

Final Report of the Research Project
**DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL
LITERACY AND TRANSFORMATIVE
EDUCATION (DPLTE)**

Rapport final du projet de recherche
**DÉMOCRATIE, ALPHABÉTISATION
POLITIQUE ET ÉDUCATION
TRANSFORMATOIRE (DAPÉT)**

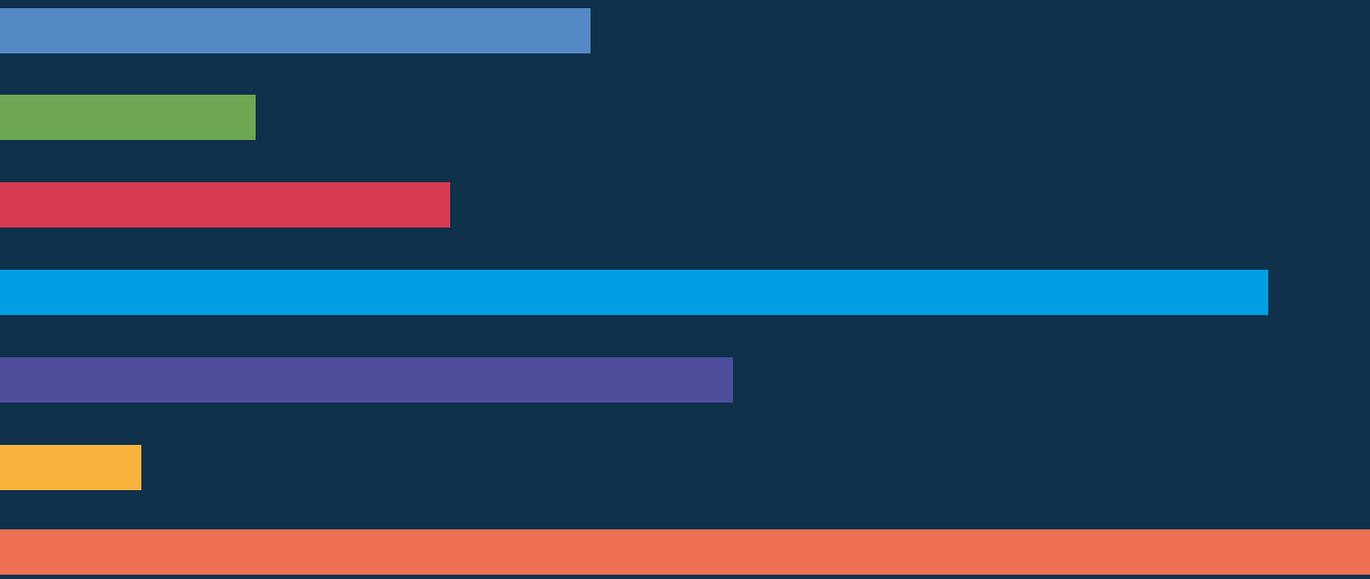
Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)
Financé par le Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH)

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April/avril 2018

AUTHORS

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MISE EN CONTEXTE LINGUISTIQUE

Ce rapport a été rédigé en anglais seulement, compte tenu du fait que la demande au CRSH avait été soumise en anglais en 2012. Cependant, les auteurs seront heureux de recevoir des questions et commentaires formulés en français et d'y répondre en français. Notons que l'équipe de recherche a fonctionné aussi bien en anglais qu'en français, et que plusieurs présentations scientifiques et publications, en anglais, français et espagnol, sont issues de ce projet de recherche. Notons également que Le site web du projet – <http://uqo.ca/dcmet/> - est trilingue et fonctionne en anglais, français et espagnol. Toutes les publications issues de cette recherche sont disponibles sur le site [academia.edu](https://uqo.academia.edu/PaulRCarr) (<https://uqo.academia.edu/PaulRCarr>).

LEXICON OF TERMS RELEVANT TO THIS RESEARCH

BCHM	<u>Bureau de la communauté haïtienne de Montréal</u>
B.Ed.	<u>Bachelor of Education</u>
CI	<u>Co-Investigator</u>
CP	<u>Critical pedagogy</u>
CSO	<u>Civil society organization</u>
DAPET	<u>Démocratie, l’alphabétisation politique et éducation transformatrice</u>
DCMÉT	<u>Démocratie, citoyenneté mondiale et éducation transformatrice</u>
DGCTE	<u>Democracy, Global Citizenship, and Transformative Education</u>
DPLTE	<u>Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education</u>
EfD	<u>Education for Democracy</u>
GDDRP	<u>Global Doing Democracy Research Project</u>
LE	<u>Lived experiences</u>
LU	<u>Lakehead University</u>
N =	<u>Sample size</u>
NGO	<u>Non-Governmental Organization</u>
PI	<u>Principal Investigator</u>
RA	<u>Research Assistant</u>
SLU	<u>Saint Louis University</u>
SSHRC	<u>Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada</u>
UNESCO	<u>The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</u>
UNICEF	<u>The United Nations Children’s Fund</u>
UQAM	<u>Université du Québec à Montréal</u>
UQO	<u>Université du Québec en Outaouais</u>

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education (DPLTE) project was a SSHRC-funded research initiative, developed and implemented between 2012 and 2018. The primary aim of the project was to better understand how democracy—and, ultimately, education for democracy (EfD)—is conceptualized, cultivated, implemented, and experienced in and through education. With research sites in three countries—Canada, USA and Australia—the study engaged with numerous research collaborators and over 1,000 research participants. The Global Doing Democracy Research Project (GDDRP), founded by the Principal Investigator and one of the Collaborators in 2008, laid the groundwork for the DPLTE project, and continued at a parallel level throughout its existence, connecting with researchers and projects in some fifteen countries, and involving more than 4,000 additional participants. With the culmination of the DPLTE research schedule, the overarching aims and themes of the project will endure through the present UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship and Transformative Education (DCMÉT).

The primary topics of this research included the perspectives of, the experiences with, and the relationships between democracy, political literacy, and education. However, this project was also informed by related bodies of literature, including citizenship education, critical pedagogy, environmental education, media literacy and studies, and social justice education. The broader theoretical framework informing the research was based on a spectrum outlining, what we have labeled as, thick(er) versions of democracy and of education for democracy. The conceptual model designed for this study represented the interrelated educational branches of pedagogy, curriculum, educational policy, the institutional culture of

education, epistemology, leadership, and lived experiences. Several other models emerged from the empirical (qualitative and quantitative) data that were collected and analyzed during this project.

The empirical research arm of the project targeted four sectors: teacher-education students; educators and professors; education administrators; and members of civil society, including international activists and community organisations. The linkage between democratic experience and the interest in engaging with thick(er), social justice-based education is developed throughout the research, and underscores the potential for critical engagement and participation in and through education. The research also provides a range of analyses that serve to elucidate the need for broad-based thinking and conceptualization that encompasses institutional, cultural and praxis-based considerations of education, with explicit/implicit, formal/informal and nuanced interpretations of how power relations are inter-woven into the educational project. Over the course of the research project, our findings were further examined, teased out and triangulated through deeper, critical, comparative analyses involving data from divergent contexts and in different languages, and problematizing diverse relationships between political, social and institutional actors concerning how democracy plays out in the classroom and schools as well as within communities that are inextricably linked to the educational project. The results, analyses and conclusions of the research have implications for critical conceptualizations, and engagement with, the curriculum, pedagogy, educational policy, institutional culture, epistemology, leadership, and lived experiences within the education realm in relation to democracy.

SOMMAIRE

Le projet de recherche « Démocratie, Alphabétisation politique et éducation transformatrice » (DAPET) fut financé par le Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH) et fut réalisé entre 2012 et 2018. Le but du projet était de comprendre comment la démocratie – et notamment, l'éducation pour la démocratie (EpD) – est perçue, conçue et vécue en éducation. Avec des sites de recherche dans trois pays, le Canada, les États-Unis et l'Australie, l'étude a été menée avec l'aide de co-chercheurs, de collaborateurs et d'assistants de recherche, et a permis la participation de plus de 1000 acteurs de l'éducation. Ce projet de recherche DAPET est issu du projet international « *Global Doing Democracy Research Project* » (GDDRP) fondé en 2008 par Paul R. Carr, le chercheur principal, et David Zyngier de l'Australie. Depuis 2012, les deux projets ont poursuivi leur existence en parallèle donnant lieu à certains moments à des collaborations entre des chercheurs d'une quinzaine de pays et la participation de plus de 4000 acteurs de l'éducation. Avec la conclusion du projet de recherche DAPET (2012-2018), les réflexions et travaux sur les thèmes de la démocratie et l'éducation se poursuivront désormais dans le cadre de la Chaire UNESCO « Démocratie, Citoyenneté mondiale et Éducation transformatrice » (DCMÉT) sise à l'Université du Québec en Outaouais (UQO).

Les trois thèmes centraux interreliés du projet DAPET sont la démocratie, l'alphabétisation politique et l'éducation transformatrice. Toutefois, des thèmes connexes issus de la littérature du domaine de l'éducation leur ont été associés; ce sont par exemple : la pédagogie critique, l'éducation à la citoyenneté, l'éducation relative à l'environnement, l'éducation aux médias et l'éducation à la justice sociale. La recherche DAPET est ancrée dans un cadre théorique et conceptuel, inspiré des perspectives sociales critiques, qui met en évidence les étroites relations entre la pédagogie, le curriculum, la politique éducative, la culture institutionnelle de l'éducation, l'épistémologie, le leadership et les expériences éducatives.

Le volet empirique du projet de recherche ciblait quatre groupes de participants : i) les étudiants des programmes de formation initiale à l'enseignement; ii) les éducateurs ou formateurs universitaires; iii) les administrateurs scolaires; iv) les membres de la société civile incluant des activistes internationaux et des organismes communautaires. Tout au long de la recherche, les liens entre des expériences éducatives signifiantes et l'engagement pour une démocratie dense axée sur la justice sociale et la participation citoyenne sont soulignés. À partir d'analyses diverses, la recherche montre la nécessité d'une réflexion et d'une conceptualisation élargies de la démocratie et l'éducation qui englobent des considérations institutionnelles, culturelles, sociales et pédagogiques. La recherche montre également la nécessité de débusquer et de questionner les relations de pouvoir inextricablement imbriquées dans un projet éducatif. Dans le cadre du projet de recherche DAPET, les données provenant de différents contextes socioéducatifs et linguistiques. Les interprétations ont permis de problématiser de manière nuancée les liens entre la démocratie et l'éducation, tels que vécus par différents acteurs politiques, sociaux et éducatifs. Plusieurs modèles ont été élaborés à partir des données empiriques (qualitatives et quantitatives) recueillies et analysées permettant ainsi d'illustrer et de conceptualiser les résultats de la recherche. Les résultats et conclusions de la recherche ont des implications pour une approche critique de l'étude des liens entre la démocratie et l'éducation qui sont à l'œuvre, de manière formelle ou informelle, de manière explicite ou implicite, dans le curriculum, la pédagogie, la politique éducative, la culture institutionnelle, l'épistémologie, le leadership et les expériences vécues par les acteurs de l'éducation y inclus les élèves et les enseignants.

PART ONE

Introduction¹

“a meaningful, vibrant, critically-engaged democracy should be (or, rather, must be) connected to a meaningful, vibrant, critically-engaged education”

1.1 CONTEXT

The Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education (DPLTE) research project was approved by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for a five-year period (2012/13 – 2016/17). A budget of \$265,500 was provided to undertake a range of activities, including the hiring and training of research assistants, data collection and analysis, knowledge dissemination, and research at diverse levels.

The core of the DPLTE project is located within an ongoing research trajectory committed to investigating and analyzing the interpretations of, and engagement with, democracy across diverse populations, emphasizing the power afforded to some narratives compared to others, the wide-ranging consequences associated with narrow or thin perspectives of democracy vis-à-vis the possibilities for broader and thicker conceptualizations of democracy, and the connection of all of the aforementioned to education.

The research project extended the numerous and diverse studies related to democracy in/for education already developed by the Principal Investigator (PI) (Paul R. Carr) in collaboration with the Co-Investigator (CI) (Gina Thésée) and the two Collaborators (David Zyngier and Brad Porfilio). Importantly, the DPLTE project continued the work of the Global Doing Democracy Research Project (GDDRP), an international project examining the experiences, perspectives and perceptions of democracy in education, in order to develop a more robust and critical engaged education for democracy (see Appendix A for more details on the GDDRP). With the culmination of the DPLTE, the work on democracy and education (and education for democracy) continues through the UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship, and Transformative Education (DCMÉT), which is outlined in Part 7. The UNESCO Chair DCMÉT represents a significant tangible outcome of the DPLTE research project.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

The DPLTE research project sought to contextualize, identify, problematize and analyze how educators (and others) experience, understand and perceive democracy, and how this connection to democracy impacts their learning, their engagement and their students' democratic experience in and through education.

This research also aimed to engage a range of interested parties in relation to how they experience and relate to education and democracy. The international dimensions of the project included engagement with different languages, cultures, conceptual and theoretical

¹ Some of the content in this Final Report has been borrowed and adapted from publications produced by the Principal Investigator, often in collaboration with the Co-Investigator.

vantage-points, and a robust, critical and comparative analysis of the data.

The project started from the vantage-point that a meaningful, vibrant, critically-engaged democracy should be (or, rather, must be) connected to a meaningful, vibrant, critically-engaged education. Therefore, we asked: How does education underpin, connect with, support and cultivate what we would characterize as (*thick*) democracy?

Our project concerned principally how people—notably educators, teacher-education students, and others connected to education within civil society as well as within the various institutions that frame formal education—perceived, experienced and related to democracy in and through education.

- If meaningful, vibrant, critically-engaged democracy is not cultivated in and through education, then how will it come about?
- What are the effects of neglecting, omitting, downplaying and/or diminishing those components, experiences, ideas, dialectical interactions and pivotal moments that help create and shape a democracy, as messy and uncomfortable as it may be?
- How can we understand dissent, participation, deliberative democracy, activism, difference, inequitable power relations and (transformative) change in and through education?

These questions guided us as we sought to engage in a multi- and inter-disciplinary process within diverse sites, lenses and approaches to better understand EfD.

1.2.1 GOAL

This goal of our research project was to develop a more robust, critical, thicker interpretation of what democracy is, what it should be, and, significantly, how it can be beneficial to all peoples, notably in connection to education (see Barber 2004; Carr, 2013; Gandin & Apple, 2002; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007; Thésée, Carr & Potwora, 2015). We also wanted to develop models, concepts and strategies to develop education for democracy. Appendix D provides a detailed overview of models developed through the DPLTE research project and related initiatives, which effectively underpins the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT.

1.2.2 OBJECTIVE

The objective of the project was to collect and analyze data from a significant number of participants from diverse contexts to determine with greater authority and insight how democracy is perceived, experienced and undertaken in and through education. The project also aimed to develop and elaborate instruments and proposals to assist the educational sector to re-imagine and re-cultivate a critically-engaged, thicker education

for democracy. This Final Report is an important part of that equation and process, and the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT continues this work.

The research aimed to produce several studies on democracy in education as well as key theme reports (policy, institutional culture, pedagogy, curriculum, epistemology, leadership, and experiential/informal education) in relation to education for democracy. A range of scholarly articles have addressed these themes (see Part 6 in this Final Report).

“How can we understand dissent, participation, deliberative democracy, activism, difference, inequitable power relations and (transformative) change in and through education?”

Research Team

The DPLTE research project is located, firstly, within Canada but it is also an international and global project. The PI (Paul R. Carr) and CI (Gina Thésée) are Canadian, and teach at the Université du Québec en Outaouais and at the Université du Québec à Montréal in Québec, respectively. The two collaborators in the project are Brad J. Porfilio at Seattle University in the United States and David Zyngier at Monash University in Australia.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Paul R. Carr, Full Professor,
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CANADA



PAUL R. CARR is a Sociologist and a Full Professor in the Department of Education at the Université du Québec en Outaouais, Canada, and is also the Chairholder of the UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship and Transformative Education (DCMÉT). His research is broadly concerned with political sociology, with specific threads related to democracy, media literacy, peace studies, intercultural relations, and transformative change in education. He has seventeen co-edited books and an award-winning, single-author book (Does your vote count? Critical pedagogy and democracy). He is the Principal Investigator of two SSHRC research projects entitled, respectively, *Democracy, political literacy and transformative education (2012/2013–2017/2018)*, and *Social Media, Citizen Participation and Education (2017/2018–2021/2022)*. He is the co-founder and co-director of the *GDDRP*, which involves researchers in some fifteen countries examining how educators understand, experience, perceive and do democracy in and through education. Before entering academia, he was a Senior Policy Advisor in the Ontario Ministry of Education, working on equity and social issues.

CO-INVESTIGATOR

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GINA THÉSÉE is Full Professor in the Department of Teacher Education, (UQAM), and is also Co-Chair of the UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship and Transformative Education (DCMÉT). She is the past Director of the Bachelor in Secondary Education program, and is currently a member of the Committee for Accreditation of Teacher Education Programs (CAPFE), an advisory committee to the Québec Ministry of Education in Québec. She is a researcher in the Research Center for environmental and eco-citizenship education (Centr'ERE), and is an associate member professor of the Institute of Sciences, Technologies and Advanced Studies in Haiti (ISTEAH). On a regular basis, she participates in the activities of International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030 (UNESCO). She is interested in the socio-educational contexts related mainly to colonization, culture, ethnicity, gender and race. She is Co-Investigator in two Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) research projects: *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education (2012/2013–2017/2018)*, and *Social Media, Citizen Participation and Education (2017/2018–2021/2022)*. Before entering academia, she was a secondary school science teacher.

COLLABORATOR

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Victoria, AUSTRALIA



DAVID ZYNGIER works in the Faculty of Education at Monash University as a Senior Lecturer in the areas of Curriculum and Pedagogy, and was previously a teacher and school principal. His research focuses on teacher pedagogies that engage all students but, in particular, in relation to how these outcomes can be improved for students from disadvantaged communities, focusing on issues of social justice and social inclusion. He works within a critical and post-structural orientation to pedagogy that is distinguishable by its commitment to social justice (with interests in who benefits and who does not by particular social arrangements). Current research projects include: the GDDRP; Enhanced Learning through Networked Communities, which links student teachers with students from Cultural Linguistic and Economically Disenfranchised (CLED) communities where many students are experiencing learning difficulties and school engagement problems as a result of their socio-economic and cultural diversity; a research project on class size and academic results.

COLLABORATOR

Brad J. Porfilio, Associate
Dean, Research, Faculty
of Education, Seattle
University, Washington,
USA



BRAD J. PORFILIO is Associate Dean, Research, Faculty of Education, Seattle University, Washington, USA, where he conducts research and teaches graduate students to become critical scholars, social advocates, and multicultural educators. During his doctoral studies, he served as an Assistant Professor of Education at [Medaille College](#) and [D'Youville College](#), where he taught courses across the teacher-education spectrum and supervised pre-service and in-service teachers from Canada and the US. He has published a large number of peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, edited volumes, and conference papers in the field of education, and is the editor of some 25 books, many of which have won awards. He also helped to establish the Equity and Social Justice Conference in 2005, and has been a co-director of several other initiatives designed to promote scholarship and educational and community initiatives dedicated to eliminating oppression in schools and in society. Dr. Porfilio earned his Ph.D. in Sociology of Education in 2005 at the [University at Buffalo](#).

1.3.4 RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

The research team in Canada has included several research assistants (RAs) (see Table 1). Each of the research assistants provided invaluable support and expertise, participated in data collection and analysis, publishing and presenting findings, and in extending the DPLTE project in diverse ways. The research assistants also participated in administering questionnaires, facilitating focus groups, coding and interpreting data, undertaking literature reviews and taking part in team-planning and development processes. The research

assistants were based in Ontario and Québec, with each bringing to the project different skills, enabling the research to develop in both English and French concurrently. Increasingly, work related to the DPLTE and the subsequent UNESCO Chair DCMÉT was and is undertaken in Spanish, and diverse support from the RAs and contractual staff was operationalized to this end. The PI and the CI have worked closely with the RAs in providing training, opportunities to present and publish, and insight into the research process and experience.

Table 1: Research Assistants in the DPLTE Research Project²

YEAR	NAME	STATUS
2017-2018	Anne-Marie Duclos <i>Université de Montréal</i>	Post-Doctoral Fellow
2015-2016	Anne-Marie Duclos <i>Université de Montréal</i>	Research Assistant (Ph.D. student)
2015-2017	Keven Poulin <i>Université du Québec à Montréal</i>	Research Assistant (Graduate student)
2015-2017	Lidia Guennaoui <i>Université du Québec à Montréal</i>	Research Assistant (Graduate student)
2013-2017	Gary Pluim <i>Lakehead University</i>	Research Assistant (Ph.D. student / consultant)
2013-2016	Lauren Howard <i>Lakehead University</i>	Research Assistant (Undergrad & graduate student)
2012-2015	Franck Potwora <i>Université du Québec à Montréal</i>	Research Assistant (Graduate student)
2012-2014	Dan Becker <i>Lakehead University</i>	Post-Doctoral Fellow
2012-2013	Christiane Geillon <i>Université du Québec à Montréal</i>	Research Assistant (Graduate student)

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

This final report includes a robust, comparative, critical analysis of the themes, trends and issues across the sites, providing significant information to local, national and international educational systems, decision-makers, stakeholders, and scholars. A range of scholarly articles and manuscripts, presentations, reports, and instruments and protocols designed for the education/policy/community sectors are, thus, made available (see the project website at uqo.ca/dcmet/) with the intent of facilitating and extending the engagement process.

² Several other RAs were hired as the DPLTE transitioned into the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT, including Rivas-Sanchez and James Allabi, who are Co-coordinators of the Chair.

PART TWO

Research Orientation

“The Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education research project critiques this belief that elections are the key (or most fundamental) component to building a democracy.”

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As stated in the title of the research project, the guiding themes of our work were the notions of *democracy*, *political literacy*, and *transformative education*.

2.1.1 DEMOCRACY

The term democracy is notorious for its myriad interpretations. Among its most popular, mainstream connotations is its association with the political mechanisms of voting through political institutions and elections. In this sense, education for democracy would require learning about the political parties, their platforms and positions on various issues. Other considerations for society such as diversity, pluralism, power relations and agency are often downplayed, essentialized or romanticized, and are very rarely critiqued or “politicized”.

The *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* research project critiques this belief that elections are *the* key (or most fundamental) component to building a democracy. We contend that democracy refers to the collective level aimed at the well-being for all living together. It relates to the pursuit of democratic values through inclusive, dynamic, critical, and continuously-evolving processes that involve all spheres of society. Unlike the traditional, unidimensional and partisan approach (the election-centered approach), the notion of broad democracy (“thick” or “dense”) reclaims the air and space of the City (in Greek, Polis), and appeals to: engagement and learning, vigilance, active participation, and social dialogue and deliberation as well as consensus and joint decision-making in the interest of political literacy. “Thick” or “dense” democracy relies, among other things, on the use of contemporary communication media that can open up spaces that may foster social dialogue and citizen participation.

The view that elections are the end-point of/to democracy can even be disenfranchising for many citizens, as evidenced by the limited and decreasing participation in elections, especially among youth (Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Carr & Porfilio, 2015; Cook & Westheimer, 2006; Larkin, 2015). In the DPLTE project, we expand our thinking about democracy not just as a political structure but, importantly, as a philosophy, a belief, an epistemological process, and a process of conscientization and of living together with others. One central aim of the project was to encourage new ways of thinking of/about democracy in connection with a reinvigorated understanding and development of education for democracy.

2.1.2 POLITICAL LITERACY AND ITS CONNECTION TO DEMOCRACY

While the standpoint of the DPLTE project aimed to de-emphasize the view that democracy primarily pertains to and examines political mechanisms and institutions, the research was centrally concerned with the political literacy and engagement of a citizenry.

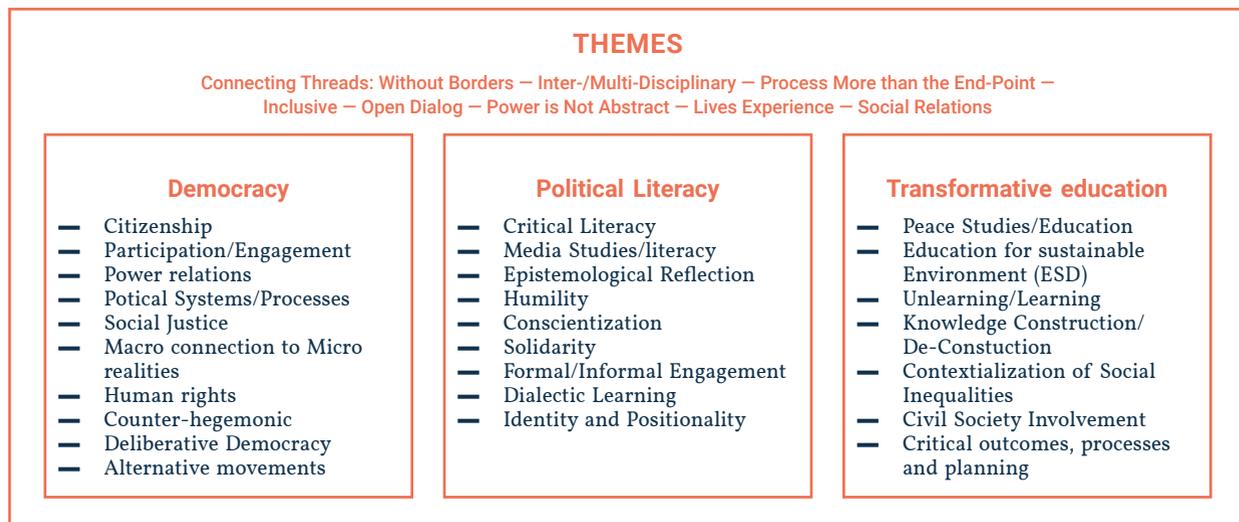
For our purposes, we invoke “political” to refer to the broader context and machinations of power relations in society (Hoben, 2014). In effect, political literacy—and we ultimately broadened this perspective to include the increasingly salient notion of media literacy—speaks to the critical thinking, critical analysis and critical literacy dispositions of students and educators (and citizens) to make judgments about issues that face society, political institutions, leadership and everything involved in developing a “democratic” society. As the DPLTE project further developed, we became increasingly interested in the notion of critical engagement in and through education in relation to democracy.

“Thus, in our view, transformative education is focused on education as a political project, democratic engagement, and education for social change and social justice, challenging neoliberal, normative and hegemonic conceptions of education.”

2.1.3 TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION

Following O’Sullivan, Morrell & O’Connor (2002), a transformative education is one that resists the reproduction of knowledge transmission and framings of current systems and structures that characterize dominant-oppressive relationships and ongoing hegemony. Instead, and in relation to this project, transformative education is one that transforms thinking about democracy in new ways, an education that incorporates political and media literacy as well as critical engagement/participation to examine local and world issues, governance systems, and critical, contentious issues that face society. Thus, in our view, transformative education is focused on education as a political project, democratic engagement, and education for social change and social justice, challenging neoliberal, normative and hegemonic conceptions of education. It requires critical engagement of learners and educators, a predisposition to nuanced participation and involvement in matters that rightly concern society, and moves beyond normative education/schooling activities.

Figure 1: Guiding Themes of DPLTE Research Project



In its essence, the DPLTE project emphasizes the elastic notion of democracy to incorporate other meanings and expressions as well as their implications. It requires political literacy in relation to power relations in society beyond the realm of commonly-held normative perspectives. The research project was also interested in media literacy, involving a constant critique of hegemonic forms of media as well as the wherewithal to interpret media sources, messages and constructions, including social media, which became increasingly important for the DPLTE project and the work undertaken in the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT. Diversity and pluralism are also necessarily problematized, critiqued and examined in terms of who benefits and how intercultural/multi-cultural relations affect people, groups and institutions, and how diversity is framed to either change the way that power pervades social structures or how it can be disrupted.

“(Thick) democracy involves deliberative measures being taken to reach a broad range of people and groups to participate in various types of societal decision-making and participatory relationships and processes that enhance inclusion, conscientization and social justice.”

(Thick) democracy involves deliberative measures being taken to reach a broad range of people and groups to participate in various types of societal decision-making and participatory relationships and processes that enhance inclusion, conscientization and social justice. Civil society, community-based organizations, activist groups, social movements and educational institutions as well as praxis-based programs are all an integral facet in deepening, broadening and intensifying (thicker forms of) democracy. The important link to social justice can be achieved, we believe, through meaningful, critically-engaged education that seeks to transform normative democracy, despite a number of a number of caveats concerning potential co-optation, enhancing the institutionalization of changes/reforms, and avoiding tangible critical engagement in favour of limited incremental change.

2.2 OTHER KEY THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.2.1 CITIZENSHIP LEARNING

The traditional approach in citizenship education at the formal level has often focused on the formal political structures, isolated to a single unit of study in both primary and secondary education as opposed to having a transversal and embedded significance (Kiwani, 2014; Leighton, 2012; McCowan, 2009; Trivers & Starkey, 2012). Research in the field highlights the importance of education in forming, buttressing, cultivating and sustaining a meaningful, critically-engaged democratic

experience for all sectors of society (Banks et al., 2005; Guttman, 1999; Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Shapiro & Purpel, 2005; Sleeter, 2007; Westheimer, 2015).

Throughout Westheimer and Kahne’s work (2004; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; see also Westheimer, 2015), there are three main concepts presented that reflect what can be recognized or constituted as a ‘good citizen’. As a result of their two-year study of educational programs aimed at promoting democracy and a critical analysis of democratic theory, the three themes presented underscore differing perspectives and beliefs of the necessary responsibilities of citizens. The first main concept is described as the ‘personally responsible’ citizen, who generally acts appropriately, in a normative sense, in their community. Nevertheless, such descriptions of this concept of citizenry are often important but mundane, including recycling, staying out of debt, or simply picking up some litter. It can also include volunteering or contributing money to charities, and underpinning the ideal of an individualistic vision of ‘good’ citizenship. The second theme relates to the ‘participatory’ citizen, who actively engages with civic affairs and social aspects of his/her community at local, state, and national levels. The goal here is to prepare students to develop to engage with their lived realities through diverse efforts, and focuses on educating students, to a certain degree, on how government (and other forces shaping society) is constructed, organized and operationalized. The last theme, the ‘justice oriented’ citizen, relates to critically assessing and analyzing the root causes of social, political, and economic structures of important issues and inequalities, seeking to explore collective strategies of peace and social change that can challenge injustices. This third level of citizenship aims to cultivate agency, social justice, and the potential for social movements, which can positively affect systematic change to address structural causes of poverty, White power and privilege, economic disparity, and environmental degradation. We further explore the conceptualization of citizen engagement in Section 5.1 as well as in Appendix D.

2.2.2 CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical pedagogy offers a framework to understand political literacy and social transformation, in which assumptions about power, identity, and contextual realities are critically challenged (Darder & Miron, 2006; Denzin, 2009; Giroux, 1997; McLaren, 2007; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). Critical pedagogy is not about providing a checklist against which one can determine the level of democracy within a given society (Carr, 2008a; Edwards, 2010; Giroux, 2014); rather, it is concerned with oppression and marginalization at all levels, and seeks to interrogate, problematize and critique power and inequitable power relations in view of cultivating transformative education/change (McLaren, 2007; Macrine, 2009; Shor, 2009). Our work on the DPLTE project has been particularly informed by [Paulo Freire](#), and we highlight his notions of conscientization, radical love, transformative education, oppression and critical

engagement (see Freire, 1970). We are indebted to [Joe Kincheloe](#) for his work (see Kincheloe, 2008a, 2008b), support and wonderful collegiality, and also for sharing his wisdom and good spirit with the PI and CI while he was a Canada Research Chair in Critical Pedagogy at McGill University.

2.2.3 CRITICAL DEMOCRATIC PEDAGOGY

Seeking a “critical democratic pedagogy,” as espoused by Denzin (2009), and a more meaningfully engaged political literacy that Carr (2010, 2011, 2013) has proposed, underpins the theoretical framework for this project (see also Hyslop-Marginson, 2009; Malott & Porfilio, 2011; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). Democracy must be constantly cultivated, conceptualized, re-worked and re-imagined, with less dependence on the formal political process and cycle of elections, and more critical engagement in developing the conditions for emancipation, agency, social justice, and critical epistemological reflection that may lead to some of the virtues that are commonly extolled when considering democracy (freedom, liberty, rights, common virtues, justice, etc.).

2.2.4 THE THICK-THIN SPECTRUM OF DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Democracy is, generally speaking, often characterized in terms of representative versus participatory democracy, with the former highlighting *thin* electoral processes, formal political structures and a normative understanding of freedom, and the latter focused more on *thick(er)* critical engagement, political literacy, and social justice. The notion of *thick* and *thin* democracy, attributed to Gandin and Apple (2002), builds on the seminal work of Barber (1984), who raised pivotal questions on the saliency of liberal democracy, including the tension between individualism and the rights of all citizens to public goods. During the five (a sixth year was added to finalize some of the analysis and loose-ends) years of the DPLTE project we have sought to further nuance this spectrum, and, importantly, apply it to our research.

“The Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy that we propose does not infer fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments. Rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement.”

The *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy* that we propose does not infer fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments. Rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement.

- Within the context of education, what role do schools, school boards, departments/ministries of education and governments actually play in relation to education for democracy?
- How do they define it, document it, measure it, evaluate it, and engage with it?

These questions are not side-bar, add-on, superfluous ones. If we are to achieve some form of meaningful, critical, tangible engagement in and through education that can contribute to education for democracy, then, arguably, we should be able to articulate it, cultivate it, describe it, and, importantly, have a vision for it that can be supported and enhanced by broad, vibrant participation at multiple levels.

- If democracy—or the development of global democratic citizenship—is deemed important for society, and rhetorically there is a great deal of evidence to that effect (Carr, Plum & Howard, 2014), then how should it be achieved?
- Are there specific courses, tests, outcomes, data-collection points, measures, standards, events, milestones and activities that underpin the quest for education for democracy?

In situations where education for democracy is thin, the curriculum is often approached in ways that are prescriptive and didactic, and (standardized) assessment pervades how curriculum is delivered. In *thin* EfD there are few connections between education and democracy, school experiences and democracy, and those that are made are often weak (thin). Teaching democracy in a thin approach is considered an “objective”, “unbiased” process, aimed at placating and re-enforcing rather than disrupting education and/or society. Democracy is usually addressed in a single class, as opposed to being integrated across various courses, themes, values and experiences that pervade an approach to pedagogy and curriculum and education, in general. A *thin* approach to EfD would provide few, if any, examples of alternative visions of democracy, and the processes, practices, plans, functions and ideology underpinning it restrict and counter meaningful, tangible efforts toward EfD. Research in our study suggests that educators in Canada, USA and Australia have, generally, held *thin* conceptualizations of democracy (Carr, Plum, & Howard, 2015, Carr & Thésée, 2009; see also Westheimer, 2015). Teasing out the nuanced positionalities, perspectives and experiences of future and present educators was a key consideration for our analysis, which is explored throughout the report.

“A thin approach to EfD would provide few, if any, examples of alternative visions of democracy, and the processes, practices, plans, functions and ideology underpinning it restrict and counter meaningful, tangible efforts toward EfD.”

A detailed explanation of the *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy* is provided in Appendix D.

2.2.5 SEEKING A THICKER DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

In a *thick(er)* education for democracy, explicit connections are made between education and democracy. There are conscious references to diversity, social justice, and the manifestations of power, and the importance of being politically and media literate to (more) deeply engage in democracy. *Thick* EfD involves critically examining how current understandings of democracy benefit some but not others, understanding how democracy (in a sense of having power and/or meaningful participation in the decisions that affect their lives) is irrelevant, and that working towards transforming these injustices is incumbent in learning about, and engaging with, democracy.

“Thick EfD involves social justice, critical engagement, personal and societal commitment, empowerment, humility and integrity aimed at moving beyond normative, representative, hegemonic forms of democracy. Similarly, thick EfD is an endless process of seeking, problematizing, cultivating and developing education for democracy, focused on a critical, meaningful, inclusive, participatory, social-justice based, thick approach.”

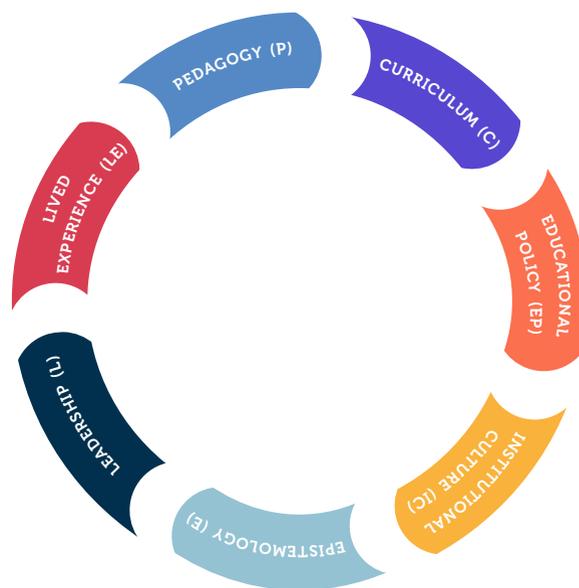
Teaching about democracy from a *thick* perspective must be critical to challenge existing power structures and hegemony, and understanding that avoiding contention simply reproduces—or more likely exacerbates—existing power structures and injustices in society. *Thick* EfD necessitates a constructivist, reflective, critical and evolving epistemology. Curriculum for a thick democracy, for example, focuses on activism and makes explicit links between groups and power structures in society, and elicits critical engagement. There are opportunities within the school experience to cultivate democracy within the institutional culture, be involved in decision-making, and develop practices that further develop the conditions of living together with a sense of power imbalances that need to be addressed. *Thick* EfD involves social justice, critical engagement, personal and societal commitment, empowerment, humility and integrity aimed at moving beyond normative, representative,

hegemonic forms of democracy. Similarly, *thick* EfD is an endless process of seeking, problematizing, cultivating and developing education for democracy, focused on a critical, meaningful, inclusive, participatory, social-justice based, *thick* approach.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Our conceptual model aimed at understanding education for democracy as well as education within democracy, and democracy within education, and involves seven components (Figure 2). No one component is superior to the next; on the contrary, we view the components as being interlocked, inter-dependent and each containing unique and shared dimensions that connect with power.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework Underpinning the Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education Project³



The components of the conceptual framework are outlined below:

- **Pedagogy:** concerned principally with teaching, teaching methods and what happens in the classroom (see Giroux & McLaren, 2014; Hernera, Holmes & Kavimandan, 2012)
- **Curriculum:** concerned principally with the content of what is taught and learned, and what happens in the classroom (Apple, 2004)

³ See also Appendix D for the extension of the conceptual framework into the DCMÉT project.

- **Educational policy:** concerned principally with the policies that frame the educational experience (Giroux, 1990)
- **Institutional culture:** concerned principally with activities, attitudes, behaviours and procedures that frame the educational experience, and what happens in the school and educational institutions (Farmer & Labrie, 2008; Mc Andrew, Potvin & Borri-Anadon, 2013)
- **Epistemology:** concerned principally with how knowledge is constructed by students, educators, administrators and others, and how this affects the development of the educational experience (Collado, 2015; Thésée & Carr, 2008)
- **Leadership:** concerned principally with administration, authority and supervisors, and how this contributes to the educational experience (Boske, 2015; Brooks, Knaus & Chong, 2015; Shields, 2010)
- **Lived experiences:** concerned principally with what happens outside of the formal educational experience, and what the effect of the former is on the latter, and vice versa (Bickmore, Awad & Radjenovic, 2017)

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This project sought to understand, problematize and contextualize how those involved in education comprehend, experience, perceive, and implement democracy in and through education. Attempting to determine the linkage between education and democracy at the educator level was important as we believe that it may have far-reaching implications for the delivery and process of teaching and learning, which subsequently influences how students relate to, experience and enact democracy (Lund & Carr, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) within the classroom, within the school and, more broadly, at the societal level.

2.4.1 CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION

How do educators construct democratic literacy, engagement and transformation, broadly defined as education for democracy, in and through education?

2.4.2 SUB-QUESTION

- I. How do educators (and others)⁴ perceive, experience and understand democracy, especially in relation to education?
- II. What are the implications of these perceptions and actions in relation to education?
- III. How do (and how can) educators (and others) contribute to the development of a more robust, critical, thicker educational experience in and through education?
- IV. How do (and how can) educators (and others) inform how education systems can be reformed and transformed in relation to policy, institutional culture, curriculum, pedagogy, epistemology, leadership and lived experience?
- V. What can be learned from the diverse democratic experiences and practices of educators (and others) by employing a comparative, international lens?

4 By "others," we are thinking of teacher-education students, administrators (for example, principals), policymakers and decision-makers in education as well as members of civil society.

PART THREE

Methodology and Methods

“The methodological approach for this project was based on critical, qualitative, interpretivist inquiry (Tobin & Kincheloe, 2006), in which findings from surveys, interviews, and focus groups were iteratively interwoven into the process. ... The qualitative approach allowed us to hear the stories and narratives of participants, and to explore, in some depth and detail, how they understand, experience and perceive democracy and/in education. This research project was structured as an international and comparative initiative, and employed a critical pedagogical theoretical framework (described in the previous section).”

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach for this project was based on critical, qualitative, interpretivist inquiry (Tobin & Kincheloe, 2006), in which findings from surveys, interviews, and focus groups were iteratively interwoven into the process. Using a *bricolage* approach (Kincheloe 2008a, 2008b), the research team, aware of its own dispositions, vantage-points, experiential knowledge and disciplinary frameworks, critically considered these aspects as we engaged participants. The qualitative approach allowed us to hear the stories and narratives of participants, and to explore, in some depth and detail, how they understand, experience and perceive democracy and/in education. This research project was structured as an international and comparative initiative, and employed a critical pedagogical theoretical framework (described in the previous section).

Throughout the past several years (2006–2016) during our international research project, we have explored the linkage among the perceptions of, experiences with, and perspectives of democracy in relation to education and the potential for political literacy and transformative education. We have developed a model (see Figure 1) that seeks to highlight diverse, interlinked components framing the educational experience and, importantly, the parameters for EfD. In order to dismantle hegemonic forms of dominance, privilege, neoliberalism, and inequitable power relations, education has to be considered a central educational and political focus. In addition, teacher education should be concerned with the types of transformative social change that are responsive to complex, problematic social contexts (Carr & Becker, 2013). It is, therefore, vital that students, educators, and society begin to conceptualize how we do democracy, how we experience it, conceptualize it, and connect it critically to education (Carr, Zyngier & Pruyn, 2012; Westheimer, 2015).

The overall research project analyzed a number of samples of teacher-education students in Canada, the United States, and Australia (n=1,300 approx.), as well as several other countries (n=4,000 approx.), employing the same methodology and survey instruments, which were adapted for language and context (Table 2). The methodology of the studies relied on an online survey with open- and closed-ended questions, first developed and administered by Carr in 2006. The survey has roughly 20 demographic questions, enabling cross-tabulations with all of the data, and 20 questions on democracy and education for democracy (see Appendix B). Many of the demographic questions include menu options, and most of the content-based questions have both a Likert-scale as well the opportunity to provide narrative responses. The research team collaborated with colleagues in several countries to ensure that there was a rigorous, critical and comparative component to the study, extrapolating data contained in the electronic database.

