Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe:

Analysis of Adult Learning and Design of Formal, Non-formal, and Informal Educational Intervention Strategies

Citizenship and Governance Education in Europe: A critical review of the literature

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November 2000

Preface

The project on *Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship: Analysis of Adult Learning and Design of Formal, Non-Formal, and Informal Educational Intervention Strategies* is a collaborative project undertaken by teams from the following institutions:

Institution	Country
University of Surrey University of Surrey: School of Educational Studies	UK
Helsingin yliopisto University of Helsinki: Department of Education	Finland
Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen Catholic University, Nijmegen: Department of Social Pedagogy	The Netherlands
Andragoski center Republike Slovenije Slovene Institute for Adult Education, Ljubljana	Slovenia
Universitat de Barcelona University of Barcelona: Centre of Research in the Education of Adults (CREA)	Spain
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven Catholic University, Leuven: Unit of Social Pedagogy	Belgium

All project teams have contributed to this report, which is the outcome principally of the first workpackage. The workpackage was co-ordinated by the University of Surrey.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

John Holford and Palitha Edirisingha[1]

1.1 Education for Active Citizenship and Governance

1.1.1 Background

This study of the literature on education and training for governance and active citizenship is designed as the foundation for inquiries into how adults learn their attitudes to citizenship and governance in various European countries, and into what methods of educational and training intervention are effective for improving learning of citizenship and governance.

The chapters which follow reflect the thinking which underpins the research project, and it is therefore necessary to restate briefly the principles on which the study is based. Citizenship and governance are increasingly common matters of discussion and concern, across countries and in different areas of society. This is clear within the European Union, for which the aim of a stronger and more inclusive social fabric is often twinned with the importance of achieving greater economic competitiveness and prosperity. For most governments, education is a key policy option; and most (if not all) all governments in Europe are using education to encourage the development of better citizenship and economic achievement.

The design of educational interventions and educational policies has, however, been constrained in several ways. First, educational intervention strategies have focused too strongly on formal structures (i.e., chiefly primary and secondary schooling). The increasing emphasis in European and national policies on ‘lifelong learning’ in the ‘learning society’ raises the question of how strategies for informal and non-formal political education can be elaborated.

Second**,** educational curricula and policies have concentrated on narrow definitions of politics. In particular, citizenship and governance have been conceived chiefly as related to activities of the state. Recently, however, social scientists have stressed work and civil society as domains of life-experience, and explored links between traditional forms of political participation and the personal, private domain (cf Giddens 1991 on ‘life politics’; Beck 1997 on the ‘reinvention of politics’). Learning theorists also have emphasised ‘situational’ or ‘contextual’ influences on learning (cf Biggs & Moore 1993, Jarvis 1987, Lave & Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998). However, the implications of such perspectives for learning citizenship and governance have been little explored.

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[1] The Authors are grateful to Colin Griffins for his contribution to the work on this chapter.

Third, educational strategies have in the past seen agency in citizenship and governance as derived chiefly from primary ideological affiliations (socialism, Christianity, etc.) Recent scholarship has, however, emphasised more subjective or pragmatic affiliations (gender, ethnicity, migration, pollution, etc.) in contemporary Europe (Lyotard 1984; Bauman 1993; Benhabib 1992). Diversity in identities is therefore increasingly important in analysing agency.

Fourth, European policy envisages not only political and social aims - integration on the basis of social inclusion - but also economic competitiveness. Many authors (e.g., Beck 1992, Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994) stress the risky character of contemporary social transformations. They argue for identifying new balances between economic aims and social priorities such as active citizenship. As Sennett (1998) has argued, the nature of work organisation in contemporary capitalist economies may itself lead to declining levels of social participation and active citizenship.

In order to be able to understand exclusion as well as stimulate active citizenship, we need to understand not only the national and supranational levels of policy development and implementation, but also knowledge of specific and local contexts. At the same time, the principle of subsidiarity applies strongly in education, which is governed by the national (and/or sub-national) legislation of European Union member states. Yet Europe faces simultaneous pressures toward both integration and relative uniformity (globalisation, political integration, monetary union, *etc*.), and fragmentation and diversity (regional, local, cultural, ethnic and linguistic identities, subsidiarity, *etc*.) For these reason, the project is investigating learning of citizenship and governance, and related educational intervention for adults, in the diverse contexts in which these objectives must be achieved. The present study begins this process by addressing the contrasting ways in which citizenship and governance are understood in national and regional contexts.

1.1.2 Culturally Embeddedness

From the outset, it was clear that the empirical research would require to be underpinned by an understanding of the evolution and current nature of the concepts of ‘active citizenship’ and ‘governance’. However, early discussions among the research team confirmed that although the concepts have both international currency backed by long historical traditions, they are at the same time deeply embedded within specific national – and ‘sub-national’ – cultures and histories. While these variations are partially revealed by linguistic discussions about their meaning, we believe there are dimensions and levels of contextual meaning at which even good translation can only hint.

The present review is designed to begin the process of investigation into the various levels and complexities of the notions of citizenship and governance, and how they are learned. The review commences with a discussion of current understandings of the notions of citizenship and governance, as articulated in principally in the social scientific literature.

1.2 Citizenship

Citizenship is a difficult term to define, ‘a peculiar and slippery concept with a long history’ (Riley, 1992). It ‘can carry significantly different meanings. It has no “essential” or universally true meaning’ (Crick, 2000, p. 1). Citizenship is a contested concept with multiple definitions that have been formed according to different perspectives within the different disciplines (Kazepov *et al*, 1997). Different political and ideological views tend to articulate its meaning differently, associating with it different character.

Crick (2000) provides a brief sketch of the historical origins of the notion of citizenship, while the historical events and the character of the nations have dictated the practice of citizenship in each country, as illustrated by the six national chapters in this report. As Crick outlines, citizenship, which forms part of our civilization, has its origins in ancient Greece. Historically, the concept of *a citizen* and the concept of *a subject* have fundamental differences. '[A] subject obeys the laws and a citizen plays a part in making and changing them' (p. 4). In Greek and Roman civilizations, citizenship encompassed both the legal and social status: 'citizens were those who had a legal right to have a say in the affairs of the city or state, either by speaking in public or by voting, usually both' (p. 4). Both the Greek city states and the Roman Republic were destroyed, but the memory of the ideal of free citizenship still survives.

1.2.1 The Current Scope and how the term is being used

Much of the analysis of this 'complex and multidimensional concept' (Ichilov, 1998a), has been based on the analysis made by Marshall in the 1950s. He divided citizenship into three elements: civil, political and social:

> The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom … .
>
> By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. …
>
> By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. (Marshall, 1950, p. 10-11)

The civil element of citizenship is related to the rights that an individual has for freedom. The institution most directly associated with it is the rule of law and a system of courts. The political component consists of the right to participate in the exercise of political power. Political rights are associated with parliamentary institutions. Social rights represent the right to the prevailing standard of life and the social heritage of society. The development of these elements, as Marshall acknowledged, were 'dictated by history even more clearly than by logic' (p. 10). The three elements had developed roughly on a chronological basis: the civil element in the eighteenth century, the political in the nineteenth, and the social in the twentieth.

Marshall's analysis is related to theories of social class in the context of the development of social democratic and welfare policies in Britain. Marshall raised the issue of the extent of citizenship rights beyond the formal legal and constitutional status of citizenship. Included are entitlements such as unemployment benefits and provisions for healthcare and education. Citizenship in the social sense, according to Marshall, is based on individuals' obligation to contribute taxation to a state system of provision, and on a method of redistribution of resources to fellow citizens unable to provide for their own needs (Ichilov, 1998a). These forms of citizenship are institutionalised in the welfare state.

Subsequent analyses in the Marshallian tradition tend to look at citizenship in two ways: (1) citizenship as a membership of a society or a nation state, and (2) citizenship as a fusion between rights and responsibilities. Marshall saw citizenship as a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. Following from this, the usage of the word citizenship sometimes becomes synonymous with membership of a nation state; a citizens is ‘an enfranchised inhabitant of a country’ (Riley, 1992). In modern times however, there is a tendency to extend this notion of membership almost indefinitely; some environmentalists , for example, suggest that one may possess a ‘global citizenship’ by virtue of one’s human status alone. This view attempts to emphasise that allegiance should not be limited to just national boundaries. Yet, in practice, the claim to citizenship still normally begins with nationality.

The second view of citizenship looks at citizenship as a fusion between rights and responsibilities. Ichilov (1998a) argues that citizenship involves both a set of cultural practices and a bundle of rights and obligations. These practices and rights guarantee the citizen an exercise of power over political, spatial, and moral spheres within that polity (Turner, 1993). ‘Every age since the ancient Greeks fashioned an image of the citizen, citizenship has expressed a right to a political space, a right to deliberate with others and participate in determining the fate of the polity to which one belongs.’ (Islin, 1999). Citizenship is a balance or fusion between rights and obligations.

Heywood (2000) suggests that different political ideologies interpret the notion of citizenship in different ways. The Right’s view is a rather narrow one, which stresses mostly the element of *rights*: civil and political rights exercised within civil society, and rights of participation. The Left, on the other hand, endorses a ‘social citizenship’, in which citizens are entitled to a social minimum, expressed in terms of social and welfare rights. Libertarians oppose the very idea of citizenship by rejecting the notion that individuals have broader social identities and responsibilities. Criticisms of citizenship levelled by Marxists are based on the ground that it masks the reality of unequal class power. Feminists criticise the notion of citizenship because it takes no account of patriarchal oppression.

1.2.2 Main Themes and Concerns

Marshall’s concept of citizenship in the welfare state has been revisited and its contemporary relevance examined (Bulmer and Rees 1996). Since 1950 the whole concept and theoretical status of social class has undergone much sociological revision: a socialist perspective needs to be reformed in relation to the new forms of social inequality, new formulations of rights, and new ruling class strategies.

Ichilov (1998b, p.1) highlights a number of contradictory social processes that are occurring in contemporary society - locally, regionally, and globally - that have implications for the notion of citizenship. On the one hand, there is a drive for globalisation and unification. Developments in communication technologies, the global movement of capital and increased international migration are some factors that contribute to these processes and to changing the character of states and international relations. On the other hand, there are strong movements towards the fragmentation of large political units, increase regional autonomy and localism, and nationalism. Feminism, environmentalism, peace movements and various non-government sector activities attempt to mobilise support for their causes, while offering new definitions of citizenship.

The liberal democratic perspective on citizenship is also criticised from an ecological point of view. Ecological citizenship entails the primacy of the environment in determining the kinds of rights individuals should possess as members of society (Smith 1998). From a Green point of view, the consequences of environmental politics for citizenship in a participatory democracy constitute the main issue: liberal democracy is 'biased against nature'. The rights of citizenship are necessarily limited by the imperative of a sustainable environment (Doherty and de Geus 1996).

Much of the literature on citizenship focuses on the changing conditions of citizenship (Van Steenbergen 1994). Issues discussed relate to identity and participation, which for many are at the heart of the concept (Isin and Wood 1999; Ichilov, 1998a). Heater (1991, p.4) considers citizenship 'both a status and a feeling', in which a person has a relationship with and within the state. Such a person is different from 'a slave, a vassal or a subject. … Citizenship is a precious form of emancipation from more primitive conditions'. Citizenship is one among many identities of an individual, which 'helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities' (Heater, 1990, p.184). It does so by conveying to each individual citizen a society's collective memory; cultural togetherness and nationality and the collaborative sense of purpose in fraternity. These elements bind people together with a common identity of citizenship.

Riley (1992) highlights a number of problematic issues arising from the traditional notions of citizenship. A major issue is inclusion and exclusion: who is a citizen and who is excluded from the rights of citizenship. Kazepov *et al* (1997) too point out that the very nature of citizenship is related to the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. Different groups do not have equal access to citizenship rights (Elliot, 2000). Therefore, while the liberal tradition stresses an equality of status for all citizens, it increasingly suggested that in reality citizenship is more inclusive for some groups than others. Marshall's definition of citizenship as full membership a community has been re-visited within this context.

New concepts of citizenship are being formulated in the wake of changes in economy, politics, demography and culture. For example, issues of gender and ethnicity are being added to those of class (which tended to be the chief focus of earlier writers such as Marshall). The traditional focus on legal and constitutional rights is thus being replaced by a broader emphasis reflecting individual attributes such as gender, ethnicity and age, as well as the changing role of the state and social policy. In other words, a more complex notion of citizen identity is emerging. Migration and minorities, together with policies of multiculturalism, are dealt with in much of the literature on citizenship.

However, maintaining the tradition of Marshall, there is a legal and social philosophical perspective in the literature, which focuses on rights and social issues in both a national and European context (Twine 1994). According to this analysis, citizenship is socially constructed out of the interdependence of self and society. It is thus determined by social policy and the nature of social problems, rather than being the abstract attribution of traditional legal theory.

1.2.3 Active Citizen

The academic literature and government policy documents increasingly focus on the notion of active citizenship – seemingly a key departure from the traditional discussions on citizenship. The six country chapters in this report provide considerable analysis of the origins and the usage of active citizenship within each national context, while the chapter on developments at the European Union level looks at the usage of the term within the policy documents of the European Commission. The gender chapter provides a critique based on gender perspective.

The notion of 'active citizenship' must be considered in relation to the long-standing notion of 'good citizenship.' 'Good citizenship' was cultivated through the ethos of schools which had the aim of training children, mostly boys, 'for leadership – in the army, the imperial and home Civil Service, Parliament and the Church' (Crick, 2000). A good citizen would display a 'habitual loyalty and instinctive obedience to rules … rather than critical thought and democratic practices (p. 1). According to Crick, active citizenship is different in that it focuses on both the 'rights to be exercised as well as agreed responsibilities' (p.2). By adding that 'we need both "good citizens" and "active citizens"', Crick emphasises that active citizenship is something more than good citizenship. Active citizens are 'willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting … [taking part] in volunteering and public service, and … individually confident in finding new forms among themselves' (Crick, 2000, p. 2-3).

The notion of active citizenship can be interpreted from both the political left and the right. In the 'rights *vs* responsibilities' dichotomy of citizenship, the Right's notion of active citizenship is biased towards *responsibilities* . It rejects the welfare state (the social rights element of citizenship), and supports the free market. It maintains that citizens act on the basis of self-interest (Sullivan, 1996; Voet, 1998). The term 'active citizenship' is mentioned in order to emphasise individual obligations, and to deny collective rights and responsibilities. Emphasis is placed on involvement in local community work, voluntarism and private contributions (Heater, 1990; Evans, 1998). 'Active citizens were citizens who joined neighbourhood watch schemes, residents' organisations or collected money for charity' (Deem *et al*, 1995, p. 47).

The left, on the contrary, prefers, according to Deem *et al*, 'the notion of a regenerated civil society filled with voluntary associations composed of enterprising participants'. This idea resonates with the notions of citizenship and citizen empowerment advocated by the left. Communitarians and the 'new' social democracy also have similar views on active citizenship. The rise of communitarianism, according to Heywood (2000) led to a revival of interest in citizenship, as an attempt to re-establish a 'rights and responsibilities' agenda and to counterbalance the market individualism of the New Right. This idea is usually associated with a notion of 'active citizenship', which places emphasis upon the social and moral responsibilities of citizens.

How far do these left and right versions of active citizenship differ? Drawing upon the work of Gyford, Deem *et al* point out that the Right favours an individual model while the Left prefers a social model. The individual model is characterised by charity, through which individuals reach out to others and thereby become citizens through philanthropic action. In the social model, the community acts to provide the conditions for citizenship, which is attained through political involvement (Gyford, 1991, cited Deem *et al* 1995 p. 49).

1.2.4 Theoretical Perspectives

Elliot (2000) identifies two different theoretical positions in the current debate on citizenship: traditional social liberal, and neo-liberal. These theoretical perspectives assess the roles of individuals and states, and their interrelationships. The traditional social liberal approach, to which Marshall’s analysis belongs, emphasises the importance of social rights as an element of citizenship. It also includes civil and political rights, and promotes the welfare state as a means of securing those rights (Voet, 1998).

The neo-liberal notion, which underpinned the New Right policies of the 1980s, rejects the welfare state (the social rights element of citizenship). It supports the free market and maintains that citizens act on the basis of self-interest (Sullivan, 1996; Voet, 1998). The term ‘active citizenship’ is mentioned here in order to emphasise the individual obligations, and to deny the collective rights and responsibilities. It appears that the theory of citizenship is being relocated against a background of neo-liberal politics (Faulks 1998).

Within Europe, a number of issues are impinging upon the concept of citizenship in the context of industrial and post-industrial society. These include the market economy and privatisation, nationalism and ethnicity, the institutions of Europe itself, and reformulation of democracy (Einhorn 1996). The relation between citizenship and democratic control as a result of new relations between nation states and European institutions is increasingly making necessary some reformulation of those traditional concepts, which originated in the idea of ‘nation’ itself.

1.2.5 Concluding Remarks

The notion of active citizenship seems to be a key issue in the current debates on citizenship, as illustrated in general literature as well as in the national literature in the countries within the scope of this research. This seems to be the case within the EU literature, too. The notion of active citizenship is related to our second main concern of the research, ‘governance’, from pragmatic as well as theoretical viewpoint.

The notion of active citizenship is associated with deliberative democratic theory. As Smith and Wales (2000) point out, within contemporary democratic theory there is an emerging concern with the growing difference and distance between subjectivity, motives and intentions of citizens and the political decisions made on behalf of them. The activities, backgrounds and interests of political representatives are seen as far removed from the lives and perspectives of citizens.

Deliberative democracy offers, acccording to Smith and Wales, the possibility of a form of citizenship in which increased opportunities for citizen participation are taken to be both feasible and desirable, and where citizen engagement forms part of an ongoing critical dialogue upon which more legitimate forms of political authority can be grounded. ‘Deliberative democracy promises more trustworthy and legitimate forms of political authority, more informed decisions, and more active accounts of citizenship’ (Smith and Wales 2000, p. 53). As Section 1.3 shows, *opportunities for citizenship participation* and *deliberative democracy* are key features of ‘governance.’

1.3 Governance

1.3.1 Why Governance?

Governance has become a popular concept in the recent years; there is however, some confusion as to what the term means. Drawing on literature in politics, economics, and related disciplines, Pierre and Peters (2000) suggest that ‘governance’ has become an umbrella concept covering a wide variety of phenomena: they mention ‘policy networks’, ‘public management’, ‘coordination of sectors of economy’, public-private partnerships’, ‘corporate governance’, and ‘good governance’ as a reform objective promoted by the IMF and the World Bank.

The enthusiasm for governance rather than government, according to Taylor (1998), is the result of a perceived failure of governments in the recent years to address social and economic challenges facing them. In governance, as Heywood (2000, p. 19) observes, the role of government is increasingly confined to ‘steering’ (that is, setting targets and strategic objectives) as opposed to ‘rowing’ (administration or service delivery). *Governance* and *government* refer to differing views of the relationship between citizens and the state. From a *government* perspective, the relationships are seen in formal, constitutional terms, while *governance* implies that the relationships are complex. The constitutional view interprets both governmental and citizenship behaviour as occurring within settled and agreed boundaries. In contrast, *governance* replaces constitutional certainty with confusion and dilemma.

Hirst (2000, p. 14) considers that most of the discussions on governance have revolved around ‘what might be called a “post-political” search for effective regulation and accountability’. Although the notion of governance still lacks an agreed definition, it does tend to convey ‘an ideological preference for a minimal state or “less government”’ (ibid, p. 19).

Ansell (2000, p. 303) characterises the new forms of governance as a ‘networked-polity’. He considers this a distinctive form of modern polity, in which ‘states are strongly embedded in society and pursue their objectives by operating through networks of societal associations.’ A networked polity is characterised by decentralised and team-based state agencies and societal associations. There is room for strong lateral communication and co-ordination that crosses functional boundaries within and between organisations. These organisations are then linked together by means of co-operative exchange relationships around common projects. The role of the state is to empower stakeholders and facilitate co-operation among them, therefore, a ‘steering’ role rather than a ‘rowing’ role.

According to Pierre and Peters (2000), one of the main reasons for the popularity of the concept *governance* is its capacity. In contrast to the narrower term ‘government’, governance covers the whole range of institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing. It links the political system with its environment (Pierre and Peters, 2000). The expectation is that governance can resolve deep policy questions where governments have previously failed.

Peters (1996, p. 1) however, takes a cautious view of the new trend towards governance.

> It is now fashionable to malign government and the people working in it and to point out gleefully all their failures. Such skepticism and cynicism are cheap; great commitment and courage are required to

> continue attempting to solve problems that almost by definition exceed the capacity of any individual or private actor to solve. If the problems had been easy or profitable, they probably would have remained in the private sector, and government would never have been made to cope with them. Despite the popular mythology, government is rarely imperialistic, nor does it look for new problems to solve; governments are more likely to be handed the poisoned chalice of an insuperable problem.

He adds that the traditional systems of governments that persisted for decades were on the whole successful:

> It fought several world wars, produced and administered a massive expansion of social programs, instituted large-scale economic management for the public sector, and initiated a host of remarkable policies (Peters, 1996, p. 13).

What then happened to cause the large-scale rethinking of governance that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s? Peters (1996, p. 13) offers two explanations. One is the change in the economy, to which governments had to respond. Slowing of economic growth and the need to be competitive in a global economy meant that governments had to re-think their role. A second reason is that the economies and societies, traditionally regulated and controlled by governments, have become less governable for a variety of reasons. Populations have become increasingly heterogeneous and complex, both socially and politically; this has also forced governments to rethink their role and modes of service delivery. Consequently, the governments' institutional strength has been challenged.

Drawing upon the literature on governance, Pierre (2000, p.1) concludes that the institutional strength of governments has been challenged both externally and internally. There are at least three external sources. One is the deregulation of financial markets and the subsequently increased volatility of international capital. This condition deprived the state of much of its traditional capability to govern the economy. A second is the greater autonomy and recognition accorded to sub-national governments: cities and regions receive greater prominence both ethnically and culturally. As they position themselves in the international arena, they seemingly by-pass state institutions and interests. A third factor is the cohesive policy networks that challenge the state's capacity to impose its own will on society. Internally, especially in the western democracies, governing political parties' ability to address salient societal problems has been questioned. The 1980s and 1990s saw the rapid rise of neo-liberal regimes in several advanced democracies: these saw the state and its *modus operandi* less as solutions than as a chief source of social problems, especially, poor economic performance. These pressures meant traditional forms of government began to be reformed.

1.3.2 The Usage and Forms of Governance

As the national chapters show, the concept of 'governance' is being used in many and varying ways. A classification helps in understanding the usage of the concept in different contexts. Hirst (2000, p. 14) analyses five contexts in which this term has been used: economic development and political framework, transnational institutions, corporate governance, reforms in the management of public organisations, and involvement of civil society and non-government actors in matters related to individuals and communities.

Governance – Economic Development

The first use of governance, according to Hirst, is in the field of economic development. This stemmed from the widespread advocacy by the international development agencies and western governments of ‘good governance’ as a necessary component of effective economic modernisation. Good governance therefore means creating a political framework conducive to effective economic action – stable regimes, the rule of law, efficient state administration adapted to the roles that governments can actually perform, and a strong civil society independent of the state.

Governance – Transnational Institutions and Governments

The second main use of the concept of governance was in the field of transitional institutions and governments. It was widely recognised that certain important problems cannot be controlled or contained by actions at the level of nation states alone. Examples are world environmental problems, the regulation of world trade and international financial markets, and a variety of issues ranging from developing common accounting standards to controlling international drug trafficking. The creation of the European Union itself could be considered as a new form of governance, in which the Member States aimed to solve problems that the national governments alone cannot solve. This form of governance, which Norris (2000) refers to as ‘multilayered governance’, diffuses the political authority and transforms the nation-state.

Governance - Corporate Governance

The use of the term governance to refer to corporate governance is primarily Anglo-Saxon, according to Hirst. The requirement for corporate governance comes from a basic feature of companies, which separate management from ownership (Sternberg, 1998). When management is detached from a diffused ownership, managers have the potential to run a corporation to serve their own private ends. Mechanisms are therefore needed to ensure that corporate actions, assets and agents are devoted to achieving the corporate purpose established by the shareholders.

Corporate governance has often been viewed in two different ways: a more specific, narrow view, and a broad view. Sternberg (1998) emphasises the more specific function of corporate governance: ‘properly understood corporate governance is something very limited and very specific. … It is ways of ensuring that corporate actions, assets and agents are directed at achieving the corporate objectives established by the corporation’s shareholders’ (p. 20). It ‘refers to the relationship between senior mangers and shareholders, and in particular, to the processes through which their interests are aligned.’ (Deakin and Hughes, 1997, p.3). In this view, the objective is to improve the accountability and transparency of the actions of management.

Currently however, there is an increasing emphasis on a much broader view of corporate governance, taking account of the relationship and interactions between the employees and society . ‘[A] broader view of corporate governance, [is] one that refers to the whole set of legal, cultural, and institutional arrangements that determine what publicly traded corporations can do, who controls them, how that control is exercised, and how the risks and returns from the activities they undertake are allocated' (Blair, 1995, cited Deakin and Hughes, 1997, p. 3). As Deakin and Hughes point out, the case for a broad approach lies in its potential to link together the issues of democratic participation, accountability, and economic performance. When corporate governance is taken to include societal concerns however, questions need to be asked about how far the internal procedures (focused in a narrow view of corporate governance) can be adapted to a wider social purpose.

Governance - Public Service Management

The fourth usage of the concept of governance relates to the growth of new public management strategies since the 1980s. There are two ways in which public services have been subject to reform during the last two decades. First is the privatisation of publicly owned industries and public services, and the consequent need to regulate service providers to ensure service quality and compliance with contractual terms (Hurst, 2000). The second is the introduction of commercial practices and management styles within the public sector, devolving services to agencies that are self-managing within the overall policy guidelines and services targets (Hurst, 2000). A key feature of the Conservative social policy in the 1980s was the change of management **(**Cutler and Waine, 2000). The application of business-oriented managerial techniques and the introduction of related structural changes, in particular, the creation of quasi-markets, was seen as crucial to enhancing the efficiency and the quality of public services. These changes were thought to be contributing to individual choice and individual rights (Gilliat *et al*., 2000). The new regime of public management has sought to make public services more accountable and responsive to those who use them.

This generates a new model of public services distinct from that of public administration under hierarchical control and directly answerable to elected officials. It also involves a radically different conception of the relationship between 'customers' and service providers from the conventional view of the relationship between citizens and the welfare state.

Governance – Civil Society and the Non-Government Sector

The fifth usage of governance, according to Hurst (2000, p. 15), 'relates to the new practices of co-ordinating activities through networks, partnerships, and deliberative forums that have grown up on the ruins of the more centralised and hierarchical corporatist representation of the period up to the 1970s.' This form of social governance is growing in cities, regions, and industrial sectors, embracing a diverse range of actors: labour unions, trade associations, forms, NGOs, local authority representatives, social entrepreneurs, and community groups. Kooiman (2000) identifies this form of governance as societal-political governance, with public as well as private 'governors' participating. 'Societal-political governance is considered to be arrangements in which public as well as private actors aim at solving societal problems or create societal opportunities, and aim at the care for the societal institutions within which these governing activities take place.' (p. 139)

A key actor in this form of governance is civil society. As Henderson and Salmon (1998) highlight, the notion of 'civil society' recognises that human beings are more than a collection of individuals; the products of a set of complex relationships. 'Civil society is a web of autonomous associations – groups and organisations – which sometimes have the potential to influence public policy. They stand outside the state though they function within the country's political system.'

Societal-political governance enables the inclusion of civil society and the non-governmental sectors in the governing of matters that concern individuals and communities. There is an increasing awareness among the alternative policy bodies of the potential role of 'civil society' in governance – in particular, addressing the suspicions of those'who have grown to distrust the state because they see it as captured by commercial interests, corrupt politicians, and unaccountable bureaucracies' (Hirst, 2000, p. 14). Clayton (1994) points out that NGOs have a role in supporting local organisations working to establish democracy at a grassroots level, rather than directly supporting formal political parties. Pierre and Peters (2000) too observe the increased influence of non-governmental actors in governance as a change from a traditional past. They however see the participation of non-government actors as a trend developing for decades, and perhaps centuries. For example, some of the early economic regulations in the US in the 19th Century were influenced by agricultural interest groups.

Pierre and Peters (2000) offer three models that depict the various relationships between government and the society: pluralism, corporatism, and corporate pluralism.

Pluralism, a familiar model in North America, assumes that government has relatively little direct involvement with interest groups. Government's role is to establish the arenas through which groups work out their own political struggles, and to establish 'rules of the game' to frame how decisions are made. This model is consistent with traditional top-down notions of governance, in which government is relatively autonomous from interest groups and can therefore allow interest groups to struggle among themselves for ascendancy. Society is thus seen in terms of a large, unorganised and relatively incoherent set of groups which have little systematic impact on government.

The second model, corporatism assumes a much closer link between the state and the society. In this model, the government supports and encourages the functioning of some interest groups. These interest groups are accorded a legitimate role as representatives of their sector of the economy or society. The fundamental point is that only a limited number of actors can play the game, and those that do are bound closely to the state.

The third model, the corporate pluralist model falls somewhere between the other two. The basic feature of this model is that (like pluralism) a large number of actors is involved, but (like the corporate model) those actors are given a legitimate status for the purpose of influencing public policy. This pattern is observed in Norway and, to some extent in other Scandinavian countries where large numbers of interest groups are involved through advisory committees, petition processes and a variety of other participation mechanisms.

1.4 Governance and Citizenship in National Settings

A fundamental requirement for the success of governance through civil society is the development of appropriate *forms* of civil society, rather than the actions of governments themselves (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In order to improve governments' capacity to steer and manage, it is necessary to strengthen the self-governing capacity of segments of society. Putnam (1993, cited by Pierre and Peters, 2000) has argued that it is virtually irrelevant whether the groups developing such capacity are manifestly political or not; what matters is the generation of organisational capacity and the movement of interest and identification beyond the family. This seems to be an area where governance and active citizenship overlap: the practice of governance requires people who are active citizens. ‘Good citizens’ may not be good enough: active citizens, on this view, sustain and are sustained by a strong civil society.

This overlap and inter-relationship between active citizenship and governance is critical to the approach taken in our research. Understanding how men and women learn what citizenship and governance mean, implies understanding the specific settings in which they learn. This means that we must complement our social scientific analysis of the concepts with analyses at the national and regional levels. We must also – because the study involves asking whether citizenship and governance are differently constructed for men and women – strengthen our understanding of the terms as gendered concepts. The national settings for the research have been selected to encourage contrasts and comparisons of various kinds. No claim is made that the findings are ‘representative’ of Europe as a whole: indeed, our conclusions at present point more to diversity than uniformity. However, the six European countries (five EU member states plus the Republic of Slovenia) have been selected to provide a cross section of states in terms of geographical and demographic size, economic and industrial structure, political and cultural institutions and history, and period of membership of the European Union and Communities. The countries also reflect, in differing ways, the pressures of sub-national, regional, religious and ethnic identities.

A number of (chiefly quantitative) social and political indicators were used to ensure that the selected countries provide an appropriate range of contrast, both historical and contemporary. The list in Table 1 provides examples of the indicators consulted. For illustrative purposes only, the countries have generally been categorised according to the stated criteria as ‘high’ (H), ‘medium’ (M) or ‘low’ (L) in each case (based broadly on the EU average, where available).

Table 1 Comparative Indicators of Countries Studied

Feature	B	E	NL	FIN	UK	SI	Notes
Date of accession to EU (or predecessors)	1958	1986	1958	1995	1973	-	
Length of continuous democratic government	H	M	H	H	H	L	L: less than 10 yrs; M: 10-30 yrs; H: >30 yrs
Population	M	H	M	L	H	L	L: <10 millions M: 10-35 millions H: >35 millions
Population density	H	M	H	L	H	M	L: <50 per km^2 M: 50-199 per km^2 H: > 200 per km^2
GDP per capita	H	L	H	M	M	L	L: <15,000 Euros M: 15-18,000 Euros H: >18,000 Euros
Industry as percent of total employment	M	M	L	L	M	H	L: <30%; M:30-39%; H: >40%
Main religious affiliations	P/C	C	P/C	P	C	C	P: Protestant C: Catholic
Divorce rate	H	L	M	M	M	M*	L: <1 per 1000 pop'n M: 1-3 per 1000 H: 3+ per 1000
Births outside marriage	M	L	M	H	H	H*	L: <12%; M13-30%; H: >30%
Suicide rate (men)	M	L	L	H	L	H*	L: <15/1000 M: 16-45>1000 H: >45/1000
Unemployment	M	H	L	H	M	M	L: <8%; M: 8-15%; H: >15%
Students at 3rd level per 100,000 population	M	H	M	H	M	L	L: 2000-2999 M: 3000-3749 H: 3750-4200
TV receivers per 1000 population	M	L	M	H	M	L	L: 350-449 M: 450-549 H: 550-650

Sources: Quantitative indicators calculated from UNESCO (1998), Eurostat (1995, 1997), Statistical Yearbook 1998 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana, 1998).

* Data not strictly comparable.

1.5 The Report

1.5.1 Structure

In addition to this Introduction, this report comprises nine chapters. Chapter 2 examines what we can learn from examining how citizenship and governance are learned from a gender perspective. This is followed by six national chapters, each of which reviews the national literature on one of the participating countries (Belgium, Finland, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and the UK). Following these, Chapter 9 examines citizenship and governance have been addressed within the EU context.

1.5.2 Gender

Chapter 2 is the work of the project's Gender Co-ordinator. It begins by highlighting the lack of literature addressing the issue of governance and gender. There is a body of literature on gender and citizenship, but even this is modest. The chapter therefore provides a critical appraisal of concepts of citizenship in relation to gender, and suggests some implications for governance. The chapter begins with a discussion of various feminist traditions; it then examines the generic features of a gender perspective in relation to citizenship. There is a brief sketch of citizenship and the historical legacy, based on discussion of important texts, and a review of the implications of the enlargement of European Union on the national identities and a European citizenship. The Chapter identifies a new interpretation of citizenship, and provides a framework for reviewing the literature from a gender perspective. While identifying key issues in terms of gender for the purpose of the present research, the objective of the gender chapter is to provide the reader with some tools to analyse the remainder of the report from a gender perspective.

1.5.3 National Literatures

Chapter 3-8 are written by the research teams in each of the participating countries. They have followed a common framework. This has two main objectives. First, they review how the issues of citizenship, particularly the notion of 'active citizenship', and governance have been addressed in the literature within each country. Second, they seek to identify educational approaches prevailing in each country for active citizenship and governance.

The authors of each chapter were asked to discuss the literature on four main issues: citizenship, governance, education for citizenship and learning of citizenship and governance. By and large, the chapters follow this structure.

Citizenship

The first section deals with the issue of the character of the citizenship literature in each country. A series of questions was raised, including such issues as the major historical events and movements that had shaped the notion of *citizenship* in their countries. They considered what key words were associated with *citizenship* in their countries, how the term *citizenship* has been used, and what the current scope of the use of the term is. They investigated how the term 'active citizenship' has been used. They were also asked, however, to reflect on what the main themes and concerns relating to citizenship in their country were, what main theoretical perspectives are in current use, and what main theoretical perspectives have shaped understanding of citizenship in the past. Finally, they considered how (if at all) has the issue of gender been addressed in the citizenship literature in their countries.

Governance

The second aspect of each chapter is how the term ‘governance’ is understood or interpreted in each country’s literature. The authors considered what major historical events and movements had shaped notions of governance, and what key words are associated with the concept of *governance* in their countries. They considered any similarities and contrasts between current usage of ‘governance’ and ‘government’ in EU literature and the current use of these (or related) terms in their countries. They considered whether debates about governance relate to current debates about corporate governance and management, or to discussions of management in the public sector, in their countries. They addressed the main features of the relationship between the state and civil society, in terms of (for example) the role of voluntary organisations, NGOs and social movements. What is their relationship to government? Are they used by government for the delivery of welfare services or for other purposes? Finally, there considered how (if at all) the issue of gender had been addressed in the governance literature in their country.

Education for Citizenship and Governance

The third set of issues that addressed in each of the country chapters is the main approaches taken to education for citizenship and governance. Each country team reviewed their national literature in relation to such questions as: What the main traditions and approaches used in political and civic education have been; what use has been made of formal, informal and non-formal methods? Is there any evidence on how success they have been? Have there been any major government reports or policy documents? How (if at all) has the issue of gender been addressed in the citizenship and governance education literature in their country?

Learning Citizenship and Governance

Finally, the national literature chapters considered any literature on learning of – as opposed to education for – citizenship and governance. They asked whether any research had been conducted on how children and/or adults *learn* (as opposed to how they are taught) citizenship and/or governance, and whether any research illuminated approaches to learning citizenship or governance among *men* or *women* in particular (i.e. by gender). If so, they were also asked to discuss what research methods had been used, and whether any conclusions had been reached.

1.5.4 Citizenship and Governance in the European Union

Chapter 9 reviews how the issue of citizenship and governance has been addressed in the literature available within the EU. This chapter reviews principally documents available within the Internet Server of the Commission of the European Community (CEC). The first section of the chapter begins with an overview of issues emerging in Europe which are shaping the notions of citizenship and governance. A major portion of the chapter is devoted to the issue of citizenship, in particular its legal status, issues of inclusion and exclusion, and new forms of identities. The chapter then reviews how active citizenship has been discussed and identifies an emerging notion of active citizenship with a European dimension. The first section ends by highlighting the programmes and research on citizenship and guidelines proposed for future actions of the European Union.

The second section of the chapter addresses the issue of governance within the EU. It begins with a discussion of governance in general and then focuses on how the EU itself is implicated in relation to governance. The creation of the EU is of course in itself a new form of governance that the member states created. Based on the findings of the Forward Studies Unit, the Chapter summarises the recommendations for the EU, followed by a brief discussion on how governance is likely to be practiced in the EU.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE LEARNING OF CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNANCE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Julia Preece

> Pupils attitudes to active citizenship are influenced quite as much by schools as by many factors other than schooling: by family, the immediate environment, the media and the example of those in public life (Kerr, 1999: 281).

There is virtually no literature which addresses the issue of governance and gender. There is a small body of literature concerning gender and citizenship. This chapter therefore represents a critical appraisal of concepts of citizenship in relation to gender and suggests some consequent implications for governance. It draws particularly on poststructuralist literature which looks at the relationship between power and discourse. This perspective provides an analytical tool for exploring how gender has been understood in the construction of citizenship and governance values in each country. We start with the hypothesis that the concept of citizenship is gendered. This means that men and women learn what is valued in terms of active citizenship in a different (gendered) way. This determines their identity as citizens, their perceived entitlements as members of a given society and their perceived role within society, which will thus also be gendered. Whilst the focus of this discussion will be gender, the implications of this analysis for disability and race will also be highlighted. The chapter argues for a broader, more inclusive, ethical definition of active citizenship that, in turn, will influence how people learn to be citizens and take part in governance.

Feminist theories are used to deconstruct some normative assumptions about citizenship. These address issues of identity, agency, difference and power relations for both men and women and between different social groups within the categories of men and women. A selected literature identifies different ways in which citizenship is portrayed and learned through texts, schooling, family and social behaviours and traditions. The changing European and globalisation contexts provide additional commentary on the demands for new forms of citizenship. Particular attention is paid to the concept of active citizenship with some recent interpretations of the dichotomy between private (family) and public (political) domains in relation to citizenship and gender.

2.1 Feminisms

There is no one feminist position, although all share a commitment to understanding and challenging what has caused women’s subordination to men. Weiner (1994) and Grant (1993) identify three broad strands of feminist thought: liberal, radical and socialist. A fourth strand is often called poststructuralist or postmodern (Snick & De Munter, 1999). Liberal feminism is generally associated with a concern over equal, democratic, rights with men and free choice within existing social structures. It differs from other feminisms in that it does not challenge relationships of domination. Its emphasis is on campaigning for a level playing field of access within a legal framework.

Radical feminism identifies the specific historical role of male domination over women. It defends the essential qualities of femaleness – in other words, valuing women differently. As such it defends female ways of being but doesn't challenge the categories of gender power differentials (Preece, 1999). Socialist feminism brings in an awareness of differences between women but primarily explores the ways in which gender is socially, rather than biologically constructed throughout history. It allows for an understanding of different sources of oppression on women. Weedon (1987) argues, however, that this form of feminism does not help us understand how social relationships between men and women create different effects. In other words socialist feminism is still unable to explain how patriarchy exists in the first place.

The postmodern or poststructuralist debate shifts the focus of difference onto the relationship between language and power. This analysis explores how women (and therefore other social groups) are positioned in different ways as a result of shifting identities and meanings – how individuals are caught between acting as knowing 'subjects' and acting unconsciously as individuals who are socially conditioned (Jones, 1997). This enables us to identify different interest groups and different forms of oppression across all groups. As the analysis is based on understanding power relationships it also enables us to see how individuals might act as their own agents of power and challenge normative assumptions and expectations for themselves. The life history experiences of individuals can help us understand how those processes have come into play and shaped people's behaviour as citizens.

The literature on gender and citizenship concerns reflects these different feminist positions. Whilst these perspectives are touched on briefly, the main focus is on a postmodernist analysis which takes account of pluralism and change:

> There is no gender but only women, men and genders constructed through particular historical struggles … over which races, classes, … sexes etc … will have access to resources and power (Harding, 1991: 151).

In summary the generic features of a gender perspective in relationship to citizenship include:

- Consideration of power relations, manifested through use of language, behaviour, structural systems and the internalised meanings behind those manifestations (*discourses*). For example, who makes decisions in organisations, who controls economic decision making, how those decisions are made, how words are 'gender-blind'.
- The experience of being a woman, as described by women – how women perceive their social reality and how they construct their self image based on their perception of their relationship to others (*identities and subjectivities*).
- The way people create multiple meanings from their interpretation of conflicting discourses. From these individual interpretations, people develop their own sense of *agency* or independent action (Scott, 1992). The degree to which people feel

able to develop their capacity for agency depends, however, on the multiple experiences and discourses and power differentials which influence their lives.

- The way society constructs images of women, men, racial difference, sexuality, disability etc through text, the media, social behaviour. The impact of these constructions influences people's opportunity to participate and be heard in different social and political contexts.
- The need to look beyond what appears normal and common sense in order to expose inconsistencies in explanations for citizenship and governance.
- An analytical framework which sees *experience* as an interpretation that has to be interpreted according to our understanding of context. All knowledge is subjective, situated in time and place and therefore value laden (Harding, 1991). The goal of understanding people's social reality in the research process therefore involves reflecting back our own analysis of people's experiences with them.

2.2 Citizenship and the Historical Legacy through Texts

The feminist critique of citizenship literature claims that citizenship has been presented as a universalist concept. This means that the issue of gender and related class, race and disability positions have been rendered invisible in the explanation of citizen values. The concept of citizenship is distinctly male and predicated on an idealist notion of the white, middle class, able bodied man. Historical origins have helped perpetuate this view. Brindle and Arnot (1999) identify English texts associated with citizenship education between 1940 and 1960. The ideal citizen was portrayed as male and citizenship as a man's duty: 'Women's duty went undiscussed' (p.103). Brindle and Arnot explore three approaches to gender in texts dealing with citizenship education. The majority are designated as exclusionary of women with the exception of some recognition of women's caring activity in the home or private sphere. Text examples include stories of boys growing up and talking to father about the world. Women's citizenship is reduced to the question of suffrage (obtaining the right to vote) with the assumption that inequality ends with this right. Where later texts do address potentially wider rights and responsibilities for women (for example, Borer 1962), this is in the context that equality means women do the home chores plus go out to work. Brindle and Arnot find few examples of texts that do challenge attitudes to women and their historically and culturally constituted roles. Even in these examples the social system itself remains unchallenged, since responsibility for the home remains with the woman. From these texts people learn their contribution to citizenship values: 'Texts of citizenship education reflect the range of opinion that is deemed legitimate enough to be provided for children' (p.119).

A primary source of criticism with regard to the legacy of today's version of citizenship originates from TH Marshall's (1954) classic exposition of a universal citizenship. This consisted of civil (property, personal freedom), political (voting) and social (economic welfare) rights. Marshall described the evolution of citizenship chronologically through these phases from the 18th century through to the 20th century. Vogel (1991), Walby (1994) and Torres (1998), however, point out how women had no political rights in terms of suffrage or ownership of property until 1928. And even then, women's political rights came before their rights to personal independence. Indeed the legislation to ensure women's right to tax equality did not take place until 1988. Vogel (1991) Lister (1997) and others point to a number of anomalies in the characteristics which define citizenship in a male image, even where women's tasks may be quite similar. Vogel points out for example that the primary feature of citizenship was defined by the man's capacity to bear arms – but also to perform a soldier's services to the community, contributing to the common good, such as working in hospitals. Vogel points out this is: 'nothing but what women do anyway' (p.69).

Pateman (1992) too claims that:

> Women's political standing rests on a major paradox; they have been excluded and included on the basis of the very same capacities and attributes (p.19).

The most commonly cited way in which women are excluded from the public world of citizenship is through the duty of motherhood – specifically the procreation of tomorrow's citizens. The private world of motherhood itself is not regarded as a (public) citizenship activity. From this private/public divide emerges a range of discourses that are associated with valued masculine characteristics (reason, disinterest, impartiality, independence) and non-valued, female characteristics (emotion, interest, partiality, dependence) – the more personal values required for caring and motherhood. Partiality, for example, is portrayed as apolitical because the public role of working for the 'common good' requires a less involved perspective, one that ignores difference. Difference has 'merely private significance' (James 1992: 51).

Associated with impartiality is the notion of independence. Again James comments that 'the conditions of independence have been interpreted so as to exclude women' (p.55). Power differentials within the family, along with pay differentials in terms of work prospects all impact on the connection between gender and independence – as they do for different racial groups and people with disabilities.

Attempts to incorporate women into the citizenship fold mean that women are often targeted in public policy as a unitary whole. For example, the affluent can afford various forms of economic independence from men such as child care assistance. McRobbie (2000) points out, however, that these measures of inclusion benefit only the affluent and ignore problems imposed by the social structure of society. They can also still leave the responsibility for care with women.

The context of the family is significant for two reasons. Firstly because it is largely ignored with regard to its location for citizenship activity, but also because it has been ignored in terms of a locus for citizenship rights for women. Isin and Wood (1999) show how citizenship rights were developed in non domestic, public spaces, whereas the family became a space of responsibility for the man to govern. Women have traditionally been encouraged into the private spaces of home duties. Where they had access to public work spaces these would frequently be for lower wages and limited job choices. Such dichotomies perpetuate the way citizenship activities are learned and valued. Isin and Wood follow a now common argument amongst feminist writers that the public/private divide for citizenship ignores the complexity of people's lives, particularly in the context of today's postmodern world, the influence of globalisation on time and space boundaries and the increasing mobility of individuals. These changes are reconfiguring identities and forms of governance on a global scale. Such changes also impact on how the home space is used as a public (work) and private (family) domain.

2.3 European Citizenship

The additional prospect of European enlargement and incorporation of countries with different histories of democracy raises public consciousness of the reality of diversity and difference within the desire for a common European identity. Oommen (1997) explores the relationship between citizenship and national identity. She posits that where the nation might mean the homeland, inclusive of language and territory, nationality takes on its own collective identity. Citizenship, however, traditionally has implied the belonging to a political, collective identity (Oommen, 1997; Alfonsi, 1997). These tensions are played out through the government of Europe. Osler and Starkey (1999) argue there is no single concept of Europe. European identities will run alongside other national identities, with implications for democracy, cooperation, participation in decision making and community involvement. Perhaps as a consequence of these changes Ackers (1998) suggests that the status of European citizenship is increasingly being determined by employment, rather than by legal identity. For women the disadvantages of migration may mean they suffer a dual dependency rather than citizenship independence. Their access to paid work is often determined by migration theory which still assumes the man is the bread winner. In addition the woman may be caring for dependents in the homeland as well as in the immediate migration context. Furthermore, for ethnic minorities in the UK the State offers contradictory legislation in terms of citizen rights, so that we see the coexistence of anti racist legislation and racist immigration laws (Yuval Davis, 1997). Citizenship status, therefore, is a contested concept – with implications for how people act as citizens and how they learn to become active citizens.

Another factor affecting the relationship between the state and the individual is the increasing influence of neo-liberalist notions that the state is overprotective. Its goal is to diminish state reliance by placing a strong emphasis on the relationship between paid (public) work and citizenship status. Sawer (1996) expresses concern that there is an association of state ‘public’ care with ‘feminine’, whereas the new ethical purpose of the state is construed as protecting personal freedom. This in effect, protects the haves from the have-nots and assumes that dependence and reliance on the state run counter to citizen autonomy. This notion of self reliance, she argues, conceals the interdependence of the family (p. 120) and by implication the relationship between family activity and citizenship rights and responsibilities:

> The conflation of the individual and the family serves as a vanishing trick whereby women and their non market work disappear behind supposedly self-reliant market men … [wives] do not really share in the characteristics required of citizens of the minimal state (p.122)

Citizenship, therefore, will be learned differently by different social groups according to their assumed status in society and according to how policy decisions privilege certain qualities of the good citizen above others. Even where women are not constrained by family commitments, their role and status within society are already internalised and embedded in social structures which define women normatively according to their gender. Their opportunity to act as a citizen and play a part in governance must be seen in this context.

