Reviewing Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe - A Central and Eastern European Perspective

The Implications of the Research for Central and Eastern European Policy Design on Active Citizenship and Governance

FINAL REPORT

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ABSTRACT

The RE-ETGACE Project, *"Reviewing Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe - A Central and Eastern European Perspective"* is a complementary measure to the original ETGACE Project *"Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe"*.

The ETGAGE Project explored the nature of active citizenship and governance in six contrasting European countries (Belgium, Finland, Slovenia, Spain, the Netherlands, and UK), where as the RE-ETGACE project focused on two Central and Eastern European Countries: Hungary and Romania. It has investigated how people learn to be active citizens, which institutions should foster social activism and participation to governance; and what education interventions should be designed.

As a newly understood concept, "active citizenship" has proven hard to accommodate within research and theoretical traditions. So in the RE-ETGACE project we have taken a broad perspective considering active citizens as agents of change that reflexively act upon their social, political and institutional environment for the "public good".

Recent developments in Europe area have made democracy a worrying issue. This has underpinned the idea of active citizenship as one of the basic tools for assuring the legitimacy of the democratic institutions and practices. The ETGACE and RE-ETGACE projects have highlighted that both western European countries and the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe are experiencing a "democratic deficit" Although their causes maybe different it results in the loss of legitimacy of democratic institutions or the incapacity to develop working democratic structures. This is of concern to those that believe the democratic process needs to involve the active engagement of all citizens.

The increased absence of citizens from the political arena in western European countries is blamed on processes like a post-modern end of ideology and the globalization or the increase in power of the supranational corporations. Central and Eastern European countries display different variants of what specialists may call a "democratic deficit", that is due to the weakness of civil society as a result of lower participation in citizenship compared to western European countries. Therefore, there is a large agreement amongst researchers, practitioners and policy makers that active citizenship should play an important role in the democratization of Eastern and Central European countries. This should be especially through the strengthening of civil society that exerts pressures upon other centres of power in order to educate people into democracy, create trust and enable the achievement of "public good" through collective action.

In the context of the Re-ETGACE project, social activism has been seen as a product of learning. Social learning has been conceptualized as either the internalization of specific identity or the acquiring of skills and knowledge necessary for activism. Our data shows that other significant factors the family and specifically the paternal model, the relationship of projects to social mobility and, less often, collective identities - all contribute to the emergence of an activist's identity through the processes of identification or differentiation. However, the skills necessary for activism are learnt mainly in informal situations in schools, at the job or in other different learning contexts. Those skills learnt through various forms of lifelong learning and associative memberships are amongst the most important.

Central and Eastern European societies are facing different kind of tensions determined, above all, by transition. These societies have reconfigured their political regimes and their economic and social structures by trying to reconstruct and redefine key cultural and social institutions. One specific concept in our analysis is "learning un-citizenship", of non-civic values and practices, which occurs at every stage of life, in different types of institutions but mainly the public ones. In this context, the reformation of public institutions is fundamental, not only political parties, schools, administrative bodies and mass media, but also working places and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Education and training for citizenship is not only through formal educational interventions, but also mainly occurs through non-formal and informal learning within the family, school, community and other social contexts. Most effort for encouraging citizenship and governance should be focused around informal or non-formal learning activities.

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Context of the research

Recent developments in Europe have made democracy a worrying issue. The increased absence of citizens from the political arena in western European countries is blamed on processes like a post-modern end of ideology and the globalization or the increase in power of the supranational corporations. While the Western countries struggle with globalisation and the "democratic deficit", the political agenda of Central and Eastern European countries is less post-modern, the main issues consisting of the strive for democracy in its simplest form and economic security.

The new context researched revealed that neither globalisation nor post-modern conditions are extremely relevant for discussing active citizenship and governance in post communist countries, but the social conditions induced by transition and post transition have major impact on democracy. Moreover, compared to the Western countries, the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are carrying the heavy burden of their past in terms of un-civic and non-democratic habits.

Central and Eastern European societies are facing different kind of tensions determined, above all, by transition. These societies have reconfigured their political regimes and their economic and social structures by trying to reconstruct and redefine key cultural and social institutions. The processes of social fragmentation and social exclusion, poverty, and more generally the "democratic deficit" at different levels, demonstrate the need for institutional reform and concrete solutions for local problems.

1.2 The aims and methodology

1.2.1 Focusing on Central and Eastern Europe

The RE-ETGACE project, intended to built an interpretative framework for learning active citizenship and enforcing participation to governance in a Hungarian and Romanian context, starting from main findings of the previous ETGACE project that focussed mainly on the Western Europe countries (UK, Belgium, Spain, Finland, and the Netherlands). As Slovenia was also in the original ETGACE project, the RE-ETGACE project has also been able to draw upon its similarities with the Hungary and Romania in the analysis in this report. The main tasks of the current project were:

1. To check and validate findings of the research results of the ETGACE project in Central-Eastern European context;

2. To stimulate dialogue among researchers, the policy makers, among Western and Eastern Societies, about the research conclusions in view of the diversity in specific historical and national contexts in different parts of Europe;

3. To translate the new findings into relevant policy measures in the context of European integration and enlargement.

1.2.2 Aims

The RE-ETGACE project analysed the relevance of the following aspects for Hungary and Romania:

- The conceptualisation of citizenship, active citizenship and governance;

- The formal overall policies which may be linked with active citizenship;

- The conditions for practising active citizenship and governance in these two democratic societies, and how transition from communism to democracy influence them;

- The learning process as socialisation and as a transitional experience of adults in these countries;

- The potential / challenges versus limitations/ hindrances of active citizenship;

- Intervention strategies for education and training for active citizenship and governance;

1.2.3. Research methodology

Literature and policy analysis

In order to capture the meanings that the key research notions carry within national contexts and to make them comparable with data collected in ETGACE, a critical literature review and policy analysis has been conducted to ensure proper orientation of the research. The meanings of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' in each country's policies and literature have been analysed. Further on, policies designed to facilitate and encourage active citizenship and governance have been identified and compared to those from the European Union.

Life history method

One of the methods used during the ETGACE research project and implemented also in the RE-ETGACE research was the analysis of individuals' life histories. This method has been employed in order to provide a relevant understanding of the nature of the mutual articulation of the learning of active citizenship and governance within the three domains (work, state, and civil society). In particular, the project reconstructed the life histories of a sample of learners, and analysed these in terms of the nature, context and timescale of their learning of citizenship and governance.

Focus groups

For identifying, elaborating and analysing the potential and limitations of current practices and intervention strategies for education and training for active citizenship and governance, focus groups of experts have been utilised. In our research we started from the premise that participants of the focus groups sessions, are not just "well informed" citizens, as in standard focus groups as lay groups, but professionals in a particular field of study. For this reason, we considered our groups as expert panels. This is not just a kind of data gathering, but here researchers involve practitioners or policy maker in the scientific research.

1.2.4 The research stages

There were five stages to RE-ETGACE project research:

- The RE-ETGACE project opened with the exploration of the data from the previous project, planning the work packages, establishing the *Network Audit, and the Advisory Panel Formation.*

- The second phase started with a review of the methodology used in the previous project, and a critical review of literature and policy in Hungary and Romania. The

results of the literature and policy analysis have been reported in *"Active Citizenship and Governance in Central and Eastern European Context"*.

- The third phase of research consisted of analysing 32 life histories in two countries, and then making comparisons using the secondary analysis of the previous data granted in the ETGACE project. The International Report was entitled *" Learning Governance and Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe"*.

- The fourth stage employed focus groups of experts at the national and local levels in Romania and Hungary. The International report *"Similar or Different Learning Strategies for Active Citizenship and Governance in Europe?"* analysed the current and future directions for intervention strategies in the two countries.

- The fifth phase of research consisted in scientific interpretation of all the data and dissemination strategies. The present final report *"The implications of the research for Central and Eastern European Policy Design on Active Citizenship and Governance"* was aimed at different target groups: practitioners, researchers and policy makers.

1.3 Key findings

1.3.1 The general context of the Central and Eastern European countries

The issues concerning active citizenship and governance in post-communist Central and Eastern countries, appears to be more complex than in the post-welfare, western European countries. This is due to the changing political, economical, social and cultural conditions that have resulted in the transition towards democracy. Some of these conditions have resulted in economic instability, unemployment and poverty. In addition, there are also complexities related to the way people understand the new opportunities of democracies and institutional developments like the way citizens are considered as consumers and customers within the welfare state.

1.3.2 A specific and situational bounded "democratic deficit"

The RE-ETGACE project like in the ETGACE project has acknowledged the existence of a" democratic deficit" in Central and Eastern European countries as well as in Western Europe. However, despite quite a few similarities, several divergent patterns and different motives have been observed in Central and Eastern Europe like the erosion of established political structures where democracy has more recently been established.

Problems have been identified at two levels, firstly at the "democratic hardware" level (legal and political structures and regulations, new democratic institutions) and secondly at the "democratic software" level (lack of initiatives, institutional and social lack of trust, cynic behaviour, strong penchant for corruption, and indifference to voluntaries activities). These problems tend to lead to non-participation due to mental heritage, lack of democratic skills and inequalities or lack of access to resources.

1.3.3 Concern to "re-moralise" citizens and "re-form" institutions

The original ETGACE Project identified the need to "re-moralise citizens" as a possible solution to the "democratic deficit" by regenerating a sense of community and collective responsibility. The RE-ETGACE project also proposed similar solutions of co-operation,

collaboration and partnership that have been mainly defined as strategies for promoting institutional development. Responsibility seems to be the major feature for citizens' engagement.

However, more importantly there seems to be a need to work at the macro level where real institutional reforms are necessary. Therefore, the most urgent intervention efforts have to be in the area of advocacy oriented towards the legislative changes within the democratic and effective institutions.

1.3.4 Active citizenship as a moving force for democracy

Active citizens in countries in transition/post-transition see the relevance of their involvement in democratic social transformations as relevant. Sometimes frustration or disappointment regarding the democratic society leads to citizens' active involvement. Despite difficulties acknowledged, they are devoted to establishing democratic institutions based on general values like human rights, solidarity, and search for truth. Most of the activists are engaged in the process of reshaping democracy in society, mainly in civil society (providing public services or working for community building projects) but also in the state domain (minority parties, local government, educational institutions), and the domain of work (trade unions and private initiatives).

1.3 5 Governance

In the European context, the term 'governance' strongly relates to the efforts to reinforce the participation of citizens as a fundamental legitimizing element of participative democracy. Concerning Eastern European post-communist democracies this term appears to be above all connected to the revitalisation of civil society. In both countries there are certain processes indicating such tendencies. In Hungary, there is a discussion about the shift from government as a 'centre of gravity' to 'multiple zones' of consultations, negotiation, collaboration situated within the interconnected units of civil society where alternative procedures are developed. The 'dialog model' is discussed as a possible alternative. In Romania, governance is connected with new regulations at the level of public local administration on one hand and with the development of more democratic relationship between the state and economy on the other.

1.3.6 Learning deeply embedded in biography

Similar with ETGACE Project findings, there are very different patterns and personal approaches of active citizenship, which are significantly determined by personal biographies. Nevertheless, the analysis of active citizens' life paths indicates that beside the subjective dimension of active citizenship, it is possible to reach some objective insights looking to the construction of social trajectories as active citizens. The conscious personality of active citizens comprises a combination of values and norms that the subjects can articulate in discourse interpreting their own careers. They can originate either in the processes of unconscious learning or in an attempt to be convergent to peculiar socialized life-views. Responsibility, commitment and perseverance are characteristics of persons regarded as highly relevant by active citizens.

1.3 7 Learning in different domains

Active citizenship is related with all three domains investigated: state, work and civil society, practices, and sometimes learning strategies, are founded in all of them. Within the different domains and more concretely also inside of each domain (national or local government, minority parties in political domain, trade unions, private or state companies in work domain, public services, campaigning groups, NGOs in civil society), there is a diversity of patterns of action.

It was found that under current socio-economic circumstances in Central and Eastern Europe the work and state/political domains do not create opportunities for individual learning of active citizenship and governance. In fact, apathy and cynicism that results in un-citizens' behaviour tend to be found in these domains.

Transfer of active citizens' competencies among the three domains is generally not obvious, although there is some evidence of transfer from civil society (NGOs) to private business for personal benefits (instrumental dimension of active citizenship).

1.3.8 Characteristics of learning processes

Learning active citizenship is an unpredictable process that does not occur systematically. It is more governed by unconscious factors than guided by rational choices and decisions. There is a clear rationality in subjective, concrete choices of citizens' involvement, however this is much more related with the construction of one's social/professional trajectory than within a learning process. Capacity (effectivity) seems to be most relevant for discussing learning strategies in terms of acquiring knowledge and skills. The impact of challenges as catalytic factors determines both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations/responsibilities for engaging in a learning process. Connections are mainly related with family, significantly others and less with specific (collective) identities. Here, learning process can be seen as a self-building process that occurs through identification and differentiation with others.

1.3.9 Individualisation versus collective identities

Several characteristics of active citizenship have been found that relate to self responsibility and auto-determination. This confirms the data from ETGACE project by illustrating that learning citizenship becomes increasingly a diverse personal and self-building process. The "more individualised" process of active involvement seems to be corresponding not only to "established democracies" also appears in new democracies; but due to totally different conditions and reasons.

The legacy of the communist system may have resulted in widespread lack of trust, apathy and non-participation. This lack of social capital might be considered as a negative response to the principles of "collectivism" induced in the communist period. However, sometimes, a sense of commitment to specific groups, thus a collective identity can be found in a few cases and mainly as expression of ethnic affiliations.

1.3.10 Incidentally learning and different educational settings

As in the ETGACE project, the reason for learning often lies in the tension that exists between the respondents and the social context they live in. The challenges that generated a learning process were often unpredicted and not foreseen. Nevertheless, the role of the family has been very important in the transmission of values and attitudes. Related to this, is the

mode of education. Both in the political and social (civil society) domains informal influences and life experiences are regarded as most important. Formal and non-formal education is mentioned within the domain of work. There is a need for more substantial implementation of formal educational strategies devoted to infusing civic attitudes and competencies. The absence of sound evaluations of current and past programmes dedicated to civic participation and attitudes is evident, and further research and assessment of various intervention strategies and identification of possible unexpected negative consequences is necessary.

1.3.11 Inequalities, exclusion new/changing contexts

Combating social exclusion and finding strategies for inclusion have been considered key issues in the ETGACE project, and consequently the RE-ETGACE project focussed on finding evidence regarding their impact on active citizenship and governance. There have been identified inequalities of access to educational and training programmes, and unequal opportunities for learning specific skills and behaviours relevant for active citizenship. Like in ETGACE project, active citizens in Central and Eastern Europe, appear to be highly educated people. This confirms a possible hypothesis about the lack of opportunities for those who have been less successful in education. Moreover, it seems that in many cases programmes that transfer knowledge and skills correlated to active citizenship are directed to an advantaged minority of urban and educated group for the sake of the easy success of the programmes. Such an approach can only add to the social and cultural advantage of the few from the elite.

1.3.12 Educational intervention for active citizenship and governance

Educational intervention for active citizenship and governance in the region are currently being developed in several areas: formal educational programmes, specific non-formal educational programmes, educational practices of donating foreign civil organisations, informal educational programmes, supporting services, providing information, media issues, publications, and participation and co-operation in government and company issues. Three different approaches have been identified: top-down measures related to governmental policies on formal education and the development of civil society; bottom-up that support the development of active citizenship and a mixture of top-down and bottom-up initiatives that seem to be appropriate for strategies involving community development, rural developmental projects and dealing with local unemployment.

1.3.13 Professional activists versus volunteers in NGOs

It was found that current developments encourage the emergence of "professional activists" in NGOs and make these organisations more estranged from grass root society. The division between this "entrepreneurial" category as planners and decision-makers on one hand and volunteers as their assistants on the other hand may inhibit the development of the public space for dialogic participation and contribute to the shaping of active citizenship as an 'elitist', middle-class phenomenon.

1.3.14 Fostering active citizenship: problems and solutions

The major impediments for fostering active citizenship are identified as (1) the poor situation of citizens' social-economic circumstances, (2) missing the "know how" of active citizenship, (3) ambivalent and opposite symptoms of existing civil organisations, and (4) the democratic deficit at different levels. Several solutions for solving these problems consist of: increasing the standard of living, arising the interest of becoming active citizens and governors, changing

attitudes, developing "know-how" of active citizenship, increasing reputation of civil organisations, providing public information, changing attitudes of government bodies and public institutions, involving people in public affairs, changing company culture, and involving people in the decision-making process.

1.4 Key Recommendations

Based on the conclusions reached above the RE-ETAGE Project has been able to make the following recommendations:

1.4.1 State domain

- Reshaping political parties is a must in the post-communist countries, as well as sustainable efforts for increasing their interest in societal issues, democratising the political domain and encouraging "networked polity" by promoting local governance.

- Public debate spaces should be created and maintained, providing opportunities to deliberate, to discuss and to build trust between citizens.

- Institutional reform of public administration sector as well as different civil services should be considered.

- Awareness-raising campaigns in the context of European accession for acknowledging that EU-integration is not only Government's or State's responsibility.

- A special role of public mass media in promoting civic values should be recognised in the context of reshaping public media in Central and Eastern European countries.

- Open access to public information for all the citizens strengthening their information rights, providing technologies to foster access, free of charge services, and guidance.

- Paid leave systems to make the citizens able to participate in relevant citizenship training. Training funds to be established and tax refunds for those undertaking these training courses should be proposed.

- Reforming educational system in post-communist countries from Central and Eastern Europe should start with a debate on the duality of traditions of civic education, namely Prussian and Communist ones, not only in what human rights mean for democracy but mainly in relation with the practices which can enforce democratic participation.

- Schools should be open to the wider society, embedded into their local community. If this requirement is fulfilled, more actors would interplay in educating youth, school partnership programmes would broaden the democratic experience of students. School democracy (student participation, parent participation, teacher participation) should be promoted.

- On curriculum content, not only the basic information on multiparty democratic state, multiculturalism etc. should be transmitted; the crucial issue is how the content is taught. The primacy of practice-oriented education cannot be overlooked. Student oriented activities and the adaptation of the curriculum to the students' age is fundamental.

- Teacher training programmes should address the issues of active citizenship and stimulate its integration in specific disciplines of the curriculum as well as valuing the dimension of social activism in what is called hidden curriculum.

- International youth exchange programmes are of immense value, not only at the higher education level, but also in general educational system. Financial support and opportunities are needed to make them possible for rural and deprived schools and their students as well.

1.4.2 Work/Economic domain

- Considering the role of education in relation with the economic sphere, general educational levels should be increased significantly. This should focus on special emphasis of development of basic skills, development of basic IT technologies and transfer practical skills learning in the school curriculum.

- For fostering the work domain, school curriculum should introduce techniques of active teaching and learning, focusing on entrepreneurial attitudes and values with concern for sustainable development and social responsibility and the values of solidarity.

- Establishing real learning partnerships between schools, enterprises, administrative bodies, trade unions, civil society should create a positive balance between civic involvement and economic development.

- The state as well as private employers should promote investment in the formal and informal education of their employees. They should be stimulated to do this, but since it depends on the industrial structure of the country, it is clear that the general level of education is dependent upon the broad development politics and upon general education policy.

- The inequalities of opportunities in educational attainment among different categories like poor versus rich people, women versus man, younger versus older generation etc should be eliminated. Educational programmes for less advantaged categories must be enforced.

- Since a lot of learning of un-citizenship is happening in the work context, there should be a focus on eliminating hierarchical participation in enterprise governance.

- Administration reform and training of civil servants should be addressed in the context of reshaping democratic and effective institutions.

- The balance between critical thinking and social consensus represents one fundamental aspect in countries from Central and Eastern Europe where education socialisation and implicitly and mentality suffered by political indoctrination and conformism. These values and attitudes should be cultivated, not only through education but in every social circumstances.

- Trade unions should contribute to the development of knowledge and skills related to active citizenship providing not only the motivation for learning, but also different tools like booklets, newspapers and supporting informal learning.

1.4.3 Civil Society domain

- Civil society domain should occupy an important role in a democratic society being at the confluence of state, economic and private domains. There is a need for finding creative ways to involve them to sponsoring their activities and involving people as volunteers.

- Civil society should provide opportunities for those disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment, to be actively involved in this sector. As several examples have shown, sometimes, people active in this sector are looking to complete their studies by returning into formal educational system.

- It becomes obviously there is a need for specialised professionals in civil society domain, special education programmes have to be developed at the vocational training as well as at the university level.

- Educational formal and non-formal programmes have to be built on experiences people have already in the practice – skill oriented rather than knowledge oriented. The same could be realised by informal learning in grassroots organisation by stimulating debates and empowering people.

- There has to be a critical assessment of the current developments, which encouraged the emergence of "professional activists" in NGOs and have made these organisations somehow estranged from grassroots organisations diminishing voluntary, civil participation.

- Where different social services accessible in the civil society sphere are replacing the state services, there has to be a concern not only to transfer financial support from the state but also to create opportunities for reaching other financial support and moreover to attract and support voluntaries in providing these services.

- The link between civil society and schools should be reinforced; moreover, the partnership between NGOs and enterprises, administrative bodies, trade unions etc. should create a positive balance between civic involvement and economic development.

- It is important to carefully design educational and training intervention strategies proposed by NGOs in partnership or outside the school system, because always there is a tendency to over-formalised these activities. There is a real need to make learning experiential in all social settings.

- There have been identified several initiatives which demonstrate entrepreneurial spirit in the civil society field. Special funding should be available to support the early development of such initiatives in civil society.

- Subsidies, grants or other opportunities should be found to enable sharing of good practice between volunteers and other civil society experts by publishing leaflets about their activities, and sharing experiences and good practices.

- Special attention should be paid to enforcing the community development projects. It is important to stimulate and empower people in various domains, starting with community involvement, to take up the initiatives and withdraw the feeling of helplessness inculcated from the past.

2. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

2.1. Rationale of the project

The RE-ETGACE project (2003-2004), *"Reviewing Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe - A Central and Eastern European Perspective"* is an accompanying measure to the ETGACE *project "Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe"* (2000-2002). The work of the ETGACE project has raised important implications for two Central and Eastern European countries, Hungary and Romania, in the context of European integration and enlargement. Therefore, the RE-ETGACE project has presented an opportunity for researchers to explore the concepts and practices of active citizenship and governance as challenges for the democratic consolidation of Central and Eastern Europe.

The work of the RE-ETGACE project is based around two specific ideas:

1. There is a real need for the provision of education for active citizenship and governance in transition and post-transition countries as this represents a key factor for democratisation and good governance.

2. Education and training for active citizenship, mainly through informal and non-formal influences are more likely to significantly increase the democratic participation in governance than was generally thought. Therefore, the focus of work should in these two directions as well as in formal education.

The ETGACE project sought to address double and parallel paradoxes at both, theoretical and practical levels (ETGACE 2003). The first paradox results from an insufficient interconnectedness between the theory of "lifelong learning" and the practice of informal, incidental learning in which attitudes, values and skills are routed and contribute to an active involvement of citizens. As the literature indicated, it was acknowledged that too much emphasise is added to formal education such as developing curricula, focusing on pedagogies and management at school level, and less attention is directed to the role of learning in non-formal settings and to informal influences.

The second paradox has been associated with the so-called "democratic deficit" at European level. The general solution to this deficit has been for those governing to become more responsive to their citizens. However, the ETGACE project has revealed the relevance of creating new spaces for participation in which adults might learn through acquiring new knowledge, exercising new skills and reshaping their attitudes and values.

In the RE-ETGACE project a third paradox has been identified as the current challenges and also barriers related with transition and post-transition. Although the values of democracy are emerging, there is still a difference between the procedural democracy and substantive one. There still is incompatibility, or sometimes opposition between democratic processes major economic problems like poverty, unemployment or corruption, which form some of the co-ordinates of such a paradox.

Taking into consideration the difficulties and challenges of transition and post-transition from communism to an open and democratic society, the RE-ETGACE project, has built an interpretative framework for learning active citizenship and enforcing participation to governance in a Hungarian and Romanian context.

The RE-ETGACE project has aimed at developing a comprehensive interpretative framework that integrates concepts from the previous ETGACE project that focussed mainly on the Western Europe countries (UK, Belgium, Spain, Finland, and the Netherlands). As Slovenia was also in the original ETGACE project, the RE-ETGACE project has also been able to draw upon its similarities with the Hungary and Romania in the analysis in this report. In addition, the RE-ETGACE project has developed new insights related to learning and social activation theories, the theory of habitation and field, the theory of communicative rationality, social capital theory and to different institutional approaches.

2.2. Original and revised aims and objectives of the RE-ETGACE project

The general objectives of the RE-ETGACE project have been the following:

1. To check and validate findings of the research results of the ETGACE project in Central-Eastern European context;

2. To stimulate dialogue among researchers, the policy makers, among Western and Eastern Societies, about the research conclusions in view of the diversity in specific historical and national contexts in different parts of Europe;

3. To translate the new findings into relevant policy measures in the context of European integration and enlargement.

In order to achieve these overall objectives, the current project analysed the relevance of the following aspects for Hungary and Romania:

- The conceptualisation of citizenship, active citizenship and governance;

- The formal overall policies which may be linked with active citizenship;

- The conditions for practising active citizenship and governance in these two democratic societies, and how transition from communism to democracy influence them;

- The learning process as socialisation and as a transitional experience of adults in these countries;

- The potential / challenges versus limitations/ hindrances of active citizenship;

- Intervention strategies for education and training for active citizenship and governance;

The project was designed to provide answers to six research questions. During the conduct of research, some of these were slightly reoriented. In the following paragraphs, the original research questions are set out, and any reorientation explained.

First research question (1)

This question was used in its original form.

> "How are practices and concepts of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' being reshaped under the transition from communism to democracy?"

Second research question (2)

This question was used in its original form.

> "How are the notions of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' articulated in policy in Central and East European countries?"

Third research question (3):

The initial research question was:

"How do processes of learning for citizenship and governance vary between selected age-cohorts?"

Reorientation: ETGACE research acknowledged that in construction of active citizenship and governance, despite notable changes over the last half century, there have been found no significant differences between those people who had become active in the 1940s and 1950s, and those who did so a generation later. In the conduct of the RE-ETGACE research, a more flexible demarcation between two age cohorts has been proposed (20-50 and over 50 years old). Nevertheless, some practical circumstances forced the national teams to use rather different approaches. The Romanian team established the dividing line between age groups at 35 years old. This limit was decided to permit comparisons between people who lived a longer period of their lives in communist period and those who had a chance to experience democracy as young people. In Hungary it have been considered that the theoretically established age criteria did not fit perfectly with the distribution that was found in reality, and consequently the respondents were above 40 years old. In these circumstances, we considered it relevant to focus more on the factors that make individuals to act as active citizens, renouncing to the comparisons between the two cohorts. In view of these considerations, the research question was:

"Which are the main characteristics of the processes of learning for active citizenship and governance?"

Fourth research question (4)

The question was used in its original form:

"To what extent does adult learning in formal, non-formal and informal education contribute to the development of new balances between economic development and civic involvement?"

The present question delivered significant data about social participation and moreover about the relationship between exclusion and the problems associated with transition in these countries.

Fifth research question (5)

The fifth research question was originally stated as:

"What approaches to education for active citizenship and governance have predominated, or been advocated, in policy at the various levels of governance?"

Reorientation: In the research process, this question was combined with the second and last question; being considered that it is covering not only the policy but also identifying theoretical and practical aspects related with active citizenship and governance. Thus, the areas where we have been looking for these approaches were 'policy' as well as 'literature' and 'practice'.

"What approaches to education for active citizenship and governance have predominated, or been advocated in literature, policy and practice?"

Sixth and seventh research questions (6 and 7)

These questions were originally stated as:

"What modes of educational intervention have proved most effective for learning citizenship and governance? What modes are likely to prove most effective in the future?"

Reorientation: Indeed, in the focus groups which have been designed to offer responses to these questions, the effectiveness of existing educational intervention was considered a task beyond the aim of expert panels. Nonetheless, there have been identified good practices as well as the main limits of discussed intervention strategies. Establishing an operational list with concrete criteria for effectiveness has been considered beyond the objectives of this research. Thus, the single reformulated question became:

> "What modes of educational intervention have been identified and which are likely to prove most effective in the future in relation with learning active citizenship and governance?"

2.3. Key concepts of the RE-ETGACE project

2.3.1 Citizenship

Various authors claim that citizenship is a term difficult to define. It is also a contested concept with multiple definitions that have been formed according to various perspectives within different disciplines. "Different political and ideological views tend to articulate its meaning differently, associating it with a different character." (ETGACE 2000, p. 3); Creek (2000, p.1) asserts that in case of such a contested concept, the quest for an "essential" or 'universally true meaning' is bound to be in vain. Nevertheless, some conclusions can serve as starting points:

- Firstly, it may be assumed that most if not all uses of 'citizenship' refer to the membership of a community, and to the nature of the relationship between the members of this community and those who govern, i.e. a 'particular bond' between the people and the state (Poggi 1990, p. 28).

- Secondly, 'citizenship' is both a descriptive and a normative concept: it describes who is a citizen, what citizens do, and so forth; it also defines what they should do. Most literature involves some fusion of the two.

- Thirdly, 'citizenship' has been described as 'both, a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social) that define an individual's membership in a polity' (Isin and Wood 1999, p. 4).

Since the eighteenth century, citizenship has gained its meaning principally in the context of the Western nation-state. Virtually all modern states have legal and administrative frameworks that define who is and who is not a citizen, and what such inclusion or exclusion implies.

The most well-known concept of citizenship is the one developed by Marshall (Marshall 1950). He introduced three dimensions of citizenship: civil, political and social. The civil dimension involves human rights and freedom, the political dimension is related to the right to participate in political processes, and the social dimension speaks about the right to live - if needed also with the assistance of the state – in circumstances that correspond to civilisation standards of the society one lives in. According to Marshall, citizenship in the social sense is based on individuals' obligations to contribute to taxation for the state system of provision, and on the method of redistribution of resources to fellow citizens who are unable to provide for their own needs. These forms of citizenship are institutionalised in the welfare system. (cf. ETGACE 2000, p.4). He also raised the issue of the extent of citizenship rights beyond the formal legal and constitutional status of citizens.

Subsequent analyses based on Marshall's concept tend to look at citizenship in two ways: a) a membership of a society or a nation-state, b) a fusion between rights and responsibilities. In relation to the first concept, the term citizenship is sometimes used as a synonym for the membership of a nation-state. However, the state that historically has been defining criteria of citizenship as well as citizens' rights and duties has been losing its independence in the late-modern social conditions. Processes such as the development of information and communication technology, globalisation, establishment of international integrations (e.g. the European Union) significantly affect the role of the state as a territorial entity. As for the second view, Ichilow (1998 a) argues that citizenship involves both a set of cultural practices as well as a bundle of rights and obligations. This way an exercise of power over the political, spatial and moral sphere within a polity is guaranteed to citizens (Turner, 1993).

According to Haywood (2000), different political ideologies interpret the notion of citizenship in different ways. The emphasis of the Right's view is mostly on *rights:* civil and political rights exercised within civil society, and the right to participation. The Left stresses the 'social citizenship' (social and welfare rights). The first political ideology rejects the notion that individuals have broader social identities and responsibilities, whereas the second ideology claims that the dominant concept of citizenship tends to blur the reality of unequal class power. Finally, feminists stress that the notion of citizenship does not take into account patriarchal oppression.

Most understanding of citizenship includes a certain combination of five elements: group identification; rights or entitlements; responsibilities or duties; public participation, and common values (Touraine 1997, cf. Arai).