Table 2: Research Studies as part of the GDDRP (2008–2015+) and the DPLTE (2012–2015+) Projects

YEAR	# OF PROJECTS	COUNTRIES (A)	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	ORIGIN (B)	SAMPLES (C)
				1-INITIAL STUDIES (2006–2008) 2-DPLTE (2012–2015) 3-GDDRP (2008–2015)	1-TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS 2-TEACHERS 3-PRINCIPALS & LEADERSHIP 4-COMMUNITY 5-SCHOLARS & OTHERS (*)
2006	2	USA	129+15	1 (1)	1+5
2007	1	USA	48	1 (1)	2
2008	2	Canada	261+158	1 (2)	1+1
2009	5	Canada, USA, Cyprus, Australia	44+20+37+27+29	2 (5)	1+1+1+1+2
2010	11	Australia, USA, Argentina, Malaysia, Brazil	40+100+100+ 68+24+ 150+ 137+114 +150 +45+129	2 (11)	3+2+2+1+1+1+1+1+2+3 +1
2011	4	Australia, USA	133+45+72+32	1 (1) 2 (1)	1+5+1+2
2012	1	Russia	222	2 (1)	1
2013	15	Canada, USA, Australia, Brazil, Russia, Greece,	90+14+95+35+118+ 93+31+25+102+33+81+ 168+432+189+30+140	2 (10) 3 (5)	1+1+1+5+1+2+1+1+2+1+1+1+1+4+2
2014	8	USA, Australia, Scotland, Brazil, South Africa, International	42+29+117+32+35+ 92+203+57	2 (4) 3 (3) 4 (1)	1+1+5+5+2+1+2+5
2015	8	South Africa, Greece, Pakistan, Canada, International, Australia, Norway	25+139+147+53+21+ 57+500+100	2 (2) 3 (5) 4 (1)	1+2+2+2+5+2+2+1
TOTAL	57	12+	N=5654		(*) some of the "5" samples overlapped with "4" samples

(A) Several other projects—Turkey, Mexico, Vietnam, Thailand and elsewhere—are being developed at this time.

(B) Legend: 1-Initial phase (2006–2008); 2-DPLTE (2012–2015); 3-GDDRP (2008–2015) (the # equals the number of projects)

(C) Legend: 1-Teacher-ed. Students; 2-Teachers; 3-Principals & leadership; 4-Community; 5-Scholars & others

Table 3 represents the narrative analysis evaluation grid that we employed to gauge the positioning, strength, and content of qualitative answers in the questionnaire, which significantly assisted us in triangulating and validating the robustness of the quantitative data. Narrative comments representative of the findings were used to convey the significance of participant sentiments, from which we were able to develop metaphors, analogies and examples to illustrate the depth of the research. Coding and categorizing of data involved an intricate approach of multiple readings from diverse vantage points by the research team, considering normative, hegemonic, contextualized, identity-based, socio-political, and educational phenomena.

As a qualitative project, the context, sample, approach, methodology and process have been well-documented and analyzed in the reports, exhibits, articles and books produced on this research. We examined the data, at both the individual site level and across all research sites, using macro analysis to determine which themes and findings emerged and were considered most salient. This process, as documented in several of the publications of the project (see Part 6), required identifying the salience, strength and resilience of participant comments, narratives and insights, viewing the data as an ensemble, not as an isolated phenomenon (Merriam, 1998).

Table 3: Narrative Analysis Evaluation Grid

1	2	3	4	5
No engagement and critique	Weak engagement and critique	Medium engagement and critique	Elaborated engagement and critique	Thick engagement and critique
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Lack of understanding — No relevant answer — No interest shown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Imprecise answer — No argumentation — Weakly developed answer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Simple echo to the question — Weak argumentation — Weakly developed answer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Elaborated and supported argumentation — Beginning of critical analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Advanced and nuanced argumentation — Complexified answer

3.2 PROJECT OVERVIEW

The DPLTE project had four domains of focus and interest, involving empirical studies to solicit data on democracy and education from:

- I. teacher-education students
- II. educators
- III. scholars, activists, and members of civil society organizations
- IV. community members

The purpose of including these four sample populations was to enhance triangulation and richness of perspectives using diverse contextual variables. The community consultations and a constant and systematic focus on comparative analysis between the research sites further assisted the project in developing meaningful findings, themes and analysis.

3.2.1 TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS

The focus of our work with teacher-education students was to identify, analyze, and compare the educational experiences of education students to better understand perceptions, experiences and perspectives of education related to democracy and education (see Table 2). A major emphasis of this project was to solicit the perspectives of teacher-education students, as a proxy to gauge how future teachers might frame, represent, portray and teach democracy in their work.

Key Questions

Three research questions guided this domain of the project:

- How do future educators understand democracy?
- How do they connect democracy and education?
- What are their concerns and proposals for enhancing democracy in and through education?

Methods

This project relied on a mix-methods⁵, survey research approach targeted at teacher candidates in several Faculties of Education in North America and in Australia (See Appendix B: Questionnaires used in this Research). It was administered between 2006 and 2016 to teacher-education candidates in Canada and the US, thus preceding the formal commencement of the SSHRC grant (See Appendix A: Overview of the *Global Doing Democracy Research Project* for a description of other projects using the same methodology and framework, and which further accentuated and enhanced the overall study).

Sample Populations⁶

The teacher-education students were enrolled in several Faculties of Education at which they were also referred to as teacher-candidates, pre-service teachers, or education students. The sample included students from the following institutions: Saint Louis University (SLU) (St. Louis, Missouri), Monash University (Melbourne, Australia), l'Université du Québec à Montréal (Montréal, Québec), and Lakehead University, main campus (Thunder Bay, Ontario) and Orillia campus (Orillia, Ontario). The U.S. sample of this study involved 150 students from the education program at SLU, the Australian research involved 432 participants, and the

⁵ Although this research project did collect and analyze quantitative data, it primarily focused on using a qualitative analytical conceptual framework and techniques for collection methods. The quantitative data did assist in developing, pursuing and confirming themes and findings. Detailed information on the methodology employed for the DPLTE project can be found in many of the articles that were published as part of the research.

⁶ Some of the samples in Canada, the U.S. and Australia are presented here, but the DPLTE and the GDDRP projects included a number of other samples that have greatly enriched the theorization, conceptualization and analysis of the broader study.

survey administered in French in Montréal⁷ involved 261 teacher-education students at UQAM. The Lakehead questionnaire was completed by 118 students in Thunder Bay and 168 students in Orillia for a total of 268 from that university. The demographic make-up of all the samples was largely constituted of young (under 23 years of age), White, English-speaking, pre-service education (as opposed to a teaching certification or a graduate degree) female, domestic-born teacher-education candidates. A further demographic deconstruction of two samples of these students from the Lakehead University portion as well as that from the Monash sample can be found in Table 5.

Data Collection

The data-collection instrument was an on-line survey instrument (using Survey Monkey⁸) with approximately 40 questions. The survey included quantitative data that were gathered using a Likert scale, with one being the lowest adherence to the proposed statement, and five the highest. Open-ended comments related to the Likert scale questions by survey respondents were used to assist and guide the qualitative and narrative data. The main section of the questionnaire included 20 open- and closed-ended questions related to democracy, and to democracy and education. The six questions that most directly relate to the focus of this research have been extracted to highlight throughout this report (see Table 4).

Table 4: Focal Survey Questions for this Report

INTERROGATING SUBJECTS ON	DEMOCRACY QUESTIONS	EFD QUESTIONS
PERSPECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <u>How would you define democracy?</u> — <u>Do you feel that the country you live in is democratic?</u> — <u>Do you believe that political literacy is important for education for democracy?</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <u>Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?</u>
EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <u>Do you feel that you are actively engaged in a democracy?</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <u>From your perspective, is the education system in which you were educated democratic?</u> — <u>Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?</u>

A preliminary section to the questionnaire involved demographic questions about the research participants. This information enabled us to code the participants' responses according to their demographic characteristics including their gender (Male or Female), their age, their university level (undergraduate, professional year, or graduate), their racial origin (Caucasian or racial minority) and if they were a first-generation university student. The results of this section are represented in Table 3. One advantage of this coding system was that we could track the students' social positions which enabled further, richer, and deeper correlations in our analyses of democracy. However, because of the scale of this research, in this report we focus on solely on our overall findings. Detailed analyses that disaggregate according to demographics can be sourced through the journal articles in the references. Both sections of the questionnaire can be found in the appendices.

⁷ A previous study at UQAM was administered in 2008/2009, which facilitated comparative analysis between the two samples at the same institution.

⁸ See <https://www.surveymonkey.com>.

Table 5: Demographic Data of Teacher-Education Students at Lakehead University (Canada) and Monash University (Australia)

SAMPLE	N =	FEMALE GENDER	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	AGE	IDENTIFIED AS WHITE	LEVEL OF STUDIES	EDUCATION SPECIALIZATION
LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY (ORILLIA CAMPUS)	168	87%	Canada: 95%	<23 years: 50% 23-30 years: 37%	89%	1st & 2nd Year B.Ed.: 17% 3rd & 4th: Year B.Ed.: 28% Professional: 50% Concurrent: 4%	Primary Education Specialization: 93%
LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY (THUNDER BAY OR MAIN CAMPUS)	118	67%	Canada: 92%	<23 years: 21% 23-30 years: 51%	83%	1st & 2nd Year B.Ed.: 12% 3rd & 4th Year B.Ed.: 7% Professional: 57% Master: 11% Doctoral: 4%	Secondary: 39% Primary: 29% Graduate: 17%
MONASH UNIVERSITY (MELBOURNE CAMPUS)	432	78%	Australia: 74%	<23 years: 26% 23-30 years: 22%	71%	1st & 2nd Year B.Ed.: 49% 3rd & 4th Year B.Ed.: 20% Post-graduate: 31%	Secondary: 24% Primary: 14% Post-graduate: 35% Other: 18%

Data Analysis

A two-stage process of open and focused coding (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) was employed as an analysis to sort the data into themes and sub-themes. We also drew on demographics through the coding system with markers of identity to distinguish voices in our study; for correlations and cross-tabulations as well as the generation of themes emanating from the data.

3.2.2 ACTIVISTS, SCHOLARS AND MEMBERS OF CIVIL ORGANIZATIONS

The purpose of this domain of the research was to identify, analyze and compare the experiences, perceptions and perspectives of democracy, and education for democracy of scholars, activists and members of civil society groups.

Methods

Similar to the teacher-education students, this research centered on an on-line questionnaire, administered between November 2012 and January 2014.

Sample Population

This study involved 117 activists, scholars or members from civil society groups. Based on the majority responses in our demographic section, the dominant characteristics emanating from these respondents would place a common respondent as White, English-speaking, female, 51- to 60-year-old academic or scholar that was born and lives in the USA.

Data Collection and Analysis

Like the research with teacher-education students, data collection was administered through an on-line,

Likert-style questionnaire that can be found in Appendix B. A two-stage process of open- and focused- coding was used for our analyses regarding the demographic data where relevant.

3.2.3 COMMUNITY MEMBERS

We had a number of contacts with the broader community and civil society throughout the project, and would like to highlight in this report our work with community members of the Haitian diaspora in Montréal, focusing on their perspectives of democracy and EfD. The richness of the perspectives solicited from this group also reflected their connections, attachment and reference to democracy and EfD in numerous jurisdictions, including Haiti, Québec, and Canada.

Methods

Five members of the DPTLE team led four 3-hour focus groups with members of the Haitian community in Montréal at the *Bureau de la communauté haïtienne de Montréal* (BCHM). The focus groups were facilitated by Paul R. Carr and Gina Thésée, the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator of the DPLTE research project, respectively. These focus groups were held in March, 2013.

Sample Population

A total of 29 people participated, including 16 men and 13 women. Additional demographic information, as follows, was solicited from the participants before partaking in the discussions. Some notable demographic aspects of the group can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Demographics of the Haitian Community in the Montréal Sample

45% of the participants were women
71% were over 61 years old (11 over 70; one over 90)
79% were born in Haiti; 13.8% in Canada (others, elsewhere)
90% held Canadian citizenship
The first language for 52% was Creole; 28% French
72% practiced their religion
50% received university degrees

Data Collection

The discussions were directed by a series of guiding questions and activities geared to draw out rich, contextual perspectives on democracy and education. Each of the four focus groups were video-taped to serve as a means of data-collection and future dissemination.

Data Analysis

Discussion, responses, and insights generated by the focus groups were coded so as to be able to develop themes, and we then produced two main categories for the purposes of producing the two videos: (I) Democracy and Culture, Politics and Identity, and (II) The Connection between Education and Democracy. Eight sub-themes emerged in the development of Part I, and six for Part II. Two twenty-minute documentaries were produced, one each of Part I and Part II. Segments corresponding to the sub-themes that were generated through the coding process were grouped and presented together in the documentary, demonstrating the salience of each of these themes. A full summary of the agenda, the discussion questions, and the outcomes can be found in Appendix C.

3.3 SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN

The DPLTE project included a range of samples, in English, French, and, to a certain degree, in Spanish (the International survey as well as several of the GDDRP samples in Latin America), in diverse jurisdictions and contexts, which served to greatly enhance and enrich the overall project. The numerous samples in and interplay with the GDDRP also served to provide substantial and significant empirical data, presenting comparative and conceptual analytical possibilities that, we believe, strengthened and rendered the overall analysis more critical and meaningful. The following two tables provide an overview and summary of the samples.

Table 7: Summary of Empirical Research Samples ^(A)

YEAR	COUNTRY	CITY	LANGUAGE	RESEARCHER	INSTITUTION	SAMPLE
2013	Canada	Thunder Bay (Ontario)	English	Paul R. Carr	University Faculty of Education	Education students (N=118)
2013	Canada	Thunder Bay (Ontario)	English	Paul R. Carr	University Faculty of Education	Education students (Follow-up) (N=n/a)
2013	Australia	Melbourne (Victoria)	English	David Zyngier	University Faculty of Education	Ed. Students (Follow-up) (N=102)
2013	Australia	Melbourne (Victoria)	English	David Zyngier	School Boards	Education Students (Follow-up) (N=32)
2013	USA	Romeoville (Illinois)	English	Brad Porfilio	Lewis University	Education Students (N=n/a)
2013	Canada	Orillia (Ontario)	English	Paul R. Carr	University Faculty of Education	Education students (N=168)
2013	Australia	Melbourne (Victoria)	English	David Zyngier	School Boards	Education students (N=432)
2013	Canada	Montréal (Québec)	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	UQAM Faculty of Education	Education students (N=189)
2013	Canada	Montréal (Québec)	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	BCHM	Community members (N=29)
2013	Australia	Melbourne (Victoria)	English	David Zyngier	Schools	Teachers (N=140)
2013–14	USA	Chicago	English	Brad Porfilio	University Faculty of Education	Education students (N=n/a)
2013–14	International	Global	English	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	Open	Scholars, Activists and civil society (N=114)
2014	Australia	Melbourne (Victoria)	English	David Zyngier	School Boards	Academic Interviews (N=57)
2014–15	Australia	Several sites	English	David Zyngier	Monash University	Educational Faculty (N=57)
2015	Canada	Province of Québec	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	Schools	Teachers (N=n/a)
2015	International	Global	Spanish	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	Open	Scholars, Activists and civil society (N=21)
2015	International	Global	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	Open	Scholars, Activists and civil society (N=5)
2015	Australia	Australia	English	David Zyngier	School Boards	Teachers (follow-up) (N=57)

(A) As discussed throughout this report, the GDDRP also played a role in enhancing, augmenting and enlightening the overall data-collection, analysis and conceptualization of findings, theorization and publications.

(B) There are two campuses (main—Thunder Bay and satellite—Orillia).

(C) French-language samples.

(D) Questionnaires in English, French and Spanish.

Table 8: DPLTE Research Activities

TARGET POPULATION	TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS				ACTIVISTS, SCHOLARS & MEMBERS OF CSOS(D)	COMMUNITY MEMBERS
	ONTARIO	QUÉBEC	USA	AUSTRALIA		
RESEARCH SITE	Lakehead University(B)	l'Université du Québec à Montréal(C)	Saint Louis University	Monash University	International	Haitian Community in Montréal
METHODOLOGY	On-line questionnaires (original survey + follow-up survey)					In-depth focus groups
DATES ADMINISTERED	2012–2013	2012–2013 & 2015	2006–2009 & 2013	2013	2013–2015	2013
SAMPLE SIZE	286	261	150	432	117	29

(A) As discussed throughout this report, the GDDRP also played a role in enhancing, augmenting and enlightening the overall data-collection, analysis and conceptualization of findings, theorization and publications.

(B) There are two campuses (main—Thunder Bay and satellite—Orillia).

(C) French-language samples.

(D) Questionnaires in English, French and Spanish.

PART FOUR

Findings and Implications

“The findings of our study highlight a passive, mainstream, or neutralized understanding of democracy, in which research participants made little or no mention of, or linkage to, equity or social justice in relation to democracy (see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2014). The fundamental linkage between education and democracy occupies little place in the students’ school experience and at the university level as they study to become future teachers (see Thésée, Carr, & Potwora, 2015).”

“Real barriers that exist diminish their engagement with controversial issues, alternative media, democratic education and education for democracy. This contradiction, for example, underscores the difference between media awareness that many teacher candidates possess, and media literacy, a quality that requires greater focus at education institutions (see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2015).”

The findings upon which we report in this section are chiefly concerned with the main research question (how do educators construct democratic literacy, engagement and transformation, broadly defined as education for democracy, in and through education?), and the first sub-question (how do educators (and others) perceive, experience and understand democracy, especially in relation to education?). In what follows we present the context, responses and analysis from several of the samples, notably in relation to teacher-education students, and scholars, activists and members of civil society. It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive compilation of narrative comments here, and we would refer readers to the diverse publications produced throughout the project for more detailed insight and analysis.

4.1 TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS

By and large, our findings suggested that teacher-education students tended to perceive democracy in *thin* terms, as an act of voting, as periodic elections, and as the presence of political institutions. Many respondents made the corresponding inference that education for democracy is about staying current with political issues through watching or reading mainstream news sources. The majority of student responses from all sites fell into category clusters tethered to “voting” or of “voice of the people”. Most students disproportionately viewed their own country as democratic with only a limited understanding of what is taking place in other countries, and there was little justification and analysis substantiating these perceptions. Few connections were made with/to social justice, the environment, political literacy and other intersecting themes. Interestingly, there was a general convergence across all research sites, including those within the GDDRP.

A central theme of our findings was a general tendency towards the conflation of terms, terminology and concepts introduced in the research. Terms designed to elucidate distinctions in social approaches can be co-opted, conflated or rendered ambiguous. Social constructs such as *social justice*, *multiculturalism*, *critical literacy*, or *democracy* are often essentialized, depoliticized and romanticized (see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2014).

Education for democracy is largely perceived in and between a binary of mainstream and critical orientations. The findings of our study highlight a passive, mainstream, or neutralized understanding of democracy, in which research participants made little or no mention of, or linkage to, equity or social justice in relation to democracy (see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2014). The fundamental linkage between education and democracy occupies little place in the students’ school experience and at the university level as they study to become future teachers (see Thésée, Carr, & Potwora, 2015).

Future educators generally demonstrate a normative inclination to democracy and related concepts such as political and media literacy. The samples of pre-service teachers involved in our study, for example, had difficulty employing an effective language and argumentation required to frame critical dialogues and deliberative democracy in order to unpack the relationship between power and knowledge (see Carr, 2011). Formal education is not preparing well the majority of students to become socially-committed educators and citizens who can engage with the challenges of messy, nuanced and power-induced democracy (see Thésée, Carr, & Potwora, 2015).

Real barriers that exist diminish their engagement with controversial issues, alternative media, democratic education and education for democracy. This contradiction, for example, underscores the difference between media *awareness* that many teacher candidates possess, and media *literacy*, a quality that requires greater focus at education institutions (see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2015).

In what follows we present snippets of our findings, results, and key questions for teacher-education students about their perspectives and experiences in relation to democracy as well as democracy and education. Each set of answers is grouped under a selected survey question.⁹

4.1.1 PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY

Survey Question:
“How would you define democracy?”¹⁰

The vast majority of responses were oriented towards democracy being defined as a political process. In Australia, for example, 90% of participants equated democracy to free and fair elections, noting that elections are a very important part of democracy. Similarly, in Orillia, 86 of 123 responses fell into the cluster of “voting or voice of the people”. As one student explained:

“Democracy is people of a country being able to elect their government and have a say in their government. People have representation” (Student in Orillia).

Perspectives on democracy from elsewhere in this project echoed these sentiments:

“A system of government in which the general population has a say in the way the state is operated.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“When the people and the government work together to run a country.” (Student in St. Louis).

“Democracy is a place where you have a voice and can vote.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“Democracy is a system in which the people of that nation dictate (either directly or indirectly) the choices that the nation makes.” (Student in St. Louis).

Survey Question:
“Do you feel that the country you live in is democratic?”

In this case, we drew responses from the samples in Québec and Ontario about whether they viewed Canada as a democratic country, in Melbourne whether they saw Australia as democratic, and in St. Louis on whether they considered the United States as a democratic country. Overall, there was a tendency to view one’s own country as democratic, and a tendency to interpret other countries as being less democratic. The perspective that one’s own country was democratic was strongest in Québec, followed by Australia, Ontario, and then the US (see Table 9). This question was followed by an invitation to explain the rationale. In Thunder Bay, the largest cluster suggested that Canada was democratic “because citizens are able to vote” (34 of 80). Elsewhere respondents explained:

“Everybody gets to vote and have a say with who is in power” (Student in Orillia).

“When you compare Australia’s system to the rest of the world we are probably one of the top democratic countries. We are free and liberated to do almost everything that we want. More importantly we can cast our vote without being watched by guards with weapons who will force us to vote one way or another. We are incredibly lucky.” (Student in Melbourne).

However, in Orillia, the largest cluster was “Not able to provide a clear reason why” (66 of 129). The following explanations expound on this response.

“I think we are a democracy in theory, but I also believe that the current Prime Minister is a dictator, and the sad thing is that he has the power to be one” (Student in Orillia).

“We are not always democratic in that there are some issues that are passed that are not open to the rest of the public such as the current issues in education and the bill that the government would like to pass. However we do vote for our political parties and leaders in a fair manner” (Student in Orillia).

⁹ Readers should note that narrative comments from participants are presented in verbatim format. Also, the context for some comments is particularly important, and that should also be taken into consideration.

¹⁰ It is important to note that we did not define terms such as democracy, education for democracy, political literacy and social justice for participants. We sought to construct meaning for these terms based on answers provided by participants.

Table 9: “Do you feel that the country you live in is democratic?”

	LAKEHEAD (THUNDER BAY)	LAKEHEAD (ORILLIA)	UQAM	ST. LOUIS	MONASH
MEAN	3.6	3.6	3.9	3.5	3.8
MODE	4 (42.4%)	4 (51.9%)	4 (51.0%)	3 (53.2%)	4 (48.7%)
N	92	129	253	109	432

Survey Question:

“Do you believe that political literacy is important for education for democracy?”

Most teacher-education students strongly agreed with statements suggesting that political literacy is important in education for democracy.

Table 10: “Do you believe that political literacy is important for education for democracy?”¹¹

	LAKEHEAD (THUNDER BAY)	LAKEHEAD (ORILLIA)
MEAN	4.4	4.2
MODE	5 (56.6%)	5 (43.1%)
N	83	116

However, there was much debate about what constitutes “political”. For example, many responses insinuate that they interpreted “political” in terms of elections, voting, and state institutions. There was much less support when “political” meant controversial, addressing inequities, etc. (for more background information see Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2015; Hoben, 2017).¹²

4.1.2 PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Survey Question:

“Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?”

In general, there was strong support for this statement, especially within the Canadian responses as opposed to those in the U.S., however, there was little convergence

in what exactly constitutes “democracy” (see Carr, Pluim, & Thésée, 2016, for more details).

“The formation of young people as contributing citizens is part of the function of education. Schooling should not simply be a market driven enterprise “training” students to function in specific, technical roles although this is part. A large component needs to be how to think critically and enact change.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“Yes, because we live in a democratic society and for it to continue to be one, we must practice democracy. If students don’t have a sense of democracy they will not participate in it.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“We can learn that students have the power and intellect to mould their own education, because it is in fact their doing and their life of life-long learning ... democracy is in the way we allow students to un-tap their own inner light and power, and we cannot do that if we are stapled to a standard that is not prioritising empowerment and critique and change.” (Student in Melbourne).

“Teachers need to show to students how order and peace is maintained in society and the classroom is the best place for students to start learning about democracy because it affects them directly. Students should have the equal opportunity to set class rules at the beginning of the year with regards to how fairly they will be treated. As well as other opportunities to express their right to vote and make decisions for the betterment of the classroom community.” (Student in Orillia).

“I think this is important because if students are learning a sense of democracy in school then they can carry that on throughout their lives and hopefully be part of making Canada a fully democratic country by being involved and truly understand what it means to be democratic.” (Student in Orillia).

Table 11: “Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?”

	UQAM	LAKEHEAD (THUNDER BAY)	LAKEHEAD (ORILLIA)	ST. LOUIS	MONASH
MEAN	3.9	4.1	4	3.8	4.0
MODE	5 (34.5%)	5 (45.2%)	4 (38.5%)	3 (32.1%)	5 (41.0%)
N	253	84	117	109	432

¹¹ Data were not available from the Monash, SLU, and UQAM sites for this question.

¹² Further qualitative comments were not collected for this question.

4.1.3 EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY

Survey Question:

“Do you feel that you are actively engaged in a democracy?”

Students generally felt neutral and even somewhat against this statement, particularly in Québec. The way that students responded to this question had much to do with what they felt *constitutes* a democracy. For example, students who inferred democracy in a thin sense, as being a political process with elections, noted that they are engaged if they commit to voting. Conversely, students that perceived democracy in a thick sense, through lenses of critical political literacy, equity, and social justice, tended to weigh their engagement in a democracy on whether they feel that they live in a just and equitable society.

In Thunder Bay the largest cluster suggested “Yes because we are able to vote.” (34 of 74 respondents):

“I always vote but the government will do what it wants despite who is in power. The decisions are made by the rich, not the political parties. The rich are protection their interests and that’s why we see bills to ban the sale of vitamins so people will buy more pharmaceuticals.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“Voting is a first step - but a good democratic citizen almost most create in themselves an agency that allows them to identify an area where they are being of good to the community and then nurture a role wherein they can deliver.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

In Orillia, the most prominent theme was also “voting” (55 of 128 respondents):

“I vote and try to make an educated vote.” (Student in Orillia).

“I think by voting I am given the chance for my say to be heard.” (Student in Orillia).

Table 12: “Do you feel that you are actively engaged in a democracy?”

	UQAM	LAKEHEAD (THUNDER BAY)	LAKEHEAD (ORILLIA)	ST. LOUIS
MEAN	2.6	3	2.8	2.8
MODE	3 (31.0%)	3 (35.2%)	3 (40.6%)	3 (42.6%)
N	254	91	128	108

4.1.4 EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION

Survey Question:

“From your perspective, is the education system in which you were educated democratic?”

This question garnered strong support from students in Québec relative to the other sites. Most students tended to draw on singular examples to make their point, and, again, a lot had to do with how democracy is construed.

In Thunder Bay, the largest group fell into the first cluster, suggesting that their educational experience was not democratic.

“Little say in what is being learned, how it is being taught and how it is being assessed.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

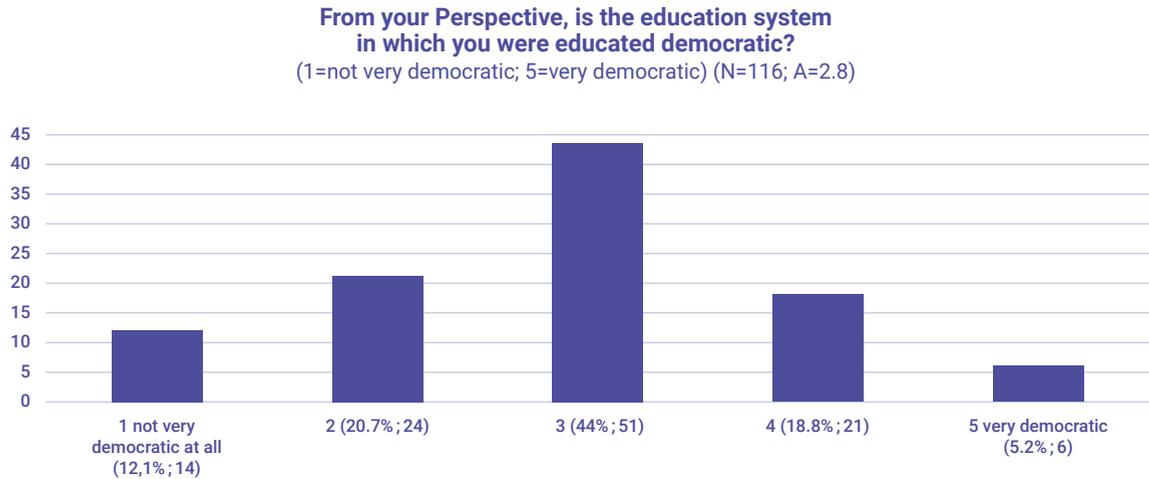
“I think the education system, as a student, you have some say in student affairs, but when it comes to administration and big decisions students often feel as though they are citizens in a democratic society who have not yet reached age of eligibility.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“I don’t think I had any choice in what I learned or how I learned it.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“it will always depend on the teacher, and for the most part I have been given choice but only because I jumped through the hoops they wanted me to. the system is set up that if your fit the bill it will work for you, if not then it will take a longer time or a different path is set for you. the system only gives importance to ‘certain’ learning styles, disciplines and this hierarchy had left many people behind.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“The standardized curriculum prevents democracy. Students have a much more restricted voice than teachers. Administrators try to exert power over teachers. The schooling system is too disconnected from the rest of community. I did experience some isolated democracy - for example there were classes where I felt that the teacher fostered/facilitated some level of democratic environment (for people) within our classroom.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

Figure 3: Student responses in Thunder Bay about the education system



Similar responses were also provided within the Orillia sample as well as elsewhere throughout the study.

“Our education system is a relic left over from the Industrial Revolution and needs to be revamped to actual prepare students for life outside of the system. While I was in school, I never had an option of what to learn, when or how, and my creativity was squashed by focusing only on skills that some higher up assumed was all I needed. Things are changing, but school still resemble factories.” (Student in Orillia).

“I don’t recall having very many choices or opportunities to provide my opinion.” (Student in Orillia).

Survey Question:
“Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?”

The responses to this question unveiled the tension that many students felt in terms of the learning and understanding about democracy. On one hand, students recognized that they had received a reasonable degree of instruction about democracy during their schooling. However, on the other hand, many students revealed—in numerous cases as a simultaneous reflection on their learning through the survey—that these curriculums were limited to thin approaches to democracy. For example:

“I found my teachers to be great agents of democracy but it was only when I saw other countries, other ways of life did I notice this idea of democracy. democracy was linked to thinking and understanding but not politics.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

Had only 1 government class in high school when I learned the basics about government. (Student in St. Louis).

I went to a Catholic school and they encouraged us to be active participants and fight for the Catholic Church. They did not force anything upon us, though. (Student in St. Louis).

“School is where I learned about democracy and what it is. It is also where I learned about how our government works in our country and how governments in other countries work.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

Clearly, some students were consistent throughout the survey in their perceptions and explanations of democracy in thin terms. However, several students elucidated educational experiences in which they were able to learn associated concepts with democracy to promote thicker, deeper, and richer thinking of the notion:

“I had a lot of great teachers that taught me to think critically about my world...not just is this or that true but who’s truth is it.” (Student in Thunder Bay).

“It taught me the definitions of democracy and showed me a reflection of what it is in society.” (Student in Orillia).

“Throughout my education I have learned a lot about what makes an effective democracy and what makes a corrupt democracy.” (Student in Orillia).

Overall, we observed a neutral tendency toward this statement (i.e. responses of “3”), although there was relatively strong support in Québec. In Thunder Bay and Orillia, three clusters developed: “yes it certainly did”, “somewhat”, and “It certainly did not”. The largest cluster was “yes it certainly did” (26 of 64 respondents in Thunder Bay, and 36 of 116 in Orillia).

Table 13: “Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?”¹³

	UQAM	LAKEHEAD (THUNDER BAY)	LAKEHEAD (ORILLIA)	ST. LOUIS
MEAN	3.2	2.8	2.9	3
MODE	5 (24.9%)	3 (31.3%)	27.60%	4 (31.2%)
N	254	83	116	109

4.1.5 SUMMARY

Through our data-analysis we found that the diverse samples of teacher-education students display significant difficulty in expressing a critical understanding of deliberative and participatory democracy, and also have relatively limited political literacy, within our *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy* as well as the *Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy* (see Figure 5 and also Appendix D) frameworks, when considering the qualitative narrative provided by participants. The effect of *thin* democratic experiences can affect future engagement, analysis and the potential for change (see for example Carr & Becker, 2013). Part of the concern relates to educational environments and pre-service teacher programs developing a language, a culture and educational experience that cultivates critical engagement, political literacy and a quest for social justice (see for example Carr & Becker, 2013). We do not want to infer that education students, across-the-board, are disengaged, disinterested or dissuaded from critical engagement but we do realize that thin interpretations may be institutionalized within mainstream educational settings. This is not to say that significant efforts cannot and should not be mobilized and developed. It is, therefore, vital that students be presented with formal as well as informal opportunities to become media- and politically-literate, explore multiple relationships and perspectives, problematize subjective and stereotypical positions, and critically discuss and act, to be able to enact social change and to be engaged in processes leading to conscientization within the Freirian sense (Carr, 2011, 2013; Carr & Pluim, 2015; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014, 2015; Carr & Pluim, 2012; Carr, Zyngier & Pruyn, 2012).

“Through our data-analysis we found that the diverse samples of teacher-education students display significant difficulty in expressing a critical understanding of deliberative and participatory democracy, and also have relatively limited political literacy, within our Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy as well as the Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy (see Figure 5 and also Appendix D) frameworks, when considering the qualitative narrative provided by participants.”

¹³ Data from the Monash site were unavailable for this question.

"The clear majority of participants in the numerous studies undertaken in our research project defined democracy in a normative way, emphasizing elections, government and hegemonic political structures and processes, with little to no emphasis placed on alternative approaches/systems/conceptualizations, a critique of neoliberalism and macro-economic concerns, social justice, or, somewhat surprisingly, education."

"Connecting democracy with education, and with social justice, seemed to be a nebulous and problematic step for the vast majority of participants. Many mentioned that it should be considered but were not sure how, or doubted that the "system" would permit it."

"When asked about their own experience in relation to democracy during their schooling/education, the vast majority confirmed that they had no-to-little critical engagement themselves, and did not benefit from a robust, critically-engaged democratic education. Many even emphasized that they were discouraged from engaging critically, questioning, proposing ideas or actively partaking in activities intertwined with social justice and political literacy."

Defining democracy

The clear majority of participants in the numerous studies undertaken in our research project defined democracy in a normative way, emphasizing elections, government and hegemonic political structures and processes, with little to no emphasis placed on alternative approaches/systems/conceptualizations, a critique of neoliberalism and macro-economic concerns, social justice, or, somewhat surprisingly, education. When engaging with participants in follow-up surveys, interviews and in other ways, allowing for more time and latitude to tease out their lived experiences, there was a greater opportunity to understand problems connected to normative democracy based on the concept of elections and political parties, and to also re-interpret the significance of lived experiences outside of the formal education system. This interpretation of democracy would place it within the lower part of the *Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy*, sometimes verging on passive resistance to disengagement, with a minority of participants leaning toward limited forms of engagement and action (see for example Carr & Becker, 2013; Carr, Plum & Howard, 2014).

Social justice

Connecting democracy with education, and with social justice, seemed to be a nebulous and problematic step for the vast majority of participants. Many mentioned that it should be considered but were not sure how, or doubted that the "system" would permit it. A significant number even expressed surprise with the question or the existence of the connection. Teasing out racism, sexism, classism and other forms of difference and marginalization also appeared to be contested, especially by some who argued that their mission would be to "transmit knowledge" as opposed to "constructing knowledge" (see also Banks, 2004; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). Here, the connection to lived experience (LE) is clear, and the importance of involving diverse people/groups/communities, interests, experiences and perspectives should equally be considered a fundamental aspect of actually conceptualizing, implementing and validating diverse experiences and experiences within the formal educational system, especially in relation to the mission of developing citizenship, political literacy and social justice. With regard to the *Thick-Thin Spectrum*, again, the majority of participants' responses ranged from open and passive resistance at the *thin* end to some being more predisposed to more engaged, self-interested and critical postures and action toward the *thick* end (Carr, Plum & Howard, 2014, 2015).

Experience with formal education

When asked about their own experience in relation to democracy during their schooling/education, the vast majority confirmed that they had no-to-little critical engagement themselves, and did not benefit from a robust, critically-engaged democratic education. Many even emphasized that they were discouraged from engaging critically, questioning, proposing ideas or actively partaking in activities intertwined with social justice and political literacy. Most mentioned that the focus was generally on voting and elections but not on questioning power relations and inequalities. Our research further stimulated our interest to explore and understand the following question: how does this lack of democratic experience affect teacher-education students in the quest to be educators? Many believed that *thick* democratic work should be excluded from the educational experience because of the potential for controversy, and a smaller number envisaged engaging in some form of action, and even conscientization, but the belief in being able to do so was limited. Another important question is: if this democratic consciousness does not come from, or is not cultivated in, schools, where does it come from? This is where LE becomes an essential pillar to the notion of EfD, and where it should necessarily find a home within the formal system, which is not always the case. Pertaining to the *Thick-Thin Spectrum*, we can see that the systemic, institutional parameters framing formal education can marginalize the salience of LE, and also diminish the potential for meaningful pedagogy, curriculum, educational policy and transformative change at the level of the institutional culture (Carr & Pluim, 2015; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014).

Potential for critically-engaged education as an educator

Many participants believed that “politics” had/has no place in education, especially among those teaching math and science; however, a significant minority also believed that education for democracy should be a desired outcome. Within this second group, there was confusion about how to do so, and many were concerned about the potential for discomfort and controversy. Most acknowledged that they were not prepared for such engagement. As we explored this concept further, we learned that those most inclined, willing and prepared to critically engage with students at multiple levels were those who had highly meaningful and critically-engaged lived experiences reinforced outside of the formal educational experience. This latter group is considered to be more able to connect with students, to challenge them, and to create a conducive climate in which deliberative democracy can be entertained on highly controversial but fundamental issues, such as racism, war, poverty, violence, etc.. For example, in relation to working on racism, those from racialized backgrounds who had engaged with race-related concerns in the community appeared to be better prepared, engaged and predisposed to innovative and develop responsive approaches than

those who had not, especially when ethno-racially-diverse student-bodies were involved. Thus, drawing on LE is indispensable here, and can alter the entire framework of analysis and experience of students, especially when the relationships, pedagogy and curricular experiences are developed and cultivated in authentic and engaging ways. In terms of the *Thick-Thin Spectrum*, those aiming to critically address concerns and needs of all students, including those from marginalized backgrounds, can, effectively, attain the level of major engagement, and aim for conscientization (Carr, 2013; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014).

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Effect of neoliberalism on education

“Although most participants did not use the term “neoliberalism,” a large number did frame their responses within the language of neoliberal reforms (testing, standardized curriculum, expectations and outcomes, limited-to-no place for social justice, “transmitting knowledge,” pressure on students and teachers to achieve standards, which prevented them from education for democracy work). The effect is that a majority of future educators in our studies do not believe that the formal schooling experience is the place to engage critically and substantively with education for democracy.”

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Thus, the *Thick-Thin Spectrum for Education for Democracy and the Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy* offers insight into how educators and future educators may actually engage, and entice (critical) engagement, with students, colleagues and others in and through formal education:

- Is it possible to mesh LE with formal education or are the two domains meant to be distinct, contrary and disconnected?
- What are the implications if one does not inform the other?
- Can social justice and political literacy be prominent features and outcomes of formal education if LE are not fully considered, operationalized and facilitated?

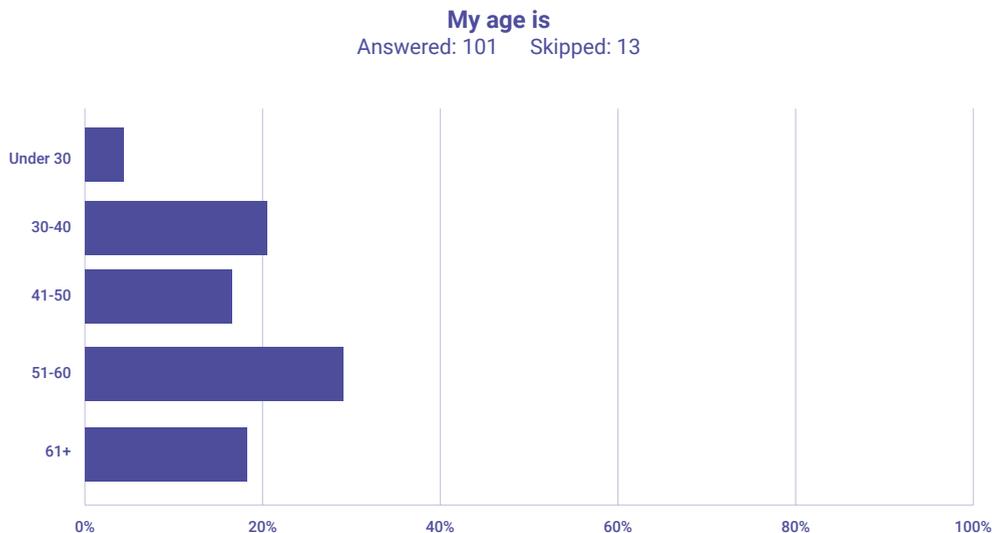
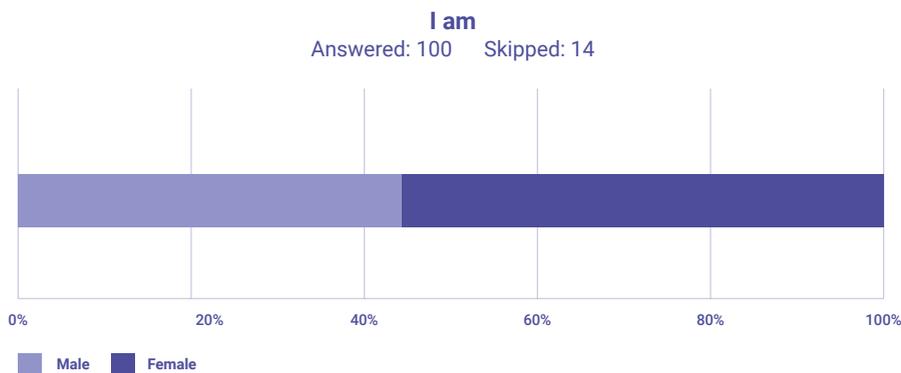
LE informs all aspects of teaching and learning, and the connection to democracy and EfD is enhanced when the individual and collective learning that takes place outside of the formalized classroom, curricular and evaluation regimes is seriously considered, problematized and interwoven throughout the educational experience (see also Bickmore, Awad & Radjenovic, 2017).