2.4 Today's Civic Education Values

Whilst many of the above arguments reflect the informal ways in which gendered notions of citizenship are absorbed in everyday life, there are indications that formal schooling has an influence on political attitudes. Hahn (1999) explored interpretations of civic education across six countries. She identified differing patterns of attitude and levels of interest in politics by students according to the climate in which citizenship values were addressed in school. Whilst the survey did not explore gender differences, it was clear that those countries which allowed democratic exploration of controversial issues in the classroom (USA, Denmark) produced higher interest in voting and desire to influence public policy. This suggests that formal education has the potential to raise awareness of the above issues.

This then leads to the question, is the opportunity well used? A recent initiative in the UK on education for citizenship in schools (QCA 1998) addresses the relationship between school and community, citizens' life in a global context and individual participation in politics and society. The aims of this initiative are to develop:

> Knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; the duties , responsibilities, rights and development of pupils into citizens ..[resulting in] improvement in the local and wider community … awareness of economic realities of adult life (Kerr, 1999: 277).

Whilst the report (1998) addresses the issue of equal opportunities and gender equality, the commitment is to 'active citizenship' associated with 'public life', implying a liberal, rather than radical interpretation of gender. That is, it is assumed that gender differences can be addressed by claiming equality of opportunity within existing definitions and social structures – rather than questioning the power relationships which determine those very exclusionary definitions and social structures. The concern remains that whilst awareness of diversity may increase along with potentially enhanced interest in political life, the structures and systems which perpetuate inequality will remain unexplored. These issues inevitably have implications for how women are enabled to participate in forms of governance.

2.5 A New Interpretation of Citizenship?

A number of writers argue that there is a need to look beyond liberal, radical or socialist definitions of citizenship, particularly in relation to the new emphasis on citizenship obligations for paid work. This emphasis leaves unaddressed the status of care as work or active citizenship and the balance between rights and responsibilities or the power relations which determine who has access to those rights and responsibilities (Lister, 1997). The demand is to critique the public/private divide in terms of understanding citizenship and its associated connection with a universalist 'good citizen' who works for the common good. A more pluralistic approach is called for in which political activities are more broadly defined, where 'society' includes 'family' and in which:

> Conceptualisation of the political and of citizenship [is] no longer rooted in the experiences of men and divorced from those of women. When the perspectives of women and of minority groups are written into the equation, the outcome is a broader, more inclusive, portrayal of what participatory political citizenship can mean in a large-scale complex society. This less rigid conceptualisation, which includes the struggles of members of oppressed

> groups and the everyday politics of community organisations, invokes the spirit of a gendered political theory that redefines and enlarges the scope of politics (Lister, 1997: 31).

In defence of this position Lister specifically identifies aspects of citizenship that need to be analysed in the context of women's lives. Some key words are: agency, identity and independence.

Agency, Lister argues, is associated with autonomous decision makers. Feminist agency is constituted from a sense of self and its power relationship with context, experience and discourses (the meaning given to language and behaviour at any point in time). Whilst this form of agency can potentially change the world the relational self needs to be nurtured and allowed to have space:

> To act as a Citizen requires first a sense of agency, the belief that one *can* act … agency is not simply about the capacity to choose and act but it is also about a conscious capacity which is important to the individual's self identity (Lister, 1997: 38).

Lister (1997) interprets a positive sense of self as emotional independence – 'a stable sense of one's own separate identity and confidence that one is worthy to participate in political life' (p.39). James (1992) also argues that self esteem and a secure identity are necessary features for agency. The experiences in the private domain influence the individual's potential to play a part in the public.

Lister argues that Individual agency needs to be translated into collective action if it is to have citizenship value. In other words agency needs to be able to challenge legal structures if they are exclusionary. She suggests that whilst neighbourhood action should be seen as active citizenship and political, on its own this form of participation is not enough to create an inclusive concept of citizenship. Women's activity should also be located in formal democratic structures so that the notion of rights is reconceptualised to take account of difference. She acknowledges the ongoing tension between feminist desires for difference and equality but suggests that independence (rights, autonomy) and interdependence (care) – should be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. In other words we need a multi-layered concept of citizenship with a 'broader understanding of the significance of difference' (p.197).

Vogel (1991) supports the proposal that the concept of citizenship for women should not address women's issues in isolation. She highlights the issue of autonomy, stating that citizen access to 'resources of participation' such as money, knowledge, work and time are linked to how women's independence is constructed . For women's voices to be heard in the political arena their status needs to be redefined in mutual dependence with others, not as a gendered notion of individual dependence.

Pateman (1992) too, argues that the struggle for citizenship is not just about the rights of men to be extended to women. In acknowledging difference however, motherhood needs to be included as a citizen category but not in an exclusionary way. In other words if the political meaning of sexual difference is to change so must the power relations change between men and women. She, too, argues that women's difference needs legitimation in public as well as private spaces. The public / private divide is questioned for its value in identifying men and women's spaces since it ignores the complexity of people's lives (Isin and Wood, 1999). Lister (1993) includes in this issue the need to recognise the value of unpaid work as well as enhancing the possibilities for women to engage in formal politics by providing childcare support, encouraging family sharing of care responsibilities, and addressing power differentials in public and private spheres.

Yuval Davis (1997) develops this latter point. She suggests that by including the private (family) sphere in the state and civil domains this will influence the systems of welfare, power and political organisation. Otherwise even where women have received state support for domestic commitments, the loci of control in public spaces are still with men. She broadens the debate to show how being different denies other groups their right to citizen status. Being an active citizen must include different standpoints for activity. For instance, disabled people cannot carry out normative citizen duties if they are defined by such criteria as the ability to die for your country. ‘Different social attributes construct the specific position of people within and across communities in certain social categories’ (p.91).

All these arguments have implications for the concept of governance. The modern notion of governance includes accountability and responsibility through a range of institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing. The identification of those institutions and relationships is crucial to how much access women and minority groups have to the status of government. So, for example, groups associated with single issues such as disability rights or ecological cocnerns may have more or less influence in terms of governance, depending on their political status. The role women or other individuals play in those organisations depends on the values attached to their ability to act and make decisions according to their social circumstances and beliefs.

2.6 The Potential to Address the Gender Perspective

A new kind of citizenship is proposed. Snick & De Munter (1999) call this an ethical social practice which acknowledges power differentials. An ethical education for citizenship would allow the voices of different groups to be heard, encouraging a pedagogical approach which explores a wide range of perspectives. It might be argued that education systems claim to do this already. But the indications are that this is within a liberal, rather than postmodern framework. Prokhovnik’s (1998) ethical dimension includes a re-definition of the public / private distinction. This means recognising citizenship practice in the private realm and a diversity of citizenship practices. Indeed it is argued that women and men already work in both private and public arenas:

> It is *not* that women need to be liberated from the *private* realm, in order to take part in the public realm as equal citizens, but that women - and men – already undertake responsibilities of citizenship in both the public and the private realms (Prokhovnik, 1998: 84).

But the ethical dimension gives greater significance to marginalised ideas and experiences. By highlighting social, rather than civil, citizenship (and by implication ‘governance’) we enhance the moral relationship between citizens which requires involving more women actively in the formal political process, improving conditions for women in work and revising the State’s responsiveness to care roles. Citizenship should be seen as a broader concept ‘than either ‘the political’ or of socio-economic concerns’ (p.85). Private activities are not simply just the natural rhythms of biological necessity; they also have political implications (p.86).

Prokhovnik argues for taking citizenship beyond the political dimension.This means that the experience of political power is not itself a necessary part of the granting of full citizenship to women. In this respect she differs from Lister but claims that feminist citizenship needs to take account of what citizenship means to differently situated women:

> This conception must … in opposition to the liberal, unitary idea of what citizenship involves, allow for a notion of citizenship which recognises more fully that women make different choices, and that within that diversity of choices there is not only one which is valid. This conception must … thus see a range of activities, in both public and private realms, as forms of citizenship which are relevant to different women's lives. And … this conception must extend the understanding of men's gendered subjectivity too. (Prokhovnik 1998: 96).

In doing so, she also claims space for opening up new definitions of masculinities and citizenship.

2.7 Implications for How People Learn to be Active Citizens

From these debates we can see that the concept of active citizenship is subjectively defined according to political or normative values at a given point in time. *How* people learn to be active citizens (the sources of learning) may be similar across most sectors of European society. What they learn – what they come to understand citizenship *entitlement* to comprise – is , however, defined both formally and informally through value systems and social expectations for different social groups. Women, men, different ethnic groups etc will learn to play certain roles which may or may not be understood in public documents as active citizenship. Their rights and responsibilities will be learned, at least in part, according to how they are positioned in society. The social structures of society will either facilitate or hinder their access to political decision making and roles in governance.

In order to move towards the pluralistic, inclusive notion of citizenship as recommended by the above writers, citizens will need to understand how the very systems of which they are part, contribute to hegemonic practices or enable new possibilities for agency. The following country chapters each provide their own contextual analysis of citizenship and the way gender issues have figured to date. It is hoped this chapter will enable readers to enhance their own critique of citizenship and governance across the different European agendas.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE UNITED KINGDOM

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3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature of citizenship and governance from a United Kingdom perspective. Its chief focus, however, is on education for, and the learning of, citizenship and governance. This is principally because the present chapter has been drafted in close association with the general discussion of citizenship and governance (see Chapter 1), and because there is a strong measure of overlap between the academic literature discussed there and the literature which might have been discussed here.

3.2 Citizenship

Historically, the notion of citizenship has been complex for the British. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (as it is properly called) is a grouping of four nations –arguably more –brought together at different times over the past seven hundred years. The legal basis of the unity varies. Wales and Ireland were incorporated under the English crown through conquest, though at different times. The Scottish and English crowns were initially combined in the relative accident of James VI also succeeding to the English throne; an Act of Union combining the parliaments of the two nations followed a century later. Despite many risings and revolts, and not least the ‘interregnum’ under the Commonwealth (1649-1660), the monarch has remained formally supreme in the Kingdom.

Of course, this supremacy has long been a fiction. Except in the most formal sense, authority lies with Parliament, and within Parliament the supremacy of the House of Commons has been recognised since 1911. The UK can fairly be described as a democracy. All men over 21 were accorded a vote in parliamentary elections in 1918; a right extended on the same basis to all women ten years later. (Prior to that, the right to vote had been based on various property qualifications.) Since the late nineteenth century, there has been an extensive network of local government, although the franchise in local government elections has varied – as has the nature and powers of local authorities. At the same time, the authority of the House of Commons has been countervailed, to some extent, by the powers of the House of Lords, which was constituted entirely on the basis of heredity and patronage until 1999. Even the recent reforms only shift the balance from heredity to patronage: the House of Lords today is not constituted by popular election, and though its powers are limited in comparison to those of the Commons, they remain substantial.

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[1] The authors are grateful to Selina Todd and Linda Merricks for their contribution to the work on this chapter.

In a formal sense Britons have long been subjects of the Crown rather than citizens collectively constituting a republic - a nation in their own right. The contrast between subject and citizen should not, of course, be pressed too far: the limited authority of the Crown is widely recognised. Nevertheless, it has meant that the notion of citizenship has, by and large, been a secondary or derivative legal concept. Tellingly, until the post-imperial reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, Britons travelling abroad carried passports which described their 'Nationality' in these words: 'British Subject: Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies'.

At the same time, the notion of 'citizenship' has had wide – if non-technical and non-legal – currency. However, this was itself shaped by many of the peculiarities of British history. In particular, a key dimension of the notion of citizenship was long the idea that all subjects of the King or Queen – whether they lived in England, Canada, Nigeria or Singapore – were citizens of the Empire. In texts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the analogy is sometimes explicitly drawn between the idea of a Roman citizen – able with St. Paul to assert his rights by the simple claim '*civis Romanus sum*' – and those of the citizens of the British Empire. For most, the rights of the '*civis Britannicus*' were not electoral. Few of Queen Victoria's subjects in the United Kingdom enjoyed the right to vote; virtually none in her colonial Empire did so. They did live – by and large, and despite many caveats – under the 'rule of law'. But as we shall learn below, for most good citizens of the Empire duties loomed larger than rights.

At the same time, the later nineteenth and early century centuries saw extensive – though still circumscribed – extensions of citizens' *de facto* rights. A key feature was the extension of voting rights. By the standards of today the late Victorian franchise appears very limited; at the time, it appeared to many in 'the establishment' a frightening and risky venture. But far more than the right to vote was involved. Victorian Britain saw the beginnings of what came to be regarded as the fabric of a welfare state: water and sewage under some kind of public control, state provision of primary education, factory safety legislation and so forth. Subsequent decades saw the introduction of state pensions and unemployment insurance, while the two world wars gave a marked impetus to a widening of the notion of who can legitimately be regarded as a citizen. Until the Labour government welfare programme after 1945, however, all this seemed partial, even to contemporaries.

It is against this background that Marshall's analysis of citizenship, distinguishing between civil, political and social elements, was so innovative. Marshall's discussion was, indeed, directly influenced by British historical experience, and in particular by the 'post-war settlement' and the growth of the welfare state. The Second World War, by demanding the commitment of all British citizens and necessitating a large measure of economic and social planning, shaped much of the philosophy and practice not only of Attlee's Labour government, elected in 1945, but also of subsequent administrations. Marshall reflected the conviction that the participation of ordinary citizens in social and economic planning as well as in government, through representative politics, was a central tenet of the social democratic state. His interpretation of citizenship quickly became a dominant one in the UK.

3.2.1 Active Citizenship

The term *active citizenship* has been in use since before the Second World War, and has been a matter of considerable concern for governments since. Political thinkers within and around the 1945 Labour government, which established much of the modern British welfare state, were keen for the state to take over much of the social work previously undertaken by voluntary agencies, but were determined that such planning from above should not deter ‘active’ citizenship. Most prominently, Lord Beveridge conducted a major inquiry into ‘Voluntary Action outside each citizen’s home for improving the conditions of life for him and for his fellows’ (Beveridge 1948, p. 8). By voluntary action he meant ‘private action, that is to say action not under the directions of any authority wielding the pwer of the State’. He saw voluntary action as a defining difference between ‘totalitarian’ and ‘free’ societies:

> In a totalitarian society all action outside the citizen’s home, and it may be much that goes on there, is directed or controlled by the State. By contrast, vigour and abundance of Voluntary Action outside one’s home, individually and in association with other citizens, for bettering one’s own life and that of one’s fellows, are the distinguishing marks of a free society. (Beveridge 1948, p. 10)

Beveridge was concerned in large part with how, in the welfare state, ‘dynamic individuals with social conscience’ could find the ‘material means’ to do their good work. (Beveridge 1948, pp. 322-3) Consequently, much effort went into encouraging people to participate in local government and community groups (Beach, 1996). This concern resurfaced in the 1960s, playing a significant part in initiatives for reform of the social services (Cmnd 3703 1968), and spawning initiatives such as the Educational Priority Areas and Community Development Projects (Wicks 1987, p. 21).

The breakdown of the post-war consensus on social and economic planning and the rise of the New Right in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s stimulated a revisionist interpretation of active citizenship: the welfare state had encouraged passivity and indolence. Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government of 1979-1991, dismantled welfare provision and encouraged individual enterprise through engagement with the ‘free market’. This would stimulate activity to enhance individuals’ standing within the community and increase national prosperity (Deem *et al*, 1995). The relationship between individual and community implicit in this philosophy of citizenship was problematic. In a widely-reported comment, Mrs Thatcher denied the existence of ‘society’, and stressed that her government was enabling individuals to act on the basis of self-interest (Sullivan, 1996).

While the existence of a social community was denied, however, a moral community was assumed. Policies attacked lone parents and promoted the nuclear family. A ‘Job Seekers’ Allowance’, introduced as a new style welfare benefit for the unemployed, demonstrated the connection of citizenship to employment and employability, and implied that little could or should be done to help the increasing numbers of unemployed people. The very title ‘Job Seekers’ Allowance’ suggests active citizenship is linked to one’s willingness to undertake paid employment. This form of active citizenship is an obligation as well as a right.

In terms of the political sphere, the left has been more overt about its commitment to social and moral rights and obligations. In this model, the community acts to provide the conditions for citizenship: citizenship is attained through political involvement (Gyford, 1991, cited Deem et al 1995, p. 49). Various initiatives of the post-1997 Labour government illustrate this approach. The rationale for the 'lifelong learning' strategy, for example, is not only economic but also to create a more socially harmonious community. The 'New Deal' welfare policy, aimed at recipients of Job Seekers' Allowance, provides education and employment schemes for the unemployed on a similar rationale.

Outside formal politics, there has been growing concern about how concepts of 'citizenship' define non-citizens (or non-active citizens). Some feminist theorists, among others, argue that citizenship needs non-citizenship to give its definition and authority. Non-citizens or non active citizens are often women. In the Second World War, for example, young British women were applauded for their contribution to the war effort through paid employment. However, a minority of women allegedly shirked employment and engaged in immoral behaviour with American soldiers. Criticisism of them as unpatriotic served to link concerns about women's social and financial independence with the boundaries of citizenship. The creation of a non-citizen can thus legitimate the categorisation as idle or parasitic of women, ethnic groups and others whose roles do not easily fit the established models of 'active' citizenship (Rose, 1998).

3.2.2 Immigration and Minorities

Immigration has proved problematic to notions of UK citizenship. In the 1950s and 1960s the immigration of West Indians to take up surplus employment in the UK challenged the prevailing threefold definition of citizenship. Cultural identity, as well as economic activity, political and welfare rights, was also a key factor in attaining citizenship. As surplus employment disappeared in the 1970s and 1980s, the political 'far right' argued that immigration meant British citizens' economic rights were being undermined; their views gained popularity.

More recently, the UK like other western European countries, has immigration of 'asylum seekers' from parts of Eastern Europe as well as from other continents. Formal political discourse on both left and right has sought to draw a distinction between 'genuine' and 'bogus' asylum seekers. Bogus asylum seekers are mere 'economic migrants'. This raises further questions about how people's cultural and economic status define them in terms of citizenship and active citizenship. Certain rights are, for instance, withheld from asylum seekers, who are not allowed to seek employment within the first six months of their time in Britain, and whose children are not covered by the UK's Children's Act. This raises questions about whether the state should be able to exclude citizenship rights from certain groups, and what rationale may underpin this.

3.3.3 Feminist Perspectives

Feminist perspectives on citizenship provide an important critique of the (Marshallian) liberal democratic tradition. The social construction of citizenship in this tradition is a gendered one. The concept has been organised around male attributes, and women's roles have been ignored in relation to the kind of activities that citizenship is considered to be consisting of (Lister 1997, Voet 1998). The feminist critiques argue that traditional notions of citizenship have ignored women's experience of exclusion from citizenship. As Elliot (2000) points out, women are yet to achieve a fully democratic citizenship. Although women began to enjoy political rights after the First World War (and were enfranchised on the same terms as men in 1928), civil and social rights were slow to follow. Women are still struggling to achieve many social rights which are a necessary precondition for 'equality' of access to political and civil rights (Lister, 1997).

The public/private divide has implications for women's citizenship. According to Walby (1994, p. 385), 'citizenship, especially the political aspect of this, has historically been bound up with participation in the public sphere.' In British women's struggle for the vote, attempts were made to integrate traditionally 'domestic' concerns to the public, political sphere. For example, Women's Citizen's Associations, founded in 1915 to offer women education in citizenship, also promoted family and social policy as political concerns. The term 'citizenship' as used by Women's Citizens' Associations was linked 'to ideas of liberal citizenship as a defence of democracy but [was] also used as a partial synonym for feminism.'(Innes, 1998, p. 13). After 1928 such pressure groups began to lose their influence, but it remains clear that entry into public sphere alone does not ensure 'equality'.

While women's presence in paid employment has increased throughout the twentieth century, and in the formal political sphere more recently, many women have argued that they remain disadvantaged in relation to men. Their work is assumed to be temporary and/or unskilled, and they remain overwhelmingly responsible for the unpaid work in the private sector. Such concerns fuelled protests by working women during the 1960s and 1970s: a strike called by women workers at Ford's Dagenham plant in 1968 is viewed as a catalyst for the British second-wave feminist movement, and for much subsequent feminist theory (James, 1974, Lister, 1997a; Okin, 1989). With the rise of unemployment in the 1980s it became clear that large numbers of people who are excluded from regular employment may also be excluded from citizenship. In the case of women, childcare and domestic responsibilities also hinder participation as active citizens, although whether this can be addressed by an attack on patriarchy or on the economic structures of capitalism remains unresolved.

3.3 Governance

3.3.1 The Usage of Governance

When Harold Wilson, Prime Minister 1964-70 and 1974-76, entitled his book about the role of the prime minister, *The Governance of Britain* (1976), this was regarded chiefly as affectation. Until quite recently, 'governance' evoked outmoded, unfashionable – Edwardian or Victorian – overtones. In recent decades this has changed markedly. But not all developments shaping the realities and discourses of governance have used the *term* 'governance'. In this section we review some of the most significant recent developments.

Governance and Public Service Management

A key feature of the Conservative social policy in the 1980s was the change of approach in management of the public sector (Cutler and Waine, 2000). The application of business-oriented managerial techniques and the introduction of related structural changes – in particular the creation of quasi-markets – was seen as crucial to enhancing the efficiency and the quality of public services. This became a dominant trend in the 1980s and 1990s (see, e.g., Isaac-Henry, Painter & Barnes

1993). One result was an erosion of the ‘traditional’ role of local government, and of a range of quasi-governmental institutions across the public sector (especially, but by no means solely, in the health service). While this exercise was designed to give impetus to change, it also led to a need to formulate new mechanisms to oversee, control and give legitimacy to activities which – albeit now conducted within some kind of market framework – nevertheless remained in some respects fundamentally ‘public’.

More recently the term ‘governance’ has been introduced to describe and justify key changes. Examples are rethinking local government, and encouraging parents’ participation in school management. In local government discussions, the phrase ‘local governance’ has become popular. Many measures have been suggested or piloted to improve ‘local governance’. A key factor is the existence of a significant democratic deficit within the local governing structures, calling for improvements in how local authorities are managed (Sweeting and Cope, 1997). Three connected factors are seen as contributing to this democratic deficit: the unwillingness and inability of local people to get involved in governing their communities, central government interventions in local government, and the role of local authorities.

Local governance has involved various experiments to remedy this local democratic deficit (Sweeting and Cope, 1997). These include local authority-wide surveys, customer panels, consultative fora, referenda, computer terminals providing public information, internet homepages, electronic democracy, quango registries, focus groups, video-boxes, multi-agency plans for service provision, register of the ‘local great-and-good’ prepared to serve on public bodies, and local authority-run television channels (p. 4). In addition, Henderson and Salmon (1998) identify other measures designed to encourage greater community involvement in local governance. These include mediation groups to encourage dialogue where there are conflicts of interest, groups of citizens to monitor services, user involvement in service provision, community development, officer support for community groups in deprived areas, and the use of ‘phone-ins’ (pp. 8-9).

‘One-stop shops’ have also been mentioned as a particular innovation in improving local governance. Illsley *et al.* (1999) examines the role of one stop shops in Scottish local government in relation to the land use planning and development process. One-stop shops are linked to an emphasis on citizen as a customer. The objective is to avoid ‘forcing the citizen to run the gauntlet between a multitude of different public offices, departments and institutions’ (Cohen and Hald, 1994, p. 8, cited Illsley et al, 1999, p. 201). The one-stop shop is said to be particularly useful in serving people where complex regulatory procedures are involved, such as in land use planing and development.

Two other forms of improving local participation in policy decisions are citizens’ juries and parents’ participation in school management. Based on the successful application in the US and in Germany, citizen’s juries have been piloted in the UK to improve local democracy (Smith and Wales, 2000). While citizens’ juries cannot enable all citizens to take part in a deliberative democratic process, they are said to achieve an approximation to the ideal by enabling a representative sample of citizens to take part in policy decisions.

The inclusion of parents in the government of schools – school governance – can be considered one of the most important recent educational reforms in England and Wales (Farrell and Jones, 2000). Parents’ involvement in education can be in two forms: individual and collective. Individually parents can be involved in school matters, mainly taking on board an interest in the learning of their own children. Collective involvement requires them to take a more active role in the school management. This has been highlighted in a recent White Paper on Education which emphasises parents' role, and recognises that they are key stakeholders in education. Since English and Welsh school governing bodies were restructured in 1988, there are now over 300,000 school governors. This potentially makes school governance a key area for participation in the running of a major service and for the exercise of active citizenship (Deem *et al.*, 1995).

Corporate Governance

The introduction of the term 'governance' into the world of business – specifically to refer to how companies are controlled – is a relatively recent phenomenon, but refers to an area of concern which has existed for many decades. The diverse work of such men as James Burnham, J.K. Galbraith and Tony Crosland in the 1940s and 1950s suggested that the relationship between shareholders, managers and society was by no means so simple as was perhaps commonly assumed.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the relationship between industry, the trade unions and the government in Britain strengthened, chiefly due to the exigencies of the two world wars. Middlemas (1979) has argued this reached a peak between about 1918 and the 1960s. During this period decisions on social and economic policy were increasingly made through the collaboration of government with trade unions and major employers as represented through agencies such as the Trades Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industry. This relationship afforded a certain amount of representation to long-disenfranchised sections of the community, such as the skilled, male workforce, represented by trade unions. The influence of the labour force's needs was evident in the establishment of the post-1945 welfare state, with its establishment of a reciprocal relationship between workers, who paid into a social insurance scheme, and the state. However, this relationship simultaneously weakened the influence of other extra-parliamentary groups, such as women's organisations and the Co-operative movement, and limited the responsibilities of local government, in particular after the establishment of the nationally organised welfare state.

Government through what Middlemas (1979, p. 20) terms 'corporate bias' began to break down in the 1960s and 1970s as international economic developments made it increasingly difficult for such national arrangements to function effectively and satisfactorily for all the parties concerned. In the 1970s and 1980s a rejection by the right wing of the post-war Keynesian approach dictated the economic policy of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration. By cutting the negotiating power of the trade unions, the government destroyed this 'corporatist' relationship. The system was increasingly losing legitimacy in any case since steep rises in unemployment, and the decline of Britain's industrial strength, had undercut trade unionism's traditional constituency, large numbers of whom now found themselves without work or in highly insecure employment. The de-regulation of public services, to which we have referred above, was promoted as a means of localising democracy and decision making by taking power out of the hands of bureaucrats and giving it to local institutions and groups.

Tony Blair's Labour administration has attempted to develop a new kind of corporatist relationship. Trade unions have been granted more negotiating rights than they possessed for the previous two decades, and community groups have been encouraged to involve themselves in local politics. The Private Finance Initiative (PFI) introduced in 1998 demonstrated the government's eagerness to develop forms of public/private partnership. PFI has attempted to link the interests and power of businesses with those of the public sector, enabling, for example, schools to raise funds by mortgaging their buildings to local businesses which in return have some participation in curricula as well as building and development matters.

In parallel with these shifts, the new global context of business has thrown up concerns about 'corporate governance'. The phrase binds together a range of concerns and views, some of them contradictory. There is the idea that increasingly diverse, decentralised or 'networked' companies must nevertheless be held accountable to their shareholders. There is an idea that global enterprises - as well as local ones - must be in some way accountable to the public, and even to their workers. This is a view which emanates, in differing forms, not only from trade unions, but from environmental and development groups, and can be identified in (for instance) the mass anti-capitalists protests in Seattle and elsewhere. In terms of narrow theory, it can be linked with the growing emphasis in the sense that the structure of business enterprises is a matter of strategic choice (see, e.g., Hales 2000). Such views suggest that structures which seek to achieve shareholder control or even some element of democratic accountability are liable to be at a discount in pursuit of profit. But at the same time, they emphasise that organisational structures are mutable - 'contingent' - and by implication, that strucutres of corporate governance are matters of legitimate public debate and concern.

3.3.2 Civil Society and the Non-Government Sector

There is an increasing awareness among the alternative policy bodies of the potential role of 'civil society' in governance, 'who have grown to distrust the state because they see it as captured by commercial interests, corrupt politicians, and unaccountable bureaucracies' (Hirst, 2000, p. 14). Interest in the relationship between civil society and government developed in the formal political sphere during the 1990s. How could groups from civil society be brought into a relationship with government? How could they be used to promote wider interest and involvement in governance? Such questions were tackled by the new Labour government after 1997. Devolution to Scotland and Wales, and the funding of community representation and advocacy projects through the New Deal for Communities – while very different projects – have both been central to a strategy of developing a new type of citizenship and a new type of partnership between civil society and the formal political arena. These projects are aimed in particular at sections of society deemed to be 'socially excluded', and their needs are the focus of the work done by the Government's Social Exclusion Unit. The term suggests the direction of the type of citizenship which the Government wishes to develop.

The concept of a 'stakeholder society', which is central to Tony Blair's 'Third Way', emphasises social inclusion and harmony, suggesting that through action in their local community, and political representation not tainted by corruption, each individual should feel accountable to and served by their society. It does not, however, touch on the economic inclusion or equality which was central to post-1945 debates about citizenship.

Two issues which have problematised this notion of citizenship are Britain's membership of the European Union, and economic globalisation. Economic policy making is increasingly taking place at European level, and the national economy is increasingly influenced by this and by economic globalisation. While British 'governance' seeks to become more accessible and accountable, the functions of the agencies involved are diverse and not equal in importance. It is now very difficult for local agencies to make economic policy, for example.

While notions of citizenship are no longer so tied to the nation, becoming more pan-European, and trade barriers are being lifted within the EU, citizenship is still very much linked with being economically active. Those groups who are not economically active, such as asylum seekers or the unemployed, are socially excluded. While remedies to such exclusion are sought through, for example, returning the former group to another economy, or offering the latter group training or learning activities, there is no way of tackling at local or national level the economic exclusion which defines, them in terms of citizenship, as problematic.

3.4 Education for Citizenship and Governance

This section outlines the main trends in citizenship education in the UK.

3.4.1 Civic Education

The historical analysis of formal education for citizenship in Britain shows a number of traditions, of which the earliest could be characterised as Civic education. The early programmes were started as a response to the Victorian and Edwardian political and educational reforms, which continued from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the Second World War. A mass electorate created by the 1884 Reform Act required providing education for citizenship or civic education to incorporate the electorate into the traditional structures of liberal political system (Brown, 1991). Books published in this time, such as *The Model Citizen, True Patriotism, Brave Citizens, School Civics, British Citizenship: Its Rights and Its Duties* (two separate titles) (Brown, 1991), aimed at providing instructions on voting procedures and cultivating citizenship values. These books were written in order 'to ensure the loyalty of the newly enfranchised masses to the governing elite and their system'.

In schools, the objective of Civic Education was to create obedient and passive subjects out of pupils who were leaving at the age of 14 (Lister, 1998). This approach was 'focused on mentality formation in imperial ideals, not learning to be active, democratic citizens.' According to Lister (1998), much political education was also through the hidden curriculum of roles and rituals. The *Citizen Reader*, published in 1886 and ran into 24 prints before 1904, was the earliest book that was used in England (Selleck, 1968, p. 325). These books were concerned with 'progressing from the affairs of the parish to those of the empire at large, and showing in detail the relations between the individual citizen, the community, and the ruling authorities' (Browning, p. 3). The preface of one book summarised the objective as: 'In these days, when the public organisations are drawing into the sphere of active political life an ever increasing proportion of the people, the appearance of this work is most timely. The voter should vote with his eyes open. This book will tend to open them." (Brown, 1991, p. 7).

While civic education was the preferred approach, a number of authors - chiefly various brands of socialist - began to call for a different kind of education for citizenship in schools (Lister, 1998). Mark Starr warned that ‘courses proposed increasingly in Civics and Citizenship must not become the cover for defensive work on behalf of the present [political and economic] system’ (1929, p. 171). Victor Gollancz (*Political Education at a Public School, 1914),* Michael Stewart (*Bias and Education for Democracy, 1938),* Hugh Gaitskell (*Educating for Democracy, 1939),* and Margaret Cole (*Educating for Democracy, 1942)* were some of the authors who were critical of the existing education provision for citizenship. Approaches to citizenship education inspired by some of these writers were implemented in a minority of schools (Brown, 1991). Repton School was one such case: in 1918 voluntary political education was introduced involving a group of 30-40 senior students gathering once a week in the evening to hear informal lectures from a staff member, focusing on the current political and social atmosphere. In due course, students began to publish a regular paper, comparable to a political journal.

This approach to political education however had a short life. As Brown reports, the paper was suppressed, and the two masters who were involved in this programme of education were branded as ‘traitors’ and ‘pacifists.’ They were accused of ‘undermining the authority of the teachers by encouraging the boys to ask questions and by working with the boys in a spirit of open enquiry.’ (Brown 1991) The proponents of this radical approach were all socialists and believed in the redistribution of wealth, power and knowledge. They were opposed by those whose positions of power would have been questioned by a radically different political education programme (Lister, 1998).

The 1930s saw some debates on approaches to teaching citizenship in schools. Various people criticised the teaching of citizenship directly as a subject (Brown, 1991). One prominent critic was Sir William Hadow, Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University (1919-30), and first president of the Association for Education for Citizenship (1934). Hadow criticised the prevailing education tradition: ‘pride in one’s school’, ‘duty of local patriotism’, and ‘love of country’. Others, opposed the idea, believing that direct teaching of citizenship would open the way to challenge and question, as at Repton. They feared that ‘nothing but harm can result from attempts to interest pupils prematurely in matters which imply the experience of an adult’ (Sir Cyril Norwood, Chairman of the Committee on Curricula and Examinations after the War [the Norwood Report] 1943). The indirect influence of schools’ prevailing structures and value systems would, they maintained, be more likely to encourage continuity in values and attitudes.

After the Second World War, the government issued a paper, *Citizens Growing Up* (HMSO, 1949) which argued that schools had an important role to play in encouraging citizenship and combatting totalitarian political thinking. Schools could play an important role in developing community and an understanding of how government and democracy worked. The English education system, however, was strongly decentralised until the late 1980s. A statement of policy by the Ministry, especially when followed by changes of Minister and government, could easily come to naught.

3.4.2 Political Literacy and Political Education

The landscape of citizenship education began to change in the 1970s (Lister 1998). Social science graduates of the new universities were keen to promote political studies and citizenship in schools. The Politics Association was founded in 1969, and the

Association for the Teaching of the Social Science (ATSS) in 1965. The Hansard Society sponsored a curriculum development and research project, the Programme for Political Education, and won funding from the Nuffield Foundation. Commencing work in 1974 (Lister, 1998), its major statement was *Political Education and Political Literacy*, a book edited by Bernard Crick and Alex Porter (1978).

The Programme for Political Education marked an important landmark in the tradition of citizenship education in Britain (Lister 1998). The Programme aimed at promoting 'political literacy' and democratic values for students at the secondary level. A citizen was considered as someone 'with the knowledge, attitudes and predisposition to be active in the polity' - in 'everyday life', in 'the locality and at the national level'. Political literacy was to be achieved through an issues-based approach to political education: the stress was on developing political skills, rather than on knowledge of specific political events, systems or institutions. This meant 'developing "the politically literate person" - where "literate" meant "reading", understanding, *and acting* - rather than on "the citizen" as such (Lister 1998, p. 259). The methods advocated included debate, discussion, problem-solving, simulation and games. A politically literate person, with democratic values, would become 'an active citizen'. Although Crick and Porter (1978) rarely mention the terms 'citizen' or 'citizenship', the notion of citizenship as *active* was clearly implicit. The aim was for an approach to political education which would be above party politics, sustainable against accusations of indoctrination and bias, and acceptable both to politicians and schools. (Derricott 1998, Lister 1998)

The Programme for Political Education attracted many critics. There were also problems of implementation. A basic problem was the perception of politics as party politics; the politics of everyday life was not covered. The issue-based approach created difficulties for teachers, who often lacked skills in interpreting political situations. The fear that the teachers would indoctrinate students – a major barrier to political education in schools – remained. For teachers, political education remained 'a low status: high risk' activity. Critics argued that students were too young for political education, and that an effective and liberating political education through schools was impossible or mistaken. Children could not become active citizens: the opportunites were too limited (and controversial). Opportunities for activism were likely to be local, and threatened to involve school or teacher in political controversy. (Lister, 1998, Derricott 1998)) As Lister notes, the Programme for Political Education made efforts to legitimise political education in the form of political literacy, to produce democratic and active citizens. However, it 'ran out of steam (partly because it ran out of money)' (Lister 1998, p. 260).

The late 1970s and the early 1980s – when these developments took place – were characterised by several features: the erosion of the post-war settlement and the welfare state, and the replacement of consensus about education by dissension (Lister, 1998). The national and international political context was fevered. In 1979 a Conservative government with a strongly right-wing agenda was returned under Margaret Thatcher; at the same time, there was a re-intensification of the Cold War. Over this period, a number of initiatives with a bearing on citizenship education arose: 'peace studies', 'development studies', 'multicultural studies', and so forth. They fell prey to the torrid political climate; and in the absence of a centrally-directed curriculum, it was virtually impossible for such initiatives to have anything but a marginal impact on what went on in the classroom.

3.4.3 Citizenship Education

Despite an unsympathetic political climate, the late 1980s saw one very significant development: the establishment of a National Curriculum. For the first time, national debates were called for on what children should be taught in schools. In 1990 two major reports appeared.

Encouraging Citizenship (1990) was the report of an all-party National Commission on Citizenship, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Although criticised for being over-influenced by a Conservative view of citizenship (duties and obligations, rather than rights; conformity rather than critical ability) (Derricott 1998), this made a major contribution to debate. At much the same time, the National Curriculum Council produced a document entitled *Education for Citizenship*. This document was intended to provide a basis for citizenship education in schools, and to enable teachers to move forward in a risky subject area. It attempted to achieve consensus among politicians, some of whom were hostile to political education (Lister, 1998). Like the Speaker's Commission, it tended to emphasise responsibilities rather than rights. however, it indicated that citizenship education should consider Britain as a multicultural, multi-ethnic multi-faith and multilingual society. The diversity of cultures in other societies and international and global issues were other considerations.

Education for Citizenship recommended that schools should 'lay the foundations for positive, participative citizenship' in two main ways: by helping pupils to gather and understand key information, and by providing the opportunity and encouragement to participate in school life. The report proposed eight areas of citizenship education: the nature of community; roles and relationships in a pluralist society; the duties, rights and responsibilities of a citizen; the family; the citizen and the law; work, employment and leisure; public democracy in action; and services. (Derricott 1998, pp. 28-9) Derricott (1998, pp. 29-30) outlines four areas in which this prescription has been criticised. The guidelines were untried in school contexts. As an unassessed 'cross-curricular' theme, citizenship education was bound to be low status. There was little consideration of what citizenship education might mean in the primary (5-11) and post-16 age groups. And finally,

> there is considerable confusion about the meaning and feasibility of making the teaching of citizenship *active* and *participative*. With these two terms in mind, the NCC document's rhetoric is considerabley stronger than its suggestions for practice; it could almost be said to be proposing a form of pseudo-participation. Most of the recommendations for active participation on the part of students are suggested as being confined to the classroom, the school group orthe school. (Derricott 1998, p. 30)

These developments indicate a measure of formal support for citizenship education. Disagreements about the nature of citizenship and the model of 'the good citizen' remained (Lister, 1998). The debates of the early 1990s represented attempts to arrive at an acceptable notion of citizenship. As Brown (1991) noted, for some 'the good citizen' was 'the good Samaritan'. For some the good citizen was the law-abiding citizen who did voluntary community work and did not drop litter in the street (or the school playground). Only for a few was 'the good citizen' someone actively working on issues in the public domain. The Conservative government tried to present the good citizen as the ‘consumer of services provided by the central and the local government’.

In 1998, the latest turn in the education for citizenship took place, with the publication of *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools.* This contained the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Citizenship, chaired by Professor Bernard Crick. This report was the result of recommendations made in the White Paper, *Excellence in Schools (*November 1997). In the foreword to the Report, the Speaker of the House of Commons stressed the importance of the Report in a context where ‘… Citizenship as a subject appeared to be diminishing in importance and impact in schools.’ (QCA 1998, p.3).

The Report provides ‘proposals for a phased, systematic approach to citizenship education’ (p. 7) in schools as opposed to the existing ‘uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method’ (p. 7). As the Section 3.5.1 of the present chapter shows, currently there is no tradition of providing deliberate political education in schools, although citizenship has been included in the National Curriculum as a cross-curricular theme. The 1998 Report puts forward concrete proposals to include Citizenship education as a ‘statutory entitlement in the curriculum’. It adds that ‘the statutory entitlement is established by setting out specific learning outcomes for each key stage’ (p. 22), and ‘the learning outcomes should be tightly enough defined so that standards and objectivity can be inspected by OFSTED’ (p. 22). The Report also proposes to establish a monitoring body to oversee citizenship education, because ‘[t]he national approach to citizenship education is novel to this country and because it is a sensitive area’ (p. 7).

As the QCA (2000a) points out, these proposals will be put in place from August 2002, and Citizenship will become a national curriculum foundation subject at key stages 3 and 4. Detailed guidelines for each of the key stages are provided in QCA documents (2000b, 2000c, and 2000d). The broad objective of the proposed citizenship education programme, according to the 1998 Report, is to create a ‘change in the political culture in this country both nationally and locally’. The emphasis is to develop active citizens who are ‘willing able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves’ (pp. 7-8).

3.4.4 Trends in Education for Citizenship in Schools

Brown (1991) identifies two streams of education for citizenship the British education system: one was ‘powered by the policies through national projects’, and the other ‘grassroots developments un-aided by the official sanction.’ The first stream is illustrated by the Norwood report (1943, cited by Brown, page 8): ‘teaching of the kind desired can best be given incidentally, by appropriate illustration and comment an digression, through the ordinary school subjects, particularly History, Geography, English and Foreign languages and Literatures …’ As Brown points out, the authors of the Norwood Report wanted ‘the child to be exposed to the subtle influences of the school as a community and an organisation - what today we would call the hidden curriculum.’ The indirect approach was prevailed and political education was given to the History teacher.

The other tradition could be described as critical social studies. This evolved from social studies, and been promoted by some educators since the mid-1960s. As Brown notes, although this approach did not receive official support, it met the needs of good teachers who knew that young people could begin to understand the complexities of their social experience if taught with imagination and sensitivity. Moreover, social studies attracted large numbers of young people who felt it could be more relevant and intrinsically interesting than history or geography. The experiment at Repton can be seen as a similar development. The second was the Programme for Political Education of the early 1970s. However, both were short-lived.

As the preceding analysis shows, it appears that there has been a little appeal for education for citizenship in schools in Britain. As both Brown (1991) and Lister show, since the post-war period, this task has been handed to history or geography teachers, and as Hahn (1999) points out, politics was 'caught, not taught' in schools. Crick raise the question: 'why has it taken so long for England (not yet Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland), unlike every other parliamentary democracy in the world, to make citizenship a statutory subject in a National Curriculum?' (Crick, 200, p. 1). The reason, as Crick sees, is a mixture of 'excessive national confidence' and 'a belief that the *ethos* of the school was sufficient (p. 1, italics original). According to Brown (1991, p. 9) it was feared that teachers might tread 'the fine line between education and indoctrination.' This 'anti-political culture' towards political education in Britain, according to Fraser (2000, p. 89) 'lies in the lack of any wide assent to, consensus on, or even well articulated dominant account of the nature of politics, civic life, or the constitution.' Within this context, the proposals made by the Advisory Group on Citizenship, reported in 1998 Report of the QCA is a main policy recommendations to implement citizenship education in UK schools.

3.4.5 Citizenship Education for Adults

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the franchise was gradually extended. There was concern that these new voters would not be sufficiently aware of the issues involved in democratic processes, and initiatives were therefore put in place to educate people to behave in responsibly. The rise of the labour movement, the growth of the Labour Party, and increasing trade union militancy increased the perception of a need to educate and train the working classes in responsible citizenship.

Political education was a central theme of the work of the adult education movement as it emerged during the early years of the twentieth century. Most prominent are the activities of the Workers' Educational Association (from 1903), and the Labour College movement (from 1909). The former sought to provide a channel through which working class men and women could avail themselves of educational opportunities – principally, university education – which the middle classes took for granted. The latter took a stance of 'independent working-class education', arguing (on Marxist grounds) that what was taught – and learned – in any educational opportunities financially supported by the state would be determined by the state. 'He who pays the piper calls the tune.' The struggle between these institutions – which each enjoyed stong followings – shaped political education for adults until the Second World War (Fieldhouse 1977, Holford 1994, Macintyre 1980, Ree 1984).

Other initiatives can also be identified: for instance, the establishment of the Association for Education in Citizenship in 1935. The objective was to promote ideals of democracy in Europe, when Germany and Soviet Union had one-party rule. It aimed to defend democratic values from the influence of authoritarian regimes in Europe (Brown, 1991). Its objective was to perform as a pressure group working directly on the politicians and civil servants. In 1939 a Council for Education in World citizenship was established.

Lister (1998) draws attention to the work of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs during the Second World War; this is covered in greater depth by Mackenzie (1992). The principal aim was to strengthen British soldiers' understanding of the political system, the economy and the ideals of the Commonwealth.

A further influential feature of the British citizenship educational experience lay in the work of the Colonial Office from the mid-1930s. The need was to create both economically efficient and responsible – which initially meant quiescent – members of society in the Empire. (The chief areas of concern were Africa, the West Indies and to some degree South East Asia.) From the 1920s the Colonial Office began to develop an emphasis on the 'community' as a focus for education. By the mid-1940s this had evolved: there was increasing awareness that economic prosperity could not be developed without political development. Thus major Colonial white papers emerged on *Mass Education in African Society* (Colonial No. 186, 1943) and *Education for Citizenship in Africa* (Colonial No. 216, 1948). The 1948 paper replaced the term 'mass education' by 'community development', and linked it to the expansion of local government, but the thrust of the two was essentially similar. (Holford 1988) Community development programmes and methods transferred to metropolitan Britain's inner city areas during the 1960s and 1970s. These effectively ended under the twin assaults of the government 'cuts' of the later 1970s, and the hostility of the Conservative government from 1979.

During the 1980s, educational programmes for adults with a political or citizenship education content were at a discount. Trade union education continued, but it was hard for trade unionists in the 1980s to be regarded as 'active citizens': the Prime Minister of the day was thought to regard them as 'the enemy within' (Holford 1994). Within organisations such as the WEA, efforts to maintain political education continued, but largely on the basis of individual commitment and in spite of - rather than supported by - the main trends in public funding. By the 1990s, the traditions of political adult education associated with the WEA and extra-mural education had weakened markedly, as a result of sustained government attempts both to reduce public funding and to 'target' it in more economically productive directions. While there has, in the late 1990s (under the Labour government), been some attempt to re-establish educational opportunities which will encourage 'social inclusion', these have made little attempt to develop citizenship or political education as such. Rather they are chiefly directed toward enabling 'excluded' individuals to play a more active role in society - in this respect, they owe more to the traditions of community development than to the adult political education of the WEA or university adult education.

3.5 Learning of Citizenship and Governance

This section reviews research on how children and adults *learn* citizenship, as opposed to how they are taught. The review is limited to a small number of studies, which reflects the shortage of research on learning of citizenship and governance. The available research looks at five areas: the nature of political education in British schools, the relationship between classroom climate and political attitudes, learning of active citizenship through participation, capacity building through area regeneration, and lifelong learning for citizenship.

3.5.1 Learning and Political Behaviour

A body of literature suggests a positive correlation between learning and political behaviour. Emler and Frazer (1999) claim that an individual's education has a positive correlation to and his/her political role as an adult. Drawing on the literature on citizenship and learning, they conclude that people with more education tend to take a more active role in politics and to have more clearly defined political identities. Individuals with lower levels of education, on the other hand, are more likely to have racist sentiments and to express hostility towards ethnic minorities. In a study of British, French, West German and Dutch adults, Wagner and Zick (1995) have shown that in each country they found a negative correlation between years of formal education and expression of prejudice towards ethnic minorities in that country. Hahn (1999) reports findings that confirm from longitudinal studies in the USA that youth political attitude and behaviours are an important precursor to adult political participation. These results demonstrate the importance of education for political behaviour.

3.5.2 Political Education in British Schools

Hahn, 1999 investigated the learning of citizenship in a selected number of British schools. He argued that the UK does not have a tradition of providing deliberate political education to youth in schools. Although citizenship has been included in the National Curriculum as a cross-curricular theme, teachers were not aware of any government publications on it. Teachers in one school were acquainted with the curricular demands only when an Ofsted team of inspectors arrived to look for evidence of social, cultural, moral and spiritual development.

Based on Hahn's research, there are four ways in which students learn citizenship in schools: directly as an A Level subject, by learning through other subjects, by visits from politicians and activists, and by exposure to the general ethos of the school. Only a small number of students took the 'A' Level and the effects of learning citizenship through the syllabus were difficult to gauge. Learning through other subjects such as in Personal and Social Education (PSE), History, English, or Religious Education (RE), was one of the common methods by which staff expected that students learn citizenship. For example, Hahn describes how the students learned citizenship in classes she visited:

> I observed [PSE] lessons in which students acted out how to treat an elderly lady on a bus and during equal opportunities week talked about how 'you shouldn't judge people by their appearance' (25 Feb 1993). Many lessons death with careers preparation, and in year 10 a job experience. Clearly 'personal' and 'social' education was the goals underlying these courses. I was told at one school that formerly the course included some lessons in economic awareness and the MP had visited when they 'did politics', but those topics were no longer covered. ...
>
> [In English and RE classes] discussing novels and plays ... enabled them to talk about prejudice, poverty, war, animal rights, and capital punishment. Students and teachers reported talking in RE

> classes about human capital rights, racism, capital punishment, women priests, abortion, and divorce. In a geography lesson … a teacher advising students to list pros and cons of alternative energy sources in doing their 'revision' but did not hear any geography or other teacher solicit a student's opinion on a public policy issue. History teachers told fascinating anecdotes about incidents in political as well as social history, and students were often engaged in working with primary sources.