The discussion on the European citizenship in the report of the Study Group on Education and Training (CEC 1997) **"Accomplishing Europe through Education and Training"** proposes a broader, more global concept of citizenship. Among others, it states that:

> "European citizenship is above all a humanist concept, founded in the construction of a greater Europe characterised by cultural differences, by different economic conceptions, and by different natural realities but united by the sense of belonging to a common civilisation. It is on the basis of a shared democratic culture that this greater Europe will construct itself and in which Europeans will recognise themselves as citizens of Europe. They will not regard themselves as citizens of Europe because they belong to a common culture, or on the basis of a particular dimension of belonging. Rather, they will do so because they will construct themselves as citizens of Europe on the basis of new relations, which they will establish between themselves. This is the first element of a European vision to propose to young people."

2.3.2 Active citizenship

There has been a long history of attaching adjectives to citizenship - 'good', 'responsible', 'active' -. It is argued that the notion of 'active citizenship' must be considered in relation to the long-standing notion of 'good citizenship'. A good citizen would display a 'habitual loyalty and instinctive obedience to the rules… rather than critical thoughts and democratic practices. According to Crick (2000, pp. 2-3), the active citizen is more than just a good citizen. He/she is 'able and equipped to have an influence on public life', has 'the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting', takes part 'in volunteering and public services', and has the individual confidence to find 'new forms of activities'.

In analysing citizenship and active citizenship, both at the level of concepts and practices it is relevant to point out five elements: rights or entitlements; responsibilities or duties; public participation, group identification and common values (Touraine 1997 cf. Arai 1999). To

these elements specifically devoted to citizenship, it is necessary to add those related with an operative perspective, namely the relation with state and politics and one more relevant aspect which is related with building collective identities (Castells 1997). Summing up, in a most general sense citizenship involves a "set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity" (Delanty 2000). Following the approach developed by Moro (2001) in analysing the "non-standard citizenship" and introducing some of the elements already discussed, the main differences between traditional and new concepts of citizenship could be expressed as follows:

Traditional citizenship		New citizenship
Rights and duties	… focus on…	Powers and responsibilities
Nation-state embedded	…at the level of …	Cosmopolitan, local and global
Civil-society - nation-state	… the relation between …	Civil society - public policies
Government approach	… in the context of…	Governance approach
Electoral participation	… the type of involvement…	Civic participation
Group legitimise identification	…identities, identification…	New forms of identities
Common values	… values…	Diversity and negotiation

Traditional versus new citizenship (adapted from Moro, 2001)

Held (1996, cf. Cochrane 1998) proposes new ways in which the concepts and practices of democracy and implicitly of active citizenship might be conceptualised within the new global order. Drawing on Marshall (1950), he identifies the principle of autonomy and the equal capacity to act across key political institutions and sites of power to be the key normative aspect of citizenship. On the other hand, Cochrane (1998) sees the possibility that the globalisation of democracy and citizenship as well as the pressure to respond to the process of localisation may offer a new way of capturing or renewing the idea of active citizenship. In this context, active citizenship is about participation and empowerment. As a distinctive characteristic nowadays, it is also about new forms of identities and civil action, and these should be seen as the major mechanism linked to the progress of society.

Investigation into policy documents of the European Union concerning citizenship shows that significant novelties have been introduced changing this concept from its traditional form based on assuring citizens' rights to modern democracy revitalising active citizenship. A more active and participatory citizenship in communities founded on an integrated approach to lifelong learning is being encouraged. In the Foreword by Edith Cresson to the document 'Education for Active Citizenship' it is acknowledged that there is a serious gap between legal citizenship (having certain rights) and the actual exercising of citizens' rights as well as being equipped to do so on equal terms. In this document active citizenship is seen as follows:

> "The practice of active citizenship is therefore a question of being empowered to handle the practice of democratic culture, and feeling that one has a stake in getting involved in the communities in which one lives whether by choice or force of circumstance. The concept of active citizenship ultimately speaks to the extent to which individuals and groups feel a sense of attachment to the societies and communities to which they theoretically belong, and is therefore closely related to the promotion of social inclusion and cohesion as well as to the matters of identity and values. These are the affective dimensions of active citizenship. At the same time, people need a basis of information and knowledge upon which they can take action, and to do so with some confidence; this is the cognitive dimension of active citizenship. Finally, practising citizenship is about taking action of some kind, and this is above all a matter of gaining experience in doing so: the pragmatic dimension of active citizenship.
>
> The potential for practising active citizenship is structured in the first instance by a network of civic, social and political rights and entitlements, which, in the modern era, have gradually become more comprehensive in nature and have been extended to wider groups of people living in the jurisdiction of a given territory — in practice, most significantly that of the modern nation-state."

The deliberative democracy offers the possibility of a form of citizenship in which increased opportunities for citizens' participation are taken to be feasible as well as desirable, and where citizens' engagement forms the part of an ongoing democratic dialog upon which more legitimate forms of political authority can be grounded (Smith and Wales, 2000, p. 53). Opportunities for citizens' participation and deliberative democracy are key features of governance.

2.3.3 Governance

The notion of governance strongly re-emerged in political debate during the 1990s. It addressed the tension between the traditional role of the state and the role of civil society. Traditional forms of government, reflected in established political institutions, were increasingly experiencing the loss of their efficiency. This has appeared in the form of the declining support for mainstream political parties, but also in the decline of established mechanisms of engaging civil society. Obviously, there is a clear democratic deficit and currently it is being tackled in national debates, both in Western as well as in Central and Eastern European countries.

Government and governance refer each to a different view of the relationship between the state and its citizens. From the governmental perspective, relations are seen in formal, constitutional terms, while governance implies that relationships are more complex and dynamic. In contrast to the narrower term government, governance covers the whole range of institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing. It actually links the government with its environment. In this context it is possible to relate the presented perspectives on governance with the concept developed by Held (1996, cf. Cochrane, 1998) in relation with the challenges and changes in the new global context. He defines the possibilities to build up cosmopolitan governance through a range of self-regulating associations within the civil society in a cosmopolitan democracy in which the interconnections of institutions, associations, people and nations are important. The idea of civic cosmopolitanism that was developed by Delanty (2000) in relation with the previous two concepts, stresses the necessity to develop a cosmopolitan public sphere as well as a civic space of public communication. This cosmopolitan public sphere is not seen only as a global one, but more important, it is located in national and sub-national (local) public spheres which have been transformed by mutual interaction.

Relating active citizenship with the governance, Frederichs and Vraken (2001) argued:

> "Active citizenship is best defined as participation and involvement in the political process of defining the common good of a local community. In this sense, active citizenship is essential to social cohesion in a democratic society, primarily (but not exclusively) at the local level. However, active citizenship is a very complex and conflictual process for at least two reasons (1) structures of representative democracy do exclude ordinary citizens from the decision-making process; and (2) experiments in participative democracy usually tend to incorporate a modicum of middle-class citizens in the political process and to fail in associating the marginalised and the poor."

The new context revealed that neither globalisation nor post-modern conditions are extremely relevant for discussing active citizenship and governance in post communist countries, but the social conditions induced by transition and post transition have major impact on democracy. The processes of social fragmentation and social exclusion, poverty, and more generally the democratic deficit at different levels, demonstrate the need for institutional reform and concrete solutions for local problems.

EU guidelines suggest that new ways are needed to legitimise the systems of governance through greater involvement of citizens in policy-making at the European level. On the one hand, this should be achieved by increasing participation in restructured "traditional" democratic forms (participation in elections, political bodies and parties, civil society structures, etc.) and on the other hand, with the establishing of new forms of governance and participation at all levels.

2.3.4 Education, training versus facilitation and empowerment

Education and training for promoting active citizenship and governance were discussed during the ETGACE and RE-ETGACE projects as the processes of inculcation of civic knowledge, attitudes, values, and behavioural norms. The process of socialisation through which citizens are becoming agents of change and contribute to the democratic development of society, brought into attention two other elements: facilitation and empowerment.

Concentrating on the evolution of our research process, and searching and defining relevant concepts, we can state that at the beginning of the ETGACE project, education and training were considered the main intervention strategies, and were often presented as opposite in character and action. However, the perspective that was adopted for analysing the learning process reflected their complementary character. Later on, in the ETGACE project, the one conclusion was that there is a real need to reconsider education and training, and to move towards facilitation. Some of the main issues here were creating participatory environments, focusing on motivation, stimulating active learning, using media support and information, and communication technology.

Education refers, in the context of present research, to the intentional support of learners in the acquisition of knowledge and notions, in debating about values and norms in general, political, and moral issues of citizenship. It offers the opportunity to understand the responsibility to act, and how to change a situation in order to make a difference.

The main function of training, in relation to our topic, is to support and facilitate the development of attitudes, skills, and behavioural patterns that will equip learners to be able to participate actively as citizens. Training is also about supporting people to develop strategies, instruments, and/or possibilities to realise commitments in the public sphere. In relation to active citizenship and governance, training programmes are still a more diffuse field of activity than current educational projects. Thus, one of the goals of this project is to propose efficient strategies and facilitate the learning of capacities for new forms of active participation and governance.

Two strategies that are extremely relevant for the issues of governance are facilitation and empowerment. Both of them are well adapted to the principles of participatory democracy, and are oriented to transform not only individual and collective actors, but institutions as well. In terms of Freire's pedagogy, these two dimensions can be viewed as social transformation strategies, which would develop a critical consciousness, and would promote new strategies based on reflection, debate, and a focus on experience. These action-oriented methods would provide the facilitating dimension, creating space and offering tools and skills, for building democratic competencies. The empowerment, however, must emphasise the power, collectively and individually, and to promote social and institutional transformations.

During the research process it has been used the distinction between *formal, non-formal, and informal* (Coombs, 1985) modes of intervention. It offered the opportunity to analyse the learning process using the same framework, just as the Etgace project has done.

Formal education is usually associated with certifications, and includes education and training in the school and post-school institutions. These are more or less centralised, and often have a sequential curriculum and well-established structures of assessment. They reflect more traditional practices for developing notions, attitudes, skills, and behavioural patterns with regard to 'civic education', and represent a major vehicle of public intervention. The empirical analysis of the relationship between educational achievement and civic participation indicates that schools are not offering young people useful knowledge in order to function as informed citizens, and are not instilling or nourishing the values of a responsible citizen.

Non-formal education includes all systematic educational interventions outside the formal system. Some examples are work-based training sessions, community education programmes in health, co-operation, and multiculturalism, and adult literacy programmes. In many Western European countries, this was the main and traditional source of state intervention in post-school learning, and was adapted later in Central and Eastern Europe. Many examples relate to education and training offered by NGOs and other voluntary organisations. Maybe the most important category of educational interventions for active citizenship and governance is situated at this level, and they are seen as an established mode of educational intervention. Nevertheless, we can consider them partly as 'emergent' practices, because they form new approaches and educational practices, which are emerging in the new democracies, trying to counterbalance the traditional model of education and training.

Informal education refers to unorganised, unsystematic, and/or unintended lifelong learning at home, work, and through the media. This mode of education could be claimed to be the source of most of the learning throughout a lifetime, and generating outcomes strongly dependent on the specific learning environment of an individual. The recent discourses on lifelong learning and the learning society have introduced this mode at the level of policies. However, strategies to operationalise this mode of intervention are not well articulated or understood, and we could refer to them in terms of 'emergent' modes of educational intervention. Due do the changes with regard to society and the influences on established modes of intervention, it could be expected these emergent strategies could play an important role in our research.

For assessing strategies at the level of education and training, as well as in the context of facilitating learning and using empowerment strategies, lifelong learning represents a primordial dimension. The value of lifelong learning in the context of active engagement in understanding and creating new meanings of the world based on experiences is a reference point for our intervention strategies. The permanent engagement in developing knowledge and restructuring values and attitudes must be based on stimulating the capacity to reflect and understand reality, permanent accumulation, and the reflection of learning experiences across a lifetime. All of these dimensions of lifelong learning can be seen as a positive framework for bridging together the complementary strengths of formal, non-formal, and informal education and training, and for extending the scope of learning for active citizenship and governance.

3. METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH STAGES

3.1 General description of the methods used in the empirical research

3.1.1 Literature and policy analysis

In order to capture the meanings that the already mentioned notions carry within national contexts and to make them comparable with data collected in ETGACE, a critical literature review and policy analysis has been conducted to ensure proper orientation of the research. The meanings of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' in each country's policies have been analysed. Further on, policies designed to facilitate and encourage active citizenship and governance have been identified and compared to those from the European Union. It is worth mentioning that there were some minor changes in the structure of the papers in comparison with the ones that had been written for the ETGACE project. The main change applied in the paper was the placing of a greater stress on the contextual characteristics of the environments described, focusing in the first place on the process of transition and post-transition from communism to democracy in Hungary and Romania.

The literature review has been important for defining the conditions of development and practice of citizenship and governance within the two new contexts. Precise mapping of these terms provided a common understanding and a comparative perspective on the research problems of countries in transition. Analysis of the policies has identified, the major challenges of democracy and the transformations induced by transition and post-transition. These are slightly different from the original ETGACE project. This was necessary not only as a response to the European Union demands regarding promotion and sustenance of active involvement of the citizens but also because they represented viable and recognised strategies for increasing participation in a democratic society.

3.1.2 Life history method

One of the methods used during the ETGACE research project and implemented also in the RE-ETGACE research was the analysis of individuals' life histories. This method has been employed in order to provide a relevant understanding of the nature of the mutual articulation of the learning of active citizenship and governance within the three domains (work, state, and civil society). In particular, the project reconstructed the life histories of a sample of learners, and analysed these in terms of the nature, context and timescale of their learning of citizenship and governance. This method gave us the possibility to interpret the sense of reality that people have about their own world, and their attempts to give a 'voice' to that reality. It was relevant to see how people experienced things and how they have made sense of themselves and their environments.

In order to gain an appropriate understanding of learning processes related to citizenship and governance the interpretative framework of the transitional learning theory was introduced. This involves identifying how transitions in a person's life pose a challenge to make meaningful connections towards citizenship. This has been based on the original ETGACE project so as to test the relevance of the four general dimensions of the learning process: context, challenge, capacity and connection proposed.

The most important criteria for selection of "active citizens" was that they were 'agents of change' in one of the three domains. They were active as a citizen in their own environment, and actors with a societal commitment who pursued objectives aiming at organising society,

an organisation or community in a democratic way. It was important to include representatives of 'new social movements', because one of the aims of the research was to understand these new conceptions of citizenship.

A second criterion for selection was the age cohort. Although a distinction between cohorts did not deliver interesting information during the ETGACE research, in this project there have been proposed two age cohorts again but for a different reason. Because a transformation concerning citizenship was expected due to the transition in East and Central Europe, we made a distinction between active citizens who were active before the transition and those who started their career as active citizens after the transition.

A third criterion, linked with the first one and used in order to include many different kind of active citizenship, was the distinction between established practices and emergent practices/movements. Although gender should not be taken explicitly into account in this research, we made a more or less balanced selection with regard gender.

3.1.3 Focus groups

For identifying, elaborating and analysing the potential and limitations of current practices and intervention strategies for education and training for active citizenship and governance, focus groups of experts have been utilised.

Literature presents various definitions of focus groups. The first important and influential article of Merton and Kendall (1946) on the focused interview set the parameters. Such a focused interview reorganises the specific experiences and opinions of the interviewees about the subject, more exactly in relation to predetermined research questions. Morgan (1996: 130) defines focus groups as "a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher". The group is often relatively small, Morgan (1997) suggests for most focus groups six to ten people.

In our research we started from the premise that participants of the focus groups sessions, are not just "well informed" citizens, as in standard focus groups as lay groups, but professionals in a particular field of study (Bloor et al. 2001). For this reason, we considered our groups as expert panels. This is not just a kind of data gathering, but here researchers involve practitioners or policy maker in the scientific research (Emerson 1981, Kruger 1998).

There have been two main benefits of using expert panels in our research. Firstly, the basic form of focus groups as expert panel was a co-operative inquiry, based on participants' professional experience, in the context of group interaction while searching for valid knowledge on our topic. Secondly, using focus groups as expert panels we were able to engage experts in a policy-oriented project. The purpose of such a research design was to involve experts not only in finding explanations for a particular problem, but also to motivate them either to find solutions in their own practice or to collaborate in collective projects to solve the problem. Within such a design focus groups form a co-operative inquiry into a particular problem and they are also a starting point for collaborative action to formulate and if possible to implement solutions. Indeed, in the planned expert focus groups-type symposia, the main objective was gathering evidence within our research project, but, in the same time, researchers have been in a permanent dialogue with the relevant professional, policy and practitioner communities. The dissemination strategies proposed by the teams offered also important feedback for the direction of the research.

3.2 The research stages

There were five stages to RE-ETGACE project research:

- The RE-ETGACE project opened with the exploration of the data from the previous project, planning the work packages, establishing the *Network Audit, and the Advisory Panel Formation.*

- The second phase started with a review of the methodology used in the previous project, and a critical review of literature and policy in Hungary and Romania. It was combined with a comparative analyse of the main conclusions from the ETGACE research, and also with the main literature resources of European Union policies. The results of the literature and policy analysis have been reported in *"Active Citizenship and Governance in Central and Eastern European Context"*.

- The third phase of research consisted of analysing 32 life histories in two countries, and then making comparisons using the secondary analysis of the previous data granted in the ETGACE project. The International Report *"Learning Governance and Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe"* that reported the results of those life histories, was a first attempt to construct a model of dimensions of learning active citizenship, based on the data and learning theories.

- The fourth stage employed focus groups of experts at the national and local levels in Romania and Hungary. The International report *"Similar or Different Learning Strategies for Active Citizenship and Governance in Europe?"* analysed the current and future directions for intervention strategies in the two countries.

- The fifth phase of research consisted in scientific interpretation of all the data and dissemination strategies. The present final report *"The implications of the research for Central and Eastern European Policy Design on Active Citizenship and Governance"* is aimed at different target groups: practitioners, researchers and policy makers.

3.2.1 Exploration, Planning, Network Audit, Advisory Panel Formation

In Hungary and Romania two National Advisory Panels composed by well-known experts in the field have been established. The several stages of the project, as well as the scientific and organisational aspects have been discussed with this group of experts. The main tasks of the National Advisory Panel involved: reviewing the national reports, supervising the selection of the active citizens for the interviews, providing support for the focus group sessions and collaborating with the research team for organising the national workshop and dissemination. As with the original ETGACE project, experts were brought together for face-to-face discussions. However, it was decided to use on-line contact with experts as a more efficient means then real meetings. Nevertheless, the role of the National Advisory Boards remained an important one for both national teams.

Based also on the suggestions of National Advisory Panels, a preliminary audit of institutions, organisations and networks involved in active citizenship and governance has been developed in both Hungary (45) and Romania (37).

3.2.2 Documentary and Historical Methods

Documentary and policy analyses were an important element in the first phase of the research. It provided a comprehensive review of policy approaches to education for active citizenship and governance in Hungary and Romania. The first international report of the project (Deliverable 2.3), entitled 'Active Citizenship and Governance in Central and Eastern European Context' was focussed on the meanings of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' in national literature as well as in each country's policies. Further on, policies designed to facilitate and encourage learning for active citizenship and governance have been identified and situated within the framework established by European Union policy in this area.

3.2.3 Biographical Methods

In order to collect data to answer the research questions and to explore the topics of special interest the life history method was used. This method is rooted in an interpretative framework and offered qualitative data on the basis of interviews. It is in line with the basic assumptions about transitional learning, i.e. the idea that people are challenged by transitions to construct meaningful connections between their personal life history and changing contexts. The samples were selected by the national teams, and with the help of the advisory panel. The theoretical background of the research offered us some general criteria for this selection. With regard to these criteria we have to consider that it was not about a representative sample in order to represent the population of active citizens empirically. We wanted respondents who were representative for the concept of 'active citizenship' elaborated in relation to our theoretical background. Therefore, it was a purposeful representative sample of respondents, i.e. a selection on the basis of characteristics and properties that were important in the light of (the construction) of our theory concerned with the learning process of active citizenship.

The data presented in the life history section of the present final report is based on 32 interviews with 16 active citizens in each country – Hungary and Romania - who are seen as representatives and agents of change for the public good.

In both countries, the samples were structured taking into consideration methodological requirements and the suggestions of the National Advisory Panels as well as considering researcher experience and the availability of the interviewees. Regarding age cohorts, there have been differences in selecting the respondents. In Romania, the dividing point between age groups was established at 35 years old and dependent upon their age at the 1989 Revolution. The group of young people is smaller (6) than the older ones (10). Gender groups were more equally structured: 9 men and 7 female respondents. On the domains, there have been 6 interviews for civil society, 5 for the state / political domain, and 5 for the economic sector. In Hungary, the sample was selected to get the most significant personalities that can be described by the word "active citizen". The selection criteria splitting them into the two age cohorts (one of 20-50 years, another of over 50) did not fit in perfectly with the distribution that was found in reality. The persons, who were regarded as real representatives (as a symbol and as visible example for everyone) for civil activity, weren't under 40. There have been 4 respondents in the category young people and 12 in the second one. Regarding the domains in Hungary, for the analysis, the biographies of 12 people could be related with the domain of politics, 5 with the work or economic sphere and 8 with the civil society (socio-cultural field).

3.2.4 Focus Groups

In order to understand the complex process of education, training, or facilitation for active participation and governance, the specific method of focus groups was used. This method involved experts finding the best practices for intervention strategies for facilitating active citizenship and governance.

The focus groups had three main functions. Firstly, to provide evidence about current good practice in citizenship and governance education. Secondly, to help to transform the results of the earlier phase of the research that dealt with the life histories with active citizens, into effective intervention strategies. Thirdly, to form relationships with professionals which can be useful in the next, fourth phase of dissemination of our findings. So focus groups were not just an interesting research activity in itself, but it was also helpful in building a relationship with both the earlier and the later phase of the project as a whole.

The panels of experts used in the RE-ETGACE project, like the ETGACE experts, were based on a non-random snowball sampling of experts. The experts were defined as persons with known or demonstrable experience and expertise in different areas, and at the different levels related to citizenship and governance: state, work, and civil society. There were two meetings for each of the three domains, although for practical reasons each national team was forced to use a rather different programme format.

In accordance with the main project goals, a careful selection of experts and end-users were invited to take part in the focus group sessions in Hungary. Two focus group sessions were held, a 'provincial' (rural, small regional) and a 'metropolitan', (instead of each planned session) to learn about the possible differences, perspectives, and strategies for promoting active citizenship and governance. After evaluating the procedure of selecting participants, it seems that the strategy of inviting the experts was underdeveloped, and the desired number of participants (8-10) was reached in only one group. The 'provincial' sessions had eight participants in the 'civil' group, five in the 'work' group, and seven in the 'public' group. The 'metropolitan' session had five participants in the 'civil' group, six in the 'work' group, and four in the 'public' group. A third of the 'provincial' and a half of the 'metropolitan' participants did not attend the sessions they promised. However, the union of the 'provincial' and 'metropolitan' sections resulted in enough participants for the study. In total there were 13 civil, 11 work, and 11 public participants.

In Romania, there have been scheduled three separate focus groups meetings, and dividing the larger group in three subgroups according to the three domains of work, state, and civil society. There were two meetings organised with experts in these three domains, the first being organised separately for each domain, and the second being jointly organised. The participation in these meetings was rather low, especially in the civil society domain. For the first round of meetings, there were three participants from the civil society, five from the state domain and five from the work domain. The second meeting gathered only two experts, one of which was a labour union educational expert present from the first round, and the president of a non-governmental organisation that came for the first time. In order to supplement the data gathered through the national expert panel, a second round with local experts was organised. It comprised of six experts from all the mentioned domains being interviewed all at once: two civic education teachers, two trainers from NGOs, a trainer from a business constancy company, a public servant involved in training for administration and an education expert representing a university. The 'local' panel proved to be valuable, although organised in much less time than the meetings at the national level, and it has been possible obtain the same data quality with less expense.

3.2.5. Scientific Interpretation and Dialogue with Policy Community

The fifth phase of the project consisted in a new and major interpretation of the empirical data, providing links between the data collected in the three empirical and developing analyses that combined this data in new perspectives and insights for both national and international purposes. Dissemination strategies contributed to a better understanding of the potential implications of the current research for both categories: practitioners and policy makers. A comprehensive and interpretative framework for active citizenship has been realised at the level of consortium, as further developments and research directions, in order to delineate different concepts, modes and strategies of intervention in relation with education, training and governance.

In Hungary, a conference and several workshops were organised enabling personal and active participation amongst those that were involved. The use of the e-mail journal was planned for reaching those, who cannot take part personally. The project promoting on TV provided wider publicity for the topic and provided an overview for more others who cannot take part in the conference or at workshops and do not receive the email-journal. For those who already have some information about the RE-ETGACE results and want more, the national team planned to edit a paper and a web-site-link. The third solution in dissemination was the use of already existing personal connections to report directly about the results of the research.

The dissemination process in Romania has been realised using different strategies like organizing workshops, writing scientific articles in university reviews, being invited to a talk show by a local television, and producing a book that contains all the reports for Romania. The workshops were organized on different themes of high interest for Romanian society. The themes were*: (1) Entrepreneurship – resources and obstacles; (2) Reform of Public Administration; (3) Strengthening civil society by stimulating associative participation and of the voluntary sector; and (4) Civic education today: aims, resources, methods.* In every dissemination workshops, the invited experts represented all three different domains. The RE-ETGACE project results as well as their potential implication of the research for these domains were discussed and policy proposals were suggested. During this dissemination process articles were published in local media presenting the project, results and our activity. In order to continue this process, in the near future, the national team intend to publish some articles on the results of the research conducted for Romania. Another strategy to disseminate and exploit the project results involves producing a book with the colleagues from other Central and Eastern European Countries (Hungary and Slovenia), as well as to collaborate with all the partners from the ETGACE and RE-ETGACE project in producing relevant scientific articles.

3.3. Issues on Validity

A national literature review and policy analysis was carried out at the beginning of the project in order to capture the meaning of notions of 'active citizenship' and 'governance'. The national teams placed a relatively greater stress on the contextual characteristics of the environments described, focusing in the first place on the process of transition to democracy, and less on concrete education and training strategies for citizenship and governance.

Unfortunately, the literature research and policy analysis was perceived as a starting point activity, rather than a continuous search for new developments and policies that emerged during the project. In fact, the short life of this project might actually be obscuring the need for continuous more effective analysis. However, the focus groups and dissemination stages

were able to draw attention to new developments in national policies that have been integrated into this final report.

There is a rather high interest in biographical methods in the study of adult learning, as well as across the social sciences. In a more individualised world, more value is associated with personal and social meanings. Nevertheless, the life history method used in the present research may raise some questions about the interpretations that people as active citizens used in their biographies.

The narratives of self solely are appropriate for inquiries into the narrative projection of the selves of active citizens. This validity issue has been theorised by Bourdieu (1987). He called "biographical illusion" the representation of life as a flow of continuous or linear, events, one springing out of the other, in logical sequence that has a meaning on its own that can be expressed in a chronological narrative of the sort used by the biographical method and the life history method. Therefore, in order to get complete accounts of the relationship between the context of a person's life and their definition and activities of active citizens – a triangulation method was essential.

In generalising on the contexts and processes of social learning for active citizenship, the results of the life histories should be compared with those of a comparable sample of non-active citizens, which was over our research objectives. This is required by the process of building and testing hypotheses about how one becomes an active citizen, especially when issues of cognitive and attitudinal dimensions of citizenship are taken into consideration. Otherwise, all our generalisations could be fallacious.

All attempts at generalisations, following life history data are flawed due to the non/representative character of our sample. In interpreting these accounts the research teams have been driven not by the objective of building a theory of how or/why one becomes active citizen, but aiming to elaborate hypotheses and identify sensitising concepts for a sound interpretative-explanatory approach to building active citizenship.

In order to analyse the quality of the focus groups as a qualitative research tool a three-fold theoretical framework have been proposed. The first perspective started from a radical hermeneutic position, which stressed the importance of discourse analysis to judge the quality of an account. Another more moderate and constructivist perspective required striving for objectivity through inter-subjectivity. The third perspective, the realistic framework, tried to integrate the traditions of quantitative and qualitative research. It is not our intention, at this stage of the research, to start a methodological debate about the validity of the focus groups. Nevertheless, the potential shortcomings, which may harm the objectivity of our data have to be presented.

The focus groups manual developed in the ETGACE project was revised and was meant to assure that inter-subjectivity and explicitness were used, nevertheless some of the requirements were changed by the national teams, focusing mainly on the frequency of the focus groups, and the distinctions between the domains.

Neither of the two teams complied with the initial conventional strategy regulating the set up composition of the expert panel, and was more or less fortuitous. The Hungarian team decided from the beginning to arrange another scheme, instead of a primary and secondary session with the same three groups, to include a metropolitan and a provincial panel with three groups of experts from Budapest and three different panels at a local level, in Pecs. The Romanian team attempted to respect the initial convention strategy, but the second session of group

discussions failed due to low attendance, thus forcing the team to organise an expert panel with local experts from the region, in Oradea.

Therefore, the organisation of the focus groups in the two countries was similar, but different from the expert symposia organised for the ETGACE project. It is not clear if this differentiation in the expert panel has added value or decreased the validity or relevance of the acquired data. The two analyses do not discuss the validity, or the utility effects of these changes, nor the differences between the information provided by the metropolitan and the local sessions.

Nevertheless, not complying with the original conventional strategy; first, to gather members from all domains, which will thereafter split according to their domain, has diminished the networking functionality of the expert panels. However, the secondary product could have been met even in the smaller domain.

The national teams used the original research questions for generating concrete key points for the debates. The research questions were open and consistent, sustaining the theoretical and internal validity of the focus groups.

Identifying and recruiting participants was maybe the most important issue of focus group research in relation with the final number of participants at the sessions. The optimal size of focus groups, between six to ten experts, was a problem for some of our groups. In five out of the twelve planned groups, the number of experts did not exceed six. The absence of a particular type of expert in some domains could have resulted in some shortcomings in the data.

There is no current data about the groups' dynamics or the role of the moderator, nevertheless acknowledging the results we may state that there was not a presence of the phenomena 'group think' or dominant behaviour. In terms of the expert's knowledge and experience, it was mentioned several times in the Romanian report that some of the experts criticised the methodology of the project, and had suggested a reviewed perspectives for approaching the issue of active citizenship and governance.

As an instrument for analysis of the relationships between discussed issues, recording techniques and keeping track of the minutes assured descriptive and interpretative validity. The coding and interpreting of the data were based on scientific interpretations. Throughout the reports, there is an obvious balance between the direct connotations of participants and the scientific interpretations. Unfortunately, no data was obtained for this report concerning the expert's feedback.

4. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT RESULTS

4.1. Literature review and policy analysis: Hungary and Romania: general context and societal challenges

4.1.1 Transition

When looking at the results of the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe, it is possible to differentiate similar characteristics but also very diverging patterns. East and Central European countries are often treated as a uniform group of post-communist countries on their way to achieve political, economic and social standards of Western European countries. It is important to consider that putting aside all other differences, even their common communist past, is not simply their common denominator for the dictators have shown different 'innovative' approaches to reach the goals set by communist theoreticians.

Ash (1998) distinguishes between East Central European countries (Poland, The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia) and Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and calls attention to important historical and structural differences between the two:

- Central Europe is geographically closer to Western Europe, which as a consequence has always ensured more intense contacts.

- Central Europe has followed the Western Christianity and the Balkans the Eastern Christianity after the split in 1054.

- Central Europe was for centuries mostly dominated by the Habsburg Empire and the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire. As effect Central Europe has joined the industrialisation wave sooner, before the First World War and the Balkans managed that only after the Second World War.