4.2 ACTIVISTS, SCHOLARS AND MEMBERS OF CSOs

The experiences, perceptions and perspectives of democracy, and EfD, of scholars, activists and members of civil society organizations (CSOs) offered a rich comparison to those of teacher-education students. While the data collection methods and analyses were similar for both samples, the results were intriguingly distinct. The three studies with English-language, French-language and

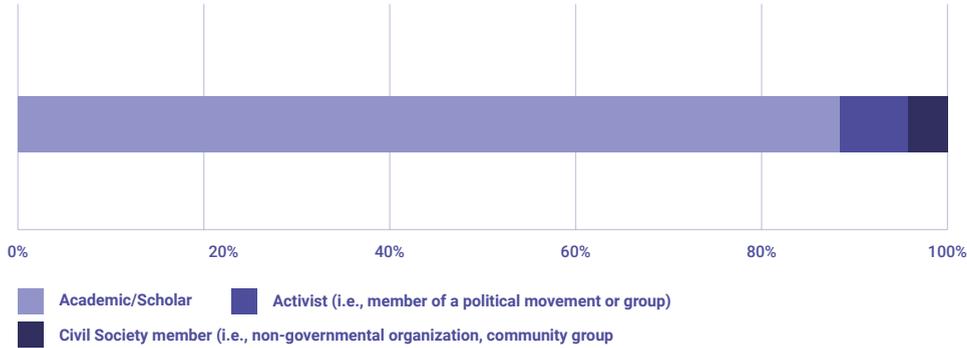
Spanish-language samples took place between 2013 and 2015 on-line, with participants from around the world through snowball sampling starting with colleagues deemed to be interested in the research project. Similar to the other methodological practices in this research, demographic data were recruited from the sample, a portion of which is represented in Figure 4. It was hypothesized that scholars and activists, in particular, would have a more critical interpretation of democracy and education but the empirical process allowed us to more effectively and carefully document the scope, breadth and dimensions of the problematic. Again, as was the case with the survey data related to teacher-education students, the qualitative, narrative data were considered more salient, and also served to further flesh out the quantitative responses. In what follows, we report on the findings from the English language questionnaire administered in 2013-2014.

Figure 4: Gender, Age, Occupational, Racial, and Ethnic Demographics Extracted from the English-Language Questionnaire Sample



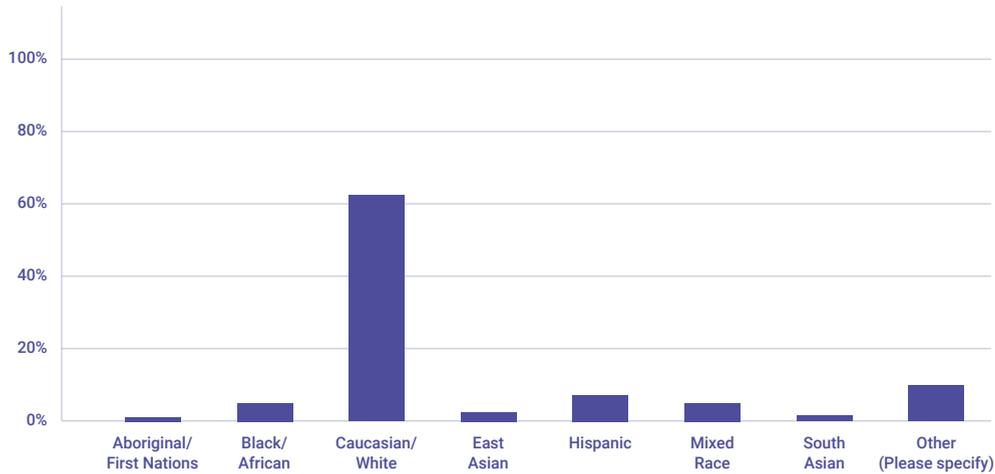
What do you do for a living, or, for the purpose of this survey, what is your connection to democracy?

Answered: 82 Skipped: 32



What is your racial/ethnic origin? (check more than one wherever appropriate)

Answered: 94 Skipped: 20



4.2.1 PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY

Survey Question:
“How would you define democracy?”

Far fewer from this sample (as compared as with the teacher-education students) viewed democracy as limited to elections, voting, and institutions. Many focused on defining democracy as an ideal, as opposed to the normative reality.

Roughly 60% of the scholars, activists, and members of CSOs held humanistic, holistic perspectives, underscoring a consideration of the diversity of identities in communities, families, school and society.

“My definition of “real” democracy is “thicker” than that and would probably be more closely aligned with socialism relative to the ideals of including as many as possible and caring for as many as possible.”

Approximately 40% from this sample responded with a critical perspective:

“Democracy is a fiction, a myth. It entered our lexicon to engender hope in something that is never practiced. The sentiment is utopian but it allows people to feel good about the way in which their lives are ‘free’. (...) ‘Democracy’ exists as something enacted ‘over there’; generally linked to ‘politics’ which is taken as meaning ‘party politics’—rather than ‘the power operative in relationship’.”

Survey Question:
"Do you feel that the country you live in is democratic?"

Most of the respondents held critical views of their own country's quality of democracy, and underscored a range of democratic deficits. Many responses aligned with hegemonic influence, particularly in relation to capitalism and neo-liberalism (i.e., democracy as a normative tool for the powerful, right, and elites).

Some 90% of respondents felt that the focus on private interests served to further bolster inequalities.

"Some decisions that our government takes, in my opinion are not democratic at all because in Argentina CORRUPTION rules."

"Everything, including elections, controlled by the capitalist class."

"Powerful interests control the means of communication, thus denying the people complete and correct information so they usually support these very same powerful interests."

"Political campaigns distort reality thus stealing votes. Poor access to information not controlled by the economic power interests. Work force always kept in a surplus position to control wages. Education is only partly public supported."

A very small group—roughly 5% of respondents—did not have a very critical perspective. That representative democracy is not a true democracy was not considered a serious problem because of the rampant problems in other countries in relative terms.

4.2.2 PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Survey Question:
"Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?"

For this question, there was a significant variety of responses. There were more nuances to the question, especially in understanding the links between education and citizenship and democracy, with many seeing the link as inextricable.

Roughly a third of respondents argued that to raise (critical) citizens meant changing the system.

"They are helping to raise citizens!!"

"If students are going to grow into adults who are capable of improving the state of their world and communities, they must learn at an early age to inquire into their own beliefs, the beliefs of others, and the power structures that shape them."

"This is how we will empower and assist in the transforming of students into agents of change."

Roughly 30% of respondents suggested that education is a prerequisite for living in and developing a democracy.

"It is a moral imperative to provide students the opportunity to experience and practice democracy."

"I don't understand teaching separated of democracy."

"School cannot be an isolated island from society, and it must inculcate the sense of the interrelationship of man and democratic society and man's responsibility in creating and maintaining it as well as man's rights in it."

"Since democracy is about the life itself, since democracy directly and indirectly influences our daily lives, how can a teacher teach without promoting it? A teacher should even be an activist of the democracy."

A small number of respondents felt that teaching democracy without a strong emphasis on social justice would be senseless:

"A democracy without justice is merely another word for Fascism."

"Yes absolutely (democracy should be taught) but not with an explicitly ideological approach of Democracy with a capital 'D'."

"Not much point in our system. What is needed is to ensure student understand how our system of government functions and which level of government has which responsibility."

4.2.3 EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY

Survey Question:
"Do you feel that you are actively engaged in a democracy?"

This question was largely interpreted as not to refer to the formal, government mechanisms of normative democracy, and most respondent chose to answer in relation to what a more robust, critically-engaged democracy would look like.

The vast majority of respondents felt they were actively engaged more in an informal way (doing democracy) than in a formal way (government processes and voting):

"In various community activities, such as Occupy, I have been and am involved in democracy."

"I feel I am engaged in organizing and mass education for sharper understanding of political issues, but I am not actively engaged in the democratic political structure of my country."

"I am a member of professional and civic organizations (5-6) that regularly engage in using research to guide position statement, activities, rally's, apply pressure to change policy, and service to local communities and community members."

"I am actively engaged in some groups and organizations that strive to organize around and run through democratic principles."

About one-quarter of the scholars, activists and members of CSOs felt they were engaged more in a formal way (government processes and voting) than in an informal way (doing democracy):

"The ideas of government and democracy are so intertwined, (...) I may be involved in "governmentality" rather than 'democracy'."

"It is exceedingly difficult to restructure when the already privileged are the ones who usually have enough social, cultural, and economic capital to get elected. That seemingly permanent bias discourages me from participating in the formal structures, although I do, reluctantly."

Survey Question:

"From your perspective, is the education system in which you were educated democratic?"

Most scholars, activists, and members of CSOs here were very critical about the education system in general. Respondents saw the system structurally as opposed to pedagogically, in juxtaposition to the sentiment expressed by teacher-education students, in general. This group saw the structures as embedded in a corporate-dominant, state neoliberalism.

Roughly 60% of respondents believed that private and individual agendas overpower the voices of educators:

"We are tied at the hegemonic ideology and the possibilities of thinking different are few."

"In the deep down I always felt the oppression of grading system, money market (university is a business), faculty has become technocrats. Students try to get the diploma; fun and joy of teaching and learning have been taken away by the capitalistic market driven institutionalization of the higher education."

About one-quarter of respondents underscored that access to quality education is a fundamental concern:

"Not all kids have equal access to the best. It could be called democratic the day we no longer talk about "good schools" or "good neighbourhoods" over "bad schools", or when we no longer need special private schools for some."

"Difficulties for mass access to higher education."

About 15% of respondents believed that change must come from teachers and students, adopting an emancipation and power-from-below approach:

"Schools can't lead social change, they can only support it by teachers (and students) being involved with social movements and reflecting change oriented movements back into the school."

"Students have little to no say in the educational system."

4.2.4 EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION

Survey Question:

"Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?"

Most respondents were very critical of the school system, and maintained they did not experience many opportunities and learning aimed at cultivating deep or thick democracy.

Almost half of the respondents referenced something akin the banking system that Freire eloquently outlined in his most well-known work (*The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), which further induces, compels and shapes (future) workers' unwavering resolve to uphold the capitalist logic:

"The system continues to run a top-down, teachers are funds of knowledge/banking system which further perpetuates students as factory workers rather than empowered and engaged citizens."

"I learned what modern bureaucratic power was in public schools, how it limits reproduces power and sets the limits of proper discourse, how it alienates people from their peers and from the sense of their own power for self-determination."

"Introduced me to my only reference to democracy which is capitalism."

About a third of respondents felt that their education perpetuated the colonial model, and, subsequently, serves to reinforce societal inequalities:

"Yes. It tended to make me believe that the US form of democracy was the best and most just."

"The curriculum was a White dominated system where democracy was absent in the textbooks and in the classroom."

"Certainly, our experiences in during teaching and our mind style or even seeing unpleasant events and oppression, suppression students in schools also, lack of

facilities and appropriate conditions could impress my minds about democracy.”

About a fifth of respondents noted that teachers could (and, in some cases, did) engage students’ empowerment, often through critical pedagogy or some off-shoot of transformative teaching. In many cases, these were critically-engaged scholars who aimed to contest and resist hegemonic structures.

“Yes. When I met the right people that made me realize there was more to the story and that it was okay to challenge how things were.”

“I also learned much empowering knowledge about politics, culture, and society. I also became involved with activism while in school.”

“Yes, I did not like the system at all and learned to look for empowering ideas to resist and subvert schooling.”

As noted in other components of the overall research project, a number of respondents emphasized that the formal educational experience had little positive effect on their vision of democracy, noting that life experience had more effect. The more we learned about this crucial finding, the more we questioned how formal education actually strives to cultivate democracy, evaluate it, and justify what it does.

“Don’t remember any classes or activities explaining democracy.”

“Once I arrived here and started to understand how things were I realized that people are not as free as they think they are and the consumerism became a form of keeping people busy with their trying to consume more to feel better. I am not against prosperity but not everybody has the same chance at it.”

4.3 COMMUNITY MEMBERS

This final section of findings reflects those of community members of the Haitian diaspora in Montréal, obtained through focus groups with the BCHM in 2013. The focus groups were conducted in French, transcribed in French, and documented here in English through translations by the authors. For a French version of these quotes, see Appendix C. For this group, while the sample size was much smaller than the previous two samples (29 participants), the depth and strength of the findings enabled the solicitation of a great deal of information and insight into democracy and EfD from the perspective of citizens with rich histories and identities.

4.3.1 PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY

Focus Group Question:

“How would you define democracy?”

Numerous participants quoted, verbatim, Lincoln’s words from the Gettysburg Address, that democracy is a “government of the people, by the people, for the people”. Others said simply that it’s “the voice of the people”. For some, it meant “having no leader”. Another common response was “freedom”, “respect for others,” “obeying the law,” “accepting differences,” and “tolerance.” In their words:

“Acceptance, tolerance of the opinions of others. Our opinion should not be the one imposed. Accept what we do not understand.”

“Allow everyone to live, to think within their personal limits, and avoid interfering within their limits.”

Some illustrated democracy in very local terms, such as “everyone coming together for a meal”. One suggested that democracy is “being heard”. Another said, “democracy can mean refusing to participate in society”.

Some of the major recurring themes, which echoed those elucidated in the teacher-education student sample, included: tolerance, harmony, equality, brotherhood, solidarity, rights and responsibilities, and freedom, information and communication.

“Democracy is equality. Transparency and honesty contribute to it.”

“Democracy is freedom, information and communication. You cannot make a decision without being informed. Communication is important for everyone to know the opinions of others. And, everyone is free, but one person’s freedom influences that of others.”

“Freedom is not the foundation of democracy, but equality (especially civic), dignity, equality of identity, or, as having the same rights. Democracy is not a given but an approach under development, that comes with responsibility. There is no such thing as a good democracy, but there are good democrats who seek democracy. Equality is being together, not divided into sections.”

Focus Group Question:

“Do you feel that the country you live in is democratic?”

Many of the participants, especially those who immigrated to Canada as adults, referenced or alluded to Haiti for this question. Many participants expressed a degree of revulsion at how “democratic countries” were responsible for instigating war, contributing to poverty, and exacerbating inequalities, all of which would not be associated with a democratic society. Others commented that democracy exists for some, but not others. As one participant put it, “democracy has different speeds”.

"There is no democracy for the disadvantaged, the poor. They are basically slaves. [If you are poor] you cannot be a participant of democracy; you have other priorities."

The focus groups also emphasized the gulf between common citizens and, varyingly, the "elite", the "rich", and, interestingly, "academics"/"intellectuals". This broad gulf in experience, participation and power mirrored what many believed to be the Haitian reality, although in a less marked way.

Oddly, given some of the comments and notions expressed above, some participants, especially older ones, held up the U.S. as an exemplar for democracy. This was somewhat surprising given the U.S.'s very mixed historical relationship with Haiti, including its non-recognition of Haitian sovereignty (until 1862), the U.S. military occupation (1915-34), the extermination of Creole pigs (1978), its involvement in the second coup of Aristide (2004), current U.S. assembly plants in Haiti, etc., not to mention the U.S.'s own internal issues with democracy. However, some noted this contradiction, such as how the U.S. excluded slaves in its original constitution. Some also underscored how the U.S. subverted Haitian sovereignty and its economy over the years, helping to create greater dependence, rather than autonomy.

Focus Group Question:

"In your opinion, how important are elections to democracy?"

Several participants confessed that their notion of democracy is simply connected to the normative act of voting, and the image of politics and political parties.

"Democracy is fundamentally political: the people make a choice"

Some participants envisioned more effective political systems that did not involve a democratic revolution, simply reforming the political system: "Sure, change the electoral system. But don't abolish it." Others argued how a more democratic society would not rely on elections: "The best democracy does not involve elections"

4.3.2 EXPERIENCES WITH DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION

Focus Group Question:

"Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?"

There was a general sentiment here that the formal school experience was not beneficial for building a democracy. Many argued that school subjects and even the curriculum in the broadest sense point students in one direction only, leaving no space for the students to think critically and develop democratic dispositions and commitments. Some spoke of how stereotypes are promoted, and how racist, global assumptions are

perpetuated. Many made the point that if the state is not democratic, the school cannot be expected to be democratic because it is an (essential and/or critical) institution of the state.

"The school is not democratic: it structures things so that it goes with its edge: We talk about what Québec has done well, but not the harm it has done (i.e. Duplessis vs. Lesage). The school basically conveys the ideology desired by society. What we are taught is designed to benefit society. Not only in history class, but in all classes and everywhere in general. Everything is planned to go in one direction."

"Sometimes there is no democracy at school. We learned about Athenian democracy, but in everyday life the teachers always had more rights than us. The teacher was always right, and the students were punished when they protested, even if they were right. In Haiti, there is no democracy, in society and therefore not in school either. The society has evolved towards more freedom of expression but nothing more. Because we don't have a democratic culture, democracy remains very difficult to achieve."

"The school teaches a mechanistic and fixed vision of things: Its poor countries vs rich countries; it's black or it's white (but not clear black). The culture of the school is uniform; if you do not follow this path, you will get off track."

There was also some analysis provided by participants that the very institution of education was inhibited towards being democratic because of its connection to the state (which had already been determined in that focus group as non-democratic).

"School cannot be democratic because it is a part of the state institution. Therefore, it will naturally transmit certain values of the bourgeoisie. It is inevitable. The school serves to reproduces society, and as a result, society does not change. Schools pose a possibility change, but don't be fooled!"

Others believed that the teachers, more so than the institution, were a barrier to democracy: "It's not education that scares me, it's the educators." However, numerous other participants also referred to the democratic potential of schools, or as one participant suggested, "a breeding ground for democracy".

This focus-groups allowed the research-team to more fully develop concepts, arguments and issues, and a range of distinctive positions were established, often in relation to gender, age, migratory status and, importantly, ideology.

PART FIVE

Recommendations

“The findings of our project seek to address the presence of a democratic deficit at all levels of society: locally, nationally, and globally. While this deficit is not evident through a thin lens or interpretation of normative democracy, the framework of a thick, participatory democracy illuminates the abundance of ways in which meaningful, critically-engaged and transformative democracy may be cultivated in and through education and in society. This thicker approach to democracy requires a much greater and more critical degree of political and media literacy, imbued through a transformative approach to education.”

The findings of our project seek to address the presence of a democratic deficit at all levels of society: locally, nationally, and globally. While this deficit is not evident through a thin lens or interpretation of normative democracy, the framework of a *thick*, participatory democracy illuminates the abundance of ways in which meaningful, critically-engaged and transformative democracy may be cultivated in and through education and in society. This *thicker* approach to democracy requires a much greater and more critical degree of political and media literacy, imbued through a transformative approach to education. We do not opt for a Pollyannaish or romantic vision of democracy here but we do recognize the great potential for formal education to more fully, critically and inclusively re-imagine how education for democracy might take place.

In what follows, we provide a synopsis of the contributions that the DPLTE project has made to the field of education, education for democracy and other connected domains. We offer a list of proposals, ideas, thoughts, suggestions, and recommendations to address this democratic deficit in the broader domain of education. These proposals are related primarily to our project (i.e., a synthesis of our research findings flowing from the publications and encapsulations of the project) but also draw on other provincial, national and global areas that connect to our broader analyses of themes emanating out of the project. The focus here is to stimulate and engage a conversation, dialogue and engagement related to the possibilities that exist for a deeper, *thicker* democracy through education and education for democracy. We caution that any list immediately contains within it several delimitations and cautionary notes: our list is no exception, and it is not meant to be the last word on EfD but, rather, it is hopeful that it will be a useful contribution to stimulate reflection, conceptualization, conscientization and action.

Here we take up sub-questions 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the research questions:

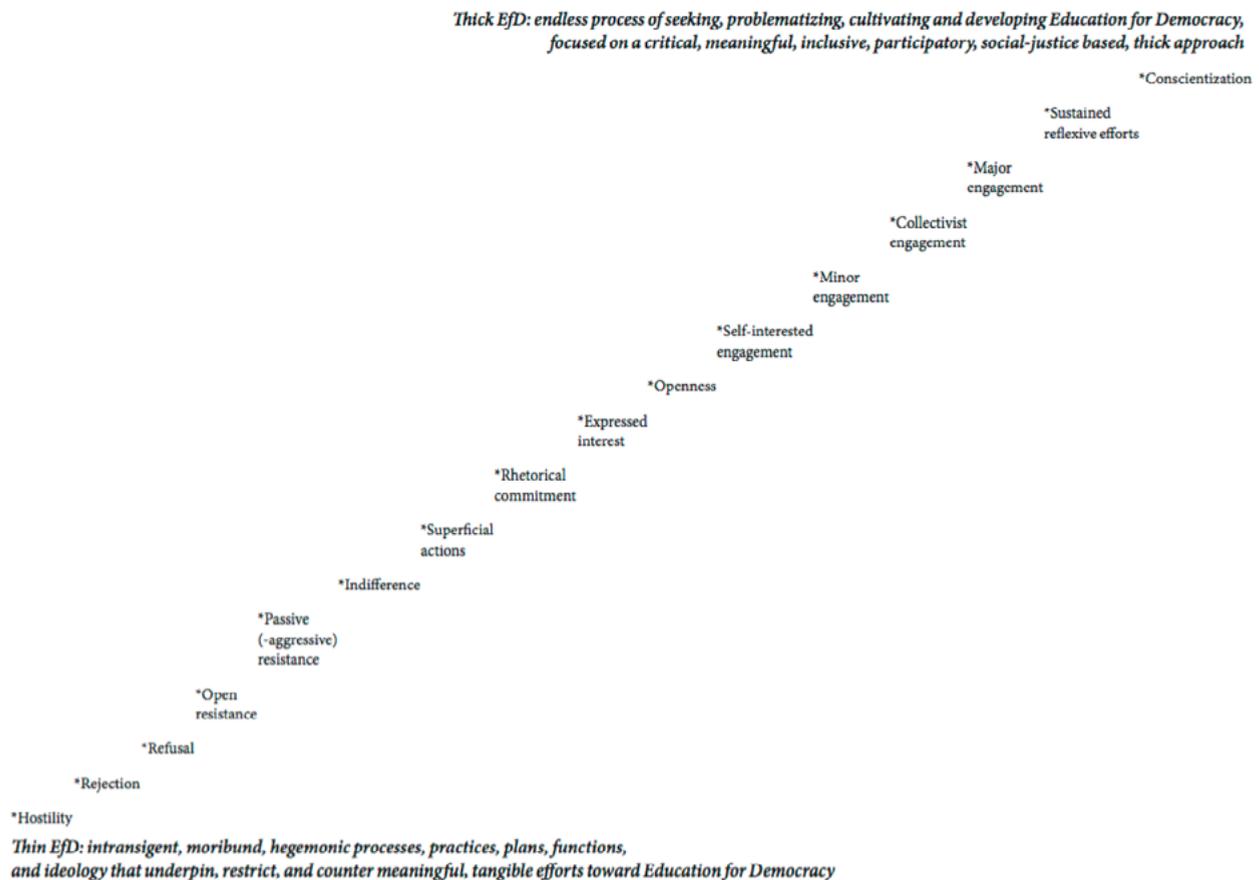
- VI. What are the implications of these perceptions and actions in relation to education?
- VII. How do (and how can) educators (and others) contribute to the development of a more robust, critical, *thicker* educational experience in and through education?
- VIII. How do (and how can) educators (and others) inform how education-systems can be reformed and transformed in relation to policy, institutional culture, curriculum, pedagogy, epistemology, leadership and lived experience?
- IX. What can be learned from the diverse democratic experiences and practices of educators (and others) by employing a comparative, international lens?

The themes below have been clustered according to the inter-connected components that comprise the conceptual framework underpinning this research, including: pedagogy, curriculum, educational policy, institutional culture, epistemology, leadership, and informal education (we sometimes refer to this as lived experience). For an elaboration of the research and rationale supporting the following recommendations, see the associated articles, books and texts that are cited in this Report. Much more detail for the following recommendations can be found in the peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and other publications related to our research project. For more information, in-text citations accompany specific recommendations that direct readers to the relevant text where further background, context, and elaborations can be found. The full citations are listed in Part Six: Dissemination of Results. Lastly, Carr developed a list of one hundred proposals for EfD in 2011, and some of those are included in the following sections.

5.1 OVERALL RECOMMENDATIONS

The Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy (Figure 5) presents sixteen levels of the educational experience, interwoven into the seven-point framework underscoring the research of the *Democracy, Political Literacy* and *Transformative Education* project. These are not the only components in education but ones that we feel are extremely relevant for the purposes of understanding, and engaging with, democracy.

Figure 5: Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy



- *Hostility*: overt disdain for discussion, proposals, and change directed at engaging with thick democracy; usually politically motivated or, at the very least, imbued with heavy hegemonic tones to denigrate attempts to alter the status quo
- *Rejection*: less openly hostile but equally disparaging of attempts to alter the status quo; usually involves arguments to shut down debate and efforts to reform
- *Refusal*: acknowledgment of context and proposals for change but concerted unwillingness to engage with process; usually involves some informal collaboration to confront power dynamics
- *Open resistance*: consolidated efforts to use institutional and cultural mechanisms and processes to deter engagement with, and implementation of, change process and/or proposed progressive reforms, usually not hidden or masked
- *Passive(-aggressive) resistance*: intuitive efforts to enact noncompliance or concerted efforts to counter progressive reforms; usually organized through informal gestures, symbols, and messages
- *Indifference*: lack of motivation, reflection, and action due to sentiment of uselessness of proposed changes; usually involves a strong institutional and cultural component
- *Superficial actions*: minimalist efforts, gestures, and manifestations to obfuscate and undermine significant movement toward education for democracy; usually involves a weak personal and collective commitment combined with institutional intransigence, which favors some visible support for change over bona fide action
- *Rhetorical commitment*: some formal support at the level of discourse and public relations usually accompanied by superficial actions; while the rhetorical commitment can provide motivation in the short-term but when not followed by bona fide, tangible action, is considered to be counterproductive and can lead to indifference and institutional intransigence
- *Expressed interest*: more enhanced rhetorical commitment, usually accompanied with argumentation and aspects of moral suasion; similar to rhetorical commitment but more engaged, although the same caveat remains in relation to the need for constructive action to follow
- *Openness*: the beginning of engagement and embracing the potential for change; usually involves creating some space for dialogue, consultation, and deliberation but still within a tightly defined institutional context
- *Self-interested engagement*: the next level of engagement that recognizes the advantages of inclusionary development and a rethinking of institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy; usually involves the initial phases of developing some standards, policies, objectives, and outcomes
- *Minor engagement*: a more enhanced engagement than self-interested engagement, which includes the beginning of institutional commitment with resources, training, and a policy framework
- *Collectivist engagement*: involves a coalition of interests in concerted action in favour of progressive engagement aimed at education for democracy; usually involves a more enhanced consultation and participation with diverse formal and informal stakeholders
- *Major engagement*: Building on collectivist engagement, includes a more defined and robust policy framework with a range of institutional initiatives and practices that seek to build education for democracy; usually involves defined leadership and policy roles
- *Sustained reflexive efforts*: extending major engagement, sustained reflexive efforts include developing a cycle of evaluation, innovation, and capacity building for education for democracy; usually involves an opening for critique and bona fide dialogue to reformulation the approach
- *Conscientization*: this level involves a critical, meaningful, engaged approach to education for democracy, taking into consideration inequitable power relations, political literacy, and social justice; not an end point but, rather, an entry point into a rethinking of epistemological, pedagogical, curricular, educational policy, and institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy; the importance of humility is central, and inclusive, participatory processes and mechanisms are put in place to allow for critique, change, innovation, dialogue, and reconsideration

Each component can be understood within the diverse points on the spectrum, allowing decision-makers, educators, students, parents, civil society and others, in an engaged way, to better examine what has happened, what is happening, and what should happen. One vigorous critique that has been made against neoliberal education reforms is that they appear to seek “accountability” by measuring all kinds of issues, notably through tests, yet there appears to be almost non-existent accountability for democracy. How could it be achieved if there are no plans, strategies or support-systems put in place?

“The Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy (Figure 5) covers a broad range of sophisticated and nuanced phases/categories/indicators. Each phase has a specific meaning but also bleeds into the preceding and succeeding phases. The process of conducting the analysis—what’s happening, why, how, where, what’s included, documented, areas of concern, and data-collection issues, etc.—is fundamental to understanding how democracy functions.”

The *Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy* (Figure 5) covers a broad range of sophisticated and nuanced phases/categories/indicators. Each phase has a specific meaning but also bleeds into the preceding and succeeding phases. The process of conducting the analysis—what’s happening, why, how, where, what’s included, documented, areas of concern, and data-collection issues, etc.—is fundamental to understanding how democracy functions.

This model serves a complement and an important lever, we believe, to understanding how engagement takes place in and through education in relation to democracy, political literacy and social justice. This model is further developed in Appendix D alongside several others that aim to explicate, problematize and deconstruct EfD (See also Carr & Thésée, 2017).

We present this model and the others in Appendix D as the overarching outcomes of this research project, and hope that they will be helpful to the educational community in seeking to conceptualize, cultivate, implement and build EfD. The next several sections provide specific direct recommendations related to each of the seven components integrated into our conceptual framework.

5.2 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO PEDAGOGY

The pedagogy component is primarily concerned with teaching and what happens in the classroom. Here we focus on the role of teachers, the methodology of teaching, the way students are taught, teaching methods, teacher-student interactions, and the impact of these processes on learning (about/how to do) democracy. Some of the research in this area has highlighted how teachers working within the confines of constructed systems can draw on their agency to develop diverse, alternative, and critical pedagogies to enable thicker lessons through, of, and for democracy. As such, our proposals for the pedagogical component of education for democracy include:

5.2.1 TEACHERS/EDUCATORS SHOULD FIND MANY WAYS TO TEACH ABOUT, THROUGH, AND FOR DEMOCRACY IN THEIR CLASSROOMS, DESPITE THE NARROW MAINSTREAM FRAMING OF DEMOCRACY.

1. Emphasize *thick* democratic education, and, importantly, education for democracy, through activism, broad and meaningful participation, protest, contestation, and innovative political and social movements outside of mainstream, normative framings of democracy.
2. Focus on alternative spheres of society and political life by teaching about, and including, civil society organizations, and social justice organizations, which distinctly focus on those marginalized and disenfranchised from the

normative center of political, governmental and societal life.

3. Nurture the concepts of critically-engaged citizenship and democracy at an early age throughout the educational experience via creative, inquiry-based, age-appropriate pedagogies and learning activities.
4. Expand the possibilities for student input through participatory pedagogies, and cultivate engagement with controversial issues as a means of learning to debate and deliberate in peace beyond simplistic, binary notions of democracy.
5. Consider a physical layout, seating plan, class posters and pictures, student project samples, and other tangible aspects of their pedagogy that promote alternative representations, marginalized perspectives, and equity in relation to participation and the logistical dynamics of learning.
6. Develop a repository for sharing promising practices in education for democracy based on the thoughtful practices of current teachers, and ensure that inclusive input and dissemination is part of the equation.

5.2.2 TEACHERS/EDUCATORS SHOULD DEVELOP HABITS, APPROACHES, AND PEDAGOGIES TO WELCOME CONTROVERSY, CONFLICT, AND DISCOMFORT IN THE CLASSROOM

1. Rather than protecting students from controversial subject-matter, they should be encouraged to critically understand not only the *what* but also the *how* and *why* behind significant events, issues and concerns, and this does not infer that teachers/educators take sides or limit debate to two opposite positions.
2. Deliberately engage in controversy, conflict and discomfort in the classroom in a semi-structured way, upon reflection, with preparation, and in sync with authentic, serious, life experiences facing students, communities and society (i.e., racism, sexism, homophobia, bullying, conflict, social inequalities, injustice, etc.).
3. Embrace diverse, contentious and uncomfortable approaches to better address those individuals and spheres of society that are not adequately represented by the formal and normative mechanisms of democracy.
4. Provide a meaningful forum for expression and deliberative democracy so that engagement, critique and debate can take place at different levels and in different ways outside of the traditional debate format.

5. Include a range of literary, media, technological and other sources representing a broad diversity of perspective and opinion, and involve members of society, wherever possible, within classroom activities so as to enhance, improve, render more authentic and meaningful, and engage students in critical learning.
6. Freedom of speech should include uncomfortable truths without retribution.

5.2.3 TEACHERS/EDUCATORS SHOULD DEVELOP PEDAGOGIES FOR LEARNERS (AND THEMSELVES) TO ENGAGE MORE DEEPLY WITH THEIR OWN SOCIAL POSITIONS

1. Help learners to locate themselves in socio-political terms in society to better understand that citizens' power is inequitably distributed across society but also emphasize how people can and have acted historically to stimulate, cultivate and lead change.
2. Introduce critical reflexive practice as a pedagogical tool to analyze students' own context, and participate in changing structures, assumptions, identities, attitudes and power relations.
3. Students should construct critical ethnographies of their lives, building on a corpus of reflective and analytical work each year, which could serve to challenge epistemological intransigence. By seeing the evolution and transformation of their thinking over time, and in relation to various events, personalities and experiences, students can start to make critical observations about their own (socially-constructed) identities, societies and the way that knowledge is constructed. Toward the end of each year, students could review their analysis from the previous years, and then add to it by commenting on their previous thoughts as well as elaborating on changes in their thinking.
4. Cultivate learning groups, partnerships, relationships and fora so that teachers/educators can discuss and deliberate together in view of developing a greater sensitization of teaching and learning for democracy.

5.2.4 TEACHERS/EDUCATORS SHOULD INVITE AND ENCOURAGE GUEST SPEAKERS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, AND CITIZENS WHO BRING UNIQUE AND ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES TO SHARE THEIR KNOWLEDGE WITH STUDENTS.

1. All schools should implement a guest program whereby a range of professionals, academics, and people with diverse experiences could liaise with students. The access to a diversity of guests should be distributed equally throughout all schools, and no schools should be without some form of a regular, regimented and engaging program in place. Special attention should be paid to diversity and the public good (i.e., high cultural capital schools should not be the only ones exposed to leading business and political figures; conversely, critical alternative movements and grass-roots figures should not be invited only to working-class schools).

5.3 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO CURRICULUM

The curriculum component focuses on the content of what is taught and learned, and how learning takes place in the classroom. Our emphasis here is on formal curriculum such as documents, texts, and content created and provided for education for democracy but also considers aspects of the curriculum that tend to be "hidden" from educators and learners. As such, our proposals for the curricular component of education for democracy include:

5.3.1 EFD CURRICULUM SHOULD INCLUDE ASSOCIATED AND NECESSARY FOUNDATIONAL MATERIAL SO THAT THE CONCEPT OF A THICK DEMOCRACY HAS TRACTION AND MEANING

1. Democratic *conscientization* should be integrated into educational planning, and political, media and critical forms of literacy should become mandatory aspects of teaching and learning.
2. All subject-areas of the curriculum should explicitly diagnose how power works as well as the meaning of social justice. This should include a critical pedagogical analysis of Whiteness, racial, gender and class inequities, and other forms of marginalization, discrimination and disenfranchisement. It may be considered impolite to discuss such matters but to avoid them is to only further entrench and ingratiate harm, damage and the antithesis of functional democracy.
3. Elucidate throughout the curriculum the global dimensions, causes, and consequences of

democracy or the quest of democracy that can be most clearly seen through a lens of social justice and critical inquiry.

4. Examine and cultivate how education for democracy is understood, practiced and mobilized within diverse contexts as well as the global perspective and dimensions to be considered. Benefits of promising activities around the globe should be shared with students, teachers, families, and the wider community with open, sustained and critical assessments of what democracy does and should look like.
5. Incorporate a diverse array of popular culture materials that students read, view, and consume so as to be able to start the process of critical media literacy related to propaganda, bias, editorialization, corporate influence, and message omission in view of building a (and doing) democracy.

5.3.2 EFD CURRICULUM SHOULD UNCOVER AND PROMOTE PROMISING THICK DEMOCRATIC CURRICULAR ASPECTS CURRENTLY AVAILABLE IN EDUCATION CURRICULA

1. Enhance the formal curriculum established by Ministries of Education to underscore where opportunities exist, where there are gaps, what the actual requirements, methods, evaluations and content of the curricula are, and what needs to be done to clearly, explicitly elucidate how EfD can be developed, cultivated and implemented throughout the entire learning program.
2. When elections are discussed in schools, every effort possible should be made to clarify how many people do not vote and why as well as explicating the problematic nature of there being, generally, only two/three mainstream parties. Students should critically interrogate the role of money, polling, media manipulation and political parties in enhancing or constraining democracy, and should also be made aware of, and study, comparative (international) models and alternative systems of democracy.
3. All schools should emphasize deliberative democracy, and young people should learn how to listen, articulate, research, debate, and diagnose difference. Significantly, students should learn how to respectively seek to construct further knowledge in a peaceful way. Condemning those with critical opinions needs to be stopped, as group-think can lead to societal paralysis and a nefarious form of patriotism.
4. Alternative visions of democracy and comparative analysis of international systems, problems and

issues should be part of the formal curriculum. Relevant training, materials, resources and guidelines should be provided by responsible authorities to ensure that teachers will be able to comfortably engage in critical EfD work.

5.3.3 EFD CURRICULUM SHOULD INVOLVE A CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO INTEGRATE, CONNECT, AND TEACH DEMOCRACY ACROSS SUBJECT AREAS, AND RECOGNIZE THE INTERDISCIPLINARY CONNECTIONS AND CROSS-CURRICULAR LINKS THAT ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO A THICK DEMOCRACY

1. Integrate all curricula in a trans-/multi-/inter-/cross-disciplinary way to include a central focus on *thick*, engaged, critical and participatory democracy.
2. The study of democracy and/or elections should not be concentrated within a single course (often labeled simply as Social Studies). Democracy must be demonstrated, acted upon, and lived, not ghettoized to a course that focuses on encouraging voting or learning about political structures.
3. Develop curriculum for political and media literacy, and encourage critical reflection, interpretation and meaning-making of diverse phenomena throughout the curriculum and learning-experience.
4. Re-orient history curriculum to incorporate historical thinking with a focus on *thick* democracy. When teaching about historical as well as contemporary issues and problems, students should be presented with a broad, *thicker* representation of events, far out-stripping the military and patriotic version of reality. The connection between national and international events should be explored, as well as the effects (and necessity) of military interventions, genocides and present-day racial, environmental and social problems in connection to our individual and collective responsibilities.
5. The respective projects of education for global citizenship and Education for Democracy are inherently intertwined; the richness and salience of one is dependent on the expression of the other, and universal values, concerns and actions should be emphasized throughout the educational experience.
6. A *thicker* interpretation of the environment and environmental education should be taught throughout the educational program. The effects of war and military conflict on the environment, for example, should be interrogated.

7. Media literacy should be a mandatory part of the educational experience, and critical media activities, including the implications of social media, should be part of the curriculum at every grade level.
8. When studying economics, an explicit area of discussion should be inequalities that exist and have existed emanating from the prevailing political and economic system. The supposed benefits of the free-market system should be contextualized, problematized and challenged in a critical fashion. If the economy is deemed to be working for people who are the winners and losers?
9. All subject-areas should systematically encourage critical enquiry, dialog, debate and deliberative democracy, and develop plans, content and evaluations to do so.

5.3.4 FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING SHOULD BECOME MANDATORY CURRICULUM

1. Students should learn at least one foreign language starting in First Grade, and then be introduced to a second language in high school. The notion that English will get students everywhere they wish to go at all times, and will lead to inter-cultural development, not to mention the visible concern of achieving peace and good relations with the world, must be re-cast in a more holistic and democratic form of education.
2. All educational jurisdictions should publicize the socio-linguistic research on learning languages to de-mystify and rehabilitate the mythology within mainstream society about the danger of learning more than one language.
3. As part of linguistic enhancement and in view of broadening and strengthening the formal curriculum, all schools should be encouraged to develop twinning arrangements/programs with at least one national and one international school partner. The twinning would need to be supported by the formal curriculum, involve authentic exchanges, and be focused on intercultural engagement and EfD (see next section as well).

5.4 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Educational policy is concerned principally with the policies that frame the educational experience. Here, we consider that work of Education Ministries/Departments, Boards of Education, and other governance bodies with jurisdiction over education have a role and responsibility to frame the educational experience. As such, our proposals for the educational policy component of education for democracy include:

5.4.1 BOARDS OF EDUCATION SHOULD BECOME EXEMPLARS OF PRACTICES OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

1. Educational policy should be founded on a central philosophy of *thick* democracy so that societies develop in such a way that all citizens, including and especially the most vulnerable, are able to participate in the decisions that most affect their lives.
2. Involve citizens from all corners of society in decision-making, planning, resource allocation, needs assessment, and a continuous rethinking of how education is connected to social change and transformations for the betterment of society.
3. Elevate the importance of equity, participation, voice, justice and citizenship in education policy, ensuring that these components are included in all accountability, evaluation and measurement initiatives, standards, programs and policy development.
4. Require school boards and schools to implement participatory budgeting in an inclusive and meaningful fashion, involving diverse interests in determining the allocation of funds for education, and also ensure that research is undertaken so as to be able to document and effectively analyze the allocation to financial and other resources.
5. School boards should organize an annual Education Summit, in which diverse civil society, educational and *alter-mondialiste* organizations could contribute to a debate around formal measures, data, policies, resources and goals of public education. This Education Summit could be considered as an *accountability* forum for governments and education authorities. The Summit would generate a detailed annual report and plan, which would be reviewed the following year.

5.4.2 EDUCATIONAL POLICY SHOULD BE DEVELOPED SO THAT IT ENABLES FORMAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES TO EMPHASIZE THE COLLECTIVE VALUES OF SOCIETY

1. All schools should be twinned within local areas (for example, an urban school could be twinned with a suburban school, and a suburban school twinned with a rural school, or schools from different demographic areas could be twinned in the same area). This twinning would involve *bona fide* academic and curriculum work in addition to cultural exchange and EfD. No student should be allowed to say that they do not know, understand or experience diversity, for example, because “everyone in their school is White”.
2. School boards should use technology to twin classrooms with those around the world to exchange language and culture with colleagues in other countries. The Government should provide seed-funding to schools that require it to undertake this program.
3. Do not let high *cultural capital* areas—those with high property values and other advantages—graduate their high schools without having them work closely with schools in their areas that are facing serious challenges. The notion here is that all schools will see that they are part of a common struggle, existence and society, not simply, within the neo-liberal mindset, individuals demonstrating how hard they work as opposed to others who are supposedly not as committed or fortunate.

5.4.3 EDUCATIONAL POLICY SHOULD CONNECT DELIBERATELY AND DIRECTLY WITH POLICY IN OTHER AREAS OF SOCIETY, SUCH AS ECONOMIC POLICY, ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY, AND PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY

1. Coordinate deeper links with other policy areas such as economic policy, public health, environmental sustainability, and citizenship to further entrench their relationship with social justice and the built environment as a component of a dynamic, functioning and meaningful democracy.
2. Place greater consideration on the way that the built environment is constructed, as it has a tremendous effect on the degree to which health, wealth and social outcomes are distributed within a society.
3. Importantly, high-level policy on EfD should be developed, including the requirement for school boards and schools to develop EfD plans, programs and activities, with annual evaluation

reports so as to encourage engagement and broad participation.

4. Any voluntary experience requirements embedded within the formal education process need to be re-cast so that they directly connect to the formal educational experience, with clear connections, follow-up, debriefings, supervision, evaluation and an accounting of the resources required versus those provided. Any such experiences should have an EfD component, and seek some level of critical engagement.

5.4.4 STANDARDIZED TESTING AIMED AT RANKING AND REWARDING STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS IS FUNDAMENTALLY UNDEMOCRATIC AND SHOULD CEASE.