Few schools had arranged visits from politicians and activists who talked to students about their work, although where this was carefully planned the results were positive. For example, several schools arranged lectures and visits during which the students were exposed to contentious public policy issues. Different subjects were chosen for each week; speakers with opposing views were invited. Despite this, 'Notably, no one mentioned citizenship or political understanding as a goal of these or any other courses.'

In all schools, the staff had the expectation that the general ethos of the school would have some influence on the students behaviour as citizens.

> Schools staff and guests deliver moral messages at school assemblies. In all the schools, students were clearly receiving lessons in respect and manners. … . [T]eachers entered classrooms at the beginning of lessons, and said 'miss' or 'sir' when they were called upon or wanted to be recognised. Tutor groups and year groups formed small communities and the pastoral system conveyed a caring environment. At most schools students elected representatives from their tutor group to the student council. Tutor groups and student councils discussed uniform policies, planned social functions, and ran charity drives. At the independent school, prefects were selected for their reputations as responsible leaders; they enforced rules and set examples. Clubs such as Amnesty International and debating societies were available for interested students.

Hahn concludes that politics was 'caught, not taught'.

3.5.3 Classroom Climate and Political Attitudes

Comparative work on the study of citizenship education suggests that different outcomes are associated with differing educational policies and practices. Hahn (1999) reports on a comparative study of civic education in six countries - Britain, USA, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Australia. The research examined the correlation between political attitudes and classroom climate. Differing policies and practices with respect to citizenship education among these six countries were found to be associated with different patterns of adolescent student political attitudes and perceptions. Young people (aged 15-19) appear to be more interested in the political arena when they live in countries where civic education includes political content, and where students have opportunities to explore and express opinions on public policy issues, and engage in decision making, than when they come from countries where such experiences are not available.

Having the opportunity to participate regularly in classroom discussions in which students were encouraged to express their opinions was positively correlated with political knowledge and interest, and negatively correlated with authoritarian attitudes. Small positive correlations were obtained between scores on the Classroom Climate scale and the political attitude scales. Although the correlations were not large they are noteworthy, considering all of the factors that are likely to influence political attitudes - family, media, social class and diverse experiences in the school and community. This does suggest that when educational policies and practices give students opportunities to investigate, discuss, and express views on public policy issues, they are more likely to develop attitudes supportive of political participation than if they do not have such experiences.

The research concludes that when the school curriculum includes political education, students tend to be more interested in public affairs than when such provision is not made. The researcher says that she 'was particularly struck by the numbers of students in the Netherlands and England who said they had not studied politics, nor talked about current events in their classes and who said that politics was just too complicated to understand or who said they did not know much about politics. … . In contrast, I heard several students in the USA say that they were not interested, until they had a teacher who talked to them about current events; now they were interested and followed them.'

3.5.4 Learning Active Citizenship through Participation

Roker, Player and Coleman (1999) question the predominant image of young people today as 'alienated, apathetic, and uninvolved in their communities', and show that a considerable number of young people are involved in volunteering and campaigning. Using data from a study of more than a thousand 14-16 year olds, they show how participation in volunteering and campaigning can promote the development of young people's political knowledge, awareness and understanding.

Roker *et al.* point out that the claim of widespread alienation and apathy amongst young people has been based on a narrow definition of what politics is. They argue that if politics is defined in a wider sense, to include voluntary and campaigning activities, a much higher level of political and social engagement can be seen amongst youth. The empirical study demonstrates a high level of engagement by young people in social activism and community activities. It appears that young people are involved in different kind of political activities, such as 'single-issue politics' and 'campaigning'. The research also shows that participation by young people in these activities is a key source of political education, promoting the development of political knowledge, understanding, attitudes, and involvement.

Five factors appear to influence their participating in these political actives: gender, ethnicity, locality, religion, and family/friends. Several differences have been observed in terms of the gender. There was a high level of membership of campaign groups amongst the young women. Males and females appear to have been involved in different kinds of voluntary activities. Young women were mostly members of animal aid and animal rights groups, while the young men were involved in Third World and overseas aid groups. There were more women involved in regular voluntary work than men (20 per cent of young women but 8 percent of men). Other gender differences were in how young people perceived their involvement, and in attitudes towards taking part in activities: young men who took part did not think their activities were voluntary work, nor they did not reveal that they took part, due to peer group pressure. Therefore, it is possible that the apparently higher level of political and community involvement by young women masks community activities by young men.

In terms of ethnicity, twice as many ethnic minority as white young people were as members of social issue and welfare groups, and four time as many were members of political or government policy groups. A much larger proportion of the white young people were members of environment and animal aid groups. Twice as many white ethnic minority young people were regular campaigners or volunteers.

The research identified five ways in which participation in volunteering and campaigning develops young people's political knowledge and attitudes: understanding the needs of different groups in society, developing a sense of influence over political and social events, development of political affiliation and voting intent, reflection on social structures and processes, and the development of skills useful in political campaigning.

The research has confirmed the widely held view that many young people are not very interested in 'traditional' party politics (Wilkinson, 1996). This raises the question why. It is also clear that the two areas of possible involvement – formal politics and single issue campaigning – are not mutually exclusive. Those young people involved in campaigning and volunteering experienced development and crystallising of their views about party politics and issues, and in turn, were more likely to say they would vote. Thus one proposal from this research might be to encourage greater youth involvement in single-issue campaigning, on the ground that this develops commitment to formal politics.

3.5.5 Capacity Building in Area Regeneration Programmes

Mayo (2000) describes a research project in which how adults learn to become active citizens in their communities. The research is concerned with the impact of training in area regeneration programmes, and the learning that is taking place through taking part in the project. The stakeholders involved in area regeneration activities such as the policy makers, professionals and the community representatives agree that effective training and education strategies are needed for the effectiveness and sustainability of regeneration programmes. In addition to having benefits from training for this kind of active citizenship, the very process of participating in regeneration programmes itself can provide learning experiences, both for individuals and for community organisations. Mayo considers evidence from research on education and learning in area regeneration, as a means of exploring these different aspects.

The research revealed an important outcome of taking part in area regeneration programme, that is, the process of taking part in area regeneration activities provides the participants with an informal learning experience (Mayo, 2000). The stakeholders have been learning informally through reflecting on their experiences in regeneration programmes. The learning outcomes for the participants included increasing self confidence, gaining practical knowledge and experience, increased understanding of specifics such as the funding mechanisms that underpin the regeneration programmes, and developing understanding of community organisations per se are the learning outcomes cited by the participants. Other learning outcomes included learning the importance of networking and building alliances for change, how to build community organisations that are effective, sustainable and democratically accountable, and how community organisations learn collectively, These summaries of lessons learnt are consistent with a relatively expanded approach to empowerment and active citizenship (Mayo, 2000).

3.5.6 Lifelong Learning and Citizenship

An important part of the New Labour agenda is Lifelong Learning. Although the primary purpose of this learning will be economic, and geared to a full economic contribution from all, there is also an important aspect of the proposals that is directed to active citizenship. Elliot (2000) has argued that lifelong provision can offer opportunities for the extension of citizenship in a wider sense, not only for employment. These elements of citizenship may be less tangible and less quantifiable than vocational orientations, but certainly as important. They include learning for social citizenship, since a significant barrier to the achievement of full inclusion can be lack of access to an informed understanding of one’s social rights (Lister, 1990b). Lifelong learning can encourage a greater participation in civil and political society through a curriculum focusing on the nature of our civil society and its institutions.

Citizenship education can be enhanced through the adult education curriculum, including fields of study such as history, sociology and social policy (Elliot, 2000). Other fields of study that emerge from popular social movements such as Black Studies, Peace Studies, and Women’s Studies, could also help enhance opportunities for extending citizenship education for women and other groups. Learning gained through these studies would empower individuals so that they could take action to change their lives, although a significant lesson will inevitably be that the constraints against social transformation are greater than the possibilities.

Informal learning, such as political activism, Elliot argues, is another effective way in which women can learn to exercise citizenship rights and obligations, from which they have been excluded. This can be extended to other socially excluded or disadvantaged groups. She maintains academic fields such as Women’s Studies can encourage students to share new understandings and develop further, and with greater confidence, their critical awareness.

3.6 Conclusion

This review has shown that there is a considerable literature on active citizenship in the UK. However, there is relatively little to be found on ‘Governance’. The reasons for this are unclear, although familiarity is probably a factor. In both cases, the emphasis is on the definition of the term, the historical importance and antecedents and rather less on the individual or the activities attached to the terms. The terms also carry meanings and overtones which reflect gender and ethnic stereotypes. Questions of age, ethnicity and gender are less commonly investigated than might be expected.

Less surprising is the lack of literature addressing education and learning. The material on education is patchy. It is mostly based on case studies, and no complete or coherent picture emerges. On learning, the picture is still more obscure. Most work has been accounts of particular activities, often linked to widening participation or community regeneration programmes. There is a dearth of syntheses or over-arching accounts.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FINLAND

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4.1 Location and Scope

4.1.1 Where Found

We have searched the common databases of Finnish universities (including the National Library at the University of Helsinki). The book database produced over 1200 references by the focal concepts of our research. Majority of these were Finnish, although volumes in English and in Swedish were also well represented. The article database found a few hundred more, partly on the same subjects, but requiring a far wider spectrum of thesaurus terms. In this paper we concentrate on the books and only mention a small selection of articles as it seems that mainly the same persons are writing in both media (with larger coverage of different authors in journals, of course) and there is in general substantial overlap. The books present fuller and deeper argumentation, although in further work we will, obviously, use also the most important of articles for a number of topics.

4.1.2 Forms

Legislation

Finnish legislation has been extensively rewritten during the 90ties. Large parts of it are, of course, relevant starting with the new Constitution (distributed to all households) and Municipal Law with their definitions of citizen's rights and duties. The new school laws will be also looked at below.

The new Constitution of Finland (Perustuslaki 11.6.1999/731) entered into force on 1 March 2000. It says that citizens of Finland have right to education, healthy human environment, work and necessary subsistence, care and housing, and also their right to participate is enacted in the constitution, together with the other fundamental rights. Thus, citizenship is legally the basis of civil, political and social rights (Marshall 1949). Many Finns have also believed, and still believe, that these rights are better in Finland than in most of other societies, which is reflected in smug expressions such as "it is a joy to be a Finn" or "it is a lottery win to born in Finland". This myth of the superiority of Finnish welfare state has recently opened to question in many forums. For example, the leading Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat published (Häkli 23.7.2000) article that argued against the myth by showing that social security, equality, safety and health service are not among the best in the world.

In 1995 renewed municipal act (Kuntalaki 17.3.1995/365) defines the rights of citizen at a local level. The inhabitant of a municipality has right 1) to vote in municipal elections, 2) to participate and effect on local government, and 3) to make initiatives connected with the activities of municipality. In addition to that, the municipal office has to inform citizens about future plans and reforms. It is also possible to arrange advisory popular elections. According to Hannus and Hallberg (1997) the aim of municipal legislation is to promote direct democracy. For this reason the act includes issues such as, the right to make initiatives, which are not efficient or economical but they are expected to encourage direct participation and influencing.

The big reform in education legislation took places in 1998/99. The Law on basic teaching (628/98) has as its general aim to support s pupil's growth to humanity and ethically responsible membership of society and give them knowledge and skills needed in life (2 §). It lists among the common subjects several that have contents relevant for active citizenships and governance (14 § ... environmental knowledge, civics, religion or worldview-related skills, history, social knowledge, ... , geography, ... ,home economics, just to list the most obvious ones). The central subject for these purposes seems to be civics. In the Law on grammar school (629/98) the aims are similar (2 §), but the list of subjects mentions only generally humanistic and social studies (7 §). The laws on vocational education (630/98) and on vocational education of adults (631/98) do not mention any general social aims beside level of vocational knowledge and developing working life according to its needs as well as improving employment. The Law on popular education instead explicitly refers to many-sided development of individuals' personality and ability to act in communities as well as to improve the realization of democracy, equality and plurality of values in Finnish society (1 §). This law covers the activities of folk high schools, municipal adult education centres, cultural and political associations' study centres, sport education centres and summer universitites.

Policy Documents

The most influential genre beside laws, decrees and regulations have beyond doubt been the Committee Reports, many of which have during the decennia been written by parliamentary committees with members nominated by all political parties represented in the parliament and including as a rule some of the best experts of the country. More than hundred committee reports used to be published by state committees during the peak years of committee system. Parties to the matter at hand were also urged to give their statements concerning a report, so they also were often objects of rather heated public discussion. The model has often been followed also in state, municipal and church offices and this makes it easy to follow the trends of administrative discourse. Recently, however, their numbers have been significantly cut and other forms of planning are used instead of the committee system. The national strategy of life-long learning, called The Joy of Learning (KomM 1997:14) is a relatively recent example of this genre. It was prepared by a group of experts led by Liisa Joroinen and is also available in English.

NGO Publications

Some of the NGOs have their own journals, eg. Kansanvalistusseura (People's Enlightenment Association) takes part, together with the Finnish Society for Research in Adult Education, in publishing Aikuiskasvatus (the Finnish Journal of Adult Education Research), Life-Long Learning in Europe (in English), a research based yearbook of adult education, and in addition has a series of popular education publications. Some of the journals in the field - like Aikuiskoulutuksen maailma (The World of Adult Education) anf the Nordic Dialog are literally full of discussions that are related to the etgace themes. It would be a research of its own to find out details of this vast discourse. In general it follows a Scandinavian pattern. Danish and Swedish authors can be seen as originators of its main trends. To pick up just one author, one of the most quoted originators has been the Dane Ove Korsgaard (see e.g. Korsgaard 1997a and 1997b; a usable bibliography on Nordic adult education is available at http://www.liu.se/ipp/mimer/mimersbibliografi.html).

Other sources include books, journals, reports, and the Internet.

4.1.3 Disciplines

Law

Inquiries on citizenship and governance are most often done by researchers of law. Some of these are written either in the legislative presess itself or to inform about new developments (e.g. CR 1997, MJ 1997, MJ 2000, MF 1996a, MF 1996b). It is not always possible to see the difference between lawyers', social scientists' and other specialists' contributions in these publiscations. Specialists of all disciplines of course participate in these processes. - There is, accordingly, an extensive coverage of these questions in current textbooks of law (e.g. Andersson 1998, FLB 1998, SLY 1998, Mäenpää 2000, Syrjänen 1996, Timonen 1999, Tuori 2000).

One recent book is worthwhile to mention, Kauko Sipponen’s (2000) ‘Kansalainen – isäntä vai renki’ (Citizen – master or hired hand) is a brilliant presentation on the relationships between citizen and six sorts of powers. Besides of the three classic sorts of power presented originally by Montesquieu (1748/1989), Sipponen introduces three new powers in Finnish society: media power, the power of civil society and the power of market economy.

History

A large number of various kinds of histories exist for the whole country, its different regions, municipalities, culture, biographies for almost all the most important personalities (the early Blomstedt & alii 1927-1934 five-volume set of national biography already includes besides important men also a large variety of most influential women of the country) various aspects of social life, welfare etc. The earliest history of administration and education have been covered by church historians (for diocese administration see Pirinen 1956 and 1962 as well as Paarma 1980, for early stages of education Kilpi 1987, Parvio 1959 and Taipale 1980, later schooling Kansakouun historia, Hanho? Oppikoulun historia Veli Nurmi) The important civic movements like the national movement, revival movements, adult education associations and institutions, youth association movement (Numminen 1961), temperance movement (Sulkunen 1986), labour movement (Soikkanen 1961 and 1975, Alakapee), feminist movement etc. have all been covered pretty thoroughly and there are relatively recent collective works about cultural and economic history, history of science, various arts, sport - we do not burden the bibliography with names of these, but they will be available for the project team as needed. For some areas there are even shorter summaries in English and some aother European languages (a lis will be available at request). There are histories of all tbe important institutions for governance (eg. the 80th anniversary history of High Court of Adiministrative Justice KHO1998), discussions on specific aspects of administration's history (e.g. Savolainen 1995) as well as its principles (Tiihonen 1995).

Education

There is a tradition of discussing citizenship and governance in relation to popular education. All the leading researchers of AE have participated in this discourse to some extent: J. V. Snellman (more of him later), Maikki Friberg (1897), Zachris Castren, Urpo Harva (1948, 1971a, 1971b) , Aulis Alanen (1969) and Jukka Tuomisto (1994), to name just a few of the most important ones.

Social science

An influential book from the field of politology is Tuttu Tarkiainen's Demokratia; antiikin Ateenan kansanvalta (Tarkiainen 1959). It reviews the political institutions of Greek polises or city-states, the political thinkers and rulers responsible for democratic forms (Solon, Kleisthenes, Perikles) and the practices related to democracy (like the folk meeting, folk court, council and civil servants). The ideals are, of course, common to Western parlamentarism. It is based on the rule of people, "it has a responsible government and it leaves all matters to be decided by common consent" (The quote in Tarkiainen 159, 171 and343 is from Herodotos' Historiai III, 80). Other important elements are freedom (eleutheria), equality and justice and that proactive discussion is necessary for accountable governance or theatrokratia (Tarkiainen 1959, 367). The presentation is based on a wide variety of sources in addition to Plato and Aristotle and it takes into account a sizeable part of European discussion both inEnglish, French and in German. In Finnish it may easily still be the most accurate source on these matters.

An excellent late modern example is sociologist Risto Alapuro's analysis of the birth of Finland as a local phenomenon (Alapuro1995). He looks at a particular municipality, Huittinen, where all the typical individual and collective actors of the nascending Finnish nation are present - from the literate class and landowners to leaseholders and workers. First to define their standpoint were the literati and landowners. For them being Finnish had the meaning of equality with 'the Lords' with a strong emphasis on national language against the Swedish- and Russian-speaking elites (p. 83-84). The great strike of 1905 and the two years after that were a time of organizing labour movement to a real political party which eventually started a revolution 1917. Also in Huittinen the revolution started with a red terror and ended in a white revenge even more devastating than the attempt at revolution itself. Alapuro lists painstakingly main leaders of both sides, all of them men. This active citizenship gets transformed into a substantially more innocent participation, when municipal politics canalizes the local activities (p.271-276).

Pertti Alasuutari's analysis of Finland after the WWII (Alasuutari 1995) offers a somewhat different example, which hardly mentions individual actors, but still looks at citizens' realm of activities. He sees much of the later events mainly as shifts between the rhetorical spaces. According to him in the 90es as a reaction to the paternalism and expert power of state and public sector in administrative reforms some of the decision-making power has been transferred to lower level. ... This does not in any way mean that individual freedom had risen over other ideologies. The criticism has become focused rather to the state people's enlightenment tradition than to the welfare state. ... A border has been reached, at which the prevailing opinion does not accept norm-making or expert-centeredness from aove. (P. 271.) His analysis does not name any activist heroes nor villains. References to individual citizens are twofold: people giving statements in media and interviewees, who's words are quoted in relation to a general topic. People are anonymous in both categories. The late modern activity is not revolutionary recreation of the social fabric but a Wittgensteinian language-game.

Philosophy

The most eminent present Finnish philosopher who has handled these questions is Wittgenstein's successor Georg Henrik von Wright. Many of his main writings are technical writings on action theory or logical calculus, especially modal logic. Of these, Norms and Values (1963) and Varieties of Goodness (1968) are directly relevant (see also Schilpp & Hahn 1990 and Meggle 1990). Many of his critical popular essays come right to the point on central citizenship issues like reactions to inequality, injustices and environmental questions (von Wright 1977 and 1993).

> ***One good example of philosophical analysis in the field of education is Puolimatka’s (1995) study of the relationship between democracy and education (of children). The central claim is that democracy presupposes critical citizens, who are rational political actors committed to freedom, equality and justice. Other conclusions include: that education for critical citizenship works towards the unfolding human potential, that methodical socialization and indoctrination in democratic values are not genuine possibilities, that commitment to democratic values can be taught without violating individuality and without frustrating rational reflection.***

Other disciplines

There are just a few branches of the study of man that would not handle these matters. Just to give a couple of examples, linguists have analysed the language of administration and offer advice about it (Aalto & alii 1997) and work psychologists have likewise analysed administrative behavious and developed a soimulation game to develop some of the practices (Piispanen & alii). The list could go on over dozens of specialties.

4.2 Citizenship

4.2.1 Key Words

Kansalainen = member of the people, citizen (< Kansa = people), (to be) Finnish subject / Medborgare (< Med = like the German 'mit' or Latin 'cum' and Borg = castle, fortified town, the combined word thus = a fellow member of the community)

Kansalaisuus / Medborgarskap = legal membership of the nation

Kansalaisvelvollisuus / Medborgarplikt = Citizen's duty, e.g. to vote and to take part in military service (mainly men) or in equivalent social service (women and conscientious objectors)

Perustuslaillinen oikeus / Medborgarrättighet = Human right guaranteed by Constitution

Jokamiehen oikeudet / ? = Everyman's rights, rights to pass through non-fenced areas, pick berries and mushrooms, fish with common fishing rod

4.2.2 Use of 'Active Citizenship'

In Finland, the word combination 'active citizenship' is relatively rare, most common perhaps in relation to community work. When the combination is used, it usually means participation in democratic processes. This may refer, for example, to 'disadvantaged' people improving their life-conditions themselves as well as different interest groups promoting values they feel as important (Ahponen 1999).

Even the more normal sounding 'active man' [without any gender implication, as there is no gender identification in most Finnish words and the equivalent word 'ihminen' does not refer to male any more than female - even the Swedish 'människan' is one step removed from male 'mannen'] does not have any particular social content. A Finn would hardly ask 'is s/he politically active?, it would be more normal to ask something like 'does s/he participate in local party meeting?' or 'was s/he a candidate in municipal elections?'. A Finn would probably expect from her / his fellow citizens responsibility or trustworthiness rather than activeness.

4.2.3 Historical Events and Movements that shaped Citizenship

Immigration of Finnish-speaking hunter-gatherers before advancing agricultural tribes

People now living in Finland are in no way ethnically unitary. Mainly one trait is common for us: the Finnish language, a member of the so-called Fenno-Ugrian family of languages. The most largely spoken languages of this group are Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian. According to the present explanation they and some 20 smaller languages are based on a common, relatively remote (as the languages are now very different indeed) root language spoken by groups of hunter-gatherers spreading to north and east mainly ahead of agriculture-based economy of various Indo-European languages speaking peoples. At various times individuals from almost all European nationalities came to the countries now called Estonia, Finland, Hungary etc. - hunters, traders, seafarers, criminals, priests, monks, crusaders, soldiers, nobility, artesans, entertainers, diplomats, musicians, fugitives - and some of them learned the local language, developed it for their eventual uses. Not all, of course, in all these countries there are sizable minorities speaking languages more common in the neighbour countries.

Borderland between Vikings' trade to east and Russians' repeated advances

By its position Finland is a borderland between Russia and Sweden. The Scandinavian Vikings used to travel to Kiev through the Finnish Gulf and even further for their trade and plunder, and the 'Rusi' or Russians came mainly by land sometimes to offer trade, more often to attack the habitations. There was always reason for another revenge. As far as we know there was no slavery in Finland although it was to some extent practiced in neighbour countries. To live from forests required vast territories for hunting and fishing, a habit which continued even after the eventual adoption of agriculture. The religions of these times were various kinds of nature worship. It has later been presented as consisting of three main forms, the Tavastian (western), the Karelian (eastern) and the Same or Lappish (northern) religion, all with their own pantheons. Only the the Same form survived to some extent to 20th century. Traces of these religions can perhaps still be seen in Finnish acceptance of 'noita' (warlock, witch - a kind of future-seeing shaman or healer). This was later a fertile ground for Theosophical movement, which transformed the traditional beliefs during the first third of the 20th century.

Roman Catholic church AD 1000

According to the borderland pattern also Christianity has arrived to Finland both from West and from East. The earliest arrival was about 1000 years ago in Roman Catholic form to the southwestern archipelago of Turku. Its spread seems to have been a by-product of the prosperous trade of Baltic Sea. Later Byzantine Orthodox Church arrived to Karelia. Traditional epic poetry reflects the clash between nature religion the nature religion's Arch-shaman Väinämöinen and Christ. Väinämöinen gave in, but promised to reteurn. He and his companion, the genius-smith Ilmarinen, who designed the richness-producing Sampo-mill, as well as their main adversary, Pohjola's female tribal chief Louhi, are the oldest known models of Finnish active citizenship (Haavio 1950, Haavio 1960, Pentikäinen 1986, Siikala 1992). The saints took eventually the positions of the old religion's gods.

Swedish Crusade by Erik Jedvardsson & his bishop Henrik AD 1155 (?)

A.D. 1155 The Svea king Erik Jedvardsson made a crusade to Finland. His bishop Henrik was killed by (a presumably Christian) Finnish farmer, Lalli. Henrik and Erik (who was at the end of the journey killed by a Danish usurper) are called Saints in the Nordic countries although the status of their beatification is somewhat obscure and much of what is presented more legendary than historical. In the middle ages there was a strong national cult of Henrik with a regular pilgrimage that has been reinstituted in recent times. From that time on the best known active citizens were the bishops about whom Paulus Juusten's Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium gives some details. The most influencial woman as regards to Finland was not Finnish but Swedish, the noble-born St. Birgitta, author of Himmelska uppenbarelser (Heavenly Revelations), strongly influential in getting the Pope to go back to Rome from Avignon and founder of the Brigittine order. The order was active in Finland, too, with a monastery in Naantali.

Gustav Wasa, Lutheran reformation and beginnings of Finnish literature

Finland gained a visible position on the map only after Gustaf I Wasa became the king of Sweden (1523-1560), "reformed" the church and confiscated its properties to the crown. He competed with the Russian czar in many ways, among them the number of his high titles. In that he also used the name of his eastern dependency, presenting himself as the king of Swedes, Goths, Vends, ... and eventually even getting to the Fins. He did not send his bishop candidates any more to Paris but to Wittemberg to learn the Bible-true Lutheran theology. His Finnish reformator was Michael Agricola, who translated large parts of Bible (The Psalms, The New Testament) to Finnish and also wrote the first ABC book for the language. King Gustaf used him also as a diplomat in the negotiations with the Russians.

Sweden's time as great power

During most of the 17th century Sweden was a major power in European politics. King Gustav II Adolf was one of the main war commandants of the 30 year's war between protestants and catholics, and with him the Finnish soldiers (called 'Hakkapeliitat' because of their war cry) got the opportunity to visit and terrorize Europe from Baltic lands to the heart of Germany. Besides military glory (but always led by Swedish officers) Finland gained a lot during this time, especially by the able and vigorous general governor count Per Brahe. In Åbo a Court of Appeal was established 1623 and a university by Queen Christina 1640, and thefirst translation of whole Bible in Finnish was published 1642. Good times have ever after been called 'Count's time' in Finland.

Russians annex Finland and give it a limited autonomy

During the 18th century Finland was pretty much a backyard country, a colony of Sweden. Interest in Finnish language and culture was low, Latin and Swedish being the conveyors of civilised communication. French revolution had little immediate effect, but the Romantic movement created some interest in oral folk poetry. 1808-1809 Sweden and Russia fought the last of their wars of supremacy in the area. Russia won the war, annexed Finland and gave it autonomy with Swedish legislation but under the czar. The impact of French revolution and romanticism came relatively slowly, the first edition of national epic "Kalevala" by the MD-folklorist Elias Lönnroth heralding nationalist revival only 1835 (the expanded 2nd edition of 1848 is the one currently used). Of the great nationalist heroes especially one is important from the point of view of our project: the national philosopher Johann Wilhelm Snellman. He was a representative of the Hegelian right. His main works, Concept of Personality (1841) and Theory of State (1842) are the most important and influential Finnish statements on active citizenship and governance. He also practised a particularly Finnish form of adult education / media activity by publishing during his semi-detainment in Kuopio cultural journals covering many of the most important educational topics of his time. It is for an important extent his legacy that Finns are avid followers of media and very keen to adapt all forms of communication to cultural action. During czar Alexander II's time Finland got many of its modern state institutions, among them the secular school system (1866, modeled according to Pestalozzi's ideas) with seminars for teacher education. This put teachers, both female and male into a position of model citizens (Rinne 19).

Panslavist oppression at the turn of the 20th century, Marxism and an attempted Communist revolution

Russian intentions towards Finland were later transformed by panslavist ideology. During ascending oppression Finns tried largely to defend themselves by legalist means referring the issues to Czar himfelf. During the late 19th century various new ideologies like religious revivalism, conservative nationalism, female emancipation and socialism increased, which led to inevitable conflicts with Russian plicies. After the General Strike of 1905 Finland got a one-house parliament, francise for women - and an ardent battle for power between conservatives and socialists. During I WW this led to communist revolution as part of Russian upheavals. The outcome of revolution was, however, different from Russia. Nationalists had sent young men to Germany to be educated for a possible war of independence. With the white home guards and a small German invading armuy these "Jägers" won the red guards and Russian troops.

First republic

The Russian bolsheviks accepted Finland's independence. The red terrorism of the revolution was punished with an even more cruel wave of white terrorism with executions and imprisonment of numerous citizens who had sided with the reds. It was eventually realized that to build the country it was not possible to let this kind of terrorism to go on and that also the social injustices that had led to revolution had somehow to be dealt with. This permissive atmosphere did, however, not last for log. With the rise of nazism in Germany and fascism in Italy a new wave of violence was directed towards the labour activists escalating eventually to an also unsuccessful white rebellion.

A major citizenship question of the first republic was based on the animosity between Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking subpopulations. The republic ended most of the privileges of the Swedish speaking, who had dominated the nobility, learned class and bourgoisie. Finland got a legislation, which guarantees the position of the Swedish-speaking minority relatively well, especially as regards to education. A kind of final point was the position of Åland archipelago between Finland and Sweden. The population of these islands is entirely Swedish-speaking, so Sweden wanted to annex the archipelago back to the old country. After Japanese intervention the League of Nations decided the issue in facour of Finland creating a kind of Swedish-speaking-but-Finnish reservate between Sweden and Finnish peninsula.

The "First Republic" of Finland was attacked 1939 by Soviet Union after denial of Stalin's request to cede sizable part of Finnish Karelia for the defense of Leningrad. With the Winter War Stalin achieved what the conciliatory policies of Finland had been unable to effect: the conflict between whites and reds was put aside for common defense. As Stalin's measures had liquidated large part of the officers or the Red Army Finland was able to defend itself during an extremely cold winter with considerable damage to Russian units. the superior numbers of Russians were in the end so overwhelming that finland had to yield. The original requests had to be admitted with some reprisals, but without occupation of other parts of the country.

When Germany started the Barbarossa attack against Soviet Union, Finland recaptured its Karelian areas and continued the advance further to the east, but without taking part in the siege of Leningrad. Eventually the allied cooperation forced German advance to stop and Paulus's troops surrendered in Stalingrad. Finnis units were forced out of Soviet araes and had in the end to fight against receding former German comrades at arms. The Karelian areas were lost, population of the area had to be resettled all around Finland and in addition Finland was ordered to pay to Soviet Union substantial reparations.

Reconstruction period and balancing between Scandinavian countries and Soviet Union

The lost but ideologically more unanimous Finland was immune to Communists' repeated attempts to gain power in the country. War reparations were a major boost for Finnish industry. For the years after WWII conservative Finnish leaders had to dance on a rope to resist Soviet efforts to tie the country into its sphere of influence. There was no room for anti-soviet demonstrations, but on the other hand SU did not prevent Finland from joining the non-allied countries and developing Nordic cooperation with the Scandinavian countries. By trade with both the Soviet and the Western block Finland was able to transform its economy from predominantly agrarian to industrial in the 60s and from industrial to service in the 70's. This was achieved by following rather straightforwardly the UNESCO and OECD educational and economic strategies. The system of Finnish society is structured according to the Scandinavian (largely social democratic) welfare society model with mixed economy, relatively high taxes and accompanying extensive social services.

After having been a relatively closed country Finland became to receive small groups of refugees in the 70s. The first groups came from Chile and Vietnam. In comparison to the established cultural groups of gypsies, jews and tatar muslims they fared relatively well in Finland, but were less interested in staying in the country. Finland also started to take part in developmental cooperation wit some African, Asian and South American countries.

Recession of the 90ies and partial fall of the welfare system and joining the EU

The Finnish situation changed rapidly with the 90s. The earlier relatively stabile five year economic cycle vanished with the approaching end of cold war. When Soviet Union collapsed 1991 a deep recession had already touched Finland. The banking system had not been able to deal with the results of new, more liberal policies of international financing. The result was a domino-effect of bankruptcies with increasing unemployment. A sizable part of small and middle-sized firms vanished from the market. To get money for the vast social welfare payments and support for banks government had to borrow extensivewly abroad. This happpened at a situation where privatization had already been accepted as a normal policy of Finnish public administration, but experiences of it were still limited. During former good times public sector had been allowed to grow without even the necessary cuts. Now, suddenly, everything had to be downsized at a moments notice. The unemployment rate reached eventually a record of 20 %. Despite their own party members' hesitation the agrarian Center party leaders of the government directed Finland to membership of European Union.

When Finland joined EU 1995 recession was already over except for the public sector with its heavy debt. The public sector was in many ways transformed, but its institutions relatively intact. With new legislation the civic rights for information, initiative and appeal were confirmed on the national level. For EU bureaucracy some light in this respect may be coming with the Prodi comission. A major setback has been the rise of costs in the reformed court system, which seems in effect to prevent all but the very rich and the poor (who can get solicitor services as welfare) from appealing a court for justice.

4.2.4 Current Scope of Citizenship

Overview

Finland offers its citizens a law-abiding social environment, excellent educational opportunities and a real albeit expensive welfare system. Like every extensively manipulated system it also has a number of problems.

- The relatively well-paid working families feel cheated, because they have to pay for others' welfare. After the taxes they are not rich enough to pay for the high-quality open market services that would give real welfare and there is a feeling that the common services are getting less effective year by year.

- The aspiring social welfare clients are catched in poverty traps. They are able to go on so-so by the help of social service payments, but better wages would mean the end of support. This tempts to grey work without added benefits and threat of social service becoming aware of the transgressions.
- The systems makes both public servants and citizens in general unwilling to accept immigrees to the country. They would be (and actually are) receiving considerable benefits far before they would really start paying for them.
- An extensive public sector tends to be manipulative. People's right for privacy is in question with all the registries and databases necessary for the system. During the years there have been attempts to deal with this problem (like an information privacy ombudsman), but no real solutions.
- The system has an inherent tendency of making people politically passive. The services are in principle not dependent of recipient's activity, except perhaps the active misleading of too nosy social servants.

Something of the situation after Finland joined the EU tells perhaps also the Gallup's World Values / Finland 1996 study, in which citizens' trust towards 16 different institutions was measured and compared where possible also to the situation 15 years earlier (1981-1996). Six of the institutions mentioned were trusted much or relatively much by majority of the people:

Police	84 %
Defence forces	80 %
Courts	66 %
Church	55 %
United Nations	51 %
Television	50 %.

Six of them were trusted by less than a third of the people:

Parliament	32 %
Government	32 %
Press	31 %
European Union	30 %
Feminist movement	26 %
Political parties	12 %.

The 15 year comparison shows only a couple of institutions, which had got appreciably higher trust after the 90'ies recession:

Defence Forces	from 69 % to 80 % and
Industrial & business corporations	from 41 % to 48 %.

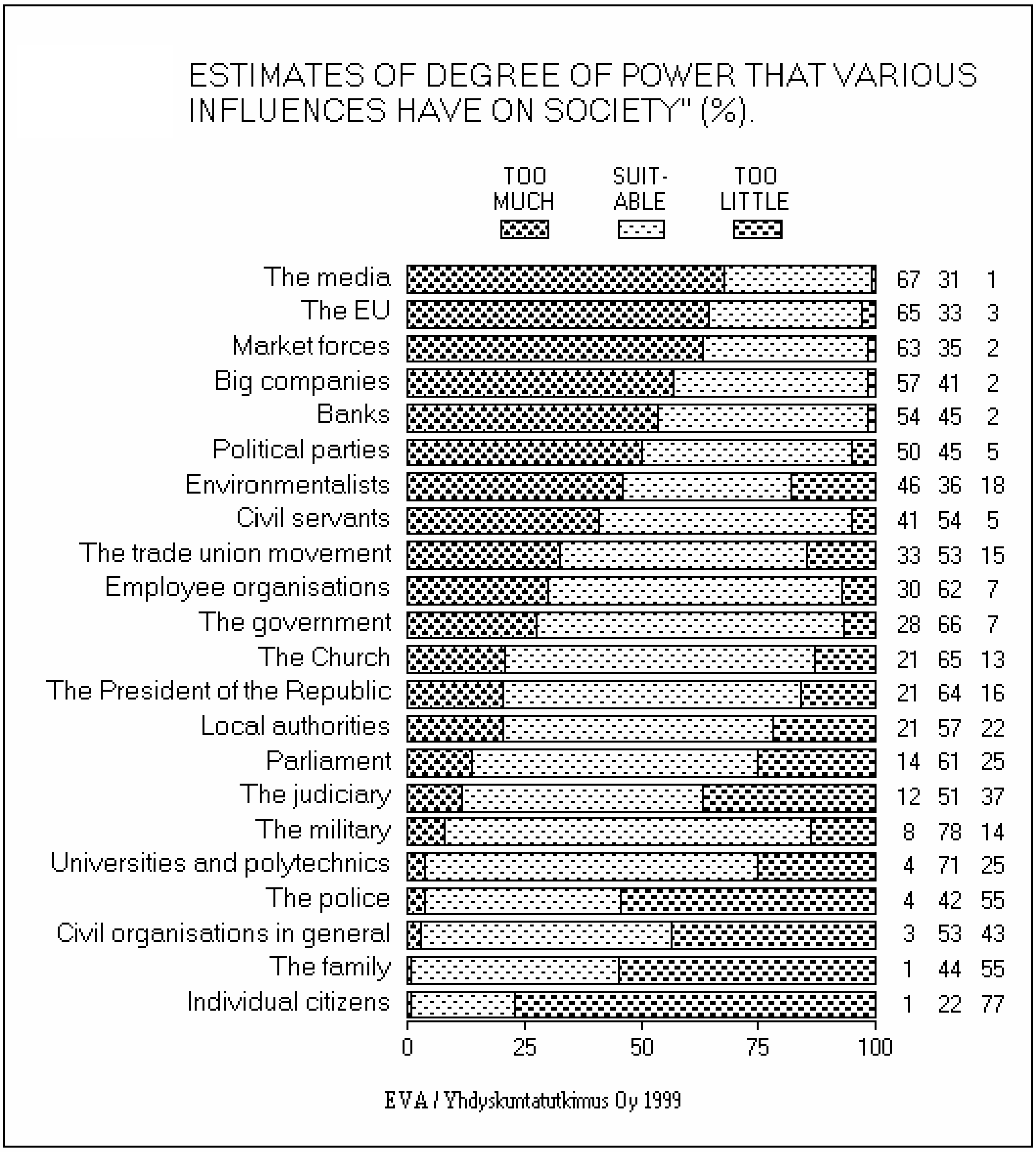
The three worst losers were:

Parliament	from 68 % to 32 %
Civil servants	from 54 % to 35 %
Courts	from 80 % to 66 %.

As regards to civil society the only possible comparison were Labour unions, which went down from 58 % to 49 % but was still more trusted than the environmental movement (38 %) or feminist movement (26 %).

An unavoidable conclusion from these figures is that the institutions of parliamentary democracy as well as civil servants are not really trusted anymore and especially the parties have by and large failed to activate people. In fact 27 % of the almost 1000 people interviewed said that they do not trust the parties at all. But the traditional forms of civic self-organization do not offer a real alternative either. Labour movement is still strong, but declining. (The figures are quoted from Suhonen 1997, 238-239).

> ***Citizens trust neither their possibilities to influence. 'Finnish attitudes 1999 report' published by EVA, The Centre for Finnish Business and Policy Studies (EVA 1999a) summarized Finnish attitudes towards some key issues. One of these was, who in Finnish society has adequate power, who has too much power, and who has too little power? The key influences in Finland - the Parliament, the Government, the President, and the labour market organizations - each now have a suitable degree of power, according to the majority of people (Figure). Too much power, however, is seen to been invested particularly in the media and the European Union, while especially individual citizens and families seem to have too little power.***


ESTIMATES OF DEGREE OF POWER THAT VARIOUS INFLUENCES HAVE ON SOCIETY" (%).

EVA / Yhdyskuntatutkimus Oy 1999

Figure. Individual citizen does not have much power (EVA 1999a).

However, the significance of direct participation may be increasing at a local level. The second barometer of the future of the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities took a look at the future expectations of municipal decision-makers as regards local democracy and the running of a municipality. The predictions of the future of the study were based on replies from over a hundred municipal experts. The study goes e.g. through the division of decision-making power, the grounds for influence, and the relationship between direct influence and representative democracy in the long term till 2017. It is predicted that the election turnout will remain at approximately 60 %. That participation is relatively low does not, however, mean that people are alienated. Direct influence is thought to increase somewhat, and simultaneously it is seen that direct influence will increasingly have other goals than just to influence decision-making. The effect of direct influence was also predicted to increase, and personal participation becomes more predictive. Publicly discussing issues and following and influencing the drafting of matters will probably increase. As a forum of public discussion the mass media will still be an important local opinion maker, despite the increase in information network communication. Groups for direct influence and the mass media will probably be part of the network within which the political and professional managements work in the future. (Kivelä 2000.)

Marginalized groups claiming citizenship rights

The conceptual framework of citizenship has increasingly been applied to specific marginalized or neglected groups. For example, disabled people have clearly started to make a claim for the inclusion and membership in society on the basis of citizenship right. Perhaps the best case in this sector is Kynnys (Threshold Association) that works for the civil rights of persons with disabilities throughout Finland. The premise of its activities is that disability is a social issue or a relationship between the environment and the individual. In other words, Kynnys is saying that, if the society were built so that all members of the society would have equal access to information and to the built environment, people with disabilities would have far less practical difficulties and their disabilities would not cause them problems (Kynnys, http://www.kynnys.fi/).

Organisational citizenship

In addition, it is possible to find some indications that the concept of citizenship is becoming introduced in organisational settings. The term of corporate citizenship (McIntosh, Leipziger, Jones and Coleman 1998) is introduced in Kesko, Finnish marketing and logistics company which develops retail concepts and operating models. The leading Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat recently published an article (Jokinen 6.8.2000) where the manager of environmental policy says that: 'Kesko has always tried to be a good citizen'. In practice, this means many things. For example social responsibility, one of Kesko's basic values, requires Kesko's employees to ensure, in the best possible way, that products purchased have been produced in an ethical and in environmental way. Furthermore, Kesko was the first Nordic company to announce its commitment to the Social Accountability 8000 standard (Kesko, http://www.kesko.fi/eng/index.htm).

Gerd Schienstock, professor of theWork Research Centre at the University of Tampere has used the term industrial citizenship. It means employees' rights within companies. As Schienstock have said it (Siirala 1999): "Companies expect more of their employees. They should be creative, able to network; their jobs are more demanding. If I expect more of somebody who is capable of managing processes, then he or she needs more rights. Why should I be more creative, more social, and more international without the idea of industrial citizenship? It concerns other things besides money. In flat hierarchies you have more responsibilities but also more rights. Without one there is not the other. These things cannot function if you demand more of people without giving them more rights. This is a process, which we have to go through. It has to find a way; it is a question of an institutional change which has not yet taken place". It easy to see that Schienstock's description about the industrial citizenship resembles with the principles of the learning organization (Pedler, Burgoyne and Boydell 1997, Senge 1990).

A point of comparison

For obvious reasons there has always existed a healthy interest in neighbour countries circumstancies among the Finnish social scientists. Especially the Soviet experiment was widely discussed, although the available information has all the time been insufficient and partly misleading. It did not, e.g., remain unnoticed that women were not to be seen in Soviet positions of power despite that the country was allegedly a model of democracy and equality. Markku Kivinen has recently discussed these matters thoroughly in his Sosiologia ja Venäjä ("Sociology and Russia"). The book contains analyses of Marxist state theory, Russian class systems and various cultural themes. He points out that there was no civil society in Soviet Union. Because iit was unthinkable that there could have been conflicts of interest between groups of people or classes, no associations were needed to serve their interests (Kivinen 1998, 52-53). - If we think that the second principle of civic society beside plurality is publicity, "a discourse without hegemony", neither could this function in Soviet Union. It was not possible to present any public polemics about the basic directions of social development nor to present alternative programmes, not to speak of it being possible to inquire about their acceptance among the population. Not even social problems or adverse effect of the system that were generally known could de discussed publicly. (Kivinen 1998, 52.) All this contrasts profoundly with the Nordic system of Finland with its innumerable associations, strong lobbies and ever present differences of opinion about any social topic. Kivinen's analysis of the cultural context of these structures and their change in the 90ties is an important reminder of the fact that very different conditions can exist in different sides of a national border and that the change of political system does not abolish all other differences.

4.2.5 Main themes of Citizenship Discussion

Main themes of the discussion have been the following. A lot of stuff (in several media & genres) is available on all themes.

- The effects of information and communication technology
- Re-division of Labour
- Multiculturalism
- Animal rights, civil disobedience, anarchism
- Citizenship of the Ingrians (people from Russia with Finnish heritage)
- Immigrants' rights
- Racism, Fascism, Skinheads
- Liberal privatization policies & demand for entrepreneur set of mind
- Quality of social service and governance-related service
- European Union bureaucracy
- Wildlife conservation, sustainable practices

Information and communication technology

The effects of Information and communication technology (ICT) on citizens' equality are increasingly popular in Finnish discourse. It seems obvious that the opportunities to utilize information and communication technology (ICT) are very unevenly divided among Finnish citizens. According to Sinko and Lehtinen (1999) young, well-educated men in the Helsinki metropolitan area have the best opportunities, while those living in outlying areas, women, people who are less wealthy, and the elderly have less access to ICT.

The need to create equal possibilities to utilize information and communication technology is explicitly mentioned in many public documents. For example, an officially approved information society[2] strategy document emphasizes that all citizens should have basic skills in information technology (Education, training and research in the information society. A National Strategy. Helsinki 1995). Similarly the document of 'Adult Education Policy in the First Years of the 21st Century' requires that the public sector have to ensure that all citizens have access to information networks and the basic skills needed to use them. (Adult Education Policy in the First Years of the 21st Century. Publications of the Adult Education Council. Helsinki 1999.)

The information society strategy contains proposals for methods of utilizing information technology. The most ambitious is the idea of a national information infrastructure, the Finnish Information Highway, should be assembled as a multi-layer, seamless system. This information network for education, training and research would be a part of a global open network. The Internet and emerging standards for broadband networks and services could provide the foundation for the education and research information network in Finland. (Education, training and research in the information society. A National Strategy. Helsinki 1995). In practice, this endeavour looks like quite modest when we compare it with the development in Sweden.

In the Finnish national information society strategies or its background clearances, citizenship in the information society is constructed mostly on a basis of guaranteeing (or expanding) present public and administrative services and education through communications networks. Data security and privacy protection are also essential. But in the information society, implementing and developing democracy or citizenship is not only producing services into a network As Roivas (1998) has said, realizing these services is, of course important but the perspective is still administrative-technological and narrow from the point of view of information society citizenship. It will not give answers to the fact that citizenship is more and more tied to the distribution, production and consumption of symbolic codes, or to the fact of how a citizen can influence the social and personal application of technology to their lives.

Re-division of labour

New kinds of divisions between Finnish citizens are becoming more visible than earlier. One of these divisions is connected to paid work. As Rinne (1998) has emphasised, the ongoing process of the re-division of labour is liable to generate many problems for citizens since so many of our societal institutions and expectations have been constructed on parameters defined by the labour market. According to him it looks obvious that population will become polarized between those who have stable jobs on the one hand and those drifting between temporary jobs, underemployment and unemployment on the other. He asks whether the society will be prepared to abandon its traditional eulogies of hard work and to guarantee those who are left without jobs a decent standard of living and a status of respect, for example through a system on citizen's allowances (i.e. a basic income to which all citizens are entitled, irrespective of their employment status) or the like.

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[2] In Finnish, the word "tieto" stands for both "information" and "knowledge". Whereas this strategy addresses the more profound needs of the "knowledge society" rather than the "information society", the latter, more universally used term, is used in this document.

