and become nearly identical to the structure of democratic society and the way its empowered citizenry behaves. Since this is a basic democratic expectation, any student, teacher, or individual concerned with furthering the goals of democratic political education must try to contribute to its realization. Otherwise, they actually become democratic problems, rather than learning how to develop practical alternatives and solutions.

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24 *Reconceptualizing Politics, Education, and Socialization*
Cross-National Perspectives on Cognitive Studies, Problem Solving, and Decision Making

24.1 Abstract

This chapter examines the cross-national implications of research on cognitive schemas, structures, and style for the subjects of political science, political education, and political socialization. Since political science is so informationally, conceptually, and ideologically oriented, it will be difficult to change the focus of the field so that recent psychological research on this topic can be integrated into the methodological and intellectual framework and organization of the discipline.

This chapter proposes that, because the basic international elements of political science deal with public policy and decision making, there is utility in examining the underlying structural elements and processes used to make political choices or decisions. Another aspect of this attempt at a new synthesis is to incorporate some of the recent findings and trends in political socialization/education and political science research to see the extent to which, for example, ideology, policy, content, structure, and other basic elements are important pieces of an integrated political/psychological puzzle. Where possible, cross-national examples and sources are used to broaden the discussion beyond a limited, unidimensional viewpoint.

A major generalization from this reconceptualization of policy analysis, cognitive studies, socialization findings, and political education trends is that, while an overarching model of these integrated interrelationships is practical, realistic, and even sensible, many barriers impede general acceptance of such perceived congruencies. Among these are, for example, ideological differences, particularistic disciplinary concerns and content specialties, theoretical dissonance, contrary or incomplete research findings, and the burdens of overly complex generalizations and methodological abstractions. Nevertheless, researchers in Eastern and Western Europe and North America engaged in cross-national research efforts may place considerable value on some of these findings. Although the content of politics may differ appreciably across countries, some of the basic structures of po-

litical thinking, problem-solving processes, and decision making may be quite similar, even approaching universality in Western political cultures.

24.2 Introduction

This study summarizes recent research on cognitive styles (maps, schemata, etc.) and relationships between these findings and certain political science subfields of analysis (policy studies, ideology/theory, politics, socialization, and education). The principal question answered in this piece is: "What is the present significance of cognitive science research for political science as a discipline, in general, and for political socialization/education in particular?" The results of this interdisciplinary inquiry may prove useful for theory building as well as for practical research and curriculum considerations. In any discussion of these trends, some attention must be devoted to the intellectual eddies created by narrative cross currents in the political science discipline itself; that is, concerns generated from the post-modern or post-behavioral debate now underway in the field as well as other emerging trends which change the focus of study (e.g., the politics of everyday life) or its methodology (e.g., ethnographic research). The overall discussion of these seemingly disparate trends is based on this fundamental assumption: political science, as one "master discipline", is a mixture of science and philosophy which has a moral end in mind, namely, improvement of the preparation, training, and education of citizens who are living (or want to live) in democratic political cultures, environments, or systems. Additionally, since modern political science has always been interdisciplinary by its very nature (i.e., dependent on law, history, statistics, sociology, philosophy, etc.), this permits a small-scale or micro-level case study regarding the worth of recent psychological contributions to our understanding of politics, socialization, and education. (For some Israeli, Finnish, and North American views on these topics, see Berndtson, pp. 89-108 in Heiskanen and Hanninen [eds.] 1983; Anckar and Berndtson, 1988, pp. 7-24; Ricci, 1988, pp. 77-97; and Heiskanen, pp. 119-133 in Anckar and Berndtson, eds., 1988.)

24.3 Socialization, Cognitive Structure, and Politics

24.3.1 Cognitive Styles, Maps, and Schemata

In their synoptic review of five approaches and relevant research findings, Goldstein and Blackman (1978, pp. 2-3) define cognitive style as a "hypo-

thetical construct" which helps "explain the process of mediation between stimuli and responses." It also refers to "the characteristic ways in which individuals conceptually organize their environment." Individuals filter and process stimuli so that their environment assumes psychological meaning. It provides a mediating function for information transformation. Significant understanding is achieved for the individual through "cognitive structures" which translate stimuli through meaningful operations, programs, strategies, and organizing processes which govern one's behaviors. This construct is based on research with a primary focus on structure, rather than content. Associated terms include political "maps" and "schemata" found in the works of scholars such as Kurt Lewin, Jean Piaget, and Milton Rokeach.

Goldstein and Blackman (1978) also describe cognitive controls as directing "the expression of needs in socially acceptable ways, as required by the situation." Some of these controls are leveling (sharpening) to assimilate events into simple or complex fields, scanning or judgment verification, field articulation or field dependence, and other processes. Category width, conceptual styles, and reflection/impulsivity are examples of other aspects of this specialized field of study. More useful for our purpose is their general discussion of authoritarianism, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and dogmatism. (They also discuss less content- or information-based and more structurally founded personal constructs, such as cognitive and integrative complexity and field dependence in some detail.) A summary of relevant research findings through the mid 1970s indicated that, while both the F and Dogmatism scales are substantially intercorrelated, only the F scale (but not Dogmatism) is moderately correlated with cognitive and integrative complexity and field dependence; the latter three measures also lack consistent scoring interrelationships. In sum, "there appears to be some commonality among the various measures of cognitive style", but additional work on field dependence, in particular, seems necessary (Ibid., pp. 214, 220). Cognitive style also seems to be related to intelligence, age, childrearing practices, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, ability to analyze and synthesize, and conformity. However, other dependent variables (such as creativity, accuracy of judgment, stress, consistency, and environmental complexity) are less clearly associated with various indices of cognitive style (Ibid., pp. 220-225).

In addition to research carried on in English-speaking countries (such as the US, South Africa, UK, Ireland, and Australia), these various measures of cognitive style have also been piloted in Germany, Italy, Israel, The Neth-

erlands, and Japan. Non-Western versions have also been field tested in Mexico and among the Xhosa and Eskimos, as well as among Arabic- and Hindi-speaking populations. Different versions of these scales have also been developed for use with Jewish subgroups. Scores have been analyzed using race and gender as other explanatory variables. Most of this cross-national work has been conducted on the authoritarianism (F scale and TAP) and dogmatism measures since these scales and their variants are most interesting and well known for the longest time (Ibid., *passim*).

24.3.2 Political Socialization and Cognitive Styles

Political socialization deals with questions such as what is taught about politics, to whom, by whom, how, under what conditions, with what consequences for present or future political behavior, cognitions, attitudes, opinions, or beliefs. The field is also related to civic education, to psychological and sociological research, and to a general behavioral theory of "persistence" in certain basic political orientations from pre-adult to later years of development. US political socialization literature over the last decade has focused on political partisanship, party identification, social tolerance, post-materialist values (e.g., environmentalism and support for civil liberties) and citizens early economic experiences. Newer studies have attacked the primacy principle by showing that a persons partisan political positions change after adolescence, not hardening until his/her late 20s. Moreover, party identification, regime support, partisanship, and other supposedly enduring orientations have proved to be less lasting than originally supposed. A changed conception in the supporting psychological literature also documented one's capacity to change and develop over the entire life cycle, especially in light of changing media messages and significant public policy alternatives. Simultaneously, however, other evidence of persistence appeared in certain key political attributes (such as racial prejudice, party identification, political ideology, nationalism, religious fundamentalism, ethnic identity, and liberal versus conservative political stances). For example, one study of fathers and offspring indicated that the parent who had certain racist beliefs in the 1950s produced children who had different, but still racist, beliefs in the changed contexts of their generation (Sears in Ichilov, ed., 1990, pp. 69-97).

Consequently, the current thinking is that there are some views that persist over a lifetime, others that may be changed at any age, still others that may be most influenced at a given time in the life cycle (such as in childhood

and adolescence), and, finally, others that result from generational effects because of major political events (such as a war) occurring during the late adolescence or early adulthood of the citizen.

Such "revisionist" views variously weigh the influence of these different significant time periods while agreeing that adult political orientations are a product of both pre-adult and continual life experiences, dependent on external pressures or internal resistance to change. Certain "symbolic predispositions", such as racial or moral attitudes (e.g., toward "blacks", "America, or "Communism"), are representative of enduring attitudes which may be most resistant to change. They also have high political salience and currency, including a probable relationship to voting behavior and political involvement along with education, political information and activity, and other important orientations.

A variety of research paradigms are used to test the persistence of attitudes. Among these are: retrospective judgments; evaluation of longstanding attitudinal structures; cohort analysis to test life-cycle and impressionable-years effects on partisanship and civil libertarianism; as well as longitudinal studies of political trust, attitudes, party identification, and moral views (e.g., see Jennings, June 1987, below). Also under review are natural experiments, such as personal experiences in wartime or self-interest in public policy choices; changes in social conditions, status, and geography (e.g., studies of American Jews and African Americans of high status indicate their continuing liberalism as a result of earlier ethnic socialization); and effects of political events and communications (e.g., war and mass media). A combination of impressionable-years and persistence theory seems best to describe the results of this research to date; but data on political change in one's later adult life is still incomplete. Change over the citizen's life-span and the favorable conditions and circumstances for socialization to new conditions provide new meaning and direction for continuing research in this area. (On these points, see *Ibid.* and Farnen, 1990, pp. 49-51, 62-91, 269-282.)

The question of persistence, consistency, or predictability of political knowledge and beliefs is an important one and deserves consideration for theory building in political socialization research. There are other equally valid and important research questions, however, which a narrow concentration on persistence does not address. For example, political socialization researchers would not have any information on early political attitudes and

behaviors were it not for the extensive international work done in the 1960s and 1970s on childhood and adolescent political orientations. This effort provided a base line for later comparisons which show a lack of persistence in certain constructs (such as opinions on capital punishment). Moreover, certain longitudinal studies (e.g., Jennings and Marcus, 1984, and Dalton, June 1980) have shown the importance of family socialization across generations on voting preferences, racial values, and civic tolerance. These studies have also shown a variety of patterns among young adults in that some are true to earlier predispositions, others are family-oriented, and still others are independent and experiential.

Political socialization research is useful as an output and process measure as well as an input source evaluation for the effectiveness of civic education and for indications of how curriculum changes may be redirected in schools. Since in the US at least \$300 billion per year is spent on public education (which has citizenship training as a major goal), it is imperative that some assessment of sources, processes, outcomes, and interrelationships among socialization agents, teachers, students, and curriculum be made. The fact that patriotic rituals, flag salutes, rote memorization, and student passivity do not promote civic knowledge or democratic beliefs is an important national and cross-national finding for civic educators (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). It is also useful for educators, parents, and policy makers to know whether students have knowledge and attitudes which have been posited as socially desirable in a democratic society. These include tolerance, equality, participant orientations, reasoned patriotism, and the like. The relative influence of schools, parents, and media in fostering such beliefs is another important question, one separately important from the topic of just how long these beliefs last or which are regularly reinforced.

Political socialization research, then, can shed some light on important questions of the day, such as how children and youth develop a sense of national identity, how they perceive minorities, how minorities perceive the general society, and how these constructs fit into a definition of one's political self (i.e., a person's cognitive maps, schemata, or scripts).

It is not possible to summarize here the major findings of political socialization research based on Piagetian (cognitive or developmental stages) or Kohlbergian (moral developmental stages) approaches. However, these are partially summarized elsewhere (Farnen, 1990, pp. 49-51, 62-91, and 269-

282; and July and November, 1991), including examples of major cross-national findings which illustrate these uniformities, inconsistencies, and other products of such research (e.g., on nationalism, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, dissent/opposition, and ethnicity in the US and other countries) (also see Farnen, 1992, pp. 23-89).

Kraus (1990) has also examined Piaget's work from an epistemological, rather than a developmental or socialization, perspective. In establishing a framework and goals for basic international education, she develops a learning model which is actively constructed, interactive, and, therefore, structures (including discontinuous qualitative and quantitative changes) pre-operational and concrete/formal operational thought.

24.3.3 Piaget, Cognitive Structures, and Politics

Using a revised and updated Piagetian view, Rosenberg, Ward, and Chilton (1988) have discussed the basic relationships between political reasoning and cognition (i.e., the actual structures of political thought versus the superimposed uniformities of researcher-constructed political content). These researchers have searched for "universals" and cross-cultural patterns of political thinking, not through conceptual or content categories (e.g., "liberal" or "conservative" ideologies, which are usually structured through closed-ended survey research questionnaires), but rather through examination of cognitive types ("sequential", "linear", and "systematic" thinkers). They are also interested in the degree to which these categories of thinkers consistently do or do not identify with a political party, have a low or high degree of "ideological self-definition", and assume one or another political position on policy decisions in a discrete, personalized, or systematic/interactive manner. Different stages of moral reasoning and judgement (*à la* Kohlberg) are also associated with these structures of thinking which may form the basis for a new "genetic-epistemological" theory of politics. Such a theory would be based on psychological and cross-cultural research, which may produce a normative psychological theory, forming the basis for a more useful and general conceptualization of one's political development. The studies undergirding this reconfiguration of political research illustrate the degree to which different theoretical conceptualizations of democracy (e.g., the concrete and egocentric versus the abstract and sociocentric perspectives) are based on acceptance of democratic procedures, competence over reversibility in the logic of democracy in negative terms, and past environmental/behavioral exposure to key democratic processes. Important

variables associated with these two "conceptual camps" included educational level, group membership, political activity, electoral participation, and moral reasoning levels. Such a reconceptualization has important implications for research into basic political concepts such as power, freedom, community, authority, rights, equality, and political decision making. Consequently, future research into nationalism, national identity, ethnicity, and multiculturalism may be better served through research designs which incorporate these smaller-scaled, qualitative, interview-based, and theoretically informed approaches, rather than those less-productive global models which have been tried so often in the past (Ibid., pp. 67 ff., 87 ff., and 161 ff.).

The "Piagetian" approach to politics criticizes both liberal empirical and sociological approaches to the content and theory of politics. Since individuals do not perceive or deal with political reality in the same way and since the social content, constructs, and institutions of political life are not individually interpreted in the same ways, this means that Piagetians place no credibility in survey research, scale and public opinion analysis, and other closed interviews and non-clinical experiments.

Among the basic assumptions of these cognitive political researchers are the following points:

- Thought is an activity, "pragmatically constituted", involving individual operations on the world. Thought is dynamic, active, continuous with action, purposive, and produces ideas as by-products of thinking processes.
- Thought is deeply structured. Individuals generally act on the world in substantially different, but cognitively, operationally, and structurally similar fashion.
- Both thought and reality are structured. Thinking develops through "reflexive abstraction" and is transformed into new structures, developing along stage-specific lines.
- Political ideology is structured and constitutes a "coherent whole." Ideology develops through pragmatic political reasoning, which is "socially as well as subjectively structured" in the developmental process. Ideology results from the process of "construction, negation, reflection, and reconstruction." Since the order of development is somewhat fixed, the following stage is more realistic and sophisticated than the former, and variations in environmental stimuli produce different individuals with different structures of political reasoning and ideology. Therefore, it is

individual, not social, definitions of politics which are most important for political research.

- Since attitudes do not predict behaviors, Piagetian political research looks to chart behaviors or contents of beliefs. Then, it seeks the underlying basic structures which explain the identical superstructures of thought.
- Contrary to liberal conceptions of a common rationality or the sociological idea of a "structured, coherent" society which produces uniform individual and group responses, the Piagetian view contends that individuals vary in their cognitive processes and operations, conceiving of political, cultural, social institutions, and political reality in subjectively different ways, even within the same social setting. Consequently, this is the reason why a search for uniformities in the structures of thought, rather than in "intersubjective agreement" or "common perception" may be more useful for political research (Ibid., pp. 1-19).

Piagetian political psychologists are keenly aware of the dialectical (im)balances which are played out at the individual and social level between individual egocentrism and social cooperation. Using a structural developmental approach, empirically based cognitive political research has posited the existence of sequential, linear, and systematic thought, each with a distinct, separate, and definable constituent structure as well as a set of understandings about the physical, social, and political world. For example, sequential thinkers are oriented to the immediate. They are trackers who look for sequential paths. They are perception-bound, dependent on the concrete. Thus, they are changeable persons. Their physical world is also "concrete, proximate, and fluid." They are present- not future- or past-oriented. Their political understandings are also tied to the present flow of events. They do not predict. They do not distinguish intent, power, laws, norms, or the physical from the political. They do not have global, group, cross-situational, national, or superordinate understandings, but think of laws in concrete, crime or punishment (versus rewards), and behavioral (not legalistic or principled) terms (Ibid., pp. 87-104).

Linear thinkers are concerned with sequences, observations, causes, and effects. They use unidirectional structures, experience rather than reflection, and are confused about both generalizations and priorities, being more action-oriented individuals. The physical world of the linear thinker has a past and present. The universe is extended, ordered (but fragmented), and solved

or complete. Political and social understandings are intermingled and confused. Thought stretches out from, but is dependent upon, definitions of the present. Events have an order and a cause. Little creative reconstruction occurs in his/her fragmented universe of small, grouped, but unconnected, understandings. A search for causes, intent, fate, rituals, and motivations for individual actions is the key orientation here, with higher status accorded to the powerful and a lesser status to followers. Groups are defined in terms of their rituals, locations, appearances, parentage, characteristics, commonalities, hierarchy, and leader(s).

Systematic thinkers are relative, contextual, objective and subjective, contextual, conditional, systemic, systematic, and connected. They use associative and bi-directional thought -- and seek systematic relationships based on classifications, interactions, and theories. Their physical world is based on "interconnected relationships", integration, and rules within a system of domains and subsystems. The past, present, and future are systematically differentiated. Political interactions are conceived of functionally and interactively in a larger context as well as in a series of subsystems; the political and social are differentiated. Their perceptions of politics are sociological and deal with power and governance. Individuals are considered to be products of their environment in an equal sense. They are also considered to be rational, purposive, free, and psychologically motivated. There are also tensions between these social and psychological and deterministic or free-will perspectives which also characterize the systematic thinker (Ibid., pp. 101-113).

In further empirical research, the structures of thought for sequential, linear, and systematic thinkers was examined in the context of survey questions, interviews, and performance on two cognitive tasks (i.e., combination of agents to create a chemical reaction and to determine the rate of oscillation of a swinging pendulum). The subjects were also asked to explain what was then happening in US relations with Iran. It was hypothesized that different individuals would think in fundamentally different ways, that the structure of one's thought will "cause" the same individual to think about different things in the same way, and that those in groups who think in structurally different ways will think about politics (across groups) differently, but similarly, according to their classification as sequential, linear, and systematic thinkers. (The political element was based on political party identification and thinking about politics in ideological terms.)

The results of an experiment indicated 26 respondents were divided into sequential (6), linear (13), and systematic (7) levels, based on the chemicals task. On the combination of the chemicals, pendulum, and Iran-US relations task, 21 of 26 subjects performed at the same level on all three tasks, whereas 4 performed at the same level on two of the tasks and at the next level on the other, but close to the same level on the other two. This finding supported the contention of similar performance at structurally determined levels on a variety of tasks. On the other politics dimension (political party identification and ideological self-ascription), it was assumed that thought structures should differentiate among respondents' group memberships, politics, and ideologies (i.e., liberal or conservative).

It was also hypothesized that sequential thinkers lack a sense of groups, self-image, and political understanding as well as being weak on both self-definition and political beliefs. Therefore, they were predicted to be low on both party and ideological definition. Linear thinkers should also be low on the ideology score and high on party score because, although they can define the political self and understand beliefs, these beliefs are not interrelated and are seen as causes for action, while their self-image is very much group-identified, -mediated, and -related. Systematic thinkers were predicted to be high on ideology and low on party identification because of their high self-definition and systematic approach to beliefs, whereas their self-image is connected to networks or systems of actions apart from political groups, even though they may have high political interest and involvement. The results confirmed these relationships in the predicted direction, but the analysis of variance was more significant (.03 level) for ideology than for party identification (.10 level, N.S.), perhaps showing the dual effects of a small number (21) of cases and the problem with using closed-ended questions. This structural developmental approach to politics is encouraging, however, and can usefully be expanded to include research on political actors, power, actions, causes, reasoning, systems, environments, and other aspects of political thinking (Ibid., pp. 87-126).

24.4 Human Cognition and Politics Structure and Content

Cognitive political studies seek to answer questions about how we think politically rather than merely what we think about. Cognitive-based political science is more concerned with the structure than with the content of such beliefs. Those interested in cognitive functioning may base their studies on

developmental theories (e.g., those of Jean Piaget or Lawrence Kohlberg), environmental and social learning (e.g., Albert Bandura's work) theory, or adaptive theories which accept the roles of both assimilation and accommodation regarding the interaction between the individual and his environment (e.g., the writings of D. Ward).

Commons (July 1991a and 1991b) and with Sonnert (June 1991) and his associates at Harvard University have extended Kohlberg's work in two respects, one at the theoretical and the other at the practical and cross-national level. These researchers have posited the existence of a Stage 6 post-conventional level, which is both paradigmatic and cross-paradigmatic and located at the coincidence of moral and societal development. At this level (in contrast to Kohlberg's transcendental, apocalyptic indicators of this world view), moral reasoning about the political system and political culture involve a sense of collective identity, represented by "notions of universal respect and solidarity" (Ibid., p. 10). Moral Stage 6 reasoning is egalitarian, democratic, based on a meta-societal collective humanity (human beings or "the people"), the co-construction of knowledge and interactive communication of judgements and experiences, with a sense of a cosmopolitan, utopian, and collective identity for which "normal" intra-societal expressions and outlets are very limited. This stage of moral development cannot be identified by looking at individuals in isolation since its construction requires active involvement (after Stage 5 level is discerned as being present) in "the social process of arriving at a consensus" (Ibid., p. 9). Thinking at this stage depends upon communicative discourse, individual construction of personal and societal rights, and both "metasystemic ego development and beneficence" (Ibid., p. 9). This process is dynamic, varied, unpredictable, process-oriented, discursive, and seeks coordination through genuine consensus. It is based on mutuality of respect and understanding, is aware of alternatives, and is founded on the assumption that one's individual efforts are limited and that only cooperative and dialogic moral reasoning in a group setting can meet the "hierarchical complexity" constraints which must be coordinated at this stage. Universal respect for others, appreciation of universal and unifying principles in one's social interactions with others produces solidarity, and the capacity to generalize from and to other individuals are other key elements in Stage 6 discourse analysis and social interactions.

On the more practical side, Commons et al. (July 1991b) examined stage and developmental theory's applicability to a group of uneducated, illiterate

Mexican adults. Of the 32 persons studied, three evidenced moral Stage 3/4 reasoning at the formal operations level. These people were community leaders and two of the three had "lived in a variety of cultural/situational contexts" (Ibid., p. 9). A second study of high school students in the same geographic area indicated that higher-order moral reasoning was not related to increased cross-cultural contacts, but it was related to both higher socio-economic status and to pre-existent leadership experience. These studies do not answer the causality or appropriate methodology questions. However, they suggest that social, structural, environmental, and social-psychological factors may promote or inhibit higher-order thinking about moral and political questions for which cross-cultural analysis would be a quite appropriate technique of investigation to use in future studies of this sort.

The most fully developed and empirically tested recent models for nature/nurture interactions can be found in the work of Sidanius on socio-political ideology in cross-national contexts (e.g., see Sidanius, 1978, 1984, and 1985; Sidanius, Ekehammar, and Lukowsky, June 1983; Sidanius and Ekehammar, 1976; and Ward, 1986). Sidanius' study of Swedish secondary school students gave strong support to authoritarian personality theory and partial support to context (i.e., the cultural-historical time-space continuum) theory. His measures of sociopolitical ideology (conservatism, racism, sexual repression, and authoritarianism) were weakly, but significantly, related to cognitive complexity and flexibility on his assessment instruments. Sidanius endorsed TAP theory's applicability to the political domain, if not to other extra-political areas of interest. He found that racism/ethnocentrism had a linear relationship to flexibility, with higher rigidity accompanying higher racism. With regard to general conservatism, he found that cognitive complexity was contextually related in that increasing political extremism rose with increasing levels of complexity. In sum, some socio-political dimensions (e.g., racism, sexual repression, and authoritarian aggression) are related to cognitive behavior whereas others (e.g., political-economic conservatism and religion) are not. Moreover, although certain political judgments are clearly related to cognitive functioning, it is not entirely clear yet how or which specific cognitive behaviors covary with what specific ideological attributes (Sidanius, 1985, pp. 637, 657-658).

While Ward (1986) applauds Sidanius' practical work on the underlying structure of beliefs, he finds fault with the lack of multiple developmental and chronological age groups (children, adolescents, and adults) being surveyed, the confusions between cognitive structure and complexity (since

basic qualitative levels for a new and more abstract stage may be less complex than the highest levels of an earlier developmental stage), and the choice of subjects (who were, themselves, in a stage of transformation, experimentation, identity crisis, or undergoing growth in abstract political reasoning). Of course, the work of Jennings and Niemi (1981) and Jennings and van Deth, et al. (1990) shows considerable cross-national stability, persistence, and crystallization in the content of political beliefs, knowledge, and behaviors, but their studies are not based on the structures of these political orientations. Nevertheless, these approaches to the subject of relating content, sociopolitical ideology, cognitive structure, and moral/cognitive developmental patterns or stages have relevance for the fields of political socialization and citizen education. Some plan for interrelating content, structure, and developmental stages is still a basic need for making sense about how educators can teach and youth can learn about the requisites for democratic political life (knowledge, values, and behaviors) in the 21st century.

Sidanius' review of the three major competing theories of sociopolitical beliefs and cognitive functions (authoritarianism, extremism, and context theories) has relevance for the reproduction of the political culture in democratic nations. For example, TAP posits that conservatives are ethnocentric, less tolerant of fluctuation and ambiguity, more critical, closure oriented, and more inclined toward order and symmetry. In addition, conservatives are less sophisticated, more simplistic, and concrete in problem-solving approaches. Extremism theory (left and right) assumes that extremists are less sophisticated than moderates, more tough-minded, authoritarian, rigid, intolerant of ambiguity, empathic, and oversimplifiers who abhor cognitive dissonance. Alternatively, context theory assumes that extremists (left and right) show greater cognitive complexity and skills, flexibility, and tolerance of ambiguity than moderates; that extremists can develop beliefs in an "active, independent, and self-driven" manner, rather than just through social conformity; and that most people are political moderates because they lack interest in the social-political world and passively adopt the political views of others.

Extremists seem to be more interested, more competent, more deviant, and unpopular in their views. Their personalities demonstrate "field independence, high ego strength, and high stress tolerance." Context theory assumes that moderates will show the lowest (and extremists, the highest) levels of cognitive complexity. Recent research on extremists has lent sup-

port to context theory in that many radicals, rioters, and terrorists are often found to be better-educated, more intelligent, and more sophisticated than moderates. They also have higher tolerance for ambiguity, higher cognitive differentiation, and higher cognitive complexity levels than moderates, along with greater interest in politics and more political media usage than the average citizen. There also appear to be essential differences as well as similarities in the way different citizens in various countries structure, process, and organize political stimuli and information (Ibid., pp. 637-642).

Although the dispute among adherents to the psychodynamic (e.g., "authoritarianism"), the attitudinal or ideological (e.g., "liberal" versus "conservative"), and the cognitive-developmental (e.g., "moral judgment") schools continues to flourish, one recent attempt to unify these three approaches into an "integrated model of democratic personality" produced some convincing findings (Lind, Sandberger, and Bargel, 1982, pp. 70-110). These researchers reconceptualized these three different approaches and tried to resolve their basic respective differences over matters such as the structure and content of political beliefs.

Their study of some 700 older adolescents in Baden-Württemberg, FRG used a moral judgment test (based on Kohlberg's stage theory), democratic orientations (belief in egalitarianism, humanism, democratization, and political participation), and ego-strength measures (fear of failure, intolerance of ambiguity, and personal control). The empirical findings showed both the relevance of moral judgment to and the variability in this construct for this population, that higher-stage moral reasoning and more highly organized thought structures empirically correlated in a predictable way, and that acceptance of higher-level moral orientations predicted rejection of lower-stage reasoning and increased moral evaluations of arguments. Additionally, differences in ego strength correlated with differences in moral judgment structure. A clear and well-structured value hierarchy coincides with high ego strength. Students with lower ego strength are less consistent in their applications of abstract orientations to concrete judgments and have a less clear pattern of rejection of lower-stage arguments. High intolerance of ambiguity predicted acceptance of lower-stage reasoning as did the failure/control measures. Conscious adherence to democratic values also correlated with moral-cognitive structure since, for example, students supporting social equality at the expense of material well-being rejected lower-stage reasoning. Similar results were found with respect to acceptance of humanistic values and the democratization of everyday life. These results (linking

ego strength, content and structure of moral judgments, and democratic ideals) persuade the authors of the importance of education's positive role in the development of democratic personality, especially if an educational intervention strategy and the level of stimulation could focus on internalized developmental goals (Ibid., pp. 90-100).

24.4.1 Stereotyping and Gender Issues

There is a sheaf of other integrative and relevant psychological writings on topics such as ego strength and stereotyping which help interdisciplinary-directed political scientists and socialization researchers to sort out relevant background information on current political topics (such as nationalism, racism, egalitarianism, and sexism). For example, one recent study (Protinsky and Wilkerson, Summer 1986) of adolescents aged 13 to 24 years examined relationships among ego identity, egocentrism, and Piagetian formal operations. Ego identity was significantly correlated with formal operations and grade in school; multiple regression analysis explained nearly all of the observed variance (25%) through grade in school (21%) while operational thinking, egocentrism, and gender explained far less (2%).

Regarding stereotyping and gender orientations, other psychological research indicates that what we know about a given subject influences how much we can remember and vice versa (i.e., gender, race, and ethnic stereotyping may be based on a more highly developed basis of information so that expectancy-congruent information may be better integrated into one's relevant schemata than expectancy-incongruent information). This result is partly dependent upon short- or long-term exposure to, or manipulations of, these relevant expectancies. Memory biases also help to maintain, if not to form, stereotypes along the line of distinctions between schema identification and applications of schema. Social expectations, developmental stages, and confidence levels affect information processing when appropriate enabling cognitive and motivational processes are present (Stangor and Ruble, 1989, pp. 18-35).

Social stereotyping is also related to group membership, group information processing norms, familiarity with the subject, group bias and homogeneity, and recall (Schaller and Maass, 1989, pp. 709-721). Gender schema, classification constancy, and gender-role knowledge are also related to the growth of early gender-role development and stereotyping in American children (Levy and Carter, 1989, pp. 444-449). A Canadian study of univer-

sity students examined the use of male and female persuasion schema. It found similar gender-related persuasion strategies for one's self, others, and on one's estimates of their relative degree of social approval (Bisanz and Rule, March, 1989, pp. 4-18). Stangor (December 1988) examined gender stereotypes and how individuals encode and respond to gender-related behavior in light of the construct accessibility of relevant attributes which serve as moderating factors. Strong support for individual differences in stereotyping was based on the salience of gender constructs held and used in processing information regarding gender typing. Moreover, incongruent as well as congruent information may be as easily encoded, despite the prevailing effect of response or theory-driven bias on stereotype maintenance. Studies such as the foregoing indicate that cross-national empirical survey research findings on the relationships between political knowledge and support for democratic values on the one hand and respect for women's political rights on the other (e.g., Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975) are not easily differentiated or disaggregated. This is especially true when one seeks psychological explanations in schema theory or cognitive science for the roots of (and cognitive processes related to) constructs such as personalized gender stereotyping.

The recent political research we do have on issue publics indicates that (contrary to merely considering educational level as the major explanatory variable) policy attitudes are strongly held and are stable over time. The US electorate is composed of many smaller issue publics which focus on a single topic; most Americans passionately cherish only a few such issues. This choice is based upon self-interest, social identification with key reference groups (e.g., religious, racial, work, or activist), and individually cherished values (Krosnick, 1990, pp. 59-86). In light of such findings, discussions of "politically correct" (P.C.) thinking, sexism, majoritarian stands, and gender-related issues could benefit from more sound psychological and political research which will prove beneficial for improving educational priorities and encouraging worthwhile teaching (Stiehm, May 22, 1991, p. C15).

Observations such as these may initially seem far removed from the power, statist, international, theoretical, and institutional concerns of political science. However, trends in deinstitutionalizing political science through increasing the level of qualitative research and work on the politics of everyday life illustrate a general trend away from the abstract, institutional, and distant toward concerns about the concrete, personal, and local. For example, while political scientists may be interested in race, ethnicity, national-

ism, and gender as related to system-wide political orientations and behaviors, individual school systems, teachers, and students need particular help in answering diversity-based questions (such as: Who am I?, or, Who are we?). Stereotyping, prejudice, race and ethnicity, and other multicultural concerns each have both an individual and a social component to them. All are valid topics for analysis from political, psychological, sociological, anthropological, and other social science perspectives.

To meet emerging student, consumer, popular, and post-materialist demands, political scientists need to be concerned with the multi-dimensionality of the politics of race, gender, diversity, and ethnicity at both the personal and social levels. While it is fashionable for intellectuals to remain aloof from the mundane world of the classroom, those political scientists interested in the interdisciplinary study of the politics of nationalism and ethnic diversity can increase the utility of their work through broadening the definition of the boundaries of their field of study and showing greater interest in the qualitative politics and concerns of citizens' everyday life (Buckson, May 21, 1991, p. D3).

24.5 Political Thinking, Decision Making, and Policy Formulation

24.5.1 Human Cognition and Political Science/Politics

The basic ideas underlying Western democratic conceptions of political science deal with political decision making within political systems concerning the authoritative allocation of values. The basic question is who gets what, how much, when, where, and how? Politics is what political scientists study using policy making analysis to make sense of their surrounding political world. Within this framework, specialists in political theory, law, behavior, voting and electoral studies, comparative government, and other subfields increase our knowledge of discrete elements in the political culture or arena. Although the man on the street assumes that all political scientists are experts on voting, political parties, candidates, and elections, the field of electoral studies is something of interest only to smaller segments of the discipline. Many political scientists study topics of interest to the average citizen, such as government, power, influence, functions, and everyday social institutions. (For a more complete description of topics, concepts, systems, and analysis in political science from a cross-national perspective, see Farnen, 1990, Chapter 2, pp. 29-47.)