- In the Balkans, state socialism was introduced immediately after the Second World War, while in Central Europe there was a short 3-4 years period of democratisation when a socialist regime was imposed upon them from outside. In addition, there was resistance against the state socialism in East Central Europe (Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Poland in 1980), while in the Balkans such resistance is noted only after the collapse of the state socialism in 1989.

East Central Europe has therefore returned to democratic traditions and foundations, whereas in the Balkans a democratisation started with few historical precedents. Hence, the East Central European democratic transformations were peaceful and negotiated and those in the Balkans were rather violent and filled with mass anger.

Ash (1998) argues that the democratisation in the area has progressed through a series of characteristic contradictions. The first was that the political and legal transformations have been the most rapid, which implied that also other transformations would be reached in a few years. But economic and especially social changes needed much more time. This 'disharmony' between the domains caused political tensions since the incomplete transformation of economic domain, and consequently unfinished social changes, began to undermine political democratisation, and vice versa. This 'vicious circle' with negative

feedback between politics, economy and society is characteristic for the democratisation of the region.

The second contradiction is that politics is so dominant in the initial period that it overwhelms the whole society. "This over politicisation came into existence as 'over-parliamentarisation' and 'over-participation'" which nearly changed the multiparty democracy toward 'multi-actor' democracy. The third contradiction involves the elites, who accelerated the democratisation in the initial period, but after a few years, their steps and measures needed to become a political reality in order to make the democracy work.

We have put the stress at the initial stages of transition, recent post-transition period history and the communist heritage. The similarities, but also the differences, are determined mostly by the impact of communism, despite the fact that clear dissimilarities are distinguishable between the soft dictatorship in Hungary and totalitarianism in Romania. Different courses of economical, political and social changes have an impact on the way democracy is understood and put into practice. Here we are looking at the transition from a comparative perspective and trying to bring up interpretative discussions where it is possible, however the main discussion re-frames the topics developed in the national analysis.

In Hungary the transition to democracy is discussed in terms of a fluctuating process that 'spans over two centuries', although, more stress is added to the second half of the 80s when all kinds of transitional activities, related with the current democratic status of the country had been started. It was more a tacit 'opposition' to the 'soft dictatorship'. This opposition underlined not only slight reforms designed to simply reform socialist rules but stressed the need for basic changes. Hungarian reforms 'from within' and the effort to democratise the existing communist system in 1988 were counterbalanced by international accelerated geopolitical changes. The starting phase of the transition process in Hungary (real political one) can be defined more concretely in terms of a 'negotiating revolution' (October 23, 1989).

In the Romanian analysis, the present transformations are considered more important and are mainly examined from the perspective of the post-socialist transition of the political institutions. It is a bit surprising that not so much emphasis is added to the collective mobilisation, which occurred in 1989. Somehow, it is preferred 'to forget' the totalitarian regime which can be characterised as a system of total domination of each single individual in each and every sphere of life. Nevertheless it seems that the most prominent problems of transition have a high impact on current debate in relation to the present topic: i.e. decreasing living standards, the dramatic polarisation of society between poor and rich including the creation of a larger poor dependent social class, the gap between the urban and rural level and the related economical, social and cultural opportunities.

As Ash (2000) suggests, in Hungary it was more a 'refolution' - a term used to express the interplay of reform and revolution. It is more a reform from above in response to pressures for revolution from below, like the Romanian December 1989 revolution. How did these different pre-transitional situations influence the current changes in both countries? It is relevant to see how a different history and different interpretation of the past has an influence on the actual conditions. More than presenting the current transformations, which occurred during the post-transition period, the Hungarian analysis is focused on the development of civil society during transition. In the context of civil society, the relevant contribution of empirical, applied research in the context of the transitional nations is considered "an important contribution to the revision and development of the theory of civil society, rather than a special case to be 'squeezed into' existing theory" (Szelényi 1988, Osborne-Kapuvári 1997). Following the

Romanian literature analysis, it is obvious that the democratic civil society encounters more problems than in the most countries in the region.

Nevertheless, there seems to be a major difference in the direction expressed in the literature in the two countries:

- A permanent reference of the legacy of the communist system, with a critical analysis of the major challenges and also difficulties in the Hungarian analysis, and

- A relatively detached attitude regarding the legacy of the past, in the Romanian literature discussion and less stress on the opportunities for change, despite the fact that the consequences of this inheritance are enduringly repeated.

4.1.2 Democracy: institutional changes and participatory culture

Discussing the differences between formal, procedural democracy and the substantive, normative one, Kaldor and Vejdova (2002) argue that the first one assures the necessities of the democratic social conditions. However substantive democracy, "as a set of rules, procedures and institutions" represents "a way of regulating power relations in such a way as to maximise the opportunities for individuals to influence the conditions which they live, to participate in and influence debates about the key decisions that affect society" (Kaldor and Vejdova 2002: 3-4). In this context it is appropriate to evaluate the impact of the institutional changes and the role of participatory culture in the post communist countries. The data in both countries suggest that the advantages of the procedural democracy in terms of institutional renewal, and moreover concretised in the development of a participatory culture, are counterbalanced by the strong legacy of the communist past. We support the present conclusion not only on the normative aspects presented in the two analyses, but also by considering the connotations due to the communist heritage at the level of participatory culture, i.e. the discussion of social mobilisation (or demobilisation) and citizenship involvement (or lack of involvement).

The differentiation between formal and substantive democracy in Hungary is expressed in terms of 'software' or 'humanware' as opposed to 'the hardware':

> "…The authors (Csepeli et al 1992, Bozóki 1995, Hammer 1998, Miszlivetz 1999) miss the deep layers of the "software" or "humanware" side of the transformation as opposed to the hardware side which consists of changing the legal and political structures, creating new institutions. The latter is necessary but is not seen as sufficient for the successful transition. There can not be a democracy without democrats – the notion is constantly on the agenda." (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

In the Romanian analysis, this is expressed directly when discussing the legislative framework in relation with the ruling elite, the imperious need for changing mentality and the role of the new institutional structures to implement the real and democratic policies.

> "The process of rapid change of the Romanian legislative system determines instability...all these policies face many problems in the implementation process.. there is a need for different structures to implement the policies. …there is a need for improvement until an institution reaches the appropriate level of functionality. The personnel has to be prepared, as well as the citizens who have to accept the changes… yet there is a need for structural and mentality change before these changes policies can be effective". (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

Perhaps one of the most significant effects of the communist regime is the culture of dependency and non-action. Compared to the Western countries covered in the ETGACE

project, the new democracies of East and Central Europe are carrying a heavy burden of the past in terms of habits that are un-civic and non-democratic. Citizenship education and the role of governance are influenced by the mental heritage of the previous political system that did not foster the alternative approaches in general. Its official ideology was that the socialist state takes care of its citizens, and it does not require any personal innovation on their part. On the other hand, the strong presence of hierarchical structures had a tendency to repress the initiatives. People were not allowed to fight for themselves as communities (not at the individual level and for own interest, because the battle for survival sometimes encouraged this). A kind of 'direct mobilisation' of all actors in the past determined this culture of non-action. Thus, when they are expected now – and, more or less encouraged to do this – there is a problem at the level of participatory culture. As a result, people are still expecting certain 'directions' and this has significant weaknesses and diminishes the social involvement, bringing numerous problems not only to political participation, but also to civil society as a whole. It is clear that a new kind of 'symbolic mobilisation' is needed, different from the old strategies of collective mobilisation. Such an effort to bring citizens into action should focus on encouraging and challenging people.

4.1.3 Nation-state, nationalism and democratic mobilisation

As Calhoun (1997) states, the debate about the nation state and nationalism plays a special role in the modern discourse about legitimacy. The literature often divides nationalism into two ideal types: ethno-nationalism and civic nationalism. A more common one is the distinction between civic/ cultural nationalism, which is more adaptable for the discussion of citizenship and active citizenship in a democratic society.

As the Hungarian literature presented this topic, civil activities of the transition can be seen as anti-etatism (state socialism), anticommunist movements attracting politically mobilised people. It is argued that in Hungary, national sentiments revitalised relevant forms of national identity that were an important part in mobilisation. For the Romanian context, it seems to be also the case:

> "As a young nation, Romania has still a strong national movement. It can be stated that nationalism has been after 1989 the only coherent legitimate ideology. These have manifested themselves in policies especially in the first half of the nineties by promoting "national sovereignty" and unity with a discourse that is specific for ideologies of ethnic nationalism. In this context, citizenship becomes more ethnic than civic. However strong reactions and campaigns from different actors such as civic movements, international organisations and minority organisations have succeeded in stopping the nationalist-ethicist course of Romanian policies." (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

The space allocated to the minority issue is unequally represented in the two national analyses. For the Hungarian context, the debate concerning minority issues is oriented towards protection of the legal rights of abused individuals and groups, and the fight against any sort of discrimination. Here the Roma ethnic group, the largest non-Hungarian ethnic group is mentioned. Different policy measures have been addressed; one of them is the 'second social contract' about social exclusion/inclusion of the Gypsies. Despite of some progresses, it is argued that

> "…some part of the Hungarian population is not ready to offer them full-scale social citizenship, i.e. a basic set of social memberships in networks of social support, emerging from below (Szelényi, 1992).(RE-ETGACE 2003a)

Regarding the political representation and ethnic self-government in Hungary, there are real possibilities for them to be represented in local and national politics. It is seen as an

impediment for effective citizenship practices that, for example, in the history of the Hungarian Roma ethnic groups there had been no volunteer political organisations before at all.

For the Romanian reality, the minority debate seems to be extremely relevant in discussing the democratisation process and civic rights. These are important aspects related to democratic transition, the institutional structures dealing with minority problems both at governmental and non-governmental level. Despite the success in the representation of the minority's problems at governmental level, it is argued that there remain some major problems, and the support given by both civil society and the government is not equally distributed to all ethnic groups:

> "the legislative framework is inconsistent, lack of social activists from the minority communities, not all the governmental structures are functional" (Oprescu 2000) (RE-ETGACE 2003a).

The real democratic discourse between the majority and the ethnic groups (especially Roma people in both countries), it is the former who imposes solutions for their inclusion. This is not only a formal demand of the EU policies in relation to minority or other political and social issues; it is more an internal necessity of each state. In this context it is relevant to analyse, in the context of EU enlargement, whether these requirements are expressed in an integrated, meaningful way, not only in the discourse of the political elites, but also in everyday life.

4.1.4 Building social capital in transition

Social capital refers to features of social organisation such as the networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. Building of social capital is more than just establishing new democratic governments, which interact more or less with the local partners and citizens. Beyond that it is building of mutual trust. According to Coleman (1990: 304) "social capital (…) is created when the relations between persons change in ways that facilitate action. (…)". For example, a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust. Likewise Putnam's social capital approach stresses the importance of relating civic organisational activities, NGOs, voluntary associations. For example, with a system of norms at the whole level of society, especially with trust and reciprocity, "social capital refers to (…) social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000: 19).

There are two important concepts here: networks and trust which both are components of social capital. Uslaner (1999) admits the superiority of social trust over participatory behaviour arguing that "civic networks may enhance social life, but this "social connectedness" … is distinct from – and secondary to – moral values" (Uslaner 1999: 122). Social trust, as a concept, is related to the theories of good governance, and to the explanations of social and political participation. The general theory suggests that the level of involvement depends on the level of social trust of people. On the other hand, there are theorists who consider that the relations between these concepts are interdependent in the sense that people with a higher level of social trust are most likely to participate civilly/politically but also their involvement will lead to an increase in their social trust (Dogan, 2000, Badescu, 2001). Discussion about social trust is structured on different levels of trust: in other people, trust in the political apparatus and trust in democracy itself. Thus, social trust represents a major element of current conceptions of social capital and as such has

been attributed a major role in providing the social context for the emergence and maintenance of stable democracy and in particular of a certain level of active involvement in society. Its role in these processes has been generalised to post-communist societies in Central and Eastern Europe undergoing complex transitions at all levels political, institutional, social, and economical.

One particular theoretical position in relation with trust is expressed in the Romanian analysis, in the sense that people with a higher level of social trust are most likely to participate civilly/politically but also their involvement will lead to an increase of their social trust (Dogan, 2000, Badescu, 2001). It is acknowledged that the empirical data show a critical low level of interpersonal social trust but also trust in institutions and political authorities. Yet Uslaner (2003) shows this is not the case, members in NGO have a slightly higher social trust that decreases during their activity. (Uslaner, 2003).

> "… in relation with trust in institutions and political authorities 81% Romanians do not trust the parliament, 73% do not trust the public administration and 60% do not trust the judicial institutions, being in these domains one of the countries with the lowest trust. The situation is different regarding the church and the army, where only 17% do not trust them (Dogan 2000)" (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

> "… Romanians do not trust each other, or the members of other ethnic groups. (Public Opinion Barometer, 2002). Most analysts point out that Romanians do not trust most of the governmental institutions (parliament, presidency, etc) or other structures essential for democratic society (NGO's, political parties, media). (Public Opinion Barometer, 2002). Exceptions are the church and the army, which are generally more trusted. Yet people trust the democratic system itself, and declare they consider it the best regime (Badescu, 2001)." (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

This is, partly valid also for the Hungarian context, at least at the level of trust in politicians. A tradition or culture of trust is related with social co-ordination, in fact with social networks and more precise co-operation in a climate of trust.

> "…In the trust index the United Nations and the European Parliament scored the highest and the politicians the lowest. Nearly 50 % of persons in the sample expressed the belief that politicians are not bothered with his or her life concerns and 36 % felt incompetent in understanding politics and the issues of governance." (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

Corruption, the abuse of power and the traffic of influence are considered, in different sections of the Romanian analysis, as the major reasons for low social trust and ineffectiveness of reforms, problems that make the reconstruction process and policy change even harder. Paldan and Swensen (2001) see reasons for such unpredicted results in missing social capital. Totalitarian dictatorship destroyed social capital and even stimulated negative social capital embodied in creation of problematic networks, based on corruption.

> "One of the reasons for the low social trust is the high level of corruption considered by Romanians. The general level of corruption is around 40% though the perceived level of corruption is even higher (World Bank report, 2002). There are some differences in the opinions of common individuals, firms and public officials, though the tendencies follow the same pattern. (Badescu, 1999)". (RE-ETGACE 2003a).

Another related problem is the dramatic decline of citizens' participation in politics, which represents the central element for the development of a stable democracy, as both analyses argue. The level of political participation in Eastern European countries is considered rather low, below what would be necessary for a new democracy to stabilise and consolidate. For example, this lack of political activism in Romania after 1989 seems to be in contrast with the mass movements in the 1989 revolution. This situation is the result of ineffective and derisory changes, the time-consuming process of democratisation and social, economical and political difficulties.

4.1.5 Hungary and Romania: education for active citizenship and governance

Active citizenship

In the ETGACE project, and now in the Re-ETGACE project, it has been acknowledged that difficulties are encountered in finding, in different translations, the most relevant concepts that express the same meaning for active citizenship and have similar connotations. This was obvious not only in the literature, but also at the level of the policies and practices associated in different national contexts.

It is obvious from the content analysis that the notions of active citizenship and governance differ from those of West Europe. The keywords considered most relevant in analysing the concept of citizenship (active citizenship) were: civil society, local society, participation, and political socialisation. Meanwhile, it is stated that in Romanian literature the concepts of active citizenship and governance are rarely used. For analysing the concept of citizenship and more precisely active citizenship, other notions like civic and political participation or civic involvement or participation, associative behaviour, civil society, community development and minority groups have been used. Developing further the relationship between citizenship and active citizenship, Moro (2001: 5) considers that the main expression of the new citizenship is active citizenship understood as:

> "...the capacity of citizens to self-organise in a multiplicity of forms for the mobilisation of resources and the exercise of powers for the protection and rights to achieve the end of caring for and developing common goods".

For Crick (2000: 2-3), active citizens are

> "willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life", they have "the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting", take part "in volunteering and public service", and have the individual confidence to find 'new forms' of activity.

Nevertheless, the public life is not the only one important in relation to active citizenship; the private domain is also important, especially for women, for example childcare in the neighbourhood or other social oriented services.

Are these theoretical and practical characteristics expressed in the conceptualisation of active citizenship in different countries? Which features have relevance at the level of practices associated with active citizenship in post-communist countries? In the literature, at the theoretical level, all of these features are discussed. They are more or less visible, and their importance for a democratic society is recognised, but still at the level of concrete actions the passivity, apathy because of disappointment, lack of desire to behave as an active citizen, as well as different reasons for the low level of involvement are recognised.

It is difficult to situate the evidence about citizens' involvement, whether in the communist era or nowadays, at the level of theoretical debate: individual versus collective model, or the 'left' – 'right' dispute. Nevertheless, some concrete facts are relevant to illustrate the duality and tensions between these two positions. An incipient, more individual-oriented model of active citizenship could be considered to be the Hungarian pre-transition model of 'adaptation through opposition', when private and independent initiative were opened.

> "Functionality of the civil society in that period of time was strongly influenced by `adaptation through opposition' (Frenzel-Zagorska 1990) - a way of maintaining the collective identity of a nation on which the totalitarian system has been imposed from outside. Its main features consist in preserving,

elaborating and cherishing values, attitudes and opinions contradictory to or different from those officially imposed and practised; at the same time adapting to the exigencies of life under real socialism; supporting existing state institutions on the behavioural level and taking advantage of them and displacing their goals by trying to achieve private goals at the expense of official ones.

In the meantime, in Hungary, the efforts to build the identification and solidarity in informal groups, which merged later in a collective action, correspond to a social model, based on a traditional socio-liberal ideology:

> "The second phenomenon connected with adaptation through opposition, was the withdrawal from the system to the private sphere-family and close circle of friends-not only and not mainly in overt behaviour but in the sphere of values and identification.
>
> In this situation, it is evidence of an absence of civil society in terms of self-identification and consciousness of group interests, caused by a not always conscious rejection of unauthentic quasi-groups formed officially. On the other hand, it is evidence of the survival of civil society in a `vestigial-embryonic' form, based on identification and solidarity in informal groups, which during upheaval becomes a base for collective expression." (RE-ETGACE, 2003a)

In fact, these examples situated somewhere in the history of pre-transition, illustrate only partially the two models, which are more relevant for present transformations occurring nowadays. If the social model is discussed, one of the main questions should be how does a specific society or community provide the conditions for citizens in order to encourage and stimulate their involvement. If the individual, neo-liberal model is discussed, it should be interesting to see which are the reasons and sufficient conditions for such a kind of activism.

Situated, from the previous perspective, at a level of the social model, the European Union analysis of active citizenship stresses the importance of participation, encouragement and empowerment in relation to democratic culture. The social inclusion and cohesion are relevant in this context, as well as the three dimensions of active citizenship: the affective, cognitive and pragmatic. Meanwhile there is the shift from traditional forms based on assuring citizens' rights to a new form that revitalises active citizenship. This tendency is distinguishable in some of the main directions of intervention reported in the national literature, such us:

- Sustaining independent initiatives;
- Addressing local issues like local heritage and community identity;
- Redefining rights and responsibilities of collectivises;
- Mobilising citizens through assigning specific responsibilities;
- Offering open spaces for participation, areas for experimentation, and successful involvement;
- Sustaining associative affiliation.

Despite the fact that in the literature, such initiatives are recognised and efforts to enforce the social participation are acknowledged, there are, in both countries, several opinions that express difficulties related to these experiences. For example, in Hungary, many sources are focussed on the criticism or depression related to the lack of involvement, especially "due to lack of democratic skills, attitudes and traditions" trying to understand the apathy, resentment and passivity at the level of civic participation. In the Romanian literature, the efforts are directed to the explanation of the low level of involvement through different factors. The most important ones seem to be the low level of trust, the corruption, the lack of information, and the lack of resources necessary for participation. The insufficient progress in the Romanian transitional context is, as the data describe, due to insufficient preparation of citizens to be able to answer to the new demands of a democratic society. The result is that, rather than being active, citizens are still passive in the "efforts towards reconstruction of their society".

As opposite to 'active citizenship' '*passive citizenship'* is exposed. The term denotes a special type of passivity regarded as a socialised learning. It is argued that it is not about people refraining themselves from activism since they had already been built passive through various socialisation influences during their life cycles. It is more the opposed personality type to active citizenship. However, since it is not only about the lack of activism, but also about un-citizen like acts, this human type is defined as un-citizen.

The strategy of un-citizenship fits with the resources of the individuals, and is not a rational calculus. It is a practical rationality that has emerged through life-long learning and everyday practice, and has the capacity to inculcate a sense of limits and harmonise individual actions with the possibilities inherent in the individual's position.

The idea of *communist heritage* is an important account used in exploring 'passive citizens/un-citizens' in Eastern and Central European countries. Authors claim that it applies *stricto sensu* only to the perception of an intergenerational differentiation in attitudes; the older citizens, who were socialised during the communist regime, are much harder to convince into becoming active citizens than the youth. These observations are confirmed by the comparative survey data, which show that contrary to the Western patterns (Warren in Badescu and Uslaner, 2003), where the older and smaller communities have higher rates of social participation, activism is more frequent among the youth from the greater urban concentrations. One could even hypothesise that active participation is a wave of modernism in the post-socialist countries of Europe.

As we already discussed, in practice, the various forms of active citizenship are located in the civil society, and moreover, from a new perspective they should reflect coherent public policies in relation to different topics. The next section is meant to give insights on how civil society and implicit public policies deal with different problems; from local issues like community support, education, minority to more general ones like environmental protection or consumer rights.

Civil society and public policies

Discussing the role of civil society in relation to the two national analyses on active citizenship and governance, it is important to examine the theoretical framework useful in understanding the current transformations taking place nowadays. Fine (1997) defines the civil society theory as a set of approaches, which emerged in the 1980s, and were closely identified with the struggles in Central and Eastern Europe against the Soviet Empire. Moreover, he considers that "the common ground of the civil society theory is that it places civil society on the side of *agency, creativity, activity, productivity, freedom, association, life itself* ... in contrast ... with the properties of the economic and political system…(characterised by): *conformity, consumerism, passivity, privatisation, coerciveness, determination, necessity….* " (Fine 1997: 9, emphasis in text).

There are different perspectives adopted for analysing the main characteristics of civil society in the two countries. The first major difference refers to the existence of civil society during the communist regime in Hungary. Hankiss (1988) introduced a concept of the "second society". It is represented by a set of "alien bodies", functioning according to a Habermasian organisational principle contradictory to that of the "first society" and steered by a different socio-economic paradigm. By the "first society", Hankiss (1988) understands "all that has been actually realised of the "ideology sanctioned" model". Thus, according to him, the "first society" is the "real socialist" system in its pure form without elements

(such as corruption) disturbing its ordained way of functioning". The areas in which "second society" may function included:

> "- The second economy, defined as a private economy, both legal and black market;
>
> - The second public emerging as a result of breaking the state's information and propaganda monopoly and the formation of an alternative publishing network;
>
> - The second culture, in which he includes countercultures as well as religious identifications;
>
> - The second social consciousness, understood as preserved and emerging individual and group value systems;
>
> - The second sphere of socio-political interactions, which include various citizen initiatives, opposition activity and a network of informal relations in professional, religious and other groups." (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

In the context of these areas of the functioning of the "second society", he also discusses the issue of interest mediation and non-official political articulation, by which he understands the process of diversification of political views, the formation of pressure groups, lobbies and fractions both inside and outside the ruling elite.

Different phases and approaches are sufficient elaborated to understand the process of building-up what is now civil society in Hungary. Whereas, in Romania, civil society was deliberately destroyed by the totalitarian regime, the signs of re-constructions are obvious only after the collapse of the communism. However, the aim of the present analysis is not to assess the complex process of transformation of civil society, but further to identify the real options and strategies which are related, in different national contexts, to an increasing social mobilisation through civic engagement, involvement and participation. In order to figure-out the utilitarian aspects of active citizenship in (re) building civil society, and in the meantime to evaluate the role of a strong civil society in promoting and reinforcing new forms of (active) citizenship, the more relevant elements are:

- The development of civil society is declared a 'state priority',
- Civil society is designed to function as a mediator between the state and its citizens, and moreover as an agent of change
- There is a paradox or duality (independence/dependence) in the perception of the state role in relation to civil society
- Important efforts are made to create an open and 'public oriented' civil society
- A positive relationship between state and civil society rather than a total opposition is necessary
- There are still difficulties in developing this relationship: mistrusts and misconceptions are sometimes obvious.

Many scholars argue that civil society became the fashionable concept in the 1990s, not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in Western Europe. This had a double impact: on the one hand it contributes to re-thinking the instrumental role of the civil society, and, on the other hand promotes a kind of acceleration of transformations which are not at all times perceived as efficient. Moreover, it is questionable if the growth of different activities is not "an artificially created demand in response to the various programmes established to support NGOs by Western governments, European Institutions and private foundations" (Kaldor and Vejvoda 2002: 18). Balahur (2000) warns that regardless of the efforts invested by various actors for the aim of strengthening civil society, many difficulties come in the way of this process. According to several authors, the differences in associational participation in the East and West are not just in terms of quantity but also especially of quality. Ash (2000) for

instance, considers that the civil society is rather artificial, sustained by some groups without representing the real needs of citizens. Some have gone as far as to speak of the existence of the civil society as "...a virtual existence, a space of symbols for which many actors compete but in which no one truly accepts to embark on cooperation with others (Dungaciu 2001):

> "What does civil society mean in Romania today? A foreign observer would be struck by its overwhelming presence in the public discourse. Most politicians refer to civil society when they want to bash a competitor or claim support for one of their policies. Most political parties and programs have ambitious and vague commitments to *collaboration with civil society, open dialogue...* The media misses no opportunity to call in the concept, and many public opinion leaders, who elsewhere would simply present themselves as writers, professors or sociologists, proudly design themselves as voices of the civil society. On the other hand, after a few months spent here, the same observer would wonder why are there so few community-based initiatives, why people in neighbourhoods don't gather in associations to improve local conditions, why many registered NGOs have no activity to speak of. Some have gone as far as to speak of the existence of the civil society as a *virtual existence, a space of symbols for which many actors compete but in which no one truly accepts to embark on co-operation with others.* (Dungaciu 2001)" (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

Different donor agencies have been mentioned in the context of building and re-building civil society, and Open Society Foundation is seen as occupying a unique place between the Central and Eastern European Countries in fostering independent self-organised activities. In the Hungarian analysis, there are explicit remarks about the role of a large number of international organisations, donor agencies that provide assistance to the development of civil society.

Despite the fact that civil society is not explicitly associated in the literature with public policies, there are some references concerning initiating or sustaining different action through NGOs or other organisations: community development programmes, democratisation of formal education, lifelong learning, as well as minority problem. There are only few references concerning policies regarding global issues like environmental protection or consumer rights. Instead of gaining special attention in the literature, which deals with civil society analysis, the public policies are much more emphasised when discussing governance as an effort to build a more efficient public sphere of representative democracy.

Governance

The increasing use of the term governance in the European context, as well at the national level in the EU countries, raises the following question: is that concept relevant for the practices regarding citizenship involvement, in Central and Eastern Europe, more precisely as alternative forms of 'accountability' and 'representation'? In the European policy documents, the discussion about governance makes explicit references not only to the different political instruments at the national and European levels but also to the new regulation agencies in an effort to reinforce the participation of citizens as a fundamental element of a participative democracy. Local governance is considered an important issue, and in this context the possibilities of greater participation by the local and regional agents in the definition of the community policies must be investigated. This means, "to get to the citizens via regional and local democracy" (CEC 2001), but the European Governance implies also supporting the citizens' sense of belonging to Europe, a high level of trust in its institutions and their policies.

The interpretation of the transformations which are nowadays taking place in Central and Eastern Europe should lead to a conclusion about the role of the state, as well as of civil society. Is there still a traditional role for both of them, or are new modes of governance

emerging? It is important to investigate this not only at the level of policies (state domain in relation to civil society) but also in relation with economy (work domain). The economic domain represents the starting point of the changes in relation to 'self-organisation' in the post-communist transition; nevertheless, it is argued that nowadays this domain is common to many issues and spheres of reforms. In order to explore the efforts through participative democracy it is important to see what the relationship exists between government and governance, as well as the relationship between state-civil society and NGOs.

It is argued that government and governance refer each to a view of the relationship between the state and its citizens. For effective outcomes at the level of policies, the formal, constitutional, even responsive democratic governments have to be connected with the dynamic and sometimes loose networks within social sphere. Indeed, governance involves a shift from government as 'institutional centre of gravity' to 'multiple zones' of consultation, negotiation, and collaboration, situated within the interconnected units of civil society where alternative procedures are developed. These new areas of governance could provide, as the Hungarian analysis argues 'alternative ways of understanding'. Following this line, the 'dialogue model' is discussed as a different way in comparison with other forms of governance focussed on more economical and hierarchical dimensions.

More than being an established concept and having an impact at the policy level, governance in Romania is connected with the new regulations at the level of public, local administration. The corporate governance is discussed in relation with privatisation in the economic sector, and the literature seems to be directed to the analysis of the insufficient balance and interconnections between the governmental level and the civil society in which NGOs play significant roles.

The relationship state – civil society – NGOs

Because of globalisation and the increasing societal complexity, governance must respond to the new issues emerging at the economical, political and social levels. The relationship between state, economic sector and civil society brings into discussion the difficulties of transition. Some of the discussed issues in the literature refer to insufficient support from the state, difficulties in establishing meaningful dialogue at national and local levels, uncertain regulations and permanent changes, underdeveloped social actors, difficulties in social co-ordination and the low level of trust.

In discussing the position of civil society in relation to the state, Hungarian literature mentioned a tension expressed clearly by a 'central paradox'. On the one hand, civil society requires independence from the state, and on the other hand, the state is asked to provide an essential institutional framework, and to give more access to different categories of (financial) resources. A similar situation is easily recognisable in the Romanian analysis The 'double paradox' refers here to the strong state authority versus a re-modelled, more democratic one, in the context of state – economy relationships; nevertheless it can be extended to other kinds of connections. In searching for the best alternative concerning the relationship between the state and civil society three possible scenarios are proposed in the Hungarian analysis, and they can easily be extended to other contexts. The proposed solutions are *a 'laisse faire' scenario, the state dominance one, and the scenario of partnership.* Which one is more appropriate for good governance; at what extent is one scenario or another to be found or desired at different levels? Obviously, the partnership scenario represents the best alternative in the context of the present discussion, but of course, it depends on how the different institutions perceive the costs and benefits of each choice.

In 2003 the Hungarian Parliament accepted the "Government Strategy on Civil Issues". The core concept of this strategy can be expressed with the slogan, 'Partnership, Dialogue, and Money' (Hungarian abbreviation is 3P). One of the most remarkable outcomes of this strategic programme is the introduction of the National Civil Fund Programme (NCFP). The Act on NCFP was passed in June 2003. (RE-ETGACE 2003a, 2003c)

"In Romania the literature, especially non-governmental structures' reports, emphases the fact that there is still a gap between public administration and the civil society and the citizens, even if many structures, at national as well as at local level, were institutionalised in order to facilitate the interaction between these two. The corruption in the administration is one of the factors that make all the transformations harder. (CSDF: 2001; Indexul Societatii Civile, Civil Society Development Foundation, 2001)" (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

To illustrate more precisely the interconnections between the state and civil society, the social contract model is proposed as a new concept for governance transformation. Pacts and conflicts are seen as key elements in the search for a new social contract (Scalat 2000). The 're-invention of the politics' is sustained not only by creating democratic institutions but it is equally reinforced by sustaining public spaces where people can address their concerns and sometimes initiate disputes, conflicts. These conflicts are sufficiently elaborated during the literature review in each of the two analyses (see Roma and more general minority issues, and the church legitimacy debate). It demonstrates the functionality between the democratic institutions and the society at large; nevertheless it is still a question of openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence in these public policies in order to accomplish what at the European Union level is seen as 'good governance'.