Multiculturalism

The third theme connected with citizenship is multiculturalism. Historically, Finland has mainly been a country of net emigration. The immigration rate has been one of the lowest (0,5 per cent) in the Western Europe and still is (1 per cent). If you compare the figures with Sweden (7 per cent), for example, you may understand the difference. (Vartia & Ylä-Anttila 1992). Thus, Finland has until quite recently been a very isolated place, virtually untouched either global or European migrations. The situation, however, is clearly changing, partly as the result of pressures the Baltic countries and Russia. In the 1990s, most of the immigrants have been persons of foreign origin. Consequently, the number of foreign citizens living in Finland today is higher than ever. (Korkiasaari and Söderling 2000)

In addition to that, Finnish peculiarity is also the very tiny amount of the minority groups. The Swedish speaking minority (5 per cent of about five million Finnish inhabitants) has as a former upper class been able to maintain its rights well. The other tiny minorities - the Samis (6500 people) and the Gypsies (6000 people) - have lost their ways living only to receive certain basic rights in the 1980s. (Simola, Rinne and Kivirauma 2000). One theme in a recent minority discussion connected with civil rights has been the question whether Finnish state had actually more or less illegally taken territories of sami people in the history (Korpijaakko 1989, Korpijaakko-Labba 1999).

Animal rights, civil disobedience, anarchism

In Finland, the animal activists' strikes against fur farms since 1995 have raised a lot of debate. In public discourse the activists have been seen in many ways. For some, they seem to be terrorists who destroy other's legal property, and for some, they are some kind of heroes defending animal rights against the system. There are also some studies focusing on this issue. Konttinen and Peltokoski (2000), for example, have studied new environmental activists' worldview. Their data was collected by a survey (N=167) in the winter 1998-1999 and by observing the discourse of the movement through referring the data produced by the activists themselves. According to results, the activists seemed to have abandoned parliamentary politics. Instead of representation, the activists stressed direct personal participation and activity. In addition to environmental issues, the activists showed particular interest in human rights, peace and anarchist activities.

4.2.6 Theoretical Perspectives

Earlier

Before 1850's the discourse was mainly theological, first in tribal or Catholic (canonical law) terms, later in Lutheran or more general protestant guise. Since middle 1800's Hegelian and Kantian philosophies offered the main guidelines. Nationalism and various, first mainly conservative European ideologies were used, but at the turn of the century also radical varieties like feminism, anarchism and marxism were considered. Anarchism disappeared by and large before the revolution of 1917, but feminism and marxism are still debated alternatives. Various forms of positivism (social evolution theories of Westermarckians, taylorism, behaviorism, sociological positivism of Durkheim or Weber, system theories and socio-cybernetics) have also had a role in theoretical formulations of citizenship and governance.

At present

Since the middle 1970's the tide has turned. Critical, radical theories and al kinds of ‘soft’ approaches arre dominating the market. At the beginning of 1990's feminism got considerable boost of a new law on gender equality, marxism of course suffered considerably of the collapse of Soviet Union, but has not vanished entirely. Postmodernism vs. late modernism controversy (Foucauldian vs Giddensian interpretations) is also discernible. An idea of the present amalgam of perspectives can be gained from Ahonen and Salminen’s Metamorphosis of the Adiministrative Welfare State (1997). (Sorry that there are no more references in this section, but it tends to generate a major thesis of its own and breaks all limits.)

4.2.7 Gender as a Citizenship Issue

According to Rantalaiho (1997) three things are commonly known of the Finnish women’s life conditions. Firstly, they got the suffrage as the first women in the Europe, and secondly in the world in 1906. Secondly, majority of them participate work full-time. Thirdly, they enjoy the social services of the Nordic welfare state.

Thus, Nordic welfare state model may have extended the social citizenship of women, and broken down some traditional gender differences. On the other hand, some of the gender differences are driven underground, and an emphasis on gender neutrality and extensive rhetoric of gender equality makes it difficult to for Finnish women to raise questions about gendered inequalities. (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000, 194.)

4.3 Governance

4.3.1 Key Words

Demokratia, kansanvalta / Demokrati = Democracy

Hallinto / Adimistration, förvaltning = Administration, governance, management

In Finland, government is the standard, English term referring to the political institutions by which society is governed. In Finnish there are no special words of other established expressions for governance.

4.3.2 Usage of ‘Governance’ in the EU and in Finland

Policy documents of the Ministry of Finance

There have been recently published two policy documents clearly focusing on new governance. These documents are produced by the Public Management Department of the Ministry of Finance that is in charge of preparing the Government's governance policy as well as coordinating public management reforms. The first document is A government's resolution "High-Quality Services, Good Governance and a Responsible Civic Society" of the 16th of April 1998". The second one is the report prepared by financial counselor Tiihonen (2000) "From uniform administration to governance and management of diversity".

The papers do not offer an explicit definition of governance, but they may raise a couple of issues, which are worthwhile to be considered. Firstly, the Finnish translation uses the concatenation "hyvä hallinto" that would translate back in English by good administration or good government (Valtioneuvoston periaatepäätös 1998). Thus, governance may refer to the aim to find something better than 'old' or traditional government is. Secondly, the principles of governance resembles quite clearly with efficiency. The latter is obviously connected to the fact that the document is produced by the Public Management Department of the Ministry of Finance which central aim is to ensure that public money is not wasted. In addition, between 1970-1990 the public sector grew very rapidly in Finland. Growth in both consumption expenditures and the number of employees was among the fastest in the OECD countries. In Denmark and Sweden the growth of the proportion was even faster in Finland.

EGSIE -Project

According to Tiihonen (1994) research of government has not been very popular thematics in Finnish academic field of social studies. As Rinne, Simola and Kivirauma (2000) have noticed, this has been even more truth in education; during the 90's there have been only few smaller studies connected with the historical change towards decentralisation in education (Kivinen & Rinne 1991; 1992a; 1992b).

However, the situation is changing. There are some on going studies, which are clearly focusing on the new structures of governance for education. The best example we found is "Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion in Europe" (EGSIE) -project which object is to identify relationships of education governance to social integration and exclusion of youth in European contexts and to discuss and propose policies on governance that will help to minimize social exclusion and maximize inclusion. The study is based on comparative setting and the data of: 1) text analysis of documents and public discourses on the governance of education, 2) in-depth interviews with top education politicians and administrators on education governance and social integration and exclusion and 3) in-depth interviews with head teachers and teachers concerning recent changes and implications of these changes for their work. (EGSIE, www.infektio.utu.fi/ktlaitos/piia.hirvenoja/EGSIE.htm, see also Rinne, Kivirauma, Hirvenoja and Simola 1999, Rinne, Simola and Kivirauma 2000, Simola, Rinne and Kivirauma 2000.)

4.3.3 Historical Events and Movements which have shaped the Notion of Governance

The chance in education government has been located in the late 1980s (Konttinen 1995). Since then, a centralised decision-making and a rational top-down innovation strategy has been replaced by increasing self-regulation and decentralisation - first and foremost - in the field of higher education but also elsewhere. In this process there has been a move from "assessment to evaluation" where the lose links between central educational authorities and evaluation research has become essential. (Rinne, Simola and Kivirauma 2000.)

In 1995 Finland became a member of the European Union. Especially since this moment the thematics of governance have become increasingly known. According to Simola, Rinne and Kivirauma (2000) the participation with EU with neo-liberalist emphasis of market forces have created a new kind of governance characterised by the importance of elite-driven policy and politics.

4.3.4 Relationship to Corporate Governance and Management

The world of public governance had approached the world of corporate governance. The nice example of this is the pamphlet "Change of Pace in Education - Finnish Educational Policy in the 1990s" presented by Hirvi (1996, 49-50), secretary general of the ministry of education. Simola et al (2000) analysed this text and found curious two-storiedness. In the first floor there was quite acceptable overview of the situation of the Finnish educational system in general. This discourse was filled by positive goals and pursuits flavoured with all best wishes that the modern educational rhetoric may treat, not forgetting, e.g., thematics of citizens' equality. But in the basement there was a quite distinctive "sub-discourse" which came directly and openly from business world. In this earthy basement Hirvi spoke for result and quality management, commitment to innovations, efficiency and accountability, for enterpreneurialship, customers, products and result units, for purchase services, vouchers, commodification (of education as public good to private good), internal and external marketisation etc. In other words, this sub-discourse was totally "economised".

4.3.5 The Main Features of the Relationship between the State and Civil Society.

According to Simola et al (2000) the tradition of strong centralisation is a peculiarity of Finnish culture. It has its historical roots in the traditional position under the rule of Swedish Crown and the Russian Tsar. This relation between strong state and weak civil society has prevailed for centuries and followed also during the later nation- and state-building processes in independent Finland. It has left relatively limited space for some free civic society. Furthermore, the Finnish state doctrine was also strongly influenced by J. V. Snellman, who considered that serving one's own nation state was one of the central civic virtues (Niemelä 1998). So, from the 19th century onwards, civic movements and the state have evolved, working together towards common aims rather than as rivals in contradictory positions (Alapuro & Stenius 1987).

4.3.6 Issue of Gender addressed in the Governance Literature

Lavikka (1997) has suggested that the positive achievements in women’s equal position may be a result of the Finnish poverty and scarce resources rather than

Finnish progressive gender politics or open-minded government. According to her, Finland simply has always needed its women's full labour force; the subsistence of the working class families has largely depended on women's paid work. In addition, the myth that gender equality has already been achieved in Finland has promoted gender neutral policies that do not challenge self-evident, dichotomous assumptions about gender difference (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000). However, it is possible to find, at least, few governance principles, which are clearly aimed to promote gender equality.

The quota provision has formed part of the Finnish Equality Act since 1995. It stipulates that there should always be a minimum of forty per cent of women and men in state administration committees, consultative committees, working groups and other preparatory, planning and decision-making organs and municipal bodies. However, the Act does not apply to elected municipal councils. The quota provision also applies to delegations, which represent an authority or administrative sector ininternational co-operation. (Office of the Ombudsman for Equality, www.tasa-arvo.fi/millennium_eng.html.)

Obviously the prescribed quotas have been achieved quite well in state administration. Already, more than forty percent of committee members appointed after the effective date of the quota provision and almost forty per cent of the members of working groups are women. At municipal level, the quota principle has been also implemented well. In municipal executive boards, women have a share of 45 per cent and in other boards of 47-51 per cent. However, only fifteen per cent of the chairpersons of municipal executive boards are women. (Office of the Ombudsman for Equality, www.tasa-arvo.fi/millennium_eng.html.)

An equality plan should be produced for a municipality, government agency, organisation, educational establishment and other public entities. It is usually compiled jointly by the employer and employees. The public sector and a number of large companies have been pioneers in advancing equal opportunities. The Office of the Ombudsman for Equality monitors closely the equality plans of both private and public Finnish work communities. The Ombudsman for Equality promotes equality planning by means of on-site and company visits, which are designed to increase employers' awareness of equal rights promotion and to gather information on the equal opportunity problems in the workplace. The majority of the visits are made to private companies, and are conducted all over Finland. In addition, For the first time, in 1998, six work communities were granted diplomas for the meritorious promotion of workplace equality through equal opportunity planning. Such diplomas were also given out in 1999. (Office of the Ombudsman for Equality, www.tasa-arvo.fi/millennium_eng.html.)

An Equal Opportunity Barometer Study was a joint endeavour by the Council for Equality and the Statistics Finland. The sample consisted of 2417 persons aged from 15 to 74 years. It examined with the aid of the assessments, attitudes and personal experiences of women and men, inter alia, the division of labour, relative positions of authority and the acceptability of exerting power indifferent situations by employees of different sexes. According to the barometer, the clear majority of both men and women feel that the social position of women is inferior to that of men. However, one out of two men and women believed that equality will increase over the next ten years. (Melkas 1999.)

One variable was formed from the attitudes to the suitability of men and women in the various fields in politics. Nine women and eight men out of ten mentioned a woman rather a man or replied that gender was no significance. The question of whether women should play a greater role in politics and top business management was used to determine whether the respondents felt women should play a greater role in both public domains or in only one or neither. The clear majority of both the men and the women were in favour of greater female participation in order to add greater diversity to political expertise and to benefit business life, but the women more frequently than the men. (Melkas 1999.)

4.4 Education for Citizenship and Governance

4.4.1 Main Approaches in Education

Church education

Secular school system

Cultural work & popular adult education

Political parties

Labour unions

Education by media

Formal, nonformal and informal methods

Government reports and other policy documents

Creation of young citizen in official educational state discourse

Rinne, Kivirauma, Hirvenoja and Simola (1999) have sharply analyzed the official state discourse in Finland. According to them there have been two changes. Firstly, the model citizen of the state discourse of education has been changed. In the 1990's he or she can be characterised as an active and ethical learner who constructs the information, is tolerant and understands different cultures, has a wide knowledge of foreign languages and uses information and communication technologies. Comparing to 1960- and 1970's the difference is clear. When the old comprehensive school educated citizens, who share some traditional collective values of the "modern society", the new "post-modern citizen" is seen to develop his/her capabilities for himself/herself through schooling. (Rinne, Kivirauma, Hirvenoja and Simola 1999.)

In addition to that, the model citizen, aimed by the new comprehensive school, might be crystallised as a competitive individual with sound self-esteem and ability to make active choices. Rinne, Kivirauma, Hirvenoja and Simola (1999) emphasise that especially the "evaluation system" is seen very essential in realising this aim and therefore it is more ambitious than ever: it must be both comprehensive and individual, both objective and comparative. Besides fulfilling its selective and sorting function, the whole evaluation system of the school should guide the pupil into the continuing and varying self-evaluation, not only by him/herself but also with the teacher, parents and even other pupils. Thus, one may see here the move from the old idea of the limited and partial, external and formal school examination that guaranteed the citizenship to the individual and profound, exact and multifaced comprehensive school examination system that works for objective selection but, more and more, for the inscription of the self-selection into the pupil, too.

Secondly, the discourse of relationship between the education and the individuals has changed. From the end of the 1960's to the end of the 1980's it was regarded that education produces citizens to develop the society (CR 1970: 4, 22; CR 1981: 34, 19; CR 1983a: 60, 5; CR 1983b: 62, 219). In the 1990's the discourse of education has turned out to be "production of services that take into account needs of every individual" (CR 1996: 4, 23, 55). Rinne et al conclude this by saying that, in rhetoric the education is regarded as in order to serve individual whereas earlier the individuals were educated as citizens to serve the society.

Policy documents emphasise adult education's empowering role in a society

We could not found any government report just dedicated to citizenship education. There were only more general papers such as, "National Lifelong Learning Strategy" published by Ministry of Education (1997) and "Adult Education Policy in the First Years of the 21st Century" published by the Adult Education Council (1999), both conducting citizenship education among many other things. In addition the

The both documents emphasise adult education's empowering role in a democratic society. In order to operate as equal members of a democratic society and influence decision-making actively, citizens must be able to understand a wide range of societal, economic and social questions and to be willing to use their abilities. As "National Lifelong Learning Strategy" (1997) has put it, study activities should be used to encourage direct participation by citizens in the social debate and the democratic decision-making process; adult education institutions should also provide those interested in occupying positions of trust and exerting an influence in society with the opportunity to gain the necessary knowledge and skills. Parallel, "Adult Education Policy in the First Years of the 21st Century" (1999) says that studies which deal with society and the immediate community and those which improve different communicative skills are very important for citizens, who must be able to make independent decisions and choices in their own matters and in societal issues.

"Adult Education Policy in the First Years of the 21st Century" (1999) also lists threats to equal opportunity and critics the development in the nineties, when educational thinking began to highlight a model in which education and training were seen as factors for the economic and productive competitiveness of individuals, business and the nation as a whole in a global, increasingly demanding labour and production markets. The policy report notices that selective, specially targeted education and training provision was reduced, especially in outreach activities, in which resources are allocated to the least educated citizens.

Projects for information society and the question of marginalisation

The largest assignment from the National Board of Education is the currently ongoing "Information Society " -teacher training program. The Centre 's role has been the training of over 600 teachers. What is interesting from the viewpoint of adult citizen education is, that the Centre has launched a couple of important new initiatives outside of the school world as well. Through these projects the Centre has taken responsibility for those who are being marginalized from the mainstream of the information society.

The first project has been the information technology workshop for young citizens. at risk of becoming marginalized. This workshop was implemented in cooperation with the EU Social Fund, the greater Helsinki area municipalities and the Finnish Information Processing Association. At present there are three active workshops, each with 2030 young people participating for a period of six months. The objective is to help as many of them as possible get a jump up on their educational or working career. The participants are being trained in the professional use of ICT, and they learn by doing; work has been created by offering services to schools, organizations, businesses and private citizens. Their tutors have also been recruited from among the unemployed. This originally Danish idea seems to have taken root in our local city culture very well. (Sinko and Lehtinen 1999.)

Another group which easily drifts into the margins of the information society are senior citizens. For a few years,the Centre,in cooperation with its supporters, has been running a project which has opened the way into the world of multimedia and the Internet for many senior citizens. (Sinko and Lehtinen 1999.)

4.5 Learning Citizenship and Governance

There are some studies on how children and young people learn citizenship and governance in Finland (for example Gordon, Holland and Lahelma 2000, Harinen 2000), but the studies clearly focusing on adults' citizenship learning and adults' governance learning are almost missing. The only ones we found were Jääskeläinen's (2000) study whether those in work and those out of work view their citizenship differently, and Westman's (1999) study about women managers'career-routes. In addition, there were studies, such as Linnakylä et al (2000) about functional literacy, which can been taken as reports of citizenship skills.

Gordon, Holland and Lahelma (2000) conducted a research 'Making Space: Citizenship and Difference in Schools'. In this study children and young people were located in diverse social and cultural contexts. The main comparison took place between Finland and Britain. The empirical part of the project consisted of an ethnographic study of two secondary schools in Helsinki and two secondary schools in London. The methods consisted of observation, participant observation, and interviews with school students, teachers and parents, written tasks, questionnaires, informal discussions, photography and videos.

The researchers distinguished three layers of the school: the official, the informal and the physical school. At the official level the researchers examine curriculum, lesson content, textbooks, teaching materials, school rules etc. At the informal level they focused on interaction in all areas in the school, application of school rules, informal hierarchies etc. At the physical level the researchers focused on space and embodiment, school buildings, movement, sound, time etc. The focus included home-school relations and youth cultures too.

According to the results there was a combination of many elements of the three layers of the school that produced conceptions of particular types of citizens in different countries and in different schools. Especially, the way in which individuality had been perceived was crucial in shaping citizenship and one's access to the status of citizen, beyond formal rights. Being named as a part of a group determined through gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation and impairment, defined differences in hierarchical way. The researchers say that they will continue to explore the questions of citizenship in a follow-up study.

The researchers concluded by criticising New Right policies. They emphasised that gender is too important a category to be muted in education. The diversity of amongst girls and boys is often visible in schools; this may hide difficulties many girls have in making spaces, since centrality is not easily afforded to women and girls. According to researchers, attention to gender in its intersections with other social categories enable one to ask "which boys" and "which girls" when one focus on marginality.

Harinen (2000) studied young citizens in Finland. The data consisted of interviews with 21 young people who find themselves in differing positions with regard of citizenship. To young people who had grown up with one citizenship/nationality in Eastern Finland, citizenship meant primarily being a Finn in a nationalistic sense, whereas those with dual citizenship were more prone to problematise this way of thinking. Relations between the two nation states in question were not seen as particularly important, but the process of having grown up as a part of two or even more cultures gave them a certain flexibility both in their approach to life and in defining their identities.

Jääskeläinen's (2000) aim was to find out whether the citizens' position on the labour market determines their views on personally important rights and obligations related to citizenship. She analysed also the relationship between citizen's position on labour market and their participation and activity in the community as indicators of the practice of good citizenship. The survey data consisted of 223 full-time workers and 98 unemployed persons. The results indicated that social rights were considered the most crucial elements of citizenship. The unemployed persons gave significantly more priority to social rights and the ethic and moral obligations of citizenship than did full-time workers. According to Jääskeläinen (2000) this can be taken to indicate the significance of the both factors as adaptation mechanisms of the unemployed. Social security helps the unemployed financially, and the social sense of responsibility and caring for others helps them cope mentally. The results gave also some indication that those in work were more engaged and more active as citizens than the unemployed.

Westman's (1999) has studied women managers in the municipalities of Finland. Without doubt this group consists of active, or at least very committed citizens. In her study Westman (1999) interviewed 26 women managers and examined their career-routes and the characteristics behind their success. She found three main routes into managerial work for these women. Firstly, the route through the national-level political work, secondly, the route through the municipal political works with the strong managerial experience, and thirdly, the route through the professional administrational work. All routes included education at university level. However, the studied women managers argued that one couldn't learn managerial skills from formal development of educational programmes but from real-life experiences using androgynous leadership style.

Finland has taken part in the Second International Adult Literary Survey (SIALS), where literacy was defined as an adult skill of using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential. In this international comparison among 20 participating countries Finland reached literacy levels of a good Nordic standard. All Nordic countries were clearly above the international average. However, about 15 per cent of the Finnish adult population, that is about half million citizens, had severely limited literacy skills in one studied domain at least, which may relate to the risk of marginalisation. (Linnakylä, Malin, Blomqvist and Sulkunen 2000.)

4.6 Other Issues

4.6.1 Democracy and Equality

From the last century to the present, it has been characteristic feature of Nordic societies that there has been a strong mutual link between (popular) education and democracy. Thus, from the Finnish and also from Nordic viewpoint, democracy may be a central term to approach active citizenship and new governance.

Another important and actual term could be equality, which has always been essential element in ideology of liberal adult education in Finland. Despite that, the concept of cultural and educational equality became into use first in the 1960s, especially in Sweden, when it was realised that inequality was the most central problem that adult education needed to solve. In Finland, the Association for Adult Education Policy, which was founded in 1969, adopted the promotion of educational equality as its central goal. In the 1990s, the rise of so-called market-based adult education policy have brought the issue of educational equality back to fore. (Sihvonen 1998.)

4.6.2 Sivistys

In education, there is constant emphasis on sivistys / bildning (= German 'Bildung'; see Siljander 2000) or the traditional cultural ideal of enkyklikos paideia for the whole population. This starts with a determined attempt to teach everybody in the contents of church doctrine and literqacy for Bible reading. This has resulted in one of the most literate populations of the world. The newest addition to this is media literacy or media competence, which is the core of government's present knowledge strategy.

4.7 Comments and Conclusions

This paper is aimed to review policy documents and relevant literature related in citizenship and governance in Finland. The focus is on the developments of the nineties, especially on the time after 1995 when Finland became a member of the European Union. The historical overview is included in this review because the themes of this review are so closely related to historical context.

Of the policy documents we have looked only at few governmental policies: legislation, committee reports and national level plans. These texts can be characterized as official state educational discourse. It would have been important to include more discussions inside special interest groups, adult education organisations, adult education institutions and corporations of employers and employees, but because of the number of archives, journals and other publications a systematic research of this source material was beyond the scope of our undertaking. We will note it as a topic for later research work. Similarly, it is clear that our selection of literature is limited. We refer to quite few works, and we have tried to emphasise works to be of national importance and perhaps Nordic interest, but an omission is not a sign of non-acceptance. It is obvious that more relevant material have been left out than included, and as this is – more or less - a working paper, we welcome comments on this point.

One obvious topic for later work is to clarify the role of new technology. Finland is one of the most active exploiters of modern information and communication technology. The number of Internet hosts in Finland is the highest in the world relative to population. Mobile telephones are the most common in Finland, the penetration rate is well over 50 per cent, and traditional fixed telephone lines are also abundant (EVA 1999b). Thus, it is not surprising that there has been a great deal of public discourse interested in the potential of the Internet to improve citizen participation in democracy. From individual citizen's viewpoint, electronic-, network- or teledemocracy has been suggested as a new mean to promote direct public participation via information networks. Despite of all this debate, we had difficulties to create a coherent picture of the field. We found only single efforts such as, ‘IdeaFactory’, product of Nettiparlamentti (Network parliament –company and ‘IdeaFactory’, http://www.nettiparlamentti.fi/ideafactory/), which is aimed to be a tool for supporting democratic understanding and engagement of young people.

4.8 Past and Present Influential Writers

4.8.1 National Revival

Mikael Agricola

Finnish Lutheran reformator and originator of written Finnish, wrote the first ABC Book and translated large parts of Bible

Santeri Alkio

early pioneer of cultural animation, father of the youth association movement, first ideologist of the agrarian party

Anders Chydenius

economist writer, founder of the mixed Finnish way of economic thinking

Henrik Gabriel Porthan

early nationalist, focused on Finnish oral poetry and laid foundation for the later very extensive folklorist activity (which is still going strong)

Johan Ludvig Runeberg

national poet, who in his refined poetical work Ensign Ståhl's Songs (in Swedish) presented Finnish soldiers and peasants as heroes and heroines

Zachris Topelius

playwright and historical novelist created the still prevalent interpretation of Finnishness with a book "On Our Land"; his fairy-tales have also influenced generations of Finnish children

Elias Lönnroth

a medical doctor, compiler of the Finnish National Epos Kalevala, collection of old Finnish women's songs Kanteletar and several other influential works

Johan Vilhelm Snellman

Hegelian national philosopher and important educational writer; his works On Academic Freedom, Concept of Personality and Theory of State form the basis for Finnish society, education and general orientation to life-world and social systems

Aleksis Kivi

originally a playwright and poet wrote the national novel Seven Brothers, which describes the formation of the brothers from unsocialiced hooligans to active citizens participating in the civilized government of their day

4.8.2 First Republic

Minna Canth

feminist playwright, presented in her plays the unjustness of patriarchal society

Maikki Friberg

leading feminist writer, published the first dissertation on adult education by a Finn

Mandi Granfelt

a leaading activist of Finnish feminist movement

Eino Kaila

dramaturgist, philosopher and psychologist, responsible for the adoption of moderate empiricist epistemology and Gestalt-related wholistic cognitive orientation in Finnish philosophy, psychology and educational research

Reino Kuusi

one of the most influential fathers of Finnish social welfare system

Otto-Ville Kuusinen

one of the leaders of the unsuccessful communist revolution in Finland 1917-18; after fleeing to Soviet Union he eventually became a member of the supreme Soviet and led the collective that after II WW wwrote the model textbook of Marxist philosophy which was imitated by many later similar works

Eino Leino

one of the most beloved Finnish poets, authors and translators of world literature, continued the tradition of Kalevala with modern Kalevala-type epic poems, a model of active internationally oriented but still patriotic author

Miina Sillanpää

feminist labour union activist, first female minister

Väinö Voionmaa

historian, one of the leading social democrat organizers

Edward Westermarck

sociologist, ethical relativist; studied cultural differences in family customs and morals 0on world-wide basis, made extensive research on the Islamic traditions of Marocco; criticisized Christian churces' hypocritical practices

4.8.3 Second Republic

Erik Allardt

one of the leading Nordic sociologist; put emphasis both on theoretical explanations and on comparative empirical work

Sari Heinämaa

an influential feminist philosopher an gender researcher

J. A. Hollo

original humanistically oriented educational theorist, prominent and diligent translator of main philosophical waorks as well as world literature into Finnish

Matti Koskenniemi

educational microsociologist and didactician; adopted early in the 40's
self-directedness to the leading principle of Finnish basic didactics

Pekka Kuusi

social policy researcher, in the middle of the 60s one of the blueprinters of the Finnish welfare theory

Rakel Liehu

an influential feminist writer and philosopher

Päivi Setälä

expert in Roman history; her books on the history of women in antiquity and middle ages have made an impact in Finnish gender studies

Anna-Liisa Sysiharju

a sociologist of education, influential in family and home economics education

Annika Takala

social psychologist of education; wrote about child development, class differences in educational attitudes and value education

Kaari Utrio

a beloved author of both popular historical descriptions of the history of women & family and powerful feminist historical romances

Mika Waltari

internationally best known Finnish novelist, an epitome of the international orientation of Finnishness; best known for his novels on Egypt, Etruscs, Romans and middle age Christian-Islamic relations

Heikki Waris

a researcher in historical social research and one of the most influential writers on Finnish and international social policy (among other things, refugee questions)

Georg Henrik von Wright

internationally best known Finnish philosopher, a disciple and follower of Wittgenstein, expert in the logic of modal relations and general axiology, a critical humanist

Väinö Linna

4.8.4 Important Authors that are Ignored Abroad

More than half of the above mentioned cultural personalities are practically unknown abroad or only known in some of Finland's neighbour countries. Because of the quality of their writings and their influence in Finnish ideals of active citizenship and democracy they would all deserve to be better known internationally - with a number of other contemporaries as important as they, of course.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE NETHERLANDS

F. Basten and R. van der Veen

5.1 Introducing the Harmony Model and the Agenda Culture: Setting the Stage for the Netherlands

It is the year of 1982. Wassenaar. The social partners (representatives of employers and unions) come to an agreement: the trade-unions accept less growth in wages in exchange for gradual reduction of working hours, thus cutting down the costs of labour and therefore decreasing unemployment. The agreement of Wassenaar fits perfectly into the consensus or harmony model, eventually renamed the *poldermodel* to promote this typically Dutch way of politicking, which has met with a lot of inquiring enthusiasm world-wide, as a valuable export product. But what might seem an unusual but creative step in adapting to a new socio-economic environment to outsiders, is in fact to the Dutch a very normal procedure in adapting to any change whatsoever.

It all started with the literal creation of Holland, transforming swamps into land and protecting that land against the rising water, thus constructing an artificial home below sea level. The plain and simple need to survive under severe natural circumstances made it impossible for any sovereign lord to operate on his own: none of the sovereigns could afford not to join the common effort to fight the water. Add to this the continual wars with foreign kingdoms, and we have the conditions under which a culture of co-operation and agreement could arise. The lords of Holland remained sovereign on their own land, but also had a responsibility for the whole because they were very well aware that the were dependent upon each other for the safekeeping of their land and their political and economic privileges. This sovereignty was transferred into the socio-cultural makeup of the Dutch: tolerance among persons of different religious persuasions led to a compartmentalised society, in Dutch called the ‘pillarised’ society, where the leaders negotiated with each other to ensure equality among difference. Even now that the religious pillars have lost much of their influence, the Dutch still attach great value to negotiating harmony, eventually resulting in the construction of an agenda culture, finding its ultimate embodiment in the well chosen metaphor of the poldermodel.

So there you have it: the Dutch stage for active citizenship and governance in a nutshell.

5.2 The Debating-Society: Its members and its topics

The Dutch literature related to citizenship and governance can mostly be found in the libraries of societal sciences and policy sciences. Much literature on these topics is in book form. These books range from a theoretical outlining of policy studies, via the reflection on both theory and practice as in for instance the proceedings of conferences, to practical guidelines on how to develop, implement and evaluate policies. It is striking that much more is written about governance (mostly in terms of ‘government’) and far less is reported on citizenship. Whether the message is that citizens should be activated in order to participate, or that less active participation of citizens would be desired, the ‘citizen’ is treated as a somewhat ‘being there’ factor in the decision-making process that can be manipulated in varying degrees. In other words: the focus is that of the policy maker or policy advisor, not that of the receiver of the policy. Information on Dutch citizens can be found in cultural studies, but in these studies the factor ‘policy’ is mostly left out of the analyses. Virtually nothing can be found on the interaction between policy and citizens from the citizens’ point of view, although alarmed citizens do speak out their concerns in the media (in front of the TV cameras and in letters they send to national newspapers) and do have the attention of researchers who are more careful with the notion, differentiating between gender, ethnic background, socio-economic setting, etc.

The authors are chiefly academics, but most of them are also active in the advisory practice, combining theoretical notions with practical experiences in the political field. In some cases, the author is a committee installed by the government, such as the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR: Scientific Advisory Board for Governmental Policy) and the *Emancipatieraad* (ER: Advisory Board for Emancipation), in other cases the author is a ministry, publishing in the form of (preliminary) government policy documents. Every political party also has a foundation for scientific research, among which the *Wiardi Beckman Stichting* (WBS: Wiardi Beckman Foundation) of the Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party) is highly regarded. These foundations are subsidized by the government, who pays them in proportion to the number of representatives their party has in parlement. Technically these foundations are NGO’s. They – and others, such as the expert on citizenship and governance, the *Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek* (IPP: Institute for Public and Politics) – publish in both books and journals; and, of course, we must not forget the churches, that focus our attention to all sorts of societal problems and misbehaviours. Most contributions of the part of societal interest groups are to be found on the internet and in non-scientific journals. Furthermore, the programmes of political parties reveal notions and visions on citizenship and governance. Finally, attention to these topics is paid in newsletters (columns) and opinion papers. We might conclude that on every level and in every form citizenship and governance are discussed by everyone, although it is strikingly clear that there are far more titles on governance than there are on citizenship. The citizen as an actor is practically absent in the literature.

Different angles of the subject are highlighted (such as multicultural society and minority groups, poverty, exclusion, gender, etc.), but the main theme is: how to deal with societal problems and decision-making processes now that the process of de-pillarization is completed? The end of the pillarised society has consequences for both citizenship and governance. In the section below, the different viewpoints on citizenship are discussed. These views are mostly held and expressed by political parties, although more differentiated notions of ‘citizenship’ are also to be found.

Next, the consequences for governance are discussed. Did the de-pillarisation have any decisive influence on the harmony model and agenda culture, or did it leave both fundamentally unchanged?

5.3 Citizenship in the Netherlands: Moral lessons for a tough crowd

The term *citizenship* has been used mainly in the political discourse. Dutch citizens fight for a variety of issues that concern them, but the issue of 'the ideal citizen' is not among them. Citizenship is mostly an issue for the government or, in a broader sense the political élite that feels responsible for 'the Netherlands, Inc.' (Koenis, 1997: p. 99). Politicians and their parties have all formulated definitions of citizenship according to their own traditional background. Instead of the term 'active', 'good' is a more commonly used adverb for citizenship in this discussion. The academic discussion is more concerned with analyses of political discourse and actions concerning citizenship, placing the political reality against the background of Dutch socio-cultural developments.

5.3.1 The Liberal Roots of Dutch Citizenship: From virtuous gentlemen to empty state

In eighteenth century Holland, citizens where those who had rights based on descent and merit – in that order. This meant that the majority of the people was excluded from citizenship. The juridical system of natural right justified this situation, and the Republicans did not deplore this justification. Their main concern was that those who had rights, neglected their republican duties. In their elitist opinion of political virtue, it mattered whether the gentleman was virtuous; the ethics of the common people left them quite cold, since they did not count politically. The democratic revolutions in France and in the United States led to a radicalisation of the natural right. This meant that individuals were acknowledged indefeasible birth rights; otherwise, there would be oppression and tyranny. It also meant that the state imposed duties directly. Civic humanism was stimulated in two regards. Firstly, the growth of the state power should be matched by a growth in individual right of say, or rather: the exercise of state power would only be justifiable, as long as it was a derivative of the participation of the individual citizen. This participation was considered to be more than individual negotiation of interests; it was the active construction of the virtuous public life. Secondly, democratisation would eventually become a *fait accompli*, and one could only hope that during this process, the Dutch population would grow up politically. In the late nineteenth century, the intellectual debate gains a new character. Ethical questions are put onto the background, whilst pragmatic issues take their place. Citizenship becomes a matter of execution, and the two paradigms of natural right and republic become self-evident starting points that have lost their practical meaning. Instead, their intellectual arguments become means of propaganda: the principles need to be sold to a population that used to be abstract, but has become very physical in an ever changing world (Van Holthoorn, 1992: p. 31-38).

The present discussion on citizenship is based on a *dynamic* understanding of the term. Citizens are individuals who must have equal rights, and if this is not the case, who should gain equal rights. The issue of duties has left the scene (Van Holthoorn, 1992: p. 25). With 'citizen' we mean a person who has by law the right to participate in public affairs. Whether he or she exercises that right is not the touchstone for citizenship. Our view on citizenship is legalistic and passive (Van Stokkom, 1992: p. 63; see also Hemerijck, Simonis & Lehning, 1992). This conception has also met with a lot of feminist critique. This critique can be summarised in two points. Firstly, with the acceptance of equality of citizens, the existing inequality between citizens and outcasts (quasi-citizens) has become not-negotiable. Secondly, on the one hand only persons – not men and women – appear in modern liberal, republican and communitarian theories on citizenship, while on the other hand, these theories in fact build on older theories that explicitly couple citizenship with masculinity (Voet, 1992: p. 81). Instead, citizenship should be a matter of participation in all kinds of domains, for instance participation in the labour market in such a way that it not leads to feminisation of poverty (combining part-time jobs with care responsibilities, the glass ceiling). Although, as Bussemaker & Voet (1998) claim, potential conflicts about labour were often canalised by institutional ways of deliberation in a well developed system of neo-corporatism (labelled above also as ‘poldermodel’) the issue of the regulation of women’s participation in the labour market has continued to provoke extensive discussion and disagreement. Also, although the Dutch system of welfare has a high level of public expenditures and rather generous welfare entitlements, the latter has been used to keep women out of the system: for a long time the breadwinner’s income was assumed to be enough to support a family – the breadwinner being the male and the care-giver being the female (ibid: p. 5; see also Benschop, 1996)

Apart from feminist critique on a passive notion of citizenship, there are other reasons why citizenship is high on the agenda. Now that traditional enemies are no longer threatening or evil to date, European countries are, more than ever, confronted with the necessity not to find their strength and value in a tug-of-war, but in their inner force and vitality. Concepts of citizenship are of vital importance in a re-orientation on the task and function of politics and state, and in the search for new societal relations. In the past, economical urge, socio-cultural structures, homogeneity, and a sense of national identity offered fertile soil; nowadays, societal developments are characterised by increasing social, economical and cultural differentiation. Society, as its individual members, is confronted with an increasing number of actual and imaginary possibilities, alternatives and choices: the direction of societal developments is far less predictable, while at the same time, the resistance against uniform rules and procedures grows. Citizenship is a matter of values and differences of opinion about those values. Citizenship itself, and discussions about it, are expressed in specific, biased and coloured statements that should remain open for deviant interpretations. A consensus-seeking approach is out of the question here; what is needed is not ‘active agreement’, but recognition and appreciation of different opinions (Van Gunsteren, 1992).

Frissen characterises Dutch society as somewhat fatigued and decadent. In his opinion, it does not need a centre where stories about the good and the just are told. There is, in contrast, a multiplicity of small, individual, and also digital biographies. A citizen is reduced to what is known about him or her in administrative data bases. All efforts to moralise these citizens is futile. The public domain has become anarchistic: without centre, without characteristics, without predictability and without plan, goal or intention. As far as politics is concerned: it is the form that matters (Frissen, 1999). Many people are looking for new forms of citizenship, that could serve as alternatives for operating within the traditional frames of the political parties, that suffer a dramatic loss of function. In a fragmented society as the Dutch one, all hope for revitalising the grand narratives is idle romanticism. In fact: the state is empty (Frissen, 1998: p. 60; see also Frissen, 1999). In line of this thought, Koenis states that it is a persistent misunderstanding to equate politics with the effort to create community. Instead, politics has to do with the development and carrying out of ideas, the provision for arrangements and the creation of institutions precisely in situations where community is insufficient, or even completely missing (Koenis, 1997: p. 7).

Although politics is not, according to Koenis, about the creation of community – it is, in fact, the compensation for lack of community – the desire for it is a pivotal point on the political agenda, where the discussion on national identity is fuelled by problems surrounding integration of migrants and refugees. The proverbial Dutch tolerance has reached a minimum: the traditional emphasis on maintenance of the proper identity has, in regard to recent newcomers, been changed for an intolerance regarding whoever does not accept fundamental Dutch values as tolerance, equality of men and women and freedom of speech (Koenis, 1997: p. 17; for a discussion of the alleged Dutch plural society, see also Duyvendak, 1998a). As a matter of fact, the price of tolerance is a certain resistance to take others intellectually seriously: pacification in practice means mutual respect for each others' ideas and lifestyles, but without critically discussing them. Tolerance, then, remains superficial, passive, ritual and idiosyncratic. Identity is considered to be nothing more than a second skin, categorising people on the base of a simple adverb. This development is strengthened by the traditional Dutch pillarization reflex: the institutionally putting apart of 'strangers' in a pillar. Although chief politicians and sociologists (for instance Zijderveld, who pleads for a proper pillar for Islamites) consider this a well functioning instrument for the emancipation of new groups (*andersmaatschappelijken* or 'other-socials'), these groups often lack the power traditional groups had. Instead, they will be put aside and made object for welfare projects (Koenis, 1997: p. 65; for an analysis of the social construction of minorities see also Rath, 1991). It is observed that whereas in the old system, for the sake of consensus, various religious and 'quasi-religious' groups were very well represented in the top-level organization of society, such equal representation of different interest groups is no longer the case. New interest groups are under-represented in the new system: women and ethnic or other minority groups might be allowed, and sometimes even encouraged, to develop their own organizations and 'group identities', but they are largely excluded from top-level positions in decision-making channels and public institutions (Bussemaker & Voet 1998: p. 7). Apparently, gender and ethnic background are still the vinegar that mingle poorly with the well oiled old boys' network.

5.3.2 The Shift from Keeper to Pastor: The rise and fall of the welfare state

Another important subject in the discussion is the welfare state: as much as the political standpoints differ on this matter, all politicians agree that 'community' is the countervailing power for increasing individualisation, and, moreover, that 'moral' should be the soil for this community (hinted at in concerns about the pedagogical task of schools and the Christian-democrat proposal for a Ministry of Family) (Koenis, 1997). The welfare state has become a too costly enterprise, and the accusing finger is pointed at the new calculating citizen who lacks responsibility for the whole of society or community. However, the claim that all societal problems relate to a defective transfer of norms and values is not supported by empirical findings (Bovens & Hemerijck, 1996; Dekker, 1999); let alone that education should do anything more then offer entrance to existing citizenship (Van Gunsteren, 1992: 7). Koenis cannot help himself but to suspect some sort of conspiracy of politicians, policy officials and scientists to embezzle the political character of the welfare state. The state, then, is no longer the keeper of the public domain, but the pastor of ‘our’ communality, our shared norms and values. The social sciences are being tied into the shackles of policy relevance and citizens are being disciplined for virtue. In this political culture, terms like ‘state’, ‘government’ and ‘policy’ easily collide for the honour and glory of the joint project ‘the Netherlands’. The welfare state has equally become a joint project with one simple goal: the production of welfare and well-being. However, a liberal democracy is not a (moral) community and citizens are individuals who do not co-operate for the sake of a moral goal (they do so within the context of their proper communities), but for the sake of political goals. Politics, thus, has to do with civil diversity and negotiation, and not with community – the confusion arises from identifying state government as the sole political actor, leaving citizens to be complaining consumers who seek their rights (Koenis 1997: p. 81).

In the Netherlands, citizenship on the political agenda is mostly coupled to the approach of different policy problems (see also Van Gunsteren & Den Hoed, 1992), such as the improvement of education, the upholding of the law, increase of participation in the labour market, matters of minorities, reduction of the gap between voters and voted, decentralisation and social renewal. Van Gunsteren (1992: p. 70-72) clusters the topics into several domains:

1. *The welfare state* and, in particular, the constellation of labour and social security (Zijderveld & Adriaansens, 1981): the main concerns here are that the system of social security is no longer affordable and that it might distort the reintegration of long-term unemployed. Against this background several reports have been published (WRR, 1990a; Kroft c.s., 1989) in which the problem of long-term unemployment has been broadened, which has led to a revision of the system in order to stimulate people to participate in the labour market
2. *Renewal of statesmanship and government*: the starting point for this initiative has been a report in which a list of questions about the functioning of the parliamentary democracy has been drawn up (Rapport Commissie Deetman, 1990/91). The main conclusion was that there was a gap between voters and voted: citizens doubt the legitimacy of the government, the ‘primacy of the parliament’ has weakened and the development of policy has become diffuse. The solution is sought in decentralisation, on the one hand both of the state government and of a multiplicity of policy domains (top down); on the other hand in the structure of local government of municipalities (bottom up; see also WRR, 1990b)
3. *Social renewal*: this theme has been put on the political agenda at the end of the eighties and has become a government programme executed by the Ministry of Home Affairs, which is also concerned with minorities (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 1989; Commissie Idenburg, 1989). The observation was that the economical and technological recoveries did not result in an equal revival of the social structure. In order to adjust this imbalance, programmes has been developed to stimulate community initiatives and to enhance citizenship among foreigners
4. *Public spirit*: this is an overarching theme in which the previous issues return in a broader framework as a matter of policy with a moral approach. The state government has been overburdened (it both articulates interests of citizens and

carries them out), while at the same time the public spirit has been corrupted (citizens calculate and shift of the consequences of their actions on to the state). In reaction to this simultaneous development a series of measurements has been proposed: more attention for the formation of responsibility in schools (Uitleg, 1991a/b), active fight against fraud with social security and taxes, stimulation of the social middle field (Partijbestuur CDA, 1987), an active role for the churches in raising the public spirit and the recovery of a moral foundation on which justice can blossom once more (Hirsch Ballin, 1992), re-pillarization for the emancipation of 'newcomers' (Breedveld & Greven, 1991) and a renewed co-operation between citizens and a state government that takes its core business seriously (Appendice of Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 1990/91).

5.3.3 An Alternative Frame: The neo-republic view of the state and its citizens

All this themes come together in a rather recent and recurrently cited report on contemporary citizenship from the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR: Scientific Advisory Board for Governmental Policy) named after the main author Van Gunsteren (1992), where he outlines the framework of the neo-republic view of the state and its consequent values regarding citizenship. A citizen is he or she who both rules and is ruled. Society does not automatically produce robust citizens, nor up to date conceptions of citizenship. Now that society has become genuinely plural (but see also Duyvendak, 1998a), the reproduction of citizenship is primarily located within the responsibility of the public sphere. A 'citizen' is never solely a citizen: he or she is always *also* something else, like soldier, tax official, politician, student, employee, child or fool. Citizenship is thus a dimension. This perception of citizenship being a dimension resonates with the later published *Education for Democratic Citizenship* (Council of Europe, 1996). In this paper the Council of Europe distinguished between a political dimension (civic rights and obligations), a social dimension (inalienable birth rights) and a psychological concept. The latter views the individual and collective capacities as cognitive and socio-affective instruments which put a social contract into effect. Whereas the paper of the Council of Europe is rather normative in talking about citizenship (the aim is a continuing participation of individuals in the co-management of public affairs) and thus raises 'activity' as the norm, Van Gunsteren states that the degree of activity can never be a touchstone for citizenship, because citizens cannot be forced to activity (see also below). Citizenship concerns the organization of plurality, the dealing with differences and conflicts of loyalty, the modification of dependency relations in such a manner that the character of slavery is taken away (for Frissen, politics has to do with the avoidance of cruelty). The citizen has a secured place in the public sphere and in that position he or she modify practices of action with which he or she is involved. In order for him or her to operate effectively in the public sphere, he or she requires a minimum of competence, an aspect that has met with a lot of theoretical attention because it implies interference. However, some things can be said about this competence: it concerns the capacity to judge and act in practices of citizenship. This is more a matter of intuitively 'knowing how', then a structured body of knowledge about 'knowing that'. People learn in practice, in interaction with the environment: it is more a 'conversation' with others and the context. Furthermore, people learn by participating in practices of citizenship and politics, by listening and reading, in short: by being open for the society in which one lives (Van Gunsteren, 1992: p. 35-44).

These characteristics of competence might explain why there is little discussion and theory about education and learning for citizenship and governance.

Next to the crucial element of judgement civil competence comprises such things as civility, timing, and dealing with corruption and lies. This list is not exhaustive and should avoid the suggestion that civil competence might be caught in one simple formula. Furthermore, although competence of citizens is of the utmost importance, it is both in theory and practice mostly not open for discussion because a univocal standard for competence is missing and because the free choice of citizens – even in some occasions where they might appear to be incapable or clumsy – needs to be respected *in principle* (Van Gunsteren, 1992: p. 43-44).

Incapable and clumsy citizens, there seems to be more and more of them according to recent public debates. Participants in these debates, such as politicians, journalists and social scientists, talk of people who have the formal status of citizenship, but who behave in such a way that they do no justice to that status: they are citizens, but do not act accordingly (De Haan, 1992; Koenis, 1997; the paper of the Council of Europe referred to above also implies an unwanted gap between the 'should be' and 'is'). Result: irritation in the public sphere, considered as both a physical place (vandalism and pollution) and a virtual place ('free-riding' and low participation), which would lead, according to leading politicians, to the corrosion of societal integration (Van Gunsteren, 1992: 74-77). The substantial – in contrast to the formal – status of citizenship is gradual. Some people are better citizens than others, and, if we are to believe the participants of the public debates, at the moment a lot more people are less good citizens than is desirable. The three main conceptions of citizenship and their visions on society (moral/communitarian, economical/utilitarian and social/righteous), all have their different interpretations of citizenship. However, they also have something in common: they not only point to the incapacity of the citizens, but also and foremost to the incapacity of the government. The debate about citizenship is, in fact, a reflection of political impotence, but does more than just *re*flect: it *de*flects the image in such a way that this impotence is lost out of sight. Every time the term 'citizenship' pops up in the public debate, the message is communicated that the state *can* no longer direct, but moreover, that those responsible for the functioning of the government no longer *wish* to direct: citizens must direct themselves. What at first was actually impossible, is in reformulating it into terms of citizenship, even normatively undesirable. The shifting rhetoric of a factual statement to a normative justification, visible in all three conceptions, also leads to a very real shift in responsibilities. The responsibility for solving societal problems is, by describing them in terms of failing citizenship, put into the hands of the civil society. The problem of the failing government is covered up by the discussions about the design of citizenship in the civil society. This new argument remains, however, in the constellation of failing governmental policy. The matter of what the heart of the civil society is, results in half-heartedness: on the surface it is a discussion about an alternative for governmental policy, but at a deeper level it has an undertone that focuses on the question of how civil society can be (re)designed in order to make the *existing, unchanged* governmental policy more successful. The result of this half-heartedness is that the responsible citizen is mostly pictured as a passive citizen, and that the active, political role of the citizen in the civil society remains under-exposed (De Haan, 1992) – a point already made above. Moreover, efforts to stimulate a revival of this kind of disciplined citizenship in a republic is a paradox: politicians *are* citizens and can only express their appeal *as* fellow citizens, not as political leaders (Van Gunsteren, 1992: p.78).