Human cognition is relevant to political science, to politics, and to political socialization and education. How we learn or know what we know is basic to our understanding of the nature and purposes of humankind, society, and government. Any ideology founded on a faulty grasp of the basic elements of human learning and communications is sure to fall of its own weight. Additionally, citizen educators and political socialization researchers have long been interested in answering the related question of who learns what, from whom (about politics, government, democracy, etc.) when, where, with what effect, and for how long (with respect to knowledge, values, and behaviors) over one's life cycle in different political environments? Related ideas about the primacy (what we learn earliest) and structuring (what we know influences what we learn) principles are illustrative of basic ideas which political socialization researchers and political educators test through research protocols or in classrooms every day. Of course, the reality of socialization processes occurring cross-nationally is that what we learn last can also influence both what we think we learned earlier as well as influencing our learning structures and processes over our life cycle in an interactive and reciprocal manner, provided structural and other impediments to learning do not intervene.

Some of these impediments to learning occur because the mind relies on symbols to identify stimuli from the environment and imposes structures on incoming stimuli to receive and categorize them through preexistent patterns. The mind, if emotionally motivated, uses expectations drawn from memory to categorize, accept, or reject stimuli from the environment. More frequently, it resists revisions to preexistent conceptions to maintain the order and consonance of older information stored in memory. These cognitive behaviors influence personal information processing as well as policy analysis of public problems and political phenomena. For example, symbols abound in politics as phrases, such as "full employment", "recession", or the "social safety net", indicate. We also reify structures by dichotomizing the world into "free" versus "captive" or "communist" states, East versus West, "illegal" terrorism versus "popular" revolution, and other generalizations which impose order on a chaotic world. These oversimplifications, however convenient, avoid the real complexity involved in everyday life. Even experts and specialists have a form of stored memory in their abstract paradigms (such as conceptions of authoritarianism, dogmatism, and democracy, or Freudian, Rogerian, Maslovian, Piagetian, and Kohlbergian psychology). These complex associations resist incorporation of incongru-

ent new information, no matter how true or important the new findings are in depicting reality. A paradigm shift from these older to newer conceptions requires that both a new generation of experts and the public accept any new conceptions before they become available for policy analysis and public decision making. When old symbols, structures, and meanings have little relevance to new information and new problems and when older and familiar notions cannot explain or resolve them through information processing, an impasse in the policy making process results. Part of the problem with processing such information is that mass communications reproduce messages from other sources for consumers who need simplicity, have habitual expectations, provide a ready market for advertised products, demand structured and predigested messages, and require the use of meaningful symbols which can be easily decoded, understood, and accepted (Graziano, Summer 1985, pp. 141-154).

In order to integrate neurophysiological and cognitive processes and political thinking, Peterson (1985) uses an information-processing approach as a background for decision making and problem solving. Human beings use schemata to organize their world and to guide their information processing. They apply schemata to objects, categories, classes, people, and structures. New information may be assimilated, accommodated, rejected, or become part of new mental schemata. When making decisions, however, people often reject the new or unfamiliar, make choices based on the convenient or familiar, incompletely sample a population and thus falsely generalize from the particular, misperceive attributes, and are overconfident regarding the truth and accuracy of their biases, which encourages the use of selective perception. To overcome the universal forces of conservation, consonance, and habit, people must be aroused to act and be motivated to exert an effort to make decisions, resolve conflicts, and override one's usual responses. Moreover, there seems to be a link between people's schemata, images, or scripts, their related emotions or affects, ethical processes, and their motivations which were stimulated through arousal. The process by which humans make decisions involves information, intentions, plans or programs, evaluation, verification, and revision - much as what previously has been described as the scientific or problem-solving method which instrumentalists of the pragmatic philosophical school, such as William James and John Dewey, long ago espoused (Peterson, 1985, pp. 495-510).

Perceptions, schematic distortion, flawed or short-circuited decisions, and dominance by plans, images, or schemata, which may or may not be reali-

ty-based, affect mass and elite political behavior. Graber claims that most political schemata come from the mass media rather than through direct experience. Political elites are also better information processors, so that a knowledge gap between them and the less-informed often results (Graber, 1989, pp. 164-165). People show the most resistance to schematic accommodation of new information in certain high-salience areas (e.g., political party membership, views on social problems such as street crime, etc.), yet more acceptance of others which are more neutrally loaded or of recent development. When voting, the American public also uses shortcuts (such as negative evaluation, readily-accessible or soft information, party preference, and political biases), stereotypes, or prejudices. They misperceive political motives and values from erroneous, incomplete, or false behavioral cues. Elites' beliefs, images, or schemata also act as "templates" for processing information, checking perceptions, and setting policy objectives in decision making. Elites link their decision-making processes to a world view, conceptions of perceived reality, solutions and their consequences, as well as to their cognitive political maps or belief systems. Elites are also not free of using distorted information, bias, preconceptions, replays of old scripts, hindsight, historical determinism, faulty extrapolation, overconfidence, and misperceptions of the other side's motives or game plans, with folly often the likely outcome in diplomatic negotiations, for example (Ibid., pp. 510-515).

Authoritarianism, information processing, cognitive strategies, and other cognitive approaches to political decision making have been used in various ways to study political science and political behavior. For example, the relationship between authoritarian attitudes and voting/candidate preferences in the US has also been explored over the last 40 years. A clear relationship emerged in study after study (mainly of college and university students) between high authoritarianism/dogmatism scores and support for conservative political candidates and more-conservative or right-wing political parties. Wrightsman, et al. (1961) used F, E, P-E-C, and Machiavellianism scales with 1142 students in seven northern, western, and southern colleges. Supporters of conservative Democrats had higher scores on authoritarian-syndrome measures while supporters of liberal candidates had lower scores. The lowest E scale scores were at a predominantly black university; the highest F and E scale scores in southern schools. Southern Democrats also scored highest on all scales. Jewish students and independents were more cynical but less prejudiced and authoritarian. Few differ-

ences between supporters for Nixon and Kennedy appeared, but a Catholic bloc vote for Kennedy seemed likely. Leventhal, Jacobs, and Kudirka (1964) found that university students with high F scale scores preferred the Republican Party and voted for Nixon, while lower scorers voted for Kennedy and the Democratic Party in the 1960 elections. A hypothetical choice between pairs of candidates (with ideology taken into account) showed high scorers voting for the conservative and low scorers for the liberal candidate regardless of party label, with no evidence of pressures from group norms appearing.

Higgins (1965) and Higgins and Kuhlman (1967) studied the 1964 Johnson versus Goldwater presidential campaign and the 1966 Reagan versus Brown gubernatorial elections. High F scale scorers among under-graduate students voted in each contest for Goldwater and Reagan, the conservative candidates. In a three-way analysis of authoritarianism vis á vis American Independent Party (AIP), Republican, and Democratic candidates, Luck's and Gruner's (1970) study of university students confirmed that the more-conservative candidates received more support from high F scale scorers on a one-way ANOVA, but paired t-tests indicated significant differences between George Wallace (AIP) supporters than was the case between Republicans and Democrats. In the 1972 Nixon versus McGovern campaign, a university student sample showed that highly dogmatic subjects chose Republican Nixon and low scorers preferred Democrat McGovern. There were no significant effects of dogmatism on party preference or cross-over voting intentions (Jones, 1973). A similar result was found with respect to authoritarianism and candidate preference in the 1972 election in that those preferring Nixon also had significantly higher mean authoritarianism scores than did McGovern supporters (Hanson and White, 1973).

Another survey of university students (Izzett, 1971) found that those who actively demonstrated against the Vietnam war not only had stronger anti-war attitudes but also had significantly lower F scale scores than those who did not actively demonstrate and were pro-war. Karabenick and Wilson (1969) had previously found that, contrary to Rokeach's theory on the independence of belief-system structure from content, dogmatism was significantly related to pro- ("hawk") and anti- ("dove") Vietnam War positions. Both moderates and hawks were significantly more dogmatic than doves. Other parallel findings in the political communications and foreign policy/diplomatic areas of study also indicate the relevance of these approaches

to our understanding of relationships between/among cognitive styles, political behaviors, and participatory orientations.

In his challenge to the conventional wisdom about the mass media not influencing what we think so much as what we think about (i.e., "agenda setting"), Entman (1989) maintains that the media actually affect what we think about. He found support for his four hypotheses: 1) that the ideologically committed (more so than moderates) found newspaper editorials to be more politically salient, 2) that liberal editorial content had an effect on conservatives (when the subject matter was not ideologically crucial to their beliefs), 3) that the content of editorials had a greater impact when the subject was a new topic of news coverage as compared with a familiar one, and 4) that news content (appearing, as it often does, to be neutral) is less reader-screened than editorials and affects liberal, moderate, and conservative beliefs alike. Information-processing theory suggests that a key element in whether or not new information will be accepted or rejected is dependent upon the salience of the message, the type of message, what the person brings with him to the message, and what a given individual does with the message. Entman calls this the interdependence model of public opinion, in contrast to the autonomy model, which presupposes either minimal effects, selective exposure, or mere agenda-setting media influences. His conclusion is summed up as follows: "The media do not control what people prefer; they influence public opinion by providing much of the information people think about and by shaping how they think about it" (Ibid., p. 361).

When examining the question of how American citizens think about national issues, Iyengar (November 1989) attributes considerable importance to how mass media treat and frame issues such as poverty. Is it an individually caused and treatable phenomenon focussing on victims or is it a social or collective entity requiring a differing sense, cause, and treatment responsibility? This research also demonstrates that, in a sample of Suffolk County, Long Island, New York adults, a domain-specific model emerged from individuals' attributions of cause (origin) and treatment (alleviation) for problems such as poverty, crime, terrorism, and racial inequality. Independent of partisanship, liberal/conservative orientations, information, and SES, respondents' opinions and attitudes were negative when attributing causal responsibility to presidents, public policy, public figures, or institutions and were positive when identifying agents of treatment responsibility. In this case, when the social causes of poverty are emphasized, respondents are in

favor of more social welfare, the poor are more positively evaluated, and Reagan's presidential performance is negatively assessed. This suggests that a campaign strategy would be successful if candidates avoided any appearance of causal responsibility and highlighted their solutions or treatments for public problems under discussion or at issue in a campaign.

While politicians may vary their messages in election campaigns, voters' cognitive behavior also varies at different times during an electoral contest, independent of partisanship and political commitment. Stamm (February 1987) found that voter polarization of candidates was uncommon during the 1984 presidential campaign even among partisan voters. For some voters, nondiscriminating strategies lasted throughout the contest. Hedging on one's choice of candidate was not related to issues but was more akin to a cognitive strategy, probably more characteristic of uninformed voters. As contrasted with the practical resolution of environmental issues, for example, differences were found between strategies in campaign communication, interest, and policy concerns. The use of strategies varied from one point in time to another. Also, political participation strategies varied at different points in the campaign. Consequently, not only do people use divergent strategies in making political decisions, but they also change these strategies during a political campaign. While partisanship and commitment may encourage developing one's role as an active campaign communicator, the type of cognitive strategy the voter was using at a given time played an influential role as well. Merely dichotomizing voters into "person-" or "issue-" oriented voters is an oversimplification since the same voter may process information differently at different times in a campaign. Different voters using different cognitive strategies may use political information, policy issues, and candidate attributes differently rather than in some unidimensional way.

An innovative and recent "revisionist" piece (i.e., that inferences are more than mere rationalizations) which used personality schema and prototype theory examined how and how much voters were willing to infer about assessing a presidential candidate beyond the information given about his personal traits or his positions on public issues. University students showed a strong tendency to infer from traits to issues and vice versa, though greater for the former than the latter. Such inferences, though frequently made, are often idiosyncratic. In some instances (for example, relating a candidate's comparison to his support of the government providing job training and a fair standard of living), different types of respondents make the same

inferences, a finding which the National Election Study Data for 1984 supported (Rapoport, Metcalf, and Hartman, November 1989, pp. 917-932).

Confirmation of three out of these four hypotheses indicated that individuals were ready and able to make inferences from and to candidates' traits and their issue positions. The specific inferences made were based on the accessibility of relevant concepts and individual schemata. Inferences from issues to traits occurred more frequently than the reverse process. Inferences were more frequent when the candidate was less well-known. The hypothesized consistent relationship between commonly and widely shared individual schemata and consistent inferences across respondent categories was only shown in one out of four cases (i.e., that of compassion and job policy, but not for competence, leadership, or integrity traits as related to anti-abortion, pro-military intervention, and strong foreign-policy decision-making issues).

Contrary to the conventional wisdom about selective perception, projection, partisanship, or misperception, the voter can be viewed as an "intuitive scientist" who makes inferences based on broadly held theories which individually held schema support. That is, if voters with different issue positions and candidate preferences (when sharing the same view of candidate traits) draw the same issue inferences (and vice versa), then we have some proof for broad-based schematic patterns rather than manifestations of selective perceptions.

Political inferences are likely to result both early in a campaign and for unknown political candidates, especially without television exposure since political schemata develop through association and media reinforcement. When an issue and/or trait leave(s) the news scene, salience is lost and idiosyncratic inferences develop. Such idiosyncratic schemata mean that voters may still infer political knowledge on an individual basis, but candidates cannot efficiently appeal to or more easily manipulate voters without these shared and consistent schematic levels between issues and traits. Ronald Reagan provides an example of a candidate who benefitted from a belief in his strong leadership and compassion; therefore, contrary issue positions were ascribed to him regarding his social-welfare and military-interventionist policies (Ibid., pp. 929-931).

Cognitive psychology has also been vigorously applied to international relations and foreign policy making. The use of concepts such as "common cause maps", "world view", or "self-concept" in international negotiations

(which national and international representatives have conducted) can be examined through information-processing modes of analysis (Shih, 1989, pp. 176-198). Similarly, cognitive maps can be useful in the analysis of "fuzzy" or "soft" causal reasoning regarding military thinking or diplomatic policy making (Kosko, 1986, pp. 65-75). Key cognitive concepts (such as integrative complexity) have also been applied to diplomatic correspondence, presidential speeches, public policy statements, US Supreme Court opinions, magazine editorials, interviews, and US/USSR foreign policy rhetoric. For example, one study of American and Soviet foreign policy statements found that key variables associated with rhetorical integrative complexity had to do with present and past complexity levels, military or political interventions then underway, successful parallel negotiations, US elections, and administrative turnovers. Such studies have interesting policy implications for negotiation, bargaining, and management strategies which foster cooperation or competition in interstate relations (Tetlock, 1985, pp. 1565-1585).

A more unique application of cognitive schema theory was the use of the "Star Wars" film script as an idealized structure for six groups of students ranging from second grade to college. The object was to test relationships among basic actions, subgoals, and higher-level goals and differing schema. These included a personalized "good guy-bad guy" versus a political, ethical, and military "international conflict" schema. Clear knowledge and grade level effects were shown in this study, while the capacity of younger students to construct hierarchies in familiar knowledge domains was substantiated (Means and Voss, 1985, pp. 746-757). Such works as these illustrate the great variety of politically relevant research now underway in the burgeoning field of cognitive studies as it relates to policy analysis and decision making.

Research on dogmatism has shown contradictory findings on differences between high- and low-dogmatic subjects' decision-making processes (e.g., time on task, use of information, extremism in views, etc.). The work of George A. Kelly on cognitive complexity carried further the initial and secondary interest in cognitive styles which was a product of D and F scale research. Kelly theorized that individuals practice "constructive alternativism." That is, they develop constructs, test their worth, and modify them to suit real events. The scientific method of hypothesis formulation, testing, and modification is an analogous process. Human information processing uses differentiation and integration to concretely or abstractly sort data

from a simple or complex environment. Abstract-oriented individuals are better able to process information in more stressful or complex environments than are concrete-oriented individuals. Other features of interdependent individuals were less reliance on authority, higher tolerance of ambiguity, ability to see alternative solutions to problems and to think in hypothetical terms, and a well-defined self-concept. Their judgments are less extreme, less reliant on status and power, less dependent on cognitive consistency, less rigid, more sensitive to environmental cues, more able to role play, and more likely to require complete information about others prior to generalizing (Goldstein and Blackman, 1978, pp. 96-112 and 136-148).

Such findings and generalizations about cognitive processes as these are of interest and relevance to political scientists, political socialization researchers, and citizen educators alike. They illustrate that old arguments about nature versus nurture, quantitative versus qualitative research, the autonomous individual versus the environmental context, structure versus content, personality versus systems, or processes versus institutions are really false dichotomies. They may impede the development of useful and realistic political research and teaching paradigms. Within the contexts of political systems and policy analysis frameworks (the heart of which is the decision-making process, itself), there is room for a variety of useful approaches which help us understand human beings as political actors.

24.6 Politics, Decision Making, and Citizen Education

Political science is concerned with public policy analysis and decision making within the context of a political system, culture, and environment. In his discussion of the Anglo-American political experience, Barber (1988, pp. 200-211) defines ". . . political judgment as a function of commonality that can be exercised only by citizens interacting with one another in the context of mutual deliberation and decision." Furthermore, ". . . democracy turns out to be uniquely supportive of political judgment, because it maximizes interaction and thus guarantees the diversity and generality that is crucial to prudent judgment." He also finds that:

"The citizen is an adept participant in the polity, schooled in the arts of social interaction and marked by the capacity to distinguish `we' styles of thinking from those of `me' styles of thinking. To speak of democratic political judgment is to speak of civic education and also of styles of political participation that go beyond occasional voting. The adept political judge is what we mean when we refer to the

competent citizen; and . . . both citizenship and competence depend on continuous political engagement and experience" (Ibid., pp. 210-211).

In this fashion, Barber provides us with a "liberal philosophy in democratic times", transforming philosophy into practice (praxis), much as James, Dewey, Rugg, and other pragmatists did a half century ago. The emphasis is on learning by doing, doing by living, and by applying oneself to the real world. In this respect, the emergence of public policy analysis as a major field of contemporary national and cross-national research and writing in political science indicates the importance of this paradigm in political studies at any level of analysis. But what do policy analysts do? They:

". . . basically have proceeded on the assumption that certain inputs (demands, supports) are transformed by the political system - of which institutions are a major element - into policy outputs with all kinds of complex feedback loops possible...Comparative policy analysis focused attention on the question of the impact of different characteristics of the political system - particularly different types of 'politics' - on policy outcomes, i.e. the old question of whether 'politics matters'. Policy impact analysis concentrated on the evaluation of different public policies previously from the point of view of ascertaining whether the objectives of policy were achieved" (Schaefer, Spring 1991, pp. 7-8).

The predominance of policy studies research as versus normative political theory in Germany was a clear theme emerging from recent discussions between Peter Wagner (*Wissenschafts Zentrum*, Berlin) and Frank Fischer (Rutgers University). Political forces (particularly in the FRG) were so much behind the public administration, bureaucratic, and technocratic study of public policy that the 1983 rift between the German Society for Political Science and the German Association for Political Science was largely based on these philosophical divisions. German political science was considered the "science of democracy" in which systems theory was used in "planning as a political process." German political science was a curious mixture of American-influenced scholars at the University of Constance (who studied administrative decision making), the Frankfurt group (which criticized policy research as elitist and analyzed science, technology, and nuclear policy from neo-Marxist perspectives), and the FUB group (which focussed on local problems, planning, and "counter-implementation from below"). Different conceptions of the past, present, and possible relationships between social scientists and politicians also divide adherents of

the discipline in Germany. They belong to different "reform coalitions" and "discourse coalitions" and react differently to "discourse structuration" and bureaucratic "discourse regulation" based on politics and funding. While power, the state, and legitimacy are integral concepts in German political science, policy analysis, Wagner claims, has no separatist professional goals to split off from mainstream political science in the FRG (Wagner and Fischer, Spring 1988, pp. 455-477).

A new theoretical development in policy analysis is to treat policy choices and substance with other systemic and political characteristics as independent variables with political institutions (such as the European community structures, Spanish democracy, or German political stability) as the major dependent variable in a joint, cross-national research project under the auspices of the European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht (Schaefer, Spring 1991, pp. 6 and 8).

At a very different level of analysis, that of the politics of everyday life, Peterson (1990, pp. 11-34) surveys various approaches to the study of peoples' political views and behaviors. He cites Kurt Lewin's "field theory" approach and evidence that one's "life space" or surrounding environment influence receptivity to change (i.e., a group decision-making approach may be more effective than experts' lectures in changing food preferences). In contrast to the "situational approach" to the study of everyday politics, mainstream political science is interested in political orientations (such as party identification, political efficacy, political cynicism or distrust, political information, interest and involvement, and post-materialism). These orientations, along with ideology, tolerance, racial views, and egalitarianism, are all related to a person's definition of politics and his/ her location of a space in the political world.

Another factor in the list of dependent research variables is political participation, whether conventional or unconventional, and the related political, social, and psychological influences related to each. The conventional or mainstream model of political science is concerned with independent or explanatory variables researched through sociological, psychological, and/or political approaches. Whereas the sociological model may stress the influence of SES on political efficacy, interest, and obligations, the psychological approach may be divided into personality influences on psychological processes and their effects on political views and behaviors. The traits approach characterizes individuals' dogmatism, ego strength, open-minded-

ness, power drive, and needs as influential for political behavior. Relevant here is Abraham Maslow's needs hierarchy (i.e., five stages from basic physiological needs to self-actualization, fulfillment, and development). We also have Ronald Inglehart's scarcity and socialization hypothesis, which relates to materialistic political orientations. By contrast, process research uses schema theory and information-processing approaches in addition to both the primacy and structuring principles in political socialization.

The political approach focuses on voting, leadership behavior, political parties, government policy, political events, and public opinion analysis. Various definitions of politics mention government, the state, power, authority or influence, systems, scarce resources, social order, and everyday politicization. Many of these definitions also identify the key and culminating role of decision making in a group setting. Examples of this involve participation in family decision making which may influence future political activity and workplace decision making that has a "spillover effect" into politics and other aspects of life.

Regardless of the approach (whether mainstream political science, policy analysis, or the mundane world of everyday political patterns), it is clear that political decision making (or deciding policy at the individual, group, institutional, or international level) is a crucial aspect of the political world, however defined. For example, a common thread running through any survey of authoritarianism, dogmatism, cognitive science, political analysis, and everyday life will surely be stating the importance of the concept of democratic decision making and making policy choices at a variety of levels from the personal to the institutional and from the concrete to the abstract. For example, Inglehart's definitions of materialists includes those preferring government to maintain order and to provide for basic social needs (such as security) whereas post-materialists want government's roles to expand (e.g., increase personal freedom, improve the quality of life, provide for environmental protection, restrict nuclear power, and increase democratic political participation). Each of these political choices involves a decisional or issue stance relative to the scarcity of a given priority, which one's pre-adult socialization patterns of thinking/development influence (Ibid., p.27).

The need to keep social reality and the political culture in mind when engaging in cross-national research becomes very clear in Inglehart's and Siemienka's (1988) comparative analysis of changing values and political dis-

satisfaction in pre-1989 Poland and the West. Not only was it necessary to reframe survey questions to suit the Polish respondents, but interpretation of results also had to be based on knowledge of the Polish political, economic, and social system. For example, to "maintain a stable economy", an item used in the Western survey in 1978 was changed to "reorganize the economy" in Poland in 1980. "Rapid economic development" and "a society where ideas count" are two other questions which deviate in Poland (either in sign or in magnitude) from Western materialistic and post-materialist responses. Reorganizing the economy in Poland clusters with free speech, popular sovereignty, and workplace democracy, all post-materialist values. Despite the long-term rise in economic security in Poland between 1950 and 1980, this development encouraged the growth of post-materialist values (self-expression, increased involvement in public decisions, political pluralism, etc.). Moreover, even with their higher education and income, post-materialists were both more dissatisfied with the political system than those with other value structures and more likely to engage in protest activity in support of political change. Only Italy in the West (1976) had such high dissatisfaction scores across nearly all problem areas and, with Poland, showed results that were double the international mean scores.

Political scientists are also concerned with citizenship, citizen education, civics, and the political education of citizens. This occurs across the spectrum of life and its opportunities for effective decision making in the context of the polis. For example, at the university level, Benjamin Barber says that "citizen education and preparation for life in a democracy is not an add-on' to the university. It is, in fact, an essential part of the definition of what we mean by a liberal education." The founding statements for American universities almost uniformly accepted responsibility for ". . . the preparation of men and women to be contributing citizens and responsible citizens in the communities in which they will live." After identifying "citizenship education" and "community-service-based learning" as rising from the liberal arts, Barber adds ". . . the only argument is what form such education ought to take, not whether or not it belongs to the province of university education" (Barber, April 1991, p. 14).

Similarly, David Ricci subtitled his 1984 book on "The Tragedy of Political Science" with the words "politics, scholarship, and democracy." Ricci's work was based on the study of political science from an organizational perspective as part of American higher education in the liberal tradition, thus being dependent on a philosophy of science. His book's tragic hero,

political science, was torn between two good ends (such as the behavioral and post-behavioral styles or currents in the discipline) and lacked a "great conversation" which would have sound implications for the polity's moving toward wise and significant democratic ends, such as the promotion of human freedom. Despite his pessimistic outlook, Ricci says that the intellectual business of political science needs a "more balanced professional outlook." This task is not any the easier since ". . . political scientists who expound the requirements of good citizenship will find themselves competing for attention in a marketplace already crowded with other people hawking social reform and political solutions, some of them exciting and attractive rather than wise." Moral commitment, enlightened views of justice and the good life, and resolution of the tragic split between democratic ideals and the scientific quest are just some of the implications from Ricci's plea for a political science based on humanism, civility, history, philosophy, and continuity in the dialogue begun long ago with the great books of the West (Ricci, 1988, pp. 77-97).

Obviously, Ricci is neither an instrumentalist nor a pragmatist since he holds John Dewey responsible for the loss of democracy's moral component, allegedly turning it into a mode of government and candidate selection method. While Dewey's own writings clearly distinguish between political and social democracy (the latter being more "inspiring" to him), Ricci's views are least compatible with Dewey's instrumental values and pragmatic judgments which eschew moral certainties. His work would, then, not probably be listed among the great books and, thus, he would not be invited to Ricci's great conversation. Indeed, American political science has had as one of its major goals "an analysis of the qualities of effective citizenship with reference to specific tests of such qualities" as the APSA Committee on Political Research termed it in its 1923 report. In this respect, Dewey devoted a large measure of his life to the cause of reflective political thinking, problem solving, learning by doing, and democratizing schooling. These ideas were part of his significant contribution to 20th century political discourse and American political education. One has only to read Dewey in the original to sense his firm moral commitment to democratic values and processes as well as his loyalty to democratic egalitarianism, non-elitism, and the good and caring society. Therefore, his books should be on the list for civic educators to read since his ideas are still a part of today's great conversation about politics and democratic political education, both

still principally concerned with public and private decision making (Berndtson, May, 1990, pp. 1-32).

24.7 Personality, Schema Theory, Democracy, and Civic Education

Somewhere along the way, individual personality constructs/processes (such as anti-authoritarianism, reflective thinking, democratic traits, the democratic individual, etc.) got lost in political socialization studies and in civic education in the US and other Western, developed countries. The tendency for political scientists to focus on system/pattern maintenance functions and for educators to stress ideological givens, institutional structures, and historical trends leads to a stable, safe, abstract, and even rational pattern for educational research and educational practices. However, it also leads to the exclusion of the political personality, learning theory, everyday life, the realities of politics in ethno-systems (such as the classroom and school system), and the importance of decision making and information processing in political participation and political decision making. What was left of political decision making in much socialization research was a sense of efficacy, legitimacy, or cynicism/alienation or the stress in civic education on informational overload/sources and simple mechanistic voting behavior.

These oversimplifications are understandable since a certain economy and order are necessary in research and in teaching. There is also a certain sense of security in using tried and true political research constructs just as there is in the dissemination of "factual" information which is most easily taught, tested, remembered for the short term, graded, used to discriminate among classes, races, or types of students, and reported. No one learns too much in this essentially conservative process; presumably, no one gets shortchanged or hurt (as they do in fact); and one can make socially valued discriminations among groups and individuals on the basis of readily available, shared, and socially approved conventional wisdom. If one introduces learning theory and individual/social policy choices into teaching/research equations, there is a good probability that "all hell breaks loose." That is, the amount of uncertainty, the degree of responsibility and control, the degree of variation, and the possibilities for measurement all become problematic. Perhaps this is why John Dewey and his school of pragmatic, reflective instrumentalism never got a fair hearing in the US political educa-

tion curriculum - except for a "process" course or two on learning-by-doing in civics (community or advanced), problems of American democracy, or current events. Instead of accepting the classroom risks which Dewey's educational philosophy required (which posited an open democratic personality, process, and vigorous methods for individual and social problem solving and decision making), teachers, national examiners, and political socialization researchers took the easy way out. They stressed convenient concepts, factual information, and noncontroversial topics, such as communist bashing, US history in detail (but only to 1945), nationalism, cultural exceptionalism, and emphasis on *unum* rather than *pluribus* (unity rather than diversity), or some mixture of these elements in the form of phoney pluralism, ersatz *Gesellschaft*, superficial multiculturalism, and alleged human universals of behavior.

Reintroducing the personality dimension and learning theory into political socialization research and civic education is a prospect fraught with complexity. It constitutes a dangerous threat to the security of generations of teachers and politics scholars alike. In effect, we must all be de-socialized or re-socialized to politics; this is no easy task. It requires that we proceed slowly and cautiously (domestically, and internationally) but with all deliberate speed even as the very political environments and cultures we deal with are undergoing radical transformations, conservative resurgence, and political realignment - none of which may be conducive to this work which, itself, is not for the faint-hearted who lack or have lost the courage of their convictions. But what, specifically, is involved here?

24.7.1 Schema Theory

Schema theory is that part of psychological personality theory which deals with learning, decision making, choices, information processing, and the development of political constructs and ideologies at the individual level or in group settings, where individuals may act differently. Personality theory deals with individual, dynamic, enduring, unique, or even idiosyncratic attributes which may be shared, in part, with others but which influence "internal predispositions to behavior" and social interactions. It is a product of enculturation, maturation, and socialization, "a nonconscious affair for both the individual and the agents of socialization." Socialization's contribution to personality development relates to ". . . the universal elements of the process which pertain to the development or actualization of distinctively human attributes (e.g., rational thought, conscience, self-conceptions, val-

ues, free will, morality, language)." Socialization helps develop "human nature" and is itself a "humanization" process (Direnzo, 1990, pp. 25-26).

In contrast to political socialization research focusing on the political content of youth's knowledge, attitudes, or behaviors or on the influence of agency transmission of political knowledge, social psychologists have proposed an alternative approach using cognitive "structures" (such as schemata, scripts, prototypes, or maps), "contents" (such as values, ideology, concepts, attributes, and attitudes), and information "processes" (such as percepts, influences, encoding mechanisms, storage, organization, retrieval, and feedback). These theories seek to explain structural "universals" which generally apply to human beings in different societies as they acquire and change their social and political knowledge.

This theory assumes that, despite an infinite number of routes to political understandings, there are certain common processes which are used and which can be identified through research. A basic assumption of cognitive processing theory is that individuals acquire knowledge (learn) in two stages: a "cognitive generation stage" and a "cognitive validation stage."

These two stages, respectively, involve content which is assimilated on the basis of information from the environment and/or from inferences in stored knowledge (dependent upon availability and salience) in an attempt to answer self-posed questions. This knowledge content is subjected to evidentiary tests. A degree of confidence is placed on them, resulting in partial or complete acceptance, rejection, or replacement of old or new ideas/information/schema through a flexible, "defreezing", or assimilating process or through a rigid, "freezing", or rejecting process. Both "cognitive capacity" and "epistemic motivation" also affect information processing and informational integration. One's cognitive capacities vary according to the level of one's abilities (perceptual, memory, relational, comprehensive, reasoning, conceptual, complexity, speed, competence, and other information processing factors).

Human developmental or cognitive stages also impact on cognitive abilities and affect one's capacity to understand, to absorb, to handle abstraction or complexity, and to infer or intuit new information from pre-existent or newly collected information. Motivational tendencies and styles also affect one's information processing and inferential modes in that information is accepted or rejected depending on one's self-image, ego strength, and desire for "valid knowledge" (requiring openness), "structure" (invoking clo-

sure, making a commitment, "freezing", and being rigid), and "specific content" (truth seeking, not tolerating ambiguity, and rejecting inconsistencies). Individuals also operate on the basis of accepting or rejecting certain knowledge or epistemic "authorities" (whose information may be consistent with or contrary to previously accepted knowledge), such as newspapers, editorials, television, or political leaders (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1990, pp. 116-122).

Bar-Tal and Saxe's discussion of the acquisition of political knowledge uses a cognitive-processing approach to examine five relevant research questions. These involve the a) availability and salience of information for groups, b) the relevance of political knowledge for youth, the roles of c) cognitive capacities and d) motivation on acquisition of such knowledge, and e) authority sources. Some of their conclusions about each of these factors are as follows:

- a) Individuals more easily process information which is found in their environmental repertoire so that family, SES influences, and information availability are crucial relevant variables; repetition, prominence, or salience of information routed through socializing agents is also a critical element. The teacher, curriculum, school, or community may teach the same or different information, just as parents may or may not teach children about political events or share their more abundant knowledge.
- b) Politics has a variable relevance and interest level in different societies, among different groups in societies, and among different SES, occupational, racial, and gender groupings. Most Americans do not find politics to be continuously interesting or relevant in their daily lives. Therefore, they must "gin up" their interest during political campaigns with the help of the information, "hype", or agenda-setting material which mass media supply.
- c) Persons at different developmental stages and different age levels possess varying capacities to comprehend or process the same information. As age (maturation) increases, more "reasonably coherent structures" appear, thus allowing more complex, effective, abstract, and generalizable information processing. Concepts (such as authority, freedom, civil liberties, partisanship, communism, the future, social organizations, and institutions) and processing skills (such as reciprocity, deceleration, and sociocentric thinking) emerge along with higher-stage development and maturation. The capacities to critically reflect and to

form an ideology also develop during adolescence, when the idea of the "public good" takes on meaning.