The EU policy (CEC, 2001) propose changes in terms of citizens' involvement not only for EU member states; the main directions for making the way the European Union works more open are applicable to the accession states as well. Empowering regional and local democracy, involving civil society and more effective and transparent consultation are relevant for the transitional countries from Central and Eastern Europe.

Education and training for active citizenship

Veldhuis (1997: 8) argues, "Democratic, socially integrated and active citizens are not born, but are created (reproduced) in a socialisation process". One of the basic rationales underpinning our investigation in effective modes and forms of education and training of active citizenship and governance was that "active citizenship is learned rather than taught, and it is not learned once and for all, but must be learned again and again". Considering that the pace of social changes in Europe tends to make knowledge and skills gained in compulsory formal education of increasingly transient value, therefore these learning processes can no longer be restricted to goal-oriented formal educational contexts. Hence, it may be assumed that the attitudes, skills and behavioural patterns that equip people to participate actively as citizens are not learned simply, or even primarily, through formal or targeted educational provision. They are constructed – learned incidentally – in diverse socio-institutional settings and cultural processes. A relevant context for learning active citizenship is provided by the contemporary literature on adult education. Learning theorists have emphasised 'situational' or 'contextual' learning (Biggs and Moore, 1993; Wenger, 1998). Some authors (Giroux 1991, 1992; cited in Tsang 1996: 32-33) argue that 'border pedagogies' - an approach that is designed "to alert future citizens to the marginalising effects of the totalitarian nature of modernity" - provides a more acceptable base for citizenship education in post-modernity. In addition – contrary to the educational policies that are limited to the political domain as a learning context for political and civic participation – social scientists have increasingly stressed work and civil society as domains of life experiences and explored

links between traditional forms of political participation and the personal, private domain (see Giddens 1991, Beck 1997).

Nevertheless, the analysis of the literature directly addressing political and civic education reveals that the focus is still primarily on formal education in primary and secondary schools, and on formal curricula. Its interest is mainly directed to content, that is delivered and to outputs, but neglecting the process that can lead to citizenship. There is a remarkably little research investigating non-formal education and informal learning in the context of learning active citizenship. However, according to Tsang (1996: 33) citizenship education has undergone the same transformation in the last three decades to the one undergone by the theory of citizenship. It has located its theoretical as well as practical aspects in a much more reflexive foundation.

The policy of the EU related to this field which is defined in policy documents, such as the report *Accomplishing Europe through education and training,* points out that in addition to the context of formal educational institutions, learning in primary and peer groups, the community and through the mass media is equally important. Nevertheless the main focus is still on the developments in curricula, pedagogies and management at school level (CEC 1997:54-62). Only with the introduction of the European dimensions of lifelong learning (learning as a lifelong and life-wide process), which embraces formal, non-formal and informal learning in all settings 'from cradle to grave'. The *Memorandum on lifelong learning* (CEC 2000) brought the European policy in this field more in line with the contemporary learning concepts, especially those in adult education.

It is obvious from the national literature analyses that the traditional approach to the education and learning of citizenship and democracy is strongly prevalent in both countries. National as well as international comparative studies concerning this issue are virtually exclusively centred on formal education, mainly measuring the output. The Romanian literature points out that in the communist period and even in the first years after the revolution civic education was mostly concerned with knowledge - that a pupil should have to understand civic attitude - and less with the attitudes and even the skills necessary to become active and responsible citizens. Findings from some international comparative studies on outcomes of civic education reveal rather poor results of students from post-communist countries.

> "According to an IEA study, Romania ranked 27th out of the 28 in the survey lead by The Netherlands Helsinki Committee Impact Study (1991-1992). There have been revealed disappointing results in the human rights education area of the pupils of grades 7th and 8th. On the other hand, the same IEA study shows that in comparison to other surveyed countries Romanian 14 year old students express greater interest in politics. One of the general conclusions of the study conducted by the Institute of Education's Sciences commissioned by the UNESCO referred to the lack of basic abilities and competencies to adapt to new challenges of civil society (exercise of civic rights and liberties, responsibility, collective negotiation, critical thinking, social dialogue, solidarity and tolerance) in Romania (Anghel 1995)" ETGACE 2003b.

However, there is a difference between the two countries. While in Romania research studies mostly evaluate school education, the literature in Hungary emphasises the role of social praxis as the terrain for gaining new experiences in developing democratic culture. On the other hand, due to the high level of unemployment and occupational mobility in Hungary, the bulk of discourse has emphasised the necessity for learning key competencies (ICT skills, foreign languages, social skills, and technical skills). The Hungarian analysis acknowledged that:

> "The theme of learning to be an active citizen is much slimmer in the literature and it usually hits the tone of *criticism or depression about the lack of a deeper level of democratic skills*, democratic attitudes, and

democratic traditions. A frequently asked question is: how to counter apathy, resentment and passivity, how to dissolve the legacy of the past, the feelings of powerlessness, the lack of desire to be active citizen?" (RE-ETGACE 2003a)

The available evidence further shows that state supported adult education and lifelong learning are in the first place related to work and employment, but in Romania, the priorities in the permanent education also include those which are closely related to the development of active citizenship.

In order to provide a relevant understanding about the education and learning strategies in relation to active citizenship and governance, both analyses discuss the educational reforms. It is interesting to see the emphasis given to the new meanings and interpretations of what is needed to be enforced by these reforms: democratic values, more concern for participation, active involvement and a greater public interest in social issues. It is clear that only official, state-based regulations at the level of educational and learning policies are relevant but insufficient for the ongoing post-transition process in Central and Eastern Europe. However, it is important to assess their impact at the formal, non-formal and informal levels. Sometimes formal education seems to be insufficient for building the social capital conceptualised as civic involvement, social networks, norms of reciprocity, and social trust. More relevant could be, in some circumstances, social interactions and social learning processes that can generate civic engagement, and stimulate trust, honesty and reciprocity.

National policies

Looking at the national polices on education and training for active citizenship in both countries, it is clear they are strongly focused on promoting democratic values through formal education. Educational reforms taking place in these countries emphasise the development of critical thinking and democratic culture in school education. The development of a national core curriculum as well as the open framework, which enables the adaptation of the curriculum to the local conditions, is relevant in this context.

At the European level, the role of education in the promotion of active citizenship in a 'learning society' is more than a declared goal. It is a strategy that should be followed by all national policies regarding education and lifelong learning. While the EU documents emphasise the situated, contextual nature of learning active citizenship in a democratic context, the national policies on education in the two countries are more focused on promoting democratic values through formal education. The adult education and lifelong learning policies are presented but more emphasis is added to the reforms designed to create the democratic culture in public education. Adult vocational training is emphasised not only as a priority but also as an area where the democratic skills are relevant. Two from the four priorities of a permanent education in Romania are closely related to active citizenship: programmes for political socialisation and civic education, responding to specific needs and interest of social groups, organisations and movements and training for trainers in adult education programmes. But still, in order to stipulate adult education in active citizenship and governance as a priority, and to develop efficient programmes, a co-ordination of all efforts and financial sustenance is needed.

Formal, non-formal and informal education

As regards non-formal and informal education for active citizenship, national analyses suggest that as yet there is no policy defined by the state. This area has largely become the

civil society domain. By introducing civil initiatives and movements, establishing NGOs and initiating folk schools and open learning, civil society creates the opportunities for 'social praxis' of citizens. The community development initiatives, outlined in both analyses, sustain the development of social capital in each community as an important precondition for shaping active citizenship. However, the problems concerning the development of independent civil society as a domain for learning for active citizenship 'by doing', which were outlined in previous sections of this analysis, significantly limit the scope of such learning opportunities.

It is characteristic that both country analyses underline that in the transition period foreign donors have had a very important role in developing civil society opportunities for learning for democracy and citizenship. This, coupled with the requirements for accession to the EU, suggests the tendency towards the convergence in learning approaches in transition countries. Unfortunately, apart from rear evaluations of individual projects in Romania, there are no studies available that would investigate into the effects of this kind of learning for shaping active citizenship.

The programs regarding democratic citizenship are much more common in formal education. The national core curriculum, as well as the open framework for adapting the curriculum to the local conditions, is relevant in this context. The schools are oriented to create a democratic climate and in this context many NGOs sustain these efforts towards developing educational programmes in schools. It is important to mention here the efforts to counterbalance the formal learning strategies, based on assimilation of theoretical knowledge and general skills, with a more 'participative' one based on critical thinking, communication abilities and, indeed to reveal the affective and motivational dimension of citizenship. Nevertheless, there are significant initiatives regarding in-service teacher training as well as adult education and community programmes situated at the non-formal level. The role of social praxis in promoting democratic behaviour outlines the informal learning that occurs in everyday life.

4.1.6 Conclusions

The literature and policy analysis of Hungary and Romania indicates, that not only is their past different, but also people's relationship to and interpretation of the past. However, in both countries there are many initiatives towards democratisation, i.e. the involvement of all citizens in the construction and reconstruction of society. The concept of "democratic deficit" that is used to describe this main feature in Western Europe. Although the context is rather different in Central and Eastern Europe it seems to be helpful way to describe the many of the initiatives concerning democracy and involvement. "Democratic deficit" implies that a democratic society requires more than 'democratic. In other words, this 'hardware' (legal and political structures, formal citizenship, and negative citizenship) seems to be a necessary condition but not a sufficient one. What is needed are kinds of active involvement, active collaboration and participation and adequate forms of government. In western parts of Europe these requirements are expressed in terms such as 'active citizenship' and 'governance'. However, these concepts are rarely used in Hungary and Romania. Nevertheless, there are other ways of looking at the deficit (e.g. lack of trust, lack of representation, …) and initiatives to deal with them (e.g. policy on minorities, NGOs etc.). Therefore, although the conceptual framework is not the same, there is also a concern with new kinds of citizenship and government to deal with a kind of democratic deficit.

Faced with the "democratic deficit" and the need for "humanware", there seems to be a kind of "paradox" - Is the state responsible for the creation of both the "hardware" and "software"? and - Is the state responsible for what should be a rather independent part of the state? In a

certain sense, this paradox is the tension between self-government and government and the tension of democracy itself. Does a democratic regime need a kind of government to ensure that democracy works, a kind of government to ensure that citizens behave in a democratic way and have the capacity for self-organisation, a kind of policy to activate or mobilise people?. However, it could be said that a democratic regime creating both the formal legal and political structures and the mentalities to make them operational tends to become more than a simple promoter of democratic values. Furthermore, and this is somehow in conformance with the premises of the research project, education has been the major initiative (in liberal democracies) to ensure a participatory culture. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that to give education this democratic task seems to repeat the paradox at the level of education, i.e. the relationship between educational initiatives and the state, the relationship between NGOs and the state.

A central concept with regard to the democratic deficit in all countries of Europe seems to be 'civil society'. However, it is not an uncontested concept. In Western Europe, the disappearance of a fixed, national civil society is advanced as one of the reasons for a democratic deficit. From this perspective, several options are formulated: rebuilding civil society (or investing again in social capital in order to fight its erosion), establishing or promoting new intermediate levels based on a procedural, communicative rationality or questioning in a radical way the need and value of civil society as such for democracy and citizenship. In addition, the national analysis of Romania and Hungary indicates the problem of civil society: its disappearance due to communism (although not in Hungary), the need of an intermediate level and an infrastructure for communication and collaboration concerning public topics. However, also here there seems to be different conceptions of the notion and different attitudes towards its role and the relationship between the state, the individual and civil society.

Local governance is considered an important issue for citizens' participation and national, regional and local policies. In the post-communist transition, the economic domain represents the starting point of the changes in relation to "self-organisation". Nevertheless, it is argued that nowadays it is common to many issues and spheres of reforms. For effective outcomes at the level of policies, it seems to be imperatively necessary to connect the formal, constitutional and static relations of government with the complex and dynamic network of interconnections between all institutions and levels of governance. Indeed, it is a shift from government as "institutional centre of gravity" to "multiple zones" of consultation, negotiation, and collaboration, situated within the civil society where alternative procedures are developed.

A traditional approach to education and learning of citizenship and democracy is prevalent in both analyses. National as well as international comparative studies concerning this issue are virtually exclusively centred on formal education, mainly measuring the output. However, there is a difference between the two countries. While in Romania research studies mostly evaluate school education, the literature in Hungary emphasises the role of social praxis as the terrain for gaining new experiences in developing democratic culture. The national polices on education and training for active citizenship in both countries are strongly focused on promoting democratic values through formal education. As regards non-formal and informal education for active citizenship, national analyses suggest that yet there is no policy defined by the state. This area has largely become the civil society domain. The community development initiatives, outlined in both analyses, sustain the development of social capital in each community as an important precondition for shaping active citizenship.

4.2. Life histories of active citizens

4.2.1 General features

In the interpretation of the life histories, activism is seen as both a context for action and a strategy for action. Although it is defined usually as an act of unselfish involvement in the public sphere, producing collective benefits, it can also be a strategy for accomplishing one's personal goals. Nevertheless, active citizenship means for most of the respondents, more than activism, it means exploring alternatives (alternative ways, norms, etc.) through which change can be brought about.

The respondents in Hungary were actively involved in-groups all their lives. "Social activism" is a term they frequently refer to describe their socialisation process. They were initiators of social groups and communities. Membership and leadership in self-created communities seem to be a common feature in life. The distinction between being involved in politics as politicians of the government and active citizenship can be mapped in most of the interviews. Keeping distance from political life was a strong motive for those who opposed the communist system.

In Romania, in the communist regime, except for the very rare instances of dissidence, activism involved a stronger than average commitment to or participation in formal contexts of social participation and could not involve membership. After 1990 when associative membership became voluntary, the meaning of activism shifted from context to strategy, but the stakes remained pretty much the same. Activism today is still mainly an instrumental strategy of entrepreneurial people.

Ethical principles, notions of care and social justice and commitment to a different set of values make a strong force in building and expressing individual identities. Universal values and issues of global relevance are rarely seen as points of reference for social activism. Personal autonomy and the ability to make conscious choices seem to have an importance in the conceptualisation of active citizenship. The knowledge of the self is quite mature and not shaken by ambiguities. Professionalism, being capable of developing a relevant body of professional knowledge is not only part of one's capacities but acts as a source of personal autonomy as well.

The Hungarian life history analysis recognizes the differences between the conscious and the unconscious aspects of active citizens' personality. The Romanian analysis also differentiates among the levels of identity, and that of competencies and skills. These two distinctions correlate to what others have called practical and discursive consciousness, or ethos and ideology.

The conscious personality of active citizens comprises a combination of values and norms that the subjects can articulate whilst interpreting their own careers. They can originate either in the processes of unconscious learning or in an attempt to be convergent to peculiar socialized life-views. Responsibility, commitment and perseverance are characteristics of persons regarded as highly relevant by subjects in both samples.

In Hungary, the respondents felt responsibility for several tasks in the political, civil society and work domains. Most of the persons interviewed have 'more identities'; as they did or do several activities, in several domains. The complimentary activity has sometimes the same weight of importance as the main activity that is being used for grouping the criteria for selection. The main pursuits for activity in the political domain were party, interests and rights

and environmental issues. In the social domain pursuits were related to cultural and social issues. In the work domain the focus was on trade unions or protecting workers interests outside trade unions and team leadership.

In Romania, based on responses from activists, the general profile of an active citizen would be that of a person responsible, perseverant, and committed to their mission with the skills and professionalism for effective activity.

Active citizens do not merely work things out, but do this based on ideals and acting courageously in fulfilling them. An example in Hungary, related to personal courage and collective ethnic identity is expressed by Margó:

> "In 1972 I was the first in my 18 years who speaks gypsy in public in the presence of the whole country [in TV]. And who shows that this language is existing, that a culture is existing, and it's beautiful and honourable…It was about us. This art, without appreciation was thought being able to get place for this people… It's time for this culture to get its civil rights." (Margó, Hungary)

Values are internalised usually in family contexts. Family is the circumstance of intergenerational transmission of class ideologies – like of old social democracy, as in the case of many Hungarian subjects, or of religious commitments, that seem actually to be not very influential on the level of practices of activism. The Hungarian team considers at least as important the impact of values – better described as ethos or habitus – internalized during childhood through practice and through experiential learning. Social orientations, which are class related, have their origin in the everyday life in the families. In the same line, integration, continuity and respect for tradition, as well as the opposite drive towards rejecting the parents' values have been determined by childhood experiences and less by direct discursive practices in families or schools. Value introjections occur, according to the Romanian analysis, through identification or differentiation. The family, again, is an important source of identity, but in a great measure through negative reference to it. Collective identities and other significant people play a great role again in the socialization of active citizens. Class related orientations are more visible through projects of social mobility that motivate activism.

4.2.2 Learning Strategies in Romania and Hungary

Civil society domain

Before the transition an intermediate level between citizens and the state was either very limited and restricted or destroyed. However, this is not to say there was no civic involvement or civic action, but these initiatives where framed within the structures and to a certain extent also the ideology of the communist regime, or they where part of resistance movements. Zsolt from Hungary represents one example:

> Zsolt, a male Hungarian activist, was against obligatory military service, which contradicts the human rights, the freedom of thinking. He wrote a letter to his representative in Parliament, founded a movement for the human rights, and printed "szamizdat". In the transition times, he organised protesting demonstrations. After the transition he created an organisation for the protection of interest of persons who'd like him chose the unarmed military service. (RE-ETGACE 2003b)

He remarked:

> "When I was leader in the Communist Youth Organisation [a sub-organisation of the Communist Party] I had a chance to influence decisions on how to distribute the financial assistance to students based on their social situations." (Zsolt, Hungary)

Another expression of a kind of active citizenship before the transition is the involvement of Cristi (part of the Hungarian minority group in Romania, and member of the group of followers of Tõkés, a well-known anticommunist activist before 1989) in a theatre group acting in plays with anticommunist content.

> Cristi an old, male Romanian respondent had seen the Hungarian minority problems at the time when he was in school, and he identifies himself with that. He feels responsible for the Hungarian minority group so he gets involved in the local Hungarian party. He is opposing the communist system and he is deeply involved in these actions. (RE-ETGACE 2003b)

The period after the transition, and mostly through NGOs, is characterised sometimes by a smooth development of the domain of civil society. Botond's involvement in the protection of the environment and Zsolt's engagement for prisoners who resisted compulsory military service are two examples in Hungarian context.

> Botond, a male respondent from Hungary decided to act from inside of the communist system and as a leader of the Communist Youth Organisation, organised experimental theatre and illegal movie performances as well. He became the leader of a non-existing alternative organisation of CYO created for the reason to show existing democracy to the West; he made the organisation for a working alternative, the first one in Hungary. He made a union for environment protection for the employees of the brand new governmental organisation for environment protection, and made public his analyse of the actual condition of the environment in Hungary. He reached his goal making a common platform for practice and teaching environment protection only after the transition in form of developing a new branch on environmental engineering. (RE-ETGACE 2003b)

Maria, an active woman in the civil society domain in Romania expressed an important feature of this development: in the beginning the initiatives where taken on a voluntary basis, without much experience and with financial difficulties. Another example is Elena's opinion,

> Elena is a young female respondent who have been involved in volunteering activities during the university study. After graduating, she works in the civil domain and she tries together with a friend to start their own organisation, in the field of European integration. (RE-ETGACE 2003b)

> "I thought that volunteering means volunteering to the end, no money, no personal benefit" (Elena, Romania)

This points out very well the basic, social oriented motive of the involvement, as well as the growing awareness that financial input and a professional structure is necessary to be active within civil society. Zsolt from Hungary seems to express a similar attitude as follows:

> "Civil does not mean amateur. It does not mean ignorance, being unregulated. A movement must be professional. Rational, effective, have prestige, and being accepted in the world". (Zsolt, Hungary)

Closely related to the previous development, some of the respondents mention a difference, and even opposition, between being active as a volunteer and being involved as a kind of professional activist. It is about the difference between being more involved in executive tasks and being a decision maker (Elena, Romania), between working with the heart and acting through rational analysis of the situation (George, Romania), or between doing one's hobby and doing one's job (Claudiu, Romania).

> George is a young male Romanian respondent who established an NGO on community development and social work; Claudiu is an older Romanian male subject working for civil society domain which makes him feel useful.

This distinction seems not only to point at a transition within one's career in civil society (starting as a volunteer and ending up by being employed in a NGO or starting one's own

organisation), but also to the relationship between different people in an organisation in the domain of civil society:

> "Volunteering is the activity of one person who feels interested by an activity or campaign. But that volunteering is taking place in a framework already formal. So you get involved in something already planned. And you feel OK. But, at the moment when you want to do more than volunteering, then you have to be part of the team which plans… to be yourself a resource for the volunteer who comes in and only knows he wants to help. So what we are doing now .are activities planned and activities based on information obtained in a formal educational system." (George, Romania)

The growing presence and importance of NGOs after the transition also led to another development, i.e. an instrumental attitude towards organisations within the civil society. To get involved in a movement or social organisation seems not only (or even, not in the first place) to be a matter of identification with the project, but a way to have access to resources, for example career opportunities and social mobility.

An interesting discussion of the projects of social mobility is provided by the Romanian life history analysis. This selected all cases that invoked for the respondents' actions a project of social mobility, of moving away from an undesirable social or economic situation to a desired one. Included here is the family of origin, usually, the negative starting point, against which one differentiates while specific reference groups mobilise career decisions and drive the actor towards the necessary adjustments – for example, intellectuals (Dan).

> Dan was very active in communist regime, being a member of the communist party. He was kicked out of the party because he married a girl that had relatives in Germany. After the revolution he continued his studies obtaining his university and master's degrees. He is very active in the local community activities. Is a good organiser and can make things happen in the institution. (RE-ETGACE 2003b)

> "People make, they make sense of these circles (circles of life equal to different social positions) … they represent them and so, of course at that time I read a lot in my village… and then when I entered at Timisoara, and the second… well I read even more… and of course I have chosen the way I wanted to be, what kind of person I would like to be, what I wanted to do, what kind of family I would like to have, what children, wife …".(Dan, Romania)

Related to projects of social mobility are biographical narratives that depict models of resilient life histories. Some of our subjects described their accomplishments as victories against their poor social odds, which are derived usually from a deprived social background.

> "So I had the ambition to demonstrate that despite the fact that you are from a modest family, a poor one (…) I want to tell you that my summer holidays I worked every year. I saved up something for the moment when school begin again, at least so as not to increase my family's financial problems. And I worked and I helped a lot". (David, Romania)

But biographical projects of social mobility can be defined through the rejection of other starting points too. In one case, the decision to set up an NGO is determined by the decision to no longer accept a subservient position (George). In other two instances, in Romania people frustrated by their previous career decisions shift their vocation in order to achieve more satisfaction from their jobs.

Political domain

With regard to the situation before the transition it is difficult to make a distinction between active citizenship on the domain of politics and civil society/economic domain. Resistance movements for example occupied a rather restricted (and often illegal) place of civil society and developed a strong political, revolutionary focus. Typical in Hungary seems to be the

two-faceted, and often paradoxical, situation within the regime of 'soft dictatorship': smooth acts of activism and resistance.

> "We had a closer relation to power, that meant a stronger protection as well. I could afford to allow experimental plays, and, for example, when the suppressed film, the Witness [a film about the political system of the fifties] was finally authorised, in our cinema it was played for a long time ago for three times a day." (Botond, Hungary)

> "We recognised that a programme for protecting the interest of youth was needed. We formed it. A pregnant woman was called to go for anti-aircraft defence drill and because of she was pregnant, she thought that she did not have to go. She did not pay the fine, then she got a notification to go to jail. She did not go, because we made a film of it." (Gábor, Hungary)

In Romania there have been initiatives in the economic sector with a civic dimension. Of course, the transition in Hungary and Romania caused some major changes within the political domain, with the most evident results that the places to be involved multiplied.

After the transition, some activists will express their activism in the political domain. In Romania, especially people from minority groups (and often active before the transition) use the political domain as a way to make a difference and to improve the conditions of the people they identify themselves with. Sergiu's story, someone who was first being involved in civil society and who was afterwards active in the political field, is instructive:

> "…so, you have to know that the Hungarian Students Union from Bihor county (USMB) is an independent union, independent legal status, which has partnerships with all the civic Hungarian organisations from Oradea and with UDMR (Romanian Democratic Hungarian Union). Among other things the president of USMB has the right, the possibility, it is not compulsory to use this possibility, to be a member in the UDMR County Representatives Council. If he wants do this it's ok, if not - not … there is a place for him. Well in that moment (as president of USMB) I got involved in UDMR in this council till I was elected in 97 executive president of UDMR". (Sergiu, Romania)

David's story offers other example of being active in the political domain.

> "Being born in this village, knowing the community problems in 1996 I ran for mayor of this community. I was a few votes short of getting into the second round. I didn't. But I got a position on the local council, being the president of the Economical Commission within the council. In these four years I gained experience in public administration and that allowed me that in to run for mayor again in 2000. (…) what motivated me to run for this position was the fact that I wanted to do something for my people, more than what was done before and, knowing the community problems and its potential, I thought that it was worse to just stay aside and not get involved when you see things are not right and you can contribute to building something in the community where I was born and where I want to stay".(David, Romania)

However, a lot of the respondents have a rather negative attitude towards the political domain. Politics is regarded as not 'correct' and not 'straight' by activists (Hungary), it is a domain with a low credibility and there are feelings of disappointment (Romania). There is a shift from an enthusiasm during the transition (and the first years after transition) towards rather sceptical and pessimistic feelings:

> "I lived very deeply the Romanian political life for an year from the revolution (being 12) because there were a lot of parties, there were many conflicts, strikes, I watched them, there were the council's meetings I don't know exactly in what period… it was actually during the madness after '89 and I lived through that till, lets put it this way, I got used to the taste of freedom, and let's say I even got bored with it". (Elena, Romania)

Domain of work

For sure, the transition in Romania and Hungary had a major influence on economic life. Before the transition, activism within the domain of work in Hungary was often possible to the established and state-managed trade unions. People active here often remained active in the new trade unions after the transition. A respondent in Hungary, who played later a key role in the co-ordination of striking a new balance between the trade unions, reported the process of becoming active as follows:

> " I wrote my thesis on the role of trade unions in the politics of employment. It was a new topic. It was natural for me to write my thesis on trade unions. It was a critical review. Two researchers asked m to refer to my thesis but I said them rather not because I could into trouble. That time I was not so courageous... A state leader wrote an article about the price of the changes, the unemployment. I wrote an answer and showed it to everybody. It was in 1987. When the new trade unions were formed I was asked to deliver a lecture in a reform club about the duties of trade unions." (Alma, Hungary)

The most important domain of activism in the economic domain is the trade union. Csaba, a leader of an umbrella organisation of trade unions in Hungary, situates his role and that of his organisation as follows:

> "For the last two years I've been the elected president of the Union of the Autonomous Trade Unions. Our independent railway union joined this umbrella organisation. The choice to stay in the old national organisation with its socialist roots was not an option and joining the League was rejected also, because it seemed to go down an over-politicised route. Our umbrella trade union organisation stays in a sort of neutral political space, not affiliated itself to exclusively to the left or to right. That's why we are getting cold and hot receptions from both sides, but I am not really bothered by what political parties think of us." (Csaba, Hungary)

Furthermore, Csaba tells that the social recognition of the trade union in Hungary is very low. One of the reasons according to him is their involvement in matters of internal organisation. What is needed is openness to societal matters and well-established communications with society.

Although forms of private entrepreneurship have been present before, the development of the free market offered new opportunities. First, there is the possibility for private entrepreneurship. Daniel and Luci from Romania for example started their own business after the revolution. For them, to have good or democratic relations with their employees is important. However, they are mainly focused on their 'businesses'.

An important element in the stories of the Romanian respondents is the contact with people from other countries:

> "I see Italy differently. I didn't see the ordinary or sub-ordinary people with their lives, I saw how the high society lives and maybe, in my soul was the wish to get a little higher and then I talked to him and everything started there". (Dorina, Romania)

A second form of activism within the economic domain is expressed by employees who are involved in the development of the organisation they work in. Ana from Romania for example started as a librarian in a high school but changed the job description and became a consultant on teaching methods.

Although both forms are described as active citizenship in the economic domain, most of the respondents do not regard themselves as active citizens. They look at their activity as a business or a normal job.

Relations between domains of active citizenship

In order to understand the faces of active citizenship in different domains, it is interesting to have a look at the relationship between these domains. With regard to this issue it is important to stress both connections and differences.

Most people of the sample in Romania limit their involvement to one domain. There are two cases in which people currently involved in political activities (minority party) have been previously active in the civil society domain.

Especially the gap between civil society and the economic domain on the one hand and politics on the other hand is mentioned:

> "I make a clear distinction between social activism and political activism. Before the transition there was only the communist party–option to be politically active. I think real social effectiveness can't be engineered by party-political mechanisms because they act as a straight–jacket and they ignore long-term thinking, which may produce real social results. I am not interested in political games." (Elvira, Hungary)

In Romania, a lot of respondents articulate a rather negative perception of the political domain. In contrast, in Hungary several people are active in more than one domain. It is also interesting to acknowledge in the Hungarian context the gap between the work and civil society domain; no one is seen as combining these two domains. In the Romanian case, the relationship between the work domain and the others is also very weak as the subjects from the work domain are the ones that are more strongly rejecting the label of active citizens, distancing themselves from it.

Although in Romania the careers of the sample of active citizens are to a large extent limited to one domain, it is interesting to notice the relationship between established and emergent practices within one domain. Some respondents belonging to the domain of civil society in Romania expressed how they started as a volunteer in an established organisation but ended up by starting their own organisation:

> "So we said: we have to do something, we have to continue in the direction we started. (…) we realised we can not work without a location. We do not have an alternative, we have to do something, we understood that there are costs that have to be covered, we had to make projects, so we had to do something". (Dana, Romania)

4.2.3 Learning active citizenship and governance: three dimensions

Challenges

The challenges influencing the decision to become actively involved are highly diverse. While some challenges are caused by an (unexpected, unforeseen) event, others are caused by family relationships especially with parents.

An example of an event inducing the challenge to become active is the story of Dana from Romania. During school time she was faced with injustice:

> "We made a magazine. This was in…1989 was the revolution so this was in 1990 and then I had the greater cultural shock, with the democratic Romania which I expected to be different but we did not succeed. The magazine was a humorous and was focused on the Romanian educational system and on teachers…. the magazine…. So we were kicked out of school in what was a national and international scandal.. so the Ministry… we were kicked out……then the people from Human Rights came, they solved the problem and we were disciplinarily transferred to another school. so this was the moment

when I met the non-profit sector because the civil society helped me and the organisations from Oradea helped met to solve my problem". (Dana, Romania)

Also the story of Zsolt in Hungary is instructive for a specific kind of event influencing his activities as an active citizen. He was challenged by an injustice done to others (and also to him):

"We organized protest for solving the problem of the refusal to do compulsory military service, fought to free the imprisoned victims. Then the classical political action-repertoire was used, trying to influence MP's with letters, briefing them with materials, raising the issue in journals. Our aim was to put the theme onto the agenda of public discourse. Freedom of religion and freedom of thought were important to us." (Zsolt, Hungary)

The challenge of injustice, and more specifically the awareness of disadvantaged groups in society, is also expressed in this story:

"Later I was offered employment in a local social care institution as a Gypsy-family counsellor. The job description wasn't anything traditional; I had to come up with the role –set. It wasn't an easy job; I was persistent enough to care for my clients' interests which sometimes evoked the management's disapproval which resulted even in formal sanctions against me. I was taken aback with the fact that a lot of seemingly nice and lively children entering the school immediately turn in weak results. I had some teaching experience with different groups like adults, the disabled, 6 year olds requiring additional tutoring. I started a group for mothers and their children. Later it grew to be a youth club. At this period I got acquainted with my second husband who ran a Gypsy Club. At the summer we organized a camp where Gypsy intellectuals were invited. My experiences strengthened my belief that something corrective should be done to arrest the accumulative disadvantages of Gypsy children. Something with the school had to be done, I thought." (Katalin, Hungary)

Yet not all challenges are related to these feelings of oppression or injustice. Another important challenge is rather pragmatic or occurred by chance. George explains his commitment by referring to this element of chance:

"A guy asked me on the street, Ed Baker was his name, I don't know what he asked me in English, I knew a bit of English back then and … I answered him. He told me he was here with an organisation, gave me a short presentation and he asked me if I had time to visit them and see for myself what they were doing. And from then on I realised what they were doing here and I wanted to support them." (George, Romania)

In this same manner, becoming member to a facilitating group is a powerful challenge. It is for example the case of Elena who volunteered as a student from by her own initiative, and after developed her activity.