The discussion on and concern for 'moral' has been defined by Van Gunsteren (and other writers) as a-political, and for that reason the impact of his WRR-report will be low, according to Koenis. 'The' politics is rather not interested in citizens as *political* beings who act in political forums and who should be equipped to do so successfully; Dutch politics has discovered citizens as mainly moral beings, who should adjust to the standards of community, whatever those might be. This *moral* citizen fits the long-term tradition for education for community, morality and society (Koenis, 1997: p. 20). This education has been provided by and within the pillars.

In a publication presented in March 2000 by the *Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling* (RMO: Advisory Board for Societal Development) the relationship between the organization of the public domain and the responsibility of the citizenship is summed up with the term *aansprekend burgerschap* (appealing citizenship). The main question is: how can the societal participation of citizens be enlarged in their double role of consumer and co-producer? The relationship between these two roles is expressed in the notion of 'individual sense of responsibility', a notion that combines both the sovereignty or self-support of the consumer and the societal commitment of the co-producer. (Unfortunately, we had our hands on this publication rather late, so we cannot go into details right now.)

Let us now take a closer look at the Dutch discussions about governance, translated into the capacity to govern citizens and the consequent forms it takes. A main theme is: the de-pillarised society, what comes next and how to deal with it??

5.4 Governance in the Netherlands: From discipline to hedonism

A closer look at the Dutch literature on citizenship and governance reveals that the political reality is not as simple as the stage sketched above (see section 1). There is a broad consensus about the 'consensus model' being the political reality, but that does not mean that there is a broad consensus about the desirability of this model. Hendriks & Toonen (1998) edited a review of the Dutch political and decision-making tradition. The topic of 'the state of the Netherlands' is as old as the state of the Netherlands itself. Recently, attention for the Netherlands has seen an upheaval as a result of the success of the *poldermodel*. In describing the Dutch state, the national literature is often equivalent to the international reflections. The decision-making culture is summed up in the three C's of consultation, compromise and consensus (Koch & Scheffer, 1996; Duyvendak & De Haan, 1997); the decision-making structure is classified as the spreading and division of power (Daalder, 1995; Lijphart, 1968). A representative of the political élite labels the typical Dutch way of government with the acronym IBZMA: *iedereen bemoeit zich met alles* (everybody interferes with everything) (Hoogerwerf, 1986). The Dutch appreciation for its own poldermodel is of rather recent date, and seems quite dependent of the favourable economical situation and the international praise for its success. The love for the poldermodel is mostly stirred up from the outside, and does not go very deep yet. There is, however, a discourse that goes much deeper, coming from the inside: the 'treacle discourse'.

5.4.1 The Treacle State: The sweetest democracy in the world

In the literature on this subject, the key word appears to be ‘treacle’, a Dutch speciality of a sticky, dark and sweet substance, made out of apples or pears that serves a delicious supplement to pancakes, cheese and other Dutch treats – but ‘an absolute horror to work your way through with a knife on a cold winter’s night’ (as the prime-minister is cited in Hendriks & Toonen, 1998).

In search of the roots of societal consensus and organised deliberation, one quickly stumbles on the notions of ‘settling and straightening’, notions that historically seem to have evolved in a linear way, but that, at a closer look, also show discontinuities and ruptures. Three key words indicate three different phases: *persuasie* (persuasion) during the Republic of Holland, *accommoderen* (accommodate) during the Batavian-French period, and the *stroperige staat* (the treacle state) of the present day. *Persuasie* was the governmental tendency for compromise and indulgence that served primarily economical interests of the cities of Holland, that guaranteed the wealth in the Golden Age. As a consequence, the national politics was nothing more than a derivative of regional and local interest: the Republic was a weak state, in which moderation and tolerance was the glue that kept the nation together. This oasis of moderation and tolerance did, however, have its boundaries: the economical and politico-religious power relations were not to be disturbed for risk of crises (Randeraad & Wolffram, 1998). In this period, the different minorities settled and straightened into their subordinate position in exchange for liberties (Groenveld, 1995). In the period between 1795 and 1798 a large-scale innovation in the governmental bureaucracy tied centre and periphery in a hierarchical manner, ending the sovereignty of the provinces and eventually the privileges of the regional élites. Settling and straightening now became a matter of *accommodatie*: the élites had learned that it was better to bind (new) social groups to the existing constellation – and thus to themselves – by giving them concessions to a certain degree. Settling and straightening took the form of negotiation between the state and the provinces. In the next period, the Constitution of 1848 had created a national frame, taking away the basis for the existing class society. The national state gained political influence on the local levels. The time was ripe for new power balances and the different groups went to war over education and the so-called social matter (suffrage). The process of pillarisation that followed from this, was not one without problems and struggles. Eventually, it ended in the pacification of 1917, that set the stage for the extension of the social middle field (private institutions responsible for the execution of public affairs) and the post-war controlled economy of deliberation. Settling and straightening took shape as a the willingness to equally divide societal provisions, taking into account the social interests (Randeraad & Wolffram, 1998; for a historical overview see also Lijphart, 1968 and Daalder, 1995). The discourse of the treacle state has matured since 1966 and reached its peak in 1996, when the new ‘purple government’ (a colourful mixture of social-democrats (red) and liberals (blue); a sort of ‘third way’ government where the Christian-democrats have been excluded from – although purple is the traditional Christian colour for ‘passion’) declared war against the slow and vast decision-making culture and announced to restore the ‘primacy of politics’ (Hendriks, 1998).

The discourse of the treacle state moves between two extremes: treacle is good or treacle is bad. In the ‘treacle is good’ version, the stickiness in the development of public policies is highly valued and considered to be an integral part of the Dutch tradition of ‘settling and straightening’. This tradition has kept Dutch politics to become one-sidedly authoritarian and has preserved the conditions for plural policy development, thus establishing long-term effectiveness (Randeraad & Wolffram, 1998; Duyendak, 1998). After all, in a consensus-seeking model, it may take some time, but eventually everyone agrees on the issue at hand. The defenders of this model can be found in neo-corporatists (who emphasise the benefits of the intense interaction between government and organised interest groups), communitarians (who are opposed to a mere instrumental politics and all for a broads political role for representatives of communities and organizations of the social middle field) and post-modernists (who prefer complexity, diversity and horizontal structures above straightened, uniform and vertical structures). Among the critics, we can find the neo-liberals (who want to give more power to the market), the neo-étatists (*nieuw-flinkers* (new left-wing politicians with balls; *links* is left-wing and *flink* is ferm) who want to increase the political elbow-room) and the so-called democracy-accomplishers (those who want a more direct relation between electorate, politics and policy). Although the critics, installed in the purple government, gratefully and gracefully accept all international praise for the accomplishments of the Dutch system, they are somewhat embarrassed for the traditional basis of this success, a basis they had already dismissed as obsolete. The suggested relation between the consensus model and the favourable economical results is therefore officially denied (Hendriks, 1998).

Authors who are affected by the treacle discourse, whether they can appreciate the treacle or not, are more focused on the *form* of politics than in its *content*. In fact, they state that politics should not even meddle with content (Frissen goes as far as to state that, since it is all about form, we might as well make it as pleasant as possible: hedonistic and aesthetic politics). Obviously, politicians disagree by nature. A side from the discussions on the preference of either fast or slow policy development, we can discern a discussion on the possibility of moral values in politics. This is a discussion about the possibility of a restoration of the primacy of politics. The major theme is whether the form should allow for active politics or for minimal facilitation, on maximum or minimum state intervention.

5.4.2 Politicians with Balls and Muscular Language: Restoration of the primacy of politics

In the discussion about democracy, three views can be discerned:

1. there is nothing wrong with the present organization of democracy, but maybe there can be done something about public governance and over-centralisation
2. there is something wrong with the present organization of democracy, but that is more a matter of increasing societal problems and the welfare state than a problem of democracy itself
3. there is something wrong with the present organization of democracy, because the influence of the voters in assigning political officials is too little.

These observations are all wrong, according to Bovens cs. (1995), who state that the real problem is the rush for a ‘primacy of politics’. In this discourse, politicians plead for less interference from other parties involved, in order to speed up the decision-making process. They loathe the broad possibilities social movements have to organise *hindermacht* (hindrance power) and actually raise their voice for less democracy on matters that involve, in their opinions, immediate action. Treacle is, in this context, the unease of the political élite with citizens who have become smarter and more independent, who have found their ways to and know how to make use of legal protection, and who behave as co-decision makers. That makes governing difficult. However, there is an ironic twist in recent history here: all procedures to organise *hindermacht* have been the merit of the very same generation of politicians that now critics the treacle state (Frissen, 1998). Another ironic twist of fate is the co-existence of the critics of the treacle state and the critics of social engineering. The critique on social engineering states that politicians are not allowed to govern without the consent of the citizens (they promote co-production and interactive decision making, thus adjusting the output to the input), while the critique on the treacle state focuses on the primacy of politics (reduction of the input in favour of an increased output). Politicians usually express both critiques, which makes the situation all the more intriguing. The paradox is this: the very same citizens who were subject to emancipation in the sixties, are now being accused of behaving emancipated, thus slowing down and frustrating the politics of the very same angry overachievers who initiated the wave of emancipation in the first place (Duyvendak, 1998b; for a discussion on contemporary social engineering see also Duyvendak & De Haan, 1997).

Be it as it may, for the purpose of speeding things up, politicians lump all citizens' protests to the so-called NIMBY-syndrome (Not In My Back Yard: a provision in the general interest is the subject of citizens' protest because this provision would have negative effects on their neighbourhood). In the political rhetoric, these protesting citizens are calculating actors who, within a sheer instrumental rationality, who weigh costs and benefits solely for their own self-interests. All arguments, legitimate or not, based on independent expert reports or not, are dismissed as NIMBY. However, NIMBY-decision making can not only be seen as a collision between private and public interests. In most cases, it is precisely a 'battle for the public interest' and who is the obvious authority to decide on that matter. Using NIMBY-arguments and rhetoric, politicians re-claim their monopoly in defining the public interest and re-install their role as the patronising keepers of the public good in a society that is driven by self-interests (Tops, 1998; for an interesting analysis of governmental discourse see also Van Twist, 1995). However, politicians have to realise that 'politics' has been removed from The Hague to other panels: Europe, jurisdiction, the private sphere, local government, clerical 'porches' and social organizations. The 'primacy of politics' discourse is too much concerned with bringing back politics to The Hague – although it is recognized by some (but for instance not Frissen or Koenis) that the state government keeps playing a stimulating and initiating part in policy development (Bovens cs., 1995). Obviously, the discourse of the primacy of politics (read: The Hague) is in contradiction with the European document *Evolutions in Governance* (Lebessis & Paterson, 1997), which observes that increasing difficulties for government action and social complexity results in a paradigm of government action in crisis. In fact, the report concludes that prior consultation should be replaced with ongoing consultation with stakeholders (thus to add treacle instead of muscle). In line with this, the report *Learning for Active Citizenship* (1997) claims that Europe has a commitment to encourage people's practical involvement in the democratic process at all levels, and most particularly at the European level (see also Prodi, 2000). Although the report acknowledges that there is no univocal standard for active participation (cf. Van Gunsteren, 1992), it also uderlines the urge to stimulate learning in a Europe of Knowledge. Learning is conceptualised as the ability and willingness to negotiate meanings and actions.

This fits the Dutch tradition of the three C' s of of consultation, compromise and consensus, and also agrees with the conception of a fluid and dynamic interplay between public and private. As Frissen (1998) points out, the public domain can be characterised as hybrid (see also In 't Veld, 1997; the term 'hybrid' corresponds with the observation of Lebbesis & Paterson (1997: p. 9) that the traditional government functions are being diffused among an even more complex array of actors who defy description in terms of the traditional model). There are many forms of communication and debate. Sometimes, public governance takes initiative; however, far more initiative comes from other actors and institutions, such as media organizations, politico-cultural centres, interest groups and individual citizens. In the public debate, diffuse images of the general interest dominate, while at the same time, they are confronted with strong and passionately expressed private interests – reason why the conclusions of these debates are usually unsatisfying. In a variety of domains, the hybridity of public assignments and private task execution takes form in a number of ever changing constellations. Private corporations look for possibilities to make money out of societal responsibilities; public organizations examine ways for corporate governance and management in public entrepreneurship (Frissen, 1998; for a discussion on the latter see also Noordegraaf, Ringeling & Zwetsloot, 1995). The discussion on this matter is often expressed in terms of purification: hybridity is evil and results in an unwanted mixture of pure cultures (Frissen, 1998). All the more reason for politicians to restore the primacy of politics – in contrast to promoted 'Network Europe' which by way of issue-based activism aims at more direct and more participatory democracy (Prodi, 2000).

5.4.3 Governmentspeak Analyzed: Why citizenship is not an issue

In the discussion about the primacy of politics, we find two kinds of arguments. Firstly, politicians see (active) citizens as a nuisance, as actors who frustrate speedy decision making with their *hindermacht*. Their main concern is fighting the treacle state. Secondly, politicians claim an active part in moral governance: citizens need to be re-motivated and re-stimulated for the public cause. Their main concern is fighting clumsy and failing citizenship (see section 2). In contrast to the latter view, the neo-republicans, who state that active citizenship and public spirit are in fact free choices of citizens, which cannot be forced to respond to the moral appeal. A first analyses of the speech act of politicians who are concerned with a revival of the public spirit reveals three issues:

1. The *uncritical upheaval of the past*: a moral discourse that for its audience is both frightening and reassuring in terms of pollution, danger, illness, and ritual purgation and regeneration by way of broad societal discussions about the possibilities of a renewed disciplined sense of solidarity. However, the interventions suggested all involve the private sphere, a sphere that politicians should stay away from and that is characterised by a pluralism (disorder or chaos to some) that is precisely organised and promoted by the democracy they wish to enhance but in their efforts to destroy pluralism endanger
2. The *denial of contemporary pluralism and the unknown society*: an issue closely related to the previous one. The dynamic and multiform societal realities are conceived in terms of and compared with the past, which results in a perception of imperfections (things that are no longer present, such as a coherent meta-story about tradition, public spirit, rationality, constitutional state). An appeal on public spirit is in fact a nostalgic appeal for the way things where: the possibility of

representation and civic behaviour that allows for and legitimates government of the system. It also leads to a misconception of the present creative possibilities: calculation and lack of interest. In the war against calculating citizens, politicians tend to forget that calculation is one of the organising principles of pluralism and that it does not exclude norms and values, but actually *implies* them. Political apathy, regarded as a positive value just after WW II because of its disciplining and stabilising power over the herds, is no longer valid, because the apathetic citizens of today are no longer the good citizens of yesterday: they are in fact a nuisance (see also section 2). However, lack of interest can be considered as a strategy for dealing with pluralism; moreover, it is an important signal for the present political system and functioning – even apart from the fact that apathy is a civil right that is neither uniform nor in an exclusive 'friend-or-foe'-relation with public spirit

3. The *paradox of 'the appeal to public spirit'* (in the line of: 'be spontaneous!'): an issue regarding the audience of the appeal for public spirit. Are these solely the goody-goodies who polish up their own public spirit and go out on a mission to promote the cause to others? Obviously yes (but why bother?), but what about the non-interested (and again: why bother?), the authorities, the stay-at-homes, the non-citizens? And what about non-individual actors such as political parties, large businesses, interest groups and so on? (Van Gunsteren,1992: p. 82-90). They should be denied citizenship; instead, there is a need for a new form of institutional citizenship (Bovens, 1992).

In conclusion, it can be stated that in the debates about Dutch politics, the treacle discourse and the discourse of the primacy of politics dominate. These public discourses exercise the many minds of both politicians and academics and, apart from a single folk singer, feminist, gay or migrant – in sum: all those not quite that publicly visible – who point to the white, heterosexual, masculine and middle class connotation of the discourse, everybody is quite happy with the situation as it is. After all, the white, heterosexual, masculine and middle class Dutchman has sucked the art of discourse in with his mother's milk.

5.5 Education for Citizenship and Governance: Information and persuasion

Citizen education (*burgerschapsvorming)* is a rather general term that has not been used very much in Dutch publications. Instead, until the eighties the most common general nominator was 'political education' (*politieke vorming*); but since then it seems to be a dying concept. In the literature of the nineties there is a further proliferation of terms, each indicating a specific form of citizen education, for instance public information (*overheidsvoorlichting*), social studies (*maatschappijleer*), training of political officials (*kadertraining*), community development (*opbouwwerk*). It is also quite common to use the term 'education' in connection with a specific content, for instance 'environmental education' (*natuur- en milieueducatie*) or 'mondial/global education' (*mondiale vorming*). Below we will more or less follow that tendency towards proliferation, in making a distinction between literature on citizen education facilitated by the government, citizen education in the more strict sense of political education as organised by political parties and social movements, and, finally, citizen education as built-in education in community development and organization development.

5.5.1 Education on Behalf of the Government: Informing the public

Although government reports give much attention to citizen participation and in that framework often also to the need to educate citizens for effective participation, we could not find a government report dedicated to just citizen education. But the national government does subsidise the national *Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek*, which has an impressive list of publications on all sorts and contents of citizen participation. Many of these publications dedicate sections to specific forms of citizen education as a correlative of citizen participation, but no publication could be found on citizen education in general. Interestingly enough, this Dutch national institute does publicise with the German "Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung" a *Newsletter Political Education* that tries to cover the subject of citizen education for Europe as a whole and indeed delivers a quite useful reference to new publications, upcoming seminars, etc.

An important form of citizen education as delivered by the government is the information of the general public both about its own policy and about other subjects which are seen as crucial for citizens. In the reference list you will find some studies that give an overview of the history and central problems of public information in the Netherlands (Katus & Volmer, 1991; Van Dam, 1996; Wagenaar, 1997). We shall mention briefly here three publications that stress the communicative and educational aspect of public information. Katus (In: Van Gent & Katus, 1995, 171-186) emphasises that the rise of the welfare state and the political democratisation were the main factors in the expansion of public information in the sixties and seventies. He argues that in the eighties this expansion reached a level where the term 'public information' is not appropriate anymore and is changed into the term 'public *communication*', because the government in fact enters a public debate with other strong partners, such as market organizations, civil society and mass media. Klandermans & Seydel (1996) discuss not so much the information from the government about its own action, but the public information on topics like the environment, health, crime. Heymann (In: Röling, 1994, 197-216) tries to define quite precisely under which conditions this public information is really educational, instead of just informational, persuasive or even manipulative. In an educational approach the client is in the centre of the process. Instead of just delivering solutions for the clients problems, the capacity of the client to learn to solve his or her own problems is crucial; the professional takes part in that learning process of the client and tries to facilitate it as well as possible.

Another important responsibility of the government is the education of young, 'arriving' citizens in secondary school. In the seventies in all types of secondary education the new subject of social studies (*maatschappijleer*) has been introduced. At the end of the eighties it got a more formal status as a subject of examination. Recently, its status became threatened again, when the Minister of Education announced she wants to combine, starting 2003 or 2004, history and social studies as an integrated subject at the secondary school. In fact, this integration of history and social studies in one subject has been realised already, halfway the nineties, for the first two years of the secondary schools. The most important source of information about the history, content and methods of social studies as a subject in secondary school can be found in the periodical *"Maatschappij en Politiek, vakblad voor maatschappijleer"* (Society and politics: professional journal for social studies), published by the *Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek* mentioned above. Two important book publications are Klaassen (1979) and Van der Kallen (1987).

Finally we should mention here an obligatory course for arriving migrants, called *inburgeringscursus*, i.e. a course about how to settle down as a migrant, how to become a citizen. More information, comparing the Dutch and the Flemish practice, you will find in Foblets & Hubeau (1997).

5.5.2 'The Good Life': Political parties and social movements teach morals

While citizen education as it is organised by the government should be neutral, or at least balanced, the political education as it is organised by political parties and the social movements is of course more partisan, which not necessary means that it is not education. As long as these activities deliver serious information and include forms of dialogue and there is also a freedom to participate or not, they will be included in the text below.

Jacobs & Schennink (1984) wrote a very well documented treatise on three main historical and philosophical trends in political education:

- the conservative perspective emphasising the integration of society resting on law and order,
- the liberal perspective emphasising the emancipation of the individual as realised in de confrontation of interest groups,
- the socialist perspective emphasising the collective emancipation of the labour class, through class struggle and coalitions with other oppressed groups.

The last conference in the Netherlands on the subject of political education has been organised in 1989. In a reader edited for this occasion (Hartman & Vlug, 1989) you still find an overview of the perspective each Dutch political party holds on political education, but more typical is that the main papers try to overcome these differences in perspectives. Instead, these papers develop new perspectives on political participation in the light of the most important societal and political trends (o.c., 5-6). It seems to be symbolic for the de-ideologization of politics that followed in the nineties.

As mentioned in the introduction of this section, political education took in the eighties and nineties more and more the form of political education not connected to a specific political ideology/party, but political education connected to a specific political issue/movement. So, you have environmental education, mondial/global education, peace education, etc. It is amazing how sensitive this type of education is for the ups and downs in public opinion. The environmental movement is nowadays by far the political movement that gets most attention from the government and educational institutions. The website www.nme-rontonde.nl has a description of 30.000 Dutch documents on environmental education, mostly related to school education on all levels, but also a substantial set on out-of-school education for adults. For instance recently (1996-1999) there has been a quite interesting project, financed bij the national government, 'everyday environmental education for adults'; all texts can be found on the website mentioned above. A good general introduction for environmental education is Vanken (1994). On the other hand, mondial/global education, a very popular branch of political education in the seventies and eighties, withered almost away in the nineties. We were not able to find a recent book publication that delivers an introduction to this field for the last decade.

5.5.3 The Academic Contribution: Community & organisation development

In the preceding sections we referred to the Dutch poldermodel and in particular the Dutch history in corporative democracy. One of the consequences is a strong tradition of local and organizational democracy. For the same reason, the Netherlands still have a strong professional field of community development. In fact, the field splits itself in two branches. On the one hand you have community organization (*opbouwwerk*) as a social work profession. On the other hand you have community education (*sociaal-cultureel werk*) that is closer to the field of adult education. We shall mention below some recent literature for each of these fields.

De Waal, Schuyt & Verveen (1994) published a manual for societal entrepeneurship, written for an audience of active citizens, volunteers, managers of societal oriented and non-profit organizations and government officials. Broekman (1998) recently wrote a new version of his handbook on methods, techniques and domains for community organization. A more fundamental, phenomenological reflection has been written by Vreeswijk (1996). But most interesting is the short publication of Duyvendak (1997), the one-and-only professor in community organization in the Netherlands. He concludes that there is a proliferation of the method of community organization. Not only community organisers, but also the police, municipal officials, housing corporations, schools, etc. use now methods of community organization to stimulate participation of citizens in their own domain and to support the learning processes of these citizens.

For the field of community education the most important handbook has been written by Spierts (1998). Also rather instructive publications have been published by Nieuwpoort & Vlaar (1996) and Jansen & Van der Veen (1995). All three books stress that community education is not just education but a combination of education with community development, community social group work and community recreation. For each of these sub-domains these books give many examples. More detailed information can be found in the Dutch/Flemish professional journal *Vorming*. We limit ourselves here to one illustration that is typical education and in particular education of individuals in the role as citizen: Broens (1995) and Verhagen (1999) describe two rather different projects in Brabant, one of the provinces of the Netherlands, to foster the local public debate on a range of political issues. An interesting element is the use of the theory of Kohlberg on moral development as tool to trigger the debate.

Organization development (*organisatieontwikkeling*) has, within work organizations, a function comparable to community development. From the perspective of citizen education, organization development becomes interesting where it concerns itself with the democratisation of the organization. Fruytier (1998) describes the Dutch tradition, making an explicit link with the Dutch poldermodel. Other recent introductions in organization development have been written by De Leeuw (1999) and De Nijs (1998). Within the Netherlands the work council (*ondernemingsraad*) is the principle vehicle of internal democracy in work organizations. A good overview of the discussion on the functioning of these work councils can be found in Looise, Leede & Van Beusekom (1996). The training of these work councils is regulated and financed through the Dutch practice of collective labour agreements between employers and unions. Goodijk (1995, 1998), a professional trainer of work councils, tries to answer the central question what professional knowledge work-council members need in order to secure their position and power in corporate governance, in particular in relation to the managing directors and the Board of Directors. Feijen (1992) investigated how unions and work councils could be involved more effectively in the introduction of new technologies in a company and concludes what the consequences are for training of works councils, in particular also when they do not have the technical knowledge to keep up with the engineers.

5.6 Citizenship and Governance: The learning-by-participating paradigm

The Dutch literature on how citizenship is *learned* is rather limited (with the exception of the WRR-report of Van Gunsteren, 1992, as mentioned above), compared to the rather extensive literature on how citizenship can be taught, trained or facilitated. In the literature on learning of citizenship, in so far there is such literature, a crucial distinction must be made between the learning process of citizen *organizations* and the learning process of *individual* citizens. With respect to individual learning processes we shall make below a distinction between literature on *motivation* of citizens to learn and literature on learning in a more strict sense.

5.6.1 Democratisation of Business and Labour: Learning employees and learning organizations

The concept of a learning organization has, since the nineties, become popular in the literature on work organizations. Typical for this literature is that it emphasizes that organizations (including smaller teams within the organization) can be more effective if they foster critical reflection on their actions. A rather well known Dutch introduction on this paradigm of the learning organization has been published by Van Tellingen (1997). A rather large body of knowledge about socio-technical systems (introduced in the Netherlands by De Sitter) has been produced by researchers of the Nijmegen Business School. In their publications, they not only stress the importance of self-regulating teams, but also warn for the unexpected side-effects this new organization of work might cause. In several publications, they stress that democracy may be undermined in this type or organizations, because the increase in decision-making power lags behind the increase in responsibilities, which eventually might result in the active reinforcement of managerial power by the employees themselves (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1997 and 1998; Brouns, 1998; Doorewaard, Benschop & Brouns, 1997). These principle might surely apply also to work councils and other groups that are the carriers of organizational democracy. However, we did not find any Dutch publications that applies principles of a learning organization to these groups.

This emphasis on organizational learning as critical reflection can be found as well, already for many decades, in international literature on community development. But compared to this international tradition, the Dutch community development literature has been often rather pragmatic. The learning of the community organization has been often limited to a description of learning how to improve ‘task’ aspects (i.e. how to get the job done) and ‘process’ aspects (i.e. smooth collaboration) in community development; the third aspect, ‘reflection’, which is considered to be typical for the ‘learning organization’ paradigm, was hardly ever mentioned.

But on this rather pragmatic tradition there is has been a recently significant exception. Wildemeersch et. al. (1998) developed a model for the analysis of ‘social learning’ in what they tagged as ‘participatory systems’. They describe four aspects.

Apart from the more traditional aspects of action and co-operation, they mention explicitly also communication and reflection. Each of the four aspects has been subsequently described as a tension between polar positions, for instance, the aspect of reflection as a tension between distance and identification.

5.6.2 Motivation for Political and Social Participation

There have been some important research projects in the Netherlands on the motivation of citizens for political and social participation. Klandermans (1983) did a quite interesting research project on *political* motivation, i.c. the motivation of workers within the AKZO company to participate in union actions for shorter work time. Klandermans tries to explain it by using the resource mobilization theory. He makes a distinction between three motives to participate: the value and the expectation of success, the reactions of others to the individual decision to participate, and the observed costs and profits of participation. He found in particular considerable evidence for the third factor.

Much more research has been done on the motivation of citizen for *social* participation, in particular the motivation for volunteer work. Lindeman (1996) makes a distinction between two categories of determinants of participation in voluntary work. One category has to do with circumstances, such as position in the labor market, family situation, age, education, another with personal characteristics such as motives, attitudes and personality traits. Again, as in the conclusion of the research of Klandermans on political participation, it becomes clear that the motivation for voluntary work is a function of rather concrete benefits for the volunteer such as an ‘active’ way of spending his or her leisure time, an opportunity to meet other people, an opportunity to develop particular competencies and the possibility to gain work experience.

Much research on motivation of citizens for participation makes a distinction between the roles of men and women. Nederland & Portegijs (1996) investigated why there is an under-representation of women on volunteer boards. They found two explanations in their research. On the one hand women are less motivated for functions on the board; they prefer not to sit in meetings, but to do the hands-on work and in particular to work with ‘the people’. On the other hand, there is also a conditional factor: women also have a smaller chance to be asked for boards. Verloo (1992) concentrated her research on the participation of women in community organizations. Her research concentrates on the question what sort of power problems women face in community organizations. But there is a sub-question on motivation of women to participate in such organizations. In this section the researcher discusses Klandermans application of resource mobilization theory and the three motives Klandermans mentioned. She concludes that this classification did not fit for the women in her research project. Instead, she constructs a classification with four types of motives: belonging to a social group, moral principles, personal development and finally the balance of costs and benefits.

5.6.3 How Citizens Learn to Become Active Citizens

There is of course a lot of Dutch literature on learning; there is even some specific literature on adult learning. However, there is very few on learning to become an active citizen. Wittebrood (1995) wrote an interesting dissertation on political socialization of students in secondary school.One of the few research reports on political learning of adults is the distinction between three types of learning of active members of a community, described by Van der Veen & Van Netten (1996). Firstly, there is *functional* learning (learning 'how to do', learning what is effective community behavior), there is also *reflective* learning (learning to discuss the moral and political foundations of community behavior) and finally there is *expressive* learning (learning to express in your community behavior personal intuition, feelings, meaning).

5.7 Comments & Conclusions: The harmony model and the agenda culture revisited

As we described above, the discussion on governance and citizenship in the Netherlands can be best understood in the Dutch tradition of 'negotiating harmony', avoiding polarisation of conflicts and authoritarian solutions. In recent policy debates this tradition has often been called the Dutch 'poldermodel', because it seems to go back to the medieval condition of sovereign lords collaborating in their fight against the water. In later centuries this tradition was reinforced in a tolerant culture which accommodated for religious differences. In the nineteenth century this religious tolerance was finally institutionalised in a 'pillarised' society, allowing different religious and quasi-religious groups a far-going autonomy in organising their own education, health care, social work, etc. Typical for the second half of the twentieth century is the gradual secularisation and de-pillarisation of the Dutch society and the search for new forms of settling and straightening societal conflicts, leading, for instance, to a strong corporative economy and a remarkable social peace. However, we also mentioned as the dark side of this habit of seeking harmony the exclusion of non-traditional pillar groups (such as women and newcomers) from the negotiations, thus reproducing uneven situations. In other words: harmony among the dominant traditional groups can be percieved as an approved tool for maintaining social, political and economic power at the cost of weaker groups.

This tradition makes it understandable that also in the recent literature on governance and citizenship, governance is stressed more than citizenship. In the international debate on governance, the Dutch poldermodel, and in particular the strong corporative economy, gets much attention and praise. However, within the Netherlands there has been given also much attention to the dysfunctions of such a model of strong governance, in particular its 'treacliness'. Two lines of criticism can be distinguished. One stresses that governance endangers the 'primacy of politics' in these public-private partnerships. In particular, critics fear the 'hindrance power' of all sorts of societal institutions involved in the decision-making process. Others stress the danger of clumsy and self-interested contributions to processes of shared decision making, in particular the increase of 'Not In My Back Yard' interventions.

In so far the Dutch literature concerns itself with citizenship proper, three main theoretical perspectives in current use are the community thesis, post-modernism and the neo-republic:

- *Community thesis* is a term coined by Koenis (who can, however, definitely not be shared under the adherents of this thesis) to indicate the axiom that society is held together by shared norms and values, a public moral. This thesis seems to appeal in particular to the political parties. It can be found as the underlying principle in all three main political directions. The Christian-democrats have underlined their traditional emphasis on the social middle field with the concept of the 'responsible society'. The liberals have made a plea for a new balance between non-engagement and paternalism. The social-democrats are looking for a new vision on solidarity, now that its classical concept has been put under a lot of pressure by way of renovation or demolition of the welfare state.

- The most prominent and outspoken defender of *post-modernism* is Frissen (1998; 1999). His view seems to reflect much more the position taken by most common citizens. In this view there is no need for a political centre where narratives about the good and the just are developed and promoted. All efforts to moralise citizens is futile. The public domain has become anarchistic. As far as politics is concerned, it is the form that matters. Many people are looking for new forms of citizenship that could serve as alternatives for operating within the traditional frames of the political parties.
- The *neo-republic* perspective has been developed in 1992 by the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR: Scientific Advisory Board for Government Policy), and can be seen as a compromise between the community thesis and the post-modern view. This committee defines a citizen not as a moral being who should take up social responsibilities, but as an individual that just happens to act sometimes within political systems. Citizenship is not about moral values and norms but about (learning) competencies to act effectively.

Both the first perspective (community thesis) and the latter (neo-republic approach) make an explicit connection with education and/or learning of citizenship. The community thesis stresses the need for a moral education, educating people to take up their moral responsibilities. But this thesis has been hardly discussed in the more recent literature on education and learning of citizenship (with the exception of a discussion about moral education in schools). This, however, does not mean that the educational literature in general falls back on a post-modern perspective of politics. In fact, most of the literature and practice of citizen education seems to be in line with the neo-republic approach of citizenship. It is rather pragmatic in its focus on facilitating citizens to develop the competencies needed to act effectively in a political domain, for instance supporting activists in the social movements, volunteers in the local society or members of work councils in the corporations.

Finally, we want to stress an important aspect of the literature on governance, citizenship and citizenship education. Many authors stress that although governance in the Dutch tradition can build on a long tradition of negotiating consensus among citizens, it is mainly a matter of 'institutional citizens' and occasionally of individual higher and middle-class citizens. This was true for the former pillarised society, but is also true for most of the new practices of governance and participation in the (post) modern Dutch society. This has been recognised widely in the literature on governance and is since the sixties also a dominant theme in the literature on all forms of citizen education. Citizen education has been seen in this literature essentially as an emancipatory practice in the sense that it motivates and supports in particular the excluded to enter the political arena and its many associated public-private organisations, committees and the like. There is still much to do to realise this emancipatory goal – for those who feel appealed by this.

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CHAPTER SIX

SLOVENIA

Urban Vehovar and Angela Ivancic

6.1 Historical Background

In the past the Slovenian society hardly experienced any features of spontaneous and unrestrained active citizenship. Before World War II Slovenians lived through two years of democracy only. The last democratic elections (preceding the ones which took place after the collapse of the socialist regime) were held in 1927. In 1929 dictatorship was established in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, i.e. the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. As far as ownership rights and arrangements of the capitalist societies were concerned, e.g. market competition and trade unions, the circumstances seem to have been somewhat brighter since capitalism was abolished only after World War II, when in 1945 communists ascended to power. Therefore, the majority of potentially active citizens of the Republic of Slovenia lack the experience of previously learned patterns of spontaneous active citizenship which therefore have to be re-established and reinforced *ad novum*.

This is not to say that in the past patterns of active citizenship did not exist at all. Apart from the predominantly ritualistic ways of activism, which took place in institutions of the so called »socialist« and »integral self-management«, spontaneous forms of associational and public activism existed. Acts of spontaneous public activism were carried out occasionally by Slovenian intellectuals, mostly writers, poets, philosophers, and sociologists, during the whole era of socialism, only to be suppressed by the monopoly power holding elite. Since the effort of the Slovenian intellectual elite to question and give tentative answers to the fate of the Slovenian nation appeared even before, i.e. during the period when the Slovenian nation represented an integral part of the state framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and kingdoms of Yugoslavia, it even earned the unique notion »cultural syndrome of the Slovenians«. This notion describes the activity of the cultural elite, substituting for the activity of the absent or subservient Slovenian endogenous political elite.

It was only in the second half of the eighties that the undertakings of the Slovenian cultural elite compounded with the outburst of civil society activities. Activities of the Slovenian intellectual elite and initiatives of the civil society encompassed the debate on the status of civil society, the demand to reconsider the status of the Slovenian nation in the framework of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), and the demand for the protection of human rights. By the end of the eighties the so called »triple transition« (Offe) in Slovenia started, i.e. the simultaneous establishment of a sovereign state, the transition to democracy, and the transition to a market economy,.

By any standard the second half of the eighties represents a crucial divide in the establishment of the civil society in Slovenia. In only a few years' time a major part of the Slovenian society was activated. During that period public debates on the enduring economic crisis of the socialist regime were launched, newspapers and magazines openly challenged the dominant views of the monopoly power holders, many books previously suppressed were made available at last, youth culture and subcultures asserted themselves as an important part of everyday reality in Slovenia, many petitions were signed and published, the number of strikes increased considerably, new social movements – peace movement, environmental movement, feminist, and gay movement – were established and recognised as important social agents.

In 1988 the first draft of the Slovenian constitution was written and presented as a result of the collaboration between the Slovenian Writers' Association and the Slovenian Sociological Association. In 1990 the first democratic elections were held, and in 1991 the overwhelming determination of Slovenians to establish an independent state was confirmed by the referendum on independence. In addition, in 1991 the Slovenian parliament endorsed the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. In 1998 the Slovenian Constitutional Court defined democracy as »a constitutional arrangement which, by excluding any violence and self-willingness, represents the social order of the rule of law, based on self-determination of the people, according to the will of the majority, freedom, and equality. At least the following crucial assumptions should be added to the basic principles of such an arrangement: respect for human rights as defined by the Constitution, sovereignty of the people, separation of powers, accountability of the government, and legality of the executive power's workings, independence of courts, multiparty political system, and the same possibilities for all political parties, with the right to form opposition, and to engage in the opposition in accordance with the Constitution.«

6.2 Methodological Remarks

The selection of literature under consideration is based on several sources: firstly, on informal interviews with social scientists familiar with the issues in question; secondly, on the analysis of the Slovenian on-line bibliographical data base COBIB which contains a complete list of literature published in Slovenia or abroad and available in Slovenian libraries;[3] and, finally, on the knowledge concerning the issues in question contributed by some of the members of the research team, who were active participants in transition processes of the eighties and nineties.

Interviews with scientists enabled us to pinpoint key literature, authors and issues of respective fields of research, including their overall judgement of the state of affairs in arenas in question. Analysis of the bibliographical data base enabled us to evaluate the scope and intensity of research and debates. E.g. newspaper reports, their quantity and focus, including the sole appearance of a specific issue in the newspaper, enabled as to assess the public importance of the specific issue. The same holds true for debates of scientists, in these cases we were able to assess the specific scientific importance of respective areas of our research interests.

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[3] The weakness of this kind of analysis is its dependence on the skills of librarians, i.e. their processing and understanding of books and articles.

The selected literature is limited to publication years between 1990 and 2000, including the latest items added to the bibliographical data base.

6.3 Citizenship

From the point of view of the genesis of expert and public concern for citizenship, i.e. the debate on civil society and Slovenian statehood, the second half of the eighties played an extremely important role, as already mentioned. In that period the most outspoken groups of prominent philosophers, sociologists and writers, as well as reporters and editorial boards of some newspapers, started to challenge the understanding of »citizenship« as propagated by the communist party. They focused their efforts on promoting, justifying, and defending the concept of civil society. The same goes for the issue of national self-determination, i.e. the right to decide on the form of national statehood.

Moreover, it is easy to couple the issues of civil society, the issue of national self-determination, and the issue of human rights since, historically, the defence of the Slovenian national identity played an extremely important role in the nation's survival in larger, »foreign« national entities, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, as well as the Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is no wonder that intellectuals promoted and highly valued the right for national self-determination, and criticised the economically inefficient socialist regime, which threatened to undercut the very sources of the nation's subsistence. Due to the fact that the development of »citizenship« in Slovenia is strongly connected to the notion of »civil society«, we will concentrate on the analysis of literature with regard to related issues and actors.

6.3.1 Emergence of the Civil Society as the First Step to ‘Active Citizenship’

Two journals and one book that traced the way to the modern understanding of citizenship in Slovenia need to be mentioned. In 1986 the book »Socialist Civil Society?« was published. It compiled articles on civil society written by foreign authors. In 1987 »Journal of Social Sciences«, a journal of the Slovenian Sociological Association published an issue compiling articles on civil society written by Slovenian authors. In the same year »New Review«, a leading journal of the Slovenian intelligentsia, published an issue compiling articles which questioned the fate of the Slovenian nation, favouring the right for the nation's self-determination. This journal provoked an intensive outcry and rage of some of the members of the Slovenian Communist Alliance, i.e. the communist party, as well as the Yugoslav Communist Alliance, including the Yugoslav Army. They clearly understood it as a secessionist programme. Immediately, the right for the nation's self-determination became the ignition fuse and the most important platform for ongoing processes of democratisation of the Slovenian society, culminating in the establishment of the sovereign state, including parliamentary democracy.

Writing and publishing articles on civil society was not considered that provocative to monopoly power holders. However, a book and an issue of a journal which focused on that topic represent the foundation of the »bourgeois« notion and understanding of »civil society« which soon became an indispensable part of the Slovenian vocabulary. From 1970 to 1986 only a few bibliographical units were denoted by the keyword »civil society«. They refer to Hegel's »Phenomenology of Law«, Marx, and Gramsci. In that period Marxist writers criticised Hegel's »bourgeois« understanding of civil society. From the very start of the debate on the issue of civil society leading Slovenian non-communist theoreticians of civil society opposed Marxist interpretations and, on the other hand, established a new understanding of that phenomenon, favouring a balanced relation between the state and civil society. According to this understanding civil society checks excesses of the state, and vice versa (cf. Adam, 1987 and Mastnak, 1992).[4] Therefore, in the second half of the eighties we witnessed a major innovation in the use of that term.

> The latest books on the fate and condition of the Slovenian nation and its civil society were published in 1999. Again, the intellectuals' journal »New Review« published a compilation of articles titled »Unchained Slovenia« heavily criticising the political culture of Slovenians and the behaviour of the Slovenian political elite. The compilation provoked a lively and quite intolerant debate, partly due to the »kulturkampf« mentality which prevails among Slovenian intellectuals and the population, and partly due to the fact that some of the intellectuals who contributed to the compilation have been writing in favour of one of the two Slovenian political camps. Secondly, a compilation of articles on civil society titled »Civil Society in Slovenia and Europe«, was published. The book represents an effort to define »civil society« and to describe its constituent parts. It is interesting that a lot of attention is given to the role of science and education as factors contributing to the working of civil society actors.

6.3.2 Formal-Legal Dimension of Citizenship as a Key Dimension of Citizenship in the Democratic Slovenia

The majority of literature on citizenship are articles of jurists published in specialised journals, and newspaper articles written by reporters. Authors of books on citizenship are jurists. Their books comprise commentaries of laws and descriptions of legal arrangements. Articles of sociologists and political scientists on the issue of citizenship are rare. There is no book written by a sociologist or a political scientist on that matter.

Crosscutting different keywords with the keyword »citizenship« gives meagre results.[5] Therefore, an overview of the complete literature published from 1990 to

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[4] This is a standpoint explicitly propounded by Juergen Habermas in his work "Between Facts and Norms" (1996).

[5] Crosscutting »citizenship« and »participation« in the period from 1990 to 2000 gives a result of 8 hits, none of them written by Slovenian authors or dealing with Slovenia. Crosscutting »citizenship« and »civil society« results in 17 hits, 4 of them by Slovenian authors. Two of them are political scientists' research reports (written in 1990), one of them explores the results of the Slovenian Public Opinion Poll research (published in 1997), also a work of the before mentioned political scientists, the last one is a report of a conference on adult learning and power (written in 1995). Crosscutting »citizenship« and »human rights« results in 31 hits. 12 of them are by Slovenian authors. 6 of them are by jurists (published in 1996, 1997, 1999, and 2000), 5 of them are newspaper articles (published in 1997, 1998, and 2000), and 1 of them is written by a sociologist (published in 2000). Crosscutting »citizenship« and »democracy« results in 31 hits. 3 of them were written by the same author and are identical to hits achieved by crosscutting »citizenship« with »civil society«. Crosscutting »citizenship« and »women« results in 8 hits, 3 of them written by Slovenian authors, all of them female. One is

2000 is needed to highlight basic features of the Slovenian literature on »citizenship«. The overview shows that from 1990 to 1994 only four articles were written by sociologists.[6] In 1994 the number of texts denoted by the keyword »citizenship« reached its peak.[7] An absolute majority of texts was written by jurists and reporters. In 1991 the »Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia« was enacted and later on amended. Jurists wrote commentaries on the »Law on Citizenship« and its amendments. Jurists and reporters wrote extensively on conditions and rules of acquisition of the Slovenian citizenship. By the end of 1993 the issue of double citizenship came to the fore. Many Slovenians felt that double citizenship represented an irritation to their newly established statehood. In response to this members of the nationalistic Slovenian National Party proposed two laws in September 1994, one to abolish double citizenship and another to amend the »Law on Citizenship«.

Not only double citizenship but also citizenship of Slovenian political and economic emigrants, and citizenship of members of non-Slovenian national communities of former SFRY living and working in Slovenia at the time of disintegration of SFRY, came into question. In 1995 the proposal for a referendum on the deprivation of Slovenian citizenship, acquired according to article 40 of the »Law on Citizenship«, stirred an intensive public debate. Debates on the citizenship right of persons, citizens of former SFRY living in Slovenia, have been continuing even until today. As already mentioned, articles on that matter have been written mostly by jurists and newspaper reporters and are of formal-legal nature or descriptions of troubles of common people trying to acquire citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia.[8]

Until today the scope of the term »citizenship« used by experts remains narrow, i.e. formal-legal. Keywords associated with »citizenship« reflect the formalistic and the legalistic nature of Slovenian literature on citizenship. These keywords are: law, Slovenia, foreigners, legislative referendum.[9] It appears that only defined rules of formal-legal status of citizens allow debates on citizenship in Slovenia, whereas more substantive considerations remain absent. By the same token this fact explains why jurists dominate the debate on citizenship in Slovenia.

The usage of the term “active citizenship” is a novelty in Slovenia. For the first time it was used in an article of a political scientist in 1994 (Bibic, 1994), this time rather unintentionally, describing »balanced political democracy« encompassing political parties »based on active citizenship«. For the second time it was used in 1998. This

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written by a political scientist (1993), one of them by a sociologist (1997), the last one is a conference report (written in 1994).

[6] Two of them were written in 1990, dealing with immigrants, one in 1992, dealing with citizenship in processes of statehood building in Slovenia, and one in 1994, dealing with results of Slovenian POP, depicting exclusivism of Slovenians (Mlinar, 1994). There is one article on education as citizens’ right published in 1992.

[7] This year 214 texts of foreign and Slovenian authors were added to COBIB. In comparison, in 1993 there were 49 and in 1995 34 items added.

[8] In 1995 the Constitutional Court of Slovenia decided upon articles 14 and 40 of the »Law on Citizenship«, which stipulated conditions of citizenship acquirement, the last ones of a temporary nature. Moreover, in 1998 a proposal of the law on status of Slovenians without Slovenian citizenship was published, and in 1999 a proposal of the law on foreigners, and a proposal of the law on regulation of the status of citizens of successor states of former SFRY living in Slovenia.

[9] These are the most frequently used keywords in the bibliographical data base, as far as “citizenship” is concerned.

and all of the following uses of the term were confined to research and debates on the impact education has on active citizenship. In 1998 an interview on active citizenship and civil education was published, as well as two articles on active citizenship, including the Masters Degree covering the same topic. The last three items were written by the same author (Jelenc-Krašovec, 1998a, 1998b, and 1998c. She published another article on active citizenship in 1999, exploring the relation of civic education and active citizenship in all listed texts. By the end of 1999 the whole issue of a journal specialised in adult education presented texts on active citizenship.[10]

The fact is that all articles directly concerned with the issue of active citizenship were published in journals on education. Neither sociology nor political science in Slovenia are familiar with this subject matter. Besides, it is interesting that nearly all of them were written by women.

There are three main themes and concerns in relation to citizenship. The first one is the lawyers’ research on laws concerning citizenship, the second one is the lawyers’ analysis of the constitutionality of the article 14 and article 40 of the »Law on Citizenship«, and the last one is the debate on the proposal of the referendum on deprivation of citizenship, proposed by one of the Slovenian political parties in 1995. That proposal provoked public upheaval and was declared as unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court of Slovenia. As far as the last two themes are concerned, the »subject matter« of the two were members of different nationalities of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, working and living in Slovenia, and their right to hold to their Slovenian citizenship. The fact is that the conditions to obtain the citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia are extremely exclusivistic, not only for members of different nationalities of former Yugoslavia but also for citizens of Western European states as well as for citizens of the United States of America.

The problem of citizenship of non-Slovenians, members of Yugoslav nationalities, is easy to discern in newspapers reports. Newspaper articles on that issue published in the period from 1993 to 2000 are abundant. On the other hand, it is to be expected that a debate on Slovenian citizenship is due to start and intensify in future, since Slovenia is to become member of the European Union. Some authors advise caution, noticing and warning that Slovenia is a small nation, small nations by definition having troubles in maintaining their identity in comparison to larger ones (Bucar, 1999).