- d) Arousal or motivation to learn or process information may extend or limit information processing as well as the availability of information in groups. Factors such as openness, stress, pressure, ego, belongingness, security, autonomy, conformity, overload, needs, desires, fears, etc. may all influence validity, structure, or content goals at the individual or group levels. These processes indicate that individual needs greatly influence attention to and integration of the same information, with different individual knowledge products resulting from any new information interacting with previously stored knowledge. Maslow's need hierarchy and Inglehart's materialism/post-materialism nexus are relevant here, just as is TAP theory regarding, for example, the authoritarian's aggressive pursuit of power, authority, status, and domination through stereotyping, exploitation, and dominance over others, either individually or through membership in fascist-type, undemocratic, or right-wing groups, parties, and organizations. Political partisanship (like TAP) may also distort perceptions of reality and skew information processing if individuals overstress closure on structural or content grounds.
- e) Political socialization research on agents of socialization also indicates that a "determinative influence" can be found (at different age levels and by gender) for parents, teachers, the media, peers, and/or religion. More work on the dynamics, relative influence, and domains of political knowledge needs to be assembled in different cultural settings. In these settings, the father, mother, or teacher may prove to play a more-significant personal role, while the media may play a more-impersonal - but still significant - role in the way an individual acquires and processes his/her political knowledge and orientations.

In sum, Bar-Tal and Saxe conclude that since "the essence of democracy is participation in decision making", it is vital to unravel or decode political information processing to prevent its abuse and to encourage its use. Political socialization has both "universal" cognitive processes and "particularistic elements." These include individual and group uniqueness, repertoires, knowledge, and behaviors. We must also consider how these individual differences relate to different political structures and systems in which political debate, information, and even structures change every day (Ibid., pp. 122-130).

Cognitive and social psychologists' work on schemas (in Greek, a form) has also been applied to political science (analyzing everyday politics), to mass media research (producing revisionist challenges to selective perception and agenda-setting theories of the press), and to political education and political socialization research (as described previously). As a result of this work, we may be able to posit some new (and, hopefully, more effective approaches) to political learning and be better able to universalize the products of domestic and cross-national research into youth's political orientations.

The first relevant point is Jerome Kagan's statement that ". . . the person's interpretation of experience is simultaneously the most significant product of an encounter and the spur to the next." This observation spurred some political scientists' interest in political schemata ("categories, propositions, and values") which are ". . . large, complex units of knowledge that organize much of what we know about general categories of objects, classes of events, and types of people." A schema is an "internal representation" which "organizes and guides information processing." Much of what people understand and remember is internally connected, rather than connected to external stimuli with which a "preconceived idea" is connected. We understand the external better if it is more closely connected to and consistent with our pre-existent schema. In effect then, an individual's political orientations are actually political schemata (Peterson, 1990, p. 15).

Children develop psychologically within the confines of biology and experience, but experience predominates during adolescence in affecting continuity and change. Only in late childhood do psychological entities begin to have any lasting importance; however, this is situational or structural, not psychological, since reinforcement may be absent. Schema and past behaviors seem to be change-resistant, but they can change in the face of dissonance from new experiences or new environments. If personality characteristics are positively reinforced through social and cultural value "valences", they tend to endure. Moreover, rapid and significant changes occurring after adolescence may produce significant resocialization or reinforcement of older pre-existing personality patterns. Human beings remain changeable if situations change. Therefore, with subsequent developmental changes in store for them, it is unlikely that many childhood influences last into adulthood. Individual, different, everyday life spaces also help to determine one's degree of politicization and any attendant rewards attached thereto (Ibid., pp. 16- 18).

Schema theory is also useful for an understanding of political communications information processing. It has been used in political research to estimate the impact of political messages and to assess whether or not the media influence not just what we think about, but how we think (process) and what we know (learn) about politics (Graber, 1984).

Traditional communications theory posited an "autonomous" model in which people either screened out certain messages (selectivity) or said that audiences pay little attention to the media or fail to comprehend messages. This inattention produced minimal effects. Alternatively, agenda-setting assumed that media had a narrow sphere of influence over what we think about (salience) but not about what we think or how we process information about candidates or issues. A more recent and modern view in the field posits an "interdependence" model in which public opinion is the result of media messages and what people make out of them. These researchers use the concepts of "schemas", "scripts", "inferential sets", "frames", and "prototypes." These cognitive structures store both political beliefs, attitudes, values, and preferences along with rules for linking them. Schemata help to direct attention to relevant information, to interpret and evaluate it, to allow inferences when information is unclear or absent, and to retain it. These constructs are based on the results of information processing, much like political constructs, such as partisanship and ideology. Both external data and internal schemas influence the development of new constructs through political thought (Entman, 1989, pp. 348-350).

Schema theory assumes that people heed that information which is most salient and in tune with their interests. Although assimilation of new information may be resisted, it can be accommodated even if it seems illogical, contradictory, or dissonant. This means that people are open to significant media affects since salient information may be routinely processed, stored, or discarded, old beliefs reinforced or changed, and new beliefs stimulated. While some news information may be ruled out, other information may be deemed relevant and stored, especially since most people are not deeply involved, knowledgeable, or actively interested in politics all the time. Even confirmed partisans may accept discordant information if it is presented in the news in an interesting, relevant, and salient manner that does not create a feeling of dissonance. Since public political views are not firmly anchored, repetitious messages may penetrate and affect these views, especially if a changing political agenda presents new views which have not been processed previously. The public use ideology (e.g., liberal, conserva-

tive, or moderate) as a template which does not automatically reject contrary ideas but which allows different individuals to process the news in different ways. The attributes of a message (e.g., its salience) may evoke different interest levels for those with different ideologies. Some messages may relate either to core or peripheral values; it matters more to a conservative if the message deals with capitalism or to a liberal if it concerns equality and change. These individuals would process the same news differently if a report endorses free enterprise and privatization but is only of marginal relevance to liberal/conservative core values. News messages which come from editorials or news stories also have a differential impact in that the message of the latter is supposed to be more objective, neutral, or factual and, thus, can more subtly influence the reader through slanted coverage when one's ideological guard is down. Moreover, stories about "old", "stale", or pre-processed topics are more resisted than are new topics which are not so well rehearsed. Consequently, those with strong ideological identifications are likely to find partisan messages salient, whereas moderates are generally uninterested in such matters.

Editors can also impact on ideological positions if the subjects are not part of one's core values. Editorial content will impact more strongly on new topics than on old. News content, more than editorials, will be accepted more and screened less since fewer defenses for such supposedly "neutral" information exist. News slant also seems to have a major impact on more ideologically defenseless moderates. Liberal editorials can impact on conservatives and vice versa. All these ideological groups are influenced by news diversity. While the media do not control what people find salient, they do have an influence on public opinion by providing information for thinking or grist for the mill. They help to shape or frame how people think about the news as well. Idiosyncratic uses of news still exist, but persons reading the same newspaper (stimulus material) are presented with similar and selected information which, itself, has a major impact on political thinking. Media contribute to, but do not control, political thinking so that there is an interdependence between the information source and the public, which does not process information independently. The news media also provide the public with information which socializing agents use, which re-define ideologies, which produce emotional interest without informational context, and which provide complete or incomplete information or interpretive frames. Audiences use these informational frameworks to build inferences which they can internalize or reject. This process shows their con-

tinuing reliance on media information as the building blocks for their cognitive processing of political news through the use of schematic constructs (Ibid., pp. 361-367).

When voters decide a question, they have a repertoire of cognitive strategies which they may use (i.e., based on how their political knowledge is organized). For example, a decision-making model may posit selective exposure for adolescents who focus on/are precommitted to a single candidate as contrasted with adults who have alternative or multiple candidate perspectives. Use of the decision-making mode may be frequent or infrequent and may also relate to lower levels of campaign communications or to different informational needs. Persons who favor a single candidate may also use a "valuation" as versus using a two-candidate ("evaluation") mode when consuming political advertising. With some variations, the decision-making model for undecided voters is the prevailing approach to communications studies. Here, the voter uses the media to assess issues and traits about alternative candidates until he/she makes a choice. After making a decision, the voter seeks reinforcement information (Stamm, February 1987, pp. 35-57).

How, rather than merely what, voters think is thus an important aspect of political communications. One study (on university students) of the 1989 presidential campaign found that nondiscriminating strategies were used throughout the campaign, that candidate polarization was uncommon early in the election (even among partisans), and that voters who "hedged" on their choices were not issue-specific, but that voters who "wedged" on widely separated alternatives did so regardless of the issue. The context of an election may also be quite different from one on making decisions about environmental problem solving, for instance. Partisanship was also found to be influential for decision making in political campaigns, but it was not uniformly true that partisans polarized their choices since they use a variety of cognitive strategies at different times in a campaign. Campaign communication, interest, and policy concerns also affected voters' cognitive processing. It appears, then, that people use very different strategies in making choices and may even change their strategies during a campaign. Active political campaign communication is not only related to partisanship, commitment, or polarization, but also to the cognitive strategy being used prior to making a final choice. Therefore, the same voter may process information differently at different times in a campaign, being issue-oriented today and person-oriented tomorrow. Different voters with different strategies

may also need and want different information on issue positions or candidate traits at different times of a campaign, particularly at the start when campaign information is sparse (Ibid., pp. 53-55).

Sabatier and Hunter (1989) examined elite, as contrasted with mass, causal perceptions. These belief systems were considered to be cognitive orientations (e.g., toward conflict and ontology), left - right views, participation, interpersonal orientations, and partisanship. Elite views are considered to be products of pre-adult socialization patterns. Scholars have usually presumed that there is a leap between these general orientations to specific policy positions, without much else intervening to explain causal processes and systemic variables. Causal analysis, however, is based on both "formative" and "lifelong learning" models of socialization, both of which include normative orientations, such as ideology or partisanship. Such beliefs are more malleable and are related to actual and preferred policy alternatives.

These researchers conclude that the broad-based or "shotgun" approach to political beliefs and attitude formation may be misleading because elites (whether they are bureaucrats, legislators, or interest-group leaders) tend to specialize (as issue publics do) in a couple of policy areas. Causal perceptions are also linked to level of salience for one's normative orientations. If one subscribes to formative principles of socialization, then causal perception analysis adds only a small (but significant) amount to the explained variance. However, adherents to lifelong-learning models may attribute significant qualitative and quantitative importance to causal perceptions, perhaps equal with one's normative orientations, policy preferences, and evaluations of governmental agencies.

A more abstract model of relationships would include not only causation/evaluation of policies and agencies but also one's relevant and malleable normative orientations (perceptions) over time. Such beliefs may actually change more than basic ideological orientations over time, but this phenomenon has not been carefully researched. Such causal perceptions are vital to elites when choosing viable policy alternatives. Yet, they may vary in importance when choosing, for example, between social and environmental policies. However, the general importance of causal and systemic perceptions in all policy areas seems more likely to be the case. For example, one's causal perceptions about social welfare recipients (as either "victims" or "parasites"), drunken drivers (as irresponsible individuals or as products of media "hype" with no alternative but driving home), or crimi-

nals (as environmental products or as cost-benefit analysts) lead to very different policy choices for decision makers (Ibid., pp. 229-232 and 253-256).

Rapoport, et al. (November 1989) used experimental data and National Election Survey (NES) data to examine voters' willingness to infer candidates' traits from issue positions (and vice versa), using schema and attributes theory instead of their personal needs and desires for self-esteem, social approval, and/or cognitive consistency. Their model describes voters as "intuitive scientists" who try to make sense out of the world with the limited information available. These "intuitive social scientists" are motivated toward cognitive consistency and toward understanding, predicting, and controlling their surrounding environment. Voters, for example, must make inferences on the basis of limited information; therefore, they must use schemas or subjective theories which are based on how they believe the social world operates. These schemas also focus on individuals, on one's self, on social or political roles, or on sequences of events. Schemas are similar to prototypes which are used to categorize individuals or objects, from which data-based inferences can be made. They are also close to "implicit personality theories" which assume interrelationships among traits or lower-level schema. All three of these constructs are "higher-level cognitive structures" which are used in inference making. Political schemas involve issues, traits, behaviors, and other political attributes on the basis of which voters can infer a conservative candidate's opposition to big government, for example. In these ways, voters use the limited information available in their everyday life to make quick decisions based on both old and new information.

The degree of salience or accessibility of schema relate to the expectation of encountering the concept, individual motivation to attend to the concept, and the recency and frequency of the political concept's vitality. Activation of related concepts depends on how closely they are linked and how many concepts are involved. The amount of available information and the immediacy of a choice also condition inference-making processes. Voters are able to (and readily do) make inferences about traits, policies, issues, behaviors, ideologies, personalities, characters, and other abstractions which may have weak or strong interlinkages and associations. However, since individuals widely practice this "fundamental attribution error" (by assuming others' behaviors are determined by personal traits, not situations), assessments of traits are more likely than issue evaluations in day-to-day life. Inferences from issues to traits are also more likely to occur than is the re-

verse order. People also can better remember their own inferences from a political advertisement than the details of the ad copy. At any rate, these connections among issues, information, repetition, salience, cognitive consistencies, and political campaigns have given electoral specialists a new intellectual toy (Ibid., pp. 918-931).

Psychological processes such as imitation, disinhibition, and arousal/desensitization have been used to explain television's effects in the 1980s. TV viewers have been shown to develop aggressive "scripts" over a long period of time, based on their initial "encoding" from the immediate environment (including television) and based on which scripts are activated when viewers are provided with the appropriate circumstances to demonstrate aggressive behavior. Aggressive children who consume violent TV fare early and regularly may very well develop aggressive lifestyles or even criminal behavior which is manifested later when they are in their 30s. The model being developed is called "reciprocal effects." There is an interplay between aggressive personalities, their preference for violent TV viewing, and the "aggressive scripts for behavior" which may be activated during one's life cycle by still other violent TV portrayals. Whereas preadolescent interventions may defuse tendencies for violence or criminality, the process of "cumulative learning" may reinforce these "enduring schemas" which reinforce tendencies toward criminal behavior into adulthood. Of course, not all TV results in aggressive behavior since some of its effects, though not cathartic, may merely serve to help viewers to relax or "unwind" through reassurances, for example, that the police always catch the criminal. Of course, this is actually the case in only a small fraction of crimes in the US (Condry, 1989, pp. 116-118).

The psychological influences of dramatic television on political knowledge and behavior may be, in part, described using the concepts of "vignettes", scripts, roles, and behaviors. Short-term images and concepts/representations provide fundamental elements called "vignettes." Several "vignettes" together are used to describe an event. Individuals cognitively process certain scripts for a given event or situation and assume a personal role within that script. Violent episodes on TV may signify "appropriate" methods for conflict resolution, especially if socially justified or sanctioned. At some near or future time, the individual may recall the script from memory and assume his/her place in the previously viewed aggressive role. Similarly, television provides viewers with information on gender roles, health occupations, sexual violence, and social (yet less individually specific) prob-

lems involving power, justice, and political decision making. In many respects, what is most interesting about television and psychological research is that while experimental and empirical interactive effects among TV, personal violence, and environment can be demonstrated, in other instances, educational television episodes have been shown to significantly impact on societal (but not on personal) level judgements about nursing home care or one's body weight, for example (Ibid., pp. 142-143).

24.8 Cognitive Processes and Political Education

Since schemata are representations, conceptual networks, or cognitive structures, they may be considered larger constructs than ideas, concepts, or attitudes. Both previously- and newly-acquired information is organized, recall of this information is influenced, and problem-solving ability is affected through these generic (but modifiable) information structures which are stored in one's short- or long-term memory. Since an individual constructs a schema, it may or may not be a true picture of that which exists in the real world.

The idea of a schema may be a useful construct for linking previously-conducted political socialization research to civic education. These cognitive maps or models which both youth and adults use to organize their political worlds have implications for the conduct and conclusions of research on the socialization process, stage theory, developmental tasks, and teaching-learning (educational) theory. In one respect, the idea of a schema holds promise as a kind of DNA code which may be used to unlock the thinking processes individuals use to construe meaning and to organize information in terms of both knowledge and values (attitudes). Cognitive psychologists who study schemata frequently ask subjects to "think aloud" when they solve a problem or describe connections which they see between concepts. Such schemata may represent events or action sequences or they may deal with hypothetical problem-solving techniques with respect to social institutions (Torney-Purta, December 1988, pp. 2 and 32 and 1990, pp. 98-116).

Cognitive psychologists who study information processing and cognitive restructuring also refer to an individual's, pre-existent "script" or expected event sequences. These are associated with political roles (e.g., police "arrest" people, while citizens are expected to read newspapers and vote). For example, young Israeli children may personalize economic processes through shopping scripts, but later in life they develop economic concep-

tions which involve other actors in more complex and formal economic interactions (Leiser, 1983, pp. 297-317). Not all new information causes schematic changes; instead, some incongruous information may be assimilated without modifying a schema. To affect schemata, an impact must be tried and made. This is done by reconstructing meaning via making an image, finding interrelationships between old and new information, and macroprocessing information which modifies pre-existent or previously perceived hierarchical relationships. Students who construct their own "graphic maps" of political ideas or concepts (such as "nations") have a better chance of recalling the meaning of this concept when it is incorporated into their existing schemata through an active, self-directed process of learning. For example, in one geography experiment, elementary and junior high school students were asked to identify the most important information after reading passages containing both (or either) content and/or text structure about a fictional country. Students in all age groups were best able to perform when given both factual content information and hierarchical text structure (e.g., information on location, landforms, and climate as well as clues, such as "we will first describe the physical geography of Melanesia"). The two youngest groups found the structure-only reading easier than the content-only selection. The former contained signal sentences and hierarchical/organizing clues which allowed them to re-integrate prior knowledge, build new images, and develop new hierarchical relationships (national concepts study reported by Berkowitz, 1986, and geographic concepts study reported by Ohlhausen and Roller, Winter 1988, pp. 70-88).

Healy, a reading specialist and educational psychologist, analyzed the US media's flagship children's program, *Sesame Street*, from a cognitive processes perspective. She maintains that this very popular children's program (5.8 million young US viewers between 2 and 5 years watch three times per week). This is an expensive "show" (about US \$1 million per program). However, it does not work for improving reading skills, remembering, or educational readiness as well as does alternative programming, such as *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood* or *Reading Rainbow*, which have less "media hype" behind them. Healy says that the program does not teach the "habits of mind" needed for reading skills, namely "language, active reflection, persistence, and internal control" (Healy, Winter 1991, pp. 22-27 and 39).

The *Mr. Rogers'* program has a slower pace, uses comprehensible language, helps children make connections, and actively engages learners who "browse" through the program more voluntarily, even while talking and

walking about. *Reading Rainbow* is tied to library reading programs and actually increases book circulation among children through its efforts. The major problems with *Sesame Street* are that it ignores developmental stages and is too anticipatory, de-emphasizes language development skills for letters and numbers, ignores vital differences between visual and printed images, and teaches discrete informational "bits" (as versus "big bits") which do not promote development of relational, interconnected, or holistic meanings. The program's focus on looking, rather than on listening, is also ineffective; thus, it encourages perceptual chaos rather than organizational unities. This entertaining program may appeal to adults, but it fails to address a basic educational problem which applies to children of all ability levels in grades 4 to 12: namely, they ". . . have considerable difficulty in studying and linking together the concepts presented in science and social studies texts" (Ibid., p. 26). Since poor readers and problem solvers are more passive than active learners, they surrender comprehension when a program is a cacophony of sounds and visual images which do not actively promote understanding, development of memory, and voluntary interest and attention. Proper attention to the latter helps students of all ages to develop "visual imagery" or associational/relational pictures in their minds. While *Sesame Street* is sensitive to social problems and cultural diversity, its fast-paced entertainment style misleads the public (even in the absence of corroborating evidence or research) to think that the program has educational value for young as well as older viewers. What we fail to understand is that children are not adults. What appeals to a parent may not necessarily teach a child to read, think, or actively learn since their respective developmental levels and cognitive processing abilities are so vastly, qualitatively, and quantitatively different. These popular perceptions are much like our thinking that a suntan on a Caucasian person indicates someone is "a picture of health", but a dermatologist will tell us the production of melanin actually indicates skin damage. What may really be healthful is the outdoor activity (swimming, tennis, golf, etc.) which produced the suntan, rather than the skin color itself. Similarly, *Sesame Street* is a colorized version of typical black and white ("dull") educational processes, merely presenting the illusion of pedagogical health. The cognitive processing intellectual activities involved (passive "sunbathing") are actually unhealthful intellectually and require more strenuous contextual or meaningful cognitive intellectual exercises to improve their utility as an educational media model.

Other research on cognitive processing has dealt with hypothetical problems and problem-solving methods using the "think-aloud" technique to build models of these processes. Torney-Purta (December 1988, pp. 36-41 and 1990, pp. 98-116) describes two approaches to this research problem. One of these was her own design and used both content and process approaches to hypothetical international problems. The other social science approach was more content-free and revealed differences in the approaches of "experts" (professors) versus "novices" (students) to problem solving. These differences had to do with structuring and knowledge-based distinctions. The "experts" spent more time than "novices" in problem definition and evaluation of solutions. Torney-Purta's recent research expands this process with gifted adolescents using schemata with actors, actions, and constraints. During this process, more actors and actions were recognized after the simulation. Consistency in pre- and post-session schemata in most individuals was noted, as well as a greater level of complexity in handling this international problem (the North-South debt crisis). More constraints, actions, and actors and more connections among actors were also outcomes of this simulation. This process showed ". . . cognitive restructuring as a movement from unconnected and unconstrained actions to connected and constrained actions" (Ibid., pp. 40-41).

We may also tie this research to the previous work of Adelson and O'Neil (1966, pp. 295-306) by reconceptualizing their tri-level format (i.e., 11-year-old's simple, punitive pragmatism; 13-year-old's elementary political concepts; and 15-year-old's more coherent political principles/ideals) in the growth of a "sense of community" and "social contract" thinking. The older students in this study showed more reciprocity, recognized constraints, and (we may say) had more complex, well-developed, and representative schemata about the political community and system. They were also able to de-personalize individuals and to think in terms of social institutions. Future and present constraints, short- and long-term consequences and effects on individuals and groups, and reciprocal relationships between citizens and government were other illustrations of developed coherence or connectedness among principles, concepts, and images in the older students. Since affects or attitudes are also associated with positively or negatively "charged" schema, techniques for eliciting attitudes, connecting them to schemata and behaviors, and associating feelings with actors and actions also seem to be important.

Torney-Purta sees hope in this line of research for: a) training teachers to discover students' pre-existent schemata and to develop techniques for schema modification or construction in a related, connected, holistic manner; b) making curriculum revisions which account for depersonalization or decentering, encouraging reciprocity, and developing connections and coherence in schema across different content domains (e.g., economics, politics, history, geography, etc.); c) encouraging students' active involvement in public decision making and issue controversy and schema development/revision through stimulating information exchange with others; and d) encouraging students' developmental complexity and comprehension through construction of "concept maps" or models and diagrams of political actors, actions, and constraints which will enhance cognitive processing of information and attitudinal sophistication. As she concludes:

"New attention is being given to political socialization research. If this work can include a study of young people's schemata or conceptual networks, it is more likely to be useful in improving citizenship education than it has been in the past" (Torney-Purta, December 1988, p. 46).

The use of cognitive processing and developmental-stage theory (whether based on Piagetian or Kohlbergian formulations) in political socialization and civic education research and curriculum development may hold some promise for future efforts of scholars working in this field. Nevertheless, certain basic questions still exist which need at least partial, if not complete, answers before we invest another 20 years of effort in what may yet prove to be a fruitless and irrelevant task for whatever the reasons. Among these questions are the following:

1. Can developmental and cognitive research findings in psychology and communications, mathematics and physical sciences, or economics and geography readily be transferred to the civics and politics domains?
2. Is the idea of cognitive schemas applicable to understanding the range of political subtopics for different age groups; how does restructuring occur and how is this related to new and old (stored) information; how are attitudes, beliefs, values, and constructs related to schema; and which schema are formed early, last longest, and most strongly influence what follows in the developmental/maturation process? (See Torney-Purta, 1990, p. 113.)
3. Do homogeneous or discrete stages, levels, or stances really exist since developmental research has found that a given individual may be at dif-

ferent cognitive levels across (or even within) given domains even when at the same age or maturational level?

4. How can we guard against misleading characterizations and labeling of children as being at a given stage or level of inferential ability when these intellectual constructs are based on many different studies in very different domains (e.g., psychology, mathematics, astronomy, geography, economics, communications, and politics)?
5. Can we take developmental age limits or brackets seriously when they stress biological and cognitive maturation over children's and youth's previous and varying environmental and social interactions which, in turn, produce much individual variation across/within different domains?
6. Since the optimal level for the initiation of political education may vary from 8 to 11 years of age, is it not safer to delay political education until late adolescence when a large number ("a critical mass") of students will have reached the formal operations or ideological stage at which point political education may be most relevant and effective?
7. What is to be done with students who either have not reached, or cannot yet reach (even with training), the expected or average level of cognitive development (i.e., "readiness" to learn)? Is this an argument for tracking, which itself may promote counterproductive social and political learning and class-based effects? Can teachers handle such complexities?
8. Should Piagetian and Kohlbergian formulations be rejected and restructured (since they have not yet yielded expected results); should we replace or reconceptualize developmental or stage theory along more-modern, but less-researched, information processing, cognitive development, and social psychological schemata or frames of reference theories?
9. Is it possible to retrain teachers, to restructure curricula and teaching materials, to modify educational practices (such as testing formats), and to stage a new educational revolution on the basis of an as-yet-unproven and unrelated set of micro-research projects on decisional and cognitive processes in different countries when we have only partially proven (after much research) the relevance of developmental, stage, decision-making, or social/cognitive psychology theories to political education?

For stage or developmental theory to adequately support curricular and educational reformulations, evidence must be found to show coherent, longitudinal, qualitative, progressive change over time (without serious regression) among children and youth in more than one country. Moreover, for social/cognitive/psychological approaches to supplant or to reconceptualize stage theory, there must be evidence that it is the level or type of thinking or logical process (structure) itself which is more critical in human information processing or learning interactions than the force of biological or intellectual maturation or the influence of social and educational environments. It may be true that children and youth are not merely uninformed little adults who will naturally or quickly develop if given additional information in any form. It is also not clear just what political content and learning processes are most appropriate for students at given age levels in different national educational systems. At most, what we now have are some suggestions and some hypothetical formulations or cognitive constructs which may be useful but which have few, if any, available links to political content, curriculum, or teaching.

Different cognitive developmental studies have been more or less empirically based and have more or less qualified as meeting the criteria of either a developmental stage, trend, or conceptual schema, representation, or network, as social/cognitive psychologists define them. Stage theory has been the indirect result of inference from data on research with children or adolescents or it has been the direct empirical outcome of such research. For example, the IEA (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975) cross-national civics study inferred five "stages" which varied from knowledge of vague, inarticulate, and familiar political ideas and persons (such as the police) at the youngest age levels (10- to 14-year-olds) to a sophisticated, realistic, conflictual, skeptical, and well-developed cynical view of politics among the older students (18- to 20-year-olds).

Another US study (Moore, Lare, and Wagner, 1985) used longitudinal data from interviews with 250 students to describe three basic levels and six stages, ranging from an undifferentiated view at the youngest ages to the development of some critical features of a cognizing ideology at the 9- to 10-year-old levels (grade 4). Furth's (1980) work in England with students in three primary schools focused on community, social and economic roles, the school, and the local government council. Once again, a developmental sequence was noted. At stage one, the youngest (5- to 6-year-olds) formulated an undifferentiated, personalized, and unlinked set of observations;

however, at the concrete systematic stage four level, the pre-adolescents were more integrated, formal, logical, and adept at differentiated operations (e.g., personal versus social events), including reversibility of thinking.

Another English study (Stevens, 1982) of 800 7- to 11-year-olds once again found that the youngest children were egocentric, absolute, unordered, and nonsequential in their thinking. Beginning with age 9, an understanding, ability, and interest in political issues unfolded. By age 11, students had become more self-corrective; linked cognitive structures with political problems (such as conservation, women's rights, and economics); interpreted role replacement, change, and reversibility; and demonstrated features of Piaget's concrete operations level. Throughout these studies, interviewers productively used one-on-one, supportive, peer, and noncorrective problem-solving techniques to elicit children's responses. Children were seen to have learned different "scripts" for behaving in social, school, or family settings. Evidence of interstage "stances" was also uncovered, indicating certain dynamic developments were promoting developmental changes (e.g., "stances" indicated partial, incomplete, uniformed, contradictory, unstable, inconsistent, and partial schema). During these interviews, children were also found to be able to process new information through piecemeal accumulation and incorporation without altering their poorly formed or developing concepts or schema. Additional information could cause both accommodation and restructuring. Still more or other information could result in radical reorganization and restructuring of cognitive frames of reference after classroom discussions or Socratic dialogue based on political and social issues (Torney-Purta, December 1988, pp. 24-25). The work of Conover and Feldman (1984) and Ohlhausen and Roller (Winter 1988) also suggests that a more accurate term is developmental "trends" rather than "stages" or "tasks" since there is considerable overlapping and partial development across different age levels and domains. However, it yet remains to integrate these developmental "trends" with other cognitive processing capacities as well as moral/valuative research before new educational prescriptions can be planned, tried, and proposed both nationally and cross-nationally.

24.9 Some Conclusions About Political Education and Public Policy in a Cognitive Studies Context

The fundamental consideration now before us is summed up as this question: Can we integrate cognitive and developmental decision making and civics?

24.9.1 Civic Education Frameworks and Models

The foregoing summary of key or related trends in authoritarianism research, political science trends, cognitive political, psychological, and communications information-processing research, and some key political socialization/nationalism findings needs integration into a coherent theoretical framework in order to access its applicability for public educational policy making and the processes of reform in civic education. Clearly, this effort requires a consideration of structures as well as content of political thinking, the place of such orientations in the public policy and decision making context, and some examples of how this fits with emerging and post-behavioral trends in the politics of everyday life and qualitative methods (such as ethnography) which may be used to study these complex interactions in classrooms and field settings.

Elsewhere (Farnen, 1990, pp. 287-292), I have described a synthetic, analytical, and policy process model for comprehending the framework of political education. This model uses a policy analysis approach to civic education, describing how the teaching/learning environment (textbooks, curricula, school organization, etc.) interacts with the political culture and system in the process of problem solving from the level of self to international objects and relationships. Also impacting on these decision making processes are the individual's cognitive processes and operations, moral and developmental stages, and relevant values, knowledge, and behaviors. This type of analysis assumes that problem solving, decision making, and active political participation are key elements for citizen roles in a democratic political system. It is but one of many organizational frameworks for linking political science to psychological processes of learning and the requirements for citizenship education. As such, it provides a guide for both research questions and curriculum development which may be helpful for making sense out of the individual's place in a complex political world.

Alternative conceptions (e.g., the CAC's Citizenship Education and Peace Project) focus on US foreign policy, the US role in the world, public dis-

course and peace making, international participation activities, and an understanding of other cultures (Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, 1990). Another new, related, and emerging format is the "CIVITAS" framework for civic education conducted under the auspices of the CAC and the Center for Civic Education. CIVITAS (1990) focuses on: civic virtue (dispositions and commitments); civic participation (group management/governance, monitoring, and influencing public policy); the nature of politics and government (authority, power, the state, governmental types, politics, and law); US politics and government (values, institutions, processes, federalism, parties, groups, opinions); and the citizen's role (rights, responsibilities, and participation). A compelling feature of CIVITAS is its inclusion of religion, diversity, gender, environmental, television, propaganda, informal politics, and civil disobedience issues in its guidelines for educators, textbook writers, and curriculum specialists at the elementary and secondary levels. Less compelling are its fragmenting tendencies to include economics, geography, and history in its framework as well as its use of an abstract format of rationales, goals, and objectives, and policy, legislation, and textbook criteria/statements. In addition to its appropriate recognition of social problems, CIVITAS also includes some ideas on making public policy - a theme which runs throughout two major parts of the framework. Some of the basic concepts discussed (e.g., participation, authority, ethics, the state, power, virtue, etc.) are also generically vital and integral in a discussion of political education.

The only problem with this still-incomplete document is its discursive approach to the political topics at hand. For example, historical quotes are used extensively, but are not explained, discussed, or integrated into the lesson formats. The tone of the piece is "preachy", moralizing, and exhortative. It is also abstract and adopts conservative concepts (such as "civility") without qualm or comment. The "scope and sequence" for grade levels also state educational objectives and goals and list activities (such as "cooperating" and "making decisions" and "judgments"). However, the processes or structures for political learning are not as clearly defined as are, for example, the steps in monitoring and influencing public policy (e.g., exploring governmental functions, acquiring information, identifying issues and opposition sources, scheduling, participating, assessing outcome, taking action, timing, developing community support, and implementing). The philosophy of CIVITAS is clearly liberal democratic in that it discusses American exceptionalism, capitalism, free markets, anti-statism, individualism,

and middle class dominance, yet all in parenthetical, "no nonsense" terms. It is clear who the "enemies" of liberalism are in this text: Marxists, fascists, Iranians, and other trouble makers. However, since these guidelines are for "professional educators responsible for the development of curricula in civic education" and not for teachers, leaders, or university faculty, perhaps future versions of this model will incorporate comments from critical reviewers and readers to improve its eventual utility (CIVITAS, November 1990).

The excessive "historicisms" of the CIVITAS framework (e.g., quotations without context or historical roots; topics and incidents such as *The Federalist Papers* and the *ancien regime* in France; "historical perspectives" on Chinese traditionalism/feudalism and on ancient Greece; and a potpourri of capsulized referents to the past) illustrate its significant institutional and historical focus to achieve the philosopher-historian, Sydney Hook's, conservative civic education goals. For example, Hook's definition of civic education is quoted approvingly, namely as:

". . . The intensive study and understanding of American political institutions, especially the system of self-government, its values, commitments, and assumptions, its relevant history, its problems, burdens, and opportunities, its challenges and alternatives, in short the theory and practice of free and open democratic society as it has developed in the United States" (Ibid., p. 1.)