1. Reduce overall focus on grading, evaluation and standardized testing as the central feature to understanding educational outcomes.
2. If there must be standards in education, there should be standards for democratic education, citizenship education, peace education, political and media literacy and social justice. Standards should be focused on building a more decent society, not on testing basic skills that are pre-defined, to a certain degree, based on cultural capital. Consideration should be given to the *Social justice accountability framework* used in the DPTLE project.
3. End the ranking of schools and school boards. They are divisive, punish the marginalized, are not appropriately contextualized, and serve to disintegrate rather integrate, diminishing the possibility to enhance the public good and the notion of education being a fundamental pillar to solidifying the *thicker* and more humane elements of a democracy.
4. Teachers should not be remunerated on how well their students do. Teachers’ salaries should be increased, and other measures of acknowledgment for their contribution should be pursued. The objective should not be to diminish those working in more challenging situations or those whose students have lower levels of cultural capital. The role of the teacher has to be understood in a broader societal context, not simply related to mercantilist outcomes.
5. Gifted classes should be eliminated, and all students should be considered to have exceptional interests, talents, skills and abilities. For students with advanced academic standing, teachers should be attuned to differentiated learning needs and styles but should not separate those who excel more easily. All students can and should learn individually as well as collectively,

EfD opportunities should be developed for all students.

6. No child should be placed in special needs education without a full determination of the socio-economic context, thus diminishing the possibility of marginalized and racialized communities being disproportionately streamed into these programs.

5.4.5 SCHOOLS SHOULD BECOME PRIMARY SITES OF PEACE-LEARNING

1. Peace education must be a fundamental component of education for democracy curriculum, which seeks to participate in the creation of a robust, broad democracy. Education policy developers should elaborate such a program with tangible and clearly articulated peace education activities throughout the educational experience.
2. Diverse methods, examples, processes and approaches to mediation, peace and reconciliation should be taught within the formal educational experience. Acceptance of war, torture, state-sanctioned executions, and other forms of violence should be critically diagnosed and rejected.
3. Schools should undertake community violence- and criminality-reduction projects, examining the form, substance and degree of violence and criminality in their localities. The data-collection and analysis should include White-collar crime, corruption, racial profiling and un- and under-documented crimes, including abuse against women, gang activities and police misconduct. The results, which form part of a process of critical interrogation, could be publicly presented on an ongoing basis to lead to a more rigorous understanding of how and why criminal activities and violence take place, and, moreover, what is done about it.
4. Schools should focus on the prevention of bullying and violence, and work with communities, families and students at various levels to establish a conducive environment for learning, and, at the same time, seek to avoid the nefarious “zero tolerance,”¹⁴ criminalization route.

5.5 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE

Institutional culture is concerned principally with activities, attitudes, behaviours and procedures that frame the educational experience, and what happens in the school and educational institutions. This component is broad and all-encompassing, and considers the power, intercultural and socio-economic relations within the educational context. The question of how inclusive or exclusive the culture is, who organizes, decides, and participates, and so on, should be formally and informally documented and supported through policy. The institutional culture of education reflects all the other components, in their minutiae, from the framework that guides educational policies to teacher role modeling during recess. As such, our proposals for the institutional culture component of education for democracy include:

5.5.1 EDUCATION SHOULD BE RE-POSITIONED AS A HOLISTIC AND SOCIETAL COMMITMENT, RATHER THAN A PURSUIT FOR INDIVIDUAL GAIN AND/OR AN INSTITUTION FOR INCOME GENERATION

1. Make education a *societal* responsibility, removing the false narrative of it somehow being only a *local* responsibility. The (nation-)state (or provincial/state jurisdictional responsibility) should undertake a public education campaign to acknowledge and promote public education as the engine behind societal growth, development, harmony and ingenuity.
2. Such a campaign should document inequalities, social mobility, issues of racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination as well as policies, programs and practices aimed to address these forms of marginalization, resource allocation, and other key variables related to the educational enterprise. Such a campaign should acknowledge local and broader provincial/state/national issues and concerns.
3. Such a campaign should also aim for inclusion at all levels as well as higher levels of political and media literacy, which incorporate basic levels of literacy. All plans to this end should be made public, and should involve public input.
4. The enticement to enter into contracts with for-profit enterprises as a way of funding schools should be eliminated. Communities should be made aware of economic situations that pressure and coerce some localities more than others,

¹⁴ “Zero tolerance” policies sometimes target or are overly attentive to some individuals and groups more than others, which can make them problematic. Moreover, the underlying, systemic and contextual factors framing diverse cases involving “zero tolerance” policies are often addressed disproportionately, which has been a concern for marginalized and racialized groups.

and should also be invited to critique the role of marketing, advertising, and the drive to capture market-share. Educational policymaking should also address this area. All private inputs into public education should be made clearly transparent and visible on State/Provincial and local school board websites, underscoring the costs and benefits of all private sector involvement in the public good.

5. The differentiated experiences of schools that have a larger wealth-base, as compared to poorer districts, should be addressed. The research on this reality, including the social context, should be concisely and critically presented to parents, students, educators and the broader community. Appropriate resource allocation should be enunciated with a priority placed on enhancing social mobility for marginalized and historically disadvantaged groups.
6. Citizens should be presented with a clear analysis of the costs of not investing in education early on, especially in juxtaposition to the costs associated to incarceration, re-training, illiteracy, welfare, unemployment, etc., and be presented with research on the benefits of investing in early childhood education. This should not simply be the posting of charts and graphs on a website but, rather, a vigorous, sustained, open dialogue between all sectors of society, with a view to highlighting and changing gaps, misallocations and systemic problems.
7. Prohibit fundraising within schools, and have educators focus exclusively on critical teaching, learning and engagement. If schools are not concerned with raising funds, they will then be able to freely target the best interests of the students, and also not be beholden to any outside interests.
8. The political and economic configuration of the society should be openly critiqued and debated, and the fundamental question of inequitable power relations should be problematized. Within the institutional culture, inclusion and participation on committees, relations with parents and civil society, and the panoply of activities that take place in the school outside of the classroom should be documented, critiqued and evaluated with a view to ensuring the EfD is a central component.

5.5.2 EDUCATION SHOULD BE RE-POSITIONED AS AN INSTITUTION THAT CRITICALLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY RE-SHAPES SOCIETY.

1. Requires a greater awareness of, and resistance to, hegemony that dominates and controls resources, policy development, and the shape and contours of the institutional culture in schools.
2. Developing a heightened acceptance of critical awareness, pedagogies, and language within the institutions of education, including explicitly outlining a policy for EfD within each school and school board. Involvement in the development of EfD institutional culture policies should include annual accountability reports, involving evaluation measures for senior staff, and information on issues, concerns, projects, accomplishments and other salient features.
3. Students should be allocated resources so as to be able to shape the aesthetic, organizational and structural features of their schools.
4. Schools should develop communal gardens, which would serve as learning, ecological and solidarity centers to incorporate all students with the school in one way or another.
5. Parents, community-members and civil-society groups should be invited to participate in regular consultations with schools in view of enhancing school-community relations, enhancing the institutional culture, and more effectively linking with EfD.

5.5.3 THE INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE OF EDUCATION SHOULD STRIVE TO BECOME INCREASINGLY DIVERSE

1. Men and women of all origins, races, ethnicities, and backgrounds should be involved in teaching and education. Some elementary schools lack male teachers, and some schools have no racial minorities or no females in leadership positions, which can further lead to false stereotypes about leadership, role-models and learning. Concrete plans, strategies and support-systems should be developed, aligned with EfD and accountability measures that strive for social justice.
2. The importance of the connection of (social constructed) race and democracy should be foregrounded in order to highlight the effects of racialization in education. Concrete plans should be developed within schools, school boards and state/provincial/national jurisdictions, highlighting data-collection and -analysis, planning, the identification of barriers, obstacles, concerns

and discrimination of all sorts, and in developing proactive measures to ensure that a range of measures are developed to enhance socio-educational integration.

3. All jurisdictions should develop engagement plans, strategies and measures in relation to Aboriginal/Indigenous/First Nations peoples, underscoring socio-cultural relations and contact, learning, teaching, enhancing authentic steps forward, and recognizing the history and legacy of European- Aboriginal/Indigenous/First Nations peoples' relations.

5.5.4 THE CULTURE OF EDUCATION SHOULD WIDEN ITS SCOPE TO INCREASINGLY INCORPORATE AND EMBRACE COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND PARENTS IN THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

1. Educational policymaking and curriculum development should involve more consultation and collaboration with diverse groups and interests, and the decision-making process should necessarily become more transparent. Educators, parents, students and the broader community should be able to understand how decisions are made and why, and they should be involved in these processes that will, ultimately, have an effect on all of society.
2. Discretionary spending by governments and school boards on opinion polling, strategic positioning of partisan policies, and political oversight initiatives to benefit only the governing party should be ended, and committees formed of civil-society, parents, and educator groups should be formed so as to be able to review all such discretionary spending, seeking to ensure that scarce resources are disbursed in ways that enhance EfD.
3. Parents should be required, except in extraordinary circumstances, to provide one-half day of service per month to their children's schools. The objective is to make all parents knowledgeable of what happens at school, to create support for progressive activities, and to provide a vehicle to discuss education and democracy. Governments should work on how this could be operationalized.
4. Public officials, including politicians, diplomats and mainstream media, should be invited into schools to dialogue with students, all the while being open to critical questions about social justice, bias, patriotism, propaganda and why systemic issues exist in addition to the traditional reasons that such figures visit schools (e.g., to extol the virtues of democracy, to sell support for a particular platform, career choices, being a good citizen, etc.).

5. Schools should be open in the evening for communities to be able to access them, without paying, to play sports, practice music and dance, and undertake scholarly and/or other activities. Concrete plans should be developed by decision-makers with civil-society and parental support to ensure that tangible and meaningful plans are put in place.

5.6 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO EPISTEMOLOGY

The epistemological component is concerned principally with how knowledge is constructed by students, educators, administrators and others, and how this affects the development of the educational experience. This is a pivotal component of the framework as the legitimacy granted to what knowledge is of most worth provides the basis for what is taught and learned, and how organizations are structured and operationalized. As such, our proposals for the epistemological component of education for democracy include:

5.6.1 EDUCATION SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AS A POLITICAL CONSTRUCT THAT CONTINUES TO EVOLVE AND IS SHAPED THROUGH ACTIONS OF SOCIETY AND THE AGENCY OF ITS INDIVIDUALS

1. This fundamental reality—that education is neutral, nor devoid of politics and/or political influences—should be challenged, and also formally addressed in official documents, policies and programs. Emphasize that education can lead to change, and that regressive forms of education can lead to docile, compliant citizens, the antithesis of *thick* democracy.
2. If education is sincerely to be about life-long learning, then it should involve an endless process of critical interrogation, lived experiences, and dialectical questioning and dialogue, which far over-shadows the notion of standards, high-stakes testing, and a prescriptive curriculum. Teachers, administrators, policy-makers and others involved in education should be presented with the opportunity, at least once a year, through informal, semi-formal and informal contexts and processes to deliberate on the meaning of education, for whom, how and why, outside of the imposed vision emanating from official high-level policy documents. The results of these processes should be synthesized and disseminated for further dialogue and discussion. Importantly, the main themes and trends of these processes should be considered in policy development, especially in alignment with EfD.

3. Students should be invited to determine some of the rules, guidelines and conditions of their school experience. Students should not be uniquely the recipients of the formal education experience but should also be full participants in shaping their knowledge and reality. They should be allowed to formally evaluate their learning experience, the institutional culture, the teaching and outcomes, and also to make recommendations and proposals in relation to making schools more inclusive and more respective of EfD.
4. The education sector should make a clear distinction between technology as a tool to assist in learning versus technology as the goal of education. Technology does not, alone, create political literacy, nor does it make for a more media-literate populace, nor does it enhance social justice. Educators should clearly contextualize how technology might be beneficial while focusing on the fundamental aspects of critical democratic *consentization* and EfD.

5.6.2 EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE RE-ORIENTED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO COUNTER THE NORMATIVE, HEGEMONIC, AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION IN CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT.

1. Reframe normative democracy from the winner-take-all worldview to one that honours equity, participation, critical engagement, political and media literacy and social justice. With vast input from the broader education community, starting with local groups, a broader vision of EfD should be developed and implemented, focused on deliberative democracy and transformative education. Part of the outcome here should be official and formal policies, programs, activities, organizational configurations and funding that provide a platform to articulate, enunciate, shape and develop EfD at all levels of any educational system and jurisdiction. Dialectal thinking and processes should be encouraged as well as inclusive and creative outreach to ensure that a range of voices are heard, and are involved in framing and shaping the process and the outcome.
2. Re-conceptualize democracy through an anti-racist theoretical framing of education, and through a critical exploration of marginalization, racialization and racism, especially in view of the intersectionality of identity. The objective here is enhanced engagement, citizenship and social justice, and not guilt and shame, nor the essentialization of identity.
3. Take into consideration Whiteness theory in relation to the development of EfD, explicating the connections between Whiteness, power, and

privilege to education and their connection to social justice, democracy, and education. As per the point above, an emphasis on understanding how power functions in society, and how it affects individual, collective, group, community, political and economic relations in formal and informal as well as institutional and public/private ways. The goal is not to vilify or denigrate White people but, rather, to confront the sophisticated inner-workings of racialization in societies that maintain that they are officially “color-blind”. Critical epistemological engagement is required for this to happen.

4. Disrupt and address the conditions of colonization as a focal-point of democracy and EfD. Students, teachers, administrators, policy-makers, decision-makers and others should be engaged in discussing, documenting and cultivating thinking, a vision, policies and processes that critically dissect how colonization has affected and continues to affect what and how we learn, and how intercultural, power and community relations are affected. Here, critical epistemological engagement would involve the recognition of problems, issues and concerns, especially in relation to Aboriginal/Indigenous/First Nations peoples and peoples from the Global South who were traditionally targeted for colonization, by all stakeholders in education, and culminating in annual reports, proposals and policy development that aim to enhance social justice and EfD in and through education.

5.6.3 EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY SHOULD FOREGROUND OTHER WAYS OF KNOWING IN EDUCATION, SUCH AS AFRICAN, INDIGENOUS, AND NON-SETTLER PERSPECTIVES.

1. Teach democracy through the lens of history, particularly histories of colonialism and Indigenous populations. Directives, support, resources and policy development should be provided and developed so as to ensure that educators are sensitized and able to effectively engage with students, extending, enriching and rendering the teaching and learning experience more critical and pertinent for all students.
2. The educational program and curriculum should specifically address Indigenous knowledge and peoples. To celebrate the arrival of White Europeans to the United States/Canada/Australia, for example, a few hundred years ago without critically interrogating the relationship with Aboriginal peoples, who had occupied the land for thousands of years prior to that time, is extremely problematic. To this end, consultations and engagement with Aboriginal peoples

on all facets of the curriculum connected to social studies, in particular, should be mandatory, and the results of these processes should be made public.

3. Similar levels of engagement with other marginalized groups should also take place, echoing the spirit of the preceding point.

5.6.4 RE-ORIENT THE CONSTRUCT OF DEMOCRACY BY HINGING IT TO JUST AND MORAL FRAMEWORKS

1. Embed critical social justice education as a centerpiece of education for democracy curriculum to raise questions, create spaces, and challenge “common sense” wisdom and knowledge about how society works. This requires excising the lived experiences of people and groups, a process of listening and acknowledging, and then acting in concert with diverse interests, stakeholders and groups, seeking to diminish the overtly “political” emphasis placed on curriculum, pedagogy, evaluation and data-collection, etc.. In concrete terms, governments and educational institutions should develop frameworks to ensure that representative political decision-making is held in check by the active, meaningful and critical participation of the broader society, which involves re-thinking and re-imagining how decisions are made, transparency, participation, integrity and ethical dimensions aimed at social justice. Too often, decisions are disconnected from socio-cultural and economic realities facing people, and are imposed without due consideration for social justice and EfD.
2. Re-align thinking of democracy through the fundamental connections between the built environment and social justice, recognizing that “natural disasters” are socially precipitated and underpinned, in large part, but decisions made by people and societies. Thus, involvement of environmental, ecological and social justice organizations with an interest in the environment should be involved in developing environmental programs in schools, adapting the curriculum, providing input into environmental-friendly processes, concerns and outcomes within educational institutions. In real terms, this would mean contextualizing, problematizing and operationalizing human- and environment-friendly practices that do not adversely affect the environment, including through the curriculum, policies, practices and actions of all sorts. Open, transparent, inclusive reporting, complete with standards and measures, should be developed to establish how the (physical and human) environment, in a broad sense, including EfD and social justice, is

taken into consideration in relation to educational milestones, graduation outcomes, individual and institutional indicators, and the health and well-being of society.

3. Re-frame democracy as a process—rather than simply an output or outcome—that involves vibrant, critical and meaningful participation by all sectors of society, especially in and through education. In addition to data-collection, -analysis and dissemination, with the necessary input from all sectors, this would also include documenting the process of democratization and EfD, elaborating plans for its development, and holding regular meetings/conferences/reporting-sessions so that all sectors can feed into what it means to have democracy in education as well as EfD. The epistemological angle is critical here in order to ensure that alternative, counter-hegemonic and innovative perspectives, ideas, concepts, knowledge(s), visions and experiences can be articulated, shared, valued and incorporated in to deliberative discussions that should take place.

5.7 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO LEADERSHIP

The leadership component is concerned principally with administration, authority and supervisors, the vision for ethical and moral guidance, the conceptualization of collaboration in the interests of society, and how this contributes to the educational experience. As such, our proposals for the leadership component of education for democracy include:

5.7.1 INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION SHOULD MORE DEEPLY EMBED THICKER PERSPECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY AND EF D IN EDUCATION, AND BETTER PREPARE TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS TO MAKE LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

1. Teacher-education programs should focus on qualitative teaching and learning experiences, and develop assessment schemes that monitor and support innovation, engagement, collaboration, and critical pedagogical work that emphasizes learning and the construction of knowledge over the acquisition of knowledge. Such programs should ensure that all practical/praxis components of the teacher-education and certification be linked to course-work, and, moreover, integrated into the overall education experience. Issues and concerns with discrimination, inequities, marginalization and exclusionary practices should be taken up formally throughout the program. In addition, teacher-education programs should

develop EfD standards, measures, content and evaluation criteria.

2. Teacher-education programs should forge meaningful relationships with local school boards that problematize social justice and EfD issues and concerns. All education faculty should have some form of a formal relationship with a range of schools in their jurisdictions, and should develop development plans that assist in the coordination of professional development with the support of their respective Ministry/Department of Education, teachers' federations and civil society groups. Professional development plans should be made public following inclusive democratic deliberation and with vast input from a range of stakeholders, including Aboriginal, minority and other groups and communities.
3. Accreditation for teacher-education programs should not be predicated on quantitative measures and rubrics alone but should include criteria related to critical engagement among the faculty and students. Before embarking on accreditation, all interested parties should collectively determine if the educational system will benefit from the accreditation process (in other words, if we were to construct an effective education system, would we consecrate the time, energy and focus on the present accreditation process, or some other process?).
4. In order to undertake critical democratic projects, teachers will need professional development that responds to their needs, cultivates critical epistemological reflection, and allows for a dialectical teaching and learning experience. This will not decrease educational achievement and outcomes; arguably, it will make the educational experience more meaningful, authentic, engaging, critical and relevant. Therefore, re-imagining how teachers should/could engage more effectively in their teaching and learning as well as their participation in learning communities requires a more democratic processes of determining needs, inputs, outcomes, evaluations and participation.
5. Professional development for educators should focus on how knowledge is constructed as well as critical thinking and engagement. Educators should be able to understand the direction of educational reforms, and be able to have a say in how they should be shaped, especially since they will be called upon to implement them. As research indicates that these reforms can only be considered effective if educators understand, appropriate and are engaged to shape and form the impact of the reforms, processes need to be developed to allow all teachers to have significant input into what is developed/proposed and how. This must go beyond the superficial consultation

level, and include input that addresses EfD and social justice.

5.7.2 SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS SHOULD ACTIVELY ADOPT DEEPER PHILOSOPHIES OF DEMOCRACY AND APPLY THEM IN THEIR LEADERSHIP PRACTICES, MANAGEMENT STYLE, SCHOOL POLICIES, AND OVERALL EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE.

1. Allow flexibility for teachers to teach alternative methods to democracy and EfD.
2. Hire teachers who bring alternative perspectives from minority and marginalized groups. Information campaigns should be initiated to explain and articulate why equitable hiring practices and programs are required, how they function (they are not quotas), how they are structured, etc.. Again, the objective is social justice, not exclusion of some people or some groups. Annual reports should be developed that allow for accountability, input and a reconfiguration of objectives, measures and indicators.
3. In relation to the point above, all education institutions should develop detailed demographic analyses that would be publically shared in view of sensitizing people and also cultivating participation in improving contextual factors. Data-collection requires a number of inputs, including inclusive participation in the process, and an emphasis should be placed on disaggregating data, understanding the complexity and social construction of identity. Cultural capital should be included as an indicator as well as the percentage of students at lower socio-economic levels, parental salaries, professions and educational backgrounds, racial origin, ethnic origin, religion, immigrant status (first, second, third generation and so on), etc..
4. Contracts for Directors and Superintendents of education as well as principals should contain a clause that they will be evaluated on how well they inculcate EfD, including political literacy and social justice. Their renewal should hinge, in part, on how well they address these matters within their educational institutions. They should develop inclusive annual plans that include measures and indicators to address EfD, which would then be used to determine how far their respective institutions had advanced over a period of time.
5. Have teachers construct two one-week school experiences that can complement the formal curriculum. Formal education need not be top-down, and teachers can offer insight, expertise, strategies and enthusiasm to de-center formal

education. Teachers could have students work together in multi-grade or multi-group assignments with a view to inculcating cooperative learning, mediation, anti-racism education, social justice experiences, etc.. Students could present their work at the end of the week, seeking input into how to respond to societal needs. This would be inculcated within an EfD framework.

5.7.3 DEVELOP A FORMAL LEADERSHIP POLICY ON EFD

1. Over-arching educational institutions (Ministries/ Departments of Education, School Boards, Universities, Colleges, etc.) should develop an EfD leadership policy that outlines and presents factors, issues, indicators, measures and standards to advance EfD over a five-year period, to be updated and reviewed publicly and by accountability committees on an annual basis.
2. Over-arching educational institutions (Ministries/ Departments of Education, School Boards, Universities, Colleges, etc.) should develop a research program on EfD, including theoretical, conceptual, practical and empirically-based research that explores best, innovative, alternative and comparative, international practices.
3. As part of the EfD leadership policy, all sectors of society should be invited to critique how policy is developed, measured and implemented. The process for this engagement should be overseen by civil society groups in conjunction with educational institutions and government, and not be led solely by partisan political interests.

5.8 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN RELATION TO LIVED EXPERIENCES

The importance of lived experiences is an important consideration in tying together the formal components of education. What is learned and experienced outside of the classroom, the school and the educational institution context needs to be integrated into the equation to be relevant, engaging, validating, and salient for individuals, communities and societies. Some of the components of lived experiences that figure, to varying degrees, into lived experiences within the formal educational experience include: service learning, volunteering, organized and unorganized sports, music, drama, social events and student associations, government and clubs, social justice engagement, and other leadership activities. These formative activities, which help frame, round-out and render meaningful the formal educational experience, are often underplayed and/or under-valued within the formal curriculum, pedagogy, structure and accounting of achievement established by educational authorities.

5.8.1 INFORMAL METHODS AND PEDAGOGIES FOR DEMOCRATIC LEARNING SHOULD BE INCREASINGLY EMPLOYED AS EDUCATIONAL PEDAGOGIES AND EXPLICIT LINKS ARE MADE BETWEEN THESE PEDAGOGIES AND DEMOCRACY AND LIVED EXPERIENCE

1. Resources should be provided, including funding, time, policy leverage, and organizational and structural efforts to ensure that teaching and learning connect with EfD and the lived experience of students and communities.

5.8.2 STUDENTS SHOULD HAVE ACCESS TO A BROAD SLATE OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES THROUGH SCHOOL SO THAT CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT INCORPORATES THE WHOLE SELF

1. The limited accessibility to trips to museums, cultural events, and even foreign countries only serves to further increase the educational, cultural and political gap in societies. Governments should provide an appropriate level of funding so that all schools can benefit from such indispensable activities, and also address the cultural capital that some families, communities and localities already have at their disposal.
2. All schools should have music, arts and physical education programs. Funding and wealth should not be an impediment to children having access to a broad liberal arts education.

3. Annual inclusive consultations should take place to document the activities of interest for students, parents and the community, along with any gaps, obstacles and challenges in developing and implementing extra-curricular activities for students.

5.8.3 FOR DEMOCRACY SHOULD INCORPORATE COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES, VOLUNTEERISM, AND SERVICE LEARNING FOR STUDENTS TO INTEGRATE AND EXPERIENCE THE SOCIETIES IN WHICH THEY LIVE.

1. Facilitate meaningful democratic activities, actions and thinking in school, such as student consultations, inter-school exchanges, service education, deliberative democracy, and the integration of the broader community and issues. In concrete terms, this should be formalized through annual reports with evaluations of who participated, the impact, ways to improve the experience, and resource needs. These reports should also include an analysis of how EfD was/is incorporated in these activities.
2. All students should be introduced to critical service learning. The experiences should be accompanied by courses and de-briefings on why societal problems exist. To do a service-learning placement without some socio-political contextualization may serve to reinforce the opposite of what is sought through the actual experience. Input from the communities affected by the service learning should also be involved in shaping and evaluating the value of the experience.
3. Governments and school boards should clearly articulate the framework for critical service learning, including budgets, measures and the connection to a *thicker* democratic experience in education.
4. All schools should embark on a range of community projects, which could count for credit toward graduation. These projects could involve service-learning, undertaking research, writing narratives and ethnographies, and making presentations on how social problems might be addressed.

5.8.4 EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE MOBILIZED THROUGH OUTDOOR, EXPERIENTIAL AND ECOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES AS A CENTRAL AVENUE FOR STUDENTS TO LIVE OUT DEMOCRACY

1. Embed democracy in the framework of experiential, ecological, and environmental education courses at colleges and universities through funding, policy, programs, activities and accountability measures.
2. Parks with green spaces, accessible, safe equipment, and a welcoming environment should be constructed at every school, and be open to school communities year-round. Sporting venues, including basketball courts, baseball diamonds, football/soccer fields, and general playing spaces, should be included in these parks. Serious efforts should be made to ensure that the parks are used for leisure, sportsmanlike conduct, and positive intercultural and inter-generational contact. Poorer socio-economic areas should not be punished because of wealth concentration, and everyone should be able to enjoy the outdoors without cost.
3. All schools should have a garden that produces fruits and vegetables. While working 1-2 hours a week on the garden, students will also learn, and have opportunities to make concrete curricular connections to the environment, agriculture, nutrition, the economics of food, and globalization. The fruits and vegetables produced could also be consumed by the students within a policy framework that considers quality, security and other issues.

PART SIX

Dissemination of Results

6.1 OVERVIEW

The findings and results of this research project have been widely disseminated in various ways. We principally targeted peer-reviewed journal articles but our research was also disseminated through several book series, books, book chapters, keynote addresses, conference presentations, the mainstream media, social media, and the project website. Below are the publications that are directly related to the research undertaken in the DPLTE project. Although the publications of the PI are highlighted, it should be noted that he collaborated extensively with the CI, and also worked closely with the two Collaborators in a number of areas. Gina Thésée has contributed greatly to the research project, developing the field, especially within the French-language, and has also developed links between the project on research related to the environment, racism in education, teacher-education and critical epistemological studies. David Zyngier has won a number of awards and grants related to his work in the GDDRP and the DPLTE, and has published widely in the area of education for democracy. Brad Porfilio has been extremely prolific in editing a number of books, and in organizing conferences and social justice groups.

6.2 BOOKS

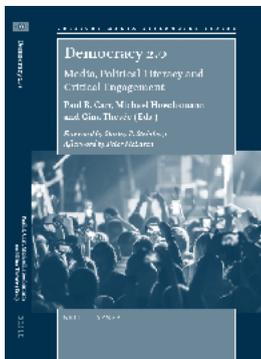
IN PROGRESS

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (in progress). *"It's not education that scares me, it's the educators...": Re-thinking how we think about democracy and education*. Rotterdam: Brill/Sense Publishers.

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (in progress). *Black and White, and everything between: Blinded by color-blindness, and the connection to education*. Rotterdam: Brill/Sense Publishers.

Hoechsmann, M. Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (in progress). *Media Literacy 2.0: From techno-fetishism and moral panic to critical democratic classroom praxis*. Rotterdam: Brill/Sense Publishers.

Carr, P. R., Hoechsmann, M. & Thésée, G. (Eds.). (2018). *Democracy 2.0: Media, Political Literacy and Critical Engagement*. Rotterdam: Brill/Sense Publishers.



Participatory media 2.0 have shifted the terrain of public life. We are all—individually and collectively—able to produce and circulate media to a potentially limitless audience, and we are all, at minimum, arbiters of knowledge and information through the choices—or clicks—we make when online. In this new environment of two-way and multidimensional media flow, digital communication tools, platforms and spaces offer enormous potential for the cultivation, development and circulation of diverse and counter-hegemonic perspectives. It has also provoked a crisis of communication between oppositional “echo chambers.”

Democracy requires a functioning, critically-engaged and literate populace, one that can participate in, cultivate and shape, in meaningful and critical ways, the discourses and forms of the society in which it exists. Education for democracy, therefore, requires not only political literacy but also media and digital literacies, given the ubiquity and immersiveness of Media 2.0 in our lives.

In *Democracy 2.0*, we feature a series of evocative, international case studies that document the impact of alternative and community use of media, in general, and *Web 2.0* in particular. The aim is to foster critical reflection on social realities, developing the context for coalition-building in support of social change and social justice. The chapters herein examine activist uses of social and visual media within a broad and critical frame, underpinning the potential of alternative and DIY (Do It Yourself) media to impact and help forge community relationships, to foster engagement in the civic and social life of citizens across the globe and, ultimately, to support thicker forms of democratic participation, engagement and conscientization, beyond electoralist, representative, normative democracy.

REVIEWS

Democracy 2.0 delivers just what educators serious about critical social thought and practice need right now, that is clearheaded critique of a media-scape filled with fake news and alternative truths and schools that function as illusion factories, serving up old bromides about democracy that have little connection to what democracy means today. *Democracy 1.0* has less to do with its actual content as an egalitarian system of political-economic values than it does with the neglect of this content for its form. *Democracy 2.0* points the way toward a future of engaged social, cultural, and political participation, that is a future where we can imagine the recovery of real democracy.

E. Wayne Ross, University of British Columbia

Democracy 2.0: Media, Political Literacy and Critical Engagement is a work that has arrived at a time where political intervention is possible. It contributes mightily to what Marxist educationalists have been developing in the arena of revolutionary critical pedagogy. Media literacy has always been a fundamental dimension of revolutionary critical pedagogy and, I can say, without exaggeration, that, in my view, this is one of the best media literacy texts in the field, and has arrived at a precipitous moment in world history. Amidst raging debates over the role of media ownership, journalism, the narrow-casted fabrication of factual “fake news” (epistemological coherentism versus philosophical foundationalism), the growth of technological platforms and the hacking of national elections, Paul R. Carr, Michael Hoechsmann & Gina Thésée have produced a powerful volume that offers conditions of possibility for both individuals and social movements armed with various forms of media practices (media production and consumption) to bridge geopolitical digital divides and enter the fight against the transnational capitalist class in pursuit of global justice by means of constructing democratized media spheres and digital citizen participation and activism...

Peter McLaren, Chapman University

The chapters in this book engage us in an international discussion on ways in which we can retrieve democracy through an informed and criticalized media, and, therefore, political literacy. Like Sisyphus, the authors engage in a mammoth task, and, like Sisyphus, they will endure and see it through. It is up to us, dear reader, to take up the call and advocate for action in the form of media literacy, to insist that we, as educators, re-introduce our students, who are the ultimate media consumers, to media: to learn to interrogate media, and to demand that content-by-sender and comprehension-by-receiver be responsible, participatory, and democratic.

Shirley R. Steinberg, University of Calgary

Democracy 2.0 is a vital and brilliant collection of international case studies from leading thinkers examining and theorizing political engagement & grassroots organizing in our ever-changing participatory media & *Web 2.0* global

context. It's no exaggeration to state that our very democratic existence depends on developing and understanding these digital literacies and the contexts in which they operate.

Marc Spooner, University of Regina

In this comprehensive and readable volume, the contributing authors present a range of critical cases concerning the need to rethink social media and digital democracy, from organizing protests online to indigenous participant media. Although the Internet has often been hailed as a democratizing force, it often results in decidedly undemocratic practices, reinscribing racism, sexism, and homophobia. The cases outlined here reflect a variety of international perspectives and contexts that will spark much-needed discussion about potentials and constraints of Media 2.0.

Faith Agostinone Wilson, Aurora University

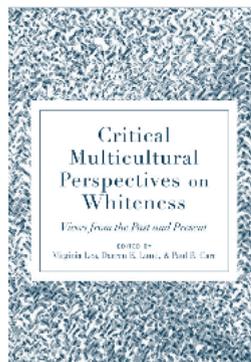
Democracy 2.0 is a wonderful collection of carefully crafted essays. The editors have skillfully choreographed a global network of activists and scholars to illuminate the intersection of media, democracy and education. Each of the chapters in this book describes in rich detail the power of social media to forge counterhegemonic messages, new alliances and socially just alternatives. The book provides a powerful framing of pragmatic tactics to address some of the world's most vexatious issues of xenophobia, sexism, racism, classism and colonialism. The book should be read by educators and community activists involved in the struggle for a more inclusive, engaged and participatory democracy.

Barry Down, Murdoch University

Paul R. Carr, Michael Hoehsmann, and Gina Thésée have assembled a talented group of international scholars to look at the multiple ways youth engage in citizenship through popular culture. What I find valuable about their work is how they map the concrete ways we can move beyond institutionally defined concepts of citizenship. Through the use of Critical Media Literacy, we can counter the illusion that meaningful citizenship is exercised merely by voting every four years and occasionally donating to charity.

Douglas Fleming, University of Ottawa

Lund, D. E., Lea, V., & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (2018). *Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness: Views from the Past and Present*. New York: Peter Lang.



Whiteness is a narrative. It is the privileged dimension of the complex story of “race” that was, and continues to be, seminal in shaping the socio-economic structure and cultural climate of the United States and other Western nations. Without acknowledging this story, it is impossible to understand fully the current political and social contexts in which we live. *Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness* explores multiple analyses of whiteness, drawing on both past and current key sources to tell the story in a more comprehensive way. This book features both iconic essays that address the social construction of whiteness and critical resistance as well as excellent new critical perspectives.

Reviews

In Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness, Virginia Lea, Darren Lund, and Paul Carr present a marvelous collection of first-rate essays that probe the roots and workings of whiteness from multiple vantage points. The essays, ranging from classics in the field to new works reflecting on identity, teaching, and disruption of whiteness, should be in the hands of everyone who is trying to figure out how to dismantle white supremacy.

Christine Sleeter, Professor Emerita, California State University, Monterey Bay

Simply put, Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness is the most compelling collection on whiteness and racism I have read. Lea, Lund, and Carr have assembled a powerful collection of essays from a range of voices, vocations, and positionalities that together are equal parts challenging and accessible, philosophical and action-demanding. I could feel my consciousness growing as I read.

Paul C. Gorski, Associate Professor of Social Justice and Human Rights, George Mason University; Founder of EdChange and the Equity Literacy Institute

Readers will find the contributions in this book important to the discourse and understanding on how whiteness is played out in various contexts in society. Through a series of chapters inspiring authors offer a variety of perspectives that are

necessary and important in educational discourse. *Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness* will be a valuable resource to teacher educators, and indeed all courses at colleges and universities as they engage students in some of the challenging issues of the day. The chapters in this book will encourage and stimulate dialogue on an important topic. This book is indeed a valuable contribution to this effort.

Ann E. Lopez, Associate Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto; President-Elect, the National Association for Multicultural Education

This book is a treasure trove of classic and to-be-classic pieces on whiteness and white racial literacy. I can't wait to get this into the hands of my students!

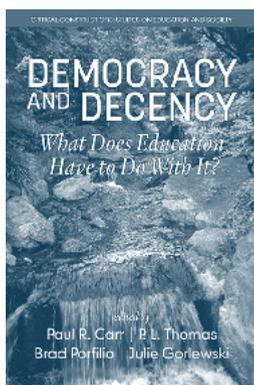
Özlem Sensoy, Associate Professor, Simon Fraser University

*In this time of bolstered white supremacy locally and throughout the world, I can imagine few interventions as timely and urgent as *Critical Multicultural Perspectives on Whiteness*. Lea, Lund, and Carr have assembled a stunning range of writings—from both earlier and contemporary scholars—who lay bare the endemic and enduring nature of whiteness as normative ideology, its damage to educational and social justice, and our role in dismantling and reimagining race. Packed with troubling insights, this book is one I must read again. Read and reread this book and answer its call to action.*

Kevin Kumashiro, former Dean of the School of Education, University of San Francisco

2016

Carr, P. R., Thomas, P., Porfilio, B., & Gorlewski, J. (Eds.) (2016). *Democracy and decency: What does education have to do with it?* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.



Democracy can mean a range of concepts, covering everything from freedoms, rights, elections, governments, processes, philosophies and a panoply of abstract and concrete notions that can be mediated by power, positionality, culture, time and space. Democracy can also be translated into brute force, hegemony, docility, compliance and conformity, as in wars will be decided on

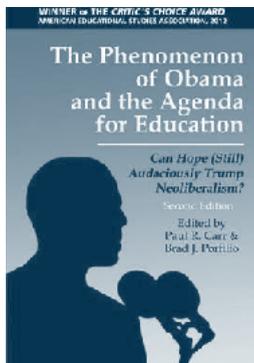
the basis of the needs of elites, or major decisions about spending finite resources will be the domain of the few over the masses, or people will be divided along the lines of race, ethnicity, class, religion, etc. because it is advantageous for maintaining exploitative political systems in place to do so. Often, these frameworks are developed and reified based on the notion that elections give the right to societies, or segments of societies, to install regimes, institutions and operating systems that are then supposedly legitimated and rendered infinitely just because formal power resides in the hands of those dominating forces.

This book is interested in advancing a critical analysis of the hegemonic paradigm described above, one that seeks higher levels of political literacy and consciousness, and one that makes the connection with education. What does education have to do with democracy? How does education shape, influence, impinge on, impact, negate, facilitate and/or change the context, contours and realities of democracy? How can we teach for and about democracy to alter and transform the essence of what democracy is, and, importantly, what it should be?

This book advances the notion of decency in relation to democracy, and is underpinned by an analysis of meaningful, critically-engaged education. Is it enough to be kind, nice, generous and hopeful when we can also see signs of rampant, entrenched and debilitating racism, sexism, poverty, violence, injustice, war and other social inequalities? If democracy is intended to be a legitimating force for good, how does education inform democracy? What types of knowledge, experience, analysis and being are helpful to bring about newer, more meaningful and socially just forms of democracy?

Throughout some twenty chapters from a range of international scholars, this book includes three sections: Constructing Meanings for Democracy and Decency; Justice for All as Praxis; and Social Justice in Action for Democracy, Decency, and Diversity: International Perspectives. The underlying thread that is interwoven through the texts is a critical reappraisal of normative, hegemonic interpretations of how power is infused into the educational realm, and, importantly, how democracy can be re-situated and re-formulated so as to more meaningfully engage society and education.

Carr, P. R. & Porfilio, B. J. (Eds.) (2015). *The phenomenon of Obama and the agenda for education: Can hope (still) audaciously trump neoliberalism?*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing. (2nd Edition).



Anyone who is touched by public education – teachers, administrators, teacher-educators, students, parents, politicians, pundits, and citizens – ought to read this book, a revamped and updated second edition. It will speak to educators, policymakers and citizens who are concerned about the future of education and its relation to a robust, participatory democracy. The perspectives offered by a wonderfully diverse collection of contributors provide a glimpse into the complex, multilayered factors that shape, and are shaped by, education institutions today. The analyses presented in this text are critical of how globalization and neoliberalism exert increasing levels of control over the public institutions meant to support the common good. Readers of this book will be well prepared to participate in the dialogue that will influence the future of public education in United States, and beyond – a dialogue that must seek the kind of change that represents hope for all students.

As for the question contained in the title of the book – *The Phenomenon of Obama and the Agenda for Education: Can Hope (Still) Audaciously Trump Neoliberalism?* (Second Edition) –, Carr and Porfilio develop a framework that integrates the work of the contributors, including Christine Sleeter and Dennis Carlson, who wrote the original forward and afterword respectively, and the updated ones written by Paul Street, Peter McLaren and Dennis Carlson, which problematize how the Obama administration has presented an extremely constrained, conservative notion of change in and through education. The rhetoric has not been matched by meaningful, tangible, transformative proposals, policies and programs aimed at transformative change, and now fully into a second mandate this second edition of the book is able to more substantively provide a vigorous critique of the contemporary educational and political landscape. There are many reasons for this, and, according to the contributors to this book, it is clear that neoliberalism is a major obstacle to stimulating the hope

that so many have been hoping for. Addressing systemic inequities embedded within neoliberalism, Carr and Porfilio argue, is key to achieving the hope so brilliantly presented by Obama during the campaign that brought him to the presidency.

Reviews

Since Barack Obama was elected in 2008, a few influential scholarly books have been written on the educational, socio-economic, political, and human implications of his presidency. This volume is definitely one of the few. It provides a rich, critical, and impartial analysis of President Obama's domestic and foreign policies, pointing out ways in which these policies have affected the learning of students and the lives of oppressed and colonized communities here and abroad. A must read!

Pierre W. Orelus, New Mexico State University

This collection of brilliant analyses of the unrelenting villainy of neoliberal capitalism should be read by anyone interested in warding off the corporate agenda in education and the social, political, economic and ecological catastrophe we're facing. It unravels the breathtaking audacity of American global imperialism's attempts to narcotize and pillage the masses. There's no way we can come out of this text and not be politically and morally outraged. More importantly, there's no way to exit and not think about radically altering education and society more broadly and act towards its realization.

Ricardo D. Rosa, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth

Carr and Porfilio have organized an important text that casts a collective voice against educational policies of exclusion, power, and profiteering. The book makes timely contributions to the field of critical educational studies in offering incisive analysis of neoliberal policies and their consequences in limiting democracy, social justice, and critical thought in our schools. The writings organized here are essential for all those who want to transform education from yet another site of corporate profiteering into a laboratory of intervention for diverse community formations to create the world anew.

Michael Viola, Antioch University Seattle

*In their second edition of *The Phenomenon of Obama and the Agenda for Education*, Carr and Porfilio present an honest and balanced critique of Obama's educational policies. The chapters take the readers on a journey through the various neoliberal policies that have especially hurt urban schools, teachers and students. A must read for anyone trying to understand where we are and where we are going in education in the 21st century.*

Rochelle Brock, Indiana University Northwest

*The second edition of Carr and Porfilio's *The Phenomenon of Obama and the Agenda for Education* is as important*

today as when the first edition was published in 2011. The book's contributors make clear that the first African-American U.S. President's hopes and promises for change were really nothing more than a hoax and a guarantee for more of the same - particularly in relation to education. The authors outline what is wrong with the neoliberal management of education while presenting opportunities and pathways for a meaningful education in the 21st century. This book is a must read for all concerned citizens, educators, policy makers, and politicians who dare to question the neoliberal discourse and envision an authentic pedagogy of hope!

Ana Cruz, St. Louis Community College - Meramec

The times call for audacious and courageous responses to an education reform agenda that, sadly even under President Obama, embodies standardization, privatization, and competition at the expense of equity and a democratic vision of education. The authors of *The Phenomenon of Obama* offer such a response and bring us back to the true purpose of education: to nurture teaching and learning, collaboration, community, and social justice.