As far as the main theoretical perspectives of citizenship in current use are concerned, it is hard to talk about any contemporary theoretical perspective. There are none, except for the formal-legal approach which lawyers denote as »status approach«. However, we could denote this approach as liberal-democratic, since it is founded on stipulations of the Slovenian Constitution which are compatible to the norms favoured in older established democracies. Besides, Slovenia is in the middle of intensive process of preparation for the accession to the Union, therefore the compatibility of perspectives is not questionable.

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[10] The publication of this issue is to be understood as a conscious preliminary to the ETGACE project carried out by the editorial board of the journal. Therefore, only three articles and a Masters Degree were published »spontaneously«. Moreover, the Slovenian bibliographical data base contains only a few books and articles on this matter written by foreign authors.

6.4 Governance

While the above described notion of »citizenship« leads to the conclusion that the predominant form of dealing with »citizenship«, as far as Slovenia is concerned, focuses on its formal-legal features, the notion of »governance« describes its more substantive features. In a sense, we could understand it as a continuation of debates on civil society, e.g. NGOs, local self-government, and trade unions of Slovenia, concentrated on their actual workings in a new, democratic environment.

6.4.1 The Role of NGOs in the Development of New Forms of Governance

Since Slovenia is a post-socialist country it is quite impossible to discuss changes of governance in Slovenia which would refer to some pre-existing traditional forms of democracy. Therefore, we must refer to the specific form of socialism having existed in SFRY, epitomised by the term »self-management«. Self-management was, by definition, a historical process in which a transformation of authority on behalf of workers towards the authority of workers themselves was taking place. In comparison with other socialist countries, supposedly the management of means of production was not carried out by the state, but by the workers themselves. All political organisations of that regime acted as transmission belts of the Communist Alliance, i.e. of the communist party. The so called Socialist Alliance of Working People represented an umbrella organisation which encompassed all »civil« associations and »socio-political organisations«, including the Alliance of Socialist Youth and the Communist Alliance itself. A specific mechanism of political decision-making existed, namely the »delegates' system«. It comprised of representatives of »working people«, local communities and »socio-political organisations«. By all means, the Communist Alliance retained its leading role in the Socialist Alliance which was stipulated in the Constitution of SFRY.

The so called »triple transition« in Slovenia was actually at least partly triggered by processes of globalisation, including the economic crisis of the seventies, which led to the economic delegitimisation of all socialist societies. Processes of »triple transition« should therefore be discussed as processes of »quadruple transition« since post-socialist societies have had to adapt to the reality of global capitalism. Moreover, some of them, including Slovenia, have had to adapt to the reality of processes of the European integration. Therefore, their newly acquired statehood has been immediately compromised by supranational processes of economic and political integration.

While the second half of the eighties clearly introduced a modern, »bourgeois« understanding of civil society, together with its spontaneity and formation of its theoretical foundation, the second half of the nineties introduced much more elaborated forms of activities of actors of civil society, together with the need for their financial and organisational rationalisation. This is being resolved at the very moment. The same goes for local self-government: newly established local communes and their representatives, elected by the end of 1998, need time to learn how to govern themselves. On the other hand, trade unions, as well as their counterparts, government and employers, are already able to negotiate. This is partly due to the previous existence of trade unions which, during the socialist regime, played only a ritualistic role in relation to power holders but were soon able to exchange ritual for more substantive roles.

Most texts on »governance« in Slovenia have been written by political scientists.[11] Two books related to this topic are worth noting, the book titled »Interest Associations and Lobbying« (1995), and the book »Democracy – Governance and Administration in Slovenia« (1997) compiling various articles dealing with democracy. However, the second book focuses mainly on analyses of workings of government and state administration.

Only one article published in the analysed period deals with the problem of governance and could be directly related to the issue observed, »Policy Community and some Problems of Governance in the Period of Transition«. It analyses the Slovenian policy community, i.e. activities of its constituent members, interest groups. The author presupposes that transition in Eastern Europe opens new possibilities as far as research of processes of governance, from the standpoint of the interaction of interest groups, actors of government structures, and actors of specific political arenas, is concerned. She maintains that in Slovenia we are dealing with the domination of interest groups established on the basis of their position in social division of labour, i.e. their social position. On the other hand, the so-called post-modern interest groups, dealing with issues of sustainable environment, peace and feminism, only seldom enrich the organisational ecology of existing policy communities. Finally, she concludes that the transitional process in Slovenia has reached a point where there exists an urgent need to establish democratic rules of co-operation of interest groups in processes of policy formation (Fink-Hafner, 1993).

Of course, the contemporary situation differs from the one described in 1993. In 1997 the same author concludes that modern interest groups in Slovenia are in the process of formation, that they are gradually gaining role in the policy-making process, and that the most influential gradually extend beyond the economic groups (Fink-Hafner, 1997). Moreover, she observes that citizens, groups, organisations and the new political elite are re-socialising, learning how to act in the new democratic environment. The learning process is broadening the interest groups' activities in the policy-making process and in all branches of power (ibidem). Since the literature on governance in Slovenia is relatively scarce, an analysis of the literature on NGOs and other actors of the political community is needed to make its assessment.

The first article on NGOs that was not written by a foreign author, and is not a simple report on their existence, was written by a jurist in 1993. As soon as in 1994 and 1995 an intensive concern for NGOs appears in Slovenia, at least in comparison to previous years.[12] In 1994 and 1995 jurists start to write about NGOs, defining their legal status. They are joined by political scientists, sociologists, social workers, and members of NGOs themselves. In his book "Od novih družbenih gibanj k nevladnim organizacijam" (From New Social Movements to NGO's) Klemenc (1995) describes the transition from the New Social Movements to non-governmental organisations. This transition epitomises progression from spontaneous forms of civil society activities of the second half of the eighties, towards more structured forms of activities taking part in the democratic institutional environment. In 1996 a journal on environmental issues was established. In writing on emerging treats of Slovenian environmental NGOs a political scientist and environmental activist came to the conclusion that, firstly, an urgent need exists to change the understanding of the role and position of the non-governmental sector in the transformation of the public sector and the development of democracy, and secondly, that a more conscious financial policy is needed to establish conditions for a more rational use and development of existing participatory and voluntary potential of Slovenian NGOs (Lukšic, A., 1998). The intellectual potential of environmental NGOs is by far the strongest.

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[11] A number of texts denoted by the keyword »governance« published in the period from 1990 to 2000 reaches meagre 61 hits in the COBIB data base, Slovenian and foreign authors included.

[12] In that year 10 articles and books on this matter were published and acquired by Slovenian libraries, 3 of them by Slovenian authors. In the next year there are 17 hits and in the year after 20 hits. Of 17 hits in 1994 10 are written by Slovenian authors or are concerned with the case of Slovenia, in 1995 this holds true for 12 out of 20 hits.

Research on NGOs in Slovenia exposed their weaknesses and their questionable structure. The latter is similar to the structure of NGOs in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia, which is culture and recreation dominant. On the other hand, the structure of NGOs in Austria, France, Germany, and Spain is social services dominant, the structure of NGOs in the USA, Japan, and Netherlands is health dominant, and the structure of NGOs in Belgium, Ireland, and UK is education dominant (Roncevic, 1999).

This looks like grim results. But we have to add that people we interviewed with regard to NGOs emphasised the fact that Slovenian NGOs are much better off than other Eastern and Central European NGOs. Besides, a centre to co-ordinate their enterprises is being organised. Their financial position is being improved, too. As a result, there is no doubt about the fact that Slovenian NGOs are in *status nascendi* and are expanding.

6.4.2 From the “Delegate System” to Local Self-Government

Before 1993 only a few articles and books on local self-government were published. Later on, interest in local self-government rose sharply.[13] Rising interest in local self-government was triggered by debates on the new law on local self-government, which was imminent, since in 1991 the newly adopted Slovenian Constitution defined the status of local communes anew. In 1993 the first draft of the law was published whereas the law itself was enacted in 1994. Moreover, in 1994 the »Law on the Establishment of Local Communes and the Definition of their Areas«, the »Law on the Referendum on the Establishment of Local Communes«, the »Law on Local Elections«, and the »Law on Financing of Local Communes« were enacted.

In 1994 the first democratic local elections were held, followed in 1998 by the second democratic local elections. In 1994 and in 1998/1999 local governments were formed. The extreme growth of the number of newspaper articles on local self-government in the period of local elections reflects the interest of people in local politics. In the interim period, i.e. from 1994 to 1998, we witnessed an unprecedented upsurge in the number of local communes. Their number rose from 56 to 192. This upsurge was encouraged by decisions of the Slovenian Constitutional Court, which favoured the local communities’ strife for independence, partly because of its political intentions, since the establishment of new local communes diminished the power of old power elites. Such decisions were unwise, not taking into account the economic consequences, stated one of the experts we interviewed. He emphasised that some of the newly established communes were extremely small and not able to support their own infrastructure, heavily relying on state subsidies. Also other experts on local self-government expect that in the future we will witness additional demands for the establishment of new local communes, as well as mergers of some smaller ones.

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[13] In 1993 98 articles, research reports, and books on that matter were found in the COBIB data base, and in 1994 278. After 1994 that number never lowered 100. In 1998 there were 337 and in 1999 292 hits.

Since some new local communes were established only recently and since new local governments were formed late in 1998 and early in 1999 we are dealing with an extremely young social phenomenon. It will take time for local governments and members of these communes to adapt to a new local reality. Again, we are dealing with social organisation in *status nascendi*. Moreover, an establishment of regions is needed to fill the vacuum between the state and local communes. The »Law on the Stimulation of the Congruent Regional Development« was enacted in 1999, and the proposal of the law on regions is in the parliamentary procedure since 1999.[14]

> No doubt, the interest in local communes has been extremely high in Slovenia. This is partly due to an extremely high number of jurists engaged in research on that matter, and partly due to the extremely intensive interest of people, reflected in the very high proportion of newspaper articles considering that issue. There are two important books on local self-government experts denote as such, »Local Self-government« (Vlaj, 1995) and »Local Self-government: Local Communes and Regions« (Šmidovnik, 1998). Both of them are of formal-legal nature, which comes as no surprise since both of them were written by jurists. Unfortunately, Slovenian political scientists and sociologists wrote only a few articles on this matter in the period from 1990 to 2000.

It looks like local policy and politics represent a hitherto unexploited reservoir of potential active citizenship of citizens of the Republic of Slovenia. It remains to be seen if this reservoir will be utilised. One of the experts we interviewed assessed that »in Slovenia we have no local democracy from the point of view of democracy« and that there was »not enough of time for anything to crystallise«. On the other hand, another expert declared that he has good experiences with mayors of some newly established local communes. However, actions and strategy of government remain problematic. In 1996 one of the jurists stated that the reform of local self-government and state administration on the local level was carried out without the administrative rationality being taken into account and in an uncoordinated way (Pirnat, 1996). In 2000 some other expert asserted that a gap exists between local communes and the state apparatus, i.e. administrative districts of the state, and that the state has not enough strength to reform its own apparatus (Šmidovnik, 2000).

6.4.3 Transition form Workers Self-Management to Social Partnership

Following the abolishment of the old regime, including the so called self-management, the principle of social partnership was introduced in Slovenia. Before discussing social partnership a glance at workers’ strikes is needed. No doubt, an idealistic picture of relations between workers, employees, and state represented an integral and indispensable part of the ideology of self-management. The socialist society was portrayed as a society of peaceful relations between the three. Therefore, in the first half of the eighties workers' strikes were referred to as »work stoppages« and not as »strikes«, since strikes were of conflict nature, not compatible with the ideology of monopoly power holders. Writing on strikes is practically non-existent before 1984, when two articles on that matter appeared. Only since 1986 are we dealing with more intensive writing on strikes in Slovenia. By that time jurists, political scientists, and sociologists realised and tried to persuade the power holders that some kind of legalisation and regulation of strikes is needed, as well as research on strikes. As a result, in the second half of the eighties strikes were theoretically founded in the writings of jurists, one political scientist, and sociologists. Later on, when transition started and many companies went broke or were dealing with economic difficulties, strikes became a matter of frequent newspaper reports.

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[14] Actually, 12 statistical regions already exist in Slovenia, but their existence is merely statistical.

Quite the same goes for »social partnership« and »neo-corporativist« arrangements, with the exception that first articles and books on that matter appeared even later on, at the beginning of the nineties. They were practically non-existent before 1990. In 1994 the highest number of articles on »neo-corporativism« was published. Authors were sociologists, political scientists, and organisational theoreticians. Literature on »social partnership« is more abundant. Authors on social partnership are jurists, economists, political scientists, and one sociologist. As far as social partnership is concerned no author, book, or article exists with specific importance to debates and the understanding of social partnership in Slovenia. Besides, »neo-corporativism« and »social partnership« do not appear in newspaper reports as frequently as strikes. The sole period that they appear more frequently is a period of bargaining with the employers and the state.

It is interesting that members of Slovenian trade unions and trade unions themselves were able to switch from their ritualistic roles to negotiations with employers and state in a quite unproblematic manner. This transformation was rather fast. In 1997 an assessment was made that the process of constructing social partnership organisations is not finished yet in Slovenia, but that the Economic-Social Council already plays an important role as the political forum where discussions about social and economic issues take place (Lukšic, I., 1997). Another author concludes that by the end of the nineties there are labour organisations in Slovenia whose membership and infrastructure surpass all forms of representation of workers' interests that ever existed in Slovenia (Stanojevic, 2000).

As far as bargaining activities are concerned, one of the experts we interviewed assessed that social partnership in Slovenia "works for sure", even more so in comparison with other transitional societies. For instance, he denoted the Hungarian case as a »command economy« and the Slovenian one as a »conflict environment«. He stated that trans-national companies are satisfied with the »structured« situation they find in Slovenia, since Slovenian workers identify with the companies and are willing to participate in decisions on companies they are employed in. He assessed that the advantages of the Slovenian environment lie in the high level of human and social capital of Slovenian employees. He is convinced that, as far as the model of social partnership is concerned, the Slovenian model is quite close to the German one, while elsewhere in Eastern Europe they are closer to the neo-liberal model. Comparative data are, in his view, in favour of Slovenia in spite of the rigid labour market.

6.4.5 Gender Issue in the Literature on Citizenship and Governance in Slovenia

The literature on citizenship and governance does not specially address gender issue. It has to be accentuated that in Slovenia gender issue as a rule denotes women's issue.

Despite of legally declared equality of men and women in all spheres of the society in the socialist system as well as the parliamentary democracy the reality presents quite different picture.

Today, there is only 10 percent of women in the Slovenian parliament. Moreover, their rights are endangered, since the period of transition and the newly established economic regime enlarge the survival burden of every individual, especially women in a relatively paternalistic society as in the case of Slovenia.

Women started to organise themselves in the second half of the eighties, echoing the fact that their equality to their male workers counterparts was fictional. the women’s movement represented a constitutive part of the New Social Movements. Groups in defence of women’s rights were established, articles on women’s rights were published. Nowadays, NGOs in protection of women human rights exist in Slovenia, as well as a government office for women, i.e. Women's Policy Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia. Almost every faculty in Slovenia holds a chair for women's studies. It is typical, however, that authors on these issues are nearly all women, most of them are political scientists and sociologists. As stated by one of them, feminist social actions in the 90’s set up many social innovations in the field of women and violence, sexual abuse and women mental health. In the same period the state and institutions of the Church started to establish Mother-Child Homes (Zaviršek, 1996). In her opinion this terminology masquarade covers the fact that the women who entered this new institution had experienced violence and poverty. These services provide help for women but at the same time they saw them as a problem that demands a moral correction. In the period of the transition backlash those institutions serve for the restitution of the familial ideology (ibidem). Maca Jogan observes that in spite of some obvious changes (specially as regards legal regulations) we have to deal with the fact that androcentristic culture is still strongly present in Slovenia. Through social mechanisms of connecting, determining and regulating activities and behaviour of an individual it enables reproduction of patriarchism (Jogan, 1994). The topic largely dealt with is inequality of women in exercising social, political and economic rights.

Numerous women-authors call attention to unequal access of women to more prestigious political, economic and scientific (academic) positions. observes. In her research report on accademic career and sexual inequality Jogan (1998) writes that irrespective of the fact that on the level of general value orientation the misogynic androcentrist attitudes do not prevail to the greater extend the female assistants and assistant professors (within and without an academic sphere) again and again meet some obstacles expressed in the various (hidden and/or even obvious) forms of discrimination against women. This contributes to the (re)production of actually unequal opportunities in comparison with the male colleagues (e.g. negative prejudices against women, overburdening with unpleasant and routine jobs in work place, with family work etc.). In spite of prevalent deprivation the respondents show low awareness how to improve the existing state.

6.5 Education and Learning for Citizenship and Governance

The situation described in the above chapters is also reflected through the presence of education for active citizenship and governance in the literature. It may be stated that most of the literature concerning education and learning for active citizenship is limited to compilations of occasional articles, collection of papers, newspaper articles and political and strategic documents on formal education. There is also an independent monograph related to these topics. Authors are researchers and experts from the field of educational sciences as well as some well-known sociologists, theologians and humanists. Only value education in primary schools has been subjected to more systematic evaluation carried out by researchers. It seems safe to claim that in Slovenia only formal education – above all primary education - is considered as an important agent of values, skills and knowledge needed to exercise activities encompassed in the terms 'citizenship' and 'governance'.

6.5.1 Values and Civic Education in the Socialist Regime

In former political regime value education was under strict ideological control of the »leading social and political forces« i.e. Communist Party. The entire educational system was pervaded with leading Marxist and socialist ideology. *'Moral education'* and 'S*ocial and civic education*' are the notions which can be directly related to citizenship education as a special area of education and learning of children. Moral education has its own independent tradition whereas only a few elements of civic and social education have been included in educational programmes (social component of moral education) (Justin, 1997).

Prior to the foundation of the monoparty state moral education was part of the religious, i. e. confessional education. Since in the communist system confessional education was banished from schools new subjects were introduced in order to teach moral education. The subject '*Foundations of socialist moral*' and later '*Social-moral education*' was initiated in primary schools. In secondary schools teaching relating to constitutional and political system of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (later Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and after 1970 the subject »*Self-management with Marxist foundations*« provided some elements of civic education.

The need of the leading political forces to control ideologically the most significant social institutions was primarily reflected in the concept of moral and civic education subjects initiated after the WW II. Irrespective of that some research results indicate that certain autonomy of teachers existed in developing their contents. It is stressed that teachers favoured the topics which were aimed to contribute to general education of pupils and somewhat avoided the so called "social themes" (Zupancic, 1987, 1990; in Justin, 1997, p. 167). Similar discrepancy is evident in relation to the value issues. Teachers suggested that individual values (health, creativity achievement, knowledge, family, honesty, altruism) should be given priority to »socialist« values (work, self-management, solidarity, equality, brotherhood).

Moreover, teaching of social sciences in secondary schools, especially the subject *Self-management with foundations of Marxism* was subjected to severe criticism of humanistic intellectuals and critical educational scientists. It concerned the content, textbooks and methods of teaching and learning. A general statement was that the subject was politically initiated and was representing a reaction of the political elites in power to the relaxation of cohesive elements of the state ideology (Justin et al., 1989, p. 79). Chiefly negative criticism in relation to this subject was expressed in rational evaluation of the secondary educational programmes. The concept was accused of being too strongly based on specific content – this was especially held for teaching on socio-political system of the state which was, in the view of the critics, too idealised, without any proper critical distance -, and on the declared values of the socialist society. Teaching was mostly stressing the past and neglecting current situation (ibidem, p. 83-84). It was further stated that textbooks developed within these subjects were designed so as to indoctrinate the pupils. Another criticism was that teachers relied too much on traditional teaching tools (textbooks, literature, transparencies, videos, films and alike) and neglected active participation of pupils in concrete situations (Justin et al., 1989, p. 40-45).

6.5.2 Education for Citizenship and Governance in the Democratic Slovenia

With abolishment of the socialist system the entire educational system including moral-ethical education as its constituent part started to re-conceptualise.[15] The guidelines were defined in the policy document Basic Principles of School Reform in Slovenia (White Paper, 1996). Value education is not laid down as a special premise. It is integrated in the principles of education as a whole by an argument that the choice of teaching, the ways of the structure of the curriculum plan already present a kind of value orientation. This document contains a range of principles related to value and citizenship education: democracy, autonomy, equality, human rights, legal State, pluralism, environmental protection, tolerance etc. These basic principles are specified in school laws regulating individual educational subsystems.[16]

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[15] In contrast to the Constitution from 1974 which put educational system in charge of training of working people for work, self-management and education in the sense of achievements of socialist revolution, socialist ethics, selfmanaging democracy, socialist patriotism, brotherhood and unity, equality of nations and nationalities, and socialist internationalism the constitution adopted in 1991 states that »Education is based on achievements of modern science, humanism, patriotism and observing of human rights and liberties.«

[16] Among aims and goals defined by Law on organisation and financing of education and schooling the following may be underlined:

- Educating for mutual tolerance, the development of the sense of equality of sexes, observing differences and co-operation with others, observing children’s and human rights and basic liberties, developing equal opportunities of both sexes and through these developing abilities to live in democratic society;
- Developing language abilities and the consciousness of the Slovenian language as the language of the Slovenian state; preserving and developing Hungarian and Italian language in ethnically mixed regions;[16]
- Encouraging individual integrity awareness;
- Developing awareness of belonging to the state and national identity as well as knowledge about the Slovenian history and culture;
- Educating for common cultural and civilisation values originating from the European tradition;
- Enabling integration in processes of European integrations;[16]

Laws on secondary vocational, professional and general education add to the aims and goals mentioned above also the following:

- Developing independent critical judgement and responsible acting;
- Educating for responsible protection of liberty; tolerant, pacifistic coexistence; and respec for people;
- Developing an open mind for building free, democratic and socially just state;
- Raising awareness of responsibility for environmental protection and taking care of one’s health;
- Raising awareness of rights and duties as a human being and citizen.

Irrespective of that in 1991 quite a number of Slovenian primary schools started with an experimental teaching of an alternative subject named *Ethics and Society*. The subject has never officially become an integral part of primary school still, it has gained grounds in schools. As regards the content it has been moving away from *personal-developmental* pattern adopted in the past by moral-social education and has been turning towards *autonomous* pattern, reflecting the direction to the new ethical universalism and humanism (human rights) and to political, civil-social, intercultural and universalistic themes. It has, thus, established contact with problems of the broader content and with some universalistic and intercultural themes (Justin, 1997, p. 169).

An important way for pupils to learn values are extra-curricular activities (usually called activities of interests) and some non-compulsory subjects (cf. Zupancic et al., 1994, 182-185). However, there has been no research conducted so far which could have illuminated their role in the process of forming active citizens.

New educational reform enacted in 1995 has also intensified the ongoing debate about ideological grounds of the Slovenian educational system that largely touches upon moral and civic education. Education for citizenship is usually dealt with in terms of value orientation and national identity building. The debate is as a rule centred on the question of the role of religion in the system of primary education. Issues related to the implementation of concepts of curricular reform which have sharply exposed the question of value education in primary education can be understood in this context. Articles from various newspapers, magazines, periodicals and those presented in special compilations clearly indicate that the whole debate has been inspired by the ideological duality characteristic of the post-socialist Slovenian political space. Traditional option is demanding value education to be based on traditional catholic values whereas liberal option advocates modern laic public school. The role of Catholic Church in public schools appears to be at stake. Anton Stres, influential catholic sociologist states in one of his articles: "Since former monoparty state absorbed the entire civil society and the public, separation of state and Church in communism meant elimination of the Church from the whole area of public... This mode of thinking is still very much alive among Slovenian politicians and journalist and is hard to surpass. It is linked with laicism which represents actual official ideology of the Slovenian ruling liberal democracy in relation to the religion and the Church... In our conditions this is most evident in school. Namely, it is supposed that solely one extensive "ideological" subject named *Ethics and society* is to be developed for all pupils. This would be a kind of laicistic moral and civic education which would be compulsory for everyone..." (Stres, 1999, p. 86). In criticising directions of educational reform he argues that the new school is banning any kind of confessional activities but at the same time it is promoting a compulsory subject of ethic and civic education. In his opinion this makes an attempt of the school to shape a unified ethical profile of pupils what is an outstanding laicistic treatment and a new **single-mindedness**. For him it is unacceptable that the Church would not be allowed to participate in shaping non-confessional optional lessons on religions in schools: "There are strong disagreements in regard to lessons on religions in public schools. It is not about confessional teaching as religious educational subject... This is to be optional subject chosen by pupils for two years, each year again... Catholic Church as the most important religious institution of the milieu is to have no saying in its shaping. The Church is thus not just in general entirely excluded from the system of public schooling it will be so even when pupils are taught about the Church itself" (ibidem, p. 93).

On the other hand, well-known Slovenian sociologist of religion Marko Kerševan comprehends the question of dealing with religion and (ethics) in public schools as follows: "Religion and related questions are so strongly integrated in history, culture, social and private life that school simply cannot avoid them. It has to educate for confrontation with these questions in the same manner as it does in case of other social, historical, cultural, private issues: by mediating scientific cognition, teaching for critical approach, for valuation with common value standards, which after all are those values that make it possible for coexistence and working together with people of different other values" (Kerševan, 1997, p. 120). In suggesting that he also accentuates that issues concerning religion remain and must remain open for individual choices and risks. Public school is intended for all and must therefore educate for the values that enable coexistence of people from a particular surrounding, nation, state, civilisation irrespective of existing differences.

Primary education of children is likely to be regarded as a key mediator of citizenship knowledge, values and skills also in programme documents of main rightist political parties which are currently in power in Slovenia, however in line with their concept of democratic state:

»Citizenship education must, at the same time, impart citizenship virtues to children. Primarily the awareness that power is originating from people hence, people have to be interested in public affairs and participate in their governance, awareness that everyone is responsible for the society and the nation-state in which she or he lives. This goes also for civic courage that is needed to rise the awareness of an individual that citizens in democratic societies have also the competence to govern affairs of common interest as well as to co-operate in shaping of the society whereas he/she observes basic values of democracy. Honesty as an individual and social virtue has an important place among them« (Programme of the Social democratic party of Slovenia, http://www.sds.si/program/program_stranke.html, p.7 of 33).

»To young people we must mediate basic values of our civilisation and culture, enable them for active coexistence and make it possible for their balanced and free development and formation of their character. Civic education shall strengthen their awareness, pride and joy that they belong to Slovenian nation-state (Programme of SLS+SKD Slovene People's Party, http://www.sls.si, p. 7 of 14).

6.5.3 Education and Learning for Active Citizenship and Governance in Adult Education

In former socialist system socio-political education and education for self-management comprised also an important part of adult education. Immediately after the WW II political education was entrusted to political organisations and people's universities which were mostly organised in an amateur manner. However, promotion of workers self-management had significantly increased the demand for such kind of education as workers had to qualify for taking on the role of »managers«. A foundation of workers' universities enabled transfer of rather amateur socio-political education organised by socio-political organisations to professional providers. According to various data and evidence socio-political and social education had represented one of the main fields of education and training provided by workers universities all the way to the breakdown of the socialist system (Mohorcic Špolar, Emeršic, 1997). This is also confirmed by empirical data indicating participation of the employed in adult education (Crnivec, 1986). Aims of socio-political education were defined in terms of »rising socialist social consciousness«; »developing positive relation to self-management and to other accomplishments of the National liberation war and revolution«;«acquainting working people and citizens with the socio-political system of the country and enabling them for participation in the delegate system«. As already mentioned, socio-political education was politically initiated and strongly ideologically motivated. It is thus not surprising that it was not accepted with an enthusiasm. With diminishing of the ideological pressure in the 1980s its scope was diminishing very quickly, too. It is typical that any attempts to reintroduce civic or citizenship education in the first years of transition have failed. Providers of adult education are convinced that this is the consequence of the misuse of these programmes in the past for ideological indoctrination and brainwashing of the people.

In comparison with laws regulating youth education, law on adult education does not specially consider civic education of adults. Programmes for democracy are mentioned as one kind among many. On the other hand, in some strategic documents defining public interest in adult education and setting its framework this field is also considered. Starting points for the Adult Education Master Plan define two global goals of adult education. The first one concerns the development of general non-formal adult education for the majority of the population. The opportunities for learning in order to improve quality of living, access to information, cultural and civilisation level; preserving cultural tradition and national identity; coexisting of various cultures and environment protection are cited among goals assigned to this kind of education and learning. Some priorities are derived from this global goal. In relation to general non-formal education the necessity of learning for practising citizenship, comprehensive development of an individual, coexistence with dissimilarities is stressed. Non-formal education should enable people to create private and social networks among them. These bonds spring up from common goals and activities, common values and cultural heritage in broadest sense (see, Adult Education Master Plan , Starting points, 1999, Vol. 2, p. 328-331).

However, the fact that official documents, especially those regulating the educational system do pay only little attention to adult citizenship education does not indicate its complete absence. From various other formal documents as well as descriptions of activities of numerous NGOs, civil initiatives and movements it is obvious that a lot has been going on lately in this field. Virtually everyone of those offers among the activities also education and information (cf.Guidebook on NGOs in Slovenia, 1999). This indicates that citizenship education is fragmented, unsystematic and adjusted to the needs and interests of members and those who are target population of organisations and initiatives. With the support of PHARE Democracy Programme a »Programme on education for democracy« was initiated in 1993 and 1994. It was aimed at acquisition or refreshment of basic knowledge and skills, on development of critical thinking, and on formation of citizenship awareness. Some of the training programmes developed within PHARE Democracy Programme are still a part of training offer of some providers; some became part of formal training programmes (Emeršic, 1999).

It appears that in Slovenia the need for learning and self-learning for realisation of social and economic dimension of citizenship has visibly increased in the post-socialist period. Constant worsening of social security, very low level of trust in the institutions of the legal state, transformation of social risks into individual risks and also the need for business success have created space for production of respective handbooks and guidelines advising people on how to be successful in looking for a job, starting self-employment, exercising one’s rights, getting acquainted with one’s rights. Some of them are also state-supported. Involvement of the state-support usually does not have anything to do with exercising economic and social citizenship but with the attempts of the state to decrease the number of people dependent on social transfers. Among forms of adult learning developed in the last decade study circles have become a popular one. They are spread in various surroundings (firms, trade unions, youth organisations) however, most popular are those developed in local communities outside larger towns. The themes dealt with in study circles are quite often connected with the issues of economic and social development of respective communities.

Unfortunately one has to state that there has been no research done yet which would deal with broader effects of all these various forms of non-formal and informal education and learning of adults, including development of skills and competencies needed to exercise active citizenship

7. Conclusions

When discussing literature on »citizenship«, »governance«, and literature on education and learning for citizenship and governance we have to be aware of the fact that the Slovenian democracy is only 10 years old. Maybe we could discuss 15 years, taking into account the period of rapid disintegration of the socialist regime, including the establishment of the civil society movement and its actors. Besides, the Slovenian society is very small in numbers, its population being just below 2 millions inhabitants. The same goes for the Slovenian scientific community. Interests of its members vary across different fields of research, research on citizenship and governance being of relatively fragmented nature and limited scope. Therefore, we can't expect large quantities of articles and books on that matter.

Nevertheless, some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, we could detect two important issues in question, the issue of citizenship and the issue of local self-government, both of them dominated by jurists and intensively discussed in public. Secondly, the overview shows that it is very hard to detect authors and books which dominate respective fields of our inquiry or are of specific importance. Thirdly, an overview of articles and books shows that jurists hold a dominant position, as far as the quantity of articles is concerned. And finally, events show that governance in Slovenia is developing towards more elaborated forms, more compatible with democracy itself.

We have to emphasise the fact that the Slovenian society is in a period of transformation. New institutions are being formed, new relations between institutions forged, new ways of acting have to be learned, similar to the ones found in older established democracies. From the literature presented it appears that for the time being the notion of citizenship in terms of its legal-political dimensions is representing the main issue of discussions. The development of the Slovenian national identity is in the focus, since for the first time in their history Slovenians are living in a sovereign state. Moreover, this state is heading towards integration with the European Union. We can expect that in future issues of formal-legal nature of citizenship and governance in Slovenia will be substituted with issues of more substantive nature, including tenets of active citizenship.[17]

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[17] We have to be aware of a fact that Slovenians express extremely low levels of trust in people. In 1992 only 16% of Slovenians stated that “most people can be trusted” (cf Inglehart, 1997 and Toš et al., 1992), in 1995 15% (cf. Toš et al., 1995), and in 1998 – answering to a similar question – 16% (cf. Toš et al., 1998). On the other hand, Slovenians also express very low levels of trust in political institutions of parliamentary democracy. E.g., in 1991 43% of Slovenians expressed complete or substantial trust in Government, while in 1998 only 26%. In 1991 37% of Slovenians expressed complete or substantial trust in Parliament, while in 1998 only 9%. In 1991 12% of Slovenians expressed complete or substantial trust in political parties, while in 1998 only 4% (cf. Toš et al., 1999). These data are quite similar to ones referring to established democracies (cf. Pharr, S., Putnam, R. D. and Dalton, R. J., 2000).

The question is whether the effects of interpersonal distrust and “entzauberung” (Weber) of parliamentary democracy in Slovenia substantially influence levels of active citizenship of citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, and whether we are dealing with the inheritence of negative social capital, familiar to ex socialist countries (cf. Paldam, M. and Svendsen, G. T., 2000). The last available data show that in 1999 the level of trust in Government rose from 26% to 30%, the level of trust in Parliament from 9% to 12%, and the level of trust in political parties from 4% to 6% (ibidem). Nevertheless, these data reveal an extreme level of distrust which is not, at least in our opinion, favourable to active citizenship and encourages a bonding type of social capital (cf. Putnam, 2000).

Informations gathered in the research project Slovenian nation and collective indentities, interviews carried out in 1995, confirms the data and conclusion listed above. The self-perceptions of Slovenians were accompanied with negative stereotypes like egoism, excessive reserve and a lack of solidarity. Among the associations indicated in the interviews regional associations were favoured. Likewise, respondents tended to favour Slovenian membership in the EU. A rather strong resistance to party politics and to political life in general was noticeable among those interviewed. Only a few respondents were members of organs of local authority (cf. Adam, F. et al., 1996).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SPAIN

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7.1 Location and Scope of the Literature

This literature review will focus on works published in the form of books, articles, memos, and other documents by Spanish authors or institutions on those relevant issues covered by the ETGACE project in general—active citizenship (AC), political participation, governance (G), and education for G & AC, especially when applied to the Spanish (or European) case. It will also include some occasional works published by non-Spanish authors in Spanish books / journals / newspapers / media in general on any of the aforementioned topics with regard to Spain. We have compiled a long list of articles, books, and miscellaneous documents (see "Bibliography"). Our review will focus on publications from this list and, more specifically, on those we have selected as the most significant ones. Therefore, the following is a literature review, rather than a review of specific AC, G or educational experiences.

7.1.1 Predominant Lines of Research

Spanish authors (and Spanish journals and publishing companies in general) have not dealt extensively with the issues of citizenship and governance—at least not until recently. However, these topics constitute the core of an increasing body of literature. Thus, although in a somehow delayed manner, developments on this have followed a similar pattern to developments in other European countries.

A more traditional line of research was already under way by the late seventies and is still active. This research dealt with the Spaniards' disenchantment after the initial phases of the democratic transition in the late seventies, and the Spanish citizens' apparent participatory deficit after Franco's long dictatorial rule. Such disenchantment coincided in time with a Europe-wide decrease in voting percentages and participation rates, as well, which helped researchers set developments in Spain in the broader context of Western democracies.

This older line of research has been joined by two more recent ones. The first one has been set off by the controversy emerging from the increasing rates of non-EU immigrants entering Spain since the late 1980s. The second one arose from the challenges to and the transformation of the young Spanish welfare state along the lines of post-World War II welfare states in the rest of Western Europe, and its possible consequences in terms of governance and the exercise of those rights associated with citizenship.

The issue of immigration is gaining more and more ground in studies on the subject of citizenship in general. It has direct consequences regarding one of the two main approaches to the issue of citizenship: who is a citizen and who is not (the other one being the scope and depth of those rights associated with citizenship). The provision of political, social, and economic rights to immigrants depends on the criteria a given political community establishes to determine who is and who is not a member, and has to do mainly with issues of inclusion and exclusion. At the same time, the criteria of who is included in and excluded from our own political community are being altered by the ongoing process of construction of a European citizenship and political identity.

In sum, works on this subject cover both issues of inclusion / exclusion of immigrants in our community and the question of the construction of a broader European citizenship. Research on both topics necessarily results in a larger body of works on multiculturalism. This line of research has not given rise to much work on active citizenship in Spain, though. A few exceptions can be mentioned—works dealing with the question of how political participation in anti-exclusionary social movements can result in a higher acceptance of and respect for cultural difference in our own community (Flecha, 1997; Águila, 1996).

At the same time, the young Spanish welfare state has been subjected to tensions since its inception that have conditioned participation and governance overall. The fact that it had to be implemented in so short a time span and under such hard socioeconomic conditions determined the top-down nature of its construction and implementation. The implications for both AC and G of this are obvious. Some authors point to a certain need for further citizen participation so that, by exercising their citizenship rights, they can actively redefine governmental and participatory institutions toward even more democratic models. This will also help overcome any remaining disenchantment from the early 1980s.

In addition to being most quoted in recent literature in the field, the two aforementioned more recent topical issues are arguably the two main points of pressure regarding AC and G faced by Spanish society: immigration/definition of a European citizenship, on the one hand, and democratization/redefinition of citizenship rights associated with the welfare state, on the other.

We have compiled a list with 125 bibliographical references. Political participation is one of the starring topics of the list, especially with regard to the issue of gender. Of the 125 references we include, 50 are on the issue of participation, and 11 are on the combined issue of (political) participation and women alone. Citizenship is also one of the most dealt with topics. However, active citizenship, as such, is mostly dealt with through the analysis of political participation in general and its consequences for (i) the inclusion / exclusion of some social groups, and (ii) the active exercise of democratic rights. Governance is an even less studied topic, except for some recent works by political scientists and sociologists. In all, 14 references have to do either with the subject of governance or with the broader (and more traditional) topic of government. As for the issue of education, some 25 references deal either with the subject of moral education or (to a much lesser extent) with informal education—the connection between informal education and the issue of citizenship is still a rather understudied field.

7.1.2 Location of Spanish Literature on Citizenship and Governance

Literature on active citizenship and governance (AC & G) can be found in all kinds of publications: books, articles in journals, official documents, conference papers, etc.

However, the issue appears most often in journal articles and, to a lesser extent, in books (whether these are collectively edited volumes or single authored). Some of those journal articles are to be found in scientific publications, while a few others have been published in journals issued by associations and state agencies. Volume editors have compiled chapters by sociologists, political scientists and philosophers, as well. There is also a body of articles and books by educators.

Thus, sociology, political science, education science, and philosophy have been the fields that have dealt with the issues of AC, G, and education for G & AC most extensively. Articles, books, and official documents have been usual ways of releasing works on the issue. In the following sections we will review how topics such as "citizenship," "governance," and "education for citizenship and governance" have been covered in the specialized literature in Spain.

7.2 Citizenship

Key terms: Political exclusion, identity, responsibility, participation, social movements (civil society).

Citizenship as a concept has been shaped in Spain by relatively current historical events, namely the political transition from Francoism to democracy and its aftermath. The scope of the concept has been widening ever since: from a rather restricted view on how Spaniards had ceased to be subjects and had become citizens to a more active stance. The former view made citizenship equivalent to the status of an individual that enjoys a series of democratic rights; the latter takes into account *both* a more active exercise of civil, social, and political rights, *and* issues of inclusion / exclusion.

In the Spanish literature on citizenship and government in general, the concept of citizenship appears closely linked to the concepts of participation and identity.

Participation is, as we mentioned above, the concept with the most references in this specific body of literature. Participation is seen as a way of deepening the democratic principle in a liberal democracy. A truly democratic system will be, according to these authors, a participatory democratic system. Therefore, citizenship needs be redefined if truly democratic citizenship is to be implemented and if democracy is to be legitimized.

Pindado provides a representative account of how today's representative democracies are generally deemed insufficient to channel all the wealth of potential possibilities citizens have to have a hand in public affairs. Participation requires political will on the part of government agencies, which would have to put an end to viewing participation more as a problem than as a need. It also requires a network of associations and local agencies that enables the exchange of information, experiences and common projects (Pindado, 1999).

(Active) citizenship is thus understood as (active) participation. The lack of social participation in processes of public discussion and decision-making is seen as a serious obstacle to active citizenship by most authors. So is the weakness in the cooperation links between the Spanish civil society and the Spanish state. In this sense, these authors have concluded that civil society needs become more aware of its moral responsibility and its political co-responsibility. The state, on its part, has to promote social organization by transferring resources and opening ways for communication with society. The balance between the state and civil society is considered to be essential to establish a truly participatory democratic system. Now that civil, political, and social rights have been recognized, the Spanish civil society has to play a more salient role in order to fight current problems such as exclusion and social inequality. Sebastià Sarasa highlights the role of *altruistic* associations as real *brokers between the state and the individuals that perform a fundamental function in the integration of social groups and the management of political conflict* (Sarasa, 1995).

However, in order to make Spain's civil society work as a driving force toward political construction citizenship needs be redefined along the lines the concept has been redefined in Western Europe, throughout the evolution from city-states to nation-states, and now even to supranational political-economic communities. In this redefinition identity (see below) is essential. There is a need to establish some criteria to tell those who are citizens from those who are not: inclusion / exclusion policies. Citizenship implies a *delimitation that justifies a given exclusion rather than another* (Lucas, 1994). Javier de Lucas differentiates between *belonging* and *citizenship*. The former has to do with the *natural* exclusion that is inherent to the constitution of a political community, such as a state (which, according to him, needs be accepted). The delimitation of the latter (citizenship) cannot justify any exclusion of a political nature.

Ricard Zapata Barrero moves beyond this limited version by saying that only subjective criteria (rather than objective ones, such as race or nationality) will be democratic enough to design a European immigration policy that defines a European citizenship. The European Union faces the twofold challenge of being competitive in the global economy *and* being tolerant, inclusive, and democratic. To the latter end, the EU needs to be based on a European citizenship defined according to neither exclusionary nor non-democratic criteria (Zapata, 1998).

With regard to the new environment created by globalization, Pierpaolo Donati states that multiculturalism today is unlike any other kind of multicultural environment earlier in history. He uses a new concept, *multiple citizenship,* which involves manifold loyalties, instead of that of *universal citizenship*, more monolithic, on the grounds that we need to be headed toward a relational kind of universalism, drawing on and respectful of difference (Donati, 1997).

Ángel Valencia Sáiz follows the same path in that he defines citizenship in a broader sense, as well. He avoids a formal / legal definition of citizenship, based on the nation-state. Instead, he uses the concepts of moral responsibility and public arena to complement the liberal notion of citizenship (a liberal notion that offers no valid answers when faced with some worldwide challenges). In the presence of environmental challenges, for instance, *environmental citizenship* provides a broader concept that bypasses formal institutions: societal actors and institutions would be thus given more salience in solving "worldwide problems" (Valencia Sáiz, 1998). All authors seem to agree on the fact that participatory democracy requires the presence of an active citizenry, aware of the importance of its active role in limiting the power of the state and regulating social and economic policy.

Adela Cortina says that *a citizens' morality requires us not to be passive*. The existence of a plural civil society involves sharing some *minimum moral demands for justice*, which she defines as *values, principles, rights, and a dialogic attitude*. Only through a dialogic attitude can universalism be combined with a respect for difference (Cortina, 1995). To Joan Subirats the main problem requiring a solution is the debatable compatibility between citizens' participation and administrative efficiency. He claims that in our time, *a democracy of debate has been left dead to the benefit of efficiency*. This would explain why the democratic system gathers extensive support in Spain while many Spaniards do not trust it. Public administrations have to improve the quality of their service and their ways of communication with society. Such ways will improve if new mechanisms of information and debate are established, more community involvement is achieved, and channels for direct democracy, such as referenda are opened.

As for the question of ***participation and gender***, this type of analysis has not been in the agenda of Spanish social scientists until recently. Thus, there are not many of them. Some of the authors who have dealt with this issue have acknowledged that much of what is written on women and politics tends to mix up elements of scientific analysis and ideology (Uriarte, 1997). The main topics that have been dealt with in this type of literature have been feminism, electoral participation, and women in the political elite. Uriarte has identified the presence of a gender gap regarding political attitudes. She thinks this gap is more visible in factors linked to political culture (values, beliefs, and sentiments) rather than to conventional (voting, campaigning) or non-conventional participation (demonstrations, boycotts). In any case, she also points out how political participation among women is **relatively lower** than among men (Uriarte, 1997).

In 1998 the Catalan Institute for Women (*Institut Català de la Dona*) released a study directed by Rocío Mendoza on the presence of women in unions (especially, *Comisiones Obreras* and its Catalan branch, *CONC*). The conclusion the research team arrived at was that women's participation in unions was hampered by a series of false beliefs and attitudes:

1. Women feel responsible for their families and households, which makes them feel guilty if they reduce the time they devote to either of them.
2. Male union members do not show any solidarity at all toward their female companions with regard to their specific problems, and, what is more, they are even afraid of these women's participation in the union.
3. Therefore, changes within the union will only be possible if changes in men's mentality and in family education at home happen (Mendoza Vázquez, 1998).

In Spanish social scientific literature the concept of citizenship has also been closely linked to the concept of ***identity***. In this case, identity is understood as the sentiment of belonging to a nation, a community, etc. To put an example, to the need for a more active participation in order to build a more democratic political system, Pindado adds how, at the same time, participation entails a sentiment of belonging to a collective, a group, a town, a country, etc. In sum, it involves the construction of a common identity (Pindado, 1999). Many contributions have viewed citizenship in the light of a new context: globalization. Territorial boundaries, as well as racial and national obstacles, are to be overcome on the grounds of values and principles that can be made universal. Victòria Camps, for instance, thinks these universal principles, to which all peoples converge, have to be grounded in cultural foundations. Therefore, political identities need be built not as an end in themselves, but as a means to citizenship.

7.3 Governance

Key concepts: Social conflict, stability, co-responsibility, efficacy, welfare state, civil society.

Although in the specialized literature the idea of *governance* is of late becoming more and more differentiated from the (more traditional) idea of *government*, at the time of its inception in the 1970s both concepts were almost equivalent. Governance was (and in many studies still is) associated at large with the stability or the efficacy a government is able to imprint on its decision-making record, its response to social demands, and its ability to preserve its power vis-à-vis other, more combative social groups.

Governance has evolved and developed since the 1970s, though. At that time, the concept was shaped by the kind of "problems" experienced by all democracies in general, when they all had to face increasing social demands derived from an acute economic crisis. This generated a series of analyses in which the capability of societies to rule themselves was questioned. In the Spanish case, the democratic transition added an additional, significant element. Today, governance is more usually than not associated with problems regarding stability, the efficacy of public policies or the legitimacy of governments (Sánchez, 1996).

In the late 1970s studies on governance focused on finding the keys to a more efficacious democracy. The main currents of research were the following:

- Studies on the new forms of relationship between the state and the civil society.
- Public policy analysis.

In the 1990s, though, the analysis of the relationship between the state and the civil society in order to make it more conducive to democratic governance has moved to the research of more informal models of mediation. These models of mediation would be less explicit than the collective agreements between major socioeconomic organizations that were more usual in earlier years (Sánchez, 1996).

Puelles and Urzúa relate governance to democracy. They argue that a democracy is governable when its rulers make and execute decisions that are accepted by the citizenry—that is, when these citizens do not aim to change their political regime. To that end, according to these authors, democratic governance needs to be based on a basic consensus, on the existence of institutional channels for social participation, on the efficacy of public policy, and on the acceptance and actualization of moral values (Puelles & Urzúa, 1996). According to Victòria Camps, governance, understood as *stability*, is not a synonym of *good government*. A good government must meet three goals: efficiency, effectivity, and legitimacy (Camps, 1997).

Other ways of understanding governance are more closely linked to the ideas of participation, citizens' co-responsibility, and the interaction between the government and societal actors (organizations, associations, groups). In this sense, the purpose of an active citizenry would be the legitimization of the role of the state, since it would involve a limit, a check on the state's action, and, at the same time, a guarantee that social and political measures respond to social needs and demands. Rafael del Águila states that from a democratic-participatory perspective, *citizens will be judgmental, responsible, bound by solidarity links, only to the extent they are given the opportunity to be so through their involvement in different political forums for deliberation and decision-making. The more citizens are involved in this process, the* *stronger democracy will be—and the better the system will work, the more legitimate it will be, and the more capable it will be to control the government and its potential abuse of power.* This is how participation generates governance (Águila, 1996). Society and state have to become co-responsible for society's governance. This larger societal role would also be applicable to a larger supranational context (hence the need for a more "social" Europe in order to create a more democratic Europe).

Gregorio Rodríguez analyzes the relationship between social conflict and governance in Spain from 1977 to 1995. He concludes that governance in late-capitalist countries has relied on a monetarist economic policy that has given priority to fighting inflation and public deficit over the fight against unemployment and other sources of precarious social conditions. This has weakened the welfare state, which has become increasingly privatized and reduced to functions of public assistance. In the 1984-89 period governance in Spain had a unilateral nature (no previous agreement had been reached), centered on the liberalization of the Spanish economy and its integration in the EU. Governance became conflictive and since 1994 social policy has followed a path of dissension—collective bargaining has consistently failed. In the meantime, popular support for rationalization policies has grown, because of the conscience-raising process generated over the years. Rodríguez foresees two possible future scenarios: (i) an increased privatization that will result in more conflict if it does not emerge from social consensus, or (ii) a pre-emptive cutout in social spending (whether agreed or not) that secures social rights. From this perspective social conflict, governance, and legitimacy crises are connected to the crisis of the welfare state. Such a connection is a consequence of economic policies that give priority to the fight against inflation and public deficit rather than to meeting some social demands.