This stress on US institutions, values, exceptionalism, and history obviously guided the CIVITAS rationale in a business-as-usual curriculum approach, stressing "the dead hand of the past." We might counter Henry Ford's "History is bunk" view with George Santayana's "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it" views or Churchill's "The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see" with Napoleon's definition of history as "a fable agreed upon" or even describe it as "something that never happened, written by someone who wasn't there." Yet this would be both simplistic and ungenerous to historians as well as to the utility and value of their work. Instead, the basic problem with the CIVITAS format is one of method, focus, and philosophy. Today's and tomorrow's problems need more attention (e.g., gun control, racism, taxes, women's rights, the elderly, the North/South divisions, arms proliferation, etc.). The substance of everyday politics, the democratic personality and process, the reality of citizens as "cognitive misers" (with simple, complex, or abstract cognitive abilities), and the need for new formats for

civic education (such as ethnographic approaches to classroom and school dynamics) are all elements lacking in these admirable, but still deficient, CIVITAS guidelines. In choosing "*unum*" over "*pluribus*" in the American idealistic tradition, CIVITAS accepts history once again as the "monarch" of the social studies. What is new and imaginative about it are its public policy and (sometimes) contemporary emphases.

By comparison, there are other models for citizen education which use alternative approaches and philosophies of democratic politics, polities, participation, and policy and decision making processes. Each of these, of course, has its own general, particularistic, or idiosyncratic view of how we think and learn about politics. Some of these models are "mechanistic" and are devoted to system maintenance and stability through a focus on tradition, institutions, or rule-observance norms; others are dynamic, present- or future-oriented, problem-centered, or transactional in their forms; and some are a mixture of each of these attributes. Some of these theories are based on participatory (as versus elitist) conceptions of political behavior and some have a narrow or formal (as versus a broad or informal) definition of politics as integral parts of their political, socialization, and/or educational equations, paradigms, or models.

One such model disintegrates/reintegrates citizenship and divides citizenship roles into ten orientations, objectives, means, or dimensions. These are, namely, the theoretical versus practical, attitudinal, motivational, action, means/ends, values, participation, and civil domains, and the civic arena. These roles may be further subdivided on content or from less to more, easy to difficult, and simple to complex levels of analysis, action, and processing. This taxonomy was developed both to describe a new conception as well as the present or narrow definition of citizenship operating in Western schools - with its emphasis on the political, legal, structural, and noncontroversial aspects of citizenship. The latter may be defined or mapped as advocating "verbal adherence to principles" based on affects (with external/obligatory motives). The present (narrow) definition of citizenship also encourages inactive or passive roles (which are directed by particularistic or instrumental orientations) to engineer consent through conventional participatory modes, located exclusively in the political domain at the national or subnational levels. By contrast, a more interesting, provocative, and imaginative model conceives of citizenship as being composed of actual behaviors, based on cognitive or evaluative criteria, with internal/voluntary motivations to pursue active roles which are directed by

universalistic and diffuse orientations, including dissent/opposition by unconventional methods in the civic/social domain and in the transnational arena (Ichilov, pp. 11-24 in Ichilov, ed., 1990).

Mosher (ed., 1980) and his colleagues have developed a framework and rationale for moral education which looks upon adolescence as a prime time for such activity, the high school as an ideal site for establishment of school democracy, the Socratic method, and the "neo-Platonic" model of moral education, and practical examples drawn from the Brookline, MA moral and ethics educational project, which illustrates these principles. Personal development, history and social studies teaching, sexual dilemmas, the Holocaust, prejudice, morality and social behavior, and curriculum proposals for grades 1 to 12 each address basic themes (such as developmental tasks, moral stage development, morality, ethics, the just community, and classroom democracy).

As a specific example of this approach, Alexander (1980) described a Brookline, MA, high school level experiment designed to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice through a moral education program. Its goal was to encourage change in the way in which students think about prejudice, thus stimulating the growth of "more complex and principled ways of thinking about race, ethnicity, or social class" (Ibid., p. 127). This moral education curriculum was theoretically informed from the previous work of Piaget, Adorno, Kohlberg, et al. on egocentrism, personality types, cognitive stages, moral reasoning, and moral principles such as respect for others. Prejudice was seen as a typical part of one's development and maturation, but an effect which could be influenced by a moral education curriculum's focus on moral reasoning. These were stages and stimulation of advanced ego development (Ibid., pp. 127, 133), and subsequent decreases in student prejudice levels, and a statistically significant change in moral reasoning and ego development in the experimental group. The latter evidenced less prejudice, greater moral reasoning capacity, and higher levels of toleration (Ibid., pp. 141-142). These results stemmed from a combination of classroom discussions, supportive classroom relationships, and a democratic climate for reinforcement of learning, peer group pressures, the challenge of adult role expectations, and promotion of higher maturation levels, all encouraging such changes. Student management of conflict, rumors, misunderstandings, and challenged human relations in the school setting would reinforce and generalize a positive approach to a democratized school cli-

mate which these educational interventions encouraged (Ibid., pp. 142-145).

24.9.2 Some Practical Examples of Decision Making/Problem Solving

A handful of other useful models for civic education (from the elementary and secondary to the university and lifelong-learning levels) focus on citizen decision making, participation, and simulation/gaming, public policy analysis and policy making, national issues forums (for public dialogue, judgment, and transformation of public issues), and the "Campus Kaleidoscope" (a university program encouraging "civility" in public discourse).

A few examples of the decision-making approach provide the flavor of this educational bent to civics. Since the 1970s, the Mershon Center at Ohio State University has developed citizenship decision-making materials for grades 4 to 6. Its focus has been on citizenship skills and competencies. It is "experience based education for a complex society." It stresses participation in making decisions about life's everyday affairs and in emphasizes citizens' active roles in judging and influencing political decisions. The concepts involved in these materials are alternatives, rules, resources, goals, scarcity, conflict, values, judgment, influence, individuals, groups, and decisional types. To facilitate learning, a large variety of educational approaches (such as lesson plans, readings, forms, tests, editorials, political maps, charts, graphs, glossaries, role plays, and simulations) are used. For example, a decision tree (with opportunities, motives, or occasions for decisions, alternatives, positive/negative consequences, and goal/value directions) serves as a model (including risk assessment and uncertainty) for student/teacher use. Harold Lassell's valuative schema of human needs (affection, enlightenment, power, rectitude, respect, skill, wealth, and well-being) for social groups serves as a framework to evaluate group decisions. Methods of influence (reward, power, information, authority, affection, etc.) are learned along with other solid conceptual skills which provide a coherent, integrative, multilevel, and process-oriented approach to a basic human (individual, social, and political) activity (Remy, et al., 1976).

Tied to this basic approach are high school texts (e.g., Shaver and Larkins, 1973) and more recent instructional proposals linked to simulation and gaming. For example, the Shaver/Larkins approach to democratic decision-making instruction at the secondary level also uses a large variety of mate-

rials (e.g., cartoons, articles, readings, interviews, photos, maps, symbols, poetry, questions, rankings, etc.) to examine public controversy. Basic concepts (such as order, language, communications, facts, observations, reports, values, and decisions) are introduced in these materials.

White (Summer 1985) and Mitchell and Cantlon, May 1987) also focus on citizen-decision making and problem solving, the former through simulation and gaming and the latter through a futuristic problem-solving model for "gifted/talented youngsters." White considers decision making to be based on the Deweyistic "reflective thinking" tradition and examines ". . . its claim to be, among other things, the last best hope of effective democratic citizenship." He combines a discussion of decision making with democratic political theories of individual, non-elite participation, and computer-assisted simulation/gaming. He also reviews trends in the last half century regarding classical democratic theory's belief in an informal, rational voter; the elitist response to this model (through empirical political behavior studies); and their reversal of participatory theories of democracy. The latter are supposed to be direct and active, not merely representational. Participatory theory assumes that citizens are educable; that they can develop a "democratic character, "appreciation of the common good", "common interests", and "attitudes of efficacy and autonomy"; and that they can "reconstruct social institutions" through active involvement in decision making.

The new social studies movement in the US in the 1970s attempted to improve both inquiry and problem-solving skills. It also espoused the social science "structure of the disciplines" approach which Jerome Bruner, et al., championed in his *Man, A Course of Study* anthropology curriculum. This approach supported, White claims, the simplified decision making and elite political models of citizenship. As a counter, advocates of reflective inquiry orientations rediscovered John Dewey's pragmatism and his concept of "working through" a "complete act of thought" or problem which impacts on an individual's cognitive fields or "worlds" of effects and insights. This is accomplished through "reflective thinking" and action (White, Summer 1985, pp. 1-19).

Simulations, gaming, and computer modeling provide a useful scenario for classroom instruction, despite time, reality, skill, and other limitations. Some of the assessments of such styles of decision-making exercises indicate that a person's "subjective understandings" and interpretive abilities

("versteheren") increase. Positive attitudes develop and patterns of prediction and interrelationships are thereby encouraged. None of these results are easily measured using paper-and-pencil or quantitative assessments. White concludes that such simulations, if improved, can model real-life decision making in meaningful ways (e.g., by increasing variable complexity and dealing with more related consequences). Games provide an opportunity to analyze and make choices on the basis of information and rules. They improve one's decisional confidence, tolerance of ambiguity, and sense of control over the future and can improve one's insights and predictions. When games are "internally parametered", they can focus on the process and consequences of decisions (i.e., "discovery" learning and model building). Game formats can include participant design choices and can go beyond resource allocation, decision modes, role/power relationships, and school/societal rules and conventions. Alternative qualitative assessment tools and methods are necessary to assess reflective thinking processes, interactions, and outcomes as well as individuality in handling public controversy. Observations of skills, orienting, variations, debriefing, group dynamics/size, leadership and followership, personality, learning styles, self/group appraisals, and other variables need to be assessed differently in future. Such qualitative techniques would concentrate on cognitive and behavioral processes, as well as contents/products. Even games have an effect on political attitudes, student thinking, and student insights. Traditional measurement technologies cannot easily assess these processes and outcomes (Ibid., pp. 20-42). However, as White pessimistically concludes:

"Discussion and research on enculturation and the "hidden curriculum" lie at the periphery of current social studies concerns and research. The same may be said for reflective thinking, for decision making generally, and for decision making in simulated environments. Consequently, neither decision making, simulation gaming effects, nor the forces of enculturation are well understood. A parallel situation exists in political science, where the discussion of participatory theories of democracy and research can also be characterized as fringe concerns. There is nothing to suggest that a change in these conditions is likely in the foreseeable future" (Ibid., p. 37).

Mitchell and Cantlon (May 1987) propose an educational model which expands the simply structured decision-making model to include situations, "fuzzy problems", a problem statement (a very critical element), precedents, goal statements, objectives, forces for/against, consequence forecasting (SES, politics, resources, economics, quality of life, and environ-

mental and international concerns), value clarification, and personal and social effects, both negative and positive. The format used (in this case, a study of terrorism) "seems to work well for bright 8-18 year old students." An interesting point is that while recognizing that "stating the problem is the most critical step in the problem solving model", the terrorism, security, passenger-victimization connection was, at best, a half truth in terms of its unproven allegation that the "lack of security in many European and Middle-Eastern airports" was the principal cause of airport terrorism and in terms of its disregard for the roles of the government, hegemonic forces, and mass media in defining and resolving the terrorist "problem" in question.

Coplin (ed., 1971 and 1973), O'Leary, and others at Syracuse University's Maxwell School have developed a considerable collection of classroom-tested materials in public policy analysis, effective participation in government, and problem solving for secondary- and university-level students. For example, since the 1970s, learning packages in international relations deal with topics such as alternative frameworks in world political organization, foreign policy decision making, comparative foreign policy analysis, and the state system; on the other hand, "policy sciences" materials include gaming approaches such as "Princetown." The foreign policy materials focus on different types of decisions (e.g., crisis, general, administrative) and different structures/styles of decision making (e.g., rational, political, and bureaucratic). Students learn about international theory; analysis activities; intellectual, ideological, and organizational factors and roles; problematic variables; and goals, alternatives, and consequences. They then are asked to evaluate the process, after group reports and hypotheses about actual foreign policy decision making are completed.

At the secondary level, Coplin and O'Leary (1988) have published materials which were fielded in 300 New York state secondary classrooms, thereby incorporating teacher and student substantive input into the process. Students are introduced to public-policy components, goal conflicts, and analysis types as well as information-gathering skills through books, surveys, and interviews. Basic statistical and graphing techniques are learned along with the process of formulating policy positions and evaluating (through cost-benefit analysis), implementing, strategizing, and assessing public policies. Enhancing public-policy, problem-solving, and decision-making skills is the primary goal of this educational model (Coplin and O'Leary, 1988).

The National Issues Forums (NIF) is a product of David Matthews (from The Kettering Foundation, Dayton, OH) and Daniel Yankelovich (psychiatrist, pollster, and president of the Public Agenda Foundation in New York, NY). The NIF annually sponsors national town meetings or issue forums in schools, libraries, and community groups. Such gatherings foster citizen deliberation and dialogue on public issues (such as day care, AIDS, health care, drugs, the environment, the debt and trade gaps, freedom of speech, and national security) and other pressing problems of the day. Its educational philosophy conceives of "public work" as "choice work" for a democratic citizenry actively engaged in realistic decision making. By "working through" a problem in group settings, NIF participants seek "common ground" or consensus (as well as delineating areas of lasting or provisional disagreement), going beyond mere uninformed public opinion to sounder, information-based, and "enlightened public judgment." NIF is a complex, nationwide effort which sponsors some 1,000 forums per year in conjunction with summer institutes, citizenship conferences, multimedia materials, and media strategies; a highly publicized Washington debriefing report for policy makers; and other effective networking techniques. These include international programs in Hungary and Russia, which espouse "supplementary" or "unofficial diplomacy" and relationships among civil societies. The latter approach establishes "public spaces" for people to ". . . explore together the perceptual lenses through which they view each other, the different cognitive frames the parties use in defining the issues at stake, the available alternatives, and the values underlying the internal trends that shape the public . . ." in countries such as the US and Russia. Dialogue, mediation, influence, and persuasion (rather than force, ideology, and confrontational/power relationships) guide such international efforts to develop "new citizens", not just new governments.

The NIF/PAF also conduct companion research projects (for example, to assess decision making skills, competencies, and interests of citizen decision makers). One such study indicated that the US citizenry was not fearful of decision making on complex, technical, or scientific subjects. The research findings indicated that an informed public could readily assess complex issues with results not significantly different from those which panels of experts determined. More important for participants than the need for more scientific information was the need for a "framework of choices" to guide decision making. Cost-benefit analysis, acceptable risks, and implementing policy choices willingly were other citizen competencies uncov-

ered in the project. While citizens are not scientists or experts on global warming and solid waste disposal, they assumed it as their "right" to be involved in such decisions. Technical information, whether accurate or not, does not change certain basic citizen stances or opinions, however. Nonscientific considerations (such as personal experience, higher taxes, trust levels, issue tangibility, problem severity, and perceptions of blame/cause) are also involved in these public judgments (*Connections*, April 1991, and Farnen, 1990, pp. 263-266).

A communications or public-discourse model for transforming debate into dialogue is regularly applied in the University of Massachusetts' Campus Kaleidoscope Project. The goal of this project was to create public forums for discussing "explosive and intractable" issues (e.g., pornography, Zionism, SDI/"Star Wars", and the Contras in Nicaragua) on campus. A highly structured model of discourse aimed to shift the focus from whose position was "right" to understanding "how" reasonable people can hold such contrasting positions. The research findings indicated that the experimental nature of these public meetings actually functioned as important "ceremonies." Participants had an opportunity to face opposing views, to engage in transformational dialogue, and to encourage cooperative conversation. Group solidarity among different persons and multiple positions encouraged the growth of personalized relationships in which group members learned to cohere to the group (while even holding fast to their issue positions) while agreeing to disagree, but in an agreeable fashion. Such civil discourse stimulated participants to deal with social questions in individual terms and through individualized experiences. A non-evaluative and "open" mode of discourse also produced less-substantive development of issues or action/decision-making orientations. Through interventions and questions, a skilled moderator can bring the group to focus on critical, social, and personal/historical perspectives which help the development of solidarity, understanding, and reasonableness. In such a style, participants are also asked questions which self-deconstruct their positions and/or are encouraged to engage with another contrasting position or personal view in a reflective and non-adversarial manner. Position transformations, shifts, acceptance of alternative views, compromise, and creation of new frames of reference are frequent outcomes of such public discourse events. In these ways and by reducing/defusing the focus on adversarial public issues, students can learn basic processes associated with democratic personality development: open-

ness, respect, active learning, interaction, give-and-take, and other transformational roles (Chen, et al., Fall 1986).

Voss, et al. (1983a and 1983b), have explored problem-solving skills in the social sciences using protocol analysis of information processing skills among experts and novices. These researchers also recognize that social science problems are not well-structured, are often ill- or loosely-defined, and have goals which vary from resolving or improving an undesirable state of affairs to one involving policy formulation. The two specific goals examined in Voss, et al.'s, research were concerned with improving previous Soviet agricultural productivity and establishing a different and workable US-former USSR foreign policy.

In their first report on solving social science problems, Voss, et al. (1983a), used an extension of a model of argument (i.e., a "jurisprudential model" within an information-processing framework). This model seemed more applicable to social science problems in that readily-agreed-upon solutions to such problems are generally lacking (as is the case with respect to the long delay in implementation of "solutions" to such problems). In addition to their vague goals, social science problems must also contend with multiple causes, constraints, and subproblems (some of which are created in the process of problem-solving or policy-making) as well as having to argue or build a case for the most highly valued solution for a given problem or policy. Information processing in the social sciences is also modeled on a problem-solving or policy-making format, which includes certain basic features. Among these are:

- a) The problem statement, context, or task environment;
- b) The problem space, which includes relevant information, goals, problem states, and relevant operators and constraints;
- c) The problem representation, understanding, or interpretation ("givens", such as the present state of the problem and the problem goal in addition to novice versus expert formulations, which may depend on simple surface information or complex conceptual interrelations, respectively);
- d) The problem-solving activity itself, which may include breaking a problem into its subproblems, dual solutions to subproblems, or postponed consideration of relevant constraints on problem solving while possible to do so;
- e) The evaluation process, which may involve means-ends analysis, the solution generation-criterion test process, or the application (usually by

experts) of a familiar solution path to a clearly represented or delineated problem.

The "thinking aloud" technique was used in these experimental situations, note-making was permitted, and occasional prompting was used. The protocol solutions were taped, transcribed, analyzed, reader-rated, and categorized. The conceptual and structural categories which were used to analyze these protocols are also of considerable interest. The first technique divided arguments into datum, claim, warrant, backing, qualifier, and rebuttal. The procedure is for certain information to provide the basis for a claim, which is supported implicitly or explicitly by other general information or beliefs (called "warrants") as well as by additional backing information. Arguments also may be qualified by constraints or may reflect rebuttal positions which run counter to a claim. Warrants, themselves, may also be classified as being primarily information-based or logically-based. For example, reasoning, logic, or analogies may be used in problem solving as well as specific information on a country, its government, its economic and production systems, and socio-political institutions, or general information on historical trends, the ways in which governments function, or psychological response mechanisms. These warrants or justifications for claims include general processes such as defining problems, effectiveness criteria, motivational theory, analogous or specific information on bureaucratic inertia, party patronage, pricing structures, and technological and historical facts (Ibid., pp. 210-214).

Voss, et al. (1983b), also detail elements of a Problem Solving/Reasoning Model, with each structure ("G" = goal and "R" = reasoning) having its own set of operators. The "G" structure operators have a core of knowledge-based constraints, subproblems, and solutions and supporting interpretations, evaluations, and summaries which are used in conjunction with one's reasoning. The "R" structure elements are arguments, assertions, and facts followed by specific cases, reasons, outcomes, comparisons, clarifications, conclusions, and qualifiers. Although this is a neatly organized system, the results of empirical analysis indicate that "G" and "R" operators do not occur in a fixed or delineated pattern, that assumptions are frequently omitted or are unclear, and that expert and novice problem-solving protocols vary in both breadth and depth in the complexity of argument (Ibid., pp. 171-173).

In their discussion of the results from protocol collection and analysis of a Soviet agricultural problem (which asked the problem solver to play the role of an agricultural minister in the former USSR trying to increase the country's farm productivity), the responses of six experts and ten novices were contrasted. Experts' solution formats had the following characteristics:

- No highest-level plans were offered as universal solutions.
- A review or general representation of the problem (often through history) was initially developed.
- The general problem was deconstructed into causative factors and these effects were isolated and "solved" or the general problem was converted into another problem (e.g., into a political issue) and "solved" in this fashion.
- Subproblems were either created through decomposition or encountered as a result of producing a solution.
- Much of the content provided was "R" structure information in that the solutions were explored and argued on the basis of related effects.
- One general solution was usually offered to solve the problem, even when recognizing that solutions for individual subproblems could be found (Ibid., pp. 191-193).

By contrast, the novice protocols focussed more on lower-level subproblems or lists in their problem decomposition. They also evidenced a lack of argument, supported solutions, evaluation (in terms of related constraints, such as ideology), and subproblem identification. This finding was true despite the fact that most of the novices were enrolled in a course on Soviet domestic policy and were tested for reasoning at both the beginning and end of the course. Thus, it appears that what experts do is to identify an all-encompassing abstract problem as the key to the main and sub- problems. Thereby, they solve subordinate problems at the same time and examine implications of solutions for which support is offered while handling subproblems simultaneously with evaluation of related constraints (Ibid., pp. 196-197).

Problem-solving skill in the social sciences seems to be both a general and a domain-specific skill, involving knowledge of the physical and social world and the ability to use general problem-solving strategies. Whereas all participants in the exercise tried to isolate the causative factors in the problem, the experts use of problem analysis sought to identify the primary factors in the problem. Specialized knowledge of the former Soviet Union is

also domain-specific, as are one's favored sophisticated problem-solving strategies (such as problem conversion or historical analysis learned from extensive work in the social science domain).

Novices in these experiments may have had some knowledge of what was the Soviet Union, but this information is discrete, unintegrated, and unfocused. Some more educated novices evidenced elements of expert thinking in that subproblem interaction, abstraction, and greater reasoning (support and evaluation of claims) were demonstrated. These results suggest that social science learning occurs when declarative knowledge buttresses structures which:

- a) Assist in the formation of "conceptual networks" which are continuously expanded and based on relationships among concepts, principles, and facts;
- b) Help individuals to perceive causes, interrelationships, and interdependencies which support argumentation;
- c) Produce hierarchical patterns and priorities which differentiate between concrete and abstract elements and which allow information retention and retrieval.

Experts in a field develop not only a data base and domain-related problem-solving strategy but, because of their repeated exposure to public policy problems, they develop experience in organizing and storing information about problem definitions, contexts, causes, effects, and solutions in a structured form. Thus, they are able to incorporate and integrate any new information obtained. This results in a "highly flexible information-processing system" capable of assimilation and interpretation (or rejection) within an existing structure or pattern of related information (Ibid., pp. 203-207).

This pattern of learned scripts or schemata is not a rigid procedural model since a variety of expert choices may be made in the selective application of appropriate problem-solving strategies. Furthermore, the task environment may also constrain solution strategies offered in that different sites (e.g., public, private, industry, government, or academic) might influence the degree of argumentation, support, definition, subproblem detail, context definition, etc., employed. This process also depends on the presence or absence of superiors, the press, students, colleagues, and other "audience ef-

fects" as well as the novelty of the problem posed or the wording of the problem itself (Ibid., pp. 207-208).

Experts' solutions are also much more filled with information than are novice arguments, especially as new subproblems or constraints are encountered. Since the representation of the problem is another key element differentiating experts from novices (i.e., novices list subproblems while experts abstract and generalize), the fact that experts recognize the key role of values, attitudes, and assumed motivations in public policy choices is another important aspect of this discussion. For example, conceiving of the former USSR as the enemy, the aggressor, the victim, or the reactor greatly influenced one's choice of foreign policy options, whether at the expert or novice level.

The solution activity of social science experts is mainly spent on argumentation in part because (unlike physics, for example) the solutions to public policy questions have not often been well worked out or done in a consensual manner. Expert evaluations were also a product of "domain-related experience" in that solutions were directly evaluated in terms of related constraints or indirectly evaluated with respect to a solution's effects (i.e., as parts of a jurisprudential approach to supporting an argued solution). This particular study of social science problem solving indicates that research into actual public policy problem solving methods and solutions can be done through protocol analysis. Additionally, since the expert model delineated in this research was so experience- and exposure-dependent, it represents a skill which can be taught, even in the classroom. The final significant finding in this theoretically informed project is that the structure and processes of expert thinking delineated in this study reinforce the relevance of cognitive schema/script theory to social science research in general. It is particularly relevant to (and significant for) political education since the pictures of the cognitive maps (i.e., the "G" and "R" structures) herein depicted are adaptable for teachers' use in analyzing textbooks or student papers with a view to improving the students' and teachers' own problem-solving and decision-making skills in the process of democratic public policy analysis and decision making (Ibid., pp. 208-212).

24.10 Summary Comments and Discussion Linking Theory to Practice (Praxis)

One major goal of this research project was to examine the relevance of psychological concepts (e.g., field theory) and processes (e.g., schema theory, problem solving, information processing, etc.) for the field of political science in general and citizen education or political socialization in particular. An examination of cognitive processes and information-processing theory in communications and voting studies indicates that new theoretical models of interdependence and interaction should rightfully replace older formulations of autonomous media consumers -- practicing selective perception or mechanistically reacting to agenda-setting influences from the media. Similarly, voters are simply more than mechanical person- or issue-processing machines (that is, the salience of an issue, its type, the voters' cognitive schemas, and information-processing techniques are all involved in their political decision-making activities). In many ways, voters are "intuitive social scientists" who use a problem-solving approach which is not unlike that which Dewey ("reflective thinking") and Kelly ("constructive alternativism") described as the social scientific method. In this regard, the decision- and policy-making model (e.g., Voss, et al., *Op. cit.*) for political choices (or the authoritative allocation of values in a participatory system) was identified as a central and unifying core concept/process for both political science/socialization and citizen education. Other parallel concerns with authoritarianism, nationalism, ethnicity, post-materialism, the politics of everyday life, and qualitative or post-behavioral research can all be accommodated in such an overarching (if seemingly reductionist) framework, which itself is one form of a cognitive intellectual schema.

Discussion of these themes also required a study of persistence and change in political beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Here, it was found that certain orientations or attitudes (e.g., issue positions or candidate evaluations) change more readily, while others are less malleable (e.g., views on race, nationalism, religion, morality, authority, liberalism, etc.). Moreover, some broad-based and more-enduring schematic patterns exist. These patterns can be demonstrated to be other than selective media perceptions when voters share the same view of candidate traits, but have different issue positions and candidate preferences.

Schema theory can also be profitably linked to Piagetian cognitive and moral developmental theory. This is possible since information processing

continuously happens as maturation occurs and new stages or stances are reached. There are identifiable interactions among developmentally restricted stages, external information, and internal information-processing schemas throughout the life cycle. Along the way, citizens are open to significant socialization influences from family, the church, workplace, media, teachers, and other influential agents. In certain respects, teachers are like the media. They are information-processing influentials who frame issues and provide content and feedback to learners in an interdependent manner. While the media have a built-in mechanism for eliciting salience through their entertainment and visual modes of arousal, teachers can both learn from and use mass media to, for example, intervene (with parents) to restructure aggressive, racist, sexist, and authoritarian tendencies among their pupils. Active, self-directed, "think aloud" teaching/learning techniques can affect and change schema formation. Organized and purposeful information, using structures and constructs and decoding clues, can have positive educational outcomes. For example, democratic decision-making and policy-making formats (e.g., "R" and "G" structures and protocols) within democratic political thinking can be taught. Students can also move from personalized, concrete, and simple operational levels to coherent and connected social-contract and community views with the help of deliberate, thoughtful, and skilled teachers.

Making conceptual connections between politics and other domains, getting actively involved in discovery learning, and using genuine inquiry techniques in the analysis of public controversy are recommended approaches in these respects. The study of problem solving and decisional strategies and procedures will train students who are, thereby, better able to participate for a lifetime in public affairs, politics, and community life.

With all this said, it still may be too early to stage a curriculum coup or an educational revolution. More applied research, curriculum development, and methodological solutions need yet to be formulated. There are already enough barriers to change and reform in education (including pre-existent, conservative, and resistant schemas about educational proprieties -- such as the unassailable virtue of historical study in the US and elsewhere [e.g., the UK]). In the US, for example, the "new" social studies movement is still being buried along with progressive and liberal education and the remains of Dewey, Rugg, Counts, et al. Current battles in America are over "P.C." thinking and a national curriculum and examinations system. To introduce developmental and schema theory proposals into such a charged political

environment may be policy suicide at this time. The educational policy environment may not be ready for a new set of still more risky ventures.

Alternatively, there are current formats now in use in the US (such as CIVITAS, NIF, public policy, moral reasoning, and decisional curricula) which are adaptable to reform along the lines suggested above. A merging of interests which will incorporate cognitive styles, information processing, policy and decision making, and the study of totalitarianism and authoritarianism, democracy, and the politics of everyday life (perhaps even using student/teacher ethnographic methods and findings) seems possible, if not probable. The development of basic ethnographic methods which student "intuitive social scientists" can use in the family, school, and community may provide useful insights into power relationships, inequalities, the "hidden curriculum", and other mundane commonalities of everyday existence in post-industrial, democratic societies (see Wilcox, 1982a & b; Tobin, 1989; Masemann, February, 1982; Hanna, 1982, Prus, October 1987; and Bellah, et al., 1985). Similarly, use of the problem-solving method in general, as well as political decision-making and policy-analysis techniques in particular, may also produce a silent curriculum revolution at modest cost and with minimal fuss.

In this regard, the jurisprudential argument model (which Voss, et al., 1983a & b modified) that Fred Newman, Donald Oliver, James Shaver, and others developed in the 1960s may still be useful for political curriculum development and analysis. However, to better develop political and social science problem solving skills and materials in a structured and methodical way, the goal structure and reasoning structure operators which Voss, et al., used in their research provide a more refined, systematic, and cognition-based model for learning to use and teaching about decision making, problem solving, and public policy analysis.

Furthermore, students and teachers also should be involved with the determination of civic education as public policy; this goes beyond merely paying taxes or developing new curriculum formats. The politics of educational policy is a useful and practical concern which is relevant, real, salient, and at hand for educators and students alike. This would surely be realistic citizen decision making and democratic policy analysis, however risky it seems.

But what may we infer in the significance of all of this for the continuing life of citizen education as a vital component of democratic societies? It is

part of our everyday knowledge that a long and healthful life requires consuming a good diet, exercising, getting a nightly restorative sleep, and avoiding counterproductive or dangerous exposures in the home, work, or play environment (as well as having the right parents). In a democracy, good, effective, and moral citizen education requires consuming a good political diet of information and values from a variety of teachers, including other citizens, parents, educators, and the mass media. These views need to be factual, realistic, solid, and varied in perspective since bland political diets produce anomy, boredom, or even alienation. In addition to exercising one's vote, one is encouraged (or even obliged by one's public office as a citizen) to participate fully in the life of the community. One must use his/her mind, talents, and efforts to change, reform, and reconstruct society in a positive and productive manner. Restoration of the society (which is constantly decaying around us) requires democratic renewal, regular recommitment, and regeneration of the shared democratic personality and spirit which is a vital part of democratic life. In democracies, citizens are urged to engage in productive, rather than self- and communally-destructive political activity (such as avoiding authoritarian, dogmatic, racist, sexist, and other undemocratic appeals). Citizens are also obliged to maintain the well-being of democratic forms and processes by changing their surrounding environment through democratic forums and activities. They must actively pursue democratic goals by internalizing democratic schema, processes, and values, and by skillfully using public decision making formats that are informationally sound and transactionally based. While it is hard to choose one's parents or one's country, it is possible to move from a less-democratic community or country to a more-democratic political culture or to reform the one into which you were born or reside. This renewal function is now underway in Eastern Europe, but it is essential even in stable democracies. The dangers of resurgent fascism, authoritarianism, militarism, blind nationalism, cultural monism, theocracy, elitism, and even-more-subtle anti-democratic viruses (e.g., the hidden curriculum, linguistic and cultural imperialism, and thought and behavior control) are ever present (despite Hagedoorn's [November 1991] optimism about the strength of democratic political cultures and the power of education to democratize authoritarians). Following such a health-producing regimen is a recommended prescription or recipe for the productive existence of a democratic cultural, educational, and political system -- which finding directly flows from this piece of research.

When speaking about reconceptualization of political education, cognitive studies, and political socialization research, it is also necessary to rethink current models and paradigms we now have in our minds about concepts such as the state, public opinion, civil society, and the public and private spheres. Consequently, it may be necessary to focus on public opinion formation in a civil society (through individual and group actions against the state in means, pressure and interest groups, voluntary associations, and political activity) rather than formal state constitutions, structures, histories, offices, and personalities. A new paradigm for civic education/socialization research would necessarily have to schematicize the modern state as a massive bureaucracy with its own interest, personnel, powers, and goals, which may or may not coincide with the public interest. The important role of civil societal interests, groups, and organizations in this process of democratizing the monolithic state (which may or may not overrepresent certain class or corporate interests) would have to be so conceptualized that it is both a researchable and teachable task, perhaps best accomplished by working at the local or group levels. Fortunately, recent discussions in the political social literature have renewed professional interest in these topics, so there is now a basic literature which may be used to begin these tasks (see, for example, Carnoy, 1984 and Sales, October 1991).

With respect to cross-national research projects for the future, such studies can not merely be based on survey research or paper-and-pencil multiple-choice sampling of partial or preselected information, values, and behaviors. Instead, new research efforts must focus on a minimum number of core values (e.g., nationalism, democracy, authority, ethnicity, pluralism, human rights, war and peace, etc.). New techniques of measurement should also focus on key processes (such as Piagetian structures, problem solving, thinking, decision making, and public policy analytical skills). Moreover, the research should include videotapes of real classes with transcript analysis, personal interviews with teachers, students, parents, and administrators (i.e., ethnographic methods) as well as essay answers, taped interviews, and other forms of creative evaluation. Perhaps one of the reasons we do not find that civic education does not seem to matter is that we have been asking the wrong questions of the wrong people using the wrong methods in the wrong places and at the wrong times. This situation is surely in need of correction -- and it can be corrected, if we have the will to do so.