Sonia Nieto, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Paul Carr and Brad Porfilio's book is thus a desperately necessary shot of critical democratic sobriety on the confusing politics of U.S. public education. More than ever before we need this type of serious institutional analysis, not myth-making media points, if we are to dare a new social order (either with the schools or without them).

Richard Kahn, Antioch University Los Angeles

The perspectives offered by a wonderfully diverse collection of contributors provide a glimpse into the complex, multi-layered factors that shape, and are shaped by, institutions of schooling today. The analyses presented in this text are critical as globalization and neoliberalism exert increasing levels of control over the public institutions meant to support the common good. Readers of this book will be well prepared to participate in the dialogue that will influence the future of public education in this nation - a dialogue that must seek the kind of change that represents hope for all students.

Julie A. Gorlewski, Faculty of Education, SUNY New Paltz

The Phenomenon of Obama and the Agenda for Education provides a justified critical analysis of the anti-democratic education reform initiatives being launched by powerful elites in the U.S. In times of increasing social, economic, and educational inequality, the sharp critique offered by this volume is one part lament, one part righteous indignation, and totally necessary.

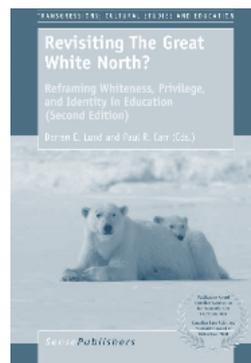
Wayne Au, Editor, University of Washington - Bothell Campus

This urgently needed collection exposes the neoliberal architecture of the Obama administration's initiatives within and beyond education. These careful essays describe the

economic, political, and philosophical formations underlying this administration's market-driven approaches to teaching and learning, as well as revealing the ideological strategies through which elites sell their one-sided policies to the public. Carr and Porfilio have compiled an engaging and indispensable resource for researchers, educators, and activists interested in understanding and confronting the contemporary corporatization and instrumentalization of education.

Noah De Lissovoy, University of Texas at Austin

Lund, D. E. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (2015). *Revisiting the Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education (2nd Edition)*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.



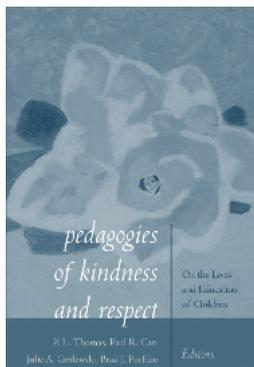
Returning seven years later to their original pieces from this landmark book, over 20 leading scholars and activists revisit and reframe their rich contributions to a burgeoning scholarship on Whiteness. With new reflective writings for each chapter, and valuable sections on relevant readings and resources, this volume refreshes and enhances the first text to pay critical and sustained attention to Whiteness in education, with implications far beyond national borders. Contributors include George Sefa Dei, Tracey Lindberg, Carl James, Cynthia Levine-Rasky, and the late Patrick Solomon. Courageously examining diverse perspectives, contexts, and institutional practices, contributors to this volume dismantle the underpinnings of inequitable power relations, privilege, and marginalization. The book's relevance extends to those in a range of settings, with abundant and poignant lessons for enhancing and understanding transformative social justice work in education.

Reviews

Revisiting The Great White North? offers terrific grist for examining the persistence of Whiteness even as it shape-shifts. Chapters are comprehensive, theoretically rich, and anchored in personal experience. Authors' reflections on the seven years since publication of the first edition of this book complexify how we understand Whiteness, while simultaneously driving home the need not only to grapple with it, but to work against it.

Christine Sleeter, California State University Monterey Bay

Thomas, P., Carr, P. R., Gorlewski, J., & Porfilio, B. (Eds.) (2015). *Pedagogies of Kindness and Respect: On the Lives and Education of Children*. New York: Peter Lang.



Pedagogies of Kindness and Respect presents a wide variety of concepts from scholars and practitioners who discuss pedagogies of kindness, an alternative to the «no excuses» ideology now dominating the way that children are raised and educated in the U.S. today. The fields of education, and especially early childhood education, include some histories and perspectives that treat those who are younger with kindness and respect. This book demonstrates an informed awareness of this history and the ways that old and new ideas can counter current conditions that are harmful to both those who are younger and those who are older, while avoiding the reconstitution of the romantic, innocent child who needs to be saved by more advanced adults. Two interpretations of the upbringing of children are investigated and challenged, one suggesting that the poor do not know how to raise their children and thus need help, while the other looks at those who are privileged and therefore know how to nurture their young. These opposing views have been discussed and problematized for more than thirty years. *Pedagogies of Kindness and Respect* investigates the issue of why this circumstance has continued and even worsened today.

Reviews

In a bloodless policy world in which kindergarten students are being forced into college and career readiness, this volume on care as a fundamental aspect of educational practice is most welcome. I hope that this book gains a wide readership of concerned educators who believe that teaching and learning are, at their heart, built around relationships that lead to trust and support. My thanks to the editors and contributors for bringing this timely set of papers to our profession, in hopes that kids get the nurturing support that they need to become caring members of the communities that they enter in life.

Peter Smagorinsky, The University of Georgia

*It can be easy to forget, both in education systems built on capitalistic notions of competition and conformity, and in communities of clenched-fisted critical educators, that compassion and kindness are, themselves, inherently revolutionary. I experienced *Pedagogies of Kindness and Respect* as a sort of tonic of counter-hegemony. The authors – scholars, educators, activists – offered me a theory-grounded hope against neoliberalism’s soul-crushing hold on public education. But equally important, they offered me a transformative vision for educational justice that is rooted in a solidarity that only can be built on critical humanism. I emerged deeply informed and spiritually nourished.*

Paul C. Gorski, New Century College

2014

Thomas, P., Gorlewski, J., Porfilio, B. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (2014). *Social Context Reform: A Pedagogy of Equity and Opportunity*. New York: Routledge.

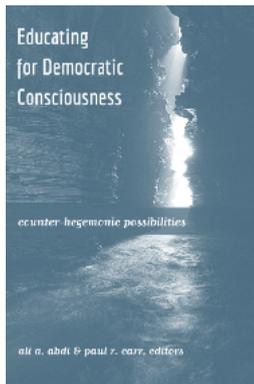


Currently, both the status quo of public education and the “No Excuses” Reform policies are identical. The reform offers a popular and compelling narrative based on the meritocracy and rugged individualism myths that are supposed to define American idealism. This volume will refute this ideology by proposing Social Context Reform, a term coined by Paul Thomas which argues for educational change within a larger plan to reform social inequity—such as access to health care, food, higher employment, better wages and job security. Since the accountability era in the early 1980s, policy, public discourse, media coverage, and scholarly works have focused primarily on reforming schools themselves. Here, the evidence that school-only reform does not work is combined with a bold argument to expand the discourse and policy surrounding education reform to include how social, school, and classroom reform must work in unison to achieve goals of democracy, equity, and opportunity both in and through public education. This volume will include a wide variety of essays from leading critical scholars addressing the complex elements of social context reform, all of which address the need to re-conceptualize accountability and to seek equity and opportunity in social and education reform.

2013

Abdi, A. A. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (2013). *Educating for democratic consciousness: Counter-hegemonic possibilities*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Recipient of the (2013) Critic's Choice Award of the American Ed



There is a widespread, but mainly untenable, assumption that education in Western societies (and elsewhere) intuitively and horizontally aids the democratic development of people. An argument could be made that in contemporary liberal democracies, education was never designed for the well-being of societies. Instead of the full inclusion of everyone in educational development, it becomes dominated by those with a vested interest in the role of the liberal state as a mediating agent that, ultimately, assures the supremacy of the capitalism and neoliberalism. This book extends beyond a theoretical analysis of democratic education, seeking to tap into the substantial experiences, perspectives and research of a wide range of leading scholars from diverse vantage points, who bring themselves and their work into the debate connecting democracy and education, which elucidates the reference to counter-hegemonic possibilities in the title.

Reviews

At a moment in history when notions of democracy seem to be quickly vanishing from public educational debates, the collection of essays in 'Educating for Democratic Consciousness' arrives on the scene with both fresh insights and political fury! The result is a powerful, resounding treatise that revitalizes and expands our understanding of social consciousness and the inextricable role of an emancipatory education in the amelioration of oppression and the remaking of a just world.

Antonia Darder, Loyola Marymount University

Today corporate state rhetoric about democracy is increasingly revealing itself to be a mask behind which some of the most egregious forms of human exploitation are taking place, in both Western and non-Western contexts. The

time is ripe for a multidimensional reconsideration of the democratic ideal, especially in relation to the role of public education in creating a politically, socially and culturally aware citizenry, a citizenry now conscious of its globally interpenetrated character. Abdi and Carr are to be commended for bringing together here writers who not only sharpen the issues involved, but who also articulate new models for democratic possibility and educational change. A beautifully conceived and timely project indeed!

David Geoffrey Smith, University of Alberta

Even as the fate of so many now hangs in the balance, the humanization of the world is a palpable dream being realized by critical educators on every continent. Ali Abdi and Paul R. Carr here contribute an important book that helps both to further seed and to model the type of 21st century paideia project that can inform a just, peaceful, and solitary planetary community. Those concerned with education for sustainability should walk awhile with this diverse, ferocious, reflective and moral collection of voices.

Richard Kahn, Antioch University Los Angeles

This book is not only timely but should become essential reading for anyone at all concerned with 'the democratic project'. From the clarion call of noted democracy scholar Daniel Schugersky in his Forward, to the range of chapters from leading education advocates, thinkers and activists, this book reviews from a critical perspective various movements and arrangement around our globe that are attempting to move beyond the 'thin democracy' of electoral and party politics, to a more 'thicker democracy' of transformative learning and action.

David Zyngier, Monash University

Abdi and Carr's edited text does a fantastic job of deconstructing the often misleading tenets of democracy as both ideology and political construct. Not only do the authors within the text construct a devastating critique of democracy regarding education, government, the economy, and civic engagement, they explore possibilities for solutions. Pre-K-adult educators will find this work valuable as well as relevant for a variety of fields.

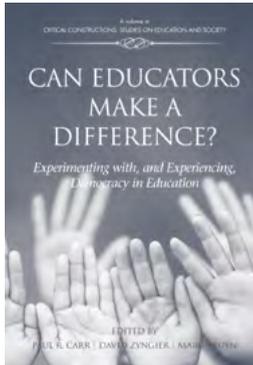
Faith Agostinone-Wilson, Aurora University

What is the purpose and value of education in the construction of our collective well-being? Abdi and Carr bring together a powerful group of scholars who provide a range of thought-provoking responses to this question. Their intellectual engagements highlight joys, difficulties and possibilities within the field of education conceived as a discipline wrestling with competing and uneven social forces, and with questions of relevance in increasingly more complex, uncertain, pluralistic and unequal societies. This book is a significant contribution to the efforts to construct, in the words of the editors, 'a more meaningful, critically engaged, socially just

educational experience (that) counters the prevailing whims of the day (and of history)'.

Vanessa de Oliveira (Andreotti), University of Oulu, Finland

Carr, P. R., Zyngier, D. & Pruyn, M. (Eds.) *Can educators make a difference? Experimenting with, and experiencing, democracy in education.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.



As the title of this book suggests, how we understand, perceive and experience democracy may have a significant effect on how we actually engage in, and with, democracy. Within the educational context, this is a key concern, and forms the basis of the research presented in this volume within a critical, comparative analysis. The Global Doing Democracy Research Project (GDDRP), which currently has some 70 scholars in over 20 countries examining how educators do democracy, provides the framework in which diverse scholars explore a host of concerns related to democracy and democratic education, including the impact of neoliberalism, political literacy, critical engagement, teaching and learning for and about democracy, social justice, and the meaning of power/power relations within the educational context. Ultimately, the contributors of this book collectively ask: can there be democracy without a critically engaged education, and, importantly, what role do educators play in this context and process? Why many educators in diverse contexts believe that they are unable, dissuaded and/or prevented from doing thick democratic education is problematized in this book but the authors also seek to illustrate that, despite the challenges, barriers and concerns about doing democracy in education, something can, and should, be done to develop, cultivate and ingratiate schools and society with more meaningful democratic practices and processes.

This book breaks new ground by using a similar empirical methodology within a number of international contexts to gage the democratic sentiments and actions of educators, which raises a host of questions about epistemology, teacher education, policy development, pedagogy, institutional cultures, conscientization, and the potential for transformational change in education.

Reviews

Can educators make a difference? provides a powerful affirmation to the question, by critically bringing together a variety of philosophical and practical concerns. More important, the book serves as an invaluable pedagogical resource for educators committed to a genuine praxis of democratic life, in the classroom and beyond.

Antonia Darder, Loyola Marymount University

Can educators make a difference in their students' lives? Most people will automatically answer with an emphatic "YES". But if we press a bit further and ask: *Can educators make a difference in the democratization of societies?* Probably we will find a lot more hesitant answers. These are two deceptively simple questions, but I don't know any "educator" worth the title that doesn't struggle every day trying to find satisfactory answers to those two questions. *Can educators make a difference? Experimenting with, and Experiencing, Democracy in Education* is one of those very rare books that will assist teachers, especially those working in teacher education programs, to find effective ways to strengthen the relationships of schooling and democracy. Using detailed analyses of experiments with democratic schools, and experiences of democracy in education, the contributors of this book provide both conceptually sophisticated, as well as proven practical, initiatives to assist educators worldwide to affirm their central role in schools as transformative critical cultural professionals; supporting the goal of making every teacher a teacher of democracy. This is an outstanding book and should be required reading in every teacher education program.

Gustavo E. Fischman, Arizona State University

What a rich collection of thinkers and educators from around the globe, all deeply committed to fostering a thick and robust version of democracy. Their engagement of students, their use of a solid body of theory and data, and their bold challenges to thin and stultifying versions of democracy, come together in this welcome book. I am pleased to report that the question asked in their title is answered in this hopeful text, that it is a resounding "yes," and that there is still much work to be done.

Darren E. Lund, University of Calgary

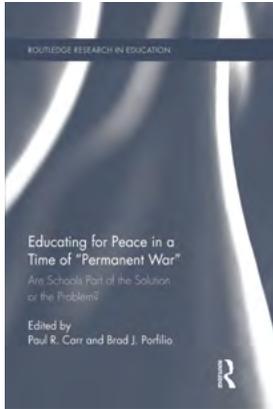
I loved this book! It is powerful. It asks hugely important questions about democratic and undemocratic/anti-democratic education, pedagogy, curriculum, organization, ideology and control. As well as asking what (and who) education does currently serve, its international group of writers/researchers/activists also asks what/whose purposes should education serve? And it goes further. It shows how, in different national contexts and with international/global resonance, teachers and students can do deep democratic education. This excellent volume, based on the "Global Doing Democracy Research Project", really can and does

take critical educators, social justice educators, educators for democratic citizenship forward. Exciting stuff!"

Dave Hill, University of Middlesex (London)

2012

Carr, P.R. & Porfilio, B.J. (2012). (Eds). *Educating For peace in a time of permanent war: Are Schools Part of the solution or the problem.* New York: Routledge.



What is the meaning of peace, why should we study it, and how should we achieve it? Although there are an increasing number of manuscripts, curricula and initiatives that grapple with some strand of peace education, there is, nonetheless, a dearth of critical, cross-disciplinary, international projects/books that examine peace education in conjunction with war and conflict. Within this volume, the authors contend that war/military conflict/violence are not a nebulous, far-away, mysterious venture; rather, they argue that we are all, collectively, involved in perpetrating and perpetuating militarization/conflict/violence inside and outside of our own social circles. Therefore, education about and against war can be as liberating as it is necessary. If war equates killing, can our schools avoid engaging in the examination of what war is all about? If education is not about peace, then is it about war? Can a society have education that willfully avoids considering peace as its central objective? Can a democracy exist if pivotal notions of war and peace are not understood, practiced, advocated and ensconced in public debate? These questions, according to Carr and Porfilio and the contributors they have assembled, merit a critical and extensive reflection. This book seeks to provide a range of epistemological, policy, pedagogical, curriculum and institutional analyses aimed at facilitating meaningful engagement toward a more robust and critical examination of the role that schools play (and can play) in framing war, militarization and armed conflict and, significantly, the connection to peace.

Reviews

This is a book that I have been waiting for. It critically examines the meaning, pedagogy, and practices of war and peace education in a time when the stakes are high. It shows us how we can do more than just imagine peace, and, hand in hand with students, how we can actively work to create peace.

Carolyne Ali-Khan, University of North Florida

*The doomsday clock moves closer to midnight in a world that has gone mad with violence and perpetual war. The power of the military to manufacture and sanitize death, devastation and destruction has never been interrogated before by critical educators. *Educating for Peace in a Time of Permanent War: Are Schools Part of the Solution or the Problem?* is the first volume of its kind in which the militarization of education (both in curriculum and in the larger pedagogical order) is examined. This is an extremely important book that should be read by all educators.*

Karen Anijar, Arizona State University

*In *Educating for Peace in a Time of Permanent War: Are Schools Part of the Solution or the Problem?*, editors Paul R. Carr and Brad J. Porfilio skillfully weave together and present the intellectual capital (the theory, philosophy and empirical work) of a set of international scholars par excellence. In five engaging sections – ‘Theorizing Peace, War and Peace’; ‘Scanning the War in Our Daily (and Educational) Lives’; ‘The Curriculum of War and Peace’; ‘Internationalizing Peace and the Trauma of War and Conflict’; and, ‘Resisting the Militarization of Education’ – and contextualized between the inspiring bookends of a Foreword by Antonia Darder and an Afterword by Zvi Bekerman, the authors explore virtually every aspect of the role of education in the drive for war and its perpetuation, and its equally liberatory potential in perusing its antithesis, peace. Any activist, student or academic working in the areas of peace, education, sociology, social justice or anti-imperialism – or anyone excited about the current world-wide push-back against the forces of oppression (neo-liberalism, authoritarianism, sexism, racism and homophobia) – would be remiss not to carefully read and consider the important thoughts and analyses proffered in this strikingly important volume!*

Marc Pruyn, Monash University

In our shadowed time of military solutions to chronic problems, schools themselves mirror these means toward an end. The authors in this volume critically assess the role of schooling as a tool of governments and nation-building through analysis of the military mind and militarism in our teaching and learning. They find in the efficiency and surveillance of a modern nation-state a cast of mind and a portfolio of practices that seep inexorably down to authoritarian accountability measures in many schools today. I was particularly struck to realize that common means of peace education may be too weak or incomplete to counter the military mind and its accepted solutions to conflict, especially when the war machine becomes a major means to economic prosperity. The part of this volume devoted to classroom practices by critical peace educators around the world gave me some hope that teaching and learning in and out of schools may someday become generative, rather than reactive, incubators for a new life. This new life would be a way of being in the world that is not simply an altered cast of mind or an amended outlook. It would be a culture of peace-building that would begin to counter the suspicion of our relationships with one another, the violence of modes of being with non-human animals, and the exploitation of our planet.

A. G. Rud, Washington State University

The significance of this book is that, by contrasting with education for war, it offers optimism about the potential of education for peace by presenting concrete examples of alternatives, which indicate possible changes in perceptions of and attitudes towards war...The book conveys one coherent voice in problematizing the role of education in militarization and in proposing ways of demilitarizing and shifting education towards a path to peace.

Noriko Sakade, Cambridge University

6.3 EDITOR OF BOOK SERIES

BOOK SERIES

Carr, P. R. (Series Editor). *Critical Perspectives in Democracy and Political Literacy*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Books published in this series:

Hoben, J. L. (2014). *Learning what you cannot say: Teaching free speech and political literacy in an authoritarian age*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Abdi, A. A. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (2013). *Educating for democratic consciousness: Counter-hegemonic possibilities*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Thomas, P. T. (Ed.). (2012). *Becoming and being a teacher: Confronting traditional norms to create new democratic realities*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

BOOK SERIES

Carr, P. R., Lea, V. & Lund, D. E. (Series Editors). *Critical Perspectives on Power, Identity and Whiteness*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Books published in this series:

(in press). Hackman, H. *The Biology of Racial Justice Education*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Picower, B. & Mayorga, E. (Eds.) (2016). *What's Race Got To Do With It? How Current School Reform Policy Maintains Racial and Economic Inequality*. New York: Peter Lang.

Orelus, P. (2013). *Whitecentricism and Linguoracism Exposed: Toward the de-centering of whiteness and decolonization of schools*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

BOOK SERIES

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (Series Editors). *Counter-hegemonic democracy and social change*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Books published in this series:

Klein, M. (2016). *Democratizing leadership: Counter-hegemonic democracy in organizations, institutions and communities*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

BOOK SERIES

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (Series Editors). *Cultural pluralism, democracy, socio-environmental justice & education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Books published in this series:

Matias, C. E. (2016). *Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

White, R. E. & Cooper, K. (2015). *Democracy and Its Discontents: Critical Literacy across Global Contexts*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

6.4 EDITOR OF JOURNAL SPECIAL ISSUES

IN PROGRESS

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (section eds.) (in progress). Social theories of critical pedagogy. In Steinberg, S., Down, B., Grande, S. & Nix-Stevenson, D. (Eds.), *Handbook of Critical Pedagogies*. London: Sage.

Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (Eds.) (in progress) Démocratie, alphabétisation politique et éducation transformatoire : points de rencontres d'acteurs socioéducatifs et de perspectives critiques, *Revue de recherche sur l'éducation à la citoyenneté*.

2013

Carr, P. R. & Porfilio, B. J. (2013). The Business of war and peace, and the potential for education to play a transformative role, *Peace Studies Journal*, 6(1). <http://peacestudiesjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PSJ-Vol-6-Issue-1-2013.pdf>

6.5 ARTICLES

SUBMITTED / SOUMIS

Carr, P. R., Thésée, G., Duclos, A. & Potwora, F. (submitted / soumis). Perceptions, perspectives et expériences de l'éducation et de la démocratie chez les étudiants en formation des maîtres : enjeux de la démocratie normative et de l'éducation pour la démocratie, *Citizenship Education Research Journal / Revue de recherche sur l'éducation à la citoyenneté*.

IN PRESS / À PARAÎTRE

Carr, P. R., Molano, N., Rivas-Sanchez, E., & Thésée, G. (in press / à paraître). Pedagogías contra el despojo: Principios de una *eco/demopedagogía* transformativa como vehículo para la justicia social y ambiental en América Latina, *Revista Internacional de Educacion para la Justicia Social*.

2018

Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (2018). Les didactiques peuvent-elles être critiques? Apports des pédagogies et épistémologies sociocritiques à la recherche sur l'enseignement-apprentissage, *Revista Trabalho (En)Cena*, 3(1), 148-163.

2017

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2017) Seeking democracy inside, and outside, of education: re-conceptualizing perceptions and experiences related to democracy and education, *Democracy & Education*, 25(2), 1-12.

Zyngier, D. (2017). How experiential learning in an informal setting promotes class equity and social and economic justice for children from "communities at promise": An Australian perspective, *International Review of Education*, (63), 9-28.

2016

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6.6 BOOK CHAPTERS

IN PRESS

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6.7 PRESENTATIONS

Table 14: Conference Presentations and Keynote Addresses for Paul R. Carr (PI of the DPLTE)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
CANADA	<u>3</u> Montréal; <u>2</u> Vancouver; <u>2</u> Waterloo; <u>1</u> Calgary	<u>3</u> Montréal	<u>3</u> Montréal; <u>1</u> Toronto; <u>1</u> St. Catherines; <u>1</u> Gatineau	<u>4</u> Montréal; <u>1</u> Ottawa	<u>4</u> Montréal; <u>4</u> Calgary; <u>1</u> Ottawa	<u>3</u> Montréal; <u>1</u> Gatineau; <u>1</u> Toronto	<u>1</u> Gatineau
USA	<u>1</u> San Juan	<u>1</u> San Francisco; <u>1</u> Oakland; <u>1</u> Baltimore	<u>3</u> Philadelphia	<u>1</u> Chicago; <u>1</u> Tempe		<u>1</u> San Antonio	<u>2</u> New York <u>1</u> Savannah
EUROPE			<u>1</u> Germany				
LATIN AMERICA		<u>1</u> Argentina			<u>6</u> Mexico	<u>2</u> Mexico; <u>2</u> Chile	
ELSEWHERE		<u>5</u> Australia	<u>1</u> Japan; <u>1</u> Morocco	<u>1</u> Sweden			
TOTAL	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>

Figure 6: DPLTE Conference Presentations and Keynotes by the PI within North America (2012-2018)

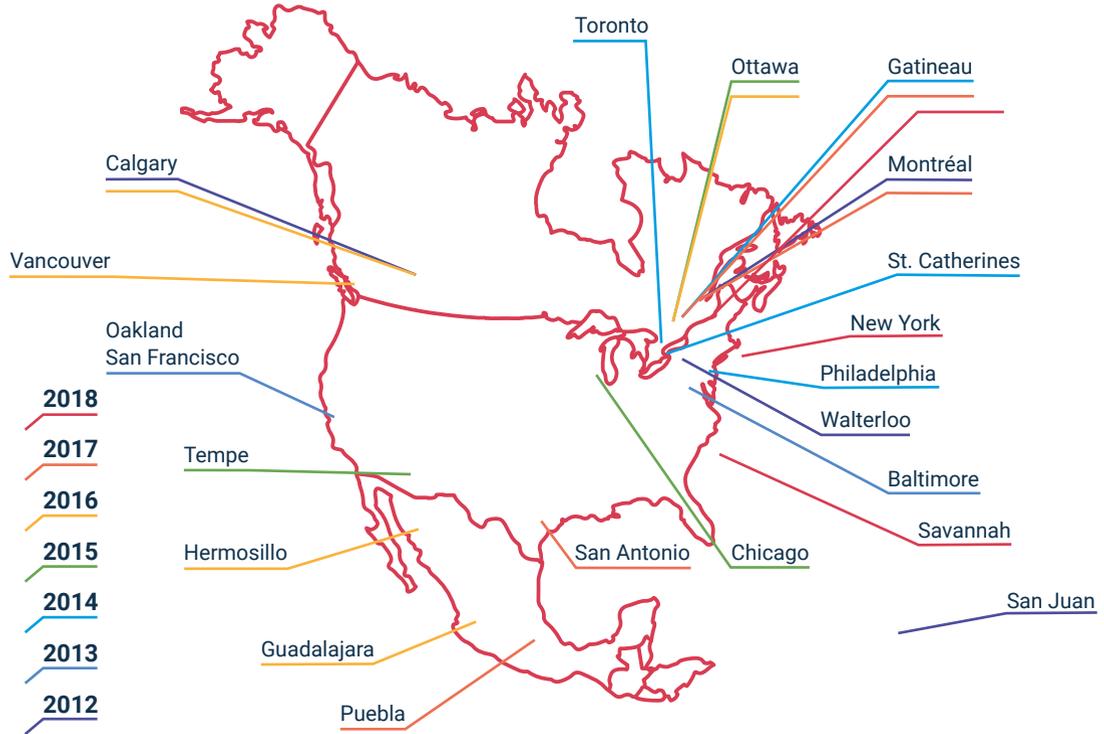


Figure 7: Conference Presentations and Keynotes by the PI outside of North America (2012-2017)



2017

- Carr, P. R. (2017). La democracia y la educación para la democracia, Centro de Investigación para la Educación Inclusiva, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, **Valparaíso**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Carr, P. R. (2017). Las redes sociales y el involucramiento ciudadano: ¿Y la espacio por la democracia?, Centro de Investigación para la Educación Inclusiva, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, **Valparaíso**.
- Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (2017). Environnement colonial et colonialisme environnemental : enjeux épistémologiques dans la recherche en ERE francophone, Centr'ERE : *Trajectoires, tendances et tensions : Regards sur la recherche contemporaine en éducation relative à l'environnement au sein de la Francophonie*, **Montréal**.
- Carr, P. R. (2017). Social media and social justice: Is there room for citizen engagement and democracy? *International Association of Methodist-related Schools, Colleges, and Universities*, **Puebla**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2017). Tearing down walls: Democracy and peace, International Association of Methodist-related Schools, Colleges, and Universities, **Puebla**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2017). Connecting Democracy, the Environment and Education in Haiti Since the Earthquake, *American Educational Research Association*, **San Antonio**.
- Carr, P. R. (2017). La démocratie de tous les jours et dans nos rêves : Et la question de l'engagement et de la participation citoyenne, ACFAS, **Montréal**.
- Carr, P. R. (2017). Political (Il)lteracy and Living in a Society: Is there room for a Critically-Engaged Education for Democracy? or "I used to read poetry... before I became radicalized", *Discomfort Zones: Negotiating Tensions and Cultivating Belonging in Diverse College Classrooms in Québec*, Vanier College, **Montréal**.
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2017). Un survol de la recherche : Le projet Démocratie, alphabétisation politique et éducation transformatrice, *Semaine de la recherche*, UQO, **Gatineau**.
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2017). Seeking Democracy Inside, and Outside, of Education: Re-conceptualizing Perceptions and Experiences Related to Democracy and Education, *Canadian Society for Studies in Education*, **Toronto**. (scheduling conflict; unable to present / *conflit d'horaire ; pas capable d'y présenter*)

Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (2017). ÉcoCitoyenneté mondiale et mondialité : apport de la pensée archipélique du martiniquais Édouard Glissant aux enjeux inter/trans/culturels des sociétés contemporaines, *Association pour la recherche interculturelle*, **Antananarivo**. (scheduling conflict; unable to present / *conflit d'horaire ; pas capable d'y présenter*)

Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (2017). L'interculturel en tensions entre des contextes de migration et des contextes de racisation : apports possibles d'une éducation en liens avec la démocratie, *Association pour la recherche interculturelle*, **Antananarivo**. (scheduling conflict; unable to present / *conflit d'horaire ; pas capable d'y présenter*)

2016

- Carr, P. R. (2016). Educación, democracia y justicia social, *Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Unidad Guadalajara*, **Guadalajara**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Carr, P. R. (2016). Las sociedades racializadas y la blanquitud, *Congreso Internacional de Psicopedagogía en Jalisco*, **Guadalajara**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Carr, P. R. (2016). Media, alfabetización de media y la conexión a la democracia, *Congreso Internacional de Psicopedagogía en Jalisco*, **Guadalajara**.
- Carr, P. R. (2016). La búsqueda de la democracia en todos los lugares equivocados: Reimaginando la educación y la democracia en conjunto, *Congreso Internacional de Psicopedagogía en Jalisco*, **Guadalajara**. (KEYNOTE ADDRESS).
- Thésée, G. & Carr, P. R. (2016). Le diable est dans les détails: le racisme épistémologique dans les interstices de la recherche, *Centre de recherche en éducation et formation relatives à l'environnement et à l'éco-citoyenneté*, **Montréal**.
- Carr, P. R. (2016). Engaging Critical Media Literacy, *Rouge Forum*, **Calgary**.
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2015

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Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2015). Quelle(s) École(s) pour quel(s) enfant(s), pour quelle(s) société(s)? *3^e Avenue & Parents en action pour l'éducation : Conversations publiques*, **Montréal**.

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2013

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Carr, P. R. (2013). Can we teach what we preach? Examining Teachers and their Experiences with Democracy, *Association for Moral Education, Montréal*.

Carr, P. R. (2013). The Critical pedagogy of financial literacy, and the Accounting of/for democracy, *Association for Moral Education, Montréal*.

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). Democracy, Critical Pedagogy and the Quest for Transformative Education, *University of Technology, Sydney*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). Democracy and Critical Pedagogy: Seeking social justice and transformation in education, *Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). Education for democracy: Digging deeper beyond neoliberalism, *Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). Democracy, the environment and educational practices: Connecting disparate and fundamental realities, *Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). De-colonizing hegemonic democracy and Whiteness: Education and people in societies, *Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

Carr, P. R. (2013). Re-thinking democracy among educators, and the connection to their role in education, *World Congress on Comparative Education, Buenos Aires*.

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2012

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Carr, P. R. (2012). Can we democratize democratic education and still be friends? Re-imagining critical pedagogy and democracy, *Canadian Association for Foundations of Education conference, Waterloo*.

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Carr, P. R. (2012). In a time of permanent war: Can education generate a culture of peace? *American Educational Research Association (AERA), Vancouver*.

6.8 WEBSITE

The [website for the DPLTE](#) served as an archive for our research, and also to engage colleagues, students, activists and a variety of other interested parties around the world in the field of education for democracy.

A detailed description of what the project its philosophical underpinning, the proposed approach and methodology, and the activities that we undertook can be found in the Home section of this website. This website also has extensive information on our project—including books, articles, book chapters and presentations—that lay the groundwork for, or flow from, the research, and these resources have been organized around key themes for easier access.

In addition, we have included up-to-date research findings, which are not only helpful to the research team as we develop more complexified and nuanced analyses but also to others wishing to develop new theoretical and conceptual models as well as new insights from the research.

The website also contains information on the GDDRP, which grew out of the first study Carr conducted on education for democracy in 2006. We now have over fifty similar projects with over 5,000 participants in roughly fifteen countries, effectively enlarging and enhancing our work in a multitude of contexts, serving to reinforce and consolidate the strength of our findings. The data-collection and analysis is ongoing, and we hope that this website will help facilitate contact, collaboration and concerted efforts among the researchers involved in the project as well as others interested in collaborating with us.

The website also seeks to provide a forum for debate as well as the development of frameworks that will stimulate research in this important multi-/inter-disciplinary area,

including an evolving set of relevant references, a compilation of peer-reviewed journals of interest, a synthesis of websites outlining what is democracy, how democracy is measured, and what is education for democracy, and other tools and resources, such as an image-bank, a substantial listing of quotes related to democracy, and a section on activities. We have also produced video interviews with scholars, activists and others in relation to education for democracy, including an extensive interview with well-known critical theorist Peter McLaren.

We are very interested in engaging with colleagues from around the world, and we hope that language will not prove to be a barrier, nor will national, cultural, political and/or disciplinary variations present any obstacles to our evolving work. Our team functions in English, French and Spanish, and we make every reasonable effort, in solidarity and in collaboration, to work with others.

The UNESCO Chair DCMÉT Website

The DPLTE website, since March 2017, merged into the [UNESCO Chair DCMÉT website](#), which has substantially enhanced and continued the research presented in the DPLTE project. The website, which is accessible in English, French and Spanish, can be accessed at <http://uqo.ca/dcmet>.

This website is meant to serve as a meeting-place, a hub of activity and participation, an archive for our research, and a center for re-imagining democracy, global citizenship and transformative education, the inter-related, interdisciplinary concepts underpinning our project. We are hopeful that this UNESCO Chair will be able to engage colleagues, students, activists, civil society members, decision-makers and a variety of interested parties around the world.

6.9 SOCIAL MEDIA

The UNESCO Chair DCMÉT connects with several social media networks, the links for which are below:

Table 15: Social Media Established for the DPLTE Project

NAME	LOGO	LINK
DCMÉT		http://uqo.ca/dcmet/
FACEBOOK		https://www.facebook.com/UNESCO.CHAIR.DCMET/
TWITTER		https://twitter.com/PaulRCarr1
ACADEMIA		https://uqo.academia.edu/PaulRCarr
RESEARCHGATE		https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Paul_Carr
YOUTUBE		https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC19Wi_8aRzFBxdP1bia70YA

PART SEVEN

Conclusion

7.1 RELATIONSHIPS, PARTNERSHIPS AND NETWORKING

The DPLTE research project has led to a broad range of relationships and partnerships in Canada and in several countries around the world. In conjunction with the GDDRP, we have cultivated collaborative projects in English, French and Spanish with colleagues in some fifteen countries. Most importantly, this project has led to the development and awarding of the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT (outlined below), which has brought together researchers, scholars, decision makers and civil society members in a range of contexts. The international dimension of the project has ultimately created a synergy and organizing principle that has greatly influenced and impacted the conceptualization, development and implementation of the ongoing and emerging research, activities and relationships.

7.2 UNESCO CHAIR IN DEMOCRACY, GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP, AND TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION (DCMÉT)

7.2.1 DESCRIPTION

This very first UNESCO Chair at the Université du Québec en Outaouais (UQO) aims to be a dynamic hub of activities, research and interaction. It will promote dialogue among a variety of social actors from the formal, non-formal and informal educational and civil society contexts in relation to the socio-educational challenges facing contemporary societies. By doing so, it seeks to contribute to the collective efforts to build, through educational engagement, societies of peace, social justice, openness, inclusion and sustainable development. The Chair also aims to consolidate networks of local, national and international actors working for democracy, global citizenship and transformative education. To this end, it will create partnerships and collaborative projects involved in research, training, civil society engagement and knowledge dissemination. By working in French, English and Spanish, the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT strives to transcend hegemonic, uni-disciplinary and fixed conceptualizations, opening itself up to a great diversity of partners while striving to facilitate their inclusion and active participation.

What is a UNESCO Chair?

A UNESCO Chair involves research, civil society participation, linking up with partners in the Global South, and a direct connection to UNESCO objectives and goals, especially, for DCMÉT, in relation to human rights, global citizenship, education for sustainable development, peace education and education for all within a critical, engaging and inclusive lens. Working with UNESCO and other UNESCO Chairs is also a unique feature of the work undertaken by a UNESCO Chair. The tenure of the Chair is from December 2016 to December 2020.

Why a UNESCO Chair?

The Co-Chair, Gina Thésée, became involved with UNESCO's Teachers Task Force for Education for All in 2012, attending the annual Policy Dialogue Forums, respectively, in Windhoek, Kinshasa, Rabat, Mexico City and Siem Reap for the next several years. She served as a Rapporteur as well as a presenter in several of the meetings, and Paul R. Carr served as the Rapporteur general for the Rabat meeting in 2014, during which time they both spent several months in Paris working on UNESCO projects. The work continued in Canada with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, attending meetings, cultivating relations, and developing a network with the other 19 UNESCO Chairs in Canada, culminating in the proposal for the UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship and Transformative Education.

Their collaboration together (Carr and Thésée) over the past almost fifteen years—highlighted by the DPLTE project—has led them to a number of countries around the world, and it is hopeful that the engaging, dynamic and transformative work that they have seen and experienced in a variety of contexts will spill over to the work of our UNESCO Chair.

7.2.2 GUIDING PRINCIPLES

- Focus on processes as well as on the end-points and results
- Salience of socio-political contexts
- Necessity for open, deliberative dialogue
- Engagement with meaning of lived experience
- Centrality of inclusion, diversity, equality and equity
- Acceptance of multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary approaches
- Cultivation of diverse partnerships and collaborations
- Dynamic engagement with macro-political, micro-political and meta-political machinations
- Linguistic and cultural pluralism
- Contextual need to engage with power and knowledge relations
- Emphasis on social justice and critical engagement

7.2.3 VISION, VALUES AND APPROACHES

- To promote UNESCO's vision for which education is defined as “a fundamental right for all human beings, a process that continues throughout life, and is the most powerful tool for transforming social realities and people's development”.
- To infuse the perspective of critical humanism, which promotes the values of peace, social justice, human dignity, pluralism, solidarity, inclusion (diversity, equality, equity), social engagement and critical consciousness.
- To promote the pursuit of three ideals through the three inter-related themes of democracy, global citizenship and transformational education: an ideal of living well together (*bien vivre-ensemble*) within a democratic framework; an ideal of citizenship around the world that is open and pluralistic; and an ideal of emancipatory education.
- To employ conceptual and applied models based on transdisciplinary, transgenerational, cross-cultural, transnational, trans-ethnic and pluri-lingual perspectives.

7.2.4 OBJECTIVES

- To develop international research and educational partnerships and collaborations connecting countries in the South and the North
- To facilitate a program of activities that stimulates social dialogue and knowledge-sharing among a variety of social actors
- To elaborate a trans-disciplinary research program within the framework of the three central themes associated with the Chair
- To develop an international graduate studies program
- To disseminate theoretical and practical knowledge, in relation to research and education, through multiple modalities and communication platforms

Working languages: English, French, Spanish & Créole

Countries where work is done

Canada, United States, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Norway, Finland, Cameroon, Australia, and in other contexts, especially in the Global South; The UNESCO Chair DCMET has two advisory committees (a national one with 20 members, and an international one with 25 members from 17 countries) and an executive committee (15 members).

UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

We approach the SDGs in a multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary way, connecting the three themes of the DCMÉT UNESCO Chair, and in collaboration with a range of social actors. It is difficult to focus on only one SDG, given the multiple ways that they overlap, and our central concerns related to democracy, global citizenship and transformative education flow through several of the goals.

- **Goal 1:** End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- **Goal 4:** Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning
- **Goal 10:** Reduce inequality within and among countries
- **Goal 11:** Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- **Goal 13:** Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
- **Goal 16:** Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies

7.2.5 INTERRELATED THEMES

Democracy

Democracy refers to the collective level aimed at the wellbeing for all living together. It relates to the pursuit of democratic values through an inclusive, dynamic, critical, and continuously-evolving process that involves all spheres of society. Unlike the traditional, unidimensional, and partisan approach (the election-centered approach), the notion of broad democracy (thick or dense) reclaims the affairs of the City (in Greek Polis) and appeals to: engagement and learning, vigilance, active participation, and social dialogue and deliberation as well as consensus and joint decision-making in the interest of political literacy. Thick or dense democracy relies, among other things, on the use of contemporary communication media that can open up spaces that can foster social dialogue and citizen participation.

Global Citizenship

Global Citizenship refers to the individual level underpinning the resistance-resilience of the people and citizens, who have been adversely affected by sexism, racism, colonialism, exacerbated nationalism, extremism or other kinds of structural violence. It is a socially-supported therapeutic treatment for the various citizenships that have been wounded: in their bodies (due to physical and/or phenotypical aspects); in their hearts (due to emotional and relational aspects); their spirits (due to intellectual aspects); and in their soul (due to spiritual aspects). In a clear cognitive and epistemological rupture

concerning the notion of citizenship presented through neo-liberal globalization (and its defense of uniformity, unicity and anti-diversity) and within a confined and self-contained citizenship, global citizenship is fundamentally rooted in an identity-based soil, which is richly imbued in its multiple affiliations as well as within a social context that values diversity. It also unfolds its branches in a form of 'globality,' which fully connects with its relations to Oneself and to the Other. Global citizenship can be seen as a permanently-renewed quest for the presence of Oneself, of the Other, and of the world as well as a pursuit that is, simultaneously, both personal and contextual.

Transformative Education

Transformative Education concerns the necessary intersection of the collective level (democracy) and the individual level (global citizenship) in formal, non-formal or informal contexts. It echoes the emancipatory nature of all veritable education from a holistic perspective that takes into account its physical, cognitive, metacognitive, affective, social, emotional and spiritual dimensions. An education that oppresses, alienates, and is complicit in the dispossession of the being from Oneself constitutes a miseducation. Transformative education is a process of critical awareness of issues and challenges related to fundamental social realities. In formal contexts, transformative education presupposes pedagogies, epistemologies and didactics that are also transformative. Transformative education is linked to democracy and global citizenship in four dimensions:

1. Transformative Education about Democracy and about Global Citizenship (ontological dimension)
2. Transformative Education through Democracy and through Global Citizenship (praxiological dimension)
3. Transformative Education related to Democracy and to Global Citizenship (epistemological dimension)
4. Transformative Education for Democracy and for Global Citizenship (axiological dimension)

7.3 OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The DPLTE research project has been involved in several international activities and collaborations, in addition to the *GDDRP*. All of this work flows from the DPLTE project.

The PI was invited to give the Keynote Address at the opening of the Center for Inclusion in Education: Diversity and Democracy in Immigrant Societies in Hildesheim, Germany, which led to the publication of an article with *The European Wergeland Centre* on the subject of racialization and social justice in education,

based on, in part, research conducted within the DPLTE research project.