The relationship with parents is regarded as another important element in taking up challenges. One example is being engaged by their values and a feeling of responsibility towards them:

"I know my father only from his letters written to his baby son (me). . He was a Jew taken to a forced labour camp (refused to flee, he sincerely thought desperate times needed guys like him to stay) . I was an infant seriously ill, actually quite close to death. He claimed in his letters that it was he whose prayers were answered and therefore my life was secured. My mother naturally spoke a lot about my father and never forgot to emphasize that I owed him my life and hence it follows that I should give something back, I have a mission in life." (Gábor, Hungary)

Another example is feeling the relationship (and the values they passed on) as limiting. Illustrative with regard to this latter is what Katalin from Hungary told us:

"(…) The choice to go to university came naturally, I simply followed the path my parents shaped for me. I was 19 when I suddenly realised that my life seemed to go down its own way in a very calculable manner, I am supposed to marry, have children and enter into the research and etc. I started to detest this narrow option, this set route. Immediately I joined a commune. From that time on it became obvious to me that the aim of learning is nothing other than a deeper understanding of the world around us. The Ibsen-Seminar was focussing on liberty. I was engaged in samizdat –copying (typing at that time) and distributing the results to those who disseminated it further." (Katalin, Hungary)

Also these 'negative' family influences seem to be rather diverse. In the life history of Valy one of the reasons for separating her from her family was the religious way of life of her mother. On the other hand, more general, David tells us how his deprived social background challenged him:

"So I had the ambition to demonstrate that despite the fact you are from a modest family, a poor one (…) I want to tell you that in my summer holidays I worked every year. I saved up something for the moment that the school would begin at least in order not to increase the family's financial problems. And I worked and I helped a lot." (David, Romania)

Capacity

Being challenged is not enough to become an active citizen. Another important dimension is the capacity required to undertake an effective activity. Different kinds of education are important here. Practice (i.e. volunteering) and other learning contexts also prove the necessary skills and knowledge for one to be able to become an active citizen.

The most obvious is formal education and especially higher education. In the Romanian sample some respondents chose higher education courses close to their domain of involvement:

"At the moment we established the organisation … foundation…I didn't emphasise that much on schooling to put it that way…or on what was taught in school because everything went by itself. At the moment we had our first intervention … the first contract …because you asked about courses, with the trainers …and they were talking so nice, from books about what an NGO can do, I wanted to be there. Because I knew then that we … what we had done till then was just the beginning: we had established a structure, which had to work, and it just could not work without knowledge. It can work just when you know the needs of your beneficiaries…".(George, Romania)

The story of Katalin in Hungary expresses a more close relationship between formal education and active citizenship. The knowledge, insights and experiences offered by studies at the university was both a challenge and a source for capacities:

"I've attended in a lot of rural social studies specifically planned for university students to explore life at first hand and take part in structured social research. The insights into poverty and social inequalities were strong impulses. Actually even in my secondary school I was involved in similar things, which was then called: a 'sociological camp'." (Katalin, Hungary)

Another type of education important to obtain effective capacities is non-formal and informal education. Since a lot of the respondents from Romania who are active in civil society start as a volunteer, they learned a lot during this period:

"I joined Youth Action for Peace in '99 pretty suddenly, in the sense that I had no idea what is an association, what is it about, the reason for its existence, if there are others in Romania… (…). Going there I immediately I offered to write projects and there I faced the second problem. I had no idea what those projects were, that is generally what I did as humble volunteer". (Elena, Romania)

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In this sense their capacities for active citizenship and for starting their own organisation is based on experience or 'good practice'. Another source for obtaining capacities and expertise mentioned by the respondents is contact with others. Elena, who is active in the Youth Forum for European Integration, tells us that she learned a lot from other organisations.

Significant interaction is particularly relevant regarding international contacts. Izabella from Hungary mentions her visit to the Netherlands as an important experience:

> "The Dutch are people who can really set an example of active citizenship. Dutch citizens exert their rights when they pressurize institutions, when they demand information, when they make authorities accountable for their procedures, when they shape jurisdiction." (Izabella, Hungary)

Dorina, a Romanian female respondent tells us how she starts her own business after a visit to Italy, her experience with 'high society' and a discussion with an old friend. Cristi mentions the (material) help from abroad while organising a political group for the Hungarian. And finally, Elvira tells:

> "When we lived in the US I worked as a French teacher in New York where I was motivated to take part in community projects aimed at homeless people and the elderly. I closely investigated a doormen's strike, I learned what it meant to give the maximum respect to the rights of others, even if there is a lack of understanding in terms of 'why'. Acceptance of others, tolerating the others (tolerance of diversity) comes first and even if it is only reaching the level of nothing more than a shallow indifference I think it prevents the society from breaking up, it creates a cohesive effect, a level of solidarity." (Elvira, Hungary)

An important strategy for becoming active citizens is the personal involvement and investment in activities. Institutional development can also be regarded as this type of strategy. Active citizens themselves set up organisations or businesses, get involved in political structures or other networks.

> "I joined Youth Action for Peace in '99 pretty suddenly, in the sense that I had no idea what is an association, what is it about, the reason for it's existence, if there are others in Romania… (…). Going there I immediately I offered to write projects and there I faced the second problem. I had no idea what are those projects, that is generally what I did as humble volunteer." (Elena, Romania)

Connections

Learning active citizenship is not only a matter of being challenged and having the capacities, but also of building an identity in relation to others. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to the persons, groups and communities someone is connected to and the values, opinions, attitudes and ideologies are articulated here. It is important to mention that before the transition revolutionary and resistance movements have been a major source for identity building as an active citizen. Of course, mainly the communist apparatus and its different organisations offered a 'grand narrative' and structure for civil involvement. After the transition, the range of possible relevant connections multiplied, although the family remains a rather strong source of identification (both in a positive and negative sense).

An example of active citizenship based on a collective identity is delivered by the respondents in Romania involved with minority issues. Hungarian ethnic identity and a political translation of the needs of this minority are of major importance here.

> "I felt offended, oppressed by the system as…as a human being and as a Hungarian. So I felt that also the ethnic dimension was under threat, starting with school when… the school was threatened all the time, we were aware of the fact that maybe a little more than in other schools we were suspect… the whole community from there - teachers, pupils - were suspect… I don't know of what but we were always under

special supervision both from the School Local Authority (Inspectorat) and the party. (…) so I did not want to leave … from my heart I felt like staying here. I felt attached to Oradea". (Cristi, Romania)

Zsolt in Hungary expresses another example of kind of collective identity, however, not ethnic but religious:

"My activities are mainly of a critical nature to the traditional church-phenomena. The Bokor movement is a critical movement, trying to carve out an alternative life-style based on values represented by the classical Jesus Christ (denying aggression, force, violence, militarism, guns etc.)." (Zsolt, Hungary)

Still another type of connection important with regard to active citizenship is found within the domain of civil society. The growing number of new non-governmental organisations may function as a source for identity building, i.e. the statue of a professional active in civil society and distinctive from other domains of public life. In this regard, we can highlight the differences between emergent identities of "NGO activists" vs. volunteers. However, since many people in non-governmental organisations are involved here because of job opportunities and social mobility, these connections are mainly instrumental.

Respondents active in the economic domain rarely mention important sources of identification. One rare example is Daniel from Romania. He connects himself with the 'working people' and rejects the 'lazy ones':

"… .you have to stick to the programme… So it can be that I go to work: say good evening, good–bye, I go to the restaurant, I get drunk and I'm done. It can't work that way". (Daniel, Romania)

4.2.4 The process of learning active citizenship

The analysis of the mutual articulation of challenges, capacities and connections enabled us to look at active citizenship as a process of transitional learning. During their lives, people are faced with all sorts of critical incidents disturbing the relationship to oneself and to the social context they are part of. These incidents challenge one's identity and function as transitional moments generating processes of transitional learning. The main goal of the learning process is to make meaningful connections or re-building and re-constructing one's identity within and with regard to one's social context. The interviews of the respondents allowed us to mention some important characteristics of the process of transitional learning.

First, the interviews indicate that the transitional moments are very diverse: unemployment, humiliation, illness, death of husband, conflict with parents etc. As the Romanian analysis indicates people can face different transitional moments during their lives. Furthermore, there are different answers to these moments of transition. One answer is to get involved as an active citizen due to one specific transitional moment, for example to start a private enterprise after being confronted with financial difficulties. Another answer is to remain involved in what one was doing before the transitional moment, but getting involved in another activity to face the challenges. A last answer is to face different transitions and being involved in a process of multiple moments of transitional learning. This process seems to be typical for active citizens who are part of an organisation.

4.2.5 Modes of learning active citizenship

For most respondents formal higher education does not have a direct influence on their learning for active citizenship. Most influential were non-formal and especially informal education. Some of the respondents have been active before and have chosen their studies in accordance with their domain of involvement. There are examples in which, the activism

challenged the person to continue his or her study, or even to look at the reality from a different perspective:

> "Because it motivated me a lot … in the fall of that year I was a student with the highest grade at sociology. … And I realized that for me, for my career is very important to closely study social scientist". (George, Romania)

> "I've attended in a lot of rural social studies specifically planned for university students to explore life at first hand and take part in structured social research. The insights into poverty and social inequalities were strong impulses." (Katalin, Hungary)

However, beside formal education and non-formal education, informal education seems to be most important: learning-by-doing as a volunteer in NGOs, contacts with other organisation, international contacts etc. Elena from Romania for example tells about her experience with foreign organisations in civil society and how she learned their professional functioning:

> "…yes, I saw how they work, what kind of logistics they have, what conditions, I mean mostly the foreign associations, I saw that there are people constantly employed I thought that volunteering means being a volunteer right through to the end, no money, no personal benefit…" (Elena, Romania)

The reason for learning usually lays in the tension that exists between the respondents and the social context they live in, and through experiencing contradictions between the interpretations and the actual facts they gain awareness of how things really are.

In Hungary, it is the family background that had a decisive effect on respondents' perceptions of the world. Grandparents and parents lived through several political system changes, two world wars, repression of Jews, leftists, experiences in work camps, the loss of family wealth, being forced to leave their homes, etc. Their experiences became "indirect influences" on their children. Their perceptions of history and guidance on how to live in political turmoil and develop life strategies had a tremendous influence on respondents' choices. Basic attitudes, values were transmitted in that way.

> "Pre-war society was totally unacceptable for me because of the attacks on the Jews. Their persecution meant matters of life and death to me. Later I felt the new system was giving protection to me to lead a relatively secure life." (Barnabás, Hungary)

Raising awareness of social differences seems to be part of these personal experiences. Usually the interviewees were confronted with their considerably more fortunate social conditions, but the minority experienced a sense of low prestige in their socio-economic status that triggered an ambition to change it.

> "In religious community life I've learned that there are a lot of people much poorer than us and it should be our moral concern to help them." (Gábor, Hungary)

Influential others are constantly mentioned as forces able to shape active behaviour. Family members, teachers, fellow-students, well-known intellectuals, charismatic prime movers, foreign citizens, members of neighbourhood communities were mentioned in the interviews who had made the respondents see things differently. On the other hand, conflicts in the community, in school, in the workplace made them aware of their fighting power, their competence to be able to make a stand, or the lack of it. Reflexive professional praxis also involved transitional learning.

4.2.6 Role of political transition

In the previous paragraphs some elements related to the political transition in Hungary and Romania have been discussed. Although there have been important developments in the period before the transition – for example during the period of 'soft dictatorship' in Hungary, the transition towards a democratic regime had a major influence on the domains of active citizenship. Alternatively, to put this in another way, we assumed that the transition is somehow the condition to look at the domain of civil society, work and politics as rather independent spheres of active citizenship. However, as especially the older respondents from the Romanian sample tell, the transition is not regarded as an important transitional moment at the individual level.

In the stories about the revolution the combination of feelings of fear and enthusiasm are mentioned before the discussion of the social changes:

> "…the first days of the revolution were of great fear. And everybody was happy and exhaled, it was that insane but I had one great restraint: what happens if he comes back? What happens if it does not succeed? What happens if… and when I saw the unleashed anger and the torrent coming I was thinking what would happen if the people couldn't control it. So, for me, the revolution was more like an outside perspective, waiting, and first I saw the enthusiasm ….so I could not live the great happiness". (Dorina, Romania)

After the revolution and with regard to its outcomes, the respondents seem to express rather negative feelings from rather sceptical, to pessimistic and even disappointment. Daniel expresses the latter:

> "…(there is no help in) production or what they want to do and that is why this country is in such a chaos. (…) the communist system had its problems, nobody denies it, but it had some good things and from everything one can learn something. And what we had to do to take the good things and move on and remove the bad things… but we did only stupid and wrong things, this is what we did". (Daniel, Romania)

Katalin expresses another evaluation of the situation after the transition in Hungary:

> "Before I opposed that political system, nowadays I find myself opposing this one. I automatically strive for balance. I don't agree at all that everything we had during socialism can be classified as wrong or evil. Then I thought socialism ought to have absorbed a lot from capitalism, now I feel the present capitalism here should retain certain aspects from socialism." (Katalin, Hungary)

Trust in politics after the transition is both in Hungary and Romania rather low. Furthermore, there is a development from emergent practices in civil society towards more established non-governmental organisations. Linked to this, there seems to be a shift in motives of being involved in civil society: from social engagement towards motives related to job opportunity and social mobility. Also new challenges are mentioned due to the changed political and economic regime. Csaba who is involved in an umbrella organisation for trade union in Hungary formulates the challenges of the trade union as follows:

> "Trade unions' social recognition is very low now. I think if they only deal with internal organisational matters it will stay that way. I have tried recently to work on broader social issues like poverty, moonlighting, the Roma, demographic trends. At least posing the relevant questions we should address. Of course giving answers can't be postponed for long. Trade Unions need to develop approaches of openness on social matters, need to consult with experts, researchers, the actual cabinet members etc. to be fully integrated. We experience social change on a tremendous scale. It is possible to say to people: Create your own futures, be entrepreneurs, seek new markets but people don't seem to be ready for that. Such questions - in proportion – should be dealt with within the unions. Before the transition the communication with society was a rather empty category, nowadays its significance is constantly growing." (Csaba, Hungary)

4.2.7 Modelling the data: active citizenship as character

Circumscribing active citizenship as character, the main element is "subjectivity" which refers to the relationship someone has to the self, i.e. how I relate to myself, how I objectify myself and others, how I problematise myself. This subjectivity or relationship to the self is not given, but is constructed or learned. Therefore, it is possible to understand subjectivity as a concrete form of subjectivity. Some examples help us to clarify this idea of forms of subjectivity. Someone who looks at oneself as having certain skills and competencies is quite different from someone who thinks about the self as a collection of talents. The difference is not just a difference of words or concepts, but a different way of objectifying oneself, and related to this, a different way of looking at others and at the world. This example also shows that the forms of subjectivity, although they are not stable and given, is not simply something freely chosen by an individual. Instead, the idea of 'choice' is itself part of a specific form of subjectivity; choices make sense for someone who looks at the self in terms of competencies, but is not that important for someone who looks at the self as a collection of talents. Thus, subjectivities are not the result of a personal choice. Instead, we introduce the notion 'techniques' to describe the formation of subjectivity. A form of subjectivity is the result or outcome of a specific technique. In order to point out which techniques are of major importance to us, it is useful to make a short excursion.

Within political philosophy and social theory, different models have been presented to understand the techniques acting upon people and shaping them in a certain way. The theoretical framework of Habermas is useful to categorise three important techniques used by people and acting upon people, as well as the rationality accompanying them (Habermas, 1981):

- Techniques of production: techniques to produce or change objects, related to an instrumental rationality, i.e. a kind of means-end reasoning and using the criteria effectively.

- Techniques related to systems of signs: techniques to use signs, meaning and symbols, related to a communicative rationality and using the criteria of mutual understanding or consensus.

- Power: techniques used to direct the conduct of people, to subject them to certain goals and objectives. It is a kind of strategic rationality.

These techniques and the rationality accompanying them are often related, and can result in the promotion of a kind of subjectivity. Marx for example shows that techniques of production force people to shape their behaviour and attitudes in a certain way. Also techniques of communication and power can act upon people; can shape 'roles' and a 'habitus'. For sure, the subjectivity of an active citizenship is part of this complex of techniques, part of a complex of production, communicative and power relations. However, in line with the later Foucault, we would like to focus on a fourth technique, i.e. techniques of the self. These techniques are not used to 'work' upon others (like the three previous ones) but used to 'work' upon the self. They are techniques used by people to shape their subjectivity in a certain way and with a certain goal, to objectify parts of the self in a specific way, to take a problematic approach to oneself accordingly, to work upon the self. Following the terminology of Foucault, we refer to these techniques with the notion ethics (Foucault, 1995; 1984). Ethics, however, does not refer to a moral code, neither to a moral mentality, but to the way people within a society shape themselves, i.e. it is a practice of freedom.

This perspective allows us to ask which kind of techniques of the self are linked up with active citizens, i.e. which techniques are used to transform oneself into an active citizen, to construct an active citizenship subjectivity. In order to analyse active citizenship at this level, at the level of subjectivity and techniques, the following dimensions are proposed (Foucault, 1984):

- Substance (what, material): as a citizen people objectify the self in a certain way, a specific part of the self is brought to attention. This substance could be highly diverse. An example is to objectify oneself as someone with an identity or as someone with skills and attitudes. In short: the substance of a subjectivity of an active citizen is an answer to the question which part of themselves are people paying attention to, what are they focusing upon, what is important to them, what is the part they work on?'

- Mode of subjectivation (who): how people relate to themselves is linked up with who they want to be. It is a kind of subjection therefore, however not only to be understood in a negative sense (subjected to an external force) but also as a condition in order to become someone. An example is identification with an ethnic community or becoming a professional. The mode of subjectivation, therefore, is the route people take and the rationality people use in order to construct their subjectivity as active citizen.

- Work upon the self (how): in order to become or remain an active citizen, some work upon the self is required. Also this can be diverse: following specific procedures and using instruments in order for example to increase the human capital, to broaden a social network, to develop expertise. It is about the means used to work upon the substance and to shape once's subjectivity as active citizen.

- Teleology (why): being an active citizen has a certain goal, it is a practice with a specific teleology. It is about the general idea directing the way we objectify, subject and work upon the self. Examples are: freedom, economic autonomy, social justice, personal well-being.

Characteristics of active citizens. The combination of these dimensions of technologies of active citizenship enables us to map different characteristics of active citizens. Although it is not exhaustive, we think the data allows us to mention four characteristics of active citizenship. It is important to stress that the criteria to distinguish these characteristics are based upon the mode of subjectivation and not, for example, the domain where they are active. Furthermore, we would like to stress these are characteristics in a literal sense, i.e. they are conceptual fictions based upon our (formal) theoretical framework and upon the data of the interviews.

Entrepreneurial citizenship

- **Substance: human capital and skills, courage, career**

   "…in the fall of that year I was a student with the highest grade at sociology. And now I am very thrilled, but then it was like this… I realised that for me, for my career, it was very important to study closely social science". (George, Romania)

- **Mode of subjection: subjection to economic tribunal, i.e. an instrumental, calculating, entrepreneurial relation to oneself**

   "… we had to do something, we had to continue on the direction we started. (…) we realised we could not work without a location. We did not have an alternative we had to do something, if not… we understood that there were costs that had to be covered, we had to make projects, so we had to do something". (Dana, Romania)

- **Work upon the self/ others: investment in capital, network, contacts**

"What I am working on now is to create a horizontal network which enables every member to work well in it and lead a life they like for themselves but at the same time to build that power which can't be easily swept aside by others." (Izabella, Hungary)

- **Teleology: quality of life, personal/ collective well-being**

"My concept of civil society is simple: when we want to do something about our life, when we want to shape our future in collaboration with others, when we co-operate to solve a local issue and we don't expect others to turn up with the panacea." (Izabella, Hungary)

Symbolic citizenship

- **Substance: identity**

"In 1972 I am the first, in my 18th year, who speaks gipsy in public in the presence of the whole country [on TV]. And this shows that this language is existing, that culture is existing, and it's beautiful and honourable…It was about us. This art, without appreciation was thought being able to get place for this people… It's time for this culture to get its civil rights." (Margó, Hungary)

- **Mode of subjection: identification and differentiation, part of community, family values**

"I wanted to do something for my people, more than what had been done before and, knowing the community problems and its potential. I thought that was wore to just stay apart and not get involved when you see things are not right and you can contribute to building something in the community where I was born and where I want to stay".(David, Romania)

- **Work upon the self: representation of identity, realisation of values**

"We, people of the intelligentsia, have a mission. We have to develop not only ourselves, but we have a relationship to others, we have responsibility for others… We began to build a community. …This gave us a realisation of our responsibility as young intellectuals to not only for self-development but to care for and help others."(János, Hungary)

- **Teleology: authentic life (in accordance with identity/value)**

"My whole life is about helping others. I am doing nothing else but fighting for others."(Gábor, Hungary)

"I think we are natural part of the world and what is important that we behave, act and speak accordingly. If I believe in this principle and carry out in practice therefore I can also assume that others will do the same."(Leó, Hungary)

Professional citizenship

- **Substance: skills and knowledge, expertise**

"I knew that there was a scope for activism, …I found for myself a way to be engaged in activity, which suited my needs. I translated foreign literature in my own professional field, wrote resumés, started a newsletter (doing all the tasks that takes), I felt I was doing a valuable service. I always found the notion of constantly learning in life attractive."(Nelli, Hungary)

- **Mode of subjection: member of professional community**

"Trade unions' social recognition is very low now … Trade Unions need to develop approaches of openness to societal matters, need to consult with experts, researchers… to be fully integrated…(Csaba, Hungary)

- **Work upon the self: using procedures, instruments and language of expertise**

"I felt the need for theoretical support and that of a masters degree in Euro- regional studies in order to realise to what extent my work field has any relevance… if you don't read and don't get in touch with other people you can simply stay here and sign contracts, reject application forms and that is all, but this

does not really work as you risk rejecting a lot to good things, relevant outside your office but you don't know that". (Maria, Romania)

- **Teleology: personal excellence**

"…, I had to be here something more also … and being a librarian in a high school, I changed something in my job description … by making something more than simply book lending, as practically as that is, I transformed myself in a consultant in problems of pedagogy, teaching methods for all the teachers in the school. (Ana, Romania)

Resistance citizenship

- **Substance: power, oppression**

 "We organized a protest for solving the problem of the refusal of compulsory military service, campaigned to free imprisoned victims. Then the classical political- action repertoire was used, trying to influence MP's with letters, providing them with materials, raising the agenda in journals. Our aim was to put the theme on the agenda of public discourse. Freedom of religion, freedom of thought were important to us." (Zsolt, Hungary)

- **Mode of subjection: de-subjectivation, resistance**

"… I also believe that a normal healthy person with a sound mind would be anti gun and against weapons and pro nature. I believe people should aspire to be open and honest with themselves."(Leó, Hungary)

- **Work upon the self: permanent searching for truth**

"When I was a leader of a youth organisation I had a chance to influence decisions on how to distribute the financial assistance to students based on their social situations. I went for the social truth…I loved to write about the truth… My relationship to the political system, my search for truth and my wish to help were mixed together." (Izabella, Hungary)

- **Teleology: justice, freedom**

"My parents were demanding in terms of schooling, cultural activities and even in human relations, their standards had to be met…My father was adamant to make the people confront their past. Human values counted much for him." (Elvira, Hungary)

Entrepreneurial citizenship – 'active citizenship as an entrepreneurial act and related to one's own well being' e.g. the respondents who set up a non-governmental organisation or private enterprise after being confronted with unemployment or rejection. They look at themselves as having the courage and skills to be autonomously involved, and in need of investment both in themselves and in the organisation to remain successful. Quality of life through entrepreneurial success seems to be the horizon of their activity.

Symbolic citizenship- 'active citizenship as a matter of identification and related to living an authentic, valuable life' e.g. the respondents that are challenged by issues of identity at the level of family relations and/or group relations. It is about the respondents who confront challenges at a symbolic level. They stress the importance of values and cultural identity and seek ways to represent, develop or defend their identity. For these respondents being active is about having an articulated relation to one's identity (and related values or connections).

Professional citizenship - 'active citizenship as an activity based on expertise and excellence' e.g. the respondents being part of organisations and understanding themselves as being professionally active in civil society, politics or economics. They understand what they are doing in terms of expertise, and want to achieve a certain level of excellence in this expertise. Being active is regarded here as a professional job; not just being paid, but also having the expertise to offer adequate services.

Resistance citizenship - 'active citizenship as an act of resistance and going through a process of de-subjectivation' e.g. the respondents who feel oppressed by power relations at different levels and who look at themselves as autonomous actors.

The characteristics of active citizenship subjectively allow us to deal in a rather specific way with the learning processes. Learning could be regarded as a basic factor in the process of subjectivation, and therefore differentiated along the modes of subjectivation. But learning, and especially transitional learning as conceptualised in this research project, could also be a process of transformation from one figure of active citizenship to another. Or, more specifically it is possible to ask, on the one hand for the type of learning processes typical for each of the four figures of active citizenship, and on the other hand for the learning processes that induce a shift from one figure of active citizenship towards another.

4.2.8 Conclusions

The first stage of the research delivered us the concept 'democratic deficit' as a departure point in order to understand the process of democratic transition and post-transition, its main characteristics and problems in Hungary and Romania. However it is important to state that the manifestation of this deficit is rather specific, situation-bounded, in these countries: the lack of trust, the problem of political representation (minority-issues), the distance between formal citizenship and active involvement etc. Furthermore, it is also important to focus on another feature of post-communist and post-socialist countries. Whereas before the transition the possibility to be actively involved in citizenship practices and government was rather limited, after the transition political (e.g. political parties), juridical (e.g. free association), economic (e.g. free market) and ideological (e.g. pluralism) transformations offered new opportunities (at least in a formal sense) to be actively involved in the construction and reconstruction of society. Although these new freedoms gave birth to nationalist and ethnic ideologies, also particularly transformed citizenship and governance into a more individualised issue.

On the basis of these general observations it was be expected that new kinds of involvement, participation and activity should come about. Furthermore, it supports the idea that it is useful to take a look at those people who are dealing with the challenges generated by the deficit and how they shape to citizenship and governance. It supports the main aim of this stage of the research, which is to have an understanding of the way active citizenship is being learned within the changed and changing societies of Hungary and Romania. Through the life history method, and by using the theoretical framework of transitional learning, data has been collected to understand the context, content, reasons and modes of learning for active citizenship and governance. It is important to stress this data does not permit the formulation of generalisations. However, the purposeful (and not representative) sample allowed us to have a more differentiated understanding of the multiple faces of active citizenship and the related learning processes. Furthermore, it enabled us on the one hand to compare the data with the results of the original ETGACE project research and on the other hand to present a first attempt at a conceptual model.

Most of the respondents in Hungary represent themselves in terms of 'social activism', being active as a member or leader (of a organisation), having a strong belief in the self-directing potential of human beings and being focused on change. Responsibility was a central concept to explain their involvement. It is about being proactive and taking up responsibility for social issues. The stories of the respondents showed many different ways to articulate this feeling of responsibility. More specifically, the following categories of reasons for active citizenship

could be ascertained: the values they are wed to, special circumstances and occasions during life and unconscious factors.

With regard to the domains of their involvement, the following topics could be mentioned. In the period before the transition political activism was rather narrow, nevertheless it could be differentiated as: inside the formal regime, and sometimes using the established structures in ways other than they were meant for and outside the regime in non-established practices. After the transition, most remain active in the political domain (except for those with an 'over politicised' past). Before the transition there is also in the social and cultural domain a distinction to be made between inside-initiatives and outside-initiatives. After the transition organisations with specific social or cultural goals have been established as well as organisations focusing on supporting these initiatives.

The interviews showed that the reason for learning often lies in the tension that exists between the respondents and the social context they live in, i.e. an experience of contradiction between one's interpretations and the actual awareness of how things really are. With regard to the learning process, it could be said that the role of the family has been very important, i.e. the transmission of values and attitudes (cultural capital). Furthermore, transitional learning seems also to be caused by encounters with difference (another life world, social differences) and by contact with influential others. Related to this, is the mode of education. Both in the political and social domain informal education (e.g. life experiences) are regarded as most important. Formal and non-formal education is mentioned within the domain of work.

Before the transition, active citizenship in Romania was not about membership but a kind of more than average involvement in formal structures. After the transition, active citizenship is regarded as a kind of voluntary membership and has an instrumental focus. The data presents the following profile of 'the active citizen' as 'activist': 'responsible, perseverant, and committed to his mission, having the skills (professionalism) to an effective activity.'

With regard to the reason for the activism, the following categories are mentioned: events (confrontation with injustice, financial problems, non-planned involvement), relations with parents, belonging to a facilitating network/group and significant models. The analyses revealed three general types of life-paths of active citizens: single career – single transition, dual career-single transition, and single career-multiple transitions. In most of the cases, acting autonomously – setting up an NGO or a private enterprise – is the solution to a biographical crisis that makes a mere conventional career less likely. Furthermore, the data showed that becoming practically active requires more than personal qualities - which are without any doubt necessary – a specific context, with special constraints and opportunities, is also required.

To answer the question how people shape active citizenship the concepts challenge, connections and capacities functioned as an initial framework. With regard to the challenges the data allowed a distinction between active citizens with self-oriented motivations (both intrinsic satisfaction and extrinsic motivations) and with social oriented motivations (the idea of focusing on changing things, the accomplishment of change, the concrete needs of others that have to be fulfilled). With regard to the dimension of connections, only in several cases the stakes of activism are related to a type of collective identity (commitment to a collective). This is the case of two of the subjects committed to the Hungarian ethnic identity. Another important finding is a timid emergence of a specific identity of NGO activists. The data from the interviews showed a distinction at the level of capacities (or the general strategies and modes of action used by the respondents): capacities related to personal career development and capacities related to institutional development.

With regard to the domain of active citizenship, an important finding is the social-oriented focus in civil society, the low credibility of the political domain and the distinction between private initiatives and motivated workers as types of active citizenship in the economic domain. Using the content acquired through learning as a criterion, the interviews helped to distinguish two types of learning processes. The first type is learning (through identification or differentiation) about active citizenship i.e. of the features that were delineated in the analysis of contextual definitions of active citizenship. The second type is learning the skills, and competencies employed in the act of being an active citizen. With regard to the latter, formal and non-formal learning contexts have been mentioned as important. For the younger generation it appears that their learning process has been quite smooth and pragmatic.