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24.12 References

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25 *Political Education as Independence and Agitation*

25.1 Abstract

This chapter develops elements of a hypothesis to guide a research project in political education. Such a project can disclose the cognitive and affective processes which pupils (and, in general, laymen or citizens) use when they try to solve social and/or political problems (referred to as social problems). To attain this goal, we use a method for comparing and analyzing subject structures of political education. Subject structures refer to a framework of goals, their rationales, contents, structure of contents, and the

methods of political education. A well-developed and well-founded subject structure can produce predictions about the way people (e.g., pupils) think when they try to solve social problems. The underlying idea is that there must be an analogy between the way in which political science is incorporated in a subject structure with the intent to solve social and political problems, on the one hand, and the way pupils solve these problems in their daily lives, on the other.

In comparing these subject structures, we are able to take some fruitful proposals, analyze and exploit them further, and deduce certain hypotheses about the process of problem-solving. It will, however, be necessary to further develop these subject structures regarding an essential point. Although more or less immanent in most of them, the element of final-causal thinking has to be developed as an essential element of goals, content, and methods of political education.

Some elements within the subject structure of political education finally lead us to hypothesize that kind of cognitive and affective reasoning which is typical for solving social problems. These cognitive processes can be labelled socio-communicative reasoning.

25.2 Distinguishing Between a Mess and a Problem

25.2.1 Social Problems

Over 500 years ago, Nicollo Machiavelli made a very important observation about social problems and dissent in society:

"Nor can we regard a republic as disorderly where so many virtues were seen to shine. For good examples are the results of good education, and good education is due to good laws; and good laws in their turn spring from those very agitations which have been so inconsiderately condemned by many" (Machiavelli, 1950, p. 119-120).

This observation directs us to the very nature of social problems as compared with mathematical and physics problems: their solutions cannot be agreed upon using standard methods of scientific research. Not only does this result in major problems for anyone in a position of authority in government (be it national or local) who tries to "solve" the very severe social problems our societies are still encountering, it also raises questions directly about the purposes of political education. How is it possible (considering the dangers inherent in favoring only one of the potential solutions for a

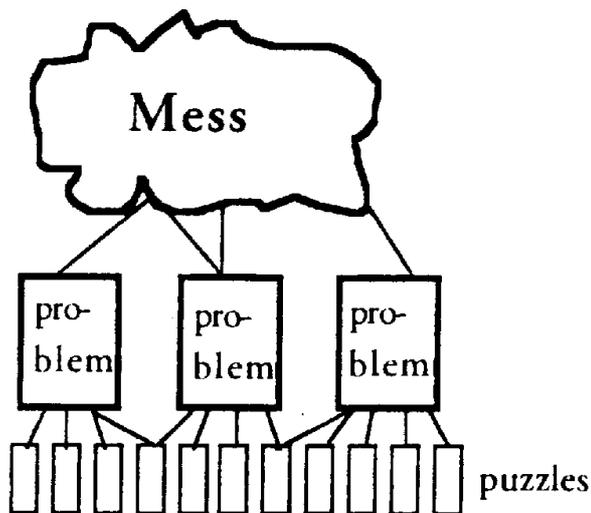
problem) and/or the anxious teacher's boring, rather than stimulating, the students to be objective or scientific by showing all feasible and suggested solutions without any normative guidelines at all?

However, in some areas, political education subject structure is developed enough to solve this paradox. In other areas, fundamental concepts of the subject structure are mixed or separated in such a way that political education is no longer fruitful or may even be counterproductive.

25.3 Messes, Problems, and Puzzles

Now, we must distinguish among a mess, a problem, and a puzzle with a figurative sketch (Figure 1).

Figure 1:



By its nature, a "social problem" has no solutions upon which almost all of the people agree (or have to agree) because of compelling evidence. Many solutions can be equally defended, depending on what viewpoint is taken. This is the central characteristic of a "problem" in general. A second characteristic is that (almost) everyone may agree on the formulation of the problem (i.e., there is agreement upon the questions to be asked). When nobody even knows how to pose the right question and/or when there is no

agreement on what exactly the problem is, we have a "mess." When there is only one solution to a well-defined question, then we have a "puzzle."

A "heuristic" (i.e., a set of rules or guidelines that instruct about or direct us to possible solutions) leads us to a problem's solution(s). An "algorithm" (i.e., a set of prescriptions which, if properly applied, result in a solution) guides us to a puzzle's solution. (A set of rules to complete a division of two numbers is an example of an algorithm.)

25.3.1 Values Education

When these distinctions are applied to the domain of political education, it becomes evident that "concepts" (which are, in fact, heuristics) are very often used as if they were algorithms. The most revealing example is the concept of "democracy." In quite a few textbooks, democracy is used as if to put countries or institutions on a scale ranging from very democratic to very undemocratic. For a scientific project, this could probably be done reliably; but for educational purposes, it is not effective. Two examples may be useful.

Recently, an interesting debate took place in Algeria. After the fundamentalist Muslim party (FIS) won one election and entertained the possibility of gaining an absolute majority in the next, they also realized that they might be powerful enough to abort the fledgling democratic process. A Dutch newspaper then wrote:

"They who always were democrats, or confessed to democracy, are now against the democratic process of elections. . . . If democracy and the country is to be saved, the FIS must be prosecuted as the gravedigger of democracy" (NRC, December 31, 1991) (author's translation).

Here, the challenge is to deduce (using the concept of democracy) an answer to the question of which proposal is more democratic (i.e., to allow the army to interfere in the elections or to accept the possibility that a religious party could destroy essential democratic elements). This example shows that democracy is a many-headed creature with conflicting elements. This phrasing is useful as a heuristic, as a communicative concept for discussion and debate, but not as an algorithm, which provides some answers.

The second example shows what can happen if we tried to use a similar concept in a social studies textbook to describe and compare countries in a

direct manner. A Dutch citizen might be very surprised to read the following:

"In a monarchy, usually one person rules. Monarchy is a government ruled by a person of royalty such as a king, a queen, a prince, or a princess. Power is passed from the monarch to his or her first-born son. The term monarch comes from the Greek and Western history, but there are very few today. An example of a monarchy today is the Netherlands."

Needless to say, a Netherlander would not appreciate this description of his/her country. The suggestive way in which "republic" (very positively) or democracy (negatively, when using the one-man-one-vote principle) was described in this textbook is also noteworthy. The selection then ends with (among others) the question: "Under which one [government] would you like to live?"

Of course, there are better ways to deal with the educational potential for the concept of democracy and similar heuristic concepts, which we shall discuss later.

25.3.2 Objectivity versus Partiality/Bias

Here, we address one of the oldest problems in political education: if clear answers are given, objectivity gets lost; if all the possible answers are given, education becomes boring and loses its brewing and agitating character, which is absolutely necessary for facing the challenges and dangers of the world's problems, as we do today. There have been three ways to solve this problem; each deserves some comment. Later, we discuss a fourth way to solve the paradox of objectivity versus partiality (which deserves renewed attention, although it may not be so well-known in English-speaking countries).

25.3.2.1 Objectivity, Version 1

One may be "objective" in political education if facts, concepts, and relations between concepts are taken directly from social and political science. Probably, this trend will continue to emerge in the future. This happens despite repeated methodological conflicts (in German, *Methodenstreit*) which have shown that no such thing as a neutral concept or a non-normative fact exist. A second (and even bigger) objection to this trend is that political science is not apt to integrate scientific knowledge in a meaningful frame-

work. Its task and method is to prove, not to recognize, meaning. These two operations in political reality lead to very different conceptual frameworks.

There also have been several attempts to copy the main "content" areas of political science as indices of content areas in political education. Farnen (1991, p. 45) summarizes such an index in content areas of political science. (However, it is not his intent to recommend its use for political education.) From the content of such lists, it is clear that (in each specific area of political science) the subject determines the research method, just as the research method determines the concepts. Concepts will, thus, be relatively incomparable over different subject areas. Any method is a way to prove something, not a way to reveal the challenge of a situation or integrate findings from existing knowledge. Of course, the content of political education has to be scientifically validated. But we agree with Gagel (1981, p. 23) when he quotes Herwig Blankertz:

"The question of . . . selection, structure, and mediation of the content can't be satisfactorily answered by the science which corresponds with the school subject, nor by a general didactics, but only by a scientifically exercised subject didactics" (Author's translation).

25.3.2.2 Objectivity, Version 2

A second method is to ignore the need for certain content areas and, instead, to concentrate on teaching pupils a method for scientific analysis: forming a hypothesis, gathering data, checking hypotheses, and reporting results. Although this method is certainly useful in structuring certain parts of social problems, it cannot be used both to discriminate between what is really important in political and social reality and to serve as a method which can guide our necessary participation in social problems. Claussen (1981) comments that this is not a suitable central method for political education. He elaborates on Wolfgang Hilligen's triangle concept, developing a more-complex structure. This triangle contains three concepts: *Sehen, beurteilen, handeln* (seeing, judging, acting). In the second edition of his book, Hilligen (1985) approvingly integrated this elaborate triangle. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to fully analyze the power of this concept, but it most certainly fits within the framework of concepts presented in the second part of this piece.

25.3.2.3 Objectivity, Version 3

An interesting attempt to tackle the problem of objectivity is in the subject structure of social studies in the Netherlands as it is found in the list of objectives for the final secondary education exam (Structuurcommissie, 1989-1991). Here, existing policies of Dutch political parties and interest groups are used as important content for political education. In this way, a certain academic distance is created when presenting the different major solutions to the problems addressed. The actual policies of parties and groups are used. The students' involvement is assured because the number of alternatives is relatively small and the policy proposals have real-life characteristics. This solution is not optimal; because a set of guidelines is missing, these could direct pupils to compare (or, better, to judge the worth of) these policies.

25.3.3 Objectivity versus Choosing Sides

In Germany during the 1970s, a very turbulent debate occurred about goals, content, and methods of political education. It is interesting to note that the "agitation" produced then enabled the development of the subject structure of political education described in this chapter. The debate was not only public (i.e., many people participated in it), but also had a very political character. Almost every color of the political spectrum was represented by at least one of the political education scientists. Because of the relatively stable position of the school subject itself (as compared with the Netherlands where, about five years later, much disagreement about subject structure endangered the existence of secondary school political education) and because of the philosophical advantage the Germans enjoy (with Kant, Hegel, and Marx, who wrote in their mother tongue), Hilligen prepared a "final" proposal. Here, we find at least basic agreement about formulating the relevant questions which were at stake. According to our definition, this means that he tried to make a "problem" out of a "mess."

His idea was to have three "options" for what he saw as "*Regulative Ideen*" (from Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*). These "regulating concepts" translate very easily into a heuristic (a set of guidelines which give directions toward possible solutions and provide a means to compare and judge possible answers without precisely prescribing or choosing between them). However, not every heuristic can function as a "regulative concept"

because these perform a special function for guiding us in valuative problems. The three proposed options are:

1. To assure individual human rights (the liberal/conservative component of human rights).
2. To implement those political and social conditions which ensure free personal development for everyone in conquering structural inequalities, as well as equality of life's chances, self-determination, participation, and democracy (the social component of human rights).
3. To broaden the latitude for change and encourage institutions to promote political alternatives, to ameliorate these institutions, and to recreate them.

In discussions with colleagues, Hilligen stresses that this common program is no compromise or minimum agreement; rather, it is an essential basis for mutual debate about social problems. It is a regulating and argument/reasoning structure to produce agreement or disagreement.

The second element of Hilligen's proposal is an existential starting point for answering the question: "What should be taught?" Only that which proposes a challenge for what is "really important" (*das Allgemein Bedeutsame*) is actually worth teaching. A "challenge" refers to that which is either an opportunity or a threat to that which is "really important." And what is "really important" is defined as the survival of humanity and the quality of life. Again, the last concept is guided by these options. Everyone who subscribes to these options has the same heuristic to talk about; for example, the meaning of "quality of life", when it is used in a specific situation.

Hilligen derives five fundamental questions. These form the main political decisions one must make to effectively handle what he calls "opportunities and threats" in the historic quest for the survival of humanity and the quality of life. A very important function of these five fundamental policy decisions is stated explicitly (Hilligen, 1985, p. 20). They comprise the basic cognitive concepts pupils use to transfer knowledge from one situation to another. The five questions are:

1. Who, how much, by whom, for whom, and wherefore?
2. How many rules; how much room?
3. How much direct participation; how much competency and delegation?
4. What are the means for attaining goals; what means endanger goals?

The last question relates to all of the previous four:

5. Who decides who can (because of which distributions of power and what property relations) implement arrangements? What possibilities do individuals, certain groups, and the whole of society have under the national constitution?

Finally, Hilligen distinguishes 16 fundamental problems of modern society. Based on the previously mentioned options, one can make five fundamental policy decisions about these 16 fundamental problems. Because these problems have a foundational character, they are recognizable in all important real-life social problems. They function as a conceptual framework and make learning more manageable and transferable.

Figure 2 provides a clear translation of the schematic overview of Hilligen's relative concepts (Hilligen, 1985, page 189). Claussen (1987) favorably reviewed the second edition of Hilligen's book. He described him as one of the two most important German writers (the other being Bernhard Sutor) in the field. In his opinion, Hilligen's theory is generally more sophisticated than Sutor's.

In a meta-research project on political didactics, Gagel (1981) finds that in many ways Hilligen's theory fulfills the requirements of the instrument Gagel, himself, developed. Hilligen's proposal explicitly uses heuristics as an essential element to solve social problems. He solves the paradox of objectivity versus partiality, introducing the concept of "choosing sides" (*Parteinahme*). This is incorporated in the options as a heuristic for solving social problems. He defines fundamental political decisions as concepts which organize cognition and, thereby, turn social problems into policy problems.

After having so far broadened this view, we must narrow it somewhat. This will allow us to see whether we can at least identify some problems in political education, instead of having one big "mess" on our hands.

25.4 Political Educational Problems

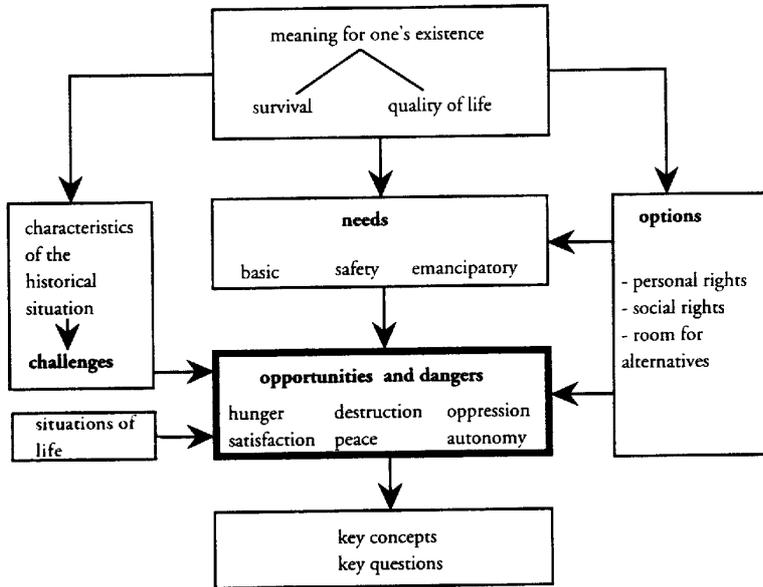
25.4.1 Problem as a Key Didactical Concept

We have already seen that most social and political questions amount to "problems." That is, although everyone agrees about the existence of the problem, they have no agreed-upon solutions. The experimentation needed to determine the best solutions is either impossible to perform or the re-

sults, once again, can be interpreted in multiple ways. Of course, this does not make teaching about/with social problems any easier.

Now, let us look at characteristics of "problems" as concepts which make a problem a key concept in didactics. This enables us to bridge the gap between abstract political science and the pupil's practical experiences.

Figure 2: Hilligen's deduction of content for political education.



Source: Adapted from Wolfgang Hilligen (1985, p. 189).

Mainly, this occurs because political scientific knowledge only develops because social problems exist. Such knowledge can also only be understood when one considers the context of a particular problem. The developed scientific concepts may be used as instruments for attempting to provide relevant answers. Because the social problem arises from human existence, it must be common to both pupils and scientists; these common concepts provide the basis for communication. As long as scientific concepts are studied in the context of a social problem, they will be easier to understand. Straightforward as this may look, it took a long and difficult debate in the second "methodological debate" (*Methodenstreit*) to clarify this point in Euro-

pean epistemological philosophy. Here, we shall not treat this matter further, only giving three relevant views on the matter. The main point is that a "problem" turns out to be an essential category when we want our political education to be effective.

The first quotation from Anthony Giddens puts *Verstehen* (knowing) in perspective:

"Since the characterization of what others do, and more narrowly their intentions, transfer of communicative intent is realized. It is on these terms that *Verstehen* must be regarded: not as a special method of entry to the social world peculiar to the social sciences, but as the ontological condition of human society as it is produced and reproduced by its members" (Giddens, 1976, p. 151; quoted in Habermas, 1985, pp. 158-159).

The social problem the scientist studies gives him the framework for his "intentions and reasons", which the pupil can recognize when he encounters a similar social problem.

Habermas also helps us understand scientific concepts. He says the scientist cannot use another except a scientific way to relate his concepts to the structure of the problem he is studying ("*die im Kontext vorgefundene Begrifflichkeit*") as a layman (or pupil) would do. This "*vorgefundene Begrifflichkeit*" is the scientists' common basis for mutual understanding (Habermas, 1985, p. 175).

A third relevant observation is from Thomas Kuhn. He addresses this relationship in a more direct and, therefore, clearer way:

"Philosophers of science have not ordinarily discussed the problems encountered by an application of what the student already knows. He cannot, it is said, solve problems at all unless he has first learned the theory and some rules for applying it. Scientific knowledge is embedded in theory and rules; problems are supplied to gain facility in their application. We have tried to argue, however, that this localization of the cognitive content of science is wrong. After the student has done many problems, he may gain in learning consequential things about nature." (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 187-188).

25.4.2 Context

What we last discussed is called "context" in, for example, mathematical education. For this school subject, "context" was discovered to make the

learning process more effective. In the Netherlands, Terwel developed this concept of context for mathematical problems; he also designed school curriculum materials using this concept. His research and curriculum designs made him well-known enough so that he was invited to the US to introduce his concepts to a country where "content" had been brought all the way "back to the basics."

For political education, however, things develop in just the opposite way: the underlying context is always there and is always so full and rich that pupils can still learn from it. (It is worth noting that only political education demands that "content" not only apply to social life, but also to classroom and school processes and the pupil's personal experience as well.) However, such a reduction of our complex reality seldom occurs. So the following question can be raised: Can an already difficult content idea, discussed within such a rich context, still be learned?

Attempts to answer such questions (e.g., by Huub Philippens, in this volume, Chapter 26) are rare, but very necessary. Philippens developed figurative schemes which compress reality; this allows students to more easily manipulate political reality. In fact, Philippens has organized fundamental political (and social) concepts in the same way which basic mathematical concepts were usually organized. Yet, it is still necessary to bring these elementary concepts back to their underlying reality once again (i.e., these concepts must be reapplied to their related social problems). Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the nature of social problems a bit more.

25.4.3 Layers

A typical feature of a social problem is that there are almost always several other problems needing parallel consideration ("layering"). For example, the problem of drug abuse is interrelated to the problems of unemployment and of criminality. Strike behavior often reflects manifest, underlying, social dissent. So in the first place, we often have two or more interrelated sociological problems. In the second place, however, since we are especially interested in public policy problems, we have to make such problems (on the societal/sociological level) more distinct from political problems. But, once again, they are usually closely interrelated (e.g., drug policy interferes with private drug abuse). Sometimes, there are even two separate political problems which are interrelated with others at the sociological level. A relevant example of this phenomenon is the proposed revision of the Dutch

national health insurance system. At the societal/sociological level, we find questions about differences in individual/group income and the way health insurance institutions are organized as both semi-public and commercial organizations. First, at the "politicological" level, there is the problem of the rapidly growing public insurance system costs. Second, there is a severe implementation problem (a majority in parliament and much of society favor these goals, but doubted there were possibilities for effective implementation). Third, however, another emerging problem became apparent: while the more-important second legislative chamber favored the proposal, the normally less-important first chamber not only successfully opposed it, but simultaneously made it clear that a nascent political process then underway for a change in political power and control could not be blocked any more. It would be very difficult to analyze the fate of this proposed national health insurance policy without this background analysis, which signifies shifts in the overall political system and in political power relationships.

This example is not unique. Analyzing a social problem at only one of these levels would at least require what Piaget has called "the formal operational stage of abstract reasoning", including the ability for "hypothetico-deductive reasoning." But then, a pupil still would have to be able to interrelate these different levels. Even then, we are not yet at the core of what solving a social problem demands. Let us try to get at that core.

25.4.4 Causality and Causalfinality

In policy analysis as a science, there are two main and different activities involved/underway. On the one hand, there is the attempt to explain or predict a public policy or its consequences. On the other, there is the attempt to design a policy which will be as effective as possible. In the professional literature, the first activity is generally referred to as "causal." The second one is referred to using different names, such as "final-causal" or "teleological." We need not go into this debate here because there is no disagreement on the essential thing: human beings not only experience what is caused, they are also causes themselves (i.e., they can set goals they want to reach and look for the means they think best to achieve these goals). In fact, the central piece of public policy formation is setting goals and finding means, rather than letting external forces determine one's situation. This discussion, of course, is very ancient. Aristotle already made such distinctions; yet "modern" society links this idea to Kant. His *causa efficiens* and *causa finalis* are the philosophical roots for these political concepts.

There is every reason to believe that the concept of causal-final thinking is not always easy to grasp, even for scientists. Festinger and Katz (1953) wanted to study why Americans bought war obligations (bonds) during World War II. They accepted answers such as "just had a salary raise", but they would not accept as relevant explanations such responses as "help a little bit in the struggle against Hitler." They saw that as a legitimation only. A second example can be seen in the attitude of a Dutch left/green party (*Groen Links*) during the Persian Gulf War. When they had to decide whether or not to participate in that war, they reasoned as follows: "Bush is only in Kuwait for the oil. His saying that he wants to create a new world order is only a pretext." This party later had ethical difficulty deciding whether or not to provide Patriot missiles to Israel because their former position was not to be involved in the war. Later, that party analyzed their policy and asked why they had given up their own goal (which was some kind of new world order) just because someone else had a cause (oil), besides his other goal. The later position can be summed up as follows: We should have cooperated, and then, later, we would be in the position to hold Bush to his promises, when no oil was involved, else he might lose valuable public credibility.

25.4.5 Cognitive skills

What cognitive "skills" are needed when pupils want to participate in policies? First, causal thinking (for example, hypothetico-deductive reasoning and causal problem-solving skill) is necessary. Second, pupils have to learn to recognize final-causal reasoning and to practice it themselves. In that case, however, we must speak of the cognitive-affective process because values are involved when people choose among goals and means. And, third, they have to be able to combine these two types of reasoning into one process.

The most important and difficult cognitive-affective process, however, is when two or more final-causal relations have to be combined. In practice, this means analyzing the goals and means for at least two parties involved in the same question. Interrelations between these two processes reveal the communicative nature of social processes. Central concepts are power, communication about goals, sincerity in communication, and the possibility for sharing the same means, even in the case of sharing interests using different goals. These concepts have to be looked at as one process, with sev-

eral related components. As a whole, this may be called "the cognitive-affective process of socio-communicative reasoning."

25.4.6 Socio-communicative Reasoning

As a learning goal, this type of reasoning is at a higher than Piaget's (with Inhelder, 1958 and 1969) formal operational stage. It is higher in complexity than analogous reasoning in information processing theory, deductive reasoning, or problem solving strategies as so far developed. This is because it is more complex, it needs all the previously mentioned processes to be learned, and it involves handling values. This socio-communicative reasoning would not be possible without first having some experience in setting affective goals as Fraenkel (1980) has proposed. The main questions of socio-communicative reasoning are:

1. What are the fundamental values of the goals of the actors involved (and for me)?
2. Are actors (and am I) willing/able to communicate about values and to cooperate? Or is there reason to believe that there is some hidden domination and/or oppression involved here?
3. Are actors (and am I) sincere?
4. What are the actors' interests and how will/can we compromise on relevant means?

Socio-communicative reasoning is different from ethical reasoning, which is necessary when someone analyzes a personal problem (for example, deliberating about a specific case of euthanasia). In that case, no social problems (with different actors in different positions of power) are involved.

In addition to various metacomponents of problem solving, some new metastrategies are involved. These have to be monitored in the research process, as follows:

1. The process of differentiating problems (that is, identifying social problems [plural]).
2. The process of relating problems.
3. Monitoring these two processes.

25.5 Social Problem-solving Skills Some Conclusions

Because problems are a central didactical category, they should be in a central educational position. Because political education is about public policies, the problems studied should be policy problems in their social context. For revealing the patterns of cognitive and affective processes involved in solving social problems, it is necessary to analyze "thinking aloud" protocols to explain citizens' (or pupils') new category protocols with regard to the following processes:

- How do they use "classical" problem-solving strategy?
- How do they use metastrategic reasoning as outlined in this chapter?
- How do they use hypothetico-deductive reasoning structure (as developed by Voss, et al. [1983a and b], from others' theories)?
- How do they use final-causal reasoning?
- Do they use social-communicative reasoning?

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26 *Reorganizing (Political) Knowledge into a Conceptual Structure for Political Education* Some Concrete Proposals

26.1 Abstract

This chapter discusses the foundation of social sciences in the school, social and political education (SPE) at the secondary level. Unfortunately, cognitive learning/psychological theories and insights are insufficiently incorporated into SPE. In most countries where SPE is incorporated into the secondary curriculum, it is developed in a rather eclectic way.

A second topic covers fundamental elements of the science of social and political education (SSPE). SSPE derives its theories, concepts, ideas, and methods from different sources, but it transforms them. One of the outcomes of this translation process is a special language. A mature SSPE will, in the long run, contain a body of knowledge; theories and meta-theories which provide the basis for a semantic organization of basic concepts; cognitive learning theories, which are fitted to the reconceptualization of scientific theories and concepts; and results of political socialization surveys, which accompany or underlie these theories.

A third element focuses on SPE and the process of curriculum development, including preconditions, needs and possibilities for its development, and plans for national and international surveys.

The final concept involves a Dutch example "Dossier." This is a teaching/learning method based on cognitive learning and psychological insights. Specifically covered are organizational/theoretical structure; ideologies, political systems, and democracy; economic systems, socio-economic visions, and the "Trias Socio-Economica"; socio-economic models, country typologies, international relations, political cooperation, and conflict resolution.

26.2 The Science of Social and Political Education

26.2.1 Social Science Foundations in the School Social and Political Education (SPE) at the Secondary Level

Studying the various international reports about pupils' (from 14 to 18 years old) SPE, one has to conclude that most such teaching is eclectic. Other disciplines in the school (e.g., languages, mathematics, chemistry, and biology) have developed a special conceptual framework which borrows and translates concepts from the sciences from which they are derived.

SPE, however, does not have just one academic counterpart like the other educational sciences. It has at least three fathers (instead of one) and several uncles. Perhaps that explains why SPE did not naturally develop a special framework of interrelated concepts. "Special" refers to concepts in a language that fit the pupils' developmental level. After many years of trial and error, school disciplines develop their own educational languages. The "classic" subjects were helped by the fact that many scientists began their careers in schools. From the beginning, there was a sympathetic attention from the universities for their incorporation into the secondary schools. It required many years for these classical subjects to arrive at their body of

knowledge. SPE, however, began much more recently. Since many sciences were involved, no particular one acted as a nurse for this educational baby.

Yet, the Science of Social and Political Education (SSPE) did develop (albeit not smoothly) in scattered institutions and universities. This scientific field was hidden in the heads of those teachers with appropriate academic backgrounds. At a more-sophisticated level, it was found in some colleges for teachers and in the political science literature. This chapter brings together some of these blocks and cements them together to construct a new SPE building and to expose it to an international forum of critical fellow scientists and professionals.

A second problem is that most other school subjects had the time to analyze and incorporate ideas/concepts from different cognitive psychological theories. Analytic or "beta" subjects were very familiar to them; there, they found the same logical, cognitive-oriented order. SPE started with antagonistic feelings toward these theories. In the first place, it opposed any narrowly cognitive inspiration and wanted to be involved with values; therefore, it focused on moral attitudes. It derived its inspiration from societally-oriented courses, where human relations were emphasized. Cognitive knowledge was generally mistrusted.

After many years, in some SPE circles, certain useful insights and breakthroughs were discarded and the baby was thrown out with the bath water. The general feeling was that the basis for learning in school is cognitive, anyway. But in the case of SPE, the cognitive aspect will always be closely linked with values. Slowly, some theoreticians and didacticians in certain countries started to recognize this. After breaking down existing taboos, the next step was looking for cognitive psychological theories that helped them build up elements of SPE. Finally, they arrived at a transition point, where insights derived from these theories were incorporated or translated to this emerging branch of science.

26.2.2 The Science of Social and Political Education (SSPE) Fundamental Elements

Behind every school subject stands a special science. Normally, a direct relationship exists with one academic science. However, in the case of SPE, three main academic disciplines nourish the subject/content. These are sociology, political science, and cultural anthropological studies. They are the

main sources for SSPE. This developing science contains the following basic elements:

- a) A body of knowledge, built around interconnected concepts. These interconnections are found in levels of abstraction and diversification. These "Semantic Organizations of Concepts" (SOCs) are the building blocks which the student confronts. One major semantic organization (the meta-SOC) contains the main concepts encompassing the whole of SSPE. To use a metaphor, it looks like a blueprint for buildings (the SOC) which belong together and which share one type of architecture (the meta-SOC). In the second part of this chapter, some ideas for such a meta-theoretical system are presented. But in every subfield of SSPE, there are special SOC's, which borrow concepts and structures from the meta-SOC and sometimes touch or overlap other subfield SOC's.
- b) Theories and meta-theories (or hypotheses for some relatively new fields which are not yet integrated into theories) support this body of knowledge. These theories provide the more-abstract or more schematic plans for building concepts. We can look for such theories in the framework of the original social sciences or can develop new ones. That can be a creative process because it is inherent to the development of our new SSPE.
- c) Cognitive learning strategies are fitted to political and social education. Existing theories encircle "alpha"- and "beta"-disciplines, while "gamma"-disciplines stagger behind. First, surveys were made in the fields of biology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics. One of the tasks for our new science is to analyze these theories (and surveys made on the basis of these theories) and to form ideas about their relevance for SSPE. But, in the longer run, new, more adequate surveys have to be made in our field.
- d) Results of political and socialization surveys have to be incorporated into SSPE. This process has begun; we already have some insight into certain processes which influence youngsters' ideas and behaviors; but this knowledge is not yet fully implemented. Of course, there have to be new surveys, directed at developing, rebuilding, and extending our SOC's.

24.3 The Process of Curriculum Development and SPE

24.3.1 Representing the Body of Knowledge

Preconditions (from a cognitive psychological point of view) include concepts, which have to be interrelated. If concepts are interconnected, we can analyze, synthesize, and evaluate them. Interconnected concepts have to be represented in semantic organizational schemes or diagrams. This facilitates "receptive learning." These learning concepts can, without reconceptualization, be absorbed into the student's cognitive structure.

Information which is structured in this sense, will be better understood. Because many pupils are accustomed to visual signs, concepts have to be visualized whenever possible. Rather abstract, conceptual structures should also be translated into visual schemes. The various school subjects have a long tradition for such didactic help. For example, mathematics works with graphics, while geography uses maps. We have to use correct ways to graphically represent the didactic of social sciences while we look for new ones. In general, pupils are accustomed to reading graphic signs. Certain socialization agents (e.g., television, newspapers, and books) nowadays use many visual signs.

The SSPE has to propose (meta-)conceptual frameworks which, in the long run, can be filled in for all of the possible fields of SPE knowledge. These propositions have used systematic investigations to answer questions such as: What is the effect of using these concepts? Where do they conflict with the schematic systems pupils already possess? Which world views do pupils possess at each socialization stage? What are their feelings toward politics and different social issues? Are these preconditioned feelings, thoughts, and "theories" specific for their age, their sex, their socio-economic class, or/and their national background?

Many of these questions have to be investigated using socialization research. Their outcomes have to be connected to the way pupils accept or reject information (i.e., to their learning-processes). If this is true, we must look for old (or implement new) studies to find out if the learning process also has national, class, age, sex, and demographic background connections.

There are also preconditions from the socialization point of view. The pupil has a mind which is not a *tabula rasa*. He/she has been socialized, possessing all kinds of preconceptions, views, schemata, and feelings on political and social issues. These preconditions have to be mapped using investi-

gations in the schools for both the national and international levels. Teachers have to study these views, which become starting points for their didactics. Much work has been done in this field, but it also has to be collected and re-organized as a foundation for SPE.

The didactic translation process has five stages which often interfere with one another and do not always follow a logical order. These stages are:

- Analyzing theories and concepts originating from the different social and political sciences (i.e., sociology, political science, and cultural anthropology), to make valid, adequate, and significant choices. The different SPE fields already contain the different social problems which confront modern societies. Social sciences continuously analyze these problems. If we have to make adequate choices, we must determine how all kinds of people who are involved with a special problem describe it and which aspects they consider important. We have to look through their specific "interest-loaded" language. As people involved with SSPE, we study how the social sciences have translated these problems and how people are already using such translations. More so than political and social science, SSPE hopes to discover if people have a truthful view of the way a social problem is handled both in the media and in everyday language. In the long run, we want to provide pupils with an "adequate" set of tools (much like a window on, and a filter for, the world) to understand the reality they confront daily.

A valid structure of concepts is based on the social sciences. Is our apparatus supported by the scientific-supported critical view of reality that social sciences present to us? Experts may look at our concepts to help us answer this question. Because different experts use different theorems, the best way to further this process is to provoke a discussion among social scientists. We can start this discussion by referring to the Dutch SOC, called "Dossier."

- Analyzing the pre-thoughts and pre-concepts that pupils have as a result of their socialization.
- Translating information. The learning materials developer has to look for new concepts that adequately translate concepts developed in the social sciences. These materials must also be suited to pupils at this level of education/maturation/development.

In this search-process, we have some help in analyzing school methods. School textbooks very often have school teachers (who have ideas about

the pupils involved, or, at least, so we can hope) as authors. In the first place, we have to study those books that contain organized bodies of concepts. But a still more creative task awaits the SSPE developer. He/she has to find new definitions and labels if adequate pre-existing concepts are not present in a given field.

- Testing or trying out new concepts.
- Searching further to reorganize, rethink, and rename concepts that are not sufficiently adequate, significant, and valid. Moreover, he/she must look for new interconnections or find even more useful ones.