The PI also served as a consultant on a democracy project entitled *Education for Democracy: A Curriculum framework*, which involved collaborating with a Canadian NGO and the Government of Mongolia. Research, workshops and consultation undertaken in Mongolia, and then the final document presented in India to participants representing the Community of Democracies, framed the project. The final document connects directly with the work undertaken in the DPLTE research project, and a number of interesting models and proposals were generated throughout the conceptualization process, ultimately forming part of the printed report.

- Hiebert, Matthew & Carr, P. R. (2014). *Education for Democracy: A Curriculum framework*. (Presented by the Mongolian Presidency of the Community of Democracies, with the support of Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada). Calgary: Agriteam Canada Consulting Ltd. (NOTE: we were consultants hired to draft this document, in consultation and with the support of colleagues in Mongolia).

The PI was also contracted to be the rapporteur general for a UNESCO conference in Morocco in 2015:

- Secretariat of the International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All & Carr, P. R. (2015). *Teachers in Post-2015 International Education Agenda: What policies, practices and tools for teacher-related target?* (7th International Policy Dialogue Forum). Paris: International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All, UNESCO.

The CI has also undertaken extensive work the International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All, UNESCO, over the past several years, acting as a facilitator, presenter, consultant and rapporteur. In particular, Thésée has participated in the following UNESCO International Policy Forum events:

- Lomé, Togo (2017)
- Mexico City, Mexico (2016)
- Rabat, Morocco (2015)
- Buea, Cameroon (2015)
- Kinshasa, Congo (2014)
- Windhoek, Namibia (2013)

In addition, Thésée has participated in UNESCO events in Ottawa, Canada (2017) and Bangkok, Thailand (2017) as well as in Paris at UNESCO headquarters, where she delivered a number of presentations during her sabbatical leave. Carr also spent several months in Paris at UNESCO headquarters, and has also presented at other UNESCO events.

7.4 OTHER OUTCOMES

The PI and CI spent a month in Melbourne, Australia, at Monash University in May 2013 as Visiting Scholars, working closely with one of the DPLTE's Collaborators, Dr. David Zyngier. This period included the development and presentation of four seminars in Melbourne and another in Sydney, as follows:

- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). *Democracy, Critical Pedagogy and the Quest for Transformative Education, University of Technology, Sydney*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). *Democracy and Critical Pedagogy: Seeking social justice and transformation in education, Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). *Education for democracy: Digging deeper beyond neoliberalism, Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). *Democracy, the environment and educational practices: Connecting disparate and fundamental realities, Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)
- Carr, P. R. & Thésée, G. (2013). *De-colonizing hegemonic democracy and Whiteness: Education and people in societies, Monash University, Melbourne*. (VISITING SCHOLARS)

The PI and CI also met with civil society groups and colleagues in Australia, and were able to further refine the collection and analysis of data with Dr. Zyngier. Dr. Zyngier has published widely on the subject of education for democracy, and his foundational research formed part of the DPLTE research project.

The PI, the CI and the two Collaborators have worked together through the DPLTE, the GDDRP and related projects, and have produced a number of collaborative events, presentations, books, book series, articles, book chapters and other tangible outcomes. For example, Zyngier has maintained an active and vibrant presence in the Australian media on education matters, and Porfilio has been a force in cultivating edited books and organizing conferences related to social justice, media literacy and transformative education.

7.5 FINAL WORDS

Cultivating a dynamic, dialectical, deliberative and critical dialogue throughout the DPLTE project has been of the utmost importance, and we have encouraged input and participation from a range of interests, groups, sectors and people. We welcome feedback, inquiries and engagement from anyone interested in this Final Report and our work as we continue to extend

it through the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT (please visit <http://uqo.ca/dcmet> and contact us at chaire.unesco@uqo.ca). Also, importantly, we thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for its generous support in facilitating our research through an Insight grant (#435-2012-0508). We also thank everyone who has participated in the project, including participants, colleagues and collaborators. We look forward to continuing the work, and hope that our contribution to the field of education for democracy has been beneficial and meaningful to a broad range of social actors, including decision- and policy-makers, civil society groups, and educators and students.

Our project—and our vision of democracy, political literacy and transformative education—has made, we hope, a contribution, however humble, to the field of education for democracy. Owing to the multiple entry-points, perspectives, experiences, approaches and dynamics related to how we have conceptualized education for democracy, favouring inclusive, dialectical, critically-engaged debate in the quest of (greater) social justice, emancipation, participation and social change that problematizes the intricacy of inequitable power relations, we end our report with a list of diverse quotations that connect with the messiness, contradictory nature and destabilizing nature of democracy in connection to political literacy and transformative education. The inspiration for our project—the seminal work of Paulo Freire (“*Washing one’s hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral*”)—is at the heart of our thinking of how education can (and must) be a vehicle for transforming society. The quotes are listed in alphabetical order, and we hope that they might contribute to dialogue, reflection and engagement among readers of this report. The selection of quotes is simply a selection, and we recognize that this is only the beginning of a conversation, not the end-point.

Addams, Jane [American sociologist (1860-1935)]

We have learned to say that the good must be extended to all of society before it can be held secure by any one person or any one class. But we have not yet learned to add to that statement, that unless all [people] and all classes contribute to a good, we cannot even be sure that it is worth having.

Alinsky, Saul [American scholar and community organizer (1909-1972)]

Change means movement. Movement means friction. Only in the frictionless vacuum of a nonexistent abstract world can movement or change occur without that abrasive friction of conflict.

Aristotle [Greek philosopher (284BC-322BC)]

It is the mark of an educated mind to be able to entertain a thought without accepting it.

(de) Cervantes, Miguel [Spanish novelist (1547-1616)]

There are only two families in the world, my old grandmother used to say, the Haves and the Have-nots.

Chomsky, Noam [American scholar and activist (b.1928)]

The most effective way to restrict democracy is to transfer decision-making from the public arena to unaccountable institutions: kings and princes, priestly castes, military juntas, party dictatorships, or modern corporations.

Churchill, Winston [British Prime Minister (1874-1965)]

The best argument against democracy is a five minute conversation with the average voter.

Confucius [Philosopher (551-479 BC)]

He who merely knows right principles is not equal to him who loves them.

Crazy Horse [Native American leader (1838-1877)]

One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk.

Debs, Eugene V. [Union leader and politician (1855-1926)]

When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong. The minority are right.

Dewey, John [American philosopher (1859-1952)]

The aim of education is to enable individuals to continue their education ... (and) the object and reward of learning is continued capacity for growth. Now this idea cannot be applied to all the members of a society except where intercourse of man with man is mutual, and except where there is adequate provision for the reconstruction of social habits and institutions by means of wide stimulation arising from equitably distributed interests. And this means a democratic society.

Douglas, Frederick [American abolitionist (1818-1895)]

No man can put a chain about the ankle of his fellow man without at last finding the other end fastened about his own neck.

Du Bois, W. E. B. [American civil rights activist (1868-1963)]

The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression.

Dylan, Bob [American folksinger (b.1941)]

Democracy don't rule the world, You'd better get that in your head; This world is ruled by violence, But I guess that's better left unsaid.

Einstein, Albert [Physicist (1879-1955)]

The distinctions separating the social classes are false; in the last analysis they rest on force.

France, Anatole [French poet and journalist (1844-1924)]

If fifty million people say a foolish thing, it is still a foolish thing.

Freire, Paulo [Brazilian educator (1921-1997)]

Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

Gandhi, Mohandas [Leader of India (1869-1948)]

What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?

Henry Giroux [American/Canadian scholar (b. 1943)]

...critical pedagogy illuminates how classroom learning embodies selective values, is entangled with relations of power, entails judgments about what knowledge counts, legitimates specific social relations, defines agency in particular ways, and always presupposes a particular notion of the future.

Greenfield, Meg [American columnist (1930-1999)]

Everybody's for democracy in principle. It's only in practice that the thing gives rise to stiff objections.

Hemingway, Ernest [American writer (1899-1961)]

They wrote in the old days that it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country. But in modern war, there is nothing sweet nor fitting in your dying. You will die like a dog for no good reason.

Hugo, Victor [French writer (1802-1885)]

There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world, and that is an idea whose time has come.

Hutchins, Robert M. [American educator (1899-1977)]

The death of democracy is not likely to be an assassination from ambush. It will be a slow extinction from apathy, indifference, and undernourishment.

Huxley, Aldous [English writer (1894-1963)]

A democracy which makes or even effectively prepares for modern, scientific war must necessarily cease to be democratic. No country can be really well prepared for modern war unless it is governed by a tyrant, at the head of a highly trained and perfectly obedient bureaucracy.

Jefferson, Thomas [President of U.S. (1743-1825)]

A democracy is nothing more than mob rule, where fifty-one percent of the people may take away the rights of the other forty-nine.

King Jr., Martin Luther [American minister and activist (1929-1968)]

He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps perpetrate it.

Mailer, Norman [American writer (1923-2008)]

A modern democracy is a tyranny whose borders are undefined; one discovers how far one can go only by traveling in a straight line until one is stopped.

Nelson Mandela (South African political leader, 1918-2013)

Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.

Martí, José [Cuban writer (1853-1895)]

Habit creates the appearance of justice; progress has no greater enemy than habit.

Marx, Karl [German philosopher and revolutionary (1818-1883)]

Catch a man a fish, and you can sell it to him. Teach a man to fish, and you ruin a wonderful business opportunity.

Margaret Mead [American anthropologist (1901-1878)]

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.

Mencken, H. L. [American journalist (1880-1956)]

Democracy is only a dream: it should be put in the same category as Arcadia, Santa Claus, and Heaven.

Morrison, Toni [American author [(b. 1931)]

If you're going to hold someone down you're going to have to hold on by the other end of the chain. You are confined by your own repression.

Orwell, George [English novelist (1903-1950)]

In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth becomes a revolutionary act.

Phillips, Wendell [American abolitionist (1811-1884)]

Governments exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection: they have many friends and few enemies.

Piaget, Jean [Swiss psychologist (1896-1980)]

The goal of education is not to increase the amount of knowledge but to create the possibilities for a child to invent and discover, to create men who are capable of doing new things.

Picasso, Pablo [Spanish artist (1881-1973)]

Computers are useless. They can only give you answers.

Plato [Greek philosopher (427BC- 367BC)]

The life that is unexamined is not worth living.

John Ralston Saul [Canadian philosopher/writer (b. 1947)]

The best defence [for a democracy, for the public good] is aggressiveness, the aggressiveness of the involved citizen. We need to reassert that slow, time-consuming, inefficient, boring process that requires our involvement; it is called 'being a citizen.' The public good is not something that you can see. It is not static. It is a process. It is the process by which democratic civilizations build themselves.

Robeson, Paul [American actor and activist (1898-1976)]

The answer to injustice is not to silence the critic but to end the injustice.

Robespierre, Maximilien [French revolutionary (1758-1794)]

Terror is only justice: prompt, severe and inflexible; it is then an emanation of virtue; it is less a distinct principle than a natural consequence of the general principle of democracy, applied to the most pressing wants of the country.

Rogers, Will [American actor (1879-1935)]

Elections are a good deal like marriages. There's no accounting for anyone's taste. Every time we see a bridegroom we wonder why she ever picked him, and it's the same with public officials.

(de) Saint-Exupery, Antoine [French writer (1900-1944)]

Pure logic is the ruin of the spirit.

Sartre, Jean-Paul [French philosopher (1905-1980)]

Everything has been figured out, except how to live.

(de) Tocqueville, Alexis [French author (1805-1859)]

The surface of American society is covered with a layer of democratic paint, but from time to time one can see the old aristocratic colors breaking through.

Tutu, Desmond [South African minister and activist (b. 1931)]

If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality.

Valery, Paul [French philosopher (1871-1945)]

Politics is the art of preventing people from taking part in affairs which properly concern them.

Vidal, Gore [American novelist (b. 1925)]

Democracy is supposed to give you the feeling of choice, like Painkiller X and Painkiller Y. But they're both just aspirin.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) [French writer (1694-1778)]

So long as the people do not care to exercise their freedom, those who wish to tyrannize will do so; for tyrants are active and ardent, and will devote themselves in the name of any number of gods, religious and otherwise, to put shackles upon sleeping men.

Walker, Alice [American writer and activist (b. 1944)]

No person is your friend who demands your silence, or denies your right to grow.

Weil, Simone [French philosopher and activist (1909-1943)]

In Switzerland they had brotherly love, five hundred years of democracy and peace, and what did they produce? The cuckoo clock!

Wiesel, Elie [(1928-2016)]

I have learned the guilt of indifference. The opposite of love is not hate but indifference.

Whitman, Walt [American poet (1819-1892)]

Did you, too, O friend, suppose democracy was only for elections, for politics, and for a party name? I say democracy is only of use there that it may pass on and come to its flower and fruit in manners, in the highest forms of interaction between [people], and their beliefs -- in religion, literature, colleges and schools -- democracy in all public and private life....

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Overview of the Global Doing Democracy Research Project

APPENDIX B: Questionnaires and Data-Collection Instruments Used in this Research

- A.** Invitation to participate in a research Study
- B.** Questionnaire used with teacher-education students (English)
- C.** Questionnaire used with teacher-education students (French)
- D.** Follow-up questionnaire
- E.** Questionnaire used with activists, scholars and members of CSOs

APPENDIX C: Report on the focus groups with the members of the BCHM

APPENDIX D: References Used in this Report

APPENDIX E: Bibliography of References Underpinning the Research and the Field of Education for Democracy

APPENDIX F: Research Models Flowing from the DPLTE Project and Leading to the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT

APPENDIX A

Overview of the Global Doing Democracy Research Project

Dr. Paul R. Carr and Dr. David Zyngier are the co-founders and co-directors of the *Global Doing Democracy Research Project* (GDDRP), which stems from research that Carr started in 2006 on the perceptions, experiences and perspectives of teacher-education students and educators in relation to democracy and education. Carr then joined with Dr. Thésée to replicate the study with a group of students in Montréal in 2008. This model has been fleshed out over the subsequent years, and there were over forty projects flowing from the GDDRP in over a dozen countries.

Connecting to Our Research Program on Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education

Through the Global Doing Democracy Research Project (GDDRP) (see Carr, Zyngier & Pruyn, 2012) we explored the linkage between the perceptions, experiences and perspectives of democracy in relation to education and the potential for political literacy and transformative education. We developed a model that seeks to explore and explain how experience with democracy and democracy in education may influence the critical engagement of future educators once they become teachers. In order to accurately dismantle hegemonic forms of dominance, privilege, neoliberalism, and inequitable power relations, education has to be considered a central educational and political focus. In addition, teacher-education needs to be consistent and constructed by the types of transformative social change that is increasingly necessary (Carr & Becker, 2013). It is, therefore, vital that students, educators, and society as a whole begin to conceptualize how we 'do' democracy, how we experience it, conceptualize it, and connect it critically to education (Carr, Zyngier & Pruyn, 2012; Lund & Carr, 2008; Westheimer, 2015).

In addition to analyzing several samples of teacher-education students in Canada, the USA, Australia and several other countries, including some 4000 participants, employing the same methodology and survey instruments, which were adapted for language and context (see Carr & Becker, 2013; Carr & Pluim, 2015; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014, 2015; Carr & Pluim, 2012; Carr, Zyngier & Pruyn, 2012). The main findings, which are consistent across samples, regardless of language, geography and other contextual factors, highlight the constrained and often limited critical conscientization and conceptualization of democracy and social justice, on the part of teacher-education students, to truly orchestrate social change. Rather, the perspectives of democracy that develop from our analysis reflect passive and neutralized engagement at several levels, based, in part, on limited democratic experiences that participants have had while being a student. Few participants of our studies, which were conducted between 2006 up until the present, critically spoke of social justice in relation to democracy, nor the connection to education. The research argues for more explicit, as well as implicit, connections to the experiences of students outside of the classroom and the formal components of education, which are explored in the next section. The need for 'thicker' approaches to

understanding and analyzing democracy, which includes critical media and political literacy as well as critical

engagement that problematizes hegemonic forms of power, is a central concern for our research.

Global Doing Democracy Research Project (GDDRP)(2008–2015+) & Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education (DPLTE)(2012–2015+) Project Studies

- Paul R. Carr is the Co-Founder and Co-Director of the GDDRP, and the Principal Investigator in the DPLTE.
- Gina Thésée is a Researcher with/in the GDDRP, and the Co-Investigator of the DPLTE.
- David Zyngier is Co-Founder and Co-Director of the GDDRP, and a Collaborator in the DPLTE.
- Brad Porfilio is a Researcher with/in the GDDRP, and a Collaborator in the DPLTE.

YEAR/ ANNÉE	COUNTRY/ PAYS	CITY/VILLE	LANGUAGE/ LANGUE	RESEARCHER/ CHERCHEURE	INSTITUTION	SAMPLE/ ÉCHANTILLON	N=
2006–07	USA	Youngstown (Ohio)	English	Paul R. Carr	Youngstown State U., Fac. of Education	Education Students	129
2006–07	USA	Youngstown (Ohio)	English	Paul R. Carr	Youngstown State U., Fac. of Education	University Faculty	15
2007	USA	Youngstown (Ohio)	English	Paul R. Carr	Youngstown School Board	Teachers	48
2008–09	Canada	Montréal (Québec)	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	UQAM Faculty of Education	Education students	261
2008–09	Canada	Montréal (Québec)	French	Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée	UQAM Faculty of Education	Education students Follow-up Survey	158
2009	Canada	Victoria	English	Jason Pryce	U. of Victoria Fac. of Education	Education students	44
2009	USA	Illinois	English	Tom Lucey	Illinois State U. Fac. of Education	Student teachers	20
2009	Cyprus		Greek	Michalinos Zem- bylas	Open U. of Cyprus Fac. of Education	Education students	37
2009	Australia		English	David Zyngier	Monash University Faculty of Education	Education students	27
2009	Australia		English	David Zyngier	Department of Edu- cation Victoria	Teachers	29
2009–10	Australia	Victoria (Melbourne)	English	David Zyngier	Department of Edu- cation Victoria	Principals	40
2009–10	Australia	Victoria (Melbourne)	English	David Zyngier	Department of Edu- cation Victoria	Teachers	100
2009–10	Australia	Victoria (Melbourne)	English	David Zyngier	Monash University	University Faculty	100
2009–10	USA	Illinois	English	Carolyn Shields	Schools	Teachers	68
2009–10	USA	Illinois	English	Carolyn Shields	Schools	Follow-up	24
2009–10	USA	St Louis (Missouri)	English	Brad Porfilio	Saint Louis University Faculty of Education	Education students	150
2009–10	Argentina	Morón (Buenos Aires)	Spanish	María Delia Tra- verso	U. de Morón Faculty of Education	Education students	137
2009–10	Argentina	Morón (Buenos Aires)	Spanish	Adriana Murriello	School	Education students	114
2009–10	Malaysia	Jitra	Malay	Sazali Yusoff	Ministry of Education	Teachers	150
2010	Malaysia	Jitra	Malay	Sazali Yusoff	Ministry of Education	Principals	45

YEAR/ ANNÉE	COUNTRY/ PAYS	CITY/VILLE	LANGUAGE/ LANGUE	RESEARCHER/ CHERCHEURE	INSTITUTION	SAMPLE/ ÉCHANTILLON	N=
2010-11	<u>Brazil</u>	<u>Viçosa</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Marcelo Loures dos Santos</u>	<u>Ministry of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>129</u>
2011	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Victoria (Melbourne)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Monash University</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>133</u>
2011	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Victoria (Melbourne)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Department of Education Victoria</u>	<u>Teacher Educators</u>	<u>45</u>
2011	<u>USA</u>	<u>Los Angeles (California)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Cynthia McDermott</u>	<u>Antioch U. Los Angeles</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>72</u>
2011	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Department of Education Victoria</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>32</u>
2013	<u>Greece</u>		<u>Greek</u>	<u>Angeliki Lazaridou</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Students Teacher</u>	<u>31</u>
2012	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Moscow</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Oksana Kozhevnikova</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>222</u>
2013	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Moscow</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Oksana Kozhevnikova</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>90</u>
2013	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Monash University</u>	<u>Teacher-Educators</u>	<u>14</u>
2013	<u>Greece</u>		<u>Greek</u>	<u>Angeliki Lazaridou</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education Students</u>	<u>95</u>
2013-15	<u>Brazil</u>	<u>Porto-Alegre</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Graziella Souza dos Santos Luís Armando Gandin</u>	<u>U. Federal do Rio Grande do Sul</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>35</u>
2013	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Thunder Bay (Ontario)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>118</u>
2013	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Thunder Bay (Ontario)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students Follow-up</u>	<u>93</u>
2013	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Melbourne, Victoria</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>		<u>Ed. Students (Follow-up)</u>	<u>25</u>
2013	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Melbourne, Victoria</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>School Boards</u>	<u>Education Students (Follow-up)</u>	<u>102</u>
2013	<u>USA</u>	<u>Romeoville (Illinois)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Brad Porfilio</u>	<u>Lewis University</u>	<u>Education Students</u>	<u>33</u>
2013	<u>USA</u>	<u>Bellingham (Washington)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Anne Blanchard</u>	<u>Western Washington University</u>	<u>Education and Human Service Students</u>	<u>81</u>
2013	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Orillia (Ontario)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>168</u>
2013	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Melbourne (Victoria)</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>School Boards</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>432</u>
2013	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Montréal (Québec)</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée</u>	<u>UQAM Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>189</u>
2013	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Montréal (Québec)</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée</u>	<u>Bureau de la communauté haïtienne (Montréal)</u>	<u>Community members</u>	<u>30</u>
2013	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>140</u>
2013-14	<u>USA</u>	<u>Washington State</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Anne Blanchard</u>	<u>Fac. of Education, Fac. of Human Services</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>42</u>
2013-14	<u>USA</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Brad Porfilio</u>	<u>University Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>29</u>
2013-14	<u>International</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr</u>		<u>Scholars, Activists and civil society</u>	<u>117</u>

YEAR/ ANNÉE	COUNTRY/ PAYS	CITY/VILLE	LANGUAGE/ LANGUE	RESEARCHER/ CHERCHEURE	INSTITUTION	SAMPLE/ ÉCHANTILLON	N=
2014	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>		<u>Academic Interviews</u>	<u>32</u>
2014	<u>Brazil</u>	<u>Porto Alegre</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Graziella Souza dos Santos</u>		<u>Teachers</u>	<u>35</u>
2014–15	<u>Scotland</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>Dalene Swanson</u>	<u>Stirling University</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>92</u>
2014–15	<u>Scotland</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>Dalene Swanson</u>	<u>Stirling University</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>203</u>
2014–15	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>	<u>Monash University</u>	<u>Educational Faculty</u>	<u>57</u>
2015	<u>South Africa</u>	<u>Durban</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Dalene Swanson</u>	<u>Nelson Mandela University</u>	<u>Education students</u>	<u>25</u>
2015	<u>Greece</u>		<u>Greek</u>	<u>Angeliki Lazaridou</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>139</u>
2015	<u>Pakistan</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>Atique ur-Rehman</u>	<u>Aga Khan Foundation/Monash U.</u>	<u>Teachers (urban and rural)</u>	<u>147</u>
2015	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Province of Québec</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr & Gina Thésée</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>53</u>
2015	<u>International</u>		<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Paul R. Carr</u>		<u>Scholars, Activists and civil society</u>	<u>21</u>
2015	<u>Australia</u>		<u>English</u>	<u>David Zyngier</u>		<u>Teachers (follow-up)</u>	<u>57</u>
2015	<u>Norway</u>		<u>Norse</u>	<u>Heidi Biseth Janne Madsen</u>	<u>Dept. of Education Buskerud and Vestfold University College</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>500</u>
2015	<u>Norway</u>		<u>Norse</u>	<u>Heidi Biseth Janne Madsen</u>	<u>Dept. of Education Buskerud and Vestfold University College</u>	<u>Education Students</u>	<u>100</u>
							5654

APPENDIX B

Questionnaires and Data Collection Instruments Used in this Research

- A. Invitation to participate
- B. Teacher-education students (English)
- C. Teacher-education students (French)
- D. Follow-up questionnaire
- E. Activists, scholars and members of CSOs

A. INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

Each questionnaire was prefaced with an invitation to participate in the research. The following is an example from the teacher education questionnaire used with Lakehead students in Orillia, however the texts for the other questionnaires were identical or very similar.

Democracy, Political Literacy and the Quest for Transformative Education

- I. This research is part of a study funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Research Team (NOTE: CARR and PORFILIO changed universities after this part of the study was completed)

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Paul R. Carr (Lakehead University)

Co-Investigator:

Dr. Gina Thésée (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Collaborator:

Dr. David Zyngier (Monash University, Australia)

Collaborator:

Dr. Brad J. Porfilio (Lewis University, USA)

For this part of the study, the research team seeks to identify education student experiences, perceptions and perspectives related to democracy and democratic education. A tangible outcome of the research will be the development of instruments, measures, policy, curriculum and support for educators in relation to democracy and education.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You will be asked to provide your informed consent below before completing this questionnaire. Participants will not be offered any reward to participate, nor will there be any penalty for non-participation.

This online questionnaire, which includes open- and closed-ended questions, will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The answers you provide will be kept confidential, and they will not be associated with your name. Participants are not required to answer all questions.

Only the research-team will have access to the data, and all data will be totally anonymous at point of response. The data will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and/or a password protected computer for any electronic information for a period of five years by the research-team.

We anticipate that there are no individual costs or risks to you in completing this survey. The potential benefits

for improving curriculum, pedagogy, educator training, and educational policy are considerable.

The results of this research will be made available to all participants within the context of this research, conference presentations and/or publication in academic journals, books and other means.

All those who complete this survey have the option of being entered into a draw for one of two iPad Minis. At the end of the survey there is a link that will lead participants to another site where they can enter their email address. Email addresses will not be linked in any way to the responses given in this survey, maintaining the anonymity of the respondent.

If you have any queries or would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact Dr. Paul R. Carr at prcarr@lakeheadu.ca or via telephone at (705)330-4008, ext. 2655. This study has been approved by the Lakehead University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions related to the ethics of the research and would like to speak to someone outside of the research team, please contact Sue Wright at the Research Ethics Board at 807-343-8283 or swright@lakeheadu.ca.

Completing the survey will be an indication of your informed consent to participate in this project. Please print a copy of this page for your records. Thank you for your participation in this important international project.

Dr. Paul R. Carr
Associate Professor & Principal Investigator, Democracy, Political Literacy and the Quest for Transformative Education project
Departments of Sociology and Interdisciplinary Studies
Lakehead University (Orillia)

B. QUESTIONNAIRE USED WITH TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS (ENGLISH)¹⁵

Biographical Information

- 1.1 I have carefully read the Explanatory Statement and agree to participate in the research.
- 1.2 I am (gender)
- 1.3 My age is
- 1.4 What education degree are you studying?
- 1.5 What year of study are you in for the education program?
- 1.6 What is your main course of study?
- 1.7 Choose one content area that best describes your area of teaching:
- 1.8 What is your racial/ethnic origin? (check more than one wherever appropriate)
- 1.9 My country or region of birth is:
- 1.10 Are you an Indigenous or First Nations person?
- 1.11 What was your main language spoken at home during your childhood?
- 1.12 Father's highest academic qualification (please choose only one):
- 1.13 My father's main occupation during his working life (please choose only one).
- 1.14 My father's country or region of birth is:
- 1.15 My mother's highest academic qualification (please choose one only):
- 1.16 My mother's main occupation during his working life (please choose only one).
- 1.17 My mother's country or region of birth is:
- 1.18 Which religious group, if any, are you affiliated with?
- 1.19 Do you practice this religion?
- 1.20 How actively involved in politics were your parents when you were school-aged?

Democracy section

¹⁵ The English-language questionnaire included here was drawn from the data collection process at the Lakehead Orillia site. Questionnaires used at the other English-language sites (Lakehead, Thunder Bay; Monash, Melbourne; SLU, St. Louis) were comparable, if not identical to this one.

- 2.1 How would you define democracy?
- 2.2 Do you feel that Canada is a democratic country?
- 2.3 Do you feel that the United States of America (USA) is a democratic country?
- 2.4 Do you feel that the following are democratic countries? (Countries included: Brazil, China, Cuba, France, India, Iraq, Japan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa).
- 2.4 a. On what basis did you make these choices?
- 2.5 In your opinion, how important are elections to democracy?
- 2.6 Do you vote in elections for which you have been eligible to vote?
- 2.7 Are you (or have you been) a member of a political party?
- 2.8 Do you feel that you are actively engaged in democracy?
- 2.9 What should/could be done to improve democracy in Canada?
- 2.10 Do you feel that aboriginal peoples are a full part of Canadian democracy?

Democracy and Education

- 3.1 From your perspective, is the education system in which you were educated democratic?
- 3.2 Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?
- 3.3 When you were at school did your teachers raise issues related to democracy?
- 3.4 Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?
- 3.5 Do you feel that teachers should teach about controversial issues?
- 3.6 What do you understand by the term Social Justice?
- 3.7 How important do you feel the issue of social justice is in relation to democracy?
- 3.8 Do you believe that the following are important for education for democracy? (Choices include: environmental education, media literacy, multicultural education, peace education, political literacy, service learning, technological literacy)

- 3.9 From your perspective, has your university education promoted an understanding of democracy?
- 3.10 If you are planning to teach in a school setting, how would you promote education for democracy?

C. QUESTIONNAIRE USED WITH TEACHER-EDUCATION STUDENTS (FRENCH)

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

- 1.1 Quel est votre statut à la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'UQAM?
- 1.2 Depuis combien de temps étudiez-vous ou enseignez-vous à la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'UQAM?
- 1.3 Si vous êtes étudiant, quel est votre domaine d'étude spécifique?
- 1.4 Quel est votre âge?
- 1.5 Quel est votre sexe?
- 1.6 Appartenez-vous à une minorité visible? Si oui, laquelle?
- 1.7 Quelle est votre origine ethnique?
- 1.8 Quel est votre lieu de naissance?
- 1.9 Quel est le lieu de naissance de vos parents?
- 1.10 À quel(s) endroit(s) avez-vous reçu votre éducation?
- 1.11 Vos parents étaient-ils impliqués socialement ou politiquement?

DEMOCRACY SECTION

- 2.1 Comment définissez-vous la démocratie? Quels sont ses principes ou éléments fondamentaux?
- 2.2 Pour vous, quels sont les principaux enjeux reliés à la démocratie?
- 2.3 Considérez-vous vivre dans un pays démocratique?
- 2.4 Considérez-vous que le système d'enseignement dans lequel vous avez reçu votre éducation soit démocratique?
- 2.5 Considérez-vous que les élections soient un élément central de la démocratie?

- 2.6 Exercez-vous votre droit de vote dans la majorité des cas où vous êtes autorisés à voter?
- 2.6b. Pourquoi est-ce important ou non pour vous de voter? Expliquez votre réponse.
- 2.7 Lors de la tenue d'élections, les enjeux abordés dans les débats publics répondent-ils à vos attentes comme citoyen?
- 2.7b. Croyez-vous que certaines problématiques mises de côté mériteraient d'être soulevées? Expliquez les raisons de votre choix.
- 2.8 Êtes-vous impliqué dans un parti politique?
- 2.8b Est-ce important pour vous? Expliquez votre réponse.
- 2.9 Considérez-vous être un citoyen activement engagé en ce qui concerne les questions reliées aux enjeux démocratiques?
- 2.10 Quelle est l'importance des questions de justice sociale pour la démocratie?
- 2.11 Vos études antérieures aux études universitaires ont-elles eu une influence sur votre conception de la démocratie?
- 2.12 Considérez-vous que les enseignants du primaire et du secondaire doivent faire porter leur enseignement sur les questions reliées à la démocratie?
- 2.13 Considérez-vous que l'enseignement reçu par les étudiants en sciences de l'éducation à l'UQAM leur permette d'être à leur tour de bons enseignants sur les questions reliées à la démocratie?
- 2.14 Selon vous, quelle est l'importance de la relation entre la question de la discrimination et celle de la démocratie?
- 2.15 De manière générale, considérez-vous que les étudiants de la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'UQAM comprennent les enjeux et les fondements de la démocratie au sein de leur société?
- 2.16 Faudrait-il améliorer la démocratie au sein de notre société? Si oui, comment?

CITIZENSHIP SECTION

- 3.1 Selon vous, quelles sont les principales composantes de la citoyenneté?
- 3.2 Quels sont les liens entre citoyenneté et démocratie?
- 3.3 Qu'est-ce qu'un bon citoyen?
- 3.4 Peut-on être un bon citoyen sans voter?
- 3.5 La religion joue-t-elle un rôle significatif au sein de la citoyenneté?
- 3.6 Selon vous, est-ce qu'il y a une relation entre la citoyenneté et la discrimination?
- 3.7 Pour un être un bon citoyen, faut-il être d'accord avec la Constitution?
- 3.8 En tant que futur enseignant, dans quelle mesure croyez-vous être concerné par l'éducation à la citoyenneté?
- 3.9 De manière générale, considérez-vous que les étudiants de la FSE UQAM soient engagés en tant que citoyen?
- 3.10 Suite aux événements du 11 septembre 2001, votre compréhension de la citoyenneté a-t-elle changé?
- 3.11 En tant que citoyen, considérez-vous que vous participez pleinement à la société canadienne?
- 3.12 Changeriez-vous quelque chose à la manière dont l'éducation à la citoyenneté est pratiquée dans les écoles québécoises?

COMMENTS

- 4.1 Avez-vous des commentaires à ajouter concernant la démocratie?
- 4.2 Avez-vous des commentaires à ajouter concernant la citoyenneté?
- 4.3 Avez-vous des commentaires à formuler sur ce questionnaire?

D. FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

A short follow-up questionnaire was administered to provide a meta-analysis of the research participants' reactions, learning, and perspectives of their experience with the study. Many of the publications and presentations from this project drew on the data amassed from this questionnaire. Below is a list of the questions used in this survey, first those used at the English-language sites, next those used at the French-language sites.

ENGLISH

1. What did you learn from this survey?
2. Was there one question, in particular, that surprised you? Why?
3. Was there one question, in particular, that bothered or disturbed you? Why?
4. What do you think about this manner of doing research on Democracy in Education?

FRENCH

1. Quelle est la question qui vous a le plus agacé?
2. Quelle est la question qui vous a le plus surpris?
3. Quelle est la question qui vous a le plus fait réfléchir?
3-bis) Que pensez-vous de la citoyenneté et de la démocratie en éducation?
3-bis) Quel est le lien entre éducation et démocratie et entre éducation et citoyenneté?
4. Qu'est-ce que cela vous a apporté de compléter ce questionnaire?
5. Que pensez-vous du questionnaire dans sa forme et son contenu?
5-bis) Posez une question que le questionnaire ne pose pas.

E. QUESTIONNAIRE USED WITH ACTIVISTS, SCHOLARS, AND MEMBERS OF CSOS

Section 1: Informed consent and demographic data

1. I have carefully read the Explanatory Statement and agree to participate in the research.
2. I am (gender)
3. My age is:
4. What do you do for a living, or, for the purpose of this survey, what is your connection to democracy?
5. Would you like to briefly say anything else about yourself to further help contextualize your participation in this study? For example, where you are located, how long you've been involved in the activities you're doing, hat types of experiences you have had, etc.
6. What is your racial / ethnic origin?
7. My country or region of birth is:
8. What was your main language spoken at home during your childhood?
9. Father's highest academic qualification:
10. My father's main occupation during his working life:
11. My father's country or region of birth is:
12. My mothers' highest academic qualification:
13. My mother's main occupation during her working life:
14. My mother's country or region of birth is:
15. Which religious group, if any, are you affiliated with?
16. Do you practice this religion?
17. How actively involved in politics were your parents when you were school-aged?

Section 2: Questions related to democracy

18. How would you define democracy?
19. Do you feel that the country you are located in is a democratic country?
20. Do you feel that the United States of America (USA) is a democratic country?
21. Do you feel that the following are democratic countries? (Countries included: Brazil, China, Cuba, France, India, Iraq, Japan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa).
22. In your opinion, how important are elections to democracy?
23. Do you vote in elections for which you have been eligible to vote?
24. Are you (or have you been) a member of a political party?
25. Do you feel that you are actively engaged in a democracy?
26. What should/could be done to improve democracy in the country where you are located?
27. Do you feel that Aboriginal/Indigenous peoples are a full part of democracy for the country where you are located?

Section 3: Questions related to democracy and education

28. From your perspective, is the education system in which you were educated democratic?
29. Did your school experience have an impact on your thinking about democracy?
30. When you were at school did your teachers raise issues related to democracy?
31. Do you feel that teachers should promote a sense of democracy in students?
32. Do you feel that teachers should teach about controversial issues?
33. What do you understand by the term Social Justice?
34. How important do you feel the issue of social justice is in relation to democracy?
35. Do you believe that the following are important for education for democracy? (Choices include: environmental education, media literacy, multicultural education, peace education, political literacy, service learning, technological literacy)
36. Do you feel that the formal education system adequately understands the needs of the students in schools?
37. Do you have any specific concerns in relation to how education for democracy is developed?
38. What would you recommend to make formal education more democratic?

APPENDIX C

Report on the Focus Groups with Members of the Bureau de la Communauté Haïtienne de Montréal (BCHM)

BACKGROUND

A central aspect of inquiry for the *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* (DPTLE) research agenda has been the interrogation of meanings of democracy and the link between education and democracy. These connections naturally have different connotations amongst different groups in society, depending on factors such as one's identity, positionality, experiences, opportunities and privileges. Since 2012, the DPTLE project has examined the experiences, perspectives and perceptions related to democracy and education of different actors in society for the past several years, including teacher-education students, educators, educational administrators, educational faculty, and civil society members and activities.

In March, 2013, five members of the DPTLE team led four 3-hour focus groups with members of the Haitian community in Montréal at the Bureau de la *Communauté Haïtienne de Montréal* (BCHM). A total of 29 people participated; 16 men and 13 women. A demographic breakdown of the group was solicited from the participants before partaking in the discussions and revealed the following:

- 45% of the participants were women
- 71% were over 61 years old (11 over 70; one over 90)
- 79% were born in Haiti; 14% in Canada (others, elsewhere)
- 90% held Canadian citizenship
- The first language for 52% was Creole; 28% French
- 72% practiced their religion
- 50% received university degrees

Each of the focus groups was facilitated by Paul R. Carr and Gina Thésée, the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator, respectively, of the DPTLE research project. The discussions were directed by a series of guiding questions and activities geared to draw out rich, contextual perspectives on democracy and education. The events of the focus groups proceeded as follows:

1. Ice-breaker: A response by participants to various objects (i.e., a drum, several national flags, wood carvings) presented to invoke ideas about democracy.
2. Discussion #1 (Democracy): "With what do you associate democracy" (an image, an example, a person, a country, etc.)?
3. Activity A: Reactions to a series of diverse images in a slide show meant to invoke ideas about democracy.

Activity B: Reactions to the song “World Organization” by Manno Charlemagne),

4. Discussion #2 (Education): “How have your experiences in/with school influenced your ideas about democracy?”
5. Small-group discussions (Family, School, the Community): “How do the family, school, and the community shape democracy?”
6. Synthesis
7. Conclusion, questions, and comments

Each of the four focus groups, with consent, were video-recorded to serve as a means of data-collection and future dissemination. After analyzing the videos, the discussions, responses, and insights generated by the focus groups were grouped into two main categories: (I) Democracy and Culture, Politics and Identity, and (II) The Connection between Education and Democracy. Several sub-themes were developed from the two main themes.

The research team developed two videos on the focus groups, further sub-dividing into clusters that captured the diverse perspectives of the participants. There were eight sub-themes for Part I, and six for Part II. These sub-themes are highlighted in the video productions, and include the following:

Part I (Democracy and Culture, Politics and Identity) sub-themes from the groups’ responses:

1. What contextual issues in Haiti have influenced your perspective of democracy?
2. How has the Haitian drum come to symbolize democracy in Haiti?
3. How does the way that democracy is represented in other countries affect your point of view?
4. What exactly is democracy?
5. What components are important for a democracy?
6. What is the reality of societies that call themselves democracies?
7. What democracy is certainly not...
8. What role do elections play in democracy?

Part II (The Connection between Education and Democracy) sub-themes from the groups’ responses:

1. How are schools democratic?
2. How can education be understood more broadly?
3. How can the family educate children to become democratic citizens?
4. How society should be structured so as to promote democracy?
5. What values should be part of education to promote a meaningful democracy?

While the actual voices of the participants is contextualized and represented in the documentary footage contained in the videos, the following is a narrative summary of their perspectives according to each sub-theme.

PART I: DEMOCRACY AND CULTURE, POLITICS AND IDENTITY

1. How has your Haitian background influenced your perspective of democracy?

Several moments from Haiti’s history re-surfaced across the focus groups as reference-points for democracy. One was how Haiti gained its independence as a nation. Many Haitians take pride in the fact that Haiti was the first and only country in the world to have emanated from a revolution led by slaves to overthrow the White colonizers, and they associate this reality strongly with democracy.

« Les haïtiens auraient avant tout voulu s’émanciper de l’esclavage, donc ils souhaitent la liberté, plutôt que d’avoir voulu l’indépendance, le sens de la responsabilité : les haïtiens n’auraient donc pas été prêts. Ils voulaient s’affranchir de toute obligation, même celle de travailler. Ils ne voulaient être que libres. »

Second, the Duvalier dictatorships heavily shaped the groups’ views about democracy. As many of the participants were part of the middle/upper class exodus during the dictatorship of the 1950s and 60s that opposed Duvalier, these governments were often used as a reference-point of a non-democratic regime.

Finally, the international intervention following the Haitian earthquake of 2010 was also used as an example of the very nebulous character of democracy in Haiti, as many commented on the prevalence and role of international NGOs as the backbone to addressing key concerns.

« On a laissé aller notre responsabilité (aux ONG). Quelle est notre réelle participation dans tout ça? On donne de l'argent une fois par an et cela nous suffit...C'est accommodant mais on se cache la réalité. »

2. How has the Haitian drum come to symbolize democracy in Haiti?

The tambour is a very powerful symbol for Haitians and democracy because of an important moment in Haitian history at the outset of the Haitian revolution. At Bois Caïman in 1791, the drum issued the rallying-cry and gathering-call for the ceremony that would instigate the slave uprising.

For several participants this was very emotional, and just the sight of the drum invoked a sense of how powerful it was for Haitian slaves to reclaim their own freedom through the development of a nation. Others commented that it represented the “repairing of contemporary Haitian culture”.

The drum symbolized an assembly, a gathering, dance, and joy.

« être toujours ensemble, liés, pas seuls »

3. How does the way that democracy is represented in other countries affect your point of view?

A large number of participants held up the U.S. as an exemplar for democracy. This was somewhat surprising given the U.S.'s very mixed historical relationship with Haiti, including its non-recognition of Haitian sovereignty (until 1862), the U.S. military occupation (1915-34), the extermination of Creole pigs (1978), its involvement in the second coup of democratically-elected President Aristide (2004), current U.S. assembly plants in Haiti, etc., not to mention the U.S.'s own internal issues with democracy. However, some noted this contradiction, such as how the U.S. excluded slaves in their original constitution. Some also scrutinized how the U.S. also subverted Haitian sovereignty and its economy over the years, helping to create greater dependence rather than autonomy.

4. What exactly IS democracy?

Numerous participants quoted, verbatim, Lincoln's words from the Gettysburg Address, that democracy is a “government of the people, by the people, for the people”.

Others said simply that it's “the voice of the people”. For some, it meant “having no leader”.

Another common response was freedom (“liberté”), “respect for others,” “obeying the law,” “accepting differences,” and “tolerance.”