With regard to the general context in Hungary and Romania, it is important to notice that notions such as 'crisis of the welfare state', 'democratic deficit', 're-moralisation of citizens' and 'decentralisation' (used to describe processes and problems during the ETGACE project) are sometimes too general to represent the situation in Hungary and Romania. Due to the transition there seems to be a democratic deficit, but it is articulated in specific ways: poverty, inequality, corruption, old mentalities, etc. The findings related to learning for active citizenship are more or less similar. First, both in 'established democracies' and in countries in transition (or post transition) learning and active citizenship seem to be a rather individual and individualised process. Second, as the findings of the ETGACE project showed, learning active citizenship is an unpredictable process which occurs non-systematically, it is more governed by unconscious factors than guided by rational choices and decisions. Third, the challenges that generated a learning process were often unpredicted and not foreseen. Closely related to this, the capacities and attributes needed to be effective and successful seem to be mainly learned by doing.

4.3. Focus groups on learning active citizenship and governance

In the previous two stages of the RE-ETGACE research, literature review and life histories, the concept of the 'democratic deficit' appeared as a departure point for understanding the difficulties in the process of legitimising democratic institutions and structures during the transition and post-transition processes in Central and Eastern European countries. Focusing on the data in Hungary and Romania, we argued that this is the main feature that has to be discussed in relation with education for active citizenship and governance. In the previous ETGACE project, the 'democratic deficit' has been considered a background phenomenon characterising late modern societies, and the loosening of legitimacy in democratic institutions. Despite significant differences in causes and consequences, the most relevant issue here is how to stimulate citizens to become active, and to enforce democratic governance by claming positions in the power centres of society.

Looking for possible alternatives for current problems, our research tried to offer responses to two linked questions. The first question is; how do adults in these post-communist transitional countries learn proper attitudes and skills, which made them active citizens, and contribute to the democratic governance? The second question refers to the concrete intervention strategies. Which methods of education and training are effective for improving active citizenship and governance?

4.3.1 From un-learning to learning active citizenship

Compared to the ETGACE project results on educational intervention, the Hungarian and Romanian focus groups interpretation of results is rather pessimistic regarding the prospects for the development of active citizenship. Whilst western countries are challenged by the

democratic deficit, they are still developing newer forms of participation. Democratic governance in Hungary and Romania still face participation problems that can be blamed on the communist past. Our purpose is to pinpoint the differences that divide older European democracies from the newer ones in terms of prospects for citizens' participation in democratic processes.

Both the Hungarian and Romanian focus group reports emphasise the obstacles for active citizenship and democratic governance. The two countries lack positive and effective examples of successful citizenship initiatives, as well as difficulty in expanding their analytical efforts to make intelligible activation attempts. Although these statements might be biases of the persons invited in line with other survey results, which show that, the communist factor explains most of the differences in civic or social participation recorded between the post-socialist countries and the older democracies of the West (Badescu and Uslaner, 2003).

A grim future for democratic governance was formed on the basis of the high frequency of the opposed personality type to active citizenship. In the Romanian report, it was referred to as 'passive citizenship'. However, since it refers not only to the lack of activism, but to 'un-citizen like acts', we prefer to call this human type as being 'un-citizen'.

> "What are the causes of community non-involvement, or "passive citizenship"? We agree that the expression sounds contradictory. Citizenship means for some people activism. But if it so, active citizenship will be itself tautological. Passive citizenship is attributed to two main categories of causes. (1.) Passivity is strategic and rational, springing from a rational assessment of personal resources and chances. The frequency of civic activism is dependent upon the distribution of resources important for activism and on interests and the subjective assessment of risks associated to different strategies of civic action. (2) On the other hand, lack of civility can be regarded as socialised learning. Passive people are not refraining themselves from activism since they have already been made passive through various socialisation influences during their life cycles. (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

The two national analyses of the focus groups data complement each other to a great extent; while the Hungarian analysis focused on the results of the learning processes on an individual level, the Romanian one provided a description of the processes by which persons become passive. Taken together, the information from the two reports can help sketch the theory blueprint of passive citizenship in post-socialist countries, which is necessary to reveal the places and issues that need intervention.

In Hungary, experts also often mentioned the missing of "know how" of active citizenship. Their general opinion is that knowledge and the skills of being active (such as taking risks, solving problems, resolving conflicts, being able to participate and co-operate, being able to communicate and debate, organising team activity, tolerance, etc.) have not developed yet because of specific reasons. Simply we can say that both personal experience and education of active citizenship have not reached good levels of achievement yet. Both the opportunity of "learning by doing" and the opportunity of "learning by learning" towards better active citizenship are rather poor now. A leader of a suburban community association in Hungary said:

> "Active citizens are not born just like that. People have to learn the skills of being active, so the different scenes of life – such as family, neighbourhood, local community, school, working place, public institutions – can play significant roles in forming personality. Unfortunately most of these influential factors still suffer from democratic deficit, and that is why people do not have too much opportunity to experience the effects of being active citizen."

It seems the Hungarian team preferred to reduce the problem to an analytically concept that synthesised the personality traits of the persons significantly affected by the learning

processes of post-communism. Contrary to what one might think, the "mental heritage" is more of a psychological construct than a metaphysical principle.

> "The main character of Hungarian citizenship education and the role of governance are influenced by the mental heritage of the previous political system before the transition. The political system did not foster alternative approaches in general, and there was an official ideology that the socialist state takes care of its citizens and it does not require any personal innovation. The majority living in the paternalistic system grew accustomed to this relationship and preserved the mental attitude of generating zero initiatives. On the other hand, the strong presence of hierarchical structures has a tendency to repress the initiatives." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

It shows the fact that the communist regimes organised everyday life in a way that promoted styles of interactions and psycho-social values and attitudes that contradicted the prerequisites of active citizenship. The idea of heritage also refers to the path dependencies of current situations. Institutions tend to evolve freely and reproduce themselves. The societal dichotomy of 'hardware' and 'software' makes this clearer; formal institutions depend upon the interests, habits, and values of their actors that ultimately transform them. A symptom of the democratic deficit of the state is the attitude of authoritarianism, mentioned in the Hungarian focus groups. People working in government bodies or in public institutions seem to be representatives of superior power than as public servants. A leader of a Hungarian charity organisation said:

> "Partnership between government and civil organisations must be a relationship of equal parties. None of them are allowed to add extra requirements, all of them have to fulfil contracts, and otherwise constitutionality can be questioned. The greatest barrier of partnership is their 'meeting point', and that is the administrative body. Attitudes of government officials should change." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

This might be one of the explanations for the lack of homology between the explicit objectives of many modern institutions and their actual functioning in Eastern Europe, as one Hungarian respondent conveyed that many democratic institutions existed only on paper:

> "In Hungary every democratic forum exists on paper, but they do not work in real life."

Romanian critical tradition, underlining the pathologies of modernisation, is also devoted to reveal the 'forms without fond' that rapid modernisation brought about.

Hungarian citizens inherited distrust in their institutions from the communist past that was dominated by the absence of initiatives, lack of collaborative skills, and the preference for confrontation for settling any uncertain contexts of interaction. As a leading expert on community development in Hungary mentioned:

> "Traditions of real active citizenship are not too significant. Before 1989 the official ideology made citizens be active certainly in the form of adjustment and fulfilment. In the 1980's some independent, real civil movements occurred, such as amateur theatres, the beat movement, or a few workers' clubs showing that change was possible. Although after 1989 hard political walls disappeared, soft barriers did not generate strong resistance or there was not a lot at stake. Unfortunately, transition to democracy has not finished, and authoritarianism continues existing in lighter forms. These all are against obtaining the knowledge of active citizenship."

The idea of communist heritage applies *stricto sensu* only to the perception of an intergenerational differentiation in attitudes; the older citizens, who were socialised during the communist regime, are much harder to convince into becoming active citizens than the youth. These observations are confirmed by the comparative survey data, which show that contrary to the Western patterns (Warren in Badescu and Uslaner, 2003), where the older people and smaller communities have higher rates of social participation, activism is more frequent

among the youth from the greater urban concentrations. One could even hypothesise that active participation is a wave of modernism in the post-socialist countries of Europe.

How is such behaviour explained? How does someone become void of initiative, trust, and confrontation?

The Romanian report delineates two distinct habits to account for un-citizenship. Un-citizenship is affected by the amount of resources available and as something that is learned. There are also Hungarian examples that sustain the grounded theory from the Romanian analysis.

4.3.2 Rational or learned un-citizenship?

A lack of resources determines un-citizenship. Passivity, or deeds that are contrary to public interest, are explained through ignorance, fear, and/or lack of interests. Rational choice, or the assessment of resources against interests and motivations, explains why people choose to be passive. This is a likely situation to encourage passivity; low material resources and the dependence on the state for revenues.

> "In the present economic situation wages are so low, that most of the people are engaged only in keeping body and soul together and nothing more."(Hungary)

Mobilising collective action, or actively participating in the community, requires knowledge and skills that come hand in hand with school or occupational education. In Romania, the distribution of school credentials and the occupational stratification seems to build walls against taking action for on the doing of public good.

However, we suppose that the lack of resources goes hand in hand with the aspects of un-citizenship that have been learned. Individuals do not consider new alternatives, risks, or rational assessment of their chances, but make decisions in a routine way. We do not want to speculate about a 'culture of passivity', but to account for the apparent rationality of un-citizenship in the Romanian and Hungarian situations, noticing that the strategy of 'un-citizenship' fits with the resources of the individuals, and not a rational calculus. It is a practical rationality that has emerged through life-long learning and everyday practice, and has the capacity to inculcate a sense of limits and harmonise individual actions with the possibilities inherent in the individual's position. As the Hungarian analysis revealed:

> "After the transition people are getting the chance of wanting to want something to do, but are they able to? This was an issue raised, and the majority of the participants thought Hungarian citizens are not well informed, they are not organised to be heard, they are not prepared to struggle, and the personal civic courage level is too low. Democratic skills, attitudes, activity, and mobilisation do not appear overnight, but they need time to ripen and develop into maturity. The over-politicised atmosphere delegitimises the civil sphere, and the majority opinion was that there are positive impacts but they have remained partial and experimental." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

This statement is very much identical with saying that 'un-citizenship' is a formed habit. This has important practical consequences, because it shows that the first step in transforming 'un-citizens' into active citizens should be making them aware of the dimensions of their situation. This strategy has to go hand in hand with attempts to change their situation, and to increase their social chances, either through empowering them through entrepreneurial life strategies or through inclusive community and individual developmental policies. The steady increase in prosperity as a consequence of economic development should contribute to this, and will hopefully not hinder it through the unintended consequences of consumerism.

4.3.3 Learning un-citizenship. Life-cycle, institutions, and passivity

The Romanian focus groups analysis emphasises that the habits of un-citizens are reproduced through the various interaction situations and institutions a person encounters during his/her life cycle. The most important instances of learning are the family, the school, and the job. Family education was mentioned as one of the major negative impacts on civic attitudes. Romanian families were accused of inculcating passivity by emphasising obedience and lack of responsibility:

> "Within family and school the child is taught to shut up and listen. How can we expect that at a certain age they would actually start doing something, intervene and change rules? Especially when they are rewarded for listening" (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

Romanian families teach un-citizenship, either through obedience or indulgence, which weakens the sense of responsibility. Obedience is specific to the lower class families, and produces passive individuals, although poverty is associated with the virtue of resilience that is shown throughout many heroic figures of modernisation. Indulgence is found specifically in wealthier families, and makes the children feel less accountable for their environment. Romanian sociological literature on family education supports the educational practices within the limits of primary socialisation that hide the development of active citizenship.

Schools are accused of transmitting un-citizenship like habits. A Hungarian civil activist emphasised the importance of pre-transitional 'mental heritage' again, in relation with school:

> "Students don't seem to know their school rights, about their possibilities to form self-government. The parents have no organisations: they don't show an inclination to go there. These are organisations that must be formed legally. They [the students and the parents] are not interested in. The Hungarian schools are not the places of the democracy. Papers report on these obligations but real life are different."

One of the experts from the Romanian panel noticed that children grow more and more un-civic the older they get. The reason seems to be clear:

> "… What happens with the pupil that studies civic education? Does he act differently then, and change when he is finishing high school? Is he active in the beginning and than starts to feel 'sufficient' to himself? Why? Because he gains more experience and has seen many situations in which there is a large gap between what is said that should be done and what is actually taking place."

Opposing what one would expect, schools are blamed for much of the habits contradicting active citizenship. This occurs because of the following characteristics of the formal educational structures:

- The hidden curriculum of schools opposes activism and participation:

- Authoritarian organisation of the classroom activities, where teachers emphasise and reward compliant and self censored behaviour.

- Hierarchical organisation of the schools, where democratic processes function partially or are missing completely.

- Interactions in formal educational institutions provide pupils with examples of injustice that foster attitudes of cynicism (Romania). These examples happen in everyday situations with inequality and unjust rewards becoming more routine.

- The regular curriculum dedicated to citizenship does not support the formation of the attitudes and habits of active citizenship:

- There are no curricular slots reserved for civic education (Hungary), or few hours are dedicated to this content (Romania).

- The methods of teaching are not suited to encourage activism and participation; civic education is still taught in an authoritarian fashion that stresses information gathering instead of facilitating reflection, participation, and initiative.

- The content and methods of teaching are not fitted to the age of the learners; one of the Romanian experts stated:

> "The theory of human rights is hard even for my masters students, how can one expect something from 4-th grade pupil."

Adult life brings people into contact with an institutional landscape that is greatly conducive to un-citizen like attitudes. One expert from the Romanian focus groups accused the bureaucratisation of public institutions:

> "Everyone tried on his own account to go and ask what one wants and wants to be part of...and then he gets the door closed in his nose and is very hard to go again to go and knock on the doors. With 10 doors closed I think is hard to convince someone to go and try again. I think that young people which did not have used to this ... but people over 35 not only closed doors encountered but they received a policy of refuting all private initiative and than it is hard to come at some point and tell them: gentlemen, is ok, is good to get involved ... especially when most of the mayors say that the city hall is theirs, its budget is theirs and they are the only ones which should know how things are supposed to be done. The citizen goes to ask for information and its told he has no right to do so."

As a general hypothesis, the Hungarian report relates the persistence of the communist mental heritage through the omnipresence of hierarchically organised institutions. Such institutions are places where initiatives and participation are discouraged; pessimism and powerless strategies are widespread.

Public administration is the culprit of the damage to society's civic spirit. Bad management of these institutions, including corruption and lack of good public relations, forces people into cynicism and illegitimate institutional strategies. Moreover, many persons are discouraged from being active and acquire feelings of powerlessness and pessimism because of the lack of resources. Developments like these only lower the trust for the democratic institutions and the ideology that surrounds them.

The mass media plays down the civic spirit through the chronic preference for scandals and catastrophic news that breed feelings of insecurity and distrust among the public.

Non-governmental organisations are supposed to foster active citizenship. Nevertheless, there is an increasing feeling that the way they are functioning does not add value to the efforts to promote active citizenship. Several features of the non-governmental sector are emphasised as producing un-citizenship attitudes and practices:

- Top-down agenda of the non-governmental sector, whose priorities are set by the interests of the donors, rarely use the consultation of the target groups.

- The hierarchical and professionalized character of many NGOs, cannot foster participation and learning by their democratic attitudes and skills.

- The extensive use of paid work in NGOs, that daunts volunteering, makes non-governmental organisations look more like businesses than grass-root organisations.

- The emergence of NGO elite administrators and the extensive use of paid workers.

There are also good examples of programmes that aim to attain some of the features of an active citizen. In Hungary, some of the mentioned characteristics are:

"Be brave enough to question authority figure; not to respect any form of authority; be able to generate alternatives; be pro-active; be motivated to do something outside private life, to show commitment… to be capable of acting as a leader, capable of influencing others, demonstrate civic courage, be an informed and knowledgeable citizen, to know his/her rights, to feel responsible for social issues, and to show solidarity towards others".

Within the state domain, the initiatives revolve around training issues, creating facilities to access relevant information, and giving resources to good civic initiatives. In Hungary, at the university level "Civic Studies and Skills", a 360 hours programme, became an optional part of teacher training. Community work, locality development, non-profit management, folk-high school adult education became a standard part of the curriculum of training graduate and postgraduate adult educators. At the formal education level the final baccalaureate exam demands knowledge levels on issues of citizenship. The government created a network of EU information points throughout the country and gave support to expand the local units of the Telecentre Association. In order to promote ICT skills, tax advances are given to learners and teachers. New institutions, or "Civic Houses", were set up to give a wide range of services to civic groups. The traditional cultural, artistic, recreational institutional spheres were preserved, and offer opportunities to exercise a certain level of autonomy, and learn community behaviour and co-operation, which are all indispensable social skills.

Within the civic domain, local community development projects were often mentioned as good examples, both in Romania and in Hungary. Locality is seen as a natural organic framework for social mobilisation, and for solving local problems and conflicts in a co-operative manner. A civic leader participant in Hungary gave an example:

"Closing a local school and cultural centre brought about anger and dissatisfaction, which started to build a local cohesion in a suburban region of a city. Through phases of protests (petitions, declarations, press releases, letters to the Ombudsman, and building coalitions with other organisations) they learned a lot, but their fight ended unhappily at first. The school was still closed, but a nucleus of developers evolved, and a civic local association was formed which now runs a local community centre in the building. The association applied for resources to create a local telecentre and their bid was successful. Now social services are offered, and a local newsletter is published regularly. The association has also initiated negotiations with local authorities, and formed a local development strategy. They have worked on energy issues, sewage problems, and nature protection to name a few more. At present the civic association has won a Phare project with a plan to co-operate with other local civic organisations (15-20) in the greater area. Neighbourhood conditioning is their main focus, as well as to have exchange of experiences, study circles, and to promote self-learning, which are all ways of acquiring new competencies for society. (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

In general, the work domain lacks conscious attempts to develop active citizens. Still, some of the examples related with the trade unions in the Romanian context open new perspectives:

"…. We start from the idea that trade union training is a basic element of adult education…The professionalisation of trade unions executive bodies is also marked by the involvement of its members in higher education programs (Ph.D. programs)"(RE-ETGACE 2003c)

In Hungary, creating an Ethical Code within the company may act as a form of enhancing a more democratic climate, but only if management is willing to obey to the rules. The larger sized companies in Hungary run training programmes for the new employees, which involve information booklets, meetings with trade union leaders, and information about employment rights and duties. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that trade union activities in adult training dramatically shrunk because of lack of resources.

4.3.4 New approaches to educational intervention

For adult education, it has been proposed in the Romanian analysis, a rather practice-oriented landscape of educational intervention for stimulating active citizenship and governance given the complexities of the target group, and the institutions and interests that were involved. The experts in Romania suggest that there is no systematic approach regarding education for active citizenship for adults, and most of it has happened as side effects of experiential learning. The following list contains the various contexts for learning rather than educational strategies.

- Involving parents in school activities are sometimes valuable instances in which adults learn informally democratic skills like debating. In Parents Councils, which are consultative institutions linked to schools, participatory skills are fostered thanks to the needs of schools and the initiatives of school principals. Some of the benefits of such actions are; increased civic awareness and responsibility, empowered communities around the schools, and the emergence of schools as main actors in community development, and stimulation of civic engagement.

- Training for public servants in programmes of transparency and the public sector reform.

- Other different training activities, like entrepreneurial education, improve the organisational, leadership, and relationship skills of the group members, making it possible that this type of learning can promote active citizenship.

- Involvement of citizens in community development projects. Most of the community development actions, especially those financed by the World Bank or the European Union, consider that the activities involved enhance the social capital of the target community and decisions should be made through public deliberation. Therefore, citizens are involved in various instances of information dissemination, discussion, and decision-making that provides valuable information and methods of routines.

- Educating adults using media campaigns. Although it hardly involves pedagogy, media campaigns are supposed to change knowledge and attitudes in order to educate. Recent campaigns tried to increase awareness of acute problems like child abandonment, domestic violence, discrimination, and alcohol abuse. Of special interest in this context of our research were the campaigns that inform the public about the right to access to public information and its regulating law.

In the Hungarian focus groups and subsequently in the analysis, several strategies that will buttress both democracy and basic rights by empowering citizens have been outlined:

- Strategy A: Develop human capital. People must be guaranteed minimum levels of education, nutrition, and preventive health facilities. These guarantees represent necessary, though far from sufficient, conditions for both a healthy democracy and as an assault on poverty. All of these constraints, except perhaps the first, can be lifted, but our regional stratum of skewed but growing affluence lacks the will. Where the official will is lacking, "democracy literacy" campaigns can be organised, maybe by following in an indirect way along the lines of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed will augment both literacy and empowerment.

- Strategy B: Promote human-rights education. If people are unaware of their basic rights, they cannot claim and defend themselves. Knowledge is empowering.

- Strategy C: Foster grassroots self-help associations (especially in Roma and other minority environments). Even ostensibly apolitical production or credit-oriented associations can empower their members by building their financial assets, organisational skills, and sense of solidarity and self-confidence. This message is echoed in innumerable studies of Roma co-operatives dedicated to small-scale craft production, mutual support, or revolving credit schemes. Involvement in such associations can shift the perspective of semi-literate citizens, opening the possibility of renegotiating ethnic relations within the local community. Modest repayable grants from external agencies can foster such important initiatives.

- Strategy D: Decentralise power. Many organisations and movements have recently advocated decentralisation as a means of fostering inclusiveness by bringing decision-making structures closer to the population. Some experts argue that this process may reduce poverty because local governments are more likely to respond to the needs of poor constituents than distant central governments. Decentralisation has certainly benefited democracy and the poor, but an enhanced local government does not necessarily empower the local people or stimulate pro-loser policies. Local elites often dominate local governments and capture benefits for themselves. Additionally, in Hungary and generally in the regions central governments, often devolve power responsibilities to local governments without providing them with adequate financial and administrative resources to undertake ambitious programmes. Thus, democrats and advocates for the marginalised need to support decentralisation with a full awareness of why many such experiments have failed.

- Strategy E: Build effective people's organisations. These organisations; unemployment leagues, trade unions, students' association, women's organisations, neighbourhood associations, etc that participated in our focus groups, represented the interests of those groups who are socially excluded. When people's organisations form regional and national coalitions, they become formidable political champions. Such coalitions reflect a polarisation of political society that may pave the way for social reform. Few external agencies will feel comfortable in expanding the influence of people's organisations, though in some cases this mobilisation is the only means of empowering people for democracy and poverty alleviation.

4.3.5 Prime and new modes of intervention: compliance versus institutional changes

An important issue is raised about the core values of democratic society in relation with different issues such as economical, social-cultural, minority and political rights. Some negative aspects related with governmental transition or post-transition like; poverty, unemployment, individualisation, corruption, lack of empowerment, and social capital, are associated with what is called the 'democratic deficit'.

Defining active citizenship and participation in governance as citizens' involvement in producing social goods that take place within a specific social field, we conceptualised civil society as an arena for various power struggles. This social field, as a network or configuration of objective relations between positions, is a

> "relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity which it imposes on all objects and agents which enter in it" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

It is a 'space of possibilities' that both enables and constrains activity, defining the roles and positions that institutions and individuals occupy in this arena. In the field of active

citizenship, specific institutions within the arena try to distinguish themselves from one another and acquire valuable capital. There are two distinct aspects here: positions and power are determined by money and property (in the economic sphere). On the other hand, specific institutions in this field are fighting for financial resources, and on the other hand, the struggle for legitimation in the field can be analysed by assessing the mechanisms of creating symbolical power through education, training, facilitation, and empowerment (as instruments for social and cultural reproduction).

The field of active citizenship – an institutional approach

State domain

Political parties

Educational system

Administration

NGOs

Church

Civil society domain

Media, ICT

Community

Individual/ private domain

Trade unions

Family

Social movements

Economic domain
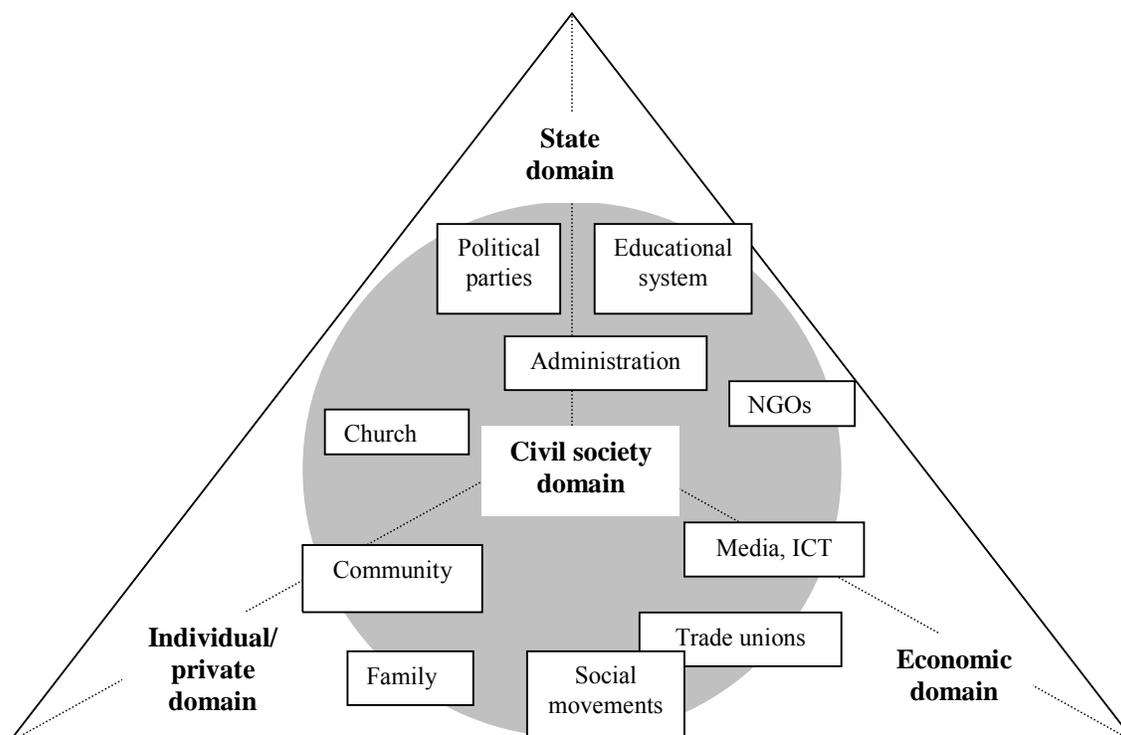
In this 'field' of active citizenship, special attention should be paid to the interaction between new forms of governance and the traditional form of power. Currently, the literature differentiates 'institutionalised' and 'non-institutionalised' politics, nevertheless

"there is only a fuzzy and permeable boundary between these two forms" (Goldstone 2003).

'Institutionalised' politics is primarily expressed as government decisions that affect institutions as well as individual citizens. The perspective of 'non-institutionalised' politics is related with political power as a result of the influences of civil society, and could become part of the social-political environment.

The second form of power, as an expression of citizens' active involvement, is the results of the activity in social spheres, activity that influences the real political discourse and action. Looking from this perspective at the forms of governance in Central and Eastern Europe, it may be possible to find new elements which confirm the ETGACE project findings related with the 'reinvention of politics'. It would be useful to find specific arguments from the national reports that can be associated with the power and influence of 'non-institutionalised politics'.

Political parties: between traditional strategies and emergence of 'new forms of politics'

In both national analyses, there is not a great deal of data about the role of political parties in promoting active citizenship, nor its' relationship with governance processes at the local, regional, or national levels. This was also the case in the ETGACE data, nevertheless, it has been acknowledged at that time the role of the traditional parties in the training and education of their (active) members into representative bodies existed. As stated earlier, this does not seem to be the case in Romania and Hungary, and the focus groups experts did not perceive this issue essential for concrete debate.

Political education was a dominant element of the past regimes, and was reflected in the communist indoctrination. Before 1989, the political regime was considered the major impediment to active participation and encouraged values like conformity, obedience, and adaptation to central policies and strategies, which are still prevalent in citizens' mentalities today. This 'mental heritage' has some characteristics, which include passivity, minimal trust, and low civic interest and courage.

Political parties nowadays in Hungary, as well as in Romania, are plagued with political elites confronting for political power, and not always democratic. Because of the politicised atmosphere, a de-legalisation of the civil sphere appears, resulting in democratic skills and attitudes, and citizens' mobilisation are having difficulty in developing due to the lack of encouragement from political forces. As an editor-reporter of a Roma radio programme in Hungary said:

> "Citizen activity or mobilisation is accepted and appreciated only when it is within the field of power, when it's outside, they call it subversive. Power perceives initiatives others make as an attack."

In addition, as a member of local government and parallel leader of a local civil organisation acknowledged in one Hungarian panel:

> "The number of active citizens is rather small. In the political arena we are on the way toward a bipartite system. Smaller political parties are less and less interested in civil issues. On the other hand both the biggest parties try to reach for the civil world by offering financial support. Consequently the civil sector has also divided into political groups and created enemies."

During the ETGACE project research it was acknowledged that many western European countries tend to have a low level of trust in political parties and politics in general. As a response to this dilemma, new strategies have been developed as mechanisms for the 'reinvention of politics'. Some good examples of governance presented in the current contexts reflects these interactive policy making strategies, i.e. the community oriented project on environmental issues, the initiative based on the Vermont model for achieving consensus in Hungary, and the rural community development action in Romania are all new interactive strategies.

> A former DEMNET activist from Hungary, gave an account of projects, all of them community development oriented which focused on local social planning. Issues of environmental risks were the initial reasons for the projects, and an environmental local action plan was the result. The plan was created by using two volunteer groups; the local social committee and the local experts group. Through their continuous work (mapping the dangers, finding the indicators, collecting data, listing the problems, prioritising the most important problems, assessing the local resources and capacities, and planning the actions) a lot of citizen skills were obtained. Later the local council got involved into the civic planning process and their approval was secured. This particular project was following the lines of the Vermont model, and achieved a consensus and produced tangible results. An environment group was formed, a

new environmental educational programme was introduced, and an environmental officer's post was created in the local authority. (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

Most of the community development action in Romania, especially those financed by the World Bank or the European Union, suppose that the activities involved enhance the social capital of the target community and decisions should be made through public deliberation. Therefore, citizens are involved in various instances of information dissemination, discussion, and decision-making that provides valuable information and routines. (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

Administrative institutions and the reform of its civil servants

Public administrative institutions are the first places where citizens encounter representatives from the local, regional, and central authorities. The Hungarian report indicates that the major problem at this level is the authoritarian attitude of the administrative bodies, and the Romanian data points towards the lack of transparency and open communication. The reform of public servants is an increasing desire in Hungarian society, and recently has become one of the major initiatives in the Romanian public. The Romanian report presented the initiative of GRASP *(Governance Reform and Sustainable Partnership)*, proposed by Institute for Public Policy, and Agency for Governmental Strategies:

"GRASP has as one of its main objectives the democratisation through increasing transparency in public administration. In this regard they introduced recently educational activities with mayors and civil servants for local governance. These training activities address the problem of the access to public information and participation in the decision-making process. The program is planned for 5 years, includes 14 counties within each with 20-40 communities." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

Educational system and the need for a radical school reform

It is obvious from the national reports that there are no general grounds for being optimistic about the rapid possibilities of change in the educational system. Nevertheless, the experts defined ambitions and potential feasible plans, which may create positive images for schools in the future. A visionary glimpse at the future of education for active citizenship could possibly be the most important step in addressing the issue of school democratisation. The main concerns with the educational system include school values, curriculum, culture, climate, organisation, management, and teacher training.