26.4 A Dutch SSPE Example Dossier

26.4.1 Dossier, a Method Based on Cognitive Psychological Theories

There are eight relatively new methods in the Netherlands which have a relatively large audience in the schools. One of them, Dossier, is rooted in the previously discussed didactic principles (Philippens, 1989-90). As author of this method, let me review the introductory ideas, concepts, and framework developed in this book.

Dossier was gradually developed in the schools. Starting in the late 1970s, a conceptual framework was sought for political education. Then, only descriptive books were available. The first internal school publication, *Political Basic Concepts*, was merely four pages long, but doubled in size each succeeding year. The body of concepts broadened and deepened; exercises and questions were added. The last ones used newspaper and magazine articles to introduce societal reality to the classroom. The most important end goal was that pupils should use this framework to understand more quickly and easily the reality they confronted in the mass media. Because these concepts and methods were reality-directed, we hypothesized a cumulative effect, a rapid accumulation of knowledge based on ideas learned in classrooms. Subsequent conversations with former pupils exposed to Dossier (conducted years after they left school) confirmed these expectations.

We found that only global cognitive psychological considerations played a major role in the beginning. These first "cognitive psychological" ideas were simple (i.e., conceptual organization was necessary, concepts must relate to one another, and new concepts must be attached to previous ones). The first ideas specifically about the social studies were that we had to start with political concepts; sociological concepts should only support the polit-

ical focus; and cultural/anthropological concepts should stay out of focus, but must eventually have a place in the framework. Our initial ideas about content were:

- Political concepts should be connected to the economic basis of society.
- The most important political concepts would be political philosophies, which were rooted in social interest groups and were, therefore, also economic ideologies.
- Economic concepts would play an important role. When used, they have to be derived as much as possible from economics as a school subject so that pupils get a comprehensive framework of concepts using the same language.
- These concepts would not be limited to the local or national scale. They had to be as universal as possible.
- The international level would have a substantial place in this framework.

Each year, this framework grew, concepts were reformulated, new ones were introduced, and old ones were scrapped. The pupils' reactions played a major role, along with their class remarks, because the products of their study exercises helped us reconceptualize and refine the framework. In the beginning, certain aims buried in the method were not compatible with the ideas then circulating among political and social educators at the national and international levels. Gradually, during the 1970s and 1980s, these ideas changed. Incorporating different cognitive psychological theories helped us develop a theoretical basis for a more pragmatic approach. This cognitive basis was strengthened in later years (Philippens, August 1983 and February 1988).

To present the Dossier framework and concepts, we start with an outline of the object of the study. This introduces the subject matter content used in Holland.

Introduction

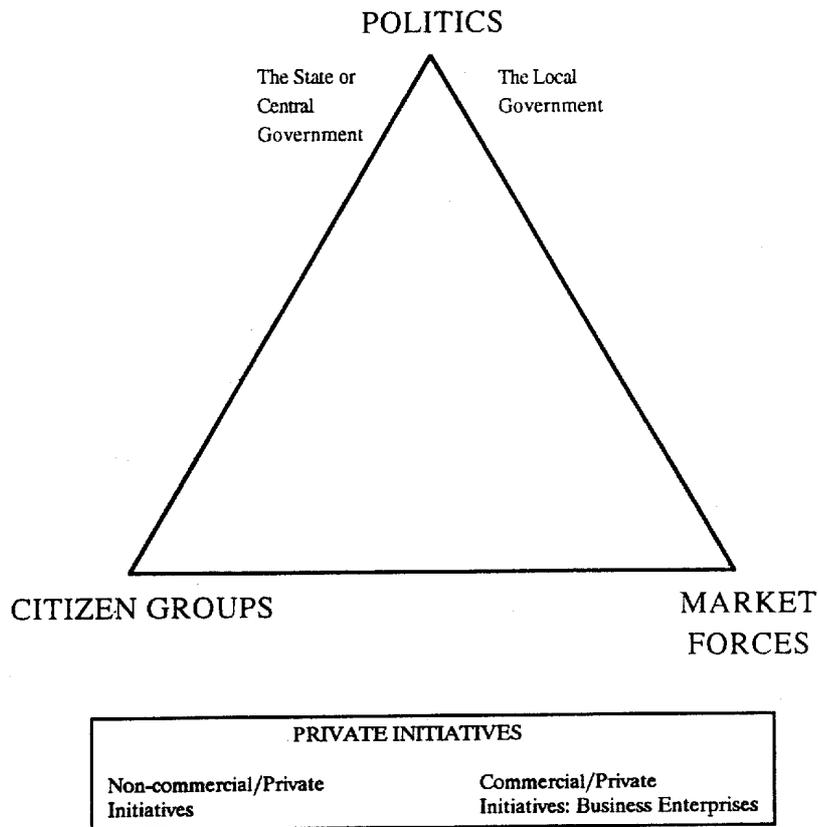
Here, we describe *Maatschappijleer*, the Dutch name for SPE. Pupils start to study this subject relatively late, at the upper levels of secondary school. Therefore, they need an introduction to the field. It is impossible to present the complete field of SPE in an introduction, so we shall highlight some basic concepts, including political socialization; different social groups, both primary and secondary, both "little" (face-to-face relationships) and

"big" (social groups), and culture; the economic system, the economic organization, and divisions into collective and particular economic sectors; different socio-economic models; society and the state, functions of the state, the concept of legitimation, and relations between state and society; and international relations between state and society. In connection with these concepts, an overall view of political/social philosophies is shown in Figure 1, the triangle "Trias Socio-Economica." (Note: this term refers to the *trias politica*. In the same way that a mature democracy honors an equilibrium among the three governing powers (legislative, executive, and judicial), a stable society gives space and possibilities to the three areas of the "Trias Socio-Economica", namely the political, the private, and the market.)

In all societies, social problems arise and different social groups formulate solutions to them. They do not only propose alternatives, they can organize solutions or even manage them. We can differentiate among three main groups in the triangle (see Figure 1):

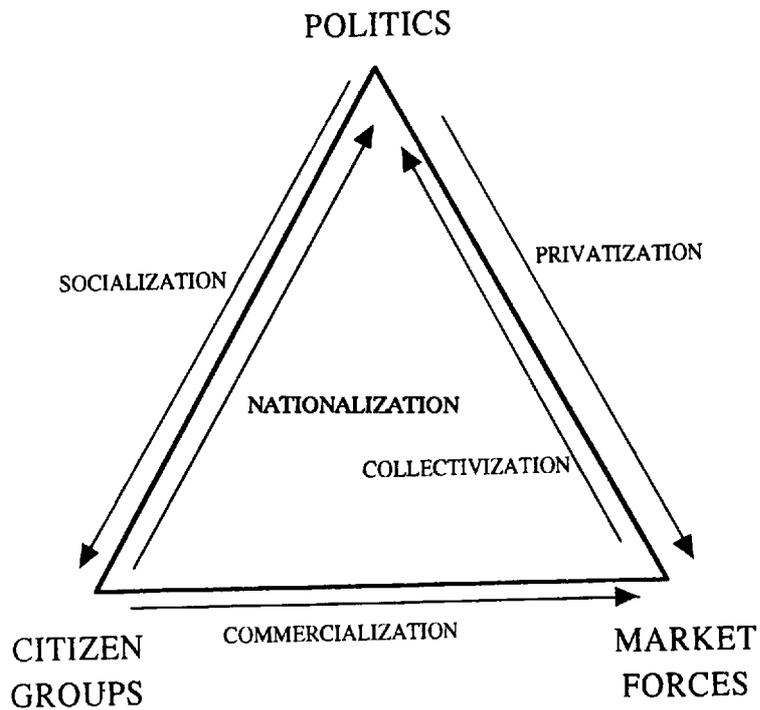
1. The political. Most prominent here are the "public authorities." These are the federal (national) government, the state, provinces or departments (counties), and municipal authorities. A new term which characterizes this political sphere is "collective initiative."
2. Groups of citizens. Voluntarily working together without commercial goals, they constitute the "noncommercial private initiative."
3. The market. This includes the free-enterprise companies who decide on commercial alternatives to make profits. They constitute the "commercial private initiative."

Figure 1: *The Trias Socio-Economica: who will provide solutions for public problems or who controls organization or management?*



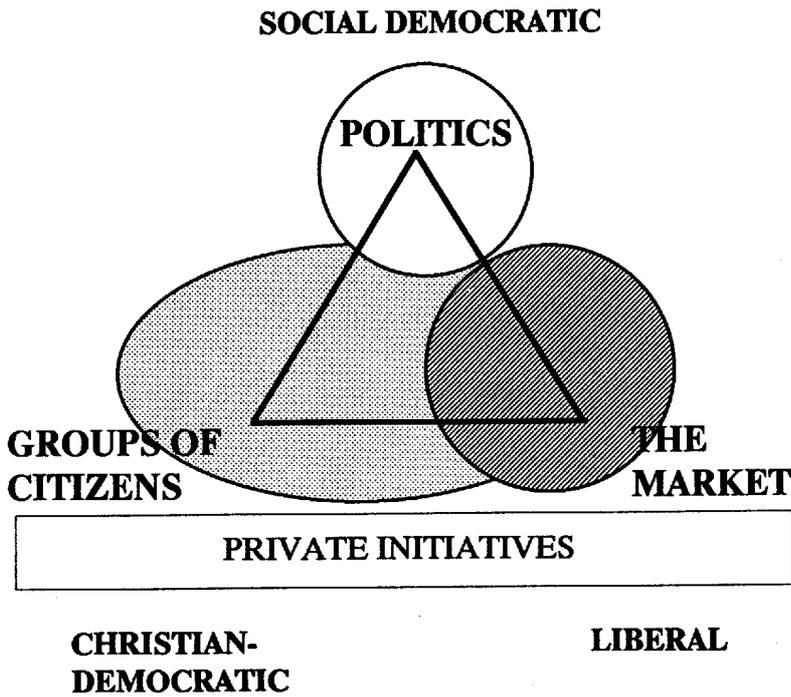
In Western countries, these three groups work together. We can specify the changes which result from different activities. For example, when activity shifts from the state (politics) to the market, this is *privatization*, while the opposite result is collectivization (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Shifts among/between politics/citizens/markets.



Different political ideologies embrace the ideas placed in the three corners of our "Trias" (see Figure 3). The left ideologies and the Social Democrats prefer solutions to flow downward from the top, with the government making laws to change society. The Christian Democrats and (in several countries) the Conservatives prefer two kinds of initiatives, both commercial and noncommercial. European Liberals prefer solutions using the market. The Pragmatists (a new group) stand in the middle of the triangle, not choosing any "old-ideological" solutions, but selecting political alternatives as circumstances require.

Figure 3: Party ideological orientations.



The Trias model can be applied to all kinds of social problems. For example, the school system in Holland is 70% organized using noncommercial private initiative (*de bijzondere school*, mostly by religious groups). There are only a few free-enterprise schools, while the other 30% are municipal. The very complex private radio and television organization in Holland is currently a 100% noncommercial, private initiative. Two Dutch broadcast organizations (TROS and Veronica) started as commercial organizations, were banned, but now have access to the communications system and will be operative as soon as the media law is changed (if they see enough profit in it). In the near future, Holland will have a dual system, whereby commercial enterprises will parallel the now-existing noncommercial ones. Completing the Trias Socio-Economica, one can compare similar or other

systems in different countries, seeing which choices are made and the roles played by the various ideologies, parties, or governments.

The Formal Object and the Outlook (benaderingswijze) of SPE (Maatschappijleer) in the Netherlands

Political and social studies in Holland represent its different themes in the following specific educational fields: socialization, social groups, the socio-economic structure, political structures and cultures, and international relations. The central field is political structures and cultures. This is where both ideologies and the political decision-making process is studied.

The discipline *Maatschappijleer* has a specific outlook or way of looking at problems derived from these fields. This outlook consists of the following elements:

- What is the social problem in question? What is its historical background?
- Which social groups are involved in this social problem? What are their interests, their norms and values, and their places in the social power structure?
- What are their aims? Which political strategies do they use?
- Which ideas exist for solving the problem? More particularly, what do political parties and other political groups think about it?
- When a policy is made, which choices are made?
- Which common solutions are found in other societies?

Dossier tells the pupil: if you want to know which themes have a place in this subject, you have to place it in one of the thematic fields. (Your choice of a special field influences which side of the problem you will study.) You have to ascertain that different politically important groups hold controversial views about it in the country. If a topic meets these criteria, you may study it in this school subject.

26.4.2 The Structure of the Method

First Part of the Theory/Method

Starting with a study of political socialization, the pupil confronts a discussion of the concepts "progressive" and "conservative." (Anchor concepts may be questioned when students find them inadequate. Then, the teacher

may introduce new, more-sophisticated concepts.) Since these concepts often prove inadequate, this method allows students to look for other ideas. Ideas are organized in "ideologies." Big social groups share these ideologies, which we call "currents." The concept of "ideology" is formulated in a neutral way.

Ideologies have three elements: visions about mankind, values, and interests. A trichotomy of visions is developed. Looking back over history, ideologies came into being centuries ago. Big social groups were formed after the Industrial Revolution started. At that time, classes developed and the technological level of society was mature enough so ideas could easily spread to large groups. The trichotomy is based on the division of classes that existed in Europe in the 19th century (see Table 1).

Table 1: Left, center, and right values and visions.

	Left Ideologies	Center Ideologies	Right Ideologies
Interest groups	Working class	Small bourgeois groups	The "rich"
Main values	Solidarity Righteousness Equality	A combination of values	Wealth Individualism Property Excellence
Vision of mankind: - How social is man?	Optimistic: - Man is born social (but bad circumstances can temporarily change man)	A combination of visions	Pessimistic: - Man is selfish, pursues his own interests, without care for others
- Which capabilities do all have?	- Every man has high potential capabilities: all can take part in government		- Big differences in human capabilities exist: most people cannot lead: only a small elite is capable

The ideological elements are interrelated. There is a strong interrelation among ideas in the extreme ideologies. The center ideologies have weak, combined ideas which stem from the extremes. Gradually, the growing middle class has broadened or even dominated the whole political spec-

trum. (Striving for upward mobility, immigrants in the US, for example, embraced the middle-class values of individualism, perseverance, and initiative.) Currently in Western countries, middle-class ideologies have a strong hold.

To accompany these theoretical ideas, the method uses a rectangle as a visual aid. It represents all conceptual building blocks. Most students find visual representations helpful. Many mature disciplines in the secondary schools use their own visual, symbolic language. (Mathematics uses graphs; physics and chemistry has models of molecules or, in more-abstract schemes, vectors.) Dossier has developed a special image language for SPE. It not only represents the left-right dichotomy, but step-by-step allows other concepts to be visually attached or "hung on."

There are 16 ideologies which fall between the left-right dichotomy (see Figure 4). Generally, these are not only derived from existing Dutch ideologies, political movements, and parties, but also are related to their foreign counterparts. The model aspires to be more universal. Eventually, political parties in various countries can be placed in the rectangle. Finally, "models" of other countries may be constructed.

Figure 4: Ideological currents and political positions.

LI			CI		RI		
A	C	R	SOC DEM	LIB	RI	RE	
		LI C	CONF		RI C	FU	F

Left Ideologies (LI)

- Optimistic view of mankind
- All people possess high minimum/ equivalent qualities
- All people are born social
- Anarchists: Strong humanistic & optimistic view, "abolish, after a revolution, all authority", federation of basic groups
- Communists: Optimistic view & authoritarian transition period under the Communist Party (socialism)
- Radicals: Less optimistic view & evolution

Right Ideologies (RI)

- Pessimistic view of mankind
- People have very different talents: only elites may govern
- People are selfish
- Right Ideologies: Pessimistic view & organic model
- REactionaries: Strong pessimistic view of people as unequal or unequal: superior and inferior types justify discrimination; people are selfish

to a small-scaled, ecological society

LIC Left Confessionalists: Optimistic view: human equivalence: care for the weak in third world and in one's society

Fundamentalists: i.e., religious reactionaries

RIC Right Confessionalists:
Pessimistic view: state is instrument of God; strong emphasis on organic model: values & norms are authoritatively given, endorse care for the weak
FU Fascists: Extremely pessimistic view: the inferior must be ruthlessly oppressed, even violently; people are unequal; man is selfish

Center Ideologies (CI)

SOC DEM Social Democrats:

Leftist-inspired ideas: More equality in income: access to science, politics requires "representative democracy", freedom wanted in values & norms

Rightist-inspired ideas: Accept FES with its built-in inequalities

LIB Liberals:

Rightist-inspired ideas: Inequality in FES stimulates initiative. Strong anti-criminal attitudes

Leftist-inspired ideas: Equality in politics: one man, one vote; representative democracy, freedom espoused in values & norms

CONF Confessionalists:

Leftist-inspired ideas: Political equality: representative democracy, care for the weak, "stewardship", and care for the ecological system

Rightist-inspired ideas: Organic model: traditional values & norms, family is cornerstone of society, harmonic social life, accept FES inequalities

Pragmatists: In Western democracy, at center. No dogmatic standpoints: choose what is the best for the circumstances, yet a liberal view on democracy, social values, and norms

Note: FES is Free Enterprise System. Source: Dossier, Chapters 3-5 (Philippens, 1990).

The SPE rectangle (see Figure 5) is derived from the time table used in Dutch history lessons. We have started on the right side. Following the centuries, we go to the left until we arrive in the middle of the 19th century. At that time, democratic political systems took root in Europe, following North American and English precedents. In the same era, the Industrial Revolutions occurred. The 1850s marked a turning point. Then, modern political and economic systems were established. At that time, coherent philosophical ideas about mankind and society did not exist; these were later developed by large social groups. Industrialization attracted masses to the cities and towns; also, newspapers became a mass medium (literacy increased, while journal prices decreased). To depict this graphically, you

may draw a horizontal line from right to left; place two columns (separated by vertical lines) beneath it and label them "1850" and "1992."

We can represent a country or a government along the horizontal; now, we have the rectangle (see Figures 5, 6a and 6b). In the rectangle, we can go to the left or to the right. For example, if the welfare state is diminished in Holland, we can go to a level that can be compared with the situation in the 1960s. In the future, if we diminish the number of motorcars to the level we had in 1955, we can go back in this respect. If we go back to an important situation as it existed before, we go to the right in our rectangle (see Figure 6). Our definitions of "progressive" and "conservative" can be shown in such a figure (see Figures 6a and 6b). The line for the government and the space to the right of it is the conservative side. To the left, we find the progressive side. In the near future, if the government goes to the left, that line pulls the conservative block with it, increasing the size of the conservative side. The side that (during the previous government) was called progressive, now has become conservative. Changes to the right have a similar effect. Therefore, we conclude that a change in the government's position changes the positions of progressive and conservative groups located in the middle. (Note: if we want to visualize the transition of one government to another, we draw the position of the old government with a broken line and the new one with an unbroken line).

Figure 5:

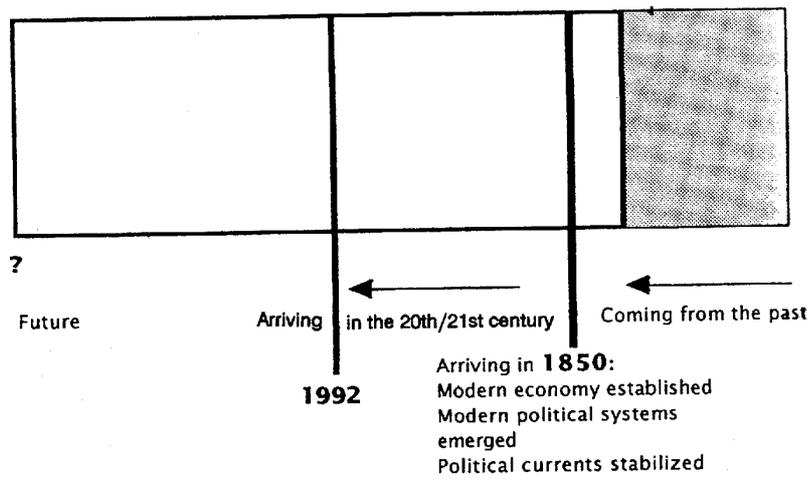


Figure 6:

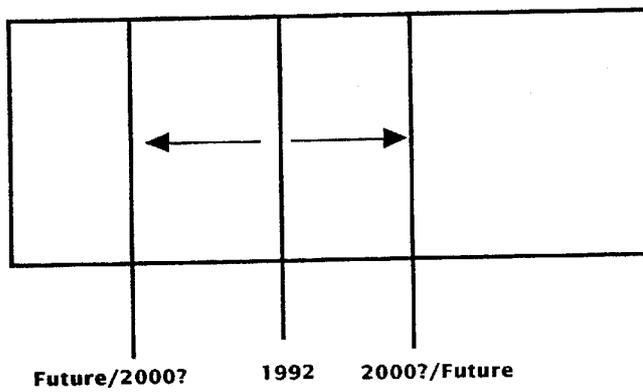


Figure 6a: Progressive/Conservative positions: 1992.

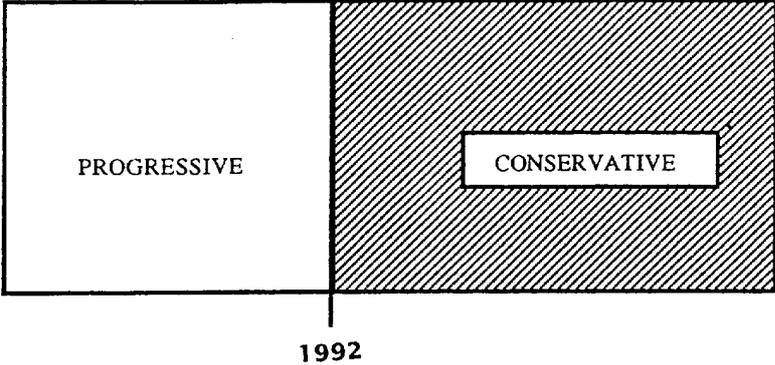


Figure 6b: Future Progressive/Conservative positions: 2000.

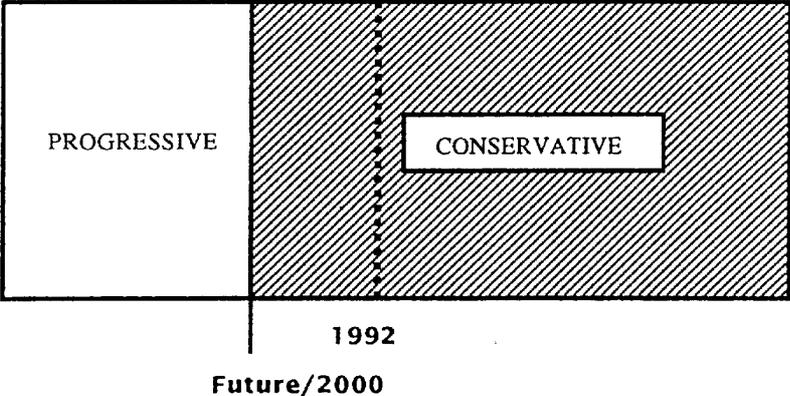


Figure 6c: *Conservatives in the Netherlands are Progressives in the USA.*

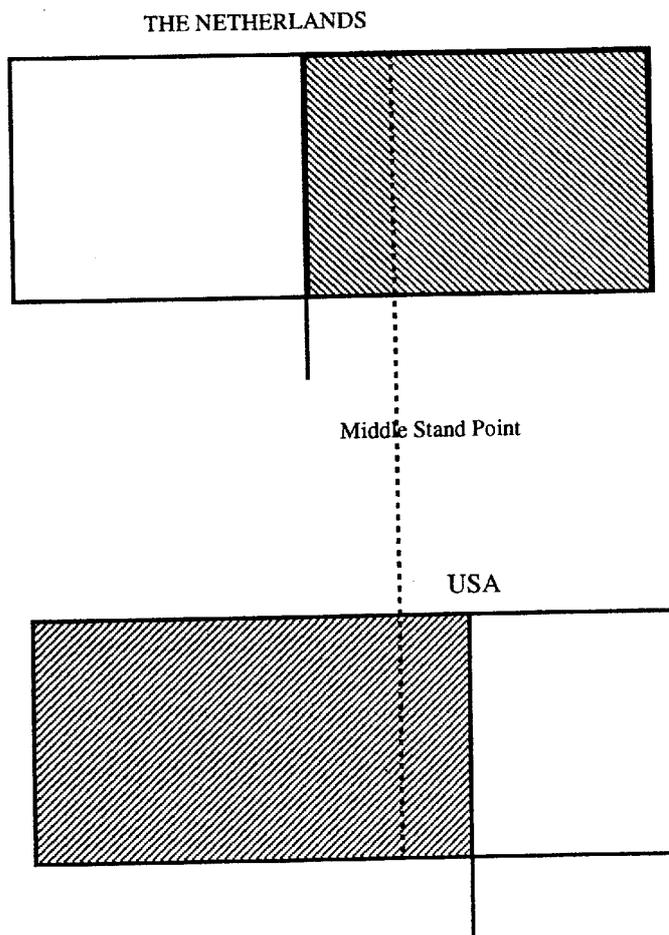
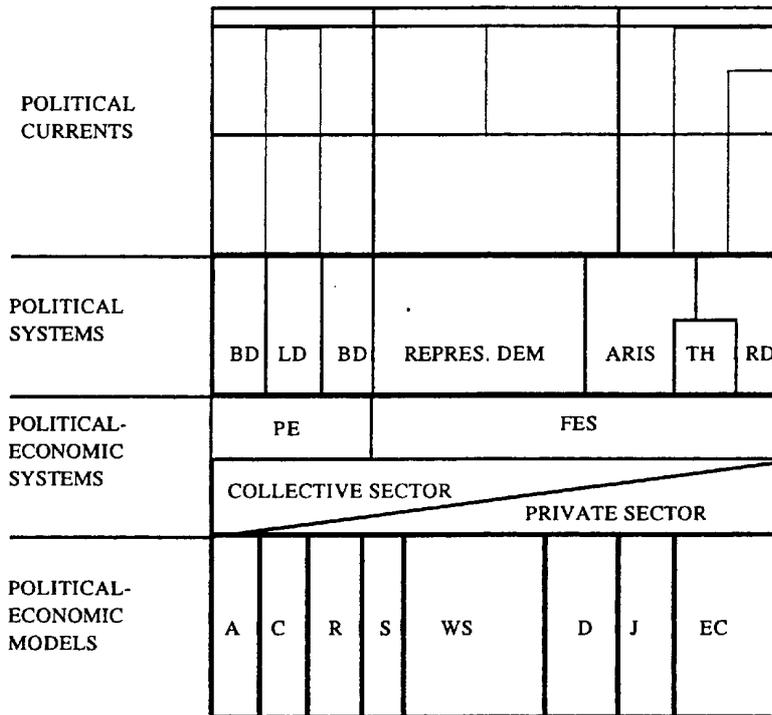


Figure 7: *World political/economic systems and models.*



Political Systems: 1. Basic democracy; 2. Left dictatorship (people's democracy); 3. Basic democracy; 4. Representative democracy; 5. Aristocracy; 6. Theocracy; 7. Right dictatorship.

Political-Economic Models: 1. Anarchistic PE; 2. Centralized PE; 3. Radical; 4. Socialist transition FES; 5. Welfare State FES; 6. Developmental FES; 7. Japanese; 8. (Early) Capitalist.

Now, we have to expand our visual symbols. Every horizontal line in the rectangle represents an ideological position. Every ideological position can be filled by a smaller or larger number of people. For example, if we look for a particular ideology, we have to group certain ideological positions which stand near each other. An ideology is a smaller rectangle within the bigger one. Ideologies can be broad or narrow.

A political party contains several ideologies. At the same time, it overlaps other parties. Therefore, political parties are drawn as parallelograms. They can be made broader, more or less.

For the time being, we can make some assumptions. We can draw a country as a line. "Models of countries" are represented by small rectangles with similar countries fitting into a given model. So countries of a special kind form a block with lines representing individual countries in that block. We can distinguish five models of countries. These are in the "Western democratic model" in the middle, the "right dictatorship" to the right (but not in the corner), the "left dictatorship" (such as a Stalinist dictatorship) to the left (but not in the corner), and the "normal" third-world countries in the middle between Western democracy and right dictatorship, with a handful of left third-world countries in the middle on the left side. We can also distinguish among other types of countries.

In Figure 7, we see seven political-economic models. Let us look at the "average line" of every model first. At this point, students have to complete exercises using these graphic representations to learn the appropriate terms and language. (One interesting exercise uses the following problem: Draw two rectangles, the one precisely beneath the other, illustrating the situation so that the same person could be called "progressive" in one country, such as the US, and "conservative" in another, such as the Netherlands. See Figure 6c.) After completing the selected exercises, students realize that progressive and conservative are relative concepts. These notions do not actually say much about the basic ideas people have; they only show a person's ideological position relative to the position of the country or the government. In Dossier, we frequently discuss questions such as:

- Can we safely say that a majority of people will be found in the larger segment (the conservative or the progressive part)? The answer varies. In democratic or stabilized countries, the majority will usually appear around the government's position; however, people gradually change positions, slowly moving to other positions over the years.
- Is there a contradiction in the system (i.e., if the last government position that changed to the right is placed in the rectangle as progressive, but according to our terminology, we have to call it conservative)? The answer is "Yes."

The Left and Right Ideologies

We should first look at the corners of our dichotomy (see Figure 4) because the left and right ideologies are situated there. They have strong ideas. Middle ideologies borrow from both sides and tone down these ideas, combining them into new visions (see Table 1).

The left ideologies. These have a predominantly optimistic vision of man. In their ideal (utopian) society, self-government emerges with as few rules as possible. Because people are ultimately social, they do not need any rules coming from above. People who behave in anti-social ways have to be reeducated. People enjoy social life and culture; they are rational consumers who do not find happiness in property or riches.

The left ideologies are divided into three main groups. The left-most have the most extremely optimistic views; to the right, this vision fades. The three main left ideologies are:

1. Anarchists. They possess the purest leftist ideology. The anarchists and the communists reject present-day capitalist society. In contrast to the radicals (who prefer evolution), they want a (peaceful, if possible) revolution. At the very moment of revolution, they will start the new society. At that time, people will abolish all authority in order to govern themselves. They make up "basic groups" who will make decisions and choose representatives. (For a short time, everybody has a turn.) Representatives are recalled if they neglect the agreements which their group made. Representatives meet in a council (in Russian, a "soviet"), which coordinates activities for the basic groups. This council sends a representative to the council at the next higher level. In this way, the school, university, shop, factory, neighborhood, and town (at the last level) are governed. This structure is called "a federation of basic groups." We call this "a direct democracy", a "basis"- or a "council"-democracy. The army is abolished and neighborhood militia employ people who are able to defend themselves. People who do not socially conform are judged, using people's courts, and are then reeducated.
2. Communists. As this movement arose, it formulated objections against the anarchists. They called them the "impatient revolutionaries." It was claimed impossible to start immediately after the revolution with a new society. First, people are miseducated under capitalism, so it takes time to reeducate them. Second, the old capitalists still have money and power, which they will use to overthrow the new revolutionary regime.

Therefore, a Communist Party has to organize the revolution and monopolize all power during a transition-period (socialism), guiding the people toward communism. The Party introduces a planned economy. Gradually, as living conditions improve, people are reeducated. They then practice democracy and learn to apply it at all levels (see Lenin, 1927 and 1980) until, ultimately, the state dies and vanishes. The tragic end of the communists is that by establishing an uncontrolled, authoritarian party regime, socialist reality turns in an opposite ideological direction. In creating an uncontrolled elite, the pessimistic nature of man prevails and strangles the optimistic view.

3. Radicals. The last offspring of the left ideologies are the radicals. They came into prominence in the late 1960s and 1970s. Contrary to the other two sister ideologies, they do not want a sudden revolutionary overthrow of state power, but a slow change in public mentality. This consists of an anti-authoritarian, pro-ecological orientation which slowly arises from the old society. Like little mushrooms on an old rotten tree, new circles with a new mentality will grow until they finally cover the whole tree. Criticism of the old economy (with its focus on ever-increasing production and consumption) is at the heart of this new ideology. So the future will bring ecologically sound consumption and production methods, using small-scale enterprises with worker self-government.

The right ideologies (see Table 2). By contrast with their left counterparts, the two most extreme right ideologies are not separately defined ideologies; instead, they overlap one another. The pessimistic view of man gradually grows stronger if we turn to the right in the rectangle. There are three mainstream movements ("normal" right ideologies, reactionaries, and fascists). All share an organic view of man, society, and government.

Table 2: The organic model.

BODY	FAMILY	SOCIETY
Head, which governs the limbs of the body	Father, who cares for his family and who, in the end, has ultimate power	Elite, which is gifted, has authority
Breast, which protects the body	Father	Men, as soldiers and policemen
Heart, which incorporates feelings	Mother, who looks after, cares for, and consoles family members	Women, who do their work in the family or (if unmarried) fulfill nursing-supportive roles
Limbs, which obey and execute their tasks	Children, who obey all who stand over them	Men and (sometimes) women as citizens, who obey the authorities, receiving rewards and protection

1. "Normal" right ideologies. In the political literature, they are often called "conservative." They have a rather mildly pessimistic view of man. The ruling elite (born to rule) plays the role of father to subordinates (the "common" man). There has to be justice; people have to learn to care for each other. And the ruling classes have to help the poor.

It is important that these basic values and norms are systematically incorporated in conservative education through the family. Only then will youth learn how to behave in society, namely to obey those above them (the power structure), to learn their sex roles (the role structure), and to reject "unnatural" ways of behavior (e.g., homosexuality). We can study these ideas by constructing a "model of thinking." (This model is not exactly the thinking of all right ideologies, but it helps us to analyze their ideas.)

In the family the children learn power- and role-relations they later play out in the society. Therefore, education in a "normal family" (which forms the "cornerstone" of society) is essential. Because all people die, they have to reproduce to live on in future generations. Abortion, therefore, is an unnatural deed because it deprives society of new and necessary future generations. Women have to care for all offspring, otherwise the society will die. Education has to be a male and

female task, otherwise the children do not have "natural" examples to follow.