« Acceptation, tolérance envers les opinions des autres, nôtre opinion n'est pas celle qui doit être imposée. Accepter ce que l'on ne comprend pas. »

« Permettre à chacun de vivre, de penser dans ses limites personnelles et éviter de s'ingérer à l'intérieur de ses limites. »

Some illustrated democracy in very local terms, such as “everyone coming together for a meal”. One suggested that democracy is “being heard”. Another said “democracy can mean refusing to participate in society”.

5. What themes are important for a democracy?

These themes included: tolerance, harmony, equality, brotherhood, solidarity, rights and responsibilities, and freedom, information and communication.

« La démocratie est l'égalité. La transparence et l'honnêteté y contribuent. »

« La démocratie est la liberté, l'information et la communication. On ne peut prendre de décision sans être informé. La communication est importante pour que chacun sache les opinions des autres. Et, tout le monde est libre, mais la liberté de quelqu'un influence celle d'un autres. »

« La liberté n'est pas la prémisses de la démocratie, mais l'égalité (notamment civique), la dignité, l'égalité de l'identité = comme étant reconnu d'avoir les mêmes droits. La démocratie n'est pas une donnée mais une démarche en développement, et avec responsabilité. Il n'y a pas de bonne démocratie, mais de bons démocrates qui cherchent une démocratie. L'égalité, c'est être ensemble, et non divisés en strates. »

6. What is the reality of societies that call themselves democracies?

Many participants expressed a degree of revulsion at how “democratic countries” were responsible for instigating war, contributing to poverty, and exacerbating inequalities, all of which should not be, they argued, associated with a democratic society.

Others commented that democracy exists for some, but not others. As one participant put it, “democracy has different speeds”.

« Il n'y a pas de démocratie pour les malheureux, pour les pauvres. Ils sont esclaves. Tu ne peux être un acteur de démocratie, ce n'est pas ta priorité. »

The groups spoke of a gulf between common citizens and, varyingly, the “elite”, the “rich”, and, interestingly, “academics”/“intellectuals”. This broad gulf in experience, participation and power exemplified throughout the focus groups mirrored divergent Haitian realities.

7. What democracy is certainly NOT...

Several participants spoke about the limits in a democracy, and that it did not, from their perspective, include some behaviours, notably gay marriage or the use of drugs.

Others responded to the notion of democracy as liberty, saying that it is not a “free-for-all”, not anarchy. Building on this, some participants rejected the connection between democracy and individualism, focusing more on the values of solidarity and fraternity.

As with other themes, the responses often varied based on age and place of birth, with older participants raised in Haiti generally holding different views than younger persons born in Canada.

8. What role do elections play in democracy?

Several participants confessed that their notion of democracy is simply connected to the normative act of voting alongside the image of politics and political parties.

« La démocratie est politique : le peuple choisit. »

Others envisioned better political systems that didn't involve a democratic revolution, simply reforming the political system.

« Changer le système d'élections? Mais pas l'abolir!?! »

Still others described how a more evolved democratic society would actually not rely on elections.

« La meilleure démocratie ne propose pas d'élections »

PART II: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

1. Are schools democratic?

There was a general feeling that they are not. Many of the participants argued that school subjects and even the curriculum at-large point the students in one direction only, leaving no space for the students to think critically and to develop democratic dispositions. Some spoke of how stereotypes are promoted, and how racist, global assumptions are perpetuated. Additionally, some maintained that if the state is not democratic, then the school cannot be expected to be democratic because it is a fundamental institution of the state.

« L'école n'est pas démocratique : elle arrange les choses pour que ça aille de son bord : On parle de ce que le Québec a fait de bien mais pas de mal (Duplessis Vs Lesage). L'école veut transmettre l'idéologie que la société veut. Ce que l'on nous montre est arrangé pour avantager la société. Pas que le cours d'histoire, dans tous les cours et partout en général. Tout est calculé pour aller dans une direction. »

« Des fois, il n'y a pas de démocratie à l'école. On apprend la démocratie grecque mais au quotidien les professeurs avaient droit de regard sur nous. Le prof a toujours raison, et les élèves étaient punis quand ils protestaient, même s'ils avaient raison. En Haïti, il n'y a pas de démocratie, dans la société et donc pas à l'école non plus. La société a évolué vers plus de liberté d'expression mais sans plus. Comme on n'a pas de culture démocratique, la démocratie reste difficile à atteindre. »

« L'école n'est pas démocratique : elle arrange les choses pour que ça aille de son bord : On parle de ce que le Québec a fait de bien mais pas de mal (eg. Duplessis vs Lesage). L'école veut transmettre l'idéologie que la société veut. Ce que l'on nous montre est arrangé pour avantager la société. Pas que le cours d'histoire, dans tous les cours et partout en général. Tout est calculé pour aller dans une direction. »

« L'école enseigne une vision manichéenne et figée des choses : Pays pauvres Vs pays riches. C'est noir ou c'est blanc, mais ce n'est pas noir clair. L'école forme uniformément, si tu ne suis pas la ligne de conduite, tu es à l'écart. »

There was also some analysis that the very institution of education was inhibited from being democratic because of its connection to the state (which had already been determined, within that focus group, as being non-democratic).

« L'école ne peut être démocratique puisqu'elle appartient aux institutions d'état. Elle va donc transmettre certaines valeurs bourgeoise. C'est une fatalité. L'école reproduit la société, et donc ne la change pas. L'école fait

partie des possibilités de changer, mais il ne faut pas se faire d'illusions.

Others noted that it wasn't education, per se, that was the problem, but rather it was the educators. («*Ce n'est pas l'éducation qui me fait peur, ce sont les éducateurs.* »)

However, numerous other participants also cited how schools have the potential to be a ground for breeding democracy (c'est « *le lieu de l'éclosion de la démocratie.* »).

2. How do we also learn outside of school?

Many participants noted that education happens in many forms beyond school. This included unions, the media, civil society organizations, lobbying groups and in other ways.

Les organismes communautaires favorisent les activités participatives dans lesquelles les familles ne sont pas simplement bénéficiaires mais actrices.

Several participants expounded on how feminism can serve as an important, and necessary, foundation for learning about democracy.

« Les femmes sont totalement absentes de l'histoire. L'histoire est occultée à 50% sans l'histoire des femmes. »

3. How the family can educate children to become democratic citizens?

Several participants suggested that democracy begins, first and foremost, at the family level.

Responses included on how respect, equality and discipline could be encouraged in the family. Not just from children to parents, but also reciprocally.

« L'engagement, dans le quartier, dans la famille, avant même l'école, a contribué à faire qui je suis aujourd'hui. »

« Les parents doivent aimer leurs enfants, les respecter pour une éducation sans violence, sans contrainte, et pour davantage de confiance, d'échanges. »

4. How society should be structured in a way to promote democracy?

Participants spoke of the many options in which society and education can be structured to promote richer, more meaningful forms of democracy. These included shared power, more consultations with citizens, new forms of civil society, and cooperative models of governance.

« Les sociétés coopératives sont un modèle démocratique, tout le monde est associé pour la société, tout le monde a le même pouvoir peu importe son apport à cette société, si un n'assure pas sa part du travail, il est éjecté de la société. Tout le monde devrait pouvoir présenter son programme, et le programme qui a le plus de vote, gagne. »

5. What values should be part of the schools to promote better democracy?

Participants described how it should be the priority of schools to promote democracy through fostering engaged, critical, and curious students.

« En éducation, il faut montrer aux gens des avantages qu'ils tirent de la démocratie, leurs intérêts. C'est comme ça qu'ils vont embarquer. »

« Que veux-t-on à travers l'éducation à la démocratie? Des étudiants curieux, engagés dans la société, pertinents, inclusifs, capables de régler des problèmes reliés à la justice sociale... On veut éduquer pour la transformation, pour la connexion avec la société, pas pour la reproduction, pas pour la production. Mais le système est structuré pour reproduire, pour se conformer, mais pas pour créer. »

CONCLUSION

The focus groups with the Haitian community of Montréal, in partnership with the Bureau de la communauté haïtienne de Montréal (BCHM), represented the beginning of vibrant and meaningful relationship between the research-team/project, and subsequently, the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT, and the BCHM and segments of the Haitian community of Montréal. In addition to the focus groups, the research-team presented the results as well as the two 20-minute videos produced through the process, to the community, engaging, eliciting and cultivating debate, dialog and action in relation to education for democracy. Carr and Thésée have also published several articles on democracy, education and the environment in relation to Haiti, sometimes in collaboration with Gary Plum, a key research assistant throughout the life of the project. The research-team has also presented at national and international conferences on their work with the Haitian community. In addition, the research-team has worked with a several Haitian graduate students, and also started to formulate research and teaching projects with Haiti as part of the UNESCO Chaire DCMÉT. Participation on the part of Carr and Thésée in INSTEAH (Institut des Sciences, des Technologies et des Études Avancées d'Haïti), a graduate education university created in Montréal that has as its principal mission the education and training of Haitians in Haiti, is another tangible outcome of their relationship with Haiti, notably aligned with the DPLTE research project.

APPENDIX D

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APPENDIX E

Bibliography of References Underpinning the Research and the Field of Education for Democracy

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT

These references may be helpful in further extending the research, and to provide a broad context to better understand the field of education for democracy.

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APPENDIX F

Research Models Flowing from the DPLTE Project Leading to the Unesco Chair DCMÉT

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RESEARCH MODELS LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR THE UNESCO CHAIR

Democracy, Global Citizenship
and Transformative Education (DCMÉT)



The conceptual and theoretical models presented in this document were developed over a roughly twelve-year period, starting in 2005, by the Chair (Paul R. Carr, Université du Québec en Outaouais) and Co-Chair (Gina Thésée, Université du Québec à Montréal) of the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT. These models have been published in diverse academic journals in either English or French, and have been translated and adapted herein to produce an updated and bilingual representation of the Education for Democracy research that Carr and Thésée have produced. In some cases, the models have been refined (and improved) over time, and they are presented as a means of attempting to elucidate, interrogate and highlight the meaning of the three themes that underpin the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT.

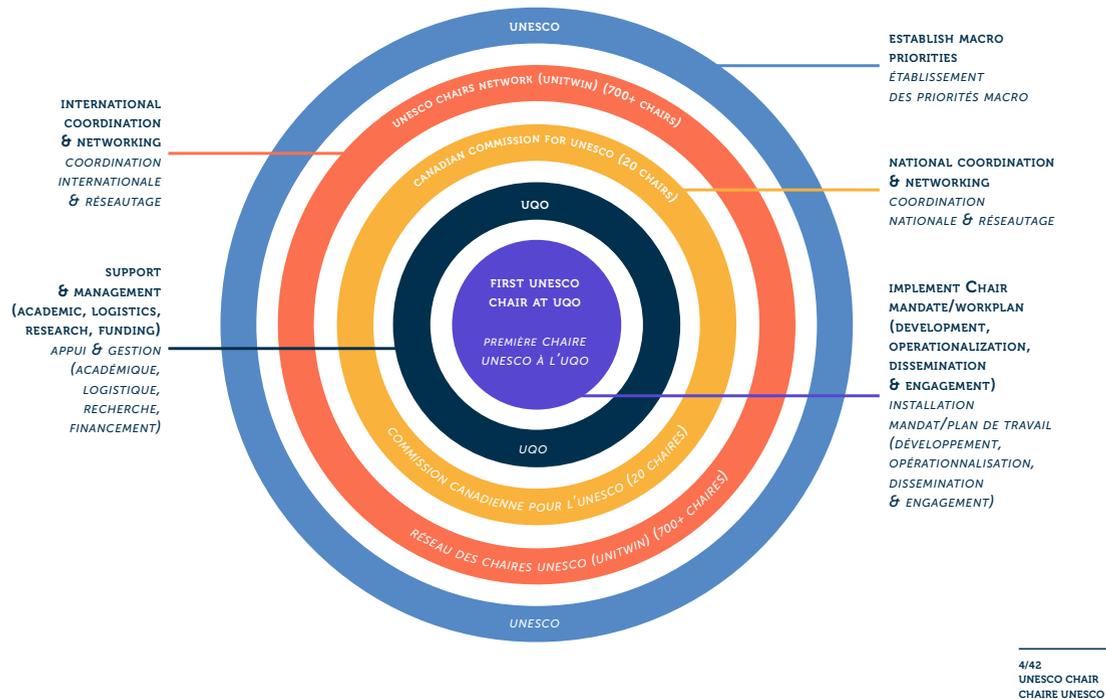
For more information, please visit: <http://uqo.ca/dcmet/>
Email : chaire.unesco@uqo.ca

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Positioning of the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT
Ancrage de la Chaire UNESCO DCMÉT



Themes of the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT
Thèmes de la Chaire UNESCO DCMÉT

DEMOCRACY (D) <i>DÉMOCRATIE (D)</i>	GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP (GC) <i>CITOYENNETÉ MONDIALE (CM)</i>	TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION (TE) <i>ÉDUCATION TRANSFORMATOIRE (ÉT)</i>
Citizenship <i>Citoyenneté</i>	Identity & diversity <i>Identité & diversité</i>	Pedagogy <i>Pédagogie</i>
Participation <i>Participation</i>	Praxis <i>Praxis</i>	Curriculum <i>Curriculum</i>
Power relations <i>Relations de pouvoir</i>	North-South/South-South relations <i>Relations Nord-Sud / Sud-Sud</i>	Epistemology <i>Épistémologie</i>
Political systems <i>Systèmes politiques</i>	Globalization <i>Mondialisation</i>	Educational policy <i>Politiques éducatives</i>
Peace studies/education <i>Études de la paix et éducation</i>	Human Rights <i>Droits de la personne</i>	Institutional culture <i>Culture institutionnelle</i>
Environment (ESD) <i>Environnement (ÉDD)</i>	Immigration <i>Immigration</i>	Social justice & inequality <i>Justice sociale & inégalités</i>
Civil society <i>Société civile</i>	Integration <i>Intégration</i>	Comparative education <i>Éducation comparative</i>
Counter-hegemonic <i>Contre-hégémonie</i>	Humility <i>Humilité</i>	Conscientization <i>Conscientisation</i>
Deliberative democracy <i>Démocratie délibérative</i>	Solidarity <i>Solidarité</i>	Knowledge construction/deconstruction <i>Construction des savoirs/ déconstruction</i>
Alternative movements <i>Mouvements alternatifs</i>	Formal/Informal engagement <i>Engagement formel/informel</i>	Critical outcomes, processes & planning <i>Résultats critiques, processus et planification</i>
Media studies & literacy <i>Étude des médias & alphabétisation et étude des médias</i>		

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 UNESCO CHAIR
 CHAIRE UNESCO

Description of themes

Description des thèmes

DEMOCRACY / LA DÉMOCRATIE (D)

Refers to the collective level aimed at the well-being for all living together. It relates to the pursuit of democratic values through an inclusive, dynamic, critical, and continuously-evolving processes that involve all spheres of society. Unlike the traditional, unidimensional, and partisan approach (the election-centered approach), the notion of broad democracy (« thick » or « dense ») reclaims the affairs of the City (in Greek *Polis*), and appeals to: engagement and learning, vigilance, active participation, and social dialogue and deliberation as well as consensus and joint decision-making in the interest of political literacy. « Thick » or « dense » democracy relies, among other things, on the use of contemporary communication media that open up spaces that can foster social dialogue and citizen participation.

Réfère au plan collectif et vise le bien vivre-ensemble. Il s'agit de la poursuite de valeurs démocratiques par un processus toujours inachevé, inclusif, dynamique et critique qui interpelle toutes les sphères du social. En rupture avec l'approche unidimensionnelle et partisane habituelle (le processus électoral), il s'agit d'une démocratie ample (« épaisse » ou « dense ») qui se réclame des affaires de la Cité (en grec Polis) et fait appel à: l'engagement et l'apprentissage, la vigilance, la participation active, le dialogue social et la délibération, le consensus et la prise de décision commune dans un souci d'alphabétisation politique. La démocratie ample s'appuie, entre autres, sur les médias de communication contemporains comme espaces pouvant favoriser le dialogue social et la participation citoyenne.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP (GC) / LA CITOYENNETÉ MONDIALE (CM)

Refers to the individual level underpinning the resistance-resilience of the people and citizens, who have been adversely affected by sexism, racism, colonialism, exacerbated nationalism, extremism or other kinds of structural violence. It is a socially-supported therapeutic treatment for the various citizenships that have been affected in their bodies (due to physical and/or phenotypical aspects), their hearts (due to emotional and relational aspects), their spirits (due to intellectual aspects) and their souls (due to spiritual aspects). In a clear cognitive and epistemological rupture concerning the notion of citizenship presented through neo-liberal globalization (and its defense of uniformity, unicity and anti-diversity) and within a confined and self-contained citizenship, global citizenship is fundamentally rooted in an identity-based soil, which is richly imbued in its multiple affiliations as well as within a social context rich in diversity. It also unfolds its branches in a form of 'globality,' which fully connects with its relations to Oneself and to the Other. Global citizenship can be seen as a permanently-renewed quest for the presence of Oneself, of the Other, and of the world, and a pursuit that is, simultaneously, both personal and contextual.

Réfère au plan individuel et vise la résistance-résilience des personnes aux citoyennetés blessées par les sexismes, racismes, colonialismes, nationalismes exacerbés, extrémismes ou autres violences. Elle se veut une thérapeutique des citoyennetés blessées dans leur corps (aspects physiques, phénotypiques), leur cœur (aspects émotionnels, relationnels), leur esprit (aspects intellectuels) et leur âme (aspects spirituels). En rupture avec la notion de mondialisation néolibérale (unicité, anti-diversité) et la citoyenneté confinée et repliée sur-elle-même, la citoyenneté mondiale plonge ses racines dans un sol identitaire riche de ses appartenances multiples, dresse son tronc dans un contexte social riche de sa diversité et déploie ses branches dans une « mondialité » riche de ses rapports à soi/à l'Autre. La citoyenneté mondiale peut se vivre comme une quête toujours renouvelée de présence à soi, à l'Autre et au monde, à la fois personnelle et contextuelle.

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Description of themes

Description des thèmes

TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION (TE)

Concerns the necessary intersection of the collective level (democracy) and the individual level (global citizenship) in formal, non-formal or informal contexts. It echoes the emancipatory nature of all veritable education from a holistic perspective that takes into account its physical, cognitive, metacognitive, affective, social, emotional and spiritual dimensions. An education that oppresses, alienates, and is complicit in the dispossession of the being from Oneself constitutes a miseducation. Transformative education is a process of critical awareness of issues and challenges related to fundamental social issues. In formal contexts, transformative education presupposes pedagogies, epistemologies and didactics that are also transformative. Transformative education is linked to democracy and global citizenship in four dimensions:

I- Transformative Education about Democracy and about Global Citizenship (ontological dimension)

II- Transformative Education through Democracy and through Global Citizenship (praxiological dimension)

III- Transformative Education related to Democracy and related to Global Citizenship (epistemological dimension)

IV- Transformative Education for Democracy and for Global Citizenship (axiological dimension)

L'ÉDUCATION TRANSFORMATOIRE (ÉT)

Recouvre le nécessaire croisement du plan collectif (démocratie) et du plan individuel (citoyenneté mondiale) dans des contextes formels, non formels ou informels. Elle fait écho au caractère émancipatoire de toute éducation véritable, selon une perspective holistique qui prend en considération ses dimensions physique, cognitive, métacognitive, affective, sociale, émotionnelle et spirituelle. Une éducation qui opprime, aliène et concourt à déposséder l'être de soi-même, constitue une més-éducation. L'éducation transformative est un processus de prise de conscience critique d'enjeux et défis liés à des questions sociales vives. Dans des contextes formels, l'éducation transformative suppose des pédagogies, épistémologies et didactiques elles aussi transformatrices. L'éducation transformative est mise en relation avec la démocratie et la citoyenneté mondiale sous quatre dimensions:

I- L'éducation transformative à propos de la démocratie et à propos de la citoyenneté mondiale (dimension ontologique)

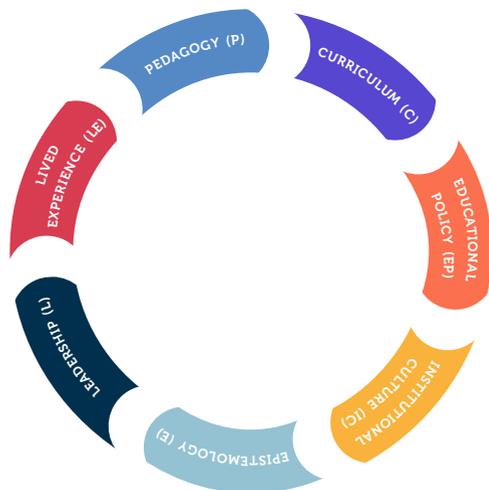
II- L'éducation transformative par la démocratie et par la citoyenneté mondiale (dimension praxéologique)

III- L'éducation transformative relative à la démocratie et relative à la citoyenneté mondiale (dimension épistémologique)

IV- L'éducation transformative pour la démocratie et pour la citoyenneté mondiale (dimension axiologique)

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Conceptual Framework Underpinning the Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education Project



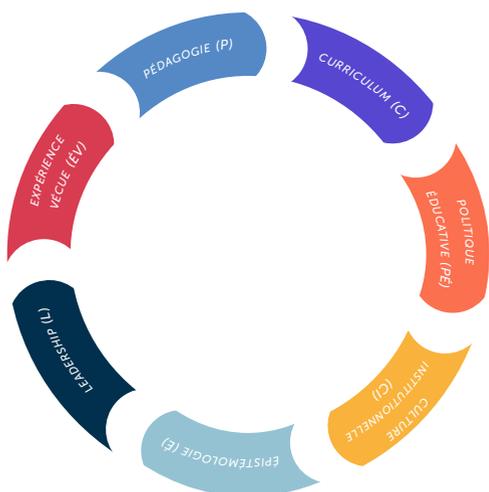
Our conceptual model, which aims to understand education for democracy as well as education within democracy and democracy within education, involves seven components. No one component is superior to the next; on the contrary, we view the components as being inter-locked, inter-dependent and each containing unique and shared dimensions that connect with power relations.

The components of the conceptual framework are outlined below:

- ▶ **PEDAGOGY (P)**: concerned principally with teaching, teaching methods and what happens in the classroom in relation to teacher-student interactions.
- ▶ **CURRICULUM (C)**: concerned principally with the content of what is taught and learned, and how learning takes place in the classroom.
- ▶ **EDUCATIONAL POLICY (EP)**: concerned principally with the policies that frame the formal educational experience.
- ▶ **INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE (IC)**: concerned principally with activities, attitudes, behaviours and procedures that frame the (formal and informal) educational experience, and what happens in the school and within educational institutions.
- ▶ **EPISTEMOLOGY (E)**: concerned principally with how knowledge is constructed by students, educators, administrators and others, and how this affects the development of the educational experience.
- ▶ **LEADERSHIP (L)**: concerned principally with administration, authority and supervisors, and how this contributes to the educational experience.
- ▶ **LIVED EXPERIENCE (LE)**: concerned principally with what happens outside of the formal educational experience, and what the effect of this is on formal education and vice versa.

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Cadre conceptuel qui sous-tend la démocratie, Projet d'alphabétisation politique et d'éducation transformative



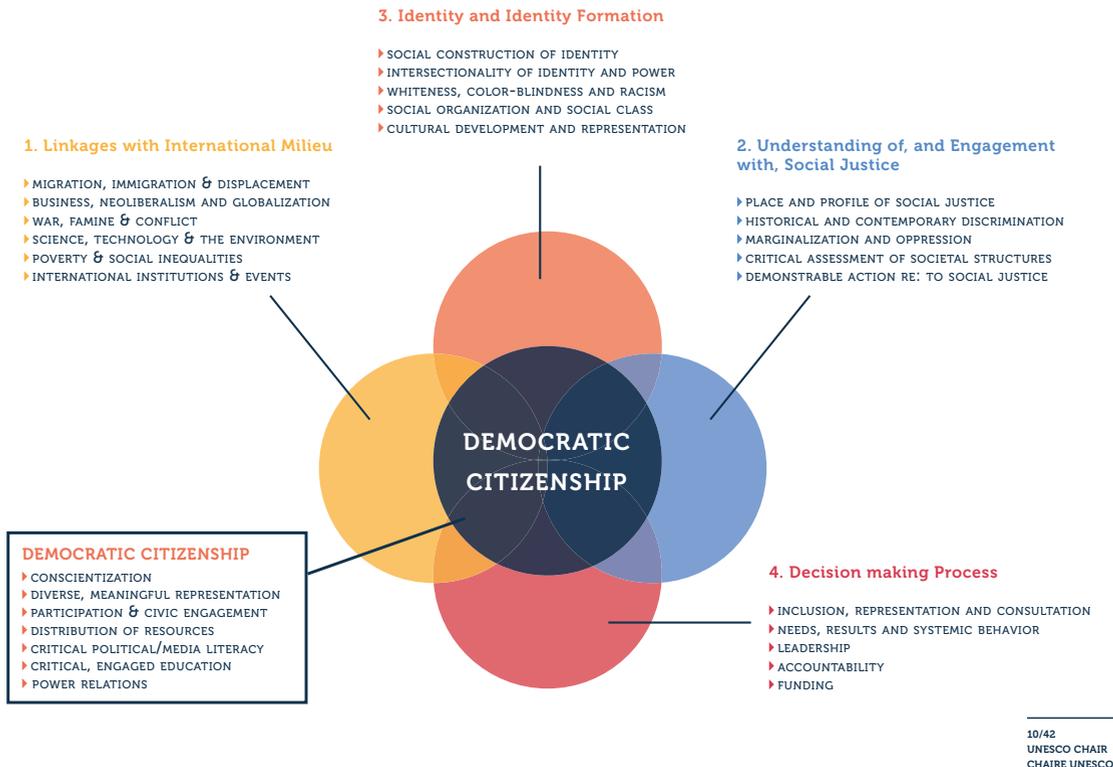
Notre modèle conceptuel vise à comprendre l'éducation à la démocratie en ce qui concerne l'éducation au sein de la démocratie de même que la démocratie au sein de l'éducation. Ce modèle comporte sept composantes et aucune d'entre elles n'est supérieure aux autres. Au contraire, nous considérons les composantes comme étant interdépendantes et contenant chacune des dimensions uniques et partagées qui se relient aux relations de pouvoir.

Les composantes du cadre conceptuel sont décrites ci-dessous:

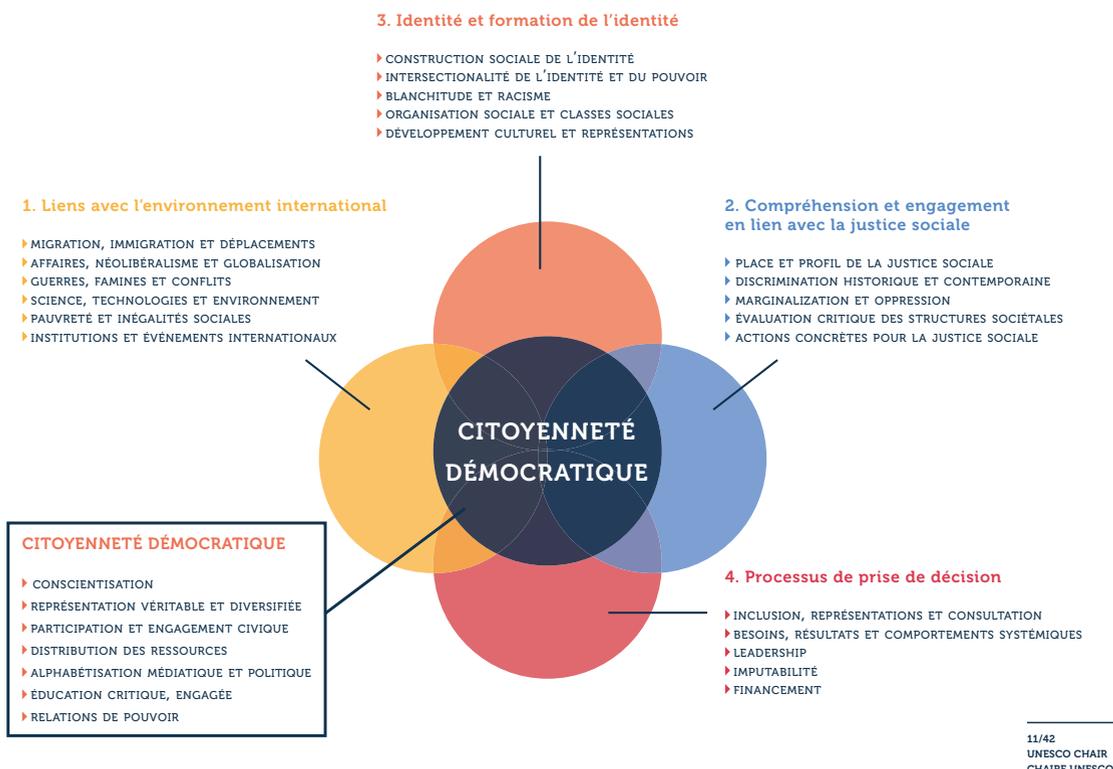
- ▶ **PÉDAGOGIE (P)**: concerne principalement l'enseignement, les méthodes d'enseignement et ce qui se passe dans la salle de classe en lien avec les interactions enseignant(e)-étudiant(e).
- ▶ **CURRICULUM (C)**: concerne principalement le contenu; ce qui est enseigné et appris ainsi que ce qui se passe dans la salle de classe.
- ▶ **POLITIQUE ÉDUCATIVE (PE)**: concerne principalement les politiques qui encadrent l'expérience éducative.
- ▶ **CULTURE INSTITUTIONNELLE (CI)**: concerne principalement les activités, les attitudes, les comportements et les procédures qui encadrent l'expérience éducative (formelle et informelle) de même que ce qui se passe dans l'école et dans les établissements d'enseignement.
- ▶ **ÉPISTÉMOLOGIE (E)**: s'intéresse principalement à la manière dont les connaissances sont construites par les étudiants, les éducateurs, les administrateurs et autres, et comment cela affecte le développement de l'expérience éducative.
- ▶ **LEADERSHIP (L)**: concerne principalement l'administration, l'autorité et les superviseurs, et comment cela contribue à l'expérience éducative.
- ▶ **EXPÉRIENCE VÉCUE (EV)**: concerne principalement ce qui se passe en dehors de l'expérience éducative formelle, et quel en est l'effet sur l'éducation formelle et vice versa.

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Broad conceptualization of social justice education



Conceptualisation générale de l'éducation à la justice sociale



Constructing a Social Justice Accountability Framework

	1. Inclusion	2. Representation	3. Decision - Making Process	4. Communication	5. Funding	6. Data-Collection Processes	7. Accountability	8. Monitoring Review
1. Strategic Policy								
2. Leadership								
3. Curriculum								
4. Extra Curricular								
5. Service Learning								
6. Community Involvement								
7. Training								
8. Evaluation								

Despite various, disparate efforts, it is apparent that formal, institutional social justice accountability frameworks, where they exist, face significant challenges. Where some semblance of a strategy might exist, it is often undermined, under-played and under-emphasized.

This Social Justice Accountability Framework can be visualized and operationalized in the form of a matrix. On one side, there are eight substantive content components (strategic policy; leadership; curriculum; extra-curricular; service-learning; community involvement; training; and evaluation), complemented by eight functional criteria along the top of the matrix (inclusion; representation; decision-making process; communications; funding; data-collection and analysis; accountability mechanism; and monitoring and review).

It is important to underscore that any given accountability framework requires careful, strategic planning, resources and (political) commitment. Therefore, if this proposed Social Justice Accountability Framework seems complex and burdensome, we must also consider the costs – not only in relation to finances but, more importantly, in human terms – of not moving forward, past the rhetorical commitment, to achieving equity and social justice.

How is the Framework operationalized?

The evaluation of each of the components, along with standards and targets established for each, can provide a road-map for further reflection, analysis and restructuring in order to foster a more equitable and democratic educational system.

If we are able to set targets for graduation rates, literacy levels, academic achievement, class size and spending, why should we not be more dedicated to establishing formal measures and procedures to guide us in achieving social justice in education?

It is worth reiterating that this framework is intended for the entire education-system of a given jurisdiction, as there are innumerable connections and linkages between the highest and lowest levels representing a State/Provincial Department of Education, school boards and the schools.

Cadre d'imputabilité en matière de justice sociale

	1. Inclusion	2. Représentation	3. Processus de prise de décision	4. Communications	5. Financement	6. Collecte et analyse de données	7. Mécanisme d'imputabilité	8. Suivi
1. Politique stratégique								
2. Leadership								
3. Curriculum								
4. Activités parascolaires								
5. Service à l'apprentissage								
6. Implication de la communauté								
7. Formation								
8. Évaluation								

Malgré de nombreux efforts, il est évident que les cadres institutionnels d'imputabilité en matière de justice sociale institutionnelle font face à des défis importants lorsqu'ils existent. Là où un semblant de stratégie peut exister, ils sont souvent minés, minimisés et peu mis de l'avant.

Ce cadre d'imputabilité en matière de justice sociale peut être visualisé et opérationnalisé sous la forme d'une matrice qui croise huit composantes de contenu (politique stratégique, leadership, curriculum, activités parascolaires, service à l'apprentissage, participation communautaire, formation et évaluation) avec huit critères fonctionnels (inclusion, représentation, processus de prise de décision, communications, financement, collecte et analyse de données, mécanisme d'imputabilité et suivi).

Il est important de souligner que tout cadre d'imputabilité nécessite une planification minutieuse et stratégique, des ressources et un engagement (politique). Par conséquent, si ce cadre d'imputabilité en matière de justice sociale semble lourd et complexe, nous devons aussi tenir compte des coûts – non seulement en matière de finances, mais surtout, sur le plan humain – pour ne pas aller de l'avant, au-delà de l'engagement rhétorique, afin d'atteindre l'équité et la justice sociale.

Comment ce cadre est-il opérationnalisé?

L'évaluation de chacune des composantes, parallèlement aux normes et objectifs établis pour chacune d'elles, fournit des pistes de réflexion, d'analyse et de restructuration afin de favoriser un système éducatif plus équitable et démocratique.

Si nous sommes en mesure de fixer des cibles pour les taux d'obtention du diplôme, les niveaux d'alphabétisation, les résultats scolaires, la taille des classes et les dépenses, pourquoi ne nous consacrons nous pas davantage à l'établissement de mesures et de procédures formelles pour nous aider à atteindre la justice sociale en éducation?

Il convient de rappeler que ce cadre s'applique à l'ensemble du système éducatif d'une juridiction donnée puisque de nombreux liens existent entre les divers échelons du ministère de l'Éducation, les commissions scolaires et les écoles.

Content Components for a Social Justice Education Framework

1. STRATEGIC POLICY

What are the explicit policies, directives, and pronouncements directly and indirectly articulating a vision, direction, and administrative and legislative framework regarding social justice? How does the institutional culture influence the shaping of strategic policy?

2. LEADERSHIP

How are senior levels perceived throughout the system, and what do leaders do to inculcate and support behaviors, attitudes and actions bolstering social justice education? What are the requirements – moral, legislative, administrative and institutionally – for leaders to provide ethical, effective and accountable leadership concerning social justice?

3. CURRICULUM

How does the curriculum (Social Studies and all other courses) effectively address social justice? How is Civics dealt with? What quality assurance mechanisms are in place to ensure the most effective teaching and learning of the curriculum?

4. EXTRA-CURRICULAR

What extra-curricular activities exist and why? Are there clubs, associations, student governments, sports, etc., and how are they managed and connected to the curriculum and service-learning? Are there student exchanges, school-twinning arrangements, and activities of a broader national and international flavor?

5. SERVICE-LEARNING

What programs, policies, and activities are in place to promote, support, and ensure effective service-learning? Is there an explicit linkage between service-learning and the curriculum and extra-curricular activities? Who is involved, and what is done to prepare them to understand and support social justice and democracy?

6. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

How is the community involved in shaping and supporting social justice? How is this involvement evaluated? How does the system ensure that the appropriate segments of the community have been involved and how does it rectify the lack of participation in some quarters, including among parents?

7. TRAINING

What type of training is provided, how is it determined, and how is it evaluated? How is the connection to leadership, policy, curriculum, community involvement, and other areas ensured through training? Is there a self-reflective critical social justice component attached to training?

8. EVALUATION

In light of the social justice framework, how are students, teachers, administrators and Department/Ministry of Education staff evaluated? What processes are in place to ensure that this evaluation is effective, and supports social justice in education?

Composantes de contenu pour un cadre en matière d'éducation à la justice sociale

1. POLITIQUE STRATÉGIQUE

Quelles sont les politiques explicites, les directives et déclarations qui articulent, directement et indirectement, une vision, une orientation, et un cadre administratif et législatif en matière de justice sociale? Comment cette culture institutionnelle influence-t-elle l'élaboration d'une politique stratégique?

2. LEADERSHIP

Comment les niveaux supérieurs sont perçus dans l'ensemble du système et que font les dirigeants pour inculquer et appuyer les comportements, les attitudes et les actions qui renforcent l'éducation à la justice sociale? Quelles sont les exigences – morales, législatives, administratives et institutionnelles – pour que les dirigeants fournissent un leadership éthique, efficace et responsable en matière de justice sociale?

3. CURRICULUM

Comment le curriculum (études sociales et les autres cours) traite-t-il efficacement la justice sociale? Comment traite-t-on de l'éducation à la citoyenneté? Quels sont les mécanismes, qui assurent la qualité, mis en place pour garantir l'enseignement et l'apprentissage le plus efficace du programme?

4. ACTIVITÉS PARASCOLAIRES

Quelles sont les activités parascolaires existantes et pourquoi? Existe-t-il des clubs, des associations, des gouvernements étudiants, des sports, etc., et comment sont-ils gérés et reliés avec le curriculum et le service à l'apprentissage? Existe-t-il des échanges étudiants, des jumelages scolaires et des activités d'une plus grande portée nationale et internationale?

5. SERVICE À L'APPRENTISSAGE

Quels sont les programmes, politiques et activités mis en place pour promouvoir, appuyer et assurer un service à l'apprentissage efficace? Existe-t-il un lien explicite entre le service à l'apprentissage, le programme scolaire et les activités parascolaires? Qui est impliqué, et que fait-on pour préparer ceux qui sont impliqués à comprendre et à soutenir la justice sociale et la démocratie?

6. IMPLICATION DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ

Comment la communauté participe-t-elle à l'élaboration et au soutien de la justice sociale? Comment cette participation est-elle évaluée? Comment le système s'assure-t-il que les segments appropriés de la communauté ont été impliqués et comment remédie-t-il au manque de participation dans certains quartiers, y compris parmi les parents?

7. FORMATION

Quel type de formation est dispensé, comment cela est déterminé et évalué? Comment le lien avec le leadership, la politique, les programmes d'études, la participation communautaire et d'autres domaines est-il assuré grâce à la formation? Y a-t-il un volet d'autoreflexion critique en matière de justice sociale lié à la formation?

8. ÉDUCATION

À la lumière du cadre de justice sociale, comment sont évalués les étudiants, les enseignants, les administrateurs et le personnel du département/ministère de l'Éducation? Quels sont les processus mis en place pour s'assurer que cette évaluation est efficace et appuie la justice sociale dans l'éducation?

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Functional Criteria for a Social Justice Education Framework

1. INCLUSION

What processes, guidelines and strategies are employed to ensure that there are no barriers, systemic or otherwise, excluding groups and/or individuals, and what is the result? How is inclusion defined and understood by diverse stakeholders, and how do educational institutions continually strive to align their interests with the broader community?

2. REPRESENTATION

Who is represented in various spheres of leadership, policy development, program delivery, teaching, training, consultation, etc. in relation to gender, ethno-cultural origin, race, social class, and other identifiers, and what is the result?

3. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

How are decision-making processes structured and implemented, and what is the result? What rights to appeal and review exist for decisions, and are there legal/budgetary/policy limits placed on decisionmaking processes?

4. COMMUNICATIONS

How are communications planned and delivered, and what is the result? How does the system ensure the effectiveness of communications? Is there a bone fide link between what is publicly said, and what actually takes place?

5. FUNDING

What, and how, is funding provided? Are "value for money" and "cost-benefit" analyses undertaken to ensure the effective use of funding? Is funding provided directly and indirectly for social justice activities?

6. DATA-COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

What, and how, are data collected? How are the data analyzed, and what is the utility of this analysis? How are social justice implications considered regarding the collection of data?

7. ACCOUNTABILITY MECHANISM

What mechanisms are explicitly in place to ensure fairness, effectiveness, and accountability? Are students, teachers, administrators, Department of Education and others permitted and encouraged to question accountability processes and results?

8. MONITORING REVIEW

What are the policies and processes in place to ensure oversight and follow-up? How are diverse constituencies involved in monitoring and reviewing of social justice?

Critères fonctionnels pour un cadre d'éducation en matière de justice sociale

1. INCLUSION

Quels processus, lignes directrices et stratégies sont employés pour s'assurer qu'il n'y ait pas d'obstacles, systémiques ou autres, excluant des groupes et / ou des individus, et quel est le résultat? Comment l'inclusion est-elle définie et comprise par les divers intervenants et comment les établissements d'enseignement s'efforcent-ils d'harmoniser leurs intérêts avec la collectivité?

2. REPRÉSENTATION

Qui est représenté dans divers domaines du leadership, de l'élaboration des politiques, de la prestation des programmes, de l'enseignement, de la formation, de la consultation, etc., en fonction du sexe, de l'origine ethnoculturelle, de la classe sociale et d'autres déterminants, et quel est le résultat?

3. PROCESSUS DE PRISE DE DÉCISION

Comment les processus décisionnels sont-ils structurés et mis en œuvre, et quel en est le résultat? Quels sont les droits d'appel et de révision pour les décisions? Existe-t-il des limites juridiques / budgétaires / politiques aux processus décisionnels?

4. COMMUNICATIONS

Comment les communications sont-elles planifiées et exécutées, et quel en est le résultat? Comment le système garantit-il l'efficacité des communications? Existe-t-il un véritable lien entre ce qui est dit publiquement et ce qui se passe réellement?

5. FINANCEMENT

Quels sont les financements et comment sont-ils offerts? Les analyses «rapport qualité-prix» et «coût-avantage» sont-elles menées pour assurer l'utilisation efficace du financement? Le financement est-il fourni directement et indirectement aux activités de justice sociale?

6. COLLECTE ET ANALYSE DES DONNÉES

Quelles sont les données et comment sont-elles recueillies? Comment sont analysées les données, et quelle est l'utilité de cette analyse? Comment les implications en matière de justice sociale sont-elles considérées en ce qui concerne la collecte de données?

7. MÉCANISME D'IMPUTABILITÉ

Quels sont les mécanismes explicitement mis en place pour assurer l'équité, l'efficacité et la responsabilité? Est-ce que les étudiants, les enseignants, les administrateurs, le ministère de l'Éducation et les autres acteurs autorisent et encouragent à remettre en question les processus et les résultats de la reddition de comptes?

8. SUIVI

Quelles sont les politiques et les processus mis en place pour assurer la surveillance et le suivi? Comment les divers groupes de citoyens participent-ils au suivi et à l'examen de la justice sociale?

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Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy (EfD)

► The Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy does not infer fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments.

► Rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement with and for education and democracy.

► The Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy is meant to be a framework to present weaknesses and strengths, challenges and opportunities, and barriers and openings, as well as the dimensions, pitfalls and ramifications of leadership, action and development of a culture of democracy.

► This model presents a range of activities, approaches and components of the educational experience, with thin and thick conceptualizations as a way of understanding where educators, administrators, policy-developers and decision-makers might situate their thinking, development and actions in relation to education for democracy.