It is acknowledged that education for active citizenship in schools is usually linked with other subjects such as civic culture or history. The mainstream curriculum has to teach students the basic principles of tolerance and trust, helping them make sense of their world and become active citizens. Hopefully, implementing active citizenship will later be associated with a way of life, and will be rooted in the school's culture and climate. Another related dimension is participation (in active citizenship), which requires students to learn through participation and experiences. These three requirements form a mutually re-enforcing cycle. Students have to be stimulated and develop their knowledge, understanding, and skills through participation and responsible actions. One possible alternative is what one Hungarian analysis calls 'global citizenship education' that has raised the benchmark about cultural understanding.

"Citizenship education does not ask, but demands a focus on culture. For schools, this can mean a change in the selection of curriculum and case studies to provide greater variety in topics, and the exposure of students to a variety of cultures, beliefs, and values. Within this commitment to broaden cultural studies, there needs to be a focus on:
- Rights and responsibilities
- Justice and fairness
- Rules and law

- Freedom and constraint
- Power and authority
- Equity and diversity
- Passive and active participation

Critical pedagogy, active citizenship, knowledge, and an understanding of culture are the essentials of future citizenship education programmes. The term critical pedagogy can mean many things to many people. Here, it is intended to mean a pedagogy that attempts to:

- Provide ways of reading history to reclaim power and identity.

- Create interdisciplinary knowledge.

- Draw out values and ethical considerations when defining cultural practices.

- Make curriculum knowledge responsive to the everyday knowledge that constitutes peoples' lives.

This is a pedagogy that requires not only an enquiry approach, but also vigorous discussion and debate. " (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

In schools, multicultural citizenship education means teachers and students are to use the curriculum to critically explore past, present, and future issues.

Students and teachers exploring these issues do so from a particular worldview. On one hand, that worldview might be broad, well informed, knowledgeable, and based on acceptance of others and their differences. On the other hand, it might be narrow, ill informed, ignorant, and based on prejudices and stereotypical views of others. In this project, we see that the desired future scenario is different to the expected scenario. Why? One answer may lie in the belief that there is a lack of power to change the future. This is a feeling that in many people is displayed as apprehension, fear, or even despair.

The Hungarian focus group session results relate the citizenship debates to academic debates on integration and multiculturalism. The modern, social liberal paradigm is no longer tenable in the face of developments such as globalisation, immigration, and the emancipation of citizens. These developments are transforming the relations between state and citizens in democratic societies in a fundamental way. The gap left by the liberal paradigm's neglect of the topic of trans-border cultural integration of minorities was filled by nationalistic and republican conceptions that defined access to formal citizenship in ethnic or political terms. But these exclusive ideals conflict with inclusive notions underlying the concept of democratic citizenship, and with the reality of growing numbers of ethnic minority residents in Central Europe, and this blurring of the boundaries between denizens and full citizens reflects the rise of a liberal egalitarian societal definition of citizenship.

It is clear from the start that education for active citizenship has profound influence in curriculum planning, pedagogy, teacher training, and the relationships between students and teachers and schools and their communities. It should also be clear that a radical reform must take place at the levels of educational management and school organisation to truly reflect good governance principles.

Looking at the strategies promoted by the state, the ETGACE project reflected more defective formal educational activities than future efficient strategies for education and training for active citizenship. In terms of curriculum, teacher training, pedagogy and effectiveness, there are both positive and negative assessments. As earlier stated, the RE-ETGACE perspective is rather grey, but there is still a conviction that a positive effect could be expected if real educational reform takes place on different levels. Since formal education is mainly focussed

on theoretical knowledge, the role of non-formal and informal education is to create space for actual practice. The school environment as a democratic place is a key issue. Some examples of successful projects in this sense are the Dispute Circles in Hungary that were initiated by the Soros foundation, and the active involvement of students in school councils in Romania.

> "Dispute Circles (in Hungary) were the initiative of the Soros Foundation's Open Society Program, and were introduced in 1993 into public schools. Dispute Circles aimed to develop relevant techniques of debating, such as definition setting, listening to others, understanding others, argumentation, dispute in group, and playing positive and negative roles. Dispute Circles reached a high level of achievement in improving communication and disputing skills of young people."

> "The practice of some forms of democracy in (Romanian) school settings involves the implementation of recommendations included in the latest forms of regulations of school organisations or of initiatives that are entirely new for schools. Such are the involvement of students in deliberative structures and activities that make decisions that are significant for school life: participation in School Councils or deliberating and voting in various issues." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

Two interesting initiatives, which have been mentioned in both Romanian and Hungarian educational systems, offers training periods for students, giving them the opportunity to have meaningful social experiences. The first initiative, developed by CODEX Centre for Open Distance Education for a Civil Society - a Romanian NGO, and the second one the Association of Community Developers in Hungary, propose these kind of programmes:

> "CODECS (Romania) has an interesting training programme for *leadership* with pupils from high schools. The programme is structured on semester modules regarding topics like teamwork, communications skills, negotiation, organisational power and leadership. The exact content of the training is adapted to each group's need or the goals of the beneficiary organisation."

> "Association of Community Developers (Hungary), managed to develop good quality training modules, which can offer a residential training centre and a learning environment for acquiring meaningful social experiences, but those in need (average citizens) do not have the time and means to attend. Even if they come up with the monetary resources the potential users do not get permission to leave their workplaces, or gain support from the local government. The Association launched a programme to attract university students for a 5 day training seminar, and the University departments were happy but they did not have the means to pay for the students." (RE-ETGACE 2003c)

There are several initiatives mentioned throughout the reports, as well as a lot of problems, for example, in conjunction with the last initiative mentioned, there have been financial problems within the University Departments in paying for the students' training periods in Hungary, and in Romania, at the beginning, is has been difficult to attract interested students.

Family – for a new perspective on the first step of primary socialisation

As the first step in primary socialisation, education within the family provides the basis for learning democratic behaviour in the school, neighbourhood, local community, workplace, and in the end, wider society. This subject is a specific topic discussed in the Romanian focus groups analysis, and previously was a central issue in the Hungarian analysis on life histories of active citizens. However, in the Hungarian analysis of the focus groups' data, this topic is mentioned only sporadically.

Starting from the real problems identified in the Romanian context, in relation to the negative impact of family education, we posed two questions: How could parental education contribute to a positive learning climate in families that encourage learning social activism? And what could be done to counterbalance the effects of un-learning citizenship in the family? Neither the Romanian or Hungarian analyses present good practices or oriented solutions for these issues. However, values that may contribute to learning active citizenship within family

settings include; tolerance, self-respect, courage, solidarity, positive motivation, acceptance, responsibility, co-operation, and practical pro-social skills like decision-making, deliberation, and self-organisation. Further comparative research is needed in order to identify and propose strategies for challenging the familiar educational environment in order to stimulate social activism.

Churches - forgotten partners of civil society

The Romanian and Hungarian religious communities seem to be forgotten as potential partners of civil society. In Hungary it is acknowledged that, as the result of a public opinion survey, the churches are not part of civil society and belong to "a grey zone". In the Romanian report, the churches are mentioned in relation to the bureaucratisation of public institutions:

> "where the employees should have a special charisma, but it is beginning to be overlooked, resulting in faulty trust and legitimacy".

As institutions that relay religious values and norms, they could foster active participation, not only in the religious sphere, but also in the civic sphere, thus enabling people to become more tolerant. Despite the fact that the life history report revealed and recognised religious values and norms as important issues in learning active citizenship, there is currently little evidence of a linkage between the religious sphere with grassroots and other civic initiatives. Such projects should be encouraged to strengthen the role of the churches in civil society.

Other identified actors of the social sphere, similar to those presented in the ETGACE project could be mentioned: NGO professionalism versus grassroots, social movements: internalisation, foreign donors, local/national realities, community development, the social sphere, trade unions, the socio–economic partnership, traditional media, new information and communication technology.

4.3.6 Conclusions

While the Western countries struggle with globalisation and the democratic deficit, the political agenda of Central and Eastern European countries is less post-modern, the main issues consisting of the strive for democracy in its simplest form and economic security. Civil societies are weak and distrusted, and the citizens often view themselves as subjects of the state rather that agents involved in the share of power.

Compared to the Western countries covered in the ETGACE project, the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are carrying the heavy burden of their past in terms of un-civic and non-democratic habits. All policies intended to address the issues of civic education and democratic governance in the region should take into consideration the gaps in the democratic software (lack of initiatives, social and institutional distrust, cynicism, proneness to corruption, disregard for volunteering etc.).

Democratic and effective institutional designs should be implemented before measures are introduced in the field of formal education for active citizenship in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In assuring civic engagement, the reform of institutions such as the school and the administration is a must. These institutions are places where attitudes and practices contrary to citizenship are learned and promoted; therefore the most urgent intervention effort has to be in the area of advocacy oriented towards the legislative changes within these institutions.

Educational intervention for active citizenship and governance are currently being developed in several areas: formal educational programmes, specific non-formal educational programmes, educational practices of donating foreign civil organisations, informal educational programmes, supporting services, providing information, media issues, publications, and participation and co-operation in government and company issues.

The major impediments for fostering active citizenship are identified as (1) the poor situation of citizens' social-economic circumstances, (2) missing the "know how" of active citizenship, (3) ambivalent and opposite symptoms of existing civil organisations, and (4) the democratic deficit at different levels. Several solutions for solving these problems consist of: increasing the standard of living, arising the interest of becoming active citizens and governors, changing attitudes, developing "know-how" of active citizenship, increasing reputation of civil organisations, providing public information, changing attitudes of government bodies and public institutions, involving people in public affairs, changing company culture, and involving people in the decision-making process.

There is a need for more substantial implementation of formal educational strategies devoted to infusing civic attitudes and competencies. Schools have to become more democratic and better adjusted to available resources, while meeting the needs of the educated. Teachers should be better prepared, internally motivated, and paid higher salaries.

The absence of sound evaluations of current and past programmes dedicated to civic participation and attitudes is evident, and further research and assessment of various intervention strategies and identification of possible unexpected negative consequences is necessary.

All focus groups stress that active citizenship is primarily acquired through experiential learning. Citizens have to be provided with improved opportunities for participation, thus activism being facilitated and made effective. These measures call for new incentives for participation and diversifying the growing number of NGOs. Moreover, long-term funding should be researched to support the development of different organisations in this field, and resources should be provided for facilitating the sharing of good practices in civil society.

Donors should consider new strategies in helping the democratic developments in Romania and Hungary. The strategies should press the political realm for deeper institutional reform, and also enhance the capacity of communities to mobilise in order to collectively solve their problems. Central and Eastern European countries exhibit a weakness in the world of volunteerism that should persuade the top donors (European Union, World Bank) to adjust their agendas and strategies.

In order for NGOs to become effective partners in the social dialogue and more attractive to prospective members, they have to become more responsive to local needs and more volunteer-based. Compared to Western European countries, the post-socialist countries have a much weaker NGO sector that results in a lack of credibility and volunteers in a few grass root organisations or too many experts and paid members in these organisations.

States should presume the responsibility to stimulate the involvement of its citizens in public life. The political elite should press for a democratic top to bottom structure of its administration.

Activists and their organisations should be more conscientious of the inclusiveness and social effects of their activities. Civic competencies and attitudes should contribute to a better quality of life for everyone, and should be shared amongst all categories of class, race, and gender.

Adult education in the region has been newly founded and weakly organised. More resources should be invested in building versatile adult educational systems that should add to the necessary skills and attitudes for active citizenship for adults. A new strategy is needed in order to significantly concern the business elites with its social and civic responsibilities.

5. CONCLUSIONS, FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The first part of this concluding chapter presents the main findings related to our research questions. Each section corresponds to one or more of the revised research questions presented in section 2.2. In addition, this research did produce insights and outcomes that may lead to new questions for research and policies on the training, education and governance of active citizens. These issues are discussed in the second part of the concluding section. Finally, the policy recommendations on the three domains: state, work and civil society are offered.

5.1. Conclusions

5.1.1 From ETGACE to RE-ETGACE: Societal context and new trends

The ETGACE research above all wanted to investigate the changes occurring in the nature of active citizenship and governance under contemporary conditions, and how these conditions articulate in different spheres of society. From the outset, there was an attempt to connect understanding of developments in citizenship and learning in the context of the most important social transformations. Attention was paid, at the beginning, to globalisation and individualisation as most outstanding characteristics of 'late' modern societies and in relation to that the phenomenon of 'Europeanisation'. These processes affect the significance of the role of traditional structures such as nation-state, government, democratic institutions and trade unions in shaping social, economic and political processes and hence their effect on the quality of life at individual, group and societal level. In relation to citizen's activation various theorists argue that new ones have more and more replaced traditional forms and ways more in line with changing social conditions. Citizens are ready to get engaged with the state, but on their own terms, in line with their ethical stance.

Goldman (2001) identifies and discusses three main concerns in relation to the transformation in Europe and the impact of globalisation. Firstly, there is the dynamic of internationalisation and its impact for future Europe. Secondly, there is the undermining of the role of the nation-state and lastly the future of democracy. Globalisation appears to challenge the contemporary relevance of citizenship because it blurs the boundaries, both materially and psychologically that have made citizenship significant in modernity (Faulks, 2000).

The RE-ETGACE project took into account that Central and Eastern European societies are facing different kind of tensions determined, above all, by transition. These societies have reconfigured their political regimes and their economic and social structures, trying to reconstruct and redefine key cultural and social institutions. The transition process is a combination of three main components: a move from totalitarian system to a free, democratic system; the overcoming of deep structural and economic crises by moving from a planned state-owned economy to free market economy; and an adjustment to all kinds of dramatic global changes (Rado 2001). Transition is a very complicated mixture of political, social, economic and cultural aspects and also a combination of dynamical events, which in every moment counterbalance the effects and consequences of the previous transformations. Some of the characteristics of the transition process are, in the view of Rado, the legacy of the communist period; the fragility nature of democratic processes; the dramatic changes in economic system; the rapid transformation of the socio-economic status of people; the painful process of redefinition of the role of state; and the extreme diversity and uncertain values. Arato (2000) contends that there are some key factors for the consolidation of democracy.

Some of them are related with the composition of political elites, the design of political institutions, the political culture, or changing attitudes toward politics among both elites and non-elites, and the role of civil society. Globalisation is also visible in Central and Eastern Europe where economical, political, cultural globalisation entered after 1990 abruptly. People in Central and Eastern Europe face great tensions regarding their identities (global or/and local) as well as greater risks while coping with everyday life in all its terms due to the hardships induced by economic transition. Thus, post modernity and globalisation are current realities in the countries in transition; one example is certainly related to the changes connected with the role of the nation-state.

Meanwhile, there is a reflection about the roles of Central and Eastern countries in Europe as well as the requirements for an integration and adaptation to the global changes on a political, economical, social, and informational level. Thus, it is obvious that what social and political theory refers to as globalisation and post modernity has an impact on the democratisation processes in this part of the world.

5.1.2. Envisioning a new democracy: Democratic deficit in terms of 'hardware' and 'software'

The conclusions here highlight the challenges of democracy as well as the main constrains determined by transition from communism to democracy which have an impact on re-defining and re-shaping the concepts and practices of 'active citizenship' and 'governance' in Hungary and Romania. This section corresponds to the first, second and fifth research question.

Observers of Western European countries as well as those of Central and Eastern European countries consider "democratic deficit" as the main issue concerning the functioning of parliamentary democracy. National literature form Central and Eastern European post-communist democracies underlined a dramatic decline of participation of citizens in politics, even below what would be necessary for the development of a stable democracy in East and Central European countries. In western countries, citizens abstain from participation in traditional mechanisms of democratic governments. Explanations for these processes are sought in social transformations of late modern post-welfare societies. Despite resulting in similar consequences, the manifestation of democratic deficit, in Central and Eastern European countries is rather specific, situation-bounded. It has occurred for reasons such as economic and social deprivation, lack of democratic skills and old mentalities.

It was found that neither globalisation nor post-modern conditions are directly relevant for discussing active citizenship and governance in post-communist countries. Social conditions induced by transition and post-transition have a major impact on democracy. The way political, economic and social changes have been implemented has an impact on how democracy is understood and put into practice. Central and Eastern European new democratic regimes have mainly invested in establishing legal structures and institutions, necessary for parliamentary democracy to function (so called democratic "hardware"), while they have failed to facilitate the development of social relationships and mechanisms enabling citizens to influence their living conditions and participate in debates about the key decisions that affect societies (i.e. "software" or "humanware").

The concept of citizenship

It has been found that the legal concept of citizenship in Central and Eastern European democracies corresponds to the traditional perspective emphasising the relationship between

the state and its citizens. At the level of practice traditional forms appear to dominate. East and Central European democracies are characterised by rather traditional sources of mobilisation. At the individual and collective level national identity plays an important role.

The nation-state is not only the criterion for membership of the nation, but also a basis for the discussion around, which ethnic groups are entitled to fully-fledged citizenship. In Hungary, revitalised relevant forms of national identity have played an important part in the transition processes. For the Romanian context nationalism has appeared to be after 1989 "the only coherent legitimate ideology". More than being a real force of democratic mobilisation nationalism has promoted 'national sovereignty' thus making citizens more 'ethnic than civic' (RE-ETGACE 2003a). Political measures adopted recently indicate that social and political forces in both countries are aware of the significance of this issue for their further democratic development.

Active citizenship

The ETGACE project proposed that active citizens have a strong sense of their place and responsibility in the world, and are driven by a sense of commitment to other people, rooted in notions of justice and place. They often articulate their commitment in terms of some form of 'grand narrative' rooted in religious affiliation, political ideology or enhancement of modernisation. In addition to traditional forms of social activation, new types of activities based on new sources of identification are brought to the fore. Moreover, it is emphasised that active citizens engage with the state when they wish to do so and on their own terms. They are driven by personal ethical values, and many are resistant to the competitive cultures of traditional political processes and parties (ETGACE, 2003: 5).

While exploring the concept and term 'active citizenship' in new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, it was discovered that terms and concepts like civil society, local participation, political socialisation (Hungary), civic and political participation, associative behaviour, community development, minority groups (Romania) are most closely related to what western culture understands as 'active citizenship'. Findings from life stories of active citizens suggest that in Hungary 'active citizenship' is understood in terms of 'social activism': being active as a member /leader, having strong belief in the self-directing potential of a human being focused on changes, being proactive. Responsibility is a central concept. As for Romania active citizenship is about a kind of voluntary membership with an instrumental focus. Profile of active citizen is described as responsible, perseverant and committed to his/her mission, having skills for effective activities.

In analysing citizens' activation in the light of prevalent political ideologies – individual vs. collective model or the 'left-right' dispute there was some evidence to suggest the duality and tensions between these two positions. At the theoretical level the features characteristic of a new form that revitalises active citizenship are recognised and efforts to enforce social participation are acknowledged. Nevertheless, there are in both countries, several opinions which express difficulties related to it. At the practical level a culture of dependency and non-action resulting in passivity and apathy has been widely spread. Especially older citizens are hard to convince into active participation.

In both countries, the central role in democratic participation of citizens is ascribed to the civil society. However, there are a number of serious obstacles in configuring an effective civil society in the Central and Eastern part of Europe. It is still weak and there is a general trend in confusing it with voluntary work (Romania). The findings suggest that current developments

encourage the emergence of "professional elite" in NGOs (Hungary). The division between this "entrepreneurial" category who takes on the role of planners and decision-makers on one hand and volunteers as their assistants on the other hand may inhibit the development of NGOs as grass root organisations and contribute to the evolvement of NGO professionals as an 'elitist', middle-class. In Romania data provide evidence of the reticent emergence of specific identity of NGO activist. This identity stresses the commonalities and highlights the differences, or even opposition, felt by those in the sector against other domains of public life (economy, state, academia etc.)

The development of the civil society is declared as a state priority, also in order to fulfil expectations related to the future membership in EU. State policies on facilitation of democratic processes are primarily directed to (re)building and promoting civil society as a mediator between the state and its citizens and as an agent of change. The relationship between the state and civil society represents an important issue in the further development of the civil society as a public space for dialogic participation of citizens. Both countries are facing a paradox concerning this relationship. On one hand there is a clear demand that the state provides an essential institutional framework and greater access to different categories of (financial) resources to the civil society, whilst on the other hand civil society has to be preserved as a state independent entity to play the role assigned to it by democratic countries.

Governance

In the European context, the term 'governance' strongly relates to the efforts to reinforce the participation of citizens as a fundamental legitimizing element of participative democracy. Concerning Eastern European post-communist democracies this term appears to be above all connected to the revitalisation of civil society. In both countries there are certain processes indicating such tendencies. In Hungary there is a discussion about the shift from government as a 'centre of gravity' to 'multiple zones' of consultations, negotiation, collaboration situated within the interconnected units of civil society where alternative procedures are developed. The 'dialog model' is discussed as a possible alternative. In Romania, governance is connected with new regulations at the level of public local administration on one hand and with the development of a more democratic relationship between the state and economy on the other.

In what can be described as corporate governance there was no evidence that new forms of organisation of work and work place relationships emerged that facilitated greater democracy. In fact, in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, trade unions seem to be one of the 'main losers' of transition. Nevertheless, there have been identified efforts and concrete strategies at the trade unions level in order to reinforce their status and role.

In general, in relation with governance, the 're-invention of the politics' is sustained not only by creating democratic institutions but it is equally reinforced by sustaining public spaces where people can address their concerns and sometimes initiate disputes, conflicts. It demonstrates the functionality between the democratic institutions and the society at large; nevertheless it is still a question of openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence in the public policies in Central and Eastern Europe.

5.1.3. Learning active citizenship and governance

In these new and changing conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, we tried to identify the main characteristics of the processes of learning for active citizenship and governance and the

approaches to education strategies that support this learning process. The third and fifth research questions correspond to these issues.

The conscious and the unconscious aspects of active citizens' personality

Addressing the issue of learning active citizenship, the Romanian and Hungarian analyses display many similarities concerning the results and the interpretations, although the analytical devices put in practice were a little dissimilar. This may be considered as evidence for the validity of the findings. On the other hand, comparisons between the two analyses are biased due to the differences in the two samples regarding age groups and status in the field of active citizenship of their countries.

Both teams differentiate between two levels of active citizenship, two dimensions of the acting individual that have associated two specific areas or domains of learning. The Hungarian life history analysis recognizes the differences between the conscious and the unconscious aspects of active citizens' personality. The Romanian analysis also differentiates among the levels of identity, on the one hand, and that of competencies and skills on the other. The two distinctions made above delineate aspects correlated to what others have called practical and discursive consciousness, or ethos and ideology.

The conscious personality of active citizens comprises a combination of values and norms that the subjects can articulate in discourse interpreting their own careers. They can originate either in the processes of unconscious learning or in an attempt to be convergent to peculiar socialized life-views. Responsibility, commitment and perseverance are characteristics of persons regarded as highly relevant by subjects in both samples. However, due to their position in the activists' field, explained best through differences in selection procedures, Hungarian subjects provide better ideologically articulated life-programmes than their Romanian counterparts, and the complexity of their speeches in terms of ideological sophistication is much greater.

According to the Hungarian account, the active ethos springs from the socialization influences in childhood, which leave persistent marks on personality and materialize in action in unbalanced situations. Life-cycle moments play a larger role in the explanations found in the Romanian analysis, suggesting that turning into activism is ignited by specific, usually unbalanced, situations in life that the person has to face.

Family values and its relationship to learning active citizenship

Values are internalized usually in family contexts. Family is the circumstance of intergenerational transmission of class ideologies – like of old social democracy, as in the case of many Hungarian subjects, or of religious commitments, that seem actually to be not very influential on the level of practices of activism. The Hungarian team considers at least as important the impact of values – one can say better ethos or habitus – internalized during childhood through practice, through experiential learning. Social orientations, which are class related, have their origin in the everyday life in the families of origin. Those of bourgeois origin have learnt independence while persons of lower origin internalized concern for community and cooperative orientation. In the same line, integration, continuity and respect for tradition, as well as the opposite drive towards rejecting the parents' values have been determined by childhood experiences and less by direct discursive practices in families or schools. Value introjection occurs, according to the Romanian analysis, through identification or differentiation. Family, again, is an important source of identity, but in a great measure

through negative reference to it. Collective identities, significantly others play a great role again in the socialization of active citizens. Class related orientations are more visible through projects of social mobility that motivate activism.

Learning active citizenship in different settings

There have been identified a rather pessimistic view regarding the possibility of mobilizing individuals into activism through planned educational interventions.

Formal education still plays an important role in the creation of active citizens. In some measure, this kind of influence is age related. The youths', but also adults' potential for activism was channelled and controlled during the communist regimes through official organizations. This kind of institutions constituted the context for creating networks and acquiring skills and knowledge for further activism. Romania was somewhat different from Hungary in this respect: while in Hungary one can speak of a two-tier institutional system for training for active citizenship during the communist regime – as opposition and resistance groups had been also active and the official organizations often taken over by their members for more reformist, civil objectives, in Romania activism was strictly controlled and opposition virtually non-existent. Though, as the accounts of one of the Romanian subjects reveals, university campuses, with their concentration of people with high mobilization potential, produced instances of resistance even in the more controlled context.

During transition, education for active citizenship became more diversified and analyses from the two countries display more similarities or complementarities than differences. Civic education curricula are implemented in the educational systems of both countries. Many doubts are cast on their effectiveness due to their minor place in the academic curriculum, the lack of professional training of teachers and to the absence of stakes for civic education for their target groups in the light of the promotion mechanism within the school system.

Thus, the importance of informal, experiential learning is again stressed, especially by experts in the focus groups discussions. Those involved in formal educational programmes acquire more effectively civic attitudes and skills if they are transmitted through non-formal activities. School-NGO, school-business partnerships, project initiatives were mentioned as successful in attempting to involve pupils in civic activities and foster attitudes and practices convergent with the civic ideals.

In adult life, one problem hindering involvement in community issues is the feeling of powerlessness which is embedded in class positions and strengthened by a corresponding ethos of distrust, materialism and individualism that comes along the socialization processes. A necessary way out from this situation is that of empowerment which has to be an essential component of any development and participatory programme. Participatory community development programs were mentioned as instances in which people are encouraged to become involved in civic activities.

One big issue that has been emphasized in both national analyses is that of the negative effects of various socialization and learning experiences faced by individuals during transition. Learning un-citizenship, of non-civic values and practices, is permanent, it occurs at every stage of life, and is rooted in the workings of institutions – mainly the public ones and is seen as endangering the democratic evolution of the two countries. Authoritarian leadership at different levels, corruption and lack of transparency and participation in dealing with public issues are inductive of cynicism, instrumentalism, lack of involvement and

exclusion. Civic education programmes, as well as different training instances cannot have the expected outcomes if they are not combined with consistent reforms, generated from above or from below, of the institutions within which people act and live.

5.1.4 Educational intervention for active citizenship and governance

In this section we will point out the main approaches and intervention strategies to education for active citizenship and governance that have predominated, or have been advocated in literature, policy and practice. Special attention is given to those measures, which are likely to prove most effective in the future in relation to learning active citizenship and governance. The answers for the fifth and sixth research questions are offered here.

Three types of approaches have been identified - top-down, bottom-up pressure enterprises and a mixture between these two perspectives.

Different types of approaches

The top-down approaches - are related, in general, to governmental policies on formal education and the development of civil society after 1990 where active citizenship educational reforms in both countries focussed on promoting democratic values through formal curricula. The emphasis is on the development of critical thinking and democratic culture. However, adult education and lifelong learning policies are more focussed on vocational skills and competencies fostering employability but also address political socialisation and civic education. As for creating opportunities for 'learning active citizenship and governance by practicing' at the national level policies facilitating the development and functioning of civil society structures and activities are also promoted.

The bottom-up initiatives - have developed from policy measures and are most relevant for the education and training for active citizenship. They tend to consist of services that support the development of active citizenship. The previous section has mainly been oriented, through a governance perspective, towards creating or demanding more open institutions and promoting citizens' and access to information or legislation processes. Bottom-up initiatives appear as supporting services.

The mixture of top-down and bottom-up initiatives - seem to be appropriate also for strategies involving community development, rural developmental projects and dealing with local un-employment. The same approach might be extrapolated for other institutions or contexts, like in a school environment where formal policies or regulations on civic education curriculum have to be sustained by a positive and enforcing democratic school climate. Therefore, a balance between formal, non-formal and informal influences can be effectively sustained.

Current practices and domains

Educational intervention for active citizenship and governance are currently being developed in several areas: formal educational programmes, specific non-formal educational programmes, educational practices of donating foreign civil organisations, informal educational programmes, supporting services, providing information, media issues, publications, and participation and co-operation in government and company issues.

Future perspectives

A number of general measures have been identified that need to be addressed in order to encourage active citizenship and governance. There is a need to:

• Decentralise power - that will bring the decision-making structures closer to the people like making local governments more responsible developing initiatives appropriate to local needs. This decentralisation of power from central to more local governments needs to be backed-up with delegation of financial resources. However, measures need to be put into place in order to ensure that "local elites" do not dominate local governments and utilise the benefits for just their own purposes.

• Encourage measures that reduce barriers to active participation like increasing the standard of living, arising the interest of becoming active citizens and governors, changing attitudes.

• Develop "know-how" of active citizenship, increasing reputation of civil organisations, providing public information, changing attitudes of government bodies and public institutions, involving people in public affairs, changing company culture, and involving people in the decision-making process.

• Build effective people's organisations by paying attention to those socially excluded and involving them in coalitions, which may pave the way for social reform. Various organisations like unemployment leagues, trade unions, students' association, women's organisations, neighbourhood, community associations should consider this issues.

• Foster grassroots self-help associations like credit-oriented associations that can empower their members by building their financial assets, organisational skills, and sense of solidarity and self-confidence as has been seen in Roma co-operatives dedicated to small-scale craft production, mutual support, or revolving credit schemes.

• Develop human capital by ensuring minimum levels of education, nutrition, and preventive health facilities and not focusing on measures that lead to the economic affluence of a few people.

• Reshape and strengthen formal education so that it operates more democratically and also increases opportunities for disadvantaged people like Roma, unemployed and poorly educated families. Promote human rights and intercultural education.

• Encourage active citizenship through experiential learning and learning-by doing thus emphasising the importance of the role of non-formal and informal learning strategies.

• Encourage parents to take more responsibility for family influences that lead to active citizenship. Focus on strengthening lifelong learning strategies for active citizenship particularly for adults.

• Create opportunities for citizens' active participation Strengthen voluntary sector participation in a way that creates more grass roots volunteers in relation to the number of experts and paid members of organisations.

• Adapt NGOs' programmes to respond the current needs of the community they serve.

- States should presume the responsibility to stimulate the involvement of its citizens in public life. The political elite should press for a democratic top to bottom structure of its administration. Activists and their organisations should be more conscientious of the inclusiveness and social effects of their activities. Civic competencies and attitudes should contribute to a better quality of life for everyone, and should be shared amongst all people.

- Encourage external agencies to review their policies for financing initiatives so that they more effectively can address the weaknesses that exist in volunteering in central and Eastern European Countries.

5.1.5 A new balance between economic development and civic involvement

Many of the findings revealed that adult learning in different settings contributes to the development of new balances between economic development and civic involvement. The fifth research question refers to this. Social participation can benefit from increased human capital – better education and skills, which can be provided by the state or by the civil society or by the business sector. In this context, one of the solutions could be directed towards more state investment in education and also encourage businesses to invest more in the competencies of their employees, an accumulation of knowledge and skill that civic involvement can only benefit from.