Vicenç Navarro links the appearance of populist fascist movements in Europe to the crisis of the welfare state and a subsequent loss of governance. According to him, an increased economic competitiveness does only benefit 20% of the population. This harms governance. Therefore, it has both economic and political repercussions and explanations. In Spain, though, Navarro points out that there is no governance crisis in spite of the presence of some serious social problems simply because there is no mass anti-system movement, except for the case of the Basque Country (Navarro, 1997).

As for the situation and the evolution of the Spanish civil society vis-à-vis the state, Juan Carlos Rubinstein compares civil societies in different countries and finds two main dimensions (regarding a given country's *political formation*) that influence whether these civil societies are strong or weak:

- The relationship between civil society and citizens' participation.
- Closeness to the core of the world economy.

Those countries that have closer links to the core of the world economy and a stronger civil society display a strong state, although constrained to the limits of the legitimate power a liberal-democratic state is supposed to have. However, Rubinstein defines the Spanish *political formation* as an *Asian* mode of production, since it displays a weak civil society facing a strong state. The Spanish civil society was strengthened by the democratic transition process, but it is still considerably weaker than the civil societies of other countries such as the USA or the UK (Rubinstein, 1994).

This is a dear topic to many authors whose work is reviewed here: the weakness of the Spanish civil society and the consequences of such weakness. The fragmentation of Spanish associations and organizations makes the Spanish civil society have little influence in the development of social policy. Successive democratic governments have been unable to implement the whole array of social rights listed in the Spanish 1978 constitution (García, 1994). Forms for the participation of citizens, groups, and stakeholders in general need be sought and created so that they participate in the design of laws and decrees.

7.4 Education for Citizenship and Governance

Key concepts: Tolerance, respect, participation, democracy, educational challenges.

Most authors agree to point to education as an essential tool to promote some given values and attitudes such as tolerance and respect for the others. It is also a tool to raise the conscience of citizens and to make them aware of the importance of their participation and their responsibility as citizens. Education is understood as a mechanism to secure democracy and governance, as well. According to Adela Cortina, the most effective antidote against all sorts of tyranny is the promotion of active “personalism,” responsible participation, and solidarity, because democracy needs a solidarity-driven, universalist education (Cortina, 1995). From this standpoint, education is supposed to contribute to generate and maintain an active civic culture. Education and democratic governance are related in that education can contribute to the development of a democratic civic culture. In turn, such civic culture would mean that citizens (i) identify themselves with democracy’s values and institutions, (ii) are ready for political participation, and (iii) are capable of issuing critical judgments about the existing political reality, quite in the same manner Almond and Verba had hypothesized more than three decades ago (Sánchez Ferrer, 1996).

We must also think about the kind of education we are talking about, especially if we take into account that we educate to help people develop their own judgment and their own values (based on a respect for differences), and to build a conscious citizenry, responsible for their role as a self-ruling and government-controlling body. Training for participation must emphasize practice and must take into account the need for supporting instruments. Participatory values and habits have to be promoted. Participatory models need to be legitimized by pointing out their pros, their cons, and their difficulties (Lucas Marín, 1997).

Victòria Camps defends the role of school in promoting habits for co-existence that result in values of equality and respect for others, although she admits it is not the only responsible institution for training for citizenship. The school that has to train citizens, she adds, is a *specific and singular school that exists side by side with specific problems of lack of citizenship. This school needs more autonomy to organize its own educational projects and be accountable for it. In addition, it needs be more closely linked to the territory it serves and coordinated with the closest territorial bodies* (Camps, 1990).

All these authors do not really get to define an educational model, yet they point to challenges that any educational system must face if it intends to promote social participation, and they agree that such participation and involvement should be generated within the educational system itself. Thus, Tedesco analyzes these new challenges to the traditional organization of education. To date, education has been based on two main assumptions: (i) the basic core of socialization is the family, and (ii) education must transmit the hegemonic cultural model. The transformation undergone by the traditional family model and multiculturalism have modified the grounds on which traditional education was based. This is why the main challenge we have to face is twofold: (i) the articulation in today's globalized context both of what is ours and what is other people's, while, at the same time, avoiding nationalism, and (ii) the twofold tension *between* the authoritarianism of identity demands and the liberation of universal proposals, *and* between the uniformity of universal proposals and the respect for differences (Tedesco, 1999).

According to Rafael del Águila, we need a program of civic education that balances elements of a democratic participatory model and a liberal one, because the former is strongly value-centered and aspires to a very specific type of citizen that seems to be at odds with cultural diversity and heterogeneity. He adds that liberal pluralism needs be limited to some extent, so that we agree on the kind of values that would be compatible with a democratic liberal citizenship. Such limits would be the result of discussion and deliberation among all citizens (Águila, 1996).

Leonardo Sánchez divides the different proposals or suggestions as to what this education for citizenship and governance (for democracy in sum) should be in three different philosophical stances:

- Communitarian: The educational system spreads and transmits values and beliefs that are supposed to be shared by the whole society.
- Neutral-liberal: The educational system must respect all beliefs and offer the possibility that children freely develop their beliefs.
- Libertarian: The educational system must serve the end of a free organization of society and a reduction to a minimum of the state's functions (Sánchez Ferrer, 1996).

Social movements are awarded some educational importance. The organizational capability of social movements can be increased through education and through the creation of spaces for the exchange of contents and tactics among these movements. In some exceptional cases, there is an emphasis on the importance of non-formal and informal education to revitalize social movements. This does not mean there has not been a long tradition of non-formal education in some areas in Spain, such as Catalonia, in the form of Popular Universities, adult education centers (with both formal and non-formal education programs), *esplais* (leisure centers for children and teenagers), boy-scout groups, and the like. As noted above, this chapter reviews literature or research on these experiences, not necessarily the experiences themselves.

Helena Béjar proposes the promotion of volunteerism from school, not through its institutionalization, but understanding it as a practice of civic behavior, as a commitment to society and politics (Béjar, 2000). Tedesco thinks our society's complexity requires a more specialized pedagogical work. Yet this pedagogical work does also need compromise and faith in democratic values on the part of these professionals, who need to trust their students' capabilities.

As for the steps taken so far, Xavier Rambla qualifies the success of the 1985 Spanish education law: the LODE. One of its goals was school democratization through PTAs and school councils. However, participation rates in these bodies were highly correlated with the parents' social class and gender. These bodies ended up generating additional stigmatization for those who would not take part in them because of their social condition, rather than opening ways of participation for all (Rambla, 1999).

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the existence of a relatively extensive body of literature on gender issues regarding politics and participation, there are only references in passing to differences between both genders with regard to education for AC & G. Only the aforementioned chapter by Uriarte stresses the importance of education to reduce the existing gender gap concerning political culture in Spain. However, no reference could be found on differences between the *learning* and the *teaching* of citizenship and governance, whether for both genders or for each of them separately.

7.5 Conclusions

The most important feature of the literature on AC & G and on education for AC & G in Spain is its emphasis on participation and on civic behavior. Thus, although the challenges the Spanish political system and society face are now different from those they faced two decades ago, the solution most theorists prescribe is essentially the same. More involvement and participation on the part of all citizens in general was seen as a solution to the initial "disenchantment" among the general public after the first stages of the democratic transition: an apathetic public could not control its government as a proper democratic political system would require. There was a need for a more vital "civil society." Yet more involvement and participation is also seen as a good solution to newer challenges faced by democratic systems in a context of globalization and multiculturalism. New identities need be defined on which a deeper and broader citizenship can be grounded.

The earlier view resorted to more classical authors (Tocqueville, Weber, Rousseau, Kant, etc.). More recent works are resorting to both classical (Hegel, Marx, Weber, Hayek, Arendt, Marshall, Parsons) and more recent authors, as well (communitarians, Habermas, Bell, Sartori, Rawls, Macpherson, Giddens, Esping-Andersen, Offe, Held, Dahrendorf, Inglehart, Bernstein, Lukes, and local authors such as Giner, Pérez Díaz, Sacristán, Castells). Three main families of authors are thus represented: liberal authors, Marxist authors, and republican/communitarian ones. The Marxist line of research is still strong in Spain, although much less prevalent and substantially modified if we compare it with what it used to be in the past. Communitarian-liberal controversies are increasingly dominating the discussion on issues regarding citizenship and governance.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

BELGIUM

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8.1 Introduction: Location & Scope of the Literature

In the Flemish context, publications on active citizenship and governance can be found in different contexts, varying from academic publications, via publications by the government and NGO's, to the general media. The form and scope of the publications varies depending on the source. However, the distinctions between the various sources are not always clear-cut, as authors often use several channels to articulate their views; e.g. academic researchers participate quite actively in the public debate in the media; several political parties in the recent past have included within their ranks artists, researchers and people from a civic society background, in the context of what is called a movement of 'political broadening'.

Relevant scientific research can be found in disciplines such as sociology[18], adult education[19], political theory[20] and philosophy[21]. These publications take the form of books, research reports, doctoral dissertations or articles in scientific journals. Quite a few of those books find their way to the general public; some can even be found among the best selling books in the non-fiction section[22]. Some of this research has been ordered by the government itself[23].

A second source of publications on active citizenship and governance are (local and regional) government policy documents, and the comments on those documents in publications by social (citizenship) organisations. Government documents have become more easily accessible since they are made public on the internet. All policy documents implicitly disclose a certain view on the position and role of citizens and on the relationship between the government and the citizens; in the context of the ETGACE research project, two documents are specifically relevant, because they explicitly have citizenship education as one of their concerns. Thus, the statement on cultural policy by the Flemish Minister of Culture introduces the notion of 'cultural competence' as a broad notion that is related not only to the consumption of cultural goods, but also to processes of socio-cultural participation and emancipation, enabling people to become active and critical participants in an open, democratic society[24].

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[18] Cf. Hooghe; Huyse; Elchardus; Billiet, 1998; Geldof, 1999; Dobbelaere et al., 2000.

[19] Cf. Wildemeersch, Baert & Jansen, Diels, Goubin.

[20] Rihoux & Walgrave, 1997.

[21] Cf. Apostel; Kruithof; Raes.

[22] For example Kruithof and Huyse.

[23] Elchardus & Smits, 1999; Dobbelaere et al., 2000.

[24] Anciaux, 2000, p. 24.

Moreover, this policy statement focuses on the field of socio-cultural activities and organisations in civil society, which, apart from the role its plays in stimulating cultural participation, also has an important function in organising social action, activating people to become involved and to take responsibility for social problems[25]. The policy document issued by the Flemish Ministry of Education discusses the role schools play in citizenship education of young people. The document stresses that schools should offer a participative climate, enabling teachers, pupils and parents to get involved in the organisation and management of the school[26]. Moreover, especially secondary schools have the responsibility to organise extracurricular activities, focusing on themes such as citizenship, political education, solidarity, responsibility and independence. These themes have to be circumscribed in terms of knowledge as well as skills and attitudes[27].

These documents are also disclosed and discussed in the media. Newspapers, journals, audiovisual media and weekly magazines publish interviews and comments from people involved in the field of culture and education, thereby offering a forum for public debate[28].

A group of publications consists of documents by organisations active in the civic society, such as unions, NGO's, bodies representing the interests of a certain group, or organisations in the socio-cultural field. These texts reflect the way these organisations define their own role and position in relation to government policy; they mostly take the form of internal policy documents or mission statements, or articles in members' periodicals or in professional journals[29]. In this context it is interesting to mention some recent books that are the collective output of a group of NGO's or socio-cultural organisations, in which they analyse and criticise current government policy and their view of their own contribution to policy-making in their specific field of action[30].

Publications on active citizenship and governance also stem from the public debate between scientists, politicians, the media and the general public. These may take the form of proceedings of symposia, debates or colloquia where scientists and politicians enter into a debate with a forum of organisations and citizens in general[31].

8.2 Citizenship: The making of a notion in the Flemish context

To understand the meanings the concept of 'citizenship' covers in the Flemish context, it is important to keep in mind some major historical events and movements that have helped shape it.

Belgium has only been independent since 1830; before that time, going back as far as the Middle Ages, this country was constantly governed by 'intruders'. In a sense, 'government' still is burdened with this connotation of something external, something opposed to the freedom and free will of the people. Among citizens, there has often been a tendency to look for ways of ‘cheating the government’, a spirit of conspiracy against regulations imposed by the government. This is often described as a typical Belgian ‘disease’.

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[25] Id., p. 68 ff.
[26] Vanderpoorten, 2000, p. 41.
[27] Id. , p. 30.
[28] E.g. De Blende, 2000a-b; Albrechts, 2000; Van Humbeeck & Rogiers, 2000.
[29] E.g. Acw, s.d.; Peirens, 1998; Vanneste, 1999.
[30] Cf. Wildemeersch & Goubin, 1994; Ekstermolengroep, 1994, 1999.
[31] Huyse, 1997a.

The last foreign emperor was the Dutch king, who was seen as an enemy both by Flemish and Walloon people because of his Protestantism; in Belgium Catholicism still is the most widespread religion. So, in 1830, the northern (Flemish) and southern (Walloon) elites found each other in a common fight against the protestant king, which also reveals the crucial role religion has played in the discourse on citizenship and governance.

Since the independence, the north and the south of the country found it increasingly difficult to develop a common policy; especially the Flemish felt that national politics were dominated by the French speaking people and that the Flemish interests and cultural identity were not treated adequately. Since the 1980’s the national state has been reformed in several steps, working towards federalisation and an increasing autonomy for the communities. Some elements in the history of this issue are complicating the debate. The Flemish nationalist movement has often been linked with right wing politics, since some fractions within in adopted the nationalist discourse of the German national socialists, and even collaborated with the Germans who promised the Flemish people cultural autonomy. This legacy influences Belgian politics to a large extent, as issues of repression and amnesty are still intensely debated. In recent decades, the economy in Flanders has grown stronger than in the rest of the country, which caused the power relations to shift; it is felt that a further federalisation would express a lack of solidarity of the Flemish people with the less affluent southern part of the country. In this debate, the notion of solidarity with the south is confounded by a suspicion that the Walloon people are abusing their political power in the national politics to take advantage of the Flemish.

Belgium as a small country has always felt the need for international cooperation. From the basis of its early association with the Netherlands and Luxemburg – the Benelux - it has been at the centre of European unification: it was one of the first six member states, and Brussels is the capital of Europe. The attitude of the Belgian people towards Europe certainly is not as negative as in many other member states, although the primacy of an economic rationality over a social discourse is often criticized.

Against this backdrop, a number of key words associated with citizenship can be identified.

A key notion in the present discourse on policy and citizenship is that of the ‘active welfare state’. This notion redefines the role of the civil society in that it no longer primarily stresses the development of a social safety net, but rather states as a primary goal for politics to ensure the opportunity for every member of society to participate actively in the (social and) economical life of the nation. A lot of attention has been given lately to alternatives for unemployment, special statutes for people who drop out of the highly competitive labour market, and redistribution of work in order to bring the professional lives of citizens more in balance with their social and family life (working less hours per week, providing opportunities for leaving a job temporarily to look after family members in need of care, giving retired people opportunities to keep playing an active role, etc…).

This shift in focus in labour politics runs parallel with an important shift in civic society. Traditionally, socio-economic and socio-cultural organisations were to a very large extent linked to the main ideological families. The Christian-democrats, the socialists and the liberals not only dominated the political scene, but through a whole network of organisations in civil society, played a central role in the social and cultural life at large, dividing the civil society in so-called ‘pillars’. Recently, however, these ideologies have lost a lot of their credibility; moreover, independent groups and new social movements have criticized the power position and bureaucratic power of the pillars. Thus, ‘depillarisation’ is a second notion that characterizes the present discourse on citizenship and governance. The present government, which is actually the first one since world war two in which the Christian-democrats do not participate, is also the first government that looks for other channels to distribute subsidies.

Since the 1990’s, an important concern in Belgian discourses on active citizenship and governance has been to find a new political culture and to make a new pact with the citizens. The so-called ‘Belgian disease’, the culture of bypassing regulations and laws, was often supported by politicians who, in the context of so-called ‘political services’, helped people to find back-gates or to ‘regulate’ irregular practices; this, combined with the unwieldy bureaucracy that characterized the civil service and the juridical system, culminated in a series of scandals and social problems (the Dutroux-affair, the dioxine-crisis and other cases of pollution, town and country planning offences, etc…). Themes that have become central are: child abuse and children’s rights, social exclusion, bio-ethics and environmental issues, next to more traditional issues such as unemployment.

The alarming success of right wing parties at the municipal elections of 1994, particularly in the Flemish region, was also diagnosed as the consequence of the ‘gap between citizens and politicians’; a gap which expressed itself in a lack of cooperation and agreement between both groups. Belgian politics have always been a politics of compromise and of ‘armed peace’ (between Flemish and Walloon interests, between the Catholic and liberal pillars, between the bourgeoisie and the working class); thus, it was seen as an untransparent scheming between political power groups. This lack of confidence of citizens in current political practice was seen as the cause of the success of the right, and this has led to a thorough rethinking of the role of politics.

A last issue that characterises the discourse on citizenship refers to multi-ethnicity, the living together of different groups of people. In the Flemish context, this is related to the relationships not only with the Walloon community, but also with immigrants of both European and non-E.U. origin. Central themes here are e.g. voting rights for immigrants, policy concerning asylum seekers, and the ’sanitary cordon’ against extreme right parties (i.e. the commitment of political parties not to enter into a coalition with parties that take racist positions, thereby excluding these parties from government at all levels).

In order to define the current scope of the use of the term citizenship, the following characteristics are central. On the one hand, the active citizen is approached as a ‘customer’ of the services of the government and the administration. The citizen has to regain confidence in these structures, and therefore should be treated with the same respect as the customer of any organisation delivering services or goods to the public. This view of the citizen is reflected among other things in the discussion on the use of referenda, and in the reforms of the administration with an aim to make the latter more ‘customer-friendly’.

On the other hand, within the framework of the active welfare state, the citizen is seen as a receiver of social goods who also has an active role in maintaining the welfare state. The individual citizen is not just a passive receiver of social goods, but also has a responsibility towards the production of these goods. In this context, however, ‘activity’ in citizens is mainly defined as an (increased) participation in the labour market rather than in the civil society.

A central concern is the restoration of people’s confidence in the government, the renewal of the ‘pact’ between politicians and citizens. The central concerns in this respect are the many scandals and crises the political world has been confronted with; to name but a few: the Dutroux affair and the malfunctioning of the juridical system in this case; crises in agriculture and food industry; scandals related to party financing; decades of mismanagement in town and country planning, leading to among others ‘deprivation’ of the big cities and floods in case of heavy rain. Connected with this theme is that of the ‘new political culture’, a commitment of politicians to make politics more transparent and consequent.

Another important theme is multi-culturalism. Political issues in this connection are: the growing impact of right wing party and how to counter it; the right for immigrants to vote in community elections; asylum seekers and the question whether keeping the frontiers closed makes the government responsible for the death of illegal refugees (Semira Adamu; the Chinese in Dover...).

In trying to overcome the malaise in politics and to restore democracy to a state of health, a number of theoretical perspectives are referred to.

The discourse on the active welfare state is inspired by various attempts to define a third way between traditional social-democratic scenarios and neo-liberal scenarios. Anthony Giddens definitely is an important reference in this respect, yet there is also some reserve because of the so-called Anglo-Saxon bias. Some politicians explicitly refer to his work as a source of inspiration; the media are making it accessible to a wider public, and he receives critical attention in the academic world. The work of the Flemish sociologists Huyse and Elchardus has been given a lot of attention recently. Huyse has written some influential works on the ‘Flemish question’ (collaboration and amnesty), and more widely on the ‘diseases of democracy’ in the Belgian context. He has written about ‘depillarisation’, a notion which now explicitly appears in policy documents by the government[32]. Together with Elchardus, Huyse has investigated the role of the civil society in the development of democratic attitudes. In academic publications, further sources of inspiration are the work of U. Beck on the ‘risk society’, and that of J. Habermas on communicative action as a counterforce against the colonization of the life-world and against a so-called relativist post-modernist discourse.

The main theoretical perspectives that have shaped understanding of citizenship in the past are the classical notions of representative democracy (de Tocqueville) and the division of (legislative, juridical and executive) powers (Montesqieu).

In the citizenship literature in Flanders, the issue of gender has been addressed as a separate concern, although it is difficult to identify specific and well-defined theoretical perspectives in this. On a practical political level, quite some initiatives have been taken, aimed at improving women's position in society in general (protecting women against abuse and providing support for poor families), on the work floor (in the public and private sector) and in politics (the proposed 'zip' system whereby men and women are given alternating places on the ballot-paper). There are some central bodies that support government policies in matters related to women's position in society, such as the 'Vrouwen Overleg Komitee' (women's consultation committee), and central documentation centres specifically focusing on women's issues (e.g. Amazone, defending 'equality in a multi-cultural society'; RoSa, an information centre on 'role and society'; and the 'Archive Centre for Women's History'). In the academic world, gender studies is taking shape as a separate field of study; some research on citizenship issues also pays attention specifically to women's perspectives[33].

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[32] E.g. Anciaux, 2000.

8.3 Governance

In the Flemish literature, the notion of 'governance' as such is not yet mainstream. In the societal discourse on the role of the government moving away from traditional, vertical power structures, governing (governance?) is understood in terms of making a 'pact' with the citizens; the citizens are the receivers of the government services and have a say in them, but that also implies they have to take responsibility for some of the government decisions and actions (decentralisation of power)[34].

Key words that are associated with the concept of governance are:

- Depillarisation ; 'horizontal' governance;
- Negotiating[35];
- Regaining the confidence of the citizen (i.e. to overcome the crisis of the political institutions, i.c. Parliament as a powerless body and the State as a 'failing' enterprise);
- Direct democracy and the use of referenda to strengthen the societal basis for political decisions[36].
- Invitations towards citizens to take responsibility in local government.

The similarity between the current usages of 'governance' and 'government' in EU literature and the use of these terms in Flanders today, is that they start from a parallel concern: to overcome the alienation between governing and governed and to create a societal basis for the execution of power. The European principle of 'subsidiarity' expresses the endeavour to let decisions be taken at as low a level as possible, i.e. as close as possible to the level the decisions have an impact on. In Flanders, this finds a parallel in the efforts of the present government to make political decision-making more transparent and more accessible to the people; an effort is made to remove bureaucratic administrative obstacles and to dismantle pillarized power blocs. There is more willingness to keep a finger on the pulse of societal life, both through direct communication (referenda) and by renewing different kinds of criteria for subsidizing initiatives in civil society. By diffusing folders and publications concerning federal or national policy and by making information accessible via the internet (with computer terminals provided in public libraries), the government tries to establish a more transparent communication with the general public.

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[33] Smits, 2000.

[34] Vanderpoorten, 2000; Anciaux, 2000.

[35] Huyse, 1994.

[36] Verhofstadt, s.a.

The following major historical events and movements have shaped the notions of governance and government in Flanders.

- There has been a slow historical movement of ‘pillarisation’, resulting not only in the establishment of monolithic power blocks (socialist, catholic, liberal), but also in the establishment of political ‘concerns’ escaping democratic control. This is perceived as causing a slow but deep alienation between citizens and government, which led to some recent political crises.

- Black Sunday (1994) is the name given to the day of municipal elections when the right wing political party came into power in one of the largest Flemish cities; this has been followed by other elections in which the other parties, in spite of a ‘sanitary cordon’, could not avert the growing impact of the right. This has been interpreted as a signal that - because the traditional parties had no clear answers to new social challenges but kept ‘muddling’ on, mainly defending their own interests - voters expressed their discontent by turning to a party that promises clear-cut and simple solutions and that gives people the feeling that ‘their’ interests are being served (first).

- Dutroux and the ensuing ‘white movement’ was another event that sent a shock wave through Belgian politics. The aftermath of the drama of the murdered children exposed the bureaucratisation, lack of transparency and powerlessness of the institutions that are supposed to safeguard democracy. Contrary to what happened on black Sunday, when people expressed their discontent by turning away from democratic politics, the Dutroux affair gave rise to a series of ‘white’ marches, in which large and varied segments of the population expressed their desire to make society more safe and friendly for the vulnerable; this initiated a series of political reforms.

The above mentioned events and movements inspired a number of politicians to redefine the political arena and to foster a ‘new political culture’. Across political families, efforts have been made to redefine the political left[37]. In the wake of the ‘white movement’ and similar developments, several new political parties saw the light, challenging the political complacency and power position of the traditional parties.

Although ‘governance’ is not currently used as a term in the political discourse in Flanders, some link can be made to current debates about corporate governance and management in the public sector. The following examples can illustrate this. The present government has developed the so called ‘Copernicus plan’, which aims at making the administration and the public service more ‘user friendly’; it shows the efforts the government is making at improving the quality of its service to the citizens. At the same time, the government is trying to get more of a grip on the public support that is given to subsidized organisations. This is done by means of ‘covenants’ that are established between the government and the sectors providing certain social goods (e.g. health, public transportation, cooperation with developing countries…). This means that the public funds are on principle no longer entrusted to the big ‘pillars’, but that a mutual contract is established with groups of organisations to give respectively receive the funds under certain, well defined conditions. In practice however, the traditional institutions that were powerful in acquiring public funding are still playing an important role. Another recent development that signals a change in governance is that local governance is strengthened. Educational policy, for example, used to be strongly centralized in the two major 'councils' (one for the Catholic subsidized school system, one for the public school system). Since the 1990's the local school councils have been installed, the structure and authority of which has been circumscribed by the government. I this way, the central government stimulates local autonomy and installs quality control. The government also tries to stimulate participation in other sectors, e.g. by means of a plan to reduce youth unemployment, in the youth work sector, or in the struggle against social exclusion (the so-called 'social impulse fund')

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[37] E.g. ‘Het Signaal’ (the Signal).

As far as the relationship between the state and civil society is concerned, the following trends can be noticed.

Social negotiations between three parties involved in socio-economic matters are well established. Major decisions in this domain are always the result of negotiations between the state, the unions and employers' organisations. The 'Socio-Economic Council for Flanders' is a permanent structure in which government policies are discussed with the social partners. This system of consultation was established in order to guarantee the legitimacy of government policies and to maintain social peace; it functioned as a sub-contractor of the state, and grew very strong. Due to the processes of 'pillarisation', these consultations had lost some of their credibility, since they got to be seen as serving the power balance of the partners more than serving the interests of the groups they represent. Now the social partners too are redefining their own role in the light of changing labour market and political conditions. Moreover, unions have to find a new foothold for defending workers' rights in the light of processes of internationalisation; in a global market, it is no longer clear who holds the real power in an enterprise. In response to these developments, new NGO's have been set up, with new definitions of whom to fight and whom to defend in the economic flatting-mill. Examples are Gaia, defending the rights of animals against exploitation; Greenpeace, defending the right of future generations to a liveable environment; groups contesting the power of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF because of the social exclusion and economic inequality they are seen to bring about; organisations promoting fair trade, socially acceptable work conditions or ethical investments (Oxfam, 'Clean Clothes', Netwerk Vlaanderen). These new movements often have international connections or are based upon a cooperation with several partners.

Since the 1990's, the Belgian NGO's (mainly active in development cooperation) have changed the definition of their own role from 'contestants' to 'proposants'. They see it as their task to offer suggestions for policy rather than just contesting government decisions. Also, as a response to the economic crisis of the 1980's, the government has passed on some of its responsibilities to civil society (taking care of the underprivileged). The NGO's in response to this refused to be simply 'used' by the government for delivery of welfare services - which they perceived as 'improper' tasks - and demanded the possibility to play a role in democratic policy making in return. This has made the expertise of the NGO's more visible, and as a consequence many parties have invited people from the civil society to join their ranks. Presently, several people coming from a civil society background (in the field of development cooperation as well as of culture) are holding political mandates.

As there is not really any well defined ‘governance literature’ in Flanders - this notion is not yet mainstream in political discourse (also because it is an English term which is hard to translate) – it is not easy to determine how the issue of gender has been addressed within it. There is some literature on women’s participation in decision making or power positions[38], indicating that a (quantitative) increase in women’s participation in governing activities should go accompanied by a (qualitative) rethinking of governing practices; however, it is hard to determine whether this rethinking can be congruent with the (emerging) notion of governance.

8.4 Education for Citizenship and Governance

The main traditions and approaches that have been used in political and civic education can be understood in the light of what has been said before on the historical development of citizenship and governance in Belgium.

Traditionally, people grew up in and belonged to a certain pillar (e.g. catholic, socialist); most of the choices made in the different domains of their lives were determined by this, as it provided services in the fields of schooling, medical support, socio-cultural life, work relations (unions), political ideology, and so on. Thus, it was the pillar (through one or more of its associated bodies) that influenced peoples opinions, social commitments and voting behaviour. Traditionally, citizenship education was mainly a matter of socialisation within the pillar; it was the pillar that determined people’s choices in the major aspects of their lives. In this context, evidently, the notion of governance does not really play a role.

During the last couple of decades, due to individualisation processes, people tend to make more eclectic choices, and the pillars are loosing their influence[39]. In the light of this, citizenship education aims to give people information to base their choices upon; it gives them information and offers a forum for critical reflection on the politics of national politics and the European institutions[40].

As has been stated before, due to scandals and affairs, people have lost their confidence in massive power structures and mechanisms. During the last decades, a powerful ‘pluralistic’ movement was established, taking all kinds of initiatives related to welfare and culture, strongly opposing the vested interests of the pillars. It is now obtaining ‘real’ power since we have a non-Christian democratic government. An example - though still fairly marginal - of a new trend in civic education that tries to counterbalance the power of the agricultural industry (a power which also leads to global inequality between the North and the South), are the Eco-teams (or food-teams). Eco-teams is a joint initiative of an adult education institution that has been working in the field of active citizenship and governance education since a couple of decades, and an NGO active in development cooperation. The teams are based upon an agreement between a group of families in a certain community and local producers of food; the families commit themselves to the purchase of food with these producers; the farmers in their turn pledge themselves to produce the food in as natural a way as possible. Eco-teams thus establish a direct link between producer and consumer (bypassing the distribution and transportation sector), and support a local economy and organic production processes, thereby countering the power of massive agroindustrial concerns (thus indirectly supporting the NGO's pursuit of more just conditions for farmers in the South).

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[38] Cf. Snick & Demunter, 1999.

[39] Huyse, 1994; cf. Dobbelaere et al, 2000.

[40] E.g. Elcker-Ick courses.

In the field of formal education, schools pay more and more attention to citizenship education. There is an increasing interest in how schools can foster democratic skills and attitudes by means of their methodology. In the primary school system, the methodology of the French educator Freinet is receiving a lot of attention and is moving from the alternative spheres towards mainstream educational institutions. Freinet not only wanted to stimulate the integral development of the child (head and hands) and to increase the activity and initiative of pupils (making contract work and choosing their own projects), but he also stressed the importance of debate, of negotiating (the 'talk-circles'), of voicing your opinion (the printing of a class journal), and of being aware of what is going on in the world. The Freinet system is receiving growing attention from education authorities; what started as a 'free', unsubsidised alternative educational project is now receiving a lot of support and is imitated by official providers of education (the General Council for Community Education, responsible for the schooling organised by the Flemish government, has a cell that helps schools to introduce this methodology; some Flemish cities are implementing it in all the city schools, etc…).

In mainstream education on the secondary level, there is increasing room for active citizenship and governance education. In its policies concerning secondary education, the Education Department wants schools to pursue 'political formation, citizenship, tolerance, solidarity, self-reliance, autonomy and responsibility' as an important goal. By September 2001, the goals of the educational programme for the second and third degree (i.e. for pupils age 14-18) will be officially introduced; they will stipulate the important subject matter as well as the skills and attitudes schools have to pursue in these domains[41]. Apart from this, there are some extra-curricular activities which pursue active citizenship and governance education for adolescents. One example is the 'students' parliament', an organisation that organises 'parliamentary sessions' for youngsters, where local and national political issues are debated.

In the non-formal (adult education) sector, there are quite some organisations that provide active citizenship and governance education. In the first place, there are a number of adult education centres that offer courses on issues related to politics and citizenship[42]. These are usually located in urban areas, and reach a rather limited segment of the public. However, many other organisations in the civil society, such as youth movements, socio-cultural organisations and unions play a role in active citizenship and governance education; they can do so by informing people (e.g. via members' newsletters, via informative meetings, etc…), by voicing or channelling protest against social or political abuses (thus, the white marches in the wake of Black Sunday were supported by the main socio-cultural organisations and managed to mobilise a large segment of the population), and by presenting and supporting alternatives (for example the green bikers who actively support the use of more environmental friendly means of transportation; or Oxfam, who offers consumers products of fair world trade).

In the policy document of the present Minister of Culture, this role of the socio-cultural sector in active citizenship and governance education is explicitly recognised and supported[43]. The document stresses the important role the sector has played in the past in the emancipation of large groups of people; it also stresses that for these groups this aim has been largely obtained, which has resulted in a more individualistic and middle-class lifestyle. However, other groups now threaten to remain excluded (poor families, migrants). The statement also recognises that young people are less inclined to take up long lasting commitments, but are interested in alternative cultural expressions. Socio-cultural organisations have to face this challenge and have to try to reach its public in new ways; thus, the civic society - an indispensable partner for the government - can become a network of critical and conscious people, strengthening the social fabric.

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[41] Vanderpoorten, 2000, p. 30.

[42] E.g. De Wakkere Burger, Lodewijk De Raet, Elcker-Ik, Dialoog; cf Vorming, 11 (1996)

The socio-cultural sector too recognises this need for a new justification and for new answers to the challenges of contemporary society[44]. There are many indications of doubt, of uncertainty and of crisis; the sector is trying to redefine its own profile and role as a social actor[45].

In the informal sphere, active citizenship and governance education can be identified in a variety of ways. In the first place, there are some journals that regularly pay attention to themes related to active citizenship and governance[46]. The audiovisual media play a role by organising political debates, showing critical documentary programmes and bringing prominent theorists and their publications under the attention of the public[47]. Books on subjects related to politics regularly reach the best selling charts. Investigative journalism into corruption and social abuse have received a lot of attention and recognition[48], but also more theoretical works reach a wider public[49]. It is also worth mentioning that several Flemish youth authors have been writing books that make children aware of social problems and help them to identify with ‘the other’[50].

In the public sector, the government supports campaigns by large providers of common goods or services (water, electricity, waste companies) to raise the environmental awareness of the general public. In information campaigns (via radio, TV and printed materials) consumers are encouraged to be sparing with energy and drinking water, and are sensitised on the use of reusable and recyclable materials (to prevent the production of waste). Thus, citizens are given responsibility to help the government to deal with these environmental problems. Similarly, measures are taken by the government to encourage people to take up the care for others (e.g. sick people, the elderly or needy family members). In the period preceding the local elections of this year (October 2000), the Flemish government also launched a campaign to encourage people to put up as candidates. In the weeks before the elections, advertisements by the Flemish government encouraged people to vote critically, to discuss the political programmes and to make a ‘balanced’ vote for both men and women. These and similar initiatives, even though they are not educational in the strict sense of the word, may encourage people to become (more) active citizens and play an active role in governance.

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[43] Anciaux, 2000, pp. 68-74.

[44] Cf. ‘Uitgedaagd’.

[45] Vgl. Anciaux, 2000, p. 70.

[46] E.g. Kultuurleven, Oikos.

[47] Cf. programs such as ‘De Zevende Dag’, ‘Kwesties’, ‘Wereldbeeld’; and literary events such as ‘Het groot beschrijf’.

[48] De Stoop.

[49] Kruithof, Vermeersch, Huyse.

[50] Provoost,

In the citizenship and governance education literature in Flanders, the issue of gender is definitely recognised as important[51]. Women's contributions to social life are made visible[52], and theoretical perspectives such as eco-feminism are given attention in political journals[53]. Since the sector of active citizenship and governance education in Flanders is going through a lot of changes (both in formal and non-formal settings), it is difficult at this moment to draw up the balance-sheet; further research in this would certainly be needed.

8.5 Learning Citizenship and Governance

Recent empirical studies in sociology and political theory investigate the influence of the participation in civil society organisations on the democratic attitude of people[54] and on the social fabric[55]. This survey has revealed that participation in the socio-cultural 'community' is a factor correlative with a more democratic attitude. However, this research only establishes this correlation, but does not reconstruct how the connection between participation in the civic society and citizenship attitudes can be explained in terms of learning processes.

Some empirical (life history method) research has been done in the field of adult education into learning processes in related area's, highlighting how specific groups of people change their attitudes or choose their plan of action in a specific domain of social life[56]. This research is relevant in so far as it illuminates complex learning processes related not so much to a specific field of knowledge, but to how people position themselves in a complex social and societal context.

As far as the gender perspective is concerned, the study by Elchardus and Huyse does distinguish between men and women[57]. The results reveal slight differences in patterns of participation between men and women. However, as this research does not specifically illuminate the process of learning citizenship or governance, no conclusions concerning women's specific approaches to learning citizenship or governance can be drawn.

In the context of a European study on 'women and decision making', the Flemish research team has made both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of women's participation in educational decision making[58]. This research has only established the fact that women participate less in higher level decision making processes, and has formulated hypotheses (based upon preliminary literature research) about what factors influence this state of affairs. These hypotheses (for further research) also pay attention to the dominant discourse on leadership (governance) and how this discourse is exclusive to women's views and experiences. The 'learning process' should not only be on the women's side (learning to assimilate the dominant practice of governance), but also on the side of governing bodies (trying to find other paradigms of leadership and decision making that includes the views and experiences of ‘the other’).

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[51] E.g. Ter Zake. Praktijkblad over lokaal beleid en samenlevingsopbouw, May 2000.
[52] Ter Zake, May 1998.
[53] E.g. Oikos, 1, nr. 4, 41-53.
[54] Elchardus & Huyse, 2000.
[55] Hooghe, 2000.
[56] Van den Abeele, 2000; Stroobants, 2000.
[57] Elchardus, Hooghe & Smits, 2000, p. 12.
[58] Snick & Demunter, 1999.

8.6 Other Important Issues

An issue that receives some attention in the Flemish literature and that certainly seems worth following up on is the impact of new media (such as television and the internet) on patterns of participation, and the dangers and possibilities they present for active citizenship and governance education[59].

8.7 Comments and Conclusions

If one tries to characterise the literature on active citizenship and governance education in Flanders, the following features come to the fore.

On a theoretical level, some major research reports focus on the role of participation in the civil society for the strengthening social capital. Given the massive impact of the large ideological pillars in the past, the level of participation in Flemish socio-cultural and socio-economic organisations has traditionally been very high. The most prominent theorists in the Flemish context represent a communitarian point of view in that they defend a strengthening or renewal of the civil society as an intermediary between the individual citizens and the government. Although processes of individualisation are recognised, this is seen more as a challenge for the civil society to reposition itself than as an argument for a neo-republican position.

Due to processes of individualisation and secularisation – strengthened by the impact of the new media - the pillarised civil society is losing some of its attractiveness, especially for young people. This hiatus both forces the traditional organisations to look for new justifications and methods, and creates an openness in which new social movements targeted on contemporary social problems (ecology, asylum seekers, fair trade…), can make an entrance.

A second feature of the Flemish situation concerning active citizenship is the active role the media play in the political debate. Books, TV-programmes and magazines are quite influential participants in the debate and can bring issues on the political agenda. In the recent past, judging by the sales numbers, investigative journalism – especially on the ‘dark sides’ of traditional politics - have gained a lot of attention from the general public.

Citizenship often functions as a notion on a meta-level: many publications and educational initiatives address issues related to citizenship (e.g. environmental awareness, consciousness raising concerning political issues) without however focussing on the notion of ‘citizenship’ or ‘governance’ as such. Rather, these notions are implicit in their approach of the issue they stand for. The most influential Flemish writers on active citizenship and governance education are Huyse, Hooghe, Elchardus, Apostel, Kruithof and Raes. They in turn get much of their inspiration from other authors such as Putnam, Beck, Giddens, Bauman, Habermas, Rosanvallon and Castells.

An effect of the fact that Flanders is a very small cultural entity and located at the centre of Europe is that the Flemish people are ‘open’ to other cultures (speaking other languages, dependent on other countries' cultural industries such as film, music…), but also that the specificity of the culture is more easily threatened by (commercialised) cultural products and media. Maybe this has made the Flemish more aware than others of the possible impact of the (new) media and of global economic processes on our cultural identity and democracy: the cultural sovereignty of a community is 'at stake'. This awareness is related to a long-standing suspicion towards 'imposed' governmental structures. At a time when the civil society - which in this country for a long time functioned as a 'pillar' supporting the national stability and consensus, but also as something binding the individual – has lost much of its credit, new ways of defining and channelling citizenship are being explored.

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[59] Hooghe, 1997; Goubin & Plees, 1998; Elchardus, Hooghe & Smits, 2000, pp. 26-30.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Palitha Edirisingha

9.1 Citizenship

9.1.1 European Issues

The diverse issues that are emerging within the European Union have implications for the way in which the notion of citizenship is being considered within the Union. CEC (n.d.a) summarises some of these issues and their implications. A first issue is the increasing trend towards the internationalisation of European society and the cultures, and its impact on the society, which is becoming culturally and ethnically heterogeneous. Racism, xenophobia, discrimination, and exclusion are some of the negative aspects arising from these changes, which the policy makers and various social actors have to grapple with. It is a challenge to promote the positive aspects such as intercultural experience, and tolerance and respect for diversity.

Secondly, there is a great trend towards social and economic polarisation and marginalisation of some sections of the society. Young people, the minority and the migrant groups can be singled out as particularly affected groups. The society is again challenged to counter their exclusion and lack of participation in society and economy. A third issue facing the EU today is the effect of growing complexity and lack of transparency of social and political processes in the context of European integration together with regional and local differentiation. A fourth issue is the effect of human action on the environment as a transnational and global challenge.

The changes in the political landscape across Europe and the Northern Hemisphere also create some new challenges. As CEC (n.d.b, p.4-5) highlights, the end of the cold war led to breakages in the political and social order both in the eastern and the Western Europe. Individualism, loss of values, reluctance to get involved in political parties, lack of faith in government, low voter participation, and growing violence are just a few symptoms of the decline in the social order. Welfare state has been under revision in many Western States. These trends re-shape the established social systems, which will have implications for the way in which the States view the citizens, and the vice versa.

9.1.2 Citizenship in the European Union

According to Wiener (1997) most of the discussions and studies on citizenship within the EU context have focused on the legal aspects of citizenship, with less attention on how the citizenship has been put in to practice. These debates however have been able to illuminate the limitations of supranational citizenship.

Legal status

The legal statues of Community citizenship has been shaping over the decades, as summarised in CEC (n.d.a). Under the Treaty of Rome, Member States retained competence for defining and granting individual citizenship rights in accordance with their own differing traditions and laws. The 1973 Copenhagen summit recognised the need for the Community to develop a more integrated approach to international affairs, supported by a stronger sense of shared Community identity. This led to the provisions made for labour mobility. Until this time, it appears that the citizenship across the member states was based on the economic grounds. After all, the creation of the EU was first on the economic grounds (Osler, 1997).

The Masstricht Treaty, under Article 8, introduced the idea of a European Citizenship which extended the citizenship beyond the economic approach of the European integration (Osler, 1997). The Treaty introduced full freedom of movement for Community nationals in 1993 as one step towards a Union citizenship. The Copenhagen Summit of 1973 too laid the political foundation, which initiated a chain of thinking about European identity and citizenship. European Citizenship, according to its legal framework, is expected to strengthen and consolidate European identity by greater involvement of the citizens in the Community integration process (CEC, n.d.c).

Broadly speaking, the EU citizenship comprises of four categories of specific provisions and rights (CEC, n.d.c). These are: freedom of movement and residence throughout the Union; the right to take part in political activities such as voting and standing for elections; diplomatic protection; and the right to petition the European Parliament and apply to the Ombudsman. These provisions clearly indicate that the creation of the European citizenship, at least in the early stages, focused on its legal aspects, rather than how it is applied in practice. Subsequently, the Amsterdam Treaty, signed on the 2nd October 1997, helped to establish the legal framework of the European citizenship (CEC, n.d.d, p.4).

Drawing on the official EU documents concerning European citizenship and citizenship with a European dimension, CEC (n.d.b) proposes four dimensions of European Citizenship: political, social, cultural, and economic.

- Political/legal dimension which is concerned with aspects such as political structures and processes, political interest, history of Europe, functioning of civil society, democratic values, and human rights.
- Social dimension concerning countering social exclusion, equal opportunities for both sexes and minorities, training for information society, and anti-racism.
- Cultural dimension with regard to intercultural experience, European cultural heritage, European heritage, and respecting cultural and political diversity.
- Economic dimension focusing on preparation for single market, vocational qualifications, minorities in economic process, and consequence of globalisation.

Underlying the EU citizenship is the importance of education and training for citizenship, as outlined in the Commission's White Paper *Teaching and Learning: towards the learning society* (Office for Publications of the EC, hereafter referred to as OPE, n.d.a). It highlights the implications of economic, social, and technological change for education and training in Europe, within a context of globalisation which increasingly creates conditions of uncertainty. A key role of education and training for citizenship is to develop the individuals with capacity to respond positively and confidently to these changes and to the tensions that arise in the society. An added role of education for citizenship, as Osler (1997) points out, is to enable the individuals and groups to play a fuller part as European citizens. This has been sometimes expressed as bringing Europe closer to people, a recent emphasis behind the establishment of European Union, although the early rationales were based on economic grounds.

Inclusion and exclusion

Much has been said and written about European citizenship with emphasis on many positive outcomes that it would bring to the unification. It has been often thought that the idea of European citizenship would foster the multicultural society in Europe: 'European citizenship could be characterised as a concept that goes beyond the traditional legal and formal statues; it includes a feeling of belonging to a multicultural and multilingual community with a common sense of developing the future together (Osler, 1997, p. 7). Meehan holds the view that 'a new kind of citizenship is emerging that is neither national not cosmopolitan but that is multiple in the sense that the identities, rights, and obligations, associated […] with citizenship, are expressed through an increasingly complex configuration of common Community institutions, states, national and transnational voluntary associations, regions and alliance of regions' (1993, p.1, cited in Wiener, 1997, p. 1). Many documents within CEC server are optimistic about the European citizenship. For example, CEC (n.d.a, p.7) asserts that within the European context with the citizenship becoming 'more fluid and dynamic', 'the practice of citizenship becomes more like a method of social inclusion, in the course of which people together create the experience of becoming the architects and actors of their own lives.'

Others however, point out some of the shortcoming of the notion of European citizenship. Weiner (1997) considers that, although the historical element of *belonging* was continuously addressed, the focus was shifted from creating a *feeling* of belonging to establishing the *legal* ties of belonging. This has been the case in both the Masstricht Treaty and the Amsterdam Treaty. According to the amendments made to the Amsterdam Treaty 'citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship' (CEC, n.d.c, p. 3). This implies two basic requirements for European Citizenship: it is first necessary to be a national of a Member State in order to enjoy citizenship of the Union; and European citizenship will supplement and complement the rights conferred by national citizenship.

The legal definition of the European citizenship, as Osler (1997) points out, paves way for inclusion and exclusion. Those living within the EU have different levels of citizenship rights. Osler uses the case of ethnic minorities to illustrate how ethnicity, racism, gender and class are contributing to shape the Europe citizenship. The legal status of individuals as European is largely determined by their status as citizens of an individual EU country, as migrants or as refugees. In Britain, for example, while the majority of black and ethnic minority people are British citizens, there are nearly one million people, amongst them, who do not have the formal status of citizenship. They have rights of residence, with entitlement to education, health care, housing and work. These rights, however, are not transferable across the EU, and these people are usually classified as 'migrants' or 'aliens' if they move to other parts of Europe, with the loss of a number of social rights.

Osler reports a few examples, which highlight how minorities living in EU countries experience exclusion. In Germany, for example, the resident Turks cannot acquire citizenship and continue to be labeled as ‘migrant’. These communities have been granted the right to live in Germany for a variety of reasons, and receive support and protection according to the basic human rights. They, despite their long-term residency, do not however acquire a right of citizenship. They remain non-Germans. Their case illustrates how, in this instance, residence and birth do not secure national citizenship, which means that they cannot claim European citizenship. The identity of these minority communities is determined by the views of the majority community.

Drawing on the literature on feminist critique, Osler also reports how women face exclusion in terms of European citizenship. While women have formal equality, they remain under represented in public life, such as in elected assemblies, and in top positions in certain professions. Women from ethnic minority groups face further exclusion owing to their gender and ethnicity. A further group who face exclusion are children and young people. Traditional notions of citizenship have ignored the issue of children’s citizenship rights; children’s needs have been usually discussed in terms of their preparation for future citizenship. Generalli it is assumed that children cannot exercise citizenship rights and responsibilities because they lack the competence to understand and exercise many of these rights, although, according to Verhellen (1993, cited by Osler, 1997, p. 15) it is possible to make a distinction between the capabilities of children and adults by the age of 12.