► Based on the research emanating from the Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education project, this model can be helpful in stimulating debate and elucidating analysis on what is actually being done in schools and education systems, how, why and to what degree, thus serving as a formative tool and impetus to further engage with thicker forms of democracy.

LEGEND: PEDAGOGY (P); CURRICULUM (C); EDUCATIONAL POLICY (EP); INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE (IC); EPISTEMOLOGY (E); LEADERSHIP (L); LIVED EXPERIENCE (LE)

THIN DEMOCRACY	THICK DEMOCRACY
Weak — Limited — Narrow — Constrained — Superficial Apolitical — Neutral — Content-focused — Unquestioning	Strong — Unlimited — Deep — Open-ended — Tangible Political — Engaged — Context-focused — Critical
LINKING EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY (LEADERSHIP) (L/EP/LE)	
Nebulous, weakly articulated, uncritical, and unfocused on democracy.	Explicit, engaged, multi-faceted and inclusive, and aimed at openly cultivating critical forms of democracy.
EXPERIENCING DEMOCRACY (VISION) (IC/E)	
Cultivating voting, and explaining the mechanics and virtues of elections, is the focus; linkages to the community are not undertaken with a view to addressing problems; when there is service-learning, there is no connection to the curriculum and the educational experience.	Understanding that knowledge is constructed, rejection of the "banking model", and efforts made to have students engage with diverse groups, problems, realities, etc. outside of the mainstream media lens of society; service-learning, for example, is linked directly to the educational experience, and is not simply an add on with little pedagogical/epistemological value.

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LEGEND: PEDAGOGY (P); CURRICULUM (C); EDUCATIONAL POLICY (EP); INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE (IC); EPISTEMOLOGY (E); LEADERSHIP (L); LIVED EXPERIENCE (LE)

THIN DEMOCRACY	THICK DEMOCRACY
LINKING SCHOOL AND SOCIETY (ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY) (EP/IC/LE)	
Not considered a key focus or priority, and there is concern about how to engage with society; emphasis is often on employability, the labour market and preparing students for work, intertwined within a neoliberal framework.	Direct and indirect linkages to civil society, and a focus on how to function in society, how to contribute to building a better society, and how to understand social problems are key; young people are not simply consumers but also, significantly, are contributors to reproducing or transforming social relations.
AGENDA SET BY MAINSTREAM (HEGEMONIC GAZE) (L/EP)	
Is generally adopted and followed in an uncritical manner; textbooks are not generally critiqued for bias, misrepresentation, omission, etc.	Is critiqued and contextualized in relation to other versions of reality, and corporate control of media is considered. Textbooks and curricular materials required contextualization and interpretation.
BREADTH OF STUDY (CURRICULUM) (C/EP)	
Often concentrated in one course, subject or year (i.e. Government, Social Studies, Civics); is understood to not be vigorously interwoven throughout the schooling experience; is limited in relation to breadth and scope.	Is infused throughout the curriculum, and includes all aspects of how education is organized (i.e., assemblies, extra-curricular, staff meetings, parental involvement, hidden curriculum, awards); is open to alternative and non-formal visions, issues, concerns, etc.
STUDY OF VOTING AND ELECTIONS (RELATIVISTIC FOCUS) (C/P)	
Considered central to the conceptualization of democracy, and is a continual focus, although from an uncritical vantage-point.	Is but one component of many, and must be problematized and critiqued; the salience, ethics and political economy of elections within the context of neoliberalism, social inequalities and globalization is considered.

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THIN DEMOCRACY	THICK DEMOCRACY
STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTIES (NORMATIVE POLITICS) (C/P)	
Parties, processes and structures (content) considered the major part of the study of democracy; the transmission of information is privileged over a critical analysis.	A rigorously critical appraisal of parties, processes and structures is undertaken; the positioning of temporal, cultural, comparative and alternative perspectives of political parties is undertaken in a critical manner.
CONTENT RELATED TO CONFLICT, PATRIOTISM, WAR AND PEACE (MACRO-LEVEL CONTENT) (EP/C)	
Limited and uncritical, more in terms of conveying information in a static way, with reliance largely on formal sources and official accounts.	War, conflict, geopolitics and human rights are placed within a critical and dynamic frame of reference with an emphasis on diverse perspectives and data-sources; dynamic usage of lived experiences of those impacted is highlighted.
CONCERN OVER TEACHING EFD (CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PEDAGOGY) (E/IC)	
Concern about "taking sides", being "biased", "indoctrination", and "being political" is prevalent here, and leads to omitting, avoiding and/or downplaying controversial issues.	Understanding that to be neutral is to side with hegemonic powers, and that discussing controversial issues does not equate indoctrination; avoiding critical discussions can lead to passive acceptance of injustice, war, and hatred, and also cultivate compliance and docility among students.
DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY (ENGAGEMENT WITH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES) (P/C/LE)	
Limited and contrived, aimed at comfort more than developing a mindset to critique, and act; students are often dissuaded from engaging with important and controversial issues and challenging texts; teachers limit exposure to alternative perspectives and themes.	Students must be afforded opportunities to learn how to debate, critique, listen, and be open to diverse epistemological reflections; engaging in controversial, dialectical and complex discussions in formal education will prepare students to be actively engaged and critically-aware citizens, and also complement lived experiences outside of school.

THIN DEMOCRACY	THICK DEMOCRACY
ORIENTATION OF CURRICULUM (CONSTRUCTION OF PURPOSE OF LEARNING) (C/EP)	
Narrow, limited and prescriptive, with little questioning of complicity, change and power; subjects are compartmentalized, teachers are generally not predisposed to critical inquiry, and there is virtually no assessment of democracy.	Open to generative themes (Freire) and progressive education (Dewey), there is room to extend formal standards, outcomes, assessments and learning so as to "do" democracy as opposed to simply studying voting and democratic institutions; critiquing the paucity of concerns related to power is fundamental.
LITERACY (EXPECTED OUTCOMES) (EP/P)	
Focus on traditional sense of functional literacy, generally devoid of political insight and engagement, often seeking to have a level of technological literacy without questioning power imbalances, or our own implications within social realities and our own social agency.	Focus here is on political literacy, media literacy, what Giroux calls "emancipatory literacy", and democratic "conscientization", in Freire's words, going well beyond the ability to read and write, seeking a more complex, nuanced and meaningful engagement with society; seeking to eliminate the notion that we must blindly follow the rules presented by elected officials.
SOCIAL JUSTICE (CONNECTION TO POWER) (E/L/LE)	
Mainstream analysis of discrimination, and marginalization of social problems with no real critique of systemic and fundamental problems; broad contention that diversity is good, while critical analysis of identity is muted.	Critical understanding of the linkage between social justice and social change as well as the salience of the social construction of identity, privilege and systemic injustice are highlighted; emphasis placed on engagement as well as critical, dialectical reflection and learning.

The *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy (EFD)* sought to highlight and frame 13 themes or areas, aligned with indicators (beside the titles) in the Conceptual Model, aimed at further articulating thick and thin ways of comprehending and engaging with EFD. This model was intended to stimulate thinking around how EFD could be actualized and considered in concrete terms with examples and how it could be used as a planning and evaluation instrument. The first iteration was not intended to be a binary protocol to definitively label actors and actions but the risk of being reduced to such a model was evident from the beginning. What the model did help us achieve was to

more fully encapsulate the diverse, complex, nuanced, and interlocking components of EFD as well as the potential paradoxical approaches, which could include proceeding on one component in a vigorous, social justice-based way, and then in a less critical and engaged way for another. We understood through our work that EFD is about the process of striving for democracy in and through education and not about one definitive end-point. We have found that this *Thick-Thin Spectrum* to be helpful in explicating what EFD might contend with but also felt the need to further expand it based on themes/findings emanating from the research, which is teased out in other models.

Le modèle mince-robuste de la démocratie (EpD)

► Le modèle mince et robuste de l'éducation pour la démocratie n'infère pas des positions fixes, stables, binaires ou des jugements.

► Il s'agit plutôt d'un instrument, d'un outil ou d'un indice qualitatif pour mettre en évidence les intentions, les actions, les plans, les résultats et l'engagement avec et pour l'éducation et la démocratie.

► Le modèle mince et robuste de l'éducation à la démocratie est conçu comme un cadre pour présenter les faiblesses et les forces, les défis et les possibilités, les obstacles et les opportunités, ainsi que les dimensions, les pièges et les ramifications du leadership, l'action et le développement en lien avec une culture de la démocratie.

► Ce modèle présente une gamme d'activités, d'approches et de composantes de l'expérience éducative, avec des conceptualisations minces et robustes comme moyen d'analyse permettant aux éducateurs, aux administrateurs, aux concepteurs de politique et aux décideurs d'avoir une compréhension qui puisse guider leur pensée, leur développement et leurs actions en relation avec l'éducation pour la démocratie.

► En se basant sur les recherches émanant du projet «Démocratie, alphabétisation politique et éducation transformatrice», ce modèle peut être utile pour stimuler le débat et éclairer l'analyse de ce qui est réellement fait dans les écoles et les systèmes éducatifs, comment, pourquoi et dans quelle mesure, servant ainsi d'outil formatif et d'élan pour s'engager davantage dans des formes plus robustes de la démocratie.

LÉGENDE: PÉDAGOGIE (P); CURRICULUM (C); POLITIQUES ÉDUCATIVES (PÉ); CULTURE INSTITUTIONNELLE (CI); ÉPISTÉMOLOGIE (É); LEADERSHIP (L); EXPÉRIENCE VÉCUE (ÉV)

DÉMOCRATIE MINCE	DÉMOCRATIE ROBUSTE
Faible – Limitée – Étroite – Contrainte – Superficielle – Apolitique – Neutre – Centrée sur le contenu – Inconditionnelle	Forte – Illimitée – Profonde – Ouverte – Tangible – Politique – Engagée – Centrée sur le contexte – Critique
LIENS ENTRE L'ÉDUCATION ÉCLAIRÉE ET LA GOUVERNANCE (LEADERSHIP) (L/PÉ/ÉV)	
Nébuleux, faiblement articulé, non critique et non concerté.	Explicite, engagée, à multiples facettes et inclusive, vise ouvertement la critique réflexive de la démocratie.
EXPÉRIENCES DÉMOCRATIQUES (VISION) (CI/É)	
Cultivant le vote, et expliquant les rouages et les vertus des élections; les liens avec la communauté ne sont pas abordés ; quand une étude de cas est apprise, il n'y a aucune réelle connexion avec le programme d'étude et l'expérience éducative.	Comprenant que la connaissance est construite, le rejet «du modèle bancaire» et les efforts sont faits pour que les étudiants s'engagent avec divers groupes sur les problèmes de la société, l'habitat, etc., hors de la vision médiatique courante dans la société; l'apprentissage du service, par exemple, est directement liée à l'expérience éducative et n'est pas simplement un accessoire avec peu de valeur pédagogique et épistémologique.

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LÉGENDE: PÉDAGOGIE (P); CURRICULUM (C); POLITIQUES ÉDUCATIVES (PÉ); CULTURE INSTITUTIONNELLE (CI); ÉPISTÉMOLOGIE (É); LEADERSHIP (L); EXPÉRIENCE VÉCUE (ÉV)

DÉMOCRATIE MINCE	DÉMOCRATIE ROBUSTE
LIENS ENTRE L'ÉCOLE ET LA SOCIÉTÉ (LE RÔLE D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ CIVIQUE) (PÉ/CI/ÉV)	
Non considérés comme un élément clé ou une priorité, et l'engagement vis à vis de la société est préoccupant; l'accent est souvent mis sur l'employabilité, le marché du travail et la préparation des étudiants pour le travail.	Des liens directs et indirects à la société civile et un accent est mis sur les rouages du fonctionnement de la société et sur comment contribuer à la construction d'une société meilleure et comment comprendre des problèmes sociaux ; les jeunes ne sont pas simplement des consommateurs mais ils collaborent significativement à la reproduction ou à la transformation des relations sociales.
AGENDA HÉGÉMONIQUE (L/PÉ)	
Est généralement adopté et suivi d'une manière non critique; les manuels ne sont généralement pas critiqués pour leurs préjugés, leurs déformations, leurs omissions, etc.	Est critiqué et contextualisé par rapport à d'autres versions de la réalité et on considère le contrôle des médias. Les ouvrages et le matériel de formation requièrent la contextualisation et l'interprétation.
ÉTENDUE DU PROGRAMME D'ÉTUDES (CURRICULUM) (C/PÉ)	
Souvent concentré dans un cours, un domaine ou année (c'est-à-dire le Gouvernement, les Sciences sociales, l'Instruction civique). N'est pas considéré comme transversal au cours de l'expérience d'études.	Est infusé dans le programme d'études et inclut tous les aspects de l'organisation de l'enseignement (c'est-à-dire, par des assemblées, des activités périscolaires, des réunions du personnel, l'engagement parental, le curriculum caché, les récompenses.)
ÉTUDES DES PRINCIPES DU VOTE ET DES ÉLECTIONS (DISCUSSION RELATIVISTE) (C/P)	
Absolument fondamental pour la conceptualisation de l'éducation à la démocratie et en constitue un point d'ancrage continue, d'un point de vue non critique.	N'est pas qu'un composant parmi d'autres et doit être problématisé et critiqué ; on considère l'économie politique des élections dans le contexte du néolibéralisme, des inégalités sociales et la mondialisation, l'éthique.

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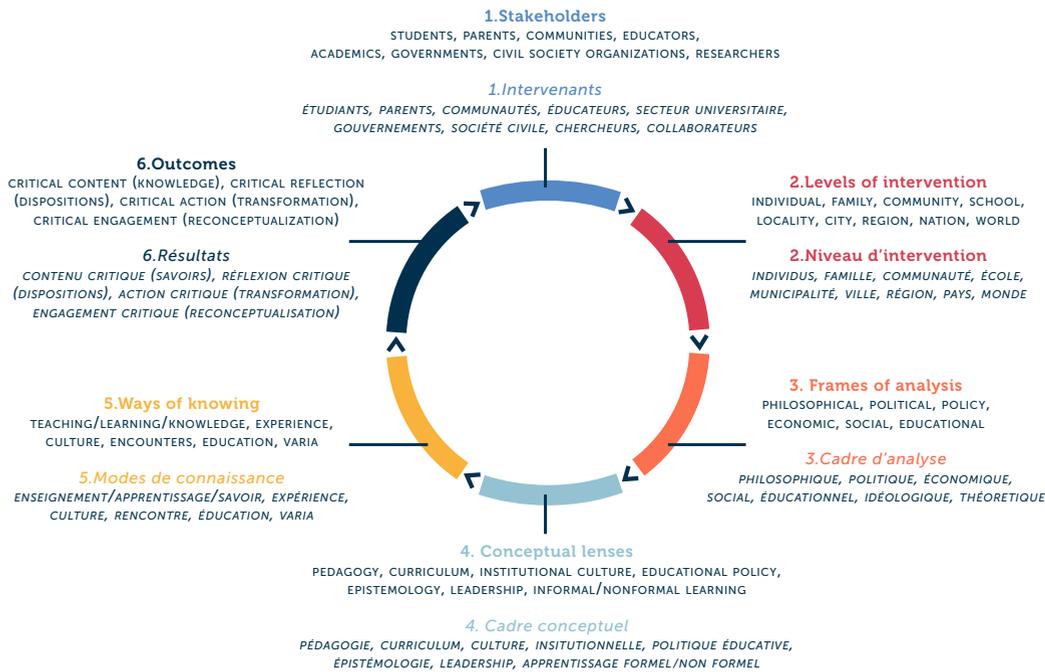
DÉMOCRATIE MINCE	DÉMOCRATIE ROBUSTE
ÉTUDE DE PARTIS POLITIQUES (POLITIQUES NORMATIVES (C/P))	
Les partis, les processus et les structures constituent l'essentiel de l'étude de la démocratie. La transmission des informations est privilégiée en plus de l'analyse critique.	Une évaluation rigoureusement critique des partis, des processus et des structures est entreprise ; l'analyse des perspectives temporelles, comparatives et alternatives des partis politiques s'effectue de manière critique.
CONTENU EN LIEN AVEC LES CONFLITS, LE PATRIOTISME, LA GUERRE ET LA PAIX (PÉ/C)	
Limitée, non critique, plus en termes de transmission des connaissances d'un point de vue statique, il y a une dépendance aux sources formelles et aux comptes rendus officiels.	La guerre, le conflit, la géopolitique et les droits de l'Homme sont placés dans un système de référence critique et dynamique avec un accent porté sur des perspectives et des sources de données diverses.
CONTENUS EN LIEN AVEC L'EPD (CONCEPTUALISATION DE LA PÉDAGOGIE) (E/CI)	
La préoccupation de «prendre parti», être «influencé», «l'endoctrinement», «la politisation» sont évidents et mènent à l'omission, la fuite et/ou la minimisation des questions controversées.	La compréhension qu'être neutre, c'est être complice des pouvoirs hégémoniques et que la discussion de questions controversées ne correspond pas à de l'endoctrinement. Le fait d'éviter des discussions critiques peut mener à l'acceptation passive de l'injustice, de la guerre et de la haine et cultiver aussi le conformisme et la docilité chez les étudiants.
DÉMOCRATIE DÉLIBÉRANTE (L'ENGAGEMENT FACE AUX QUESTIONS CONTROVERSÉES) (P/C/EV)	
Les étudiants sont souvent dissuadés de s'engager sur des questions importantes et controversées et de défier des textes ; les professeurs limitent l'exposition aux perspectives alternatives et thèmes alternatifs.	Les étudiants doivent avoir accès aux occasions d'apprendre à débattre, critiquer, écouter et être ouverts à la réflexion épistémologique; s'engager dans des discussions controversées, dialectiques et complexes dans l'éducation formelle préparer les étudiants à être activement engagés et être des citoyens critiques et conscients et leur permettra de vivre des expériences en dehors de l'école.

DÉMOCRATIE MINCE	DÉMOCRATIE ROBUSTE
AXES DU PROGRAMME D'ÉTUDES (CONSTRUCTION DES VISÉES DE L'APPRENTISSAGE) (C/PÉ)	
Étroit, limité, normatif, avec des interrogations sur la complicité, le changement et le pouvoir ; les sujets sont compartimentés, les professeurs ne sont pas prédisposés à l'enquête critique et il n'y a pratiquement aucune évaluation de la démocratie.	Ouvert aux thèmes générateurs (Freire) et l'enseignement progressif (Dewey), il y a de la place pour sortir des cadres formels, des résultats, des évaluations et de l'étude afin « de faire » la démocratie par opposition à la simple étude du vote et des institutions démocratiques; la critique des enjeux liée au pouvoir est fondamentale.
ALPHABÉTISATION (RÉSULTATS ATTENDUS) (PÉ/P)	
Concentré sur le sens traditionnel de l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle, généralement exempt de perspicacité politique et d'engagement, cherchant souvent à avoir un niveau d'alphabétisation technologique sans mettre en doute les déséquilibres du pouvoir, nos propres implications dans le milieu social et notre sphère sociale.	L'accent est mis ici sur l'alphabétisation politique, l'alphabétisation médiatique, ce que Giroux appelle « l'alphabétisation émancipatoire » et « à la conscientisation » démocratique, dans les mots de Freire, allant bien au-delà de la capacité de lire et écrire, cherchant un engagement plus complexe, nuancé et significatif avec la société ; cherchant à éliminer l'idée que nous devons aveuglément suivre les règles dites officielles.
JUSTICE SOCIALE (MOYENS POUR LA RENDRE EFFICACE) (E/L/EV)	
L'analyse dominante de la discrimination et la marginalisation des problèmes sociaux sans critique réelle des problèmes systémiques.	La compréhension critique du lien entre la justice sociale et le changement social aussi bien que l'accent mis sur la construction sociale de l'identité, le privilège et l'injustice systémique est soulignée.

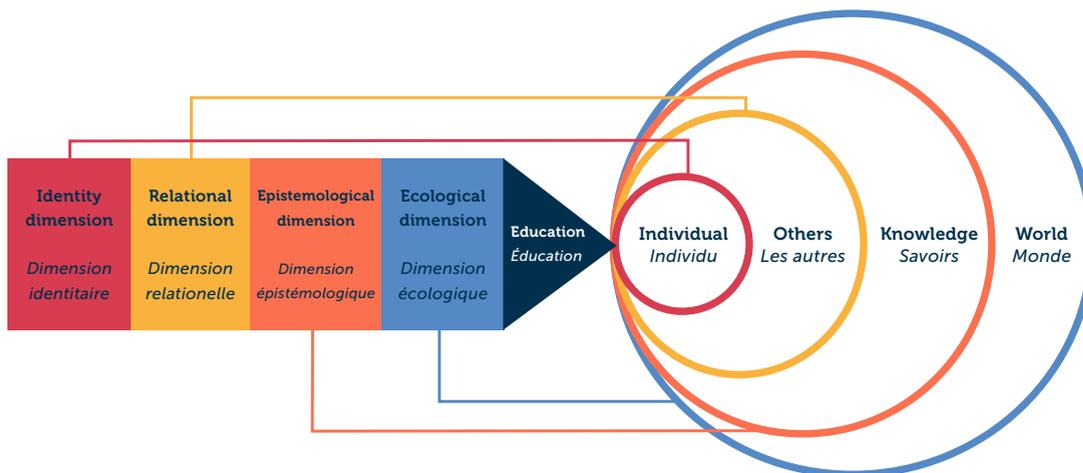
Le modèle mince-robuste de la démocratie (EpD) a cherché à mettre en évidence et à tracer 13 thèmes ou domaines, alignés sur les indicateurs (à côté des titres) dans le modèle conceptuel afin d'articuler des façons épaisses et minces de comprendre et de s'engager avec l'EpD. Ce modèle était destiné à stimuler la façon dont l'EpD pourrait être actualisé et considéré en termes concrets avec des exemples et comment il pourrait être utilisé comme un instrument de planification et d'évaluation. La première itération n'était pas destinée à être un protocole binaire pour attribuer des acteurs et des actions mais le risque d'être réduit à un tel modèle était évident dès le début.

Le modèle nous a permis d'intégrer complètement des composants divers, complexes, nuancés et interconnectés de l'EpD ainsi que les approches potentiellement paradoxales qui pourraient inclure la poursuite d'une composante, basée sur la justice sociale. Nous avons compris, grâce à notre travail, que l'EpD traite du processus de défense de la démocratie dans et par l'éducation. Nous avons constaté que ce spectre épais-mince était utile pour expliquer ce que l'EpD pourrait contenir mais nous avons également estimé qu'il était nécessaire de l'étendre davantage en fonction des thèmes/découvertes découlant de la recherche, qui sont analysées dans d'autres modèles

Conceptual and Operational Framework for the UNESCO Chair DCMÉT
Cadre conceptuel et opérationnel de la Chaire UNESCO DCMÉT



Theoretical and Conceptual Model on Transformative Education
Modèle théorique et conceptuel de l'éducation transformative



Vulnerability Model: «green» or environmental questions?

Modèle de la vulnérabilité : Questions «vertes» ou environnementales?

IN BLACK THE COLOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL VULNERABILITIES	IN WHITE THE COLOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
▶ Ongoing apartheid	▶ Apartheid is neither desired, nor maintained
▶ Exposure to multiple threats	▶ Multiple rights and protections
▶ Multiple environmental vulnerabilities (decay, waste, pollution, natural disasters)	▶ Environmental vulnerabilities diminished by multiple protections
▶ Zones of negated environmental rights	▶ Zones where rights are respected
▶ Racial discriminations/disqualifications	▶ Racial valorization
▶ Poverty, malnutrition	▶ Material well-being
▶ Barriers to access to the health care system	▶ Better access to the health care system
▶ Barriers to access to the educational system	▶ Better access to education
▶ Zones of high incarceration rates/high risk of racial profiling/false accusation	▶ Zones of low risk for racial profiling/false accusation/incarceration

EN NOIR LA COULEUR DES VULNÉRABILITÉS ENVIRONNEMENTALES	EN BLANC LA COULEUR DES PROTECTIONS ENVIRONNEMENTALES
▶ <i>Apartheid subi qui se poursuit</i>	▶ <i>Apartheid non-voulu, ni maintenu</i>
▶ <i>Exposition à des menaces multiples</i>	▶ <i>Systèmes de protection multiples et de droits multiples</i>
▶ <i>Vulnérabilités environnementales multiples (délabrement, déchets, pollution, désastres naturels)</i>	▶ <i>Vulnérabilités environnementales amoindries par les multiples protections</i>
▶ <i>Zones de non-droits environnementaux</i>	▶ <i>Zones où les droits sont pris en compte</i>
▶ <i>Discriminations/disqualifications raciales</i>	▶ <i>Valorisation raciale</i>
▶ <i>Pauvreté, alimentation déficiente, etc.</i>	▶ <i>Mieux-être matériel</i>
▶ <i>Accès limité aux soins de santé</i>	▶ <i>Meilleur accès aux soins de santé</i>
▶ <i>Accès limité à l'éducation supérieure</i>	▶ <i>Meilleur accès à l'éducation</i>
▶ <i>Zones à haut taux d'incarcération / risques élevés de profilage racial / fausse accusation</i>	▶ <i>Zones à faible risque de profilage / fausse accusation / incarcération</i>

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Vulnerability index

Indice de la vulnérabilité

To address eco-citizenship education, it is essential to take into consideration the contexts and dynamics of racialization as well as the forms of racism that flow out of these dynamics, including what we refer to environmental racism. Theoretical reflections and empirical evidence demonstrate that the issues of racialization and racism are not only central to the environmental problems and the multiple vulnerabilities they generate but also that they are constitutive of the relations with the environment and of the ways in which the environment has been managed (through, for example, border-making processes, land expropriation practices, agricultural, mining, oil and gas extractionary practices as well as resource allocation and redistributive practices, etc.) for centuries throughout the world, at the local, regional, national and international levels. In all the countries that claim to be democratic, the hegemonic, normative model of democracy makes it difficult for racialized individuals and groups to feel included, to have their voices heard, to participate actively, to influence political agendas and to recognize the power they in fact have to transform the social and environmental realities that concern them. On the environmental front, critical anti-racism can contribute to create the transformations needed by making possible the emancipative empowerment of racialized individuals and groups, and, in particular, by transforming their relationships to the Self, the Other, knowledge and the environment. It is only through the profound transformation of such relationships that racialized populations can engage, in a critical, ethical, political and ecological way, in the reflections, discussions, debates and policies on the environment that concern them.

Pour aborder l'éducation à l'écocitoyenneté, il devient incontournable de prendre en compte les contextes et les dynamiques de racialisation, ainsi que les racismes qui en résultent, notamment le racisme environnemental. Des réflexions et des élaborations théoriques montrent que les questions de racialisation et de racismes sont non seulement inhérentes aux problématiques environnementales et aux multiples vulnérabilités générées, mais aussi qu'elles sont constitutives des rapports à l'environnement et des modalités de gestion de l'environnement (établissement de frontières, confiscation et expropriation des terres, exploitations agricoles, minières, pétrolières et gazières, répartition des ressources, etc.) qui ont cours depuis plusieurs siècles partout sur la planète, aux échelles locales, régionales, nationales et internationales. Dans tous les pays qui se disent démocratiques, le modèle normatif hégémonique de la démocratie fait en sorte qu'il est difficile pour les personnes et les groupes racialisés de se sentir inclus, de faire entendre leurs voix, de participer activement, d'influencer les agendas politiques et d'assumer leur pouvoir de transformer les réalités sociales et environnementales qui les concernent. Sur le plan environnemental, l'antiracisme critique peut contribuer aux transformations nécessaires en visant l'émancipation des personnes et des groupes racialisés, notamment par la transformation de leurs rapports à soi, à l'Autre, aux savoirs et à l'environnement. C'est la transformation profonde de ces rapports qui peut les amener à s'engager socialement de manière critique, éthique, politique et écologique dans les réflexions, les discussions, les débats, les décisions et les lois qui touchent aux questions environnementales qui les concernent.

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Vulnerability index

Indice de la vulnérabilité

Unprecedented threats hover over the entire world as a result of over-development of Northern countries. Climate changes are the long-, medium-, and short-term forerunners of these threats. In direct grip of the first impact of the problems, the people of the South witness an increase of their multiple vulnerabilities. After decades of struggles, if the ecological approach has finally received the attention of the political and economical world authorities regarding the environmental challenges, these latter have skilfully created a significant conceptual change of policy: the environment and education related to environment (ERE) have been replaced by sustainable development and education for sustainable development (ESD). However, in this conceptual remake, the hegemony of the Western development model was not challenged. So this model pursues, among other things, its imperialist designs by always silencing other cultures under its domination, while invalidating the knowledges embedded in these cultures. One can speak of an epistemological racism. This model proposes some points of reflexion to create a meeting place between cultures where social justice and environmental justice can be of the same mindset.

Le sur-développement des pays du Nord fait planer sur le monde entier des menaces sans précédent. Les changements climatiques sont les signes avant-coureurs, à long, moyen ou court terme, de ces menaces. Aux prises directement avec les premiers impacts, les populations du Sud voient leurs multiples vulnérabilités s'accroître. Si l'approche écologiste, après des décennies de combat, a finalement reçu l'attention des mondes politique et économique à propos des défis environnementaux, ceux-ci ont adroitement opéré un virage conceptuel significatif: l'environnement et l'éducation relative à l'environnement (ERE) ont cédé la place au développement durable et à l'éducation au développement durable (EDD). Or, dans cette refonte conceptuelle, le modèle hégémonique du développement à l'occidental n'est pas remis en question. Il poursuit, entre autres, ses visées impérialistes en muselant toujours les cultures qu'il domine, tout en invalidant les savoirs dont elles sont porteuses. Il y a lieu de parler ici d'un racisme épistémologique. Ce modèle propose quelques pistes de réflexion pour une rencontre des cultures en environnement où la justice sociale et la justice environnementale se conjuguent.

THE NECESSITY	Are our actions necessary?
THE RISKS	Are we assessing the risk levels of our actions?
THE PREDICTABILITY	Do we succeed in doing what we want?
THE OBJECTIVE AND THE RESULT	Are we satisfied with the results of our actions?
COSTS AND BENEFITS	What are the costs and benefits of our actions?
THE CENTRALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT	What is the role of the environment in our actions?
THE VULNERABILITY	Who are the most affected by our actions?

LA NÉCESSITÉ	Nos actions sont-elles nécessaires ?
LES RISQUES	Évaluons-nous les niveaux de risques de nos actions ?
LA PRÉVISIBILITÉ	Réussissons-nous de faire ce que nous souhaitons ?
L'OBJECTIF ET LE RÉSULTAT	Sommes-nous satisfaits avec les résultats de nos actions ?
LES COÛTS ET LES BÉNÉFICES	Quels sont les coûts et les bénéfices de nos actions?
LA CENTRALITÉ DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT	Quelle place occupe l'environnement dans nos actions ?
LA VULNÉRABILITÉ	Qui sont les plus touchés par nos actions ?

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Spectrum of Critical Engagement for EFD

- ▶ builds on the Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy, and seeks to better explain engagement.
- ▶ if we are to achieve some form of meaningful, critical, tangible engagement in and through education that can contribute to EFD, then, arguably, we should be able to articulate it, cultivate it, describe it, and, importantly, have a vision for it that can be supported and enhanced by broad, vibrant critical participation at multiple levels.
- ▶ if democracy—and the development of global democratic citizenship—is deemed important for society, then how should it be achieved? are there specific courses, tests, outcomes, data-collection points, measures, standards, events, milestones and activities that underpin the quest for education for democracy?
- ▶ within the context of education, what role do schools, school boards, departments/ministries of education and governments actually play in relation to education for democracy? how do they define it, document it, measure it, evaluate it, and engage with it?
- ▶ does not infer fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments; rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement of those involved in education, including students and educators.
- ▶ covers a broad range of nuanced phases/categories/indicators; each phase has a specific meaning but also bleeds into the preceding and succeeding ones.
- ▶ the process of conducting the analysis—what's happening, why, how, where, what's included, documented, areas of concern, and data-collection issues, etc.—is fundamental to understanding how democracy functions.
- ▶ it is important to note that these levels are not mutually exclusive, nor are intended as indicators to encapsulate actions, reflections and realities in a fixed, stagnant way by examining, diagnosing, discussing and situating specific educational postures, processes and practices; we believe that one can start to develop a portrait of how EFD manifests itself and develops within a particular educational context.

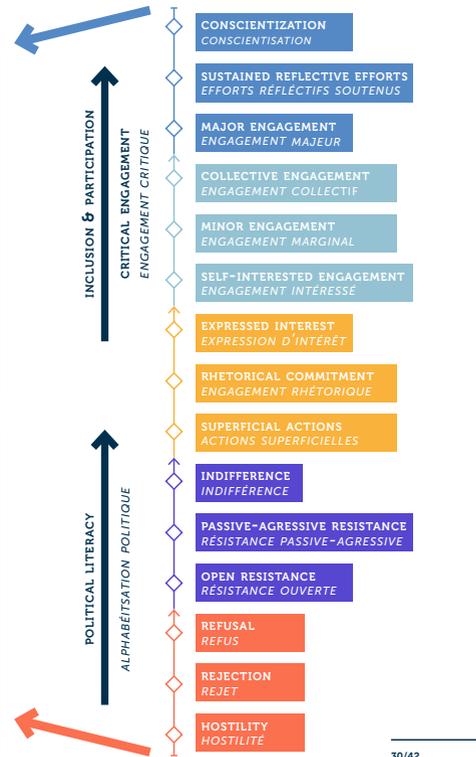
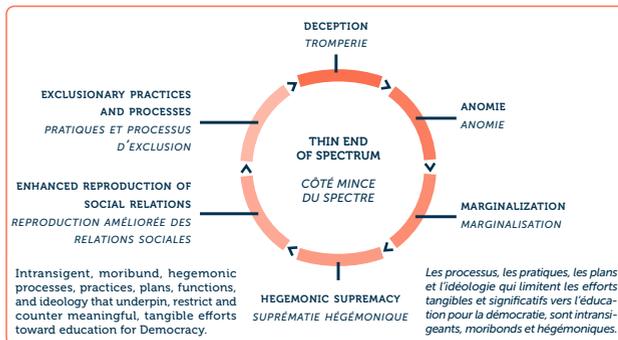
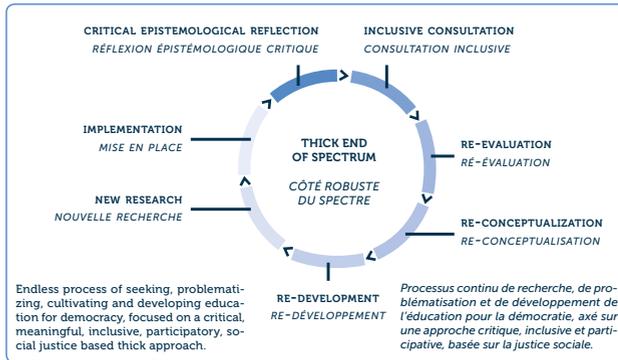
Spectre de l'engagement critique pour l'EpD

- ▶ s'appuie sur le spectre mince-robuste de l'éducation pour la démocratie et cherche à mieux expliquer l'engagement.
- ▶ si nous voulons parvenir à une certaine forme d'engagement fort, critique et tangible dans et par l'éducation qui peut contribuer à l'EpD, alors, nous devrions pouvoir l'articuler, le cultiver, le décrire et, surtout, en avoir une vision qui peut être soutenue et améliorée par une participation large, dynamique, critique à plusieurs niveaux.
- ▶ si la démocratie - et le développement de la citoyenneté démocratique mondiale - est jugée importante pour la société, comment y parvenir ? Y a-t-il des cours spécifiques, des tests, des résultats, des points de collecte de données, des mesures, des normes, des événements, des jalons et des activités qui sous-tendent la quête de l'éducation pour la démocratie ?
- ▶ dans le contexte de l'éducation, quel rôle les écoles, les commissions scolaires, les départements / ministères de l'éducation et les gouvernements jouent-ils réellement en matière d'éducation pour la démocratie ? Comment la définissent-ils ? Comment la documentent-ils ? Comment la mesurent-ils ? Comment l'évaluent-ils ? Comment s'engagent-ils avec elle ?
- ▶ ne déduit pas des positions fixes, stables, binaires ou des jugements; il s'agit plutôt d'un instrument, d'un outil ou d'un indice qualitatif pour mettre en lumière les intentions, les actions, les plans, les résultats et l'engagement des acteurs de l'éducation, y compris les étudiants et les éducateurs.
- ▶ couvre un large éventail de phases / catégories / indicateurs tous nuancés. Chaque phase a une signification spécifique mais est aussi reliée aux précédentes et aux suivantes.
- ▶ le processus de l'analyse - ce qui se passe, pourquoi, comment, où, ce qui est inclus, documenté, les sujets de préoccupation et les questions de collecte de données, etc. - est fondamental pour comprendre comment fonctionne la démocratie.
- ▶ il est important de noter que ces niveaux ne s'excluent pas mutuellement et ne sont pas conçus comme des indicateurs permettant d'encapsuler les actions, les réflexions et les réalités d'une manière fixe et stagnante en examinant, en diagnostiquant, en discutant et en situant des postures; nous pensons que l'on peut commencer à dresser un portrait de la manière dont l'EpD se manifeste et se développe dans un contexte éducatif particulier.

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Spectrum of critical engagement

Spectre de l'engagement critique



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Spectrum of critical engagement

▶ **MAJOR ENGAGEMENT:** Building on collectivist engagement, includes a more defined and robust policy framework with a range of institutional initiatives and practices that seek to build education for democracy. Usually involves defined leadership and policy roles.

▶ **SUSTAINED REFLEXIVE EFFORTS:** Extending major engagement, sustained reflexive efforts include developing a cycle of evaluation, innovation and capacity-building for education for democracy. Usually involves an opening for critique and bone fide dialog to reformulation the approach.

▶ **CONSCIENTIZATION:** This level involves a critical, meaningful, engaged approach to education for democracy, taking into consideration inequitable power relations, political literacy and social justice. Not an end-point but, rather, an entry-point into a re-thinking of epistemological, pedagogical, curricular, educational policy, and institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy. The importance of humility is central, and inclusive, participatory processes and mechanisms are put in place to allow for critique, change, innovation, dialog and re-consideration.

▶ **SELF-INTERESTED ENGAGEMENT:** The next level of engagement that recognizes the advantages of inclusionary development and a re-thinking of institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy. Usually involves the initial phases of developing some standards, policies, objectives and outcomes.

▶ **MINOR ENGAGEMENT:** A more enhanced engagement than self-interested engagement, which includes the beginning of institutional commitment with resources, training and a policy framework.

▶ **COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT:** Involves a coalition of interests in concerted action in favour of progressive engagement aimed at education for democracy. Usually involves a more enhanced consultation and participation with diverse formal and informal stakeholders.

▶ **SUPERFICIAL ACTIONS:** Minimalist efforts, gestures and manifestations to obfuscate and undermine significant movement toward education for democracy. Usually involves a weak personal and collective commitment combined with institutional intransigence, which favors some visible support for change over bone fide action.

▶ **RHETORICAL COMMITMENT:** Some formal support at the level of discourse and public relations usually accompanied by superficial actions. While the rhetorical commitment can provide motivation in the short-term, when not followed by bone-fide, tangible action is considered to be counter-productive, and can lead to indifference and institutional intransigence.

▶ **EXPRESSED INTEREST:** More enhanced rhetorical commitment, usually accompanied with argumentation and aspects of moral. Similar to rhetorical commitment but more engaged, although the same caveat remains in relation to the need for constructive action to follow.

▶ **OPEN RESISTANCE:** Consolidated efforts to use institutional and cultural mechanisms and processes to deter engagement with, and implementation of, change process and/or proposed progressive reforms. Usually not hidden or masked.

▶ **PASSIVE (-AGGRESSIVE) RESISTANCE:** Intuitive efforts to enact non-compliance or concerted efforts to counter progressive reforms. Usually organized through informal gestures, symbols and messages.

▶ **INDIFFERENCE:** Lack of motivation, reflection and action due to sentiment of uselessness of proposed changes. Usually involves a strong institutional and cultural component.

▶ **HOSTILITY:** Overt disdain for discussion, proposals and change directed at engaging with democracy. Usually politically motivated or, at the very least, imbued with heavy hegemonic tones to denigrate attempts to alter the status quo.

▶ **REJECTION:** Less openly hostile but equally disparaging of attempts to alter the status quo. Usually involves arguments to shut down debate and efforts to reform.

▶ **REFUSAL:** Acknowledgment of context and proposals for change but concerted unwillingness to engage with process. Usually involves some informal collaboration to confront power dynamics.

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Spectre de l'engagement critique

▶ **ENGAGEMENT PRINCIPAL** : S'appuyant sur l'engagement collectif, il comprend un cadre méthodologique et toute une gamme d'initiatives et de pratiques institutionnelles visant à construire l'éducation pour la démocratie. Habituellement, il implique des rôles de leadership et de politique définis.

▶ **EFFORTS DE RÉFLEXION SOUTENUS** : Extension d'un engagement majeur, les efforts de réflexion soutenus recouvrent l'élaboration d'un cycle d'évaluation, d'innovation et de renforcement des capacités pour l'éducation pour la démocratie. Habituellement, ils impliquent une ouverture à la critique et au dialogue pour la reformulation de l'approche.

▶ **CONSCIENTISATION** : Ce niveau implique une approche critique, significative et engagée de l'éducation pour la démocratie qui tienne compte des relations de pouvoir inéquitables, de l'alphabétisation politique et de la justice sociale. C'est le point de départ d'une réflexion sur l'épistémologie, la pédagogie, les curricula, la politique éducative et les dimensions institutionnelles et culturelles de l'éducation pour la démocratie. L'importance de l'humilité est centrale et les processus et mécanismes participatifs inclusifs sont mises en place pour permettre la critique, Le changement, l'innovation, le dialogue et le ré-examen.

▶ **ENGAGEMENT D'INTÉRÊT PERSONNEL** : Le prochain niveau d'engagement reconnaît les avantages du développement inclusif et une révision des dimensions culturelles institutionnelles de l'éducation pour la démocratie. Habituellement, il implique les phases initiales de développement des normes, politiques, objectifs et résultats.

▶ **ENGAGEMENT MINEUR** : Un engagement plus fort que l'engagement d'intérêt personnel comprend le début de l'engagement institutionnel avec les ressources, la formation et un cadre méthodologique.

▶ **ENGAGEMENT COLLECTIF** : Implique une coalition d'intérêts dans une action concertée en faveur d'un engagement progressif visant l'éducation pour la démocratie. Habituellement il implique une consultation et une participation plus poussées des diverses parties prenantes formelles et non formelles.

▶ **ACTIONS SUPERFICIELLES** : Efforts minimalistes, gestes et manifestations pour masquer et saper le mouvement significatif vers l'éducation pour la démocratie. Habituellement, il implique un faible engagement personnel et collectif combiné à une intransigeance institutionnelle, qui favorise un soutien visible au changement avec une action forte.

▶ **ENGAGEMENT RHÉTORIQUE** : Un soutien formel au niveau du discours et des relations publiques généralement accompagné d'actions superficielles. Si l'engagement rhétorique peut être source de motivation à court terme, il n'est pas suivi par des actions fortes. L'action visible est considérée comme contre-productive et peut conduire à l'indifférence et à l'intransigeance.

▶ **INTÉRÊT EXPRIMÉ** : Engagement rhétorique renforcé est habituellement accompagné d'une argumentation et des aspects de la morale. Semblable à l'engagement rhétorique mais plus engagé, même si la même réserve subsiste quant