There are programmes that address intrinsically both the issues of social and economic development and that of social participation. Community development programmes, which are popular in the area due to the endemic severe social problems the two transition countries face, have a chance of succeeding only if they assure the involvement of members of community in solving their own problems. Such projects, that got an impetus from the recent trend focusing on social capital in the area of social sciences and development, if implemented right, contribute greatly to empowering people, increasing trust and social participation, fostering institutions, attitudes and practices of active citizenship. Besides this, programmes of community development have the ability to transfer, through non-formal and informal learning, knowledge and skills useful for future involvement from active citizens. A certain amount of this sort of programme can have spill over effects in wider areas, like that of the boosting the responsibility of public institutions, of producing better political institutions or increasing the human capital and the ability to absorb investment and technology. All these changes materialize in better quality of life for the majority and reduced social inequality and exclusion.

Strengthening the civil society by spreading active citizenship, is expected to have a positive outcome for the social and economic development for the two countries. Indeed, social capital should increase, possibilities for collective action-raising, while public institutions more transparent.

However, several unexpected negative effects of active citizenship had been mentioned, especially during the expert panels. They do not negate the net positive effects of active citizenship and of the policies directed to stimulate active citizenship, but pinpoint to shortcomings in current policies and practices in the area, including learning and training for active citizenship.

Training for active citizenship can contribute to the widening of social gaps and increasing the hinderances against participation of the excluded ones. It seems that in many cases programmes that transfer knowledge and skills correlated to active citizenship are directed to

an advantaged minority of urban and educated youth for the sake of the easy success of the programmes. Such an approach can only add to the social and cultural advantage of the few from the elite. Moreover, it strengthens the professionalisation of NGOs and makes them more estranged from grass root society. Programmes of active citizenship, especially training sessions, should be, probably, less concerned with quantitative, measurable results and more worried about their social exclusive effects or about the degree in which they contribute to social cohesion.

In the same line, the search for quick, visible, measurable successes, forces the institutions that implement programmes in the field of active citizenship and/or governance to make compromises with institutions or the structures that they are expected to change. For the sake of entering institutions, NGOs make bargains with the leaderships of the public institutions to whose reform they should contribute; blocking possibilities for frontal, direct approach.

Moreover, experts admit that active citizenship can be a source of conflict not only of inclusion and cohesion, since active citizens are prone to question the very functioning of institutions and the arbitrary of the authority and claim the rights and entitlements which are lawfully and morally theirs. Experts mentioned children challenging the authority of parents in parochial families, or employees raising claims from their employers. Although confrontation is to be avoided, those involved in the field of active citizenship should expect contradictions to increase as a result of empowering citizens.

Active citizenship should work for the benefit of the public good. Part of it is the reformation of public institutions that must deliver the public goods but often hinder the social economic development. Training in areas related to citizenship, ethics, and different skills and knowledge associated with public administration are meant to raise the quality of the state apparatus. However, as experts in both countries noticed, they encourage the mobility of the best public servants from the state to the private or to the civil sector through the provision of credentials and skills that are valuable on those sectors. While the effect on the quality on the civil society or the business world is evident, the public sector suffers from a drain of its best employees, which accentuates its flaws. However, we think that the impact of this pervert effect on the public sector is rather small, the necessity being on behalf of the state for deep changes.

5.2 Emergent questions and further developments

In this section we will focus on the emergent questions, recapitulating findings that were scattered throughout the different stages of the research project, and arranging them in *four dimensions of active citizenship* that in our view require different strategies for education and intervention to promote active citizenship. Thus, active citizenship as habitus, agency, subjectivity and situated practice will be discussed.

By relating the emergent questions produced by the RE-ETGACE research project to these four dimensions, we hope to outline a coherent frame of reference for further research and analysis of the topic of active citizenship.

5.2.1 Active citizenship and habitus

The ontological presupposition that underlies the notion of active citizenship in the RE-ETGACE project is the concept of intentional, autonomous subjects, who are able and can learn to act as agents for the benefit of the public sphere. To this dimension of active citizenship we will return in the next paragraph.

However, agreement on the necessary connection between active citizenship and the notion of subjects as agents should not coincide with neglect of exogenous influences and structures that shape and limit the scope and nature of the acting subject. The *habitus* – i.e. the deeply rooted and largely unconscious structure of perceptions, thoughts and routines into which a subject is socialised (Bourdieu, 1990) – to a large extent determines both the options and the sources for its acting as an agent. Motivations and sources for active citizenship are therefore built in the social institutions and structures that constitute the "habitat" of the subject and that give rise to a specific "habitus". Likewise, it should be stated that social institutions and structures may work *against* the development of a habitus that allows and promotes active citizenship, by rather giving rise to motivations and sources that further social distrust, apathy, indifference or egocentrism.

Researching training and education for active citizenship should not restrict itself to questions that address the subject as an agent, but look for the defining and limiting sources for active citizenship that are rooted in the processes and instances that socialize citizens into a specific habitus as well.

The life histories of quite some active citizens in both the ETGACE and RE-ETGACE projects bear witness to the significance of early-learnt family values, as well as to religious and world-view inspired motivations and attitudes, being sources of inspiration for acting as a responsible and concerned citizen.

However, in the national analyses of Hungary and Romania there are also numerous references to institutional and structural patterns that motivate to abstain rather than become actively involved in issues of "public good" and benefits. Summarising such an abstaining habitus under the notion of *learnt un-citizenship*, the interpretations of the empirical data refer to the persistence of a "mental heritage" of social distrust, absence of initiatives, lack of collaborative skills, and avoidance of confrontations as a consequence of the omnipresence of hierarchically organised institutions in the private and public sphere. This applies as well to family life as to school culture, to public administrative institutions as to the media, to NGOs as to churches. The overall picture the analyses outline is one of a social and political landscape that is dominated by bureaucratic, elitist and authoritarian organisations, in many cases looked upon with distrust and suspicion because of the smell of corruption and incompetent management.

Being socialised in contextual settings that show the mentioned characteristics, one does not need to wonder why a "un-citizenship habitus" is easier and more regularly internalised than an "active citizen habitus". From the perspective of educational intervention this state of affairs raises the question what possibilities and limits are present for education and training into active citizenship for those who are not socialised into defining themselves as (potential) agents in the public sphere.

One answer might be that interventions urgently should focus on the *transformation and reform of the same public institutions* that now are responsible for the fostering of "learnt un-citizenship": schools, administrative institutions, NGOs, etc. This can be justified by the logical argument that only fundamental structural changes will enable socialisation into a habitus that favours active citizenship.

However, such interventions belong rather to the domain of policy decisions and political debate, and are hardly subject to educational interference. Yet, looking at active citizenship

from the perspective of habitus touches upon at least two new questions for further research that might have a serious impact on policy recommendations as well:

- What are the needs for *training and education of the institutional actors* who are accountable for the socialising of citizens (civil servants, teachers, professionals, party executives, family- and community workers, etc.) in the perspective of promoting active citizenship? This question covers a broad range of sub-questions, from the development of *social and communicative skills*, to competencies and knowledge for the development of *learning organisations* and *client-centred* institutional cultures.

- Connected to the former question is the issue of how institutions should be designed to foster active citizenship. Institutional reforms as such do not guarantee the promotion of active citizenship. What is wanted is a deeper insight into the *required pedagogical characteristics of organisational contexts* that may stimulate active citizenship. This question refers to sub-questions with respect to the *accessibility* of experiences and information, *accountability* for decisions and outcomes, room for *negotiation and debate, reflexivity* of practices, etc.

The inherent social character of habitus denies a purely educational approach to both sets of educational questions. *Multi-disciplinarian* research that unites educational, sociological, psychological and organisational expertise is preferable.

5.2.2 Active citizenship and agency

As mentioned before, the RE-ETGACE project was guided by the presupposition of the citizen as an agent. In this paragraph we will argue for new questions on the education and training of active citizens that emerged from the research on this dimension of agency.

Whereas the habitus dimension informs about possibilities and limitations for becoming an active citizen, the agency dimension rather signifies modes and figures of *being* an active citizen – a subject who by acting upon the public sphere "can make a difference" (Giddens). From an educational point of view the main questions for this dimension relate to the skills, attitudes, knowledge, and competencies people need to act as an active citizen, and to the educational strategies and conditions for learning that may promote such capacities.

In the RE-ETGACE project the strong focus on this agency dimension is reflected in the choice of life histories of active citizens as a main source for the gathering of empirical data. And the conclusions offer a host of insights, both with respect to what competencies and qualities are vital for active citizenship, and to how education and training may contribute to the development of such qualities. Mentioned are e.g. feeling responsible; being pro-active, perseverant, committed, and effective; and expressing self-directedness. Furthermore, the research outcomes made clear that such qualities are developed in two different learning processes. On the one hand, there is a need for cultural-symbolic experiences that inform about the identity and the features of active citizenship; on the other hand, one needs instrumental-functional mastering of the skills and knowledge to perform as an active citizen. Finally, the research made clear that in general learning-by doing and informal learning have a deeper impact on the development of active citizenship than formal educational settings.

These findings have resulted into a number of recommendations for educational and policy measures to promote active citizenship. However, one significant finding of the research project hardly has been touched, neither in its causes nor in its implications for educational intervention: the strongly *individual and individualised* pathways of learning and performing active citizenship. It seems like the agency dimension is predominantly perceived in a concept of individual agents. Yet, as has been mentioned before in the research analysis, citizenship is not just a matter of individual choices but subject to the construction and identification of

collective identities as well, i.e. shared sources and meanings that claim the belonging and solidarity to a common community, and providing substantial self-descriptions to the agency potential of citizens.

Again, like with the habitus dimension, questions of how to handle this tension between individual acts of citizenship and identification with collective identities of communities is not an exclusive educational issue. Rather it appeals to political, economical and social policies that promote a better fit between individual motivations and aspirations on the one hand, and collective needs and symbols on the other. However, this tension gives rise to a highly significant question for further research on the education and training for active citizenship as well:

What contributions education can provide in relating individual, everyday experiences of citizens to empowering visions on the collective nature of social and communal life? Such a question refers to the development of *sociological imagination* and of *competencies to critically inquire and "negotiate" the cultural codes and symbols* that inform them about the meaning of their personal position in the wider communities they are part of. This question implies several connected sub-questions:

- How can education help in understanding the *constructivist* nature of narratives about social life? This addresses issues of how to facilitate critical interrogations and "de-constructions" of dominant cultural codes and symbols that enable insights into power-knowledge formations and discourses, into interests and hierarchies that are presented, and into the inequality of different positions in producing and distributing different interpretations of public life.

- How can education encourage the exploration of cultural codes and perspectives that are informed by *different meanings, values and attitudes* than the dominant ones? This question connects citizenship education to the search for cultural projects and social movements that may locate individual biographies into alternative and more meaningful outlooks on the needs and options of collective life experiences.

- How can education help in *personalising the political*? The individualisation of active citizenship indicates that personal life histories to a large extent are experienced as separated or even in opposition to institutions and concerns that dominate the public sphere. Education might help in unravelling the meanings and values that inform personal experiences and narratives about the self. By communicating and sharing these with others, personal "life projects" may act as trigger points for the construction of collective identities, challenging the dominant institutions and creating more meaningful modes of citizenship.

5.2.3 Active citizenship and subjectivity

The former paragraph addressed the agency dimension of active citizenship in a rather general way - specifying skills, competencies, knowledge and attitudes that constitute the mental equipment of an active citizen, and educational challenges that are related to the development of such qualities. However, active citizens may differ and vary considerably in the ways they seek to express their citizenship and in the characterisation of their selves as an active citizen. This relation to the self – i.e. the *subjectivity* of active citizens (Foucault) – will be discussed in this part of the emergent questions. Subjectivity denotes processes of individuation and identification –"techniques" of how subjects work upon their selves, carving their ways to developing and performing as active citizens.

In the analysis on life histories the outcomes of the techniques that are used by the respondents in this RE-ETGACE research to transform their selves into active citizens were arranged into a conceptual model for the description and analysis of different "characters" for

active citizenship. Starting point were four questions about transforming the self into an active citizen, pertaining to the substance (*what* aspect of the self is emphasised), the mode of individuation (*who* does one seek to become), the work upon the self (*how* does one operate on the route to transform the self into an active citizen), and the teleology (*why* does one want to become and act as an active citizen).

These questions enabled the construction of four characteristics of active citizens, based upon the analysis of life histories: *entrepreneurial,* characterised as promoting personal well-being by investing in entrepreneurial relations between the self and social networks; *symbolic*, characterised as looking for an authentic way of life by identifying with authentic values and communities; *professional*, characterised as aiming at personal excellence by sharing expertise in professional communities; *resistance*, characterised as striving after a more righteous, free and human world by opposing social injustice, oppression and deceit.

This model allows conceiving education and training for active citizenship in a more specific sense than usual. It makes it possible to differentiate between specific educational wants and learning trajectories, in accordance with the particularities of the specific character of active citizenship that is dealt with. Furthermore it opens roads to educational interventions that aim at the transformation of one character into another, e.g. by making use of concepts and practices that enable *perspective transformation* in the mental maps and attitudes that govern the acts and thoughts of citizens.

Yet, the presented model shows some flaws concerning an educational perspective on the subjectivity of active citizens. First, the model is fairly *hypothetical* in nature: it is a conceptual construct, not yet convincingly filled with empirical data nor provided with specific educational objectives linked to each character of active citizenship. The model is an outcome of the RE-ETGACE project that was not foreseen in the original research questions; therefore the data were not collected in the systematic way that is required to construct a theoretically and empirically sound model that can be related to specific educational objectives.

A first emergent question for further research then might be a *focussed research on the appearance and life paths of the different characteristics of active citizenship*, related to specific learning histories and educational objectives on the one hand and the challenges and limits to active citizenship that are implied in the social "habitat" of learners on the other.

Another flaw of the model is its "silence" about the *normative justification* of the different characteristics of active citizenship. Of course, it was in the first place meant to function as an instrument for description and analysis. Furthermore, the desirability of promoting, correcting or mixing specific characteristics of active citizenship in the first place should be subjected to public debate and social practice, and not figure as an educational issue. Nevertheless, it might very well be a legitimate question to ask what role education might play in the furthering of public debates about this topic. A second emergent question therefore is:

How and to what extent education may play a role in the promotion of public debates about the *contribution of specific characteristics of active citizenship to the political and social challenges a community faces*? This question covers a range of sub-questions, varying from enabling and motivating participation and communication to facilitating taking a stand and analysing the flaws and benefits of specific types of active citizenship in view of the societal challenges at stake. The question what kind of active citizen does a community want and need requires quite some competencies, if the answer is to be looked for in a democratic and public

debate. Moreover, education and training may well contribute to the development and distribution of such competencies, by introducing concepts and practices for *critical thinking, social learning, and communicative praxis* in the public debate.

5.2.4 Active citizenship and situated practice

Until now, we discussed issues that relate to becoming and acting as an active citizen. Active citizenship, however, is shaped as well by its *context*. Questions about the options and limitations of becoming and being an active citizen as well as questions about the characteristics of active citizens that may be developed are closely connected to the levels and qualities of the communities involved. Active citizenship on a local or regional level signifies different strategies, competencies, objectives, options and limitations than citizenship on a national, European or even global level. Being involved with the public good in a rural political organisation is something different from being engaged with environmental issues on a global scale – yet, the concept of active citizenship tends to conflate both practices.

In the RE-ETGACE project a contextual diversification of active citizenship was tried by distinguishing the domains of state, civil society and economy as arenas for active citizens. However, this endeavour proved only partially successful. Apart from a lack of data to justify sound conclusions with respect to clear differences in processes of learning and education in the three domains, two other reasons for this partial failure relate to conceptual opaqueness.

In the first place the concept of civil society was used in a double meaning: both as a *specific* domain for performing citizenship (e.g. NGOs), and as a *general* concept to denote the sphere of public goods that is the core of citizenship in all its manifestations. This opaqueness gave rise to confusion and lack of clarity as to the interpretation of active citizenship in all three domains.

In the second place, even a well-conceptualised diversification into domains would not cover the multi-layered character of active citizenship in its range from the local to the global. Active citizenship does not exist as a singular identity but only in a *multiple identity*, as active citizens belong to multiple communities. On a conceptual level, the RE-ETGACE project, like the original ETGACE project unfortunately did not address this kind of contextual diversification, and as a consequence no systematic data on education and training for this dimension was collected.

Yet empirical findings scattered throughout the research point to the significance of acknowledging active citizenship as a practice that is multi-layered and situated in different practices in view of educational needs and support. To name a few examples:

- The professionalisation and business-like attitude of many NGOs tend to daunt volunteers and exclude the consultation of target groups. Education and training for active citizenship in this situation clearly should focus on how to build and activate *self-directedness* and *participatory communication* in the interactions between professionals, volunteers, and target groups

- In the analysis is mentioned how active citizenship that is embedded in the collective identity of minorities meets a range of obstacles. In this situation the focus of education and training should be more directed to competencies how to reconcile acknowledgment of plural identities and difference on the one hand with legal and formal equality on the other - e.g. by learning "constitutional patriotism" (Habermas 2002), i.e. learning normative democratic principles of argumentation in developing a *common discursive framework*

- Citizenship in a European and global perspective is hardly promoted, other than by the delivery of loads of information. Education and training that is meant to promote a more *"cosmopolitan citizenship"* (Delanty

2000) should focus far more on the exploring and bringing forward of issues and values that connect local practices to processes on a national, European and global scale, e.g. related to questions of sustainability, solidarity, migration, and human rights.

These few examples may suffice to illuminate the significance of specifying what situated practices of active citizenship are addressed when the objectives, foci and conditions of education and training are discussed.

Therefore an emergent question for further research on education and training that rises from this dimension is:

How can education and training for active citizenship be *tuned to the multiple identity and multi-membership of active citizens in different contexts of the public sphere*? This question like others involves several sub-questions, like:

- How to identify and assess specific *educational needs and wants in specific practices*?

- How to identify and cope with *contradictory values and options* that are rooted in different descriptions of active citizenship in different communities of citizenship practice?

- How to promote *genuine interaction and communication* between citizens and the discourses that figure in different contexts of the public sphere and contribute to a *mutual understanding and influence*?

Again, the coping with active citizenship in multiple situated practices is not an exclusive matter of educational expertise, and will require a broad multidisciplinary approach. Yet even the scattered findings on this dimension of active citizenship in the RE-ETGACE project hint at the significance of the educational potential in dealing with this issue.

5.3 Policy implications on the three domains: state, work and civil society

Based on the conclusions reached above the RE-ETAGE Project has been able to make the following recommendations:

5.3.1 State domain

- Reshaping political parties is a must in the post-communist countries, as well as sustainable efforts for increasing their interest in societal issues, democratising the political domain and encouraging "networked polity" by promoting local governance.

- Public debate spaces should be created and maintained, providing opportunities to deliberate, to discuss and to build trust between citizens.

- Institutional reform of public administration sector as well as different civil services should be considered.

- Awareness-raising campaigns in the context of European accession for acknowledging that EU-integration is not only Government's or State's responsibility.

- A special role of public mass media in promoting civic values should be recognised in the context of reshaping public media in Central and Eastern European countries.

- Open access to public information for all the citizens strengthening their information rights, providing technologies to foster access, free of charge services, and guidance.

- Paid leave systems to make the citizens able to participate in relevant citizenship training. Training funds to be established and tax refunds for those undertaking these training courses should be proposed.

- Reforming educational system in post-communist countries from Central and Eastern Europe, which should start with a debate on the duality of traditions of civic education, namely Prussian and Communist ones, not only in what human rights mean for democracy but mainly in relation with the practices which can enforce democratic participation.

- Schools should be open to the wider society, embedded into their local community. If this requirement is fulfilled, more actors would interplay in educating youth, school partnership programmes would broaden the democratic experience of students. School democracy (student participation, parent participation, teacher participation) should be promoted.

- On curriculum content, not only the basic information on multiparty democratic state, multiculturalism etc. should be transmitted; the crucial issue is how the content is taught. The primacy of practice-oriented education cannot be overlooked. Student oriented activities and the adaptation of the curriculum to the students' age is fundamental.

- Teacher training programmes should address the issues of active citizenship and stimulate its integration in specific disciplines of the curriculum as well as valuing the dimension of social activism in what is called hidden curriculum.

- International youth exchange programmes are of immense value, not only at the higher education level, but also in general educational system. Financial support and opportunities are needed to make them possible for rural and deprived schools and their students as well.

5.3.2 Work/Economic domain

- Considering the role of education in relation with the economic sphere, general educational levels should be increased significantly. This should focus on special emphasis of development of basic skills, development of basic IT technologies and transfer practical skills learning in the school curriculum.

- For fostering the work domain, school curriculum should introduce techniques of active teaching and learning, focusing on entrepreneurial attitudes and values with concern for sustainable development and social responsibility and the values of solidarity.

- Establishing real learning partnerships between schools, enterprises, administrative bodies, trade unions, civil society should create a positive balance between civic involvement and economic development.

- The state as well as private employers should promote investment in the formal and informal education of their employees. They should be stimulated to do this, but since it depends on the industrial structure of the country, it is clear that the general level of education is dependent upon the broad development politics and upon general education policy.

- The inequalities of opportunities in educational attainment among different categories like poor versus rich people, women versus man, younger versus older generation etc should be eliminated. Educational programmes for less advantaged categories must be enforced.

- Since a lot of learning of un-citizenship is happening in the work context, there should be a focus on eliminating hierarchical participation in enterprise governance.

- Administration reform and training of civil servants should be addressed in the context of reshaping democratic and effective institutions.

- The balance between critical thinking and social consensus represents one fundamental aspect in countries from Central and Eastern Europe where education socialisation and implicitly and mentality suffered by political indoctrination and conformism. These values and attitudes should be cultivated, not only through education but in every social circumstances.

- Trade unions should contribute to the development of knowledge and skills related to active citizenship providing not only the motivation for learning, but also different tools like booklets, newspapers and supporting informal learning.

5.3.3 Civil Society domain

- Civil society domain should occupy an important role in a democratic society being at the confluence of state, economic and private domains. There is a need for finding creative ways to involve them to sponsoring their activities and involving people as volunteers.

- Civil society should provide opportunities for those disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment, to be actively involved in this sector. As several examples have shown, sometimes, people active in this sector are looking to complete their studies by returning into formal educational system.

- It becomes obviously there is a need for specialised professionals in civil society domain, special education programmes have to be developed at the vocational training as well as at the university level.

- Educational formal and non-formal programmes have to be built on experiences people have already in the practice – skill oriented rather than knowledge oriented. The same could be realised by informal learning in grassroots organisation by stimulating debates and empowering people.

- There has to be a critical assessment of the current developments which encouraged the emergence of "professional activists" in NGOs and have made these organisations somehow estranged from grassroots organisations diminishing voluntary, civil participation.

- Where different social services accessible in the civil society sphere are replacing the state services, there has to be a concern not only to transfer financial support from the state but also to create opportunities for reaching other financial support and moreover to attract and support voluntaries in providing these services.

- The link between civil society and schools should be reinforced; moreover, the partnership between NGOs and enterprises, administrative bodies, trade unions etc. should create a positive balance between civic involvement and economic development.

- It is important to carefully design educational and training intervention strategies proposed by NGOs in partnership or outside the school system, because always there is a tendency to over-formalised these activities. There is a real need to make learning experiential in all social settings.

- There have been identified several initiatives which demonstrate entrepreneurial spirit in the civil society field. Special funding should be available to support the early development of such initiatives in civil society.

- Subsidies, grants or other opportunities should be found to enable sharing of good practice between volunteers and other civil society experts by publishing leaflets about their activities, and sharing experiences and good practices.

- Special attention should be paid to enforcing the community development projects. It is important to stimulate and empower people in various domains, starting with community involvement, to take up the initiatives and withdraw the feeling of helplessness inculcated from the past.

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7. ANNEXES

List of Deliverables Reported to European Commission

No.	Title of deliverable	Restricted or public	Month due
1.	Key Concepts & Methods	R	1
2.	Policy Analysis: revised methodology paper	R	2
3.	Life History: revised methodology paper	R	2
4.	Focus Group: revised methodology paper	R	3
5.	Citizenship and Governance Education Policy in Hungary – National Report on Policy	P	4
6.	Citizenship and Governance Education Policy in Romania - National Report on Policy	P	4
7.	Active Citizenship and Governance in Central and Eastern European Context	P	5
8.	Progress Report (6 months)	R	7
9.	Learning Active Citizenship in Hungary - Report on Life Histories	P	9
10.	Learning Active Citizenship in Romania – Report on Life Histories	P	9
11.	Learning Governance & Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe	P	10
12.	Educational Intervention Strategies for Citizenship and Governance in Hungary – Report on Focus Groups	P	11
13.	Educational Intervention Strategies for Citizenship and Governance in Romania – Report on Focus Groups	P	11
14.	Similar or Different Learning Strategies for Active Citizenship and Governance in Europe?	P	12
15.	National Extended Workshops Citizenship and Governance in Hungary	P	14
16.	National Extended Workshops Citizenship and Governance in Romania	P	14
17.	Final Report: The implications of the research for Central and Eastern European Policy Design on Active Citizenship and Governance	P	14

Workshops and Conferences

Preparatory workshop "joint meeting" - 5-7 December 2002 Nijmegen

Thursday 5th December 2002	14.30 – 15.00	Welcome and introduction - Theo Jansen
	15.00 – 15.30	Re-Etgace project: workpackages & planning – N. Chioncel
	15.30 – 16.00	The key concepts and methods – Ruud Van Der Veen
	16.00 – 16.15	Coffee break
	16.15 – 17.00	Questions and general discussion
Friday 6th December 2002	9.30 - 10.45	Critical Literature Review – John Holford
	10.45 – 11.00	Specific problems of the LR - Darijan Novak
	11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
	11.30 – 12.30	Questions and discussion
	14.30 – 15.45	Life History Method – Danny Wildemeersch
	15.45 – 16.00	Specific problems of the LH – Darijan Novak
	16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
	16.30 – 17.30	Questions and discussion
Saturday 7th December 2002	9.30 - 10.45	Focus Group – Ruud Van Der Veen
	10.45 – 11.00	Specific problems of the FG - Darijan Novak
	11.00 – 11.15	Coffee break
	11.15 – 12.15	Questions and discussion
	12.15 - 13.00	Concluding remarks and departure

Team meeting, Workshop – 2-4 March 2003 Leuven

Sunday, 2nd March 2003	12.30- 14.00 14.00 – 14.30 14.30 – 15.00 15.30 – 16.00 16.00 – 17.00	Lunch Welcome & introduction - D. Wildemeersch Discussion: progress, experiences and feasibility of project Coffee break Discussion 'Key Concepts' N.E. Chioncel & T. Jansen
Monday, 3rd March 2003	9.00 - 10.00 10.00 – 11.00 11.00 – 11.30 11.30 – 12.30	Discussion WP 2 and deliv. 1.2: D. Novak Discussion WP 3 and deliv. 1.3: M. Simons Coffee break Etgace and LHM: general overview: V. Stroobants
	14.00 – 15.30 15.30 – 16.00 16.00 - 17.30	LHM: research questions, selection M. Simons & D. Wildemeersch Coffee break LHM group exercise: example life history and interpretation
Thursday, 4th March 2003	9.30 - 10.30 10.30 – 11.00 11.00 – 12.30 12.30 – 13.00	General theoretical framework for interpretation N. Chioncel & M. Simons Coffee break Planning: next workpackages and meetings Concluding remarks, Departure

Team meeting, Workshop - 6 - 8 July 2003 Ljubljnana

Sunday 6th July 2003 – chair Theo Jansen		
14.00 – 14.30 14.30 – 15.00 15.00 – 15.30 15.30 – 16.00 16.00 – 17.00 17.00 – 17.30 19.00	Welcome, introduction, programme Work progress *Discussion D 2.3 First International Report* * Introduction Coffee break National reports: Hungary and Romania Conclusions, further developments – final report Dinner	Angelca Ivancic, Theo Jansen National teams Angelca Ivancic, Darijan Novak Terez Kleisz, Tomina Saveanu Nicoleta Chioncel, Theo Jansen
Monday 7th July 2003 – morning session – chair Danny Wildemeersch		
9.30 – 9.45 9.45 – 10.15 10.15 – 10.45 10. 45 – 11.15 11.15 – 11.45 11.45 –12.30 12.30 –13.00 13.00 – 14.30	WP 3 Life History: introduction, progress LH National report Hungary – first draft LH National report Romania – first draft Coffee break Life strategies of civil activists- A post-socialist taxonomy Discussion: National/ International reports LH *Discussion D1.4 Focus Group Methodology Paper* * Lunch – Institute	Maarten Simons Judit Toth Roxana Titieni Pal Tamas Co-ordinators Belgium, Hungary Ruud van der Veen
Monday 7th July 2003 – afternoon session – chair Ruud van der Veen		
14.30 – 15.00 15.00 – 15.30 15.30 – 16.00 16.00 – 16.30 16.30 – 17.00 17.00 – 17.30 19.00	Research questions Etgace/ Re-Etgace Selecting/ inviting participants/ 1st and 2nd sessions Moderating focus groups – Etgace experience Coffee break Preparing National and International reports FG Focus groups – actual stage, problems, questions Dinner	Nicoleta Chioncel Nicoleta Chioncel Ruud van der Veen Ruud van der Veen National teams / Co-ordinators Nl, Ro
Tuesday 8th July 2003 – chair Angelca Ivancic		
9.30 – 10.00 10.00 – 10.30 10.30 – 11.00 11.00 – 11.30 11.30 – 12.00 12. 00 –12.30	Etgace- Re-Etgace – writing Final report Deliverables/ SAB/ Distributing Int.Rep./ Webpage Final Conference/SAB TM Pecs – Budapest - Oradea Coffee break Connection Conference, Strep proposal Other issues, departure	John Holford, Ruud van der Veen Co-ordinators National teams Hu and Ro Danny Wildemeersch

Re-Etgace International Workshop and Team meetings

"Active Citizenship and the Transition to Democracy"

15- 21 November 2003 - Pecs, Budapest (Hungary) and Oradea (Romania)

Pecs Sunday, 16 November	10.00-10.15	Welcome / Program of the team meetings, panels / Progress of the project
	10.15-11.00	Life History – International Report (Belgium and Hungary)
	11.00- 12.15	Focus Groups – National Reports (Hungary and Romania)/ International Report
	12.15-12.30	Coffee break
	12.30- 14.00	*Book proposal (rational, content, contributors, editors) (SAB)*

Monday, 17 November 2003
International Panel *"The main research topics of Etgace and Re-Etgace projects"*
Moderator Prof. dr. Pál Tamás (Hungary)

Expert Panel: Vida Mohorcic Spolar, Carmen Mathijssen, Danny Wildemeersch,
John Holford and Theo Jansen

Tuesday, 18 November 2003
       10.00 -12.00 - Meeting with the *Hungarian National Advisory Board*, Budapest
       Keynote interventions: Peter Jarvis (UK)
       Miklós Barabás (Hungary) *Evaluation of Hungarian Civic Organisations*
       Anna Belia (Hungary) *Civil Society in Hungary*

Oradea Wednesday 19 November	10.00-10.45	Final Report: Literature review and policy analysis – policy implications
	10.45-11.30	Final Report: Life history - policy implications
	11.30- 12.15	Final Report: Focus groups: policy implications
	12.15-12.30	Coffee break
	12.30- 14.00	Book proposal - in-depth discussions/ schedule (SAB)

Thursday, 20 November 2003
International Panel *"Active Citizenship in Western and Central-Eastern Europe"*
Moderator Adrian Hatos (Romania)

Expert Panel: Angelca Ivancic, Marta Soler, Kari Nurmi and Ruud van der Veen

Oradea Thursday 20 November	16.00-17.30	Final Report - Policy Implications Book – content/ schedule/ deadlines