Sometimes a deadly disease affects a limb of the body, so it is better to amputate it than to wait until the whole body is sick. Therefore, criminals have to learn societal values and rules. If they fail to do this (if their "disease" is too dangerous to the well-being of the whole), the society has to apply the death penalty to them. Most *religious right ideologies* think along these lines. Theocracies tend to give women a special, if subordinate, role in society.

2. Reactionaries. Here, we cross the borderline between humanistic and less-humanistic ideologies. This and the following ideology do not accept human rights. Not only do they think people are unequal (i.e., that only elites are capable of governing), but they also believe that ordinary people are of unequal value. There is a continuum between animals and man. Ordinary citizens stand a step lower on humanity's ladder. People in other societies are even lower still.

Reactionaries discriminate using such criteria as race, color, sex, sexual behavior, and beliefs/ideology. Sometimes, one discriminates using only one criterion; but, more often, they discriminate simultaneously on several criteria. Those discriminated against do not deserve a "normal" place in society. Sometimes they are viewed as parasites or viruses who threaten the healthy social body.

3. Fascists. These are reactionaries who believe they have to use violence against the weak (whom they discriminate against). They have an extremely pessimistic view of man. Only a leader who suffered in the struggle to fight the old powers deserves to rule the people. Heroism and ruthless tyranny are their fundamental ideas. But in the end, a pure society will exist. It will bring harmony to their own society, but brutal force elsewhere. In the most extreme case, a fascist is an individual who stands alone. At the other end of the spectrum, he will meet the anarchist, who also only believes ultimately in individual sovereignty. (i.e., *Les extremes se touchent*; extremes meet at their ends).

26.4.3 Terrorism

As a case in point, we can distinguish among three main groups of terrorists. Two of them can be understood through our typology (the left and right ideologies). The third is found in separation movements, which adhere

to various ideologies. Terrorism can be represented in a visual schematic (see Table 3).

Table 3: Typology of terrorism.

Political Background	Aims	Victims	Strategies
Anarcho-communists (anarchists and communists)	A free and equal society	Authorities and people with top-level economic positions	To eliminate the authorities and win the "oppressed's" revolutionary sympathies
Fascists	An unequal society	Minorities or "ordinary people" (the masses)	To spread terror so people will embrace fascist solutions, such as a genial leader, guaranteeing law and order
Nationalistic separatists	Independence or (preferably) separation	Soldiers and authorities of the present "oppressive regime"	To make political costs as expensive and high as possible so that "oppressive" regimes crumble

26.4.4 The Center Ideologies

These ideologies combine ideas from the left and right, but tone them down. The center grew enormously since the beginning of the century. Not only was the growing welfare-state to its benefit, but also responsible was the bad name the extreme ideologies got in recent history. Didactically, one can use a scheme to explain how ideas "weaken" when going from one extreme side to the other. For example, Table 4 shows how ideas about handling criminality change from one side to another.

We can divide the three center ideologies into three mainstreams: social democrats, liberals, and the confessional center. Three basic topics (i.e., the three "central questions") can be used to study each of the three center ideologies and their views:

- a) What is the role of the government in the economic system?
- b) How can (political) power be divided?
- c) How free are people to choose their own values and norms?

Table 4: Crime, punishment, and ideology.

Vision of Man	OPTIMIS- TIC VIEW			PESSIMISTIC VIEW
Optimistic ideas:	Reeducation	Alternatives education or correction sought including the social basis for dysfunctions	Helping guilty return to society by drilling, discipline, and a tight rein	
Pessimistic-oriented ideas:		Rather light punishment	Severe punishment	Severe punishment Death penalty
Results: in:		Combination of ideas		
Ideologies:	Left ideologies	Center ideologies		Right ideologies

1. The social democrats. They arose around 1870, gradually distancing themselves from the far-left ideologies (then, communists and anarchists). Their strategy was to make gradual changes in existing capitalist society. At first, they wanted to introduce universal suffrage and slowly make improvements in peoples' social, economic, and cultural living conditions.

They had to accept the Free Enterprise System (FES) although it was based on inequality (a right-wing ideological idea). Yet, the one man/one vote principle was a left-wing ideological idea. In the beginning, the social democrats were antagonistic toward the democratic system.

How do social democrats respond to the three central questions?

- a) The government has to have a rather important influence over economics because, by transferring money from the private to the collective sector, it can produce more equality. Over the last decade, social democrats have taken a rather modest stand on this point: now, they prefer a more decentralized government.
- b) Since one of the tasks of government is to give people a share in the structures of political and economic power, they want workers to

participate in work-councils. This combines the idea of one man/one vote with that of changing elites in a representative democracy.

c) People have to be free to choose their own lifestyles. They firmly reject the organic model, have a liberal view on abortion, the status of women, and on homosexuality.

2. The liberals. This group prefers economic and personal freedom and is rather skeptical about the beneficent influence of government on the economy. In the last century, liberals were very critical about the king's power. They arose from the middle class or were rather well-to-do citizens.

One can make a distinction between the right-liberals (who accentuate economic freedom and accept inequality) and the left-liberals (who stress personal freedom and want to protect the weak against the powerful, especially the economically powerful). In their evolution, the continental European liberals integrated both viewpoints; now, they combine social justice with personal liberty.

Their points of view on the three central questions are:

- a) In the economic field, the government has to play a prudent role
- b) Although they prefer a representative democracy, with a one man/one vote-system, they are sympathetic toward an enlightened elite.
- c) They are rather radical on all points touching upon personal liberties.

Before we can give the next ideology its place in the rectangle, we have to place a new rectangle under the old one. In the new model, we have ideologies based on belief. In general, they have the same ideas as their parallel counterparts, but the results still can be rather surprising.

3. The center confessionals. The center confessionals are the broadest-based ideology. In general, they work easily with the other center ideologies since they share common borders. The center confessionals prefer harmony. They want to reconcile a FES with care for the weak. In this case, they stress the important role of the family in society.

They primarily think that people (groups of citizens and noncommercial private initiatives) have to make (harmonic) arrangements to solve social problems. But if they do not succeed, the state has to play a corrective role.

Their points of view on the three central questions are:

- a) Man is God's "steward" or "bailiff" on earth. He has to care for the world, to look after it. A FES may have to be accepted, but the needs of the poor should not be neglected. They demand care for the ecological system. However, solidarity is not a primary concern for the government. This should be a matter of concern only for non-commercial private initiatives.
 - b) The center confessionalsists prefer representative democracy. They differ in this respect from their right-confessionalist brethren (most of whom prefer a shadow theocracy).
 - c) On the matter of freedom in morals, there is a gulf between this ideology and the other nonconfessionalist, center ideologies. Confessionalsists, in general, see the family as the cornerstone of society. They reject abortion and believe people have to be bound to a strong norm system, which follows guidelines from the Bible (or the Koran, or other holy scriptures). The right confessionalsists combine strong ideas about this question with a rather strong idea about the government as the "supreme punisher." Alternatively, they preach compassion for the weak in their own and third-world countries.
4. The pragmatists. This ideology is not a normal ideology in the actual sense of the word. Pragmatists depart from current practices in their own society and want to make progressive, liberal changes. They reject all other ideologies, but still embrace ideologically colored ideas (e.g., basic or existing ones in their own society). They also have a liberal outlook on the world. Therefore, depending on the society in which they live, there are all kinds of pragmatists, with different viewpoints and no set or coherent ideological convictions. We can illustrate their position in the rectangle. In a left or right dictatorship, they tend toward the center; in a democracy, they tend to the left.

In addition to these ten big ideologies, we can add six confessionalist parallel ideologies (three left and three right confessionalist). So we end up with 16 distinct ideologies. In the rectangle, we can now enter the different political parties. They are symbolized using parallelograms, which cover neighboring ideologies. Because their borders overlap, pupils can see how easily people can desert one party for another. Also, we can now enter the party systems in different countries and make comparative conclusions.

(The social and political working group at the Free University of Amsterdam also mapped all the EC countries and the US political/party structure).

We also must focus on political systems. Most pupils can easily predict and place the various political systems in the rectangle. They can easily fill in, from left to the right: basic democracy = communist party dictatorship = representative democracy; under it falls constitutional democracy = aristocracy; beneath it, traditional monarchy and dictatorship.

Models of political decision making (the system model and the barrier model) also get ample attention. The concept of democracy is analyzed, especially the roles of citizens. We have produced the following scheme which is illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Citizens' activities.

Table 5: Citizens' activities.

LEGITIMATE		ILLEGITIMATE
NORMAL (INSTITUTIONAL) ACTIVITIES	Illegal activities, but under certain circumstances: CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE	REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES
LEGAL	ILLEGAL	

Note: Under civil disobedience, potentially illegal activities become legitimate if the following preconditions are met: activists have moral motives; they do not use violence; actions are publicly displayed; and activists accept legal punishment.

A government that accepts civil disobedience faces the danger that more people may gradually use illegal means, so civil order may be in danger. A government that punishes civil disobedience faces the problem that activists may get more public sympathy and will slowly gather more adherents. Finally, the situation may become revolutionary (i.e., the narrow borderline between civil disobedience and revolutionary activities may be crossed). A government has to perform a balancing act to stay in the middle, a difficult position to maintain.

26.4.5 Second Part of the Theory/Method

Here, we find the two big political-economic systems, already introduced in the first part: the *Free Enterprise System* (FES) and the *Planned Economy* (PE). The latter is not only reserved for communist ideology, but also covers ideas about a new economy to which all three left ideologies subscribe. Before we study the FES, some basic economic concepts (like "market", the "price system", the "collective sector", and the "welfare state") must be presented and related to the preceding concepts. However, the FES gets most of our attention. An FES is a system whose economic basis is formed by "free" (i.e., private) enterprises which produce for a market. Government influence may vary from minimal to as high as 60% involvement.

The triangle (Trias Socio-Economica) can be more elaborately discussed as a model for ideological ways of thinking. Additions may explain in greater detail how liberals and social democrats think. Now, new concepts are appended to the old rectangle. The three left ideologies favor a PE; all the other ideologies favor a FES. But beneath the political-economic systems, another rectangle is added. In it, a diagonal shows the relative proportion of the collective and particular sectors. The pupils conclude that the center ideologies prefer a mixed economy (the collective and private sectors vary in proportion from approximately 40% to 60%), that liberals want less government involvement in the economy, and that social democrats think the opposite.

Now a problem arises. According to our model, fascists prefer a FES without government intervention. In history lessons, pupils learned that the German national socialists (Nazis) had a planned economy. But this was a wartime economy; it had to produce masses of weapons in a short time. If a fascist regime had become stabilized, it would prefer an economy in which inequality was prominent and the weak did not receive governmental protection. In rightist dictatorships which arose after World War II (such as Chili and Zaire), this pattern can be recognized.

In a PE, the community manages the production and distribution of goods, while the private sector is reduced to a minimum. Studying the PE, we can differentiate between the ideal or utopian model, which the left ideologies had in mind before they started their social experiments (communists in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, etc; anarchists in the Spanish Basque region, where radicals have not yet imposed their kind of economy), and the economic reality which they might produce. It is important that pupils recog-

nize the utopian model because, in discussing the pros and cons of our special FES, they have to know about alternatives. Even more, the ecological problem compels us to look for an economy which reflects other values (such as frugality and social and cultural richness instead of an abundance of consumer goods, and the value of nature against an artificial environment).

In the Dutch Dossier method, there is ample place provided for the welfare state. Yet in the late 1970s, a financial and an ideological crisis in social welfare philosophy arose. For the time being, a discussion about the principles (i.e., the ideological roots), the organization, and the future of the changing Dutch system is used.

26.4.6 Third Part of the Theory/Method

Economic-Political Models (See Figure 7)

In this part of the method, we introduce economic-political country models. Here, we gather elements from the previous parts of the theory/ method, to construct (via our rectangles) "models of countries." The four rectangles developed to this point consist of:

1. The nine non-confessional ideologies: anarchists, communists, radicals, social democrats, pragmatists, liberals, right ideologies, reactionaries, and fascists.
2. The seven confessional ideologies: the six above (without the pragmatists, social democrats, and liberals), but confessionally "linked", and the center confessionalists (e.g., in Holland, Christian Democrats).
3. The corresponding political-economic systems (FES and PE).
4. The proportionally corresponding size of the collective versus the private sector (between 0% and 100%).

In this structure, we can distinguish three PE models and four FES models: From left to right, these are: the anarchistic PE, the centralized PE (the communist model), the radical PE (the ecological model), the socialist transition FES, the welfare state FES, the developmental FES, the Japanese-type FES, and the early capitalist (FES) model. Each of these models has its own special features We need not look now at the well-known centralized PE and welfare-state models. In the method, many countries fit these models. Pupils have to complete exercises in which they study how the

models are spread around the world. Following is a brief description of six-lesser-known models.

- The (early) capitalist model (FES). In this model, reactionaries or fascists are in power; generally, it is a dictatorship. Here, we find an FES with a reduced collective sector, enormous differences between poor and rich, and few social goods and services. In general, many people are under- or un-employed. Social conditions are such that social or political revolutions may be imminent.
- The Japanese model (FES). At first sight, this is a representative democracy, yet competing elites manage Japan. Rightist ideological values and norms predominate in family life and the school system. Paternalistic structures bind employees to their enterprises. The government primarily serves economic elites. There are serious emerging social tensions in the society.
- The developmental model (FES). In third-world countries, the local traditional economy has been invaded by the FES economy. Multinational (transnational) enterprises also have a big say in these economies. Generally speaking, the collective sector is weak and the private sector is not fully developed. If political leaders want to build up the country, developing social goods and services-facilities (such as a teaching system or health care), they have to tax resident and powerful enterprises. If the burden is too high, successful enterprises will leave the country, resulting in spreading unemployment.

Normally, pragmatic, liberal, or rightist-ideological parties rule in such FES countries. They prefer a strong private sector. According to their practicing ideology, if left ideologies or social democrats come to power, the collective sector has to be increased at a cost to the private sector. But in the end, such policies usually fail. In the following elections, they likely will lose power because they cannot fulfill popular expectations. Another reason for potential failure is purely economic because left politicians are more inclined to increase debt than are center- or right-wing politicians.

One possible conclusion is that if politicians want to go in the direction of the welfare state model, they will confront all kinds of economic frustrations. A country will likely be regressive in its developmental model. One alternative is that these politicians opt for the next available model, the socialist transition model.

- The socialist transition (FES) model. In this model, strong leaders sometimes come to power as the result of a *coup d'etat* (e.g., Ethiopia and Mengistu) or when a civil war (Cuba and Castro; or Nicaragua and Ortega) closes the borders and vast sectors of the economy are nationalized. This is especially true for key enterprises, which are at the heart of the local economy (e.g., raw materials enterprises, the banks, and transportation). The strategy is to make use of this sector to start a welfare state in health services, a school system, and/or public transport. The basis of a FES, however, currently remains largely intact. The major part of the economy consists of free enterprises. At this stage, the leadership still wants to have a FES-economy. But it can turn to a PE, if circumstances change. In the recent past, the Western world was hostile to this kind of regime. The US followed (during the cold war) a policy in which those countries were regarded as "communist" or hostile dictatorships. All kinds of economic, cultural, political, or military means were used to push these countries back into the development model. (This was the case in Cuba immediately after Castro's take-over in 1958, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the Bishop regime in Guyana, in Mozambique under Mugabe, and in Angola after the leftist take-over in 1975).
We also study how this strategy works in other parts of this course. Most of these regimes were peacefully (by economic and other means) overthrown. Cuba turned to the former Soviet Union for help and became a centralized PE model. The socialist transition model did not exist very long there.
- The radical PE model (the ecological model). In this model, the economy gradually and peacefully changes into a small-scaled economy in which workers run enterprises and where attention is given to ecologically justified consumption/production methods. People prefer a rather sober lifestyle, where consumption does not play a major role. The utopian model that arose in the 1970s ("Flower Power", "Hippies", "New Lifestyles") has not yet been implemented; it merely serves as an alternative utopian model. Sometimes, radical ecological movements use this model when they plan for the future.
- The anarchistic PE model. This is not a fully utopian model. Production is organized using federations of basic groups. Never in history did a mature or fully developed nation use a model like this. Yet in the past, there were certain regions of countries using the anarchistic model. In Mondragon (in the Basque part of Spain), there are still remnants of this

model.

International Systems

Countries with comparable models tend to form international groups. The PE countries had complete international relations with each other, creating an international PE system (IPES). Now, as Russia has started to develop in the direction of a FES model and the Eastern European PE systems have collapsed, there are only a handful of such countries (e.g., China, VietNam, and Cuba) left. All had to reorganize their foreign and international relations.

Contrary to the latter, the international FES system (IFESS) dominates world relations. In studying it, we find a structural division between the northern and southern FES countries. Dossier has a special chapter about these relations.

International Cooperation and Conflict

In studying international relations, one has to start with the observation that the world system is in a state of anarchy. There is no central authority that can use force to ensure a harmonic social life. Differences in power especially dictate international relations. On the basis of this factor, we can differentiate between three types of powers: global superpowers, regional big powers, and national powers. This division is determined using several factors, namely the size of a country, its cultural and political unity, quality/size of the economy, quality of its the educational system and its technology, size and technological level of its army, and its role in the alliance system.

These factors will support or undermine each other. They do not work in isolation. One can study the fall of the Soviet Union from superpower to regional power and the transformation of Russia to a big power if he/she studies how these interrelated factors changed in the last ten years.

Each country can use various means to hold power, such as economic, cultural, political and diplomatic, and military. In Table 6, one can see how these means are used via an escalation ladder. In general, the means used become intensified from above to below. This is called the escalation effect. A power will normally use "lower" means first, before going on to the next stage. Countries can use different strategies. In this way, they will use one of the means mentioned in the table.

Table 6: The escalation ladder.

Alliance Systems	IFESS	Regional Systems
Most powerful countries:	USA	Russia in Eurasia Germany in Europe China in Asia Israel in the Middle East Etc.
Second most powerful nations:	Germany, Japan	Different, by region
Most countries joined the system because:	Historically at the center (Europe and USA) As colonies (third-world countries)	Mostly geographically determined
Why they stay in the system:	Mostly economic ties	Geographic ties
Interests which super-powers/regional powers have for keeping their system:	<p>Economic: - Raw materials (and energy), profits, investments, and markets</p> <p>Military-strategic: - Territorial safety or sphere of influence - Protection of trade routes</p> <p>Political-ideological: - Ideological similarity is advantageous</p> <p>Cultural: - Markets for products of the culture industry (USA) - Support by public opinion abroad (political alliances)</p>	<p>Economic: - Raw materials (and energy), profits, investments, and markets</p> <p>Military-strategic: - Safety or protection of territory or spheres of influence - Protection of supply routes</p> <p>Political-ideological: - Ideological compatibility in neighboring countries is preferred</p> <p>Cultural: - Support by public opinion abroad (political alliances) - Friendly ties with related minorities in the more powerful country</p>
Means of power used:	<p>Economic: - Investments or disinvestments - Boycotts or blockades - Loans, under political conditions (IMF in the recent past) - Development help granted or not</p>	<p>Economic: IFESS economic means are normally not used</p>

Cultural:	Cultural:
- Influencing public opinion by mass media messages	- Same as IFESS, but on a lower scale
Political-ideological:	Political-ideological:
- Diplomatic actions	- Diplomatic pressure
- Supporting political adversaries	- Taking hostages
- Sabotage or murder (secret service actions)	- Support for opposition in the other country
Military-strategic:	Military-strategic:
- Big military exercises on the borders: the menace of invasion	- Same as IFESS: exercises at the border
- Military and financial support for coups d'etat	- Army mobilization
- Invasion "on request" or "because of threats to security for superpower's citizens"	- Support for coups d'etat
	- Invasion/terrorism

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27	<i>European Citizenship</i>	
	How European Are Young Europeans Expected To Be and How European Are They in Fact?	

27.1 Abstract

Reconceptualizing political education and socialization in Western Europe for the 21st century will focus on the European dimension in education, among others.

Twelve states in Western Europe have decided to create a new political entity (the European Community and after January 1, 1993 the European Union) which will replace some major functions of these nation states to a large extent. From a political socialization point of view, it is interesting to

research whether or not the Union's founding fathers have any concept for a new citizenship and if so, what that content is; whether or not they have taken measures to promote this new European citizenship; whether or not they know how much their citizens meet these new requirements as well as relevant research findings and conclusions; and to compare these findings with related political science literature on citizenship, political integration, and supra-national political entities.

Conclusions from our literature search and interviews with EC policy makers and civil servants are as follows. All EC policy-making actors (the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed a need for European citizenship. The EC tries to promote European/EC citizenship through four categories of actions: providing information/propaganda, promoting EC symbols, promoting the European dimension in education and training, and offering opportunities to exercise specific features of citizenship. The EC (e.g., the Directorate-General for Information of the Commission) has commissioned studies on opinions of young people (and adults) with respect to the European Community. A major finding is that most young Europeans ". . . are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership of the Community but . . . do not involve themselves in European affairs" (Commission, 1982, p. 138). Comparing our findings from the EC European citizenship policy goals, activities promoting European citizenship, the actual European citizenship level among younger Europeans, and the political science literature on (European) citizenship, we conclude that there is a gap between policy goals and research designs, that EC activities aiming at the growth of European citizenship are limited in quantity and quality, and that the concept of European citizenship in EC policy is unsophisticated.

The actual level of European citizenship among the younger generation is disappointing, at least from the EC citizenship point of view. Finding out why these efforts have had a limited effect and how to improve the quality of actions in this field would be in the interests of both the EC elites and individual citizens as well as in the interest of popular democracy.

27.2 Political Elites and European Citizenship

"We do not lack a plentiful supply of European butter, cheese, eggs or even pigs. What is in short supply is the truly European citizen" (Jessica Larive, MEP, 1990).

Do the founding fathers/builders of the new European Union have a concept of the new citizenship and, if so, what is its content?

The ultimate aim of the EC is, in the words of the preamble to the Rome Treaty, to establish "an ever closer union among the European peoples."

Already in 1969, the "Summit" (the Meeting of Heads of State or Government [later called the *European Council*]) stated that: "All measures decided upon here for the creation and growth of Europe will be assured of a better future if the younger generation is closely associated with them. The governments have this consideration very much in mind and the Communities will make provision for it." The concept of "European identity" was on the agenda of the Copenhagen Summit in 1973. In 1975, a report on European Union was presented.

At the Stuttgart Summit in 1983, the Heads spoke about "awareness of a common cultural heritage" and "European awareness." In 1984, the Council talked about European *citizenship* and an "image" of the Community which should be promoted in the minds of its citizens. It installed an *ad hoc* citizenship committee of senior civil servants, which Pietro Adonnino chaired. This committee presented a two-part report in 1985, entitled "A Peoples' Europe" (see Council, 1985). The first part concentrated on abolishing frontiers of all kinds to permit the free circulation of persons. Concrete proposals were made in the second part for special citizen's rights; cooperation on public information, communication, and culture; cooperation in the health field, including combatting drug abuse; establishing a European Academy of Science, Technology, and Art; promotion of youth exchanges involving joint sports teams; promotion of town twinning; designation of a Community ombudsman; promotion of a lottery to finance cultural projects; information campaigns to convince citizens of the Community's importance; and strengthening the Community's image through a flag, an anthem, emblems, postage stamps, and a passport. The report stated:

"What has been achieved until now in Europe has been the work of those who experienced the horrors and destruction of war. Continuation of the venture rests on the assumption that future generations will also understand and appreciate one another across borders, and

will realize the benefits to be derived from closer cooperation and solidarity" (Commission, 1989, p. 5).

This report was accepted at the Milan Summit in 1985. In 1991, in Maastricht, the European Council decided to formally establish citizenship in the European Union. This citizenship is comprised of five political and civic rights: the right to reside and move freely within the Community; the right to vote (and be elected) in municipal elections and for the European Parliament in the state of residence; the right to diplomatic or consular protection by other member states if the national member state of a Union citizen is not represented in the non-Community country where he/she is located; the right to petition the European Parliament; and the right to bring a complaint against Community bodies before the Ombudsman.

The *Community's Ministers of Education* declared that their ultimate aim is "to define a European model of culture correlating with European integration" (Council, 1971). Giving a European dimension to pupils' experience was one of the Ministers' objectives in a 1976 Resolution (Council, 1976). In 1988, the Ministers of Education decided to "include the European dimension explicitly in their school curricula in all appropriate disciplines" (Council, 1988, resolution on the European dimension in education). In the "Conclusions sur la coopération et la politique communautaire en matière d'éducation dans la perspective de 1993", one of the goals is "un sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne" (Council, 1989a). In the Resolution of the Council against racism and xenophobia, civic-mindedness and mutual understanding were also mentioned as important goals (Council, 1989b).

The *European Parliament* expressed the opinion "que les citoyens européens actuels et futurs ont besoin de connaître l'existence, les objectifs et le fonctionnement de la Communauté européenne dans laquelle ils sont appelés à vivre." The goal of teaching the European dimension in the school is "de faire prendre conscience aux jeunes générations que la Communauté européenne existe, se développe et prend un ensemble de décisions qui influent sur leur présent et orienteront leur avenir" (European Parliament, 1987).

The *Commission* proposed that a particular effort should be made in secondary education so that all pupils could receive education about the EC. The three content areas were: the Community in its European context; the Community at work; and the Community in its world context (Commission,

1978). In the report "Teaching about Europe" (Commission, 1985) the following objectives were identified: to make European citizens aware of the rights and obligations which arise for them out of Community institutions and of the influence that Community institutions will have on their living conditions; to enable young people to be better acquainted with the member states and the Community's situation in Europe and in the world; to ensure that the construction of Europe is a joint and long-term enterprise which young people should be able to pursue according to individual choice (Ibid.). In 1988, the Commission published a report "Greater emphasis for the European Dimension in Education." In the "Education and Training in the European Community. Guidelines for the medium term: 1989-1992", (approved by the Community's Education Ministers, October 6, 1989), the Commission stated that an emphasis on human resources "is essential if all Europeans are to assert the Community's identity and basic values more effectively in the face of current challenges." One of the three objectives for cooperation in education is:

". . . to promote the shared democratic values of the Member States, and increased understanding of the multicultural characteristics of the Community and of the importance of preparing young people for *citizenship* which involves the Community dimension in addition to their national, regional and local affiliations. . . . [If so, the European dimension] . . . can highlight the common democratic values of European civilization" (Council, 1985, p. 12).

All EC policy-making actors (the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed a need for the concept and development of European citizenship. The Council of Ministers documents (a: Resolution on the European dimension in education, 1988; b: Conclusions, 1989a; and c: Resolution against racism and xenophobia, 1989b) say that young people should be prepared to take part in making concrete progress toward European union, as stipulated in the European Single Act (a), should have civic-mindedness (c), and should have mutual understanding (c). They should have knowledge of and insights into: the Community (a); European integration (a); the Member States of the EC in their historical, cultural, economic, and social aspects (a); the realities of life in other European countries (a); the significance of the cooperation of the Member States of the EC with other countries of Europe and with the world (a). They should be aware of the advantages which the Community represents and the challenges the Community involves in opening up an enlarged economic and social area to them (a). They should have

a stronger image of Europe, in the sense of the People's Europe Report (a), a clear understanding of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their development today, that is in particular the safeguarding of the principles of democracy (a), social justice (a), respect for human rights (a) and a stronger sense of European identity (a); and "un sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne" (b). They should accept the value of European civilization (a), democracy (a), social justice (a), respect for human rights (a), pluralism (c), and tolerance (c).

27.3 Activities

What EC measures have been taken to promote a new European, EC citizenship?

The EC Commission has a separate "Directorate-General for the audio-visual sector, Information, Communication and Culture", a "Spokesman's Service", including a "People's Europe" Section and a "Bureau for Official Publications." The other EC institutions have a separate information department, as well. In all 12 member states, the Commission and the Parliament have national information bureaus. This results in a constant flow of professional and popular publications (many of them in all nine official EC-languages).

Since the acceptance of the Adonnino report Council, 1985), EC citizens see the word "EC" and its flag more often. The EC anthem is not very frequently used.

Education and training have become important tools to promote European citizenship. One of the aims of various EC programs is to:

". . . provide opportunities for learning European citizenship, consisting as it does of tolerance and respect for cultural values . . . and friendship between nations, especially those which have banded together in the EC . . . giving people a greater say in their own affairs, i.e. of enhancing the sense of citizenship of each and every European" (Kerchove d'Exaerde, 1990).

In a Resolution of the EC Ministers of Education (Council, 1988), a large number of activities were funded to give greater emphasis to the European dimension in education and teacher training. Examples are: documentation on the Community and its policies; basic information on educational systems in member states; support for joint study programs; measures to boost

contacts between pupils and teachers from different member states; support for exchange programs and study visits; organizing summer universities; and fostering cooperation in educational research. In 1987, 56% of the young Europeans (15-19 years old) said that they had been taught something about the EC. At the same time, only 2% knew a great deal and 21% knew a certain amount in the same group of respondents. Education about Europe has obviously not been very successful and, as the Commission concluded, ". . . that such instruction is ineffective or inadequate" (Commission, 1989, p. 96).

Opportunities to exercise EC citizenship are: direct European Parliamentary elections; access to MEPs; a right to petition (in 1989/1990, there were 774 such petitions); access to the Court of Justice; professional, consumer, or other organization representation (in the Economic and Social Committee); and, probably in the future, direct contact with an EC Ombudsman.

The EC has tried to promote this new European/EC citizenship through information/propaganda, promotion of EC symbols, promotion of the European dimension in education and training, and offering other opportunities for exercising EC citizenship.

But what about actual practice? The European flag (12 stars in gold with a blue background) and anthem (the first movement of Beethoven's ninth symphony) are rarely used in ceremonies or rituals and, thus, unknown to many Europeans. There is no European "head of state", no European King/Queen or President. People in Europe do not have a personal symbol of "Europe" with which they can identify. Opportunities for meeting European politicians and for European political participation are scarce as well. Only a few countries have held an EC referendum (Ireland, 1972; Denmark, 1972 and 1992; Norway, 1972; France, 1972; and the United Kingdom, 1975). Only once in the last five years has there been an election (campaign) for the European Parliament. There is no European military force as yet. All these socializers are not present. There is, however, a huge flow of pro-EC propaganda. No empirical data are available about uses and effects of these materials. My estimation is that these EC pamphlets have a limited number of readers and that they may suffer from a "boomerang effect." This attitude could be strengthened or be more extreme after confrontation with some counter-EC information, such as that appearing after the anti-union Danish 1992 referendum.

27.4 European Citizenship

"Poised between alienating, sterile collectivism on the one hand and exuberant and socially intolerable individualism on the other, democratic Europe has been able to keep its balance, in a living humanism which is its alone" (Jacques Delors, September 29, 1989).

Are the EC builders interested in whether or not young citizens meet the new requirements of EC citizenship? If so, what are the relevant findings and conclusions?

27.4.1 Relevant Studies

The EC (the Directorate-General for Information of the Commission) has commissioned studies on opinions of youth and adults with respect to the Community. The EC founders are "far-sighted enough to see that the long-term survival of the Community in a democratic age would depend on its finding legitimacy with the general public" (Slater, 1983, p. 72, cited in Hewstone, 1986, p. 19).

One study, called "The Young Europeans" (Commission, 1982), was based on data from 3,867 youth in ten member states. A second study, "Young Europeans in 1987" (Commission, 1989), was carried out in all 12 states. The number of young people interviewed was increased to 7,000. A third study, "Young Europeans in 1990" (Commission, 1991), was carried out in all 12 member states as well, including the former GDR. This time, the study was undertaken at the request of the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training, and Youth of the EC Commission. Among the 55 million young people (aged between 15 and 24) in the EC, 7,600 were questioned.

"The Young Europeans", "Young Europeans in 1987", and "Young Europeans in 1990" are three publications from the so-called *Eurobarometer* series. Twice a year (since 1973), the EC Commission has commissioned research on EC citizens' orientations. Results include demographic criteria, cross-tabulations between replies to different questions, and some multivariate analysis. In some of the other *Eurobarometer* reports, other data on young people are presented as well (for example, *Europe 2000*, Commission, 1987).

27.4.2 Some Findings on EC Knowledge, Opinions, and Attitudes

Findings from the three EC studies on the European political orientations of youngsters in the EC are as follows.

Knowledge

Most young Europeans (15- to 19-year-olds) feel themselves not sufficiently well-informed about the problems dealt with by the EC (Commission, 1982 and 1988). In 1990, only 16% felt they knew enough about the EC and what it does; 72% wanted to know more. The strongest desire for EC information was expressed in Portugal, Greece, and Italy; the weakest in Belgium, the FRG, and the Netherlands (Commission, 1991).

In 1990, 56% claimed not recently to have read in the papers, heard on the radio, or seen on television anything about the European Commission in Brussels (Commission, 1991). More than one-third of the respondents (in 1987 and 1990) had no impression about the Commission (Commission, 1989 and 1991). Therefore, the conclusion is that "European institutions seem distant and unknown to young people" (Commission, 1989, VIII).

Only 4% of young people interviewed in 1990 correctly identified all member states; this percentage varied between 10% in Luxembourg and 2% in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and the United Kingdom (Commission, 1991).

Opinions

A growing majority (1982: 52%; 1987: 65%; and 1990: 71% of the 15- to 24-year-olds) have the opinion that one's own country's EC membership is a good thing. Between member states, strong disparities exist. The most favorable opinions are observed in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The least, in Denmark and the United Kingdom (Commission, 1991). It should be noted that the formulation of this question tends to prime positive responses (Dalton, 1980).

A growing majority (1987: 58% and 1990: 67%) have the opinion that their country has on balance benefitted from being an EC member. Figures for individual states indicate great differences. Young people in Luxembourg, Portugal, Italy, Ireland, and the Netherlands see the most benefits; young Spaniards see the least benefits (Commission, 1991).

EC problems are considered "very important" for the future of the respondent's country and people in the opinion of more than a quarter of the

youngsters, aged 15-19 years in 1987. Half of the group thought they were "important" (Commission, 1989).