Poverty and unemployment are other factors that cause large-scale marginalisation from the rights of citizenship both at European and national levels. Therefore, social class continues to play a significant role in the process of inclusion and exclusion, interrelating in a complex way with other factors such as ethnicity, gender and a range of other circumstances. These factors may prevent access to citizenship rights even when those rights are legally granted.

9.1.3 Active Citizenship

Recent debates on citizenship within the EU focuses on the notion of active citizenship. The Internet Server of the CEC contains many reports on research and policy on active citizenship. Edith Cresson in her forward to *Learning for active citizenship* describes active citizenship as the ability of ‘citizens to participate as fully as possible in cultural, economic, political and social life’ (CEC, n.d.a, p. 1). According to Chanan (1997, p.1), active citizenship means ‘any form of productive contribution to society.’ It is the ‘people’s capacity to take an active role in public affairs, whether through formal democratic structures, through the press, through public debate, through associations, political parties, trade unions, local clubs, and societies or simply through informal networks and mutual aid amongst neighbours, friends and family’ (p. 1).

The notion of active citizenship has been considered as a mechanism that can foster inclusion rather than exclusion, which is one of the drawbacks of European notion of citizenship. As CEC (1997a, p. 8) highlights, active citizenship is ‘correlated to social inclusion, understood as a feeling of belonging to the different communities of society’. In exercising active citizenship, individuals would actively use their civil, political and social rights through participatory practices at local, national or transnational levels. Active citizenship may result in the strengthening of existing identities or in the emergence of new feeling of identity.

Active citizenship has been characterised as having a *vertical* dimension and a *horizontal* dimension (Osler, 1997, p. 10). The *vertical* dimension refers to the relations between each individual and institutions (local, regional, national, or supranational), in which the individuals have a common set of rights and obligations. The *horizontal* aspect of citizenship is the relationships among individuals and the communities. The development of horizontal aspect of active citizenship is particularly significant in the European context in which citizens need to develop and be confident in their own identities, within their multicultural societies. Citizens of member states need to be able to respond positively and openly to individuals and groups (fellow citizens) whose cultures and traditions are different from their own.

In terms of learning to practice active citizenship, CEC (n.d.a, p. 6) identifies the complementary nature of three dimensions: affective, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions. The affective dimensions of active citizenship is characterised by individual's 'sense of attachment to the societies and communities to which they theoretically belong'. In this sense, the active citizenship is 'closely related to the promotion of social inclusion and cohesion as well as to matters of identity and values.' The cognitive dimension means having 'a basis of information and knowledge upon which they can take action, and to do so with some confidence.' Finally, 'the practicing citizenship is about taking action of some kind, and this is above all a matter of gaining experience in doing so', which is the pragmatic dimension of active citizenship.

9.1.4 Active Citizenship with a European Dimension

An issue that is being discussed within the EU citizenship and active citizenship is the notion of an *active citizenship with a European dimension.* The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty has foreseen the importance of encouraging 'a more active and participatory citizenship in the life of the Community', which is based on the 'complementary of union Citizenship and Member State citizenship' (CEC, n.d.a). Bringing Europe closer to its citizens has been seen as a priority for future policy action. The 1995 white Paper *Teaching and Learning: towards the Learning Society* also points towards a notion of an active citizenship with a European dimension. It sees that such a notion would encourage the social inclusion of the diverse members of the European societies: 'the encouragement of an active and engaged citizenry processing the skills and confidence to contribute as fully as possible to maintaining prosperity and improving the broader quality of life.' Cresson in her forward to the CEC (n.d.a) mentions that the this notion of citizenship would develop the Union citizenship, 'not just in a legal sense but also through the fulfillment of the ideal of a Europe close to its citizens' (p. 1). The objective is to encourage people's practical involvement in the democratic process at all levels, and most particularly at European level.

Active citizenship with a European dimension has been viewed from many angles. According to Williamson (n.d., p. 23), it is a vision of citizenship which moves beyond objective questions of 'status' into the realms of 'feelings' and 'identity', where the willingness to take part and the capacity to take part is being exercised at different levels: the local, the national, and the European. Williamson points out that that this notion of citizenship can be described as a *social* or *multicultural citizenship* (p. 23), which is to do with 'middle-range, intermediate zone of social interactions, learning and relationships.' An active citizenship with a European dimension is 'multifaceted, encapsulating social, political, cultural and economic elements.'

The character of European societies has special implications for the notion of citizenship in general, and for active citizenship in particular. As CEC (n.d.a) points out, until recently, the concept of citizenship has been understood in rather static and institutionally dominated terms. Legal entitlements and their political and democratic expressions have been the primary concerns. The presence of homogeneity in terms of ethnicity, culture and language in the majority of the populations meant that, while the internal differences and diversity may have been registered, the dominance of majority culture remained largely unquestioned, and guided the way in which citizenship was defined, understood, and practiced. As CEC (n.d.a, p. 6) points out, 'this is no longer so. Across the community, the proportion of denizens living in the Member States is bound to rise in the decades to come as a consequence of mobility between Member States as well as inflows into the Community from outside, and the assertion of the *right to difference* by minority groups – indigenous or otherwise – is now a well-establish feature of European social and political life.' An active citizenship with a European dimension, then, means that learning to live and work among the communities that are different to one's own and diverse is becoming a core dimension of the practice of citizenship in Europe. It also means that the concept of citizenship itself is taking broader view; while the legal and social rights continue to be essential elements, a negotiated and culturally-based understandings of citizenship are becoming more prominent.

Williamson (n.d. p. 23) points out the tensions that the EU has to content within the years to come in the practice of an active citizenship with the European dimension: 'while nationhood is clearly being challenged by transnationality, it is also being undermined by sub-national and regional identities and ethnicities. The aspirations around an active citizenship with a European dimension – the promotion of a feeling of a belonging to a common civilization located within a shared political culture and democracy, while respecting 'difference' and acknowledging cultural diversity – have to contend with competing trends around xenophobia and social exclusion.'

The research project reported in Osler (1997) identifies a number of key values that charaterise the European dimension of an active citizenship. These are: human rights/human dignity; fundamental freedom; democratic legitimacy; peace and the rejection of violence as a means to an end; respect for others; a spirit of solidarity; equitable development; equal opportunities; the principles of rational thought, the ethics of evidence and proof; preservation of the eco-system; and personal responsibility (European Commission Study Group on Education and Traning, 1997, p. 57 cited Osler, 1997, p16). Osler points out that these are not values that are exclusive to the Europeans, rather they are a set of values based on principles of that have universal justice, equality and solidarity.

9.1.5 Education for Citizenship

Three main categories of programmes have been referred to in the CEC documents as important in terms their contribution to active citizenship (CEC, n.d.e), namely, Socrates, Leonardo Da Vinci, and Youth Programmes. The programmes under Socrates are aimed at learners of all ages and social groups. The objectives of these programmes are to provide the learners with insights into the European dimension of the subjects they study with a view to increase opportunities for personal experiences of other EU countries. These programmes seek to foster the sense of citizenship with a European dimension. Curriculum development, exchange activities in schools, and paying particular attention to the positive aspects of multi-cultural education are some of the ways in which these programmes aim to achieve their objectives.

The aim of the second category of programmes, Leonardo da Vinci, is to improve the quality of vocational training and their capacity for innovations. Training being considered as a lifelong process, these programmes aim to ensure both personal development and professional integration. The broad objective of these programmes is the development of human resources as a key factor for Europe's future economic and social welfare. As the name implies, the third category of programmes, Youth for Europe III are for young people. In these programmes, learning occurs in non-formal settings, with a view to contribute to their educational processes by supporting youth exchange activities and the development of youth work. There is a special emphasis on increasing the participation of disadvantaged young people. The programmes aim to offer young people a concrete experience of European citizenship and thus to encourage them to become more active citizens.

In addition to these three categories of programmes, there are a number reports that document programmes that have educational aims for citizenship for both adults and children. OPE (n.d.b) reports a number of education programmes for children and young adults. The programme 'A motto for Europe' aims to educate people in European citizenship through finding the words to express the Europe of tomorrow. Based in their own countries, 40 European newspapers take part in this operation, with their shared Website (http://www.motto-Europe.org) enabling to bring together the children between 10 to 19 years of age. Another such programme is the European Voluntary Service (CEC, n.d.f), which offers young people, between the ages of 18 and 25 years, the opportunity to spend a period of time in another country and to get involved in a local project as a volunteer.

A major research project commissioned by DG XXII in the mid-1990s, has examined the contribution of the Commission's Action Programmes in the fields of Education, Training and Youth (Leonardo, Socrates and Youth for Europe) to the promotion and development of active citizenship with a European dimension. There are a number of reports that are related to this study (for example, Osler, 1997; CEC, n.d.a; CEC, 1997b; Williamson, n.d.).

The study has been conducted by five research teams, covering all the member countries. The countries have been grouped into five areas: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden; Republic of Ireland, The Netherlands, and the UK; Belgium, France and Luxembourg; Austria, Germany, and Liechtenstein; and Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The purpose of the study was to analysis and demonstrate contribution of Community Action Programmes in the fields of education, training and youth for the development of citizenship with a European dimension (tender document, cited in Williamson, n.d.). The research programmes also investigated the specific European dimension of active citizenship (CEC, 1997b; CEC, n.d.b).

The research concludes that current action programme offer considerable scope for the promotion for active citizenship, and that the European dimension is an important asset to that end (CEC, n.d.a). Community education, training and youth programmes can support individuals and groups to exercise active citizenship by providing opportunities to gain and practice technical and social skills for professional, personal and civic life. Marginalsed groups deserve particular consideration in this respect, but within the context of a mainstreaming approach to learning processes relevant for all citizens, whatever their age or circumstances.

According to the research, The Leonardo da Vinci programmes focuses on cognitive learning and the economic dimension of citizenship in terms of equipping people to adapt and respond more proactively to the demands of changing labour markets and new technologies. Socrates and Youth for Europe programmes place emphasis on the political and social dimensions of citizenship; these programme provide information and promote debate on cultural, historical, political and social issues, encouraging the development of communicative and intercultural skills, and stimulating the motivation for active participation and mobility itself. Youth for Europe programmes seem to engender high levels of affective learning alongside their cognitive and pragmatic elements, whereas Socrates projects seem inclined to balance cognitive and affective elements relatively evenly (CEC, n.d.a).

Chanan (1997) provides findings from Citizen Action research took place between 1987 and 1992. According to this research, the local community sector provides a platform for people to take part in a variety of community-related activities. Their activities are, for many individuals, a necessary stepping-stone between the private sphere and the public sphere. The research concludes that local community action was of universal importance, which these activities are often patchy. The coherence, collective public voice and development of these community activities depend on a number of factors such as the availability of local umbrella groups or projects which purposefully help to develop and coordinate the sector. However, as Chanan points out, its functioning is lower than its potential, because of lack of recognition and support. According to this research, local community action can make an important economic contribution not only through a certain amount of job creation but also through cost-saving and the direct productivity of mutual aid. The community sector has an important contribution to make in increasing employability.

9.1.6 Guidelines for Future Actions

Guidelines for future have been formulated within a context of 'Europe of knowledge' and 'lifelong learning.' As CEC (1997b) highlights, the production of physical goods will no longer be the main contributory factor for the economic competitiveness, employment and the personal fulfillment of the European citizens. Instead, the wealth creation will be increasingly linked to the production and dissemination of knowledge. Lifelong learning, which has already been incorporated into the Amsterdam Treaty, is expected to play a major role in this process, *to promote the highest level of knowledge for its people through broad access to education and its permanent updating* (p.3). Within this context, CEC (1997b) sets out the guidelines for future Community action in the area of education, training and youth for the period 2000-2006.

The Communication highlights three dimensions of the European educational areas, one of which is the Citizenship. The other two are Knowledge and Competence. In the area of citizenship, the Communication says: 'This educational area will facilitate an *enhancement of citizenship* through the sharing of common values, and the development of a sense of belonging to a common social and cultural area. It must encourage a broader-based understanding of citizenship, founded on active solidarity and on mutual understanding of the cultural diversities that constitute Europe's originality and richness (CEC, 1997b, p. 4). The emphasis on the knowledge aspect is 'in order to be able to take an active part in the current processes of change'. The emphasis on the competence is to develop employability. This is linked to lifelong learning and skills development. Within these three broader areas the Communication proposes to develop more focused activities, with a number of actions, one of which is related to citizenship. Existing programme under Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci, and Youth for Europe and their predecessors (Erasmus, Comett, Lingua, Petra, Force, and Eurotenet) are being mentioned as providing solid foundations for a new stage. The Communication proposes to capitalise the achievements of these programmes in the area of community activities.

9.2 Governance

9.2.1 Emergence of Governance

The reasons for an increased emphasis on governance lie in a number of issues confronting the contemporary society, at local, national, and international level. Lebessis and Paterson (1997) trace these transformations through four steps: a growing awareness of social complexity, an increasing difficulty for governments to take actions, a crisis in the paradigm of government action, and emergence of new modes of governance. These four steps are seemingly interconnected, and to understand how these steps lead to new thinking of governance, we could begin by looking at the implications of social complexities.

Compared with the situation in traditional societies, the contemporary society is becoming ever more complex. The society is also becoming more aware of these complexities. Lebessis and Paterson (1997) point out that many contemporary problems such as exclusion, poverty, immigration, job security, and environmental issues seem to cross traditional territorial boundaries. In addition, the contemporary regulatory domains such as telecommunications, transport, financial markets, too, cross traditional territorial boundaries. Within this context, as Lebessis and Patterson point out, the governments find it difficult to meet the expectations posed by the society. The expectations, presented as explicit political goals and democratically endorsed, finally appear beyond reach in many cases. As a consequence, the credibility and the legitimacy of governments and of institutional actors who take part in social regulation are adversely affected. The emergence of new modes of governance (Lebessis and Paterson, 1997) could be interpreted as a consequence of all these changes.

To meet the challenges posed by these changes, the policy makers at the national level are now speaking of brining government closer to citizens, which can better hear and understand societal concerns, which can improve transparency and accountability. Some of the developments that Lebessis and Patterson point out are: decentralised regulation and the disengagement of the state associated with the increased use of independent administrative agencies; decentralisation and delegation of responsibilities to replace previous hierarchical and centralised command structures; and Citizen’s Charter-style initiatives, some of which have been borrowed from the private sector. However, along with these transformations that are driven by governments, there are other development that are evident. There is increasing involvement of the private sector, as individuals as well as communities. These transformations, new modes of governance, offer pragmatic responses to social problems.

9.2.2 Governance in the EU

Not only the nation states, but also the supranational organisations such as the EU has to grapple with the issue of governance. In a speech on April 2000, Romano Prodi recognised this development: ‘I believe it is time to recognise that “Brussels” is all of us: Europe is not run by European institutions but by national, regional, and local authorities too and civil associations such as NGOs.’ (quoted in Chanan, 2000, p. 1). Prodi was proposing the idea of a ‘Network Europe’, a new and more democratic form of partnership between the civil society and other actors involved in governance. Prodi added that: ‘Europe must be built *by* the citizens *for* the citizens and civil society must have a key role in the proposed Network Europe’. And he recognised that ‘Europe’s citizens are disenchanted and anxious. They have lost faith in the European institutions’ (CEC, 2000a, p. 1).

The creation of the EU itself could be considered as an application of governance. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, one of the applications of governance is in the field of transnational institutions and governments (Hirst, 2000). This form of governance is considered to be useful when certain issues can not be solved or contained by the actions at the level of national governments alone. It is ironic that the Commission, created as an answer to some of the problems of the Member States, itself is being criticised as lacking ‘good governance’.

The Forward Studies Unit has been carrying out research into the issue of EU governance since 1996 (Lebessis and Paterson, 1997). The project had two main objectives. First is ‘to situate the present and future activity of the Commission in the broader context of the transformation of modes of governance in democratic societies’. The second objective was ‘to assist the Commission in understanding the implications of this ongoing transformation and to anticipate future developments in order that it can clarify its role and better adapt its methods to this context.’ A follow-up workshop has been carried out later on to consider the question of ‘improving the effectiveness and legitimacy of EU governance’ (Lebessis and Paterson, 1999, p. 6).

A major criticisms aimed at the EU and the Commission in particular, according to the research carried out by the Forward Studies Unit is that there is a perceived lack of popular accountability, a democratic deficit. This criticism relates to a perceived increase in detailed regulation coming from the Commission which appears to impose global homogenised standards which take little or no account of national or local conditions. This situation coincides with a trend towards deregulation in some countries which claims to shift power away from traditional bureaucracy towards communities.

A second criticism is on the internal organisation of the Commission (Lebessis and Paterson, 1997). Commission usually adopts the functional models of administration established by national administrative structures such as demarcation of competencies and centralised, top-down solutions. It has also encountered the dominant characteristics of modern societies, such as diversity, complexity, interdependency, uncertainty, which challenge this traditional, functional approach. The tension between the commission’s functional organisation and the complexity has given rise to a need for the Commission to develop new models of internal organisation, to overcome the limits of specific functional domains.

The challenge for the Commission is to develop approaches to handle complex and interconnected issues. Lebessis and Patterson point out how an issue such as the environment is linked to transport, energy, and agriculture within the EU context. Similarly urban issues are connected to housing, planning, policing, drugs policy, etc. The interconnectedness means that the Commission needs to apply new methods of governance. The implication is that there is a need to move from a *rigid and top-down* approach to regulation to a *flexible and inclusive* approach.

9.2.3 Recommendations for the Commission

Based on the Forward Studies Unit's research on governance in the EU context, Lebessis and Paterson (1997) put forward the following recommendations for the Commission.

1. **Participation.** The need to ensure the adequate participation of stakeholders in the process of governance. More importantly, to enable the meaningful participation of all stakeholders. What can happen is that best organised, informed, and those who have material and resources may take part leaving the less well-organised and informed parties aside. Mechanisms are needed to be put in place so that all stakeholders have the opportunity to represent their views, not in one-off events, but as an on-going process.
2. **Multi-disciplinary approach.** The need to accommodate different perspectives and the fact that single-disciplinary approaches are not adequate to a complex context means that the functional divisions of public actors must give away to a multi-disciplinary approach. Functional lines can exist but there should be mechanisms that assist a transcendence of these lines. In this way different expert domains can be confronted with other perspectives so that their understanding of the extent and the nature of problems can be enhanced.
3. **Contextualised implementation**. Implementation should move away from the traditional top-down imposition of prescriptive rules by bureaucratic public actors. It is necessary to understand the gap between the EU rules, and the contexts and the means by which they will be applied. Lebessis and Paterson argue that the Commission needs to examine the degree of contextualisation that have already been achieved in some regulatory regimes employed by the Commission (such as framework directives, negotiated regulation, etc.). The potential for further development of these approaches needs to be considered.
4. **Reflexivity**. All of the above means reflexivity. Complexity, diversity, interdependency and consequent uncertainty means that the process of governance must include mechanisms, which can accommodate new stakeholders, information and problems. These mechanisms must also be flexible. If the context can change, for examples in terms of the stakeholders or in terms of the nature and the extent of problems to be addressed, then a fixed model may rapidly be overtaken by events. Similarly, if the context accommodates a diversity of events, perspectives and values, then an expert model may have limited relevance for many stakeholders.
5. **Network of actors.** Finally, Commission's role needs to be one which operates with a network of actors who possibly overlap in terms of functional, territorial, and traditional public/private boundaries. The ability of the Commission to operate with these networks depends not only on its ability to understand and enter existing networks but also on its ability to encourage their development and co-ordination to meet particular challenges. The task for the commission is to look

for tools that can help to identify stakeholders, to co-ordinate their participation, and to ensure the flexibility required to retain an openness.

9.2.4 How Governance is Practiced in the EU

The above recommendations are based on the Forward Studies Unit's conclusion that 'The European agenda must come to be understood as more relevant by civil society' (Lebessis and Paterson, 1999, p. 4). According to the policy documents available in CEC Server, 'promoting new forms of European governance is one of the Commission's four strategic priorities' (CEC, 2000b, p. 1). Accountability, visibility, transparency, coherence, and effectiveness seem to be the aspiration of Europe which prepares for 'enlargement, globalisation and the new communication technologies, and in doing so to go further towards satisfying the public's aspiration for genuine participation in public affairs' (p. 1).

A more recent paper from the Forward Studies Unit elaborates on the guidelines for new modes of governance (Lebessis and Patterson, 2000). It attempts to outline the key features of the new modes of governance that might serve to complement the existing structures of the policy process as follows (p. 41).

- Increasing the understanding of problems which appear to be at the root of many of the difficulties faced by public actors;
- Guaranteeing and supporting the participation of stakeholders in order to enhance the framing of problems and objectives, and of developing and implementing solutions;
- Improving the communication between different expert disciplines, in order to enhance coherence among policies; and
- Evaluating and revising policies in order to overcome narrow expert approaches by enhancing exchange among all stakeholders whether expert or lay.

The new forms of governance can be summarised as 'seeking for ways to improve the articulation between the different levels of government (vertically) and between different policies and contexts (horizontally)' (Lebessis and Patterson, 2000, p. 41).

A significant step towards promoting new forms of governance within the EU is the White Paper on European Governance to be published in the middle of year 2001 (CEC, 2000b, p. 8). The European Commission President Romano Prodi made this announcement in his speech to the European Parliament on the 11th October 2000 (CEC, 2000b). He mentioned that the EU's political dimension has been translated into four major commitments, of which the first is 'promoting new forms of European governance.' The proposed White Paper would achieve two objectives. First is to 'ask fundamental questions about what policies we need in a European Union of up to 30 members, and how such policies can best be delivered.' The second objective is to look for the kind of institutions that are needed for the new governance in the 21st century. In this regard the Commission would propose a new division of labour between the Commission, the other institutions, the Member States and civil society. Prodi emphasised the need for '[a] new, more democratic form of partnership between the different levels of governance in Europe' (p. 3).

9.3 Conclusions

A diversity of issues that the Union is facing today has implications for the nature of citizenship and governance within the European Union. Increasing trend towards internationalisation of EU societies and cultures, a great trend towards social and economic polarisation and marginalisation of some sections of the community, and a growing complexity and lack of transparency of social, political, economic, and legal processes in the EU integration are some of the key issues. An important part of the integration process is an attempt to create a supranational, European citizenship. This however, has been polarised towards legal aspects of citizenship, with less attention towards how the citizenship has been put into practice. While the idea of European citizenship has been thought as a mechanism to foster a multicultural society, it has been increasingly realised that the focus has been shifted from creating a feeling of citizenship of belonging to establishing legal ties of belonging. The legal definition of European citizenship has often paved the way for excluding some of the sections of the community, including ethnic minorities. Within this context, the notion of active citizenship, especially with a European dimension is thought to redress the balance. The literature in the CEC Internet Server point towards a number of Community Action Programmes in education and training with proven success in imparting knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for active citizenship with a European dimension.

Similar attention has been paid to the issue of governance within the EU literature. EU itself is a form of governance that has been created by the member states in order to tackle some of the problems that are difficult to address at the national levels, and it is interesting to see that such a mechanism itself is being criticised as lacking governance. A perceived lack of accountability, i.e., democratic deficit, and problems associated with the internal organisation of the Commission are the two main criticisms leveled at the Commission, according to the studies by the Forward Studies Unit. The president of the Commission's statement that 'I believe it is time to recognise that "Brussels" is all of us: Europe is not run by European institutions but by national, regional, and local authorities too and civil associations such as NGOs' reflects the recognition for the need to new forms of governance. Forward Studies Unit has carried out a series of studies on the issue of governance in the EU and put forward a number of guidelines to improve the governance. The White Paper on European Governance to be published in 2001 is expected to be a significant step towards promoting new forms of governance within the EU.

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CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

John Holford

The challenges faced by the European Union and its member states in the early years of the twenty-first century are considerable. It is testament to the scale of these challenges - and to how seriously they are being taken - that they have led to quite fundamental reconsideration of key building blocks of any society.

10.1 Citizenship

Citizenship has been described as a ‘particular bond’ between people making up the population and the state (Poggi 1990, p. 28). This reminds us that other types of bond have existed. In feudal societies - and most European societies have roots in some kind of feudal social structure - vassals classically bound themselves to their lords by oaths of loyalty, and by continuing obligations such as military service, garrisoning the lord’s castles, and attending his court. In return they typically received a landed estate. Even formally ‘free’ peasants were bound by the customary law of the estate where they lived (Hilton 1977, pp. 44-62). They had no say in its government - this was the preserve of the lord and, when the lord wished, of his vassals. But even vassals were not citizens.

The concept of citizen derives in the West from the self-governing republics of ancient Greece and Rome, and was re-appropriated from the eighteenth century to assert the desire of civil society for a say in goverment. At the core of the notion is the idea of membership of a community (a word closely linked to ‘common’ (Williams 1976, pp. 65-66). But citizenship has or course always been a contested concept. In particular, who counts as a citizen has varied. In ancient Greece and Rome, as in the USA, slaves were not citizens. In some countries, from South Africa to the USA, the vote has been limited to certain ethnic groups. In most countries, women were excluded until the twentieth century. In many countries, such as the UK until 1918, only those who owned property could vote.

Of course, who can vote is partly a formal matter - defined by the law. But in practice the political rights of individuals, and even of large groups, can also be severely limited by formal or informal pressures. The notion of citizenship in late twentieth-century Eastern European ‘Socialist’ countries was formally extensive. In practice, however, it was a particular form of citizenship, as our Slovenian chapter demonstrates. It shaped a particular kind of society - a particular view of the bond between people and state, and of the role of the individual in society - with a legacy which our Slovenian colleagues have discussed.

There has been another important way in which citizenship has been contested. This stems not so much from who counts as a citizen, but what we include within the notion of ‘citizenship’. The ‘bottom line’ has been the right to participate in government, chiefly represented in the right to vote. But it is often argued that there is more to ‘being a citizen’ than such narrowly political matters as the right to vote. Many studies of citizenship begin -

as we have done - with the work of T.H. Marshall, and his view that citizenship is composed of three elements: political, civil, and social.

This approach is a useful way of analysing citizenship, and in particular allows us to chart some of the areas of contestation about the concept. For Marshall, of course, history demonstrated a progressive extension of citizenship: ‘it is possible, without doing too much violence to historical accuracy, to assign the formative period in the life of each [element] to a different century - civil rights to the eighteenth, political to the nineteenth, and social to the twentieth’ (Marshall 1950, p. 14). His periodisation was, of course, admittedly rough and ready, even from a British perspective. But the thrust of his claim that citizenship was progressively extending in scope would have found favour in most western European societies until - say - the 1970s.

Such optimism is no longer possible. Recent decades have seen intense debate in Europe and the English-speaking world about whether social welfare is properly a matter of citizenship. We have seen this in some of the chapters in this report. In Belgium, the notion of the citizen as customer has become important; in Britain, the notion of citizenship as imposing the duty of seeking paid employment actively is now common ground for both major political parties. We should perhaps, however, also consider this in a less Eurocentric perspective: a number of East and South-East Asian leaders have accused ‘the West’ of over-emphasising the political and civil dimensions of citizenship; the social dimension (social welfare, underpinned by strong economic growth) is, they argue, far more important.

10.2 Governance & Civil Society

Poggi’s reference to citizenship as a ‘particular bond’ between the people and the state brings home the symbiotic relationship between ‘citizenship’ and ‘governance’. Both notions describe, as it were, the glue which holds our societies together as political entities. In the countries of the European Union, governing is an activity undertaken by states which are - within the limitations which we have come to accept as normal - democratic. Their governments are formed by elections, on the basis of more-or-less universal adult suffrage. Although precise arrangements vary, the governments are - formally - accountable to various assemblies and parliaments, and these are themselves - formally - accountable to electorates at periodic elections.

Political and social theory has, however, emphasised the importance not only of governments and governed - states and citizens - but of *civil society*. Civil society emerged in relation to the ‘absolutist’ system of rule, typical of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, in which the state had in effect distanced itself from the larger society. From this new, elevated vantage point, society appeared simply as many private individuals, whom the state saw ‘as subjects, taxpayers, potential military draftees, etc.’ - a ‘suitable object of rule’ (Poggi 1978, p. 78). But the people ‘below’ saw themselves as having distinct interests, which could conflict with those of the ruler. They preferred not to be ‘object[s] of political management’ by a state operating chiefly in its own interests. The state should instead be an instrument of their society’s ‘autonomous, self-regulating development’ (Poggi 1990, p. 53).

Another way of expressing this is that the people wanted to be citizens - to play a full part in shaping how they were governed. A key element in how they formed and expressed this desire was establishing voluntary associations: private clubs, scientific and literary societies, dissenting religious sects. In most countries, few people could participate in what would today be seen as ‘politics’ until late in the nineteenth century at the earliest - the franchise was restricted and the number of formally constituted political institutions was small. Civil society has therefore come to refer not only to the people (or citizens), but to the networks of voluntary associations and institutions which enabled them to express their views.

For much of the twentieth century, mainstream political theory focused on the mechanics of representative democracy in the age of mass electorates. Little attention was paid to the notion of civil society. When it re-emerged, from the 1960s onward, it did so chiefly in response to growing doubts about the vitality of democratic systems. The doubts came from many directions: democracy was imperfect; power was unequally distributed; people no longer believed in the fairness of the system. More urgently, when the Cold War ended around 1990, it quite quickly became clear that more was required to establish democracy than the removal of authoritarian political structures. A shorthand emerged: the countries of Eastern Europe needed civil society.

The exercise of state power is inseparable from the relationship which the state has with its citizens. To discuss citizenship in European societies, therefore, is inseparable from considering those societies as civil societies. In short, when a state - at least, a twenty-first century European state - has a relationship with its citizens, it does so in the context of its ‘civil society’.

10.3 The Nature of National Contexts

Governments’ relationships with their citizens take place within the context of civil society. A key task in the comparative analysis of how people learn about citizenship and governance, therefore, is to examine the nature of the societies which exist in the various countries our project is examining. The chapters of which this report is composed have contributed significantly to this task.

10.3.1 Historical Formation & Identity

Although addressing a common set of questions, the six national chapters have brought out the capital significance of specific historical and cultural formations. This is reflected not only in the topics discussed in the various chapters, but in how the various national project teams have made sense of their common tasks. For most teams, a sketch of key historical events in the formation of a national identity of common national history - perhaps more accurately, common sense of a national past - has seemed important. This has, however, taken different forms. In some cases, it has seemed appropriate to trace the historical formation of national identity over hundreds of years - even, in the Finnish case, back to ancient mythology. In others, the events which loom largest are far more recent - for example, in Spain and Slovenia, where the defining events appear to be the transitions to democracy (in the 1970s in Spain, and from the late 1980s into the 1990s in Slovenia).

Nevertheless, the specific historical events form only one aspect of the cultural formations which the various authors have identified. They have also discussed the nature of their national identities, through the medium of defining common experiences - historical or imagined. In a very important sense all nations are constructed, ‘imagined’ communities, though some defining national pasts are clearly more imagined than others. For several countries, the sense of national identity is very firmly related to long struggles for independence or autonomy. This emerges very clearly from Finland’s relationship with Sweden and - more imperatively in recent centuries - Russia. It is also apparent in a far more immediate sense in the Slovenian account of its membership of, and independence from, Yugoslavia. In other countries, however - Spain, Britain, for example - the notion of national identity seems rather less related to distancing from specific other nationalities. Both the Dutch and Belgian chapters produce a sense of the significance of being a small country.

In writing social science, a powerful motive is to provide general rules and common features. Yet in surveying the nature of national identities, it is hard to escape the unique. The description of the Netherlands and Belgium as - at least historically - ‘pillarised’ societies, for example, is clearly key to understanding their character and the formation of their citizens. Yet the British project team, for example, found this quite foreign - an apposite term - to their experience. There have been - it is true - attempts to describe certain aspects of British political culture before the First World War in terms which have some parallels (see, e.g., Meacham 1977). But even accepting that the current concerns in Belgium and the Netherlands are about the impact of ‘depillarisation’, it is difficult to make any but the most forced parallels. There are other ‘unique’ factors. The Dutch account of unity against a natural foe - the sea - seems unique, at least in the experience of our countries. In Britain, the significance of imperial history in the formation of national identity is - even now - inescapable. Other countries - Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands - share experiences of colonial empires, but in these case the experience seems to have had so defining an impact on national identity.

The significance of religion in national formation varies. It appears in our chapters chiefly where religious affiliation is divided. British history, for example, has often been deeply influenced by religion. ‘Protestantism’, argues Colley (1992, p. 54), ‘was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britan possible.’ But although the Church of England retains some political and cultural significance, religious allegiance does not today appear a defining characteristic of British national identity - as witness the incomprehension with which most English, Scots and Welsh view the politics of Northern Ireland. Similarly, Spain may indeed be a deeply Catholic nation, but religion does not emerge as a burning issue in our Spanish colleagues’ chapter. Similarly in Finland: the dominance of Lutheranism, and its significance in national history, is noted - but almost taken for granted. In Belgium, on the contrary, the religious issue - though bound up, of course, with many other cultural, ethnic and linguistic factors - proves sufficiently important that our chapter is about Flanders, rather than Belgium as a whole.

Finally, in considering historical formation and identity, comes ethnicity - or, more precisely, the issues which emerge from multiple ethnicities. The arises in two main forms. There are the ethnic or regional tensions - and resulting sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’ - which emerge from centuries of common, if conflicting, histories. The Belgian case is perhaps the most marked: the divisions are writ large in national identity and history. In other cases, ethnicity is important, but in numerical relatively smaller. A relatively straightforward example is the Swedish minority in Finland. The issues which emerge from the mixture of regional, ethnic and national identities in Spain and Britain are more complex. Catalan and Basque identities in the Spanish context, and Welsh and Scots in the British, may be numerically relatively small, but they are by no means marginal. Barcelona is, after all, the second largest city in Spain.

But in addition to these long-standing ethnic issues, linked to strong regional (or, according to one’s perspective, national) locales, in several of the countries under study there are questions arising from more recent immigration of groups from outside the national borders. Again this can be subdivided: there is immigration of several decades standing, chiefly from former or present overseas colonial territories. There is the migration of indigenous European ethnic minorities - gypsies, in particular. But there is also the phenomenon - strongly marked in the 1990s - of migration from Eastern Europe, and indeed further afield, of those who see the life of the European Union’s citizens as more safe, secure, or prosperous, than their own. This is clearly, in one sense, a phenomenon of globalisation - though as an explanation this is too glib. These issue of migration are alluded to in chapters from the United Kingdom, Spain, and Finland.

10.3.2 Political Culture

People's attitudes and behaviour as citizens are formed in these historical and cultural contexts, but they are also formed in the political cultures of the various countries. Of course, there is a vast degree of overlap between political culture and such issues as historical and cultural formation and national identity. For example, it seems difficult to consider the political cultures of Belgium and the Netherlands without reference to the notion of 'pillarisation' and its decline. People's political socialisation has for long occurred within 'pillars', and their political activity and expression has occurred within these contexts. These are questions of identity, and not merely of political practice or convenience. Yet they do also, as our Dutch colleagues explain, have implications for political practice. In the Netherlands, at least, the resulting emphasis has been on harmony and negotiation.

Similarly, it is difficult to discuss Slovenian political culture without reference to its transition from the Yugoslav context and from Communist power, or Spanish political culture without reference to Franco. The statement by our Spanish colleagues, that it was only with the end of the Franco regime that Spaniards ceased to be subjects, and became citizens, is particularly telling given our concerns. Yet in both these cases the discussion about transition is only partly linked to formal transfers of power. Permeating both accounts, though in different ways, is the relationship between the state and civil society: the emergence of new forms of association, their role, and how this role changes. Here again it is hard to avoid the uniqueness, the specificity, of the account. It is very telling, for example, in the Slovenian acount, that the mid- and late-1980s saw a vigorous eruption of debate about the importance of civil society and the nature of democracy. Unquestionably this contributed to the transition, and to the nature of the democratic outcome. Yet there is a sense that it occurred in the context of opposition to a particular form of authority. We learn, for example, that contemporary Slovenia has a weak civil society - judged by comparing the character of its NGOs with those of western Europe. And to point to another example of how national history has an impact on current politcal culture: the Slovenian account suggests that while the skills of local government are proving difficult to master, the skills of negotiation - between trade unions, employers and government - seem to have been relatively well-developed under the previous regime. Some rituals, it seems, lead to real learning.

A feature common to several of the countries - certainly to the four northern countries - is the impact of the welfare state on political culture. Although the nature of the welfare state has varied across the four nations, the notion of a collective or corporate approach to the people has clearly shaped the relationship between the state and its citizens. It has also played a part, we suspect, in shaping how citizens view government. One can see this in the debates about the balance between 'rights' and 'responsibilities' in the notion of citizenship, which emerges in the British chapter. But of course the question of the welfare state is now inseparable from the question of the future of the welfare state - or, to put it more sharply, the question of whether the welfare state has a future. In all four countries welfare is being restructured, and the restructuring in each country is more or less explicitly linked to a reshaping of the notion of citizenship.

10.3.3 The Question of Gender

Julia Preece's 'Gender Perspective' chapter has shown powerfully the importance of gender for in the nanure of citizenship and governance. She has also shown its complexity. It is not feasible, in this conclusion, to attempt an overall summation of the issue; all that can be done is to point to some of the key issues related to gender which have emerged in the national studies.

Finnish women were accorded the vote as early as 1906. The dates in other cases can be complex. Virtually all British women over 30 were granted the vote in 1918, for instance, when the same rights were accorded to all men of 21 and over. Only a decade later was the age for women lowered to 21. Even then one must factor in persisting inequities: 365,000 business electors and 137,000 university electors enjoyed an additional vote in 1931, and nearly all were men. (These amounted, it is true, to only 1.4 per cent and 0.5 per cent of the electorate respectively. Plural voting was progressively reduced, and abolished altogether by 1949.) (Butler 1988, pp. 297-298) Finland apart, women in the countries in our study gained the vote on an equivalent basis to men in the aftermath of either the first of the second world wars.

Yet, in all the countries, women seem to participate less in ‘political’ affairs than men. This is, indeed, part and parcel of the conceptualisation of politics, and of citizenship as a ‘public’ or ‘state-related’ activity, to which we have drawn attention. Of the Netherlands, we learn that citizenship has associations with masculinity; and this can perhaps be linked with the emphasis on harmony. In Slovenia, formal equality is combined with a paternalistic ethos; and only one in ten members of parliament is a woman. In Spain, political participation by women is relatively low, and the same is true of the United Kindgom. Finland again appears to have been in the forefront. Apart from a tradition that ‘women have always worked’, policies designed to build gender equity seem to have been introduced quite early, with quotas and equal opportunities policies in education as early as 1969.

10.4 Key Challenges for Citizenship and Governance

The national contexts within which men and women exist and develop as citizens, and relate to those who govern them, may be shaped by specific cultural and historical patterns, but we turn to the challenges which the societies and polities are facing a remarkable degree of commonality emerges. Several features arise in most of the accounts, and although they are given greater or lesser prominence, it is the very fact that they recur so often which bears comment.

The first such feature is the declining authority of traditional political institutions - and, linked to this, a declining level of popular trust in the political enterprise. This is the well-known phenomenon of ‘democratic deficit’. In particular countries it takes slightly different forms, and indeed it would be relatively easy to provide national accounts which explained it in terms of national developments and pressures. In Flanders, for instance, one could no doubt provide a persuasive account of democratic deficit which focussed on depillarisation, the ‘Belgian disease’, and alienation in terms of such events as the Dutroux affair. The chapter by our Belgian team provides ample material for such an account. It would fail to persuade, however, partly because we could set it alongside equally compelling accounts of escalating democratic deficit in Britain, Finland, and the Netherlands. There is an intriguing question as to whether the notion of democratic deficit is helpful in the context of those societies - Spain and Slovenia - which have relatively recent experience of transition from non-democratic regimes, and in which the people have relatively recently invested their trust in political institutions - or are still being persuaded to do so. Our Slovenian and Spanish accounts certainly testify to concerns about the relatively weak relationship between the state and civil society - though how far this is a matter of people’s trust weakening, or simply of it not yet having grown strong, is a moot point. Nevertheless, though there may be room for debate as to the origins of the democratic deficit in particular countries, the phenomenon itself appears more or less universal in our sample.

A second recurring theme is the importance of citizens being active agents in society - coupled by the inevitable tensions and threats which arise when they play this role. The importance of active citizenry is, of course, inescapably linked to two other assumptions. One is the idea that citizenship is not merely a matter of political rights and duties, but of economic. At the same time, the effective economic citizen in the twentieth century cannot be content to labour lifelong on a factory assembly line. That may have been sufficient for our parents or grandparents, but today's workers must be different. As Sennett (1998, p. 80) has eloquently argued, risk 'is no longer meant to be the province only of venture capitalists or extraordinarily adventurous individuals. Risk is to become a daily necessity shouldered by the masses.' The twentieth century saw the political enfranchisement of the proletariat; the twenty-first century worker is raised to the status of entrepreneur. But just as the political enfranchisement brings more rights for some than others, so with economic. For the many, the responsibilities of the entrepreneur; the privileges of success, as always, are for the few.

A third theme is intimately linked to the second. A common approach to encouraging the desired activity of citizens is through decentralisation. Yet this represents a risk for most states: decentralisation involves, at least potentially, an erosion of control. Each country has its own particular mechanisms for decentralising, and yet maintaining control as far as possible. Some are linked to new approaches to public sector management - for example, these are promninent in the British and Finnish cases. In Belgium there are experiments with 'covenants' between the state and social partners. The tension between maintaining central state power, and harnessing the energies of a 'free people', are widespread.

Another common response to this is what the Netherlands chapter refers to as the creation of the 'new moral citizen'. Our Spanish colleagues refer to the same phenomenon, which we can also see in Britain. This can be explained rationally: engaging the energies of the independent, free, active citizen is considerably less risky if the active citizen wishes to express that activity in responsible, reliable, non-threatening ways. A nation of entrepreneurs, enthusiastically chasing market opportunities, is one thing; a nation of energetic, free-thinking protesters, expecting more of their governments, is quite another. Mechanisms for creating, or shaping, this new moral citizen vary, but in several countries - the Netherlands and the UK, for example - an important element is the reshaping of the welfare state, embedding within it systems which reward 'enterprise' and stigmatise the indolence. The active citizen is very much the citizen, for instance, who actively seeks work. Clearly, too, the notion of education and training for active citizenship can easily be construed as a facet of the 'remoralisation' of the citizenry.

Clearly this generates another tension which the state must manage. If the state seeks to structure welfare - and labour markets - in order to reward order to reward certain forms of behaviour, and to encourage certain attitudes, and if it seeks to stigmatise other behaviour and attitudes, then it is shaping the nature of 'social inclusion' and 'social exclusion'. Typically, European governments - including the EU itself - are at present minded to emphasise the importance of overcoming social exclusion. But all societies include and exclude: what matters is the nature of the processes which do so, and who gains and loses. And - in contrast to the more passionately neo-liberal policies of the 1980s - processes of exclusion must be linked to strategies for inclusion. There must be roads which can lead the excluded back to approved forms of behaviour, and - from a truly cynical perspective - which will prevent the successful feeling too guilty about those who are left out.

Several issues arise in some chapters, and seem likely on theoretical grounds to have a general import, but cannot be said - on the basis of our chapters - to be universal. Among these, two stand out. One is the notion of citizen as customer or consumer. Clearly this is a complex strand of thinking. It can be related to the notion of ‘active citizenship’ in some respects. It is, after all, the role of customers to ‘shop around’, to survey the opportunities available in the market and decide which is the most beneficial to themselves, their families, or their organisations. Is this an active citizen? To many observers, it may seem more a passive than an active conception, and in part the notion of citizen as consumer is intended to direct us to the increasingly passive role which citizens are encouraged to play today - in large tracts of their lives. There are, however - so it is said - quite radical changes taking place in the power of consumers, chiefly stemming from advances in information and communications technology. This suggests that citizens *qua* consumers may have a substantial role to play. Another strand to the conception of citizen as consumer is rather different - it emphasises the notion of the citizen as consumer of services provided by the state - education, health, social security and so forth. Again, can be seen as either active or passive. On the one hand, the citizen is in a dependent relationship to the state (and indeed, in neo-liberal thinking, is seen as making choices which are bounded by the rationality of the bureaucratic rules of the services concerned). On the other, the fact of being a consumer of services gives citizens a motive for taking an active role - as when welfare groups demand their rights, or - in the United Kingdom at the time of writing - parents protest against hospitals’ retention of their dead children’s organs for scientific research. Another perspective on the citizen as consumer is that it encourages us to remember that a major feature of markets is the shaping of consumer preferences - through advertising or in even more subtle ways. The state may desire active citizens - but again, it seeks active citizens whose activity is channeled in ‘responsible’ ways.

The second issue is the perspective which emerges from perceptions of the role of business - corporations - in society. There are several aspects to this. There is the perception that business is less and less capable of being controlled by the governments of nation states. There is the realisation that, as corporations become more internationally diffuse, they cannot be controlled in traditional ways even by their legal owners - their shareholders, and so forth. Businesses are exploring new approaches to corporate governance - a concern related to, but by no means identical with, corporate management. Some of these approaches have clearly had an impact on perceptions of the possibilities available for public or state governance. The clearest example of this is probably the various modes of transferring government services to various kinds of agency on quasi-contractual service-providing bases. But there is also the notion of corporate citizenship. This has several dimensions: the idea that employees are in some sense ‘citizens’ of the company for which they work - a potentially double-edged notion, but in reality rarely linked to any notion of democratic citizenship. The notion that companies are themselves citizens of the nation-states in which they operate, and should behave responsibly, is also linked. And in the background, there are issues of accountability - how are companies to be accountable to society, if governements have so little authority over them?

10.5 Education and Learning

The chapters in this report have shown concern with citizenship and governance in all our countries. We have seen a widespread concern with encouraging citizens to be more active, committed, responsible. To what extent have these been concerns been reflected within the educational systems of our countries? It would be over-simple to propose a single unifying principle; the extent of variation is considerable. Nevertheless, some general trends can perhaps be identified.

Within the formal systems of education, a number of our chapters comment on the recent desire to strengthen learner autonomy. School students should ‘think for themselves’; the emphasis should be on generic, ‘transferable’ reasoning and analytical skills, rather than on the accumulation of specific forms of knowledge. This plays out in different ways in different countries, always influenced by other debates. For example, it has developed in Britain in parallel with concerns to increase the degree of central direction of the curriculum, with a strong reaction against ‘student-centred’ learning methods, and with an emphasis on making schools more accountable to their ‘stakeholders’ (principally, parents and business). The way in which learner autonomy is reflected in practice is, therefore, always shaped by the nature of other national concerns. Many countries have also shown developing concern with formal teaching about civics or citizenship.

Beyond the formal system, the picture is far more patchy. The authors of most of our chapters can point to a good measure of non-formal education related to citizenship. Much of this is in community development and community education. Some is closely associated with voluntary and social movements of various kinds - trade unions, churches, and various NGOs. Some of these have long traditions of work in this area, so that - more than formal education - the nature of national provision of non-formal citizenship education is relatively strongly shaped by non-governmental influences.

Understandings of the role of informal citizenship education appear to be quite diverse. To the extent that our chapters have identified activities under this heading, they have referred to work as diverse as broadcasting and the media, the activities of social movements, the influence of trade unions, and the role of such organisations as schools councils and parent-teacher associations.

The overall picture, therefore, is of increasing concern with citizenship education, but relatively diverse interpretations of what might be understood by this term. Our chapters have also demonstrated the relative dearth of research about how citizenship and governance are learned. There is a growing volume of literature - not yet large, but certainly growing - about citizenship *education*. This has a tendency to be either descriptive or prescriptive about provision, and to focus on the compulsory (formal) sector. At the same time, most countries have research literatures on learning. But there is remarkably little research about the *learning* of *citizenship or governance*. One result is that although there is some interest in specific research methods, such as life history approaches, there is no mainstream, established methodology or theoretical postion.

We argued above that the exercise of state power is inseparable from the relationship which states have with their citizens, and that therefore we can only sensibly discuss citizenship in European societies by considering those societies as civil societies. It is in the forum of civil society that men and women in contemporary western societies are shaped as ‘social’and ‘political’ beings. This proposition can, of course, be put in different terms: civil society is a site for ‘informal’ citizenship education. The notion of informal education (Coombs 1985), refers to unorganised, unsystematic or unintended lifelong learning (e.g. from home, work, and the media). Informal education is, according to Coombs, the source of most of a learning over a lifetime, but he suggests that what an individual learns is strongly dependent on his or her own particular learning environment. On this basis, people’s informal citizenship education will be shaped by the particular set of social institutions which they encounter - i.e., by which the society in which they live is characterised.

It is this principle which underpins the present project, and one whcih, we believe, will permit us to address key issues relating to the changing role of citizens in European society. It is, however, perhaps appropriate to conclude on a modest note. We are conscious that in studying ‘informal’ citizenship education, we are navigating territory which has been charted by others before us, and often in illuminating ways. What for us is informal citizenship education has, for others, been political socialisation. This is a rich and long-established field, contributions to which have classically addressed the role of the formal and informal curriculum (e.g., Bronfenbrenner 1971). More recent contributions have explicitly used such concepts as ‘political learning’ (Kaase & Newton 1995, p. 142); their use of the term is not identical to ours, but there is much to be gained by mutual engagement.

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