A small majority (58%) of the young Europeans (aged 15-24) thought (1987) that the EC Single Market in 1992 would be a good thing (Commission, 1989). A country-by-country analysis revealed very marked differences. In Italy, support is the greatest; in Denmark, the weakest. Greater than this general support for the EC Single Market is support for various resultant market measures. Eight out of ten young Europeans (aged 15-24) thought that the following measures will be an advantage: the opportunity to go and live without limitation in any other country (80%); to work in any other country (80%); to buy any product lawfully sold in other countries (79%); and the ability to make payments without complication within the whole EC (77%). A majority also had positive expectations with respect to bringing together the value added tax rates (67%); to possess any amount of money when travelling to other countries (77%); the possibility to acquire land or property throughout the EC (73%); and the possibility to open a bank account in any EC country (71%). Only two aspects received a moderately positive response, namely eliminating customs controls (58%) and opening up public procurement (50%) (Commission, 1989)

Efforts made to unify Western Europe have a large majority of supporters (1982: 72%; 1987: 74%; 1990: 82%). Opinions in all member states are very similar, with two exceptions. In Portugal, the support is the greatest, while in Denmark, it is least favored (Commission, 1991). On the whole, young Europeans (aged 15-24) wanted to see the process of unification speeded up (Commission, 1989 and 1991).

In favor of going even further than the Single Market toward the unification of Europe was almost half (48%) of the 15-to 24-year-old Europeans. Support for this idea greatly varied, however, from country to country. It was strongest in Italy and Portugal and weakest in Denmark and the UK. For those in agreement with going further than the Single Market, "a true cooperation in science and technology", received support from a majority in each member state (on the average, 62%). "A single common currency" had support of a majority of young people in Belgium (60%), Luxembourg (56%), and France (52%). However, the average was less than half of young Europeans (43%). None of the other possible policies commanded a majority in any country: "a political union among the member states" (39%) and "a strong common defense" (32%) (Commission, 1989).

Favoring "an actual European government which would have the final say in decisions in some important areas" received 40% approval from the 15- to 24-year-olds (Commission, 1982).

Attitudes

The figures for really being interested in how people live in other parts of Europe were only 20%, 21%, and 23% in 1982, 1987, and 1990, respectively (Commission, 1982, 1989, and 1991). "Very interested" (16%) in the problems of the EC and "a little interested" (56% and 57%, respectively in 1982 and 1987) were revealed. Interest in European problems seems to be strongly and positively linked to the feeling of being sufficiently well-informed (or not) about these problems. "A degree of complexity is inherent in approaching European problems and may reduce interest in Europe among younger and less-educated groups" (Commission, 1982, p. 117).

Many young people aged 15-24 (1982: 44%; 1987: 45%; 1990: 40%) in the EC would be indifferent if they were to be told tomorrow that the EC had been scrapped. "Young people currently show considerable acceptance of their country's membership in the Common Market, but a majority of them are indifferent to its scrapping" (Commission, 1982, p. 120).

In 1982, respondents saw a list of "kinds of fears which are expressed about the future, say in the next 10 or 15 years, of the world we live in." They were asked to tell which of these "really concern you or worry you." The loss of European influence for one's own country was at the bottom of the list (10%), together with reduced Western European influence in the world.

In all three years, only a small minority saw "the unification of Europe" as examples of great causes "which nowadays are worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for" (1982: 8%; 1987: 8%; 1990: 12% of the 15- to 24-year-olds). Young Europeans are less drawn than the older respondents to the idea of a unified Europe. The best-educated young people are more in favor of unification than other respondents. Many more men than women are ready to "take risks" and "accept sacrifices" to unify Europe.

Respondents placed the unification of Europe at the bottom of the list of "things which might bring about changes in the next 10 or 15 years in the way people live in our country." When asked which factors are "the most promising" or offer "the most hope for the future", only 14% mention the unification of Europe. A relevant conclusion is that ". . . young people are doubtless less aware than adults of the commonality of interests between . .

. the countries of Europe" (Commission, 1982, p. 60). Most youngsters do not primarily think of Europe as an idea, but rather in terms of concrete, everyday experiences (e.g., meeting people from other countries). The political idea of Europe is negatively evaluated, while concrete experiences are positively valued. Most youngsters now take for granted (Commission, 1982) progress made toward European integration since World War II. "As the past recedes, so present generations can no longer imagine France and Germany at war" (Armitage, 1988, p. 91).

Trust in peoples of other European countries differs considerably from country to country (Commission, 1982). The most trustworthy are perceived to be the Swiss, Danes, Luxembourgers, and the Dutch (80% or more). The least are the Greeks, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians (less than 50% think they are "very" or "fairly" trustworthy).

An indication of 15- to 19-year-olds' attitudes toward the EC was obtained in the 1982 and 1987 studies through an index of values assigned to answers on two opinion questions about EC membership (as a "good" or "bad" thing) and on possibly scrapping the EC ("very sorry" or "relieved" about it). The distribution of values shows strong EC support by 30% and 35% respectively of youngsters (15- to 24-year-olds), moderate support by 27% and 33%, a neutral position by 30% and 26%, moderate opposition by 8% and 4%, and strong opposition by 5% and 2%, respectively in the years 1982 and 1987. "The distribution of values in the indicator represents evidence of young peoples' relative lack of involvement in the EC" (Commission, 1982, p. 121). In the 1990 study, another opinion question related to efforts to unify Western Europe. On the basis of these two questions, a positive, an ambivalent, and a negative European attitude were established: 64% of 15- to 24-year-olds have a positive attitude. Women were generally less positive than men and had a stronger tendency to express an ambivalent attitude. The higher the educational level, it was found, the higher the percentage of positive attitudes. Positive attitudes differ considerably from country to country (e.g., in the UK: 46% and in the Netherlands: 73%).

In 1982, 26% of the 15- to 24-year-old Europeans said they were "very proud" of their nationality, 39% "quite proud", 17% "not very proud", and 9% "not at all proud" (9% no reply). The feeling of national pride was found to be less widespread among the younger (15-24 years) than among older respondents (25+ years). This was the case in all EC countries, although there are some slight differences.

Only 15% of the 15- to 24-year-old Europeans "often" thought of themselves as being "a citizen of Europe" in 1982, while 38% and 44% respectively responded "sometimes" and "never." Young people and older people are equally drawn to this feeling.

Summarizing these reports, most young Europeans:

". . . are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership of the Community but ... do not involve themselves in European affairs: they have little interest in European problems and, more often than not, view the prospect of the Community being scrapped with indifference" (Commission, 1982, p. 138). "All in all, the attitude of young people toward Europe seems to be characterized by a certain discordance" (Commission, 1989, VIII). "It must be understood that young peoples' greater dissatisfaction with information seems, in fact, to be a key source of their low level of involvement in European problems" (Commission, 1982, p. 128). [If young people] "are informed and feel themselves capable of adopting a position, then they become involved in the problems. If, on the other hand, they regard their knowledge as insufficiently reliable, they remain neutral. . . . Young people cannot really involve themselves in European problems unless they feel sufficiently well informed about them" (Commission, 1982, p. 132).

Popular involvement in the elections for the European Parliament in 1979, 1984, and 1989 have turned out to be low in all EC member states. In countries without a compulsory voting system, an extremely low percentage of citizens used their right to vote. In countries with a compulsory voting system, the percentage of voters was lower than in national elections (Table 1).

27.4.3 Behavior

Table 1: Turnout in European Parliament elections and declared intention to vote, by year and country (in percent).

	1979	1984		1987	1989	
	Turn- out *	Turn- out *	Inten- tion **a	Turn- out **	Turn- out **	Inten- tion **a
Belgium (b)	91.4	92.2	-		91	52
Luxembourg (b)	88.9	88.8	-		88	51
Italy	84.9	83.4	76		82	70
Greece	78.6	77.2	81		80	75
FRG	65.7	56.8	67		62	64
France	60.7	56.7	73		49	66
Denmark	47.8	52.4	55		46	56
Netherlands	58.1	50.6	64		47	54
Ireland	63.6	47.6	55		68	47
UK	32.3	32.6	36		36	35
Spain				69	55	41
Portugal				72	51	60

Notes: a: N=11,678; b: In Belgium and Luxembourg, nonparticipation constitutes an illegal infringement of civic obligations.

Sources: * European Parliament Information Service. ** *Eurobarometer* (Commission of the European Communities, 1984 and 1989).

Table 2: Percentage of female candidates and percentage of female members of the European Parliament (MEPs) in 1984 and 1989, by country.

	Candidates			Elected		
	'84 To- tal	'84 Women	'84 Women %	'84 Total	'89 Women	'84 '89 Women %
Belgium	215	53	24.6	24	4	16.6
Denmark	165	40	24.2	16	6	37.5
France	882	223	25.2	81	47	20.9
Germany	234	50	21.3	81	16	19.7
Greece	378	42	11.1	24	2	8.3
Ireland	34	4	11.7	15	2	13.3
Italy	702	67	9.5	81	8	9.8
Luxembourg	84	18	21.4	6	1	16.6
Netherlands	111	18	16.2	25	7	28.0
United Kingdom	271	48	17.7	81	12	14.8
Community (10)	3076	563	18.3	434	75	17.3
Community (12)				518	98	18.9

Sources: Women and voting, supplement to Women in Europe (Commission, 1985, p. 28); Women in figures, supplement to Women in Europe (Commission, 1989, p. 30).

Most striking about the figures about the "passive" right to vote is the low percentage of women candidates/MEPs (Table 2).

27.5 Political Science and Citizenship

What does the political science literature say about citizenship and the relationship between citizenship and political integration in supra-national political entities?

27.5.1 Citizenship

A fundamental distinction is the one between citizenship as a legal concept and citizenship as a political-psychological concept. The legal concept focuses on national laws (e.g., being born in the UK of British parents means you are a British citizen with full British legal rights and duties) and European and other international law and legislation (e.g., the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from the Council of Europe in 1950, the Council of Europe's European Social Charter of 1961, and the EC's Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of 1989).

If we focus on the political-psychological concept, citizenship is a combination of particular knowledge, insights, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavior (which is the most important element). The other elements are supportive of that behavior.

One's citizenship cognitions, affections, and behavior relate to citizens' rights and duties in a political entity, fundamental political values, and the feeling of belonging to that entity. Two categories of rights may be distinguished: economic and social rights (e.g., the rights to housing, food, clothes, education, health care, a job, trade unionism, and collective bargaining) and political and civil rights (e.g., the right to vote, freedom to organize politically, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of movement, and equality before the law). Also, two categories of duties/responsibilities are distinguished: economic and social duties (e.g. earning a living, being financially independent, serving the community through volunteer work, helping those in need, educating children, looking after one's own family, protecting the vulnerable, preserving the environment, doing one's job at a high standard, and respecting public property) and political and civil duties (e.g., the right to vote, political participation beyond voting; the right to protest against bad laws; and the obligation to pay taxes,

defend the country, obey the law, accept majority decisions, and respect the rights of others).

Citizenship is seen as a fundamental part of the identity of individuals. Citizenship is "a way of thinking and feeling that acts as an anchor in situating oneself in society" (Conover, et.al., 1990, p. 4). It is part of the "self-schema, a cognitive structure containing information about oneself", which intricately links the sense of self to the notion of what it means to be a citizen. It is considered being part of broader concepts, such as political literacy (Crick and Lister, 1978 and 1979), political competence (Dekker, 1991), political identity, or political understanding.

Citizenship is not an absolute condition; a distinction between people with and people without citizenship cannot be easily made. Rather, citizenship has different levels (e.g., minimal and advanced); there is a scale ranging from "very bad" to "very good" citizens.

27.5.2 Political Citizenship

In the political science literature, attention is given to citizenship in connection with political philosophy/theory, political systems, political change, political integration, and political psychology/socialization, and education. Appropriate points of departure for this discussion are the political system and the individual, respectively.

The concept of citizenship differs in parliamentary democracy and other political systems. Even among parliamentary democracies/philosophies, different political rights, duties, and roles are ascribed to citizens. A fundamental distinction is the one between elite democratic theories versus participatory democratic theories. In other words, we can distinguish between proponents of liberalism and proponents of communitarianism and their corresponding views on the contractual and communal citizenship (Conover, et al., 1990; Heater, 1990).

The contractual version of citizenship tends to be legalistic. It has at its core a strong conception of individualism and individual rights. Citizens are seen as autonomous individuals who make choices, who are bound together by a "social contract", rather than as friends and neighbors united by any common activity. The calculating citizen uses rights and fulfills duties/responsibilities not from a moral, ideological obligation, but as it best serves his/her own interests. Political participation is mainly instrumental and mainly serves private interests rather than any common good or person-

al self-development. Rights are emphasized and interpreted in terms of protection for the individual (against interference from government or society) and of his/her autonomy. Duties are usually relegated to the back-ground because they constitute obligations that restrict freedom. From a contractual perspective, one's identity as a citizen involves identification not with a community of people but, instead, with the abstract category of "legal citizen", the bearer of rights (Conover, et al., 1990).

The communal vision of citizenship has at its core a conception of citizens who are not so much autonomous individuals making private choices, as social and political people whose lives are intertwined with those of their neighbors. They share common traditions and understandings and pursue certain common goals with their neighbors. Engaging in public activities result from these common traditions, understandings, and goals, from what people share, and has much to do (for that reason) with their identities. Identities are as central to the communal vision as rights are to the contractual. Citizens not only have the right to participate in politics but are expected to do so for the community's sake as well as for their own. Individual rights are regarded as contextually defined and are voiced in a community background. Duties, being obligations that are to be welcomed rather than scorned, are brought forward. From the communitarian perspective, citizens identify themselves with a community of people and, in its most-developed form, have a sense of collective consciousness about the meaning of that identity, resulting in an encumbered sense of self (Conover, et al., 1990).

Theorists differ also in their views about the relationship between citizenship, the political system, and political integration. Three viewpoints can be distinguished. In the first, the political system/political integration affects citizenship. Citizenship reflects or follows political elites' decisions. In the second viewpoint, citizenship affects the political system and political integration. In the third view, no relationship is seen between citizenship and political system. The findings of Dalton and Duval (1986) in the United Kingdom argue against the expectation that continued exposure to Community institutions and policies will develop support for European integration. The reasons are that stable opinions have not developed and the long-term base line for British opinions on the EC is predominantly negative. Our view is that, ultimately, the survival of a political entity depends on the existence of some demonstrable, popular, public support. Political elites' decisions should coincide to a certain degree with their constituents' opinions

and attitudes. According to this line of thought, the long-term survival of the present EC and the development of a still-more-integrated "European Union" will only be possible if the majority of the citizens possess knowledge about "European" matters, are convinced of its intrinsic importance and value, are prepared to identify themselves with the new Europe, and are prepared and willing to contribute to its realization.

27.5.3 European Citizenship

Economic and political elites have initiated and strengthened the political integration process in Western Europe. Following Deutsch (1967, p. 251), bold steps toward substantially greater European unity "would have to be sold" to mass opinion by the sustained and concerted efforts of leaders and elites" (quoted in Hewstone, 1986, p. 11). Important ingredients of the product to be "sold" are: basic knowledge, positive opinions and attitudes, and the willingness to play by the "rules of the game."

Basic knowledge is seen as an important condition for opinions, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. People should be aware of the existence of the EC; they should possess information about EC institutions, decision-making structures and processes, and European Parliamentary elections once every five years. Not only is basic knowledge of the EC itself considered to be necessary, also required are basic knowledge of politics in general, "political empathy" (Hanley, 1977), and political "cognitive mobilization" ("political skills necessary to cope with an extensive political community") (Inglehart, 1970, p. 47). Individuals need to possess knowledge of general political concepts and simple political frameworks, including what politics is all about (Armitage, 1988, pp. 87-88).

In the literature on this theme, positive opinions and attitudes are often presented under the heading of "support." The two kinds of support (Hewstone, 1986) are affective and utilitarian. Affective support is seen as an emotional sentiment in response to the idea of European integration (e.g., a new loyalty to the EC, in addition to loyalty to the national political system). Utilitarian support is based on the perception of larger pay-offs with respect to the national economy and/or one's personal situation, more so than that resulting from one's independent nation state. Support also relates to the three basic levels of a political system: the authorities, the regime, and the political community. Support can be specific (e.g., environmental policy) and/or diffuse.

Other attitudes, seen as instrumental for increased EC political integration at the individual level are limited nationalism, trust in other EC peoples, a "European identity", sentiment for European integration; "attachment to the European ideal or dream"; a readiness to help other countries; political interest (especially in European Parliamentary elections); and being in favor of a directly elected Parliament. Although trust in other nations is not directly linked to EC success, it may be closely related to EC attitudes because the EC can be perceived of as a combination of other nations and peoples. A European identity makes an individual think of him/herself as a "European" or as a "citizen" of the EC.

Integration, in the political-psychological sense, can be described as the process whereby citizens in several distinct regional and national settings change (or are persuaded to do so) their knowledge, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavior toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing regional authorities and national states.

We have developed a theory of European political socialization, based on an interactive theory for national political socialization (Dekker, 1986, 1988, and 1991). European political socialization is the sum of political orientations relating to European political systems (in this case, the European Community political system), as well as structures and processes through which individuals and groups acquire these orientations. The central components in this theory are the individual's European political competence as he/she is socialized; the European political knowledge, insights, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavioral patterns of the individual being socialized; interrelationships between these categories and the relationship between these categories and other personal and social characteristics, as well as the general (national) political competence and both the non-political and politically relevant general competence of this individual. The second elements in this theory are the agencies of socialization. Falling under these different agencies are various socializers; that is, persons, groups, categories, institutions, organizations, objects, and events which contribute to the individual's socialization. The most important agencies of political socialization are primary groups, churches, educational systems, mass communication media, peer groups, and political/economic structures and processes. The third component is the dominant subsystem of the society, divided into a dominant subsystem in power and a dominant subsystem which is in opposition. The final part comprises the peripheral subsystems

of the society. The connections among these four components are influence relationships. The first influence relationship is the one between the individual being socialized and the agencies of socialization, including the active socializers contained within it. The next influence relationship is the one among the different agencies of socialization themselves, as well as among their respective socializers. The third relationship of influence is the one between the dominant subsystems and socialization agencies. The anticipated influence which the dominant subsystem in power exerts is a stabilizing one; the oppositional part of the dominant subsystem intends to break down the existing power structures. A fourth influence relationship is that between peripheral subsystems and the agencies of socialization. In addition to these influence relationships, we may consider the interdependence between the dominant subsystems and the peripheral subsystems. Since the dominant subsystems are capable of directly influencing the structure of a society, they can also directly influence peripheral subsystems. It could also be assumed that there is another influence relationship, though a much weaker one, in the opposite direction.

27.6 Conclusions

All EC policy-making actors (i.e., the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed the need for European citizenship within the EC. The EC has tried to promote a new European, EC-citizenship through providing information/propaganda, promoting EC-symbols, encouraging the European dimension in education and training, and offering opportunities for exercising one's EC citizenship.

The EC has commissioned studies on the knowledge, opinions, and attitudes of young people (and adults) with respect to the Community. The significant findings may be summarized as follows. Most young Europeans "are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership in the Community but . . . do not involve themselves in European affairs (Commission, 1982, p. 138).

Table 3: Knowledge, opinions, and attitudes on European citizenship in EC policy documents and research.

Variables	Policy document	Study		
<i>Knowledge:</i>				
- Estimation of having knowledge of EC		1	2	
- Knowledge of the European Community				3
- Knowledge of European integration	a			
- Knowledge of the EC member states	a			
- Knowledge of significance of EC	a			
- Awareness of advantages of EC	a			
- Awareness of challenges of EC	a			
- Strong image of Europe	a			
- Understanding of foundations	a			
<i>Opinions:</i>				
- EC membership for one's own country		1	2	3
- Scrapping the EC		1	2	3
- Gains and losses from membership			2	
- (Un)importance of EC problems		1		
- Effectiveness of EC policies		1	2	
- Single European Market			2	
- Unification of Europe		1	2	3
- Rate of European unification			2	3
- Commission of the EC			2	3
<i>Attitudes:</i>				
- Stronger sense of European identity	a			
- Sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne	b			
- Value of European civilization	a			
- Value of democracy	a			
- Value of social justice	a			
- Respect for human rights	a			
- Value of pluralism	c			
- Tolerance	c			
- Interest in people in other parts of Europe		1	2	3
- Interest in problems in the EC		1		
- Demand for information on the EC			2	3
- Attitudes toward the EC		1	2	3
- Value of unification of Europe		1	2	
Table 3 (con'd.)				
- Unification of Europe as a hope		1		
- Fear of one's own country's loss of influence in Europe		1		
- Fear for reduction in the influence of Western Europe in the world		1		
- Trust in peoples in Europe		1		
- Nationalism		1		
- Europeanism		1		

Note: a = Council, 1988. b = Council, 1989a. c = Council, 1989b. 1 = Commission, 1982. 2 = Commission, 1989. 3 = Commission, 1991

Comparing the study findings regarding the EC citizenship policy goals, activities promoting European citizenship, actualities of European citizenship, and the political science literature review on (European) citizenship, we may conclude, that:

- Policy goals and policy effects research items are not the same (see Table 3).
- EC activities aimed at achieving European citizenship are limited in quantity and quality.
- The concept of European citizenship (in the legal, political-psychological sense) has not been developed in a sophisticated way in formal EC policies, compared to the basic requirements therefore found in the relevant political science literature.

What is actually known about European citizenship and the younger EC generation in research reports is disappointing from the point of view of EC citizenship goals. Means employed to increase the degree of European citizenship have not been very successful until now. Most striking is the low percentage of citizens who have used (or intend to use) their right to vote for the European Parliament. Discovering why this is the case and how to improve the quality of education and information, and policy actions in this field is in the interest of EC elites, EC democracy, and individual EC citizens.

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PART VI
Summing Up

Russell Farnen

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28	<i>Reconceptualizing Politics, Education, and Socialization</i>
	Summary, Conclusions, and Interpretations

28.1 Abstract

This chapter contains some summary, concluding, and integrative ideas as well as overall interpretations flowing from the work of the 31 scholars whose contributions are presented in the foregoing parts of this book. While some of their research findings are country-specific, many chapters present ideas having more international applicability since all of the studies are concerned with democratizing schools, politics, and socialization experiences. Many of the studies emphasize, for example, the key role of education in encouraging problem-solving, decision-making, and policy analysis skills among pupils. Others stress the need for both education and politics as well as socialization research to address the issues of pluralism, race, ethnicity, gender, civil society, and nationalism/national identity in citizenship education. Taken all in all, these 26 different studies make a major

contribution to understanding the requirements needed to reconceptualize and reformulate political education and socialization research and practice in light of unfolding political realities summarized in this book.

28.2 Introduction

A few years ago, a US national commission (composed of representatives from national social studies, history, and teaching organizations) published two reports. One was about making sense of the social studies (Jenness, 1990); the other on charting a course for the social studies in the 21st century (November 1989). It may be useful to briefly review some of their ideas about the future of politics, socialization research, and education. While de-emphasizing the role of political socialization studies as no more than "certain obsessive tendencies", with overly complex undemocratic models of personal/social interactions, Jenness (1990, pp. 199-205) endorses the concepts of decision making and policy analysis as "heuristically powerful" for citizenship education. Citizenship is seen as being the "central aim" of social studies and history instruction, with the help of political and other social sciences. Civics, he says, "needs to be reinvented, in a practical, thoughtful, realistic way", emphasizing both factual knowledge and critical reasoning. Moreover, a new kind of global education is necessary for effective citizenship so that citizens can, in René Dubos' words, "think globally, but act locally." Other observations call for a core of essential political subject matter at the secondary level, while protecting both diversity and pluralism in the curriculum (Ibid., pp. 389-433).

Many of these same ideas were represented in the previous year's publication, *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century* (November 1989, pp. 3-4), in which civic participation, cumulative learning, a history and social sciences partnership with the humanities and other fields of knowledge, critical exploration of the past to create a new future, critical thinking skills, problem solving, decision making, conflict resolution and negotiation, information gathering and assessment, teacher support from the community, and core knowledge for personal and public benefit are all presented as likely "characteristics" of 21st century social studies. In this same booklet, the Stanford University political scientist, Richard H. Brody (Ibid., pp. 59-63) also commented on schools and civic instruction, which should include political reality, democratic culture, political behavior, functional/structural analysis, cross-cultural and international systems, concep-

tual sophistication, the role of facts and values in decision/ policy making, effective democratic participation in the political life of a free society, "public regardness", respect for contrary values and views, problem solving, decision making, and ends/means analysis of public problems and their proposed solutions.

28.3 Major Conclusions, Considerations, and Integrating Ideas

With these alternative or complementary models for the future of civic education, politics, and socialization studies in mind, some general and specific observations based on the scholarly work presented in this volume may be helpful for projecting an alternative road map for the future path of European, American, and developing countries' civic education efforts, some of which are quite alike and others of which differ appreciably one from the other.

28.3.1 Specific Conclusions

1. The Farnen-German study of Eastern European politics, communications, and education illustrated the vast changes which are still underway in this region, the various differential rates of change in respective countries, and the degree to which education lags behind other institutions in its relative rate of social and cultural adaptation. To be of more value, such comparative baseline research would have to be continued in the future (as is planned) in order to assess continuing progress and/or retrenchment in different areas, signs of which are already appearing in what was once Yugoslavia and what may yet be called the "former" Czech and Slovak Republic.
2. The three eastern German contributions (Schmidtbauer, Dümcke, and Schulze) each mention the tentative nature of the political accommodation resulting from the rapid inclusion of the five new *Bundesländer* in the FRG. That is, the New Forum movement and the heritage of the Marxist/Leninist past are examples of elements which may have significant consequences for future political life and educational practices in the Eastern third of the country. In other words, German reunification may be complete on paper, but the old and new generations of citizens living in these federal states still seek accommodation for their different politico-cultural habits and experiences in a new Germany within a

new and unifying European political, economic, and social system in which Germany and France will be the undisputed leaders.

3. The three Polish specific studies (Mojsiewicz, Holly, and Magala) also illustrate the complex and dynamic political changes underway in that country, along with the enduring force of cultural traditionalism (e.g., old ideas and stereotyping) and the normal human tendency to reform everything except that which is closest to one's heart. These Polish studies are also of consequence in that they illustrate the need for more, not less, European and democratic political education and socialization research so that a civic society will have a better chance to root itself in Polish soil before destructive countertendencies crush such efforts so early in the pan-European process.
4. The three Hungarian contributions (Csepeli and Örkény, Keri, and Stumpf) are also significant in that they clearly show the overarching desire for a transnational citizenship identity in some parts of Eastern Europe (particularly Hungary) in addition to strong basic concerns about developing democratic political experiences among youth, counteracting religious or ethnic divisions and recidivism, and guiding the forces of economic, political, and global modernization along democratic lines - something to which future socialization research and political education can make a positive contribution.
5. The contextual chapters from American, Slovenian, and Ukrainian view-points (German and Hoffman, Godina, Golovaha and Panina, respectively) show us the subtle political sophistication which develops when having to deal with political concepts at multiple levels of meaning in countries such as the former Yugoslavia and USSR. It is the implicit level of Slovenian political culture (including the corruptions of political dogma) which most interests Godina, while the Ukrainian authors are not the least hesitant in expressing their view of their public's mood that there will be no turning back to political repression, regardless of economic or other privations. By contrast, the North Carolina study on environmental questions shows the extent to which citizens in a mature, developed democracy are cynical, feel helpless, are concerned, use and believe mass media, but do not act responsibly to solve their local problems, even if appropriate education has helped to increase their awareness of them. Taken as a group, this series of three chapters provide the greatest contrast, yet shows common patterns of

political concerns about education, meaning, trust, freedom, citizen action and participation, and other democratic political universals.

6. Three of the Dutch studies provide some interesting and useful information about cross-cultural imaging, study abroad, and peace education conceptualizations. The Dekker; Dekker, Oostindie, and Hester; and Miedema and Berding contributions show, respectively, that Dutch youth are TV-dependent for what little they know about the US; that while IJSPs increase one's knowledge about another country, they have mixed nationalistic effects; and that peace education as a topic of study is not dead, but rather in need of redefinition to include globalism, ecology, hunger, ethnicity, energy, and disarmament. All of these classic concerns, then, are still valid topics (namely stereotypes, cross-cultural understanding, and peace) for civics in the foreseeable future.
7. The Turkish (Kili), Indian (Pandit), Chinese (Zane), and Israeli (Ichi-lov) chapters illustrate, respectively, the extent to which human rights and gender issues are basic and viable political tasks for politics and education in developing countries. The continuously-repressive hand of communist authorities in China (using the weapon of anti-humanistic totalitarian civic education practices to ensure conformity and obedience to party rule) and the degree to which textbooks in a religiously-dominated, yet increasingly democratic society are much like those in other larger, more-mature democracies (e.g., the US) in that they are noncontroversial, passive, structural/institutional, and idealized to ensure system maintenance functions. These chapters indicate that humanistic, gender, and civil rights concerns are clearly universal and next-century topics for political education everywhere, just as textbook reform will be on our educational agenda today and tomorrow. Moreover, we all are interested in the world's most-populous country's progress toward democracy and are disheartened to learn that, while hidden dissent is present, the undemocratic forces stifling human rights are strong indeed (as they are likely still to be at the turn of the century, absent divine intervention or a mass uprising). It is also interesting to read between the lines in the Turkish case study to see the extent to which a strong economic desire (e.g., for EC membership) may actually propel the movement away from authoritarian state repression in Turkey, increasing the measure of civil and human rights in that country. This is something which Eastern European countries may also experience as they increasingly participate as independent states in UNO,

CSCE, NATO, and other international alliances, such as EC associate membership.

8. The final part of the book contains German, American, and three different Dutch perspectives on reconceptualization of politics, socialization, and education for the next century. The American (Farnen) and two of the Dutch (Phillipens and Olgers) chapters focus on the need for core processes which center on problem solving, decision making, policy analysis, and basic subject matter which discusses political theory, ideology, and systems helping students to both handle and explain their political worlds, regardless of country of origin. Similarly, the German (Meyenberg) and other Dutch (Dekker) articles emphasize the need for a transnational European style of education (in tune with the globalization theme mentioned previously) and the need to liberate the school setting, using democratic means of teaching and learning. These chapters, taken as a whole, find political and cognitive sciences, problem solving, socialization, and political education research to be both complementary and mutually reinforcing. Therefore, in contrast to American concerns about the overly complex nature of such interrelationships, mentioned previously, these authors all share a view that such studies are mutually productive and useful for future progress in the field.

28.3.2 General Conclusions

Many of the specific conclusions mentioned previously identify key concepts needed for the reinvention of political education for the 21st century. Here, we want only to bring together a few of the major generalizations about these topics in as compressed a scope as possible. Some of the key areas identified as vital for the future of politics, socialization, and educational studies are as follows:

1. Continuing research into Eastern European democratization trends are useful case studies for political scientists, socialization researchers, and political educators alike. In particular, the experiences in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the CIS countries (such as the Ukraine and Russia, particularly), and eastern Germany will provide practical information about democratic innovations and new practices which may be useful for revitalizing democracy and civil societies both there and in the rest of the world.

2. Certain basic topics should form the core of universal civic concerns for educational, socialization, and political research. These include ideas such as stereotyping, ethnicity, nationalism, gender, human rights, peace, transnational citizenship, globalization, the environment, peace education, cross-cultural understanding, and similar concepts mentioned throughout this volume. Emphasis of such political universals will allow citizens to think globally while acting locally through effective political participation and public policy analysis and decision making.
3. There is also a need for core competencies and subject matters which include an emphasis on policy and decision making, learning and socialization theory, cognitive science and schema theory, and emphasis on political theory, ideologies, and systems analysis. Teaching the ideals and realities of democratic politics has local and global relevance, just as learning about transnationalism and Europeanization can help one to become both a better national and international citizen of one's private, public, and surrounding world societies.
4. The utility of socialization and education studies for our knowledge of what students know and value and how they behave politically is undisputed in Europe and much of the rest of the world, except for the US. In part, American reaction to such empirical approaches is a sort of anti-intellectualism, which is part of the conservative, qualitative, post-modern obsession with individual differences and the autonomous person. Socialization studies, cognitive sciences, and decisional theory help to describe and to explain how we think and learn, what we learn and when, and which intervening variables affect political learning, in addition to schooling. We know, for example, that educated persons are less cynical and more efficacious and politically involved cross-nationally. But we also know that higher-SES individuals and their offspring also exhibit pro-democratic and pro-civil-rights orientations as a result of their academic training and their lifestyles. Furthermore, we have evidence from cognitive developmental studies of when people learn something best (e.g., international affairs and abstractions during, but not before, adolescence) and what they learn early (e.g., personalized attachment to homeland and nation). Similarly, we have learned from decisional analysis about how experts and novices think as well as how our own thinking and problem solving can be improved. And finally, we are aware that nationalism, ethnic prejudice, authoritarianism,

and/or pan-democratic ideas can be measured cross-nationally at different age levels so that we can see the extent to which these factors impact on public policy choices in addition to simple voting behavior. Such insights are extremely valuable for plotting a course for civic education research in the next century, despite contrary objections heard from the US. In fact, what is needed in America are fewer fads in social studies education and more consistent work over several generations of students to ascertain what works best for the education of democratic citizens. What exists at the present (as the US National Assessment Studies show) is certainly not working well, especially so for the most-deprived Hispanic and African-American students who are still treated as second-class citizens, as other US ethnographic studies have also shown. In sum, socialization research, broadly conceived, is not dead everywhere (it was not even born as yet in certain countries, such as the UK) and is surely in need of revitalization and expansion by the year 2001, as most probably will occur in Europe if not in all parts of the world (on these points, see Ichilov, August 1991, pp. 430-436).

5. The subject-matter approach to political education taken (whether historical and geographic and/or political and social science) is less important than the underlying core concepts, methods, techniques, and teaching-learning strategies if occurring in an open democratic climate of free debate and civil discourse. Subject matter or curriculum "turf" debates distract from the greater common task which is to prepare youth for the still-unknown world of the 21st century, where changes can be as rapid and as revolutionary as those seen in the last decade of the 20th century. Our goal has been to raise some of the fundamental questions useful for guiding all of us in the present and succeeding generations toward a common, peaceful, and productive future as citizens of an emerging, global society. We all hope we have succeeded in some way, however small or insignificant, to provide some guideposts and mileage markers for this joint journey into a common future, one more surely in the hands of today's students than in those of their present teachers or parents. In sum, our joint efforts were based on a common and shared perception that those who want to change the world for the better must first do something about their own country, state, and community, as well as themselves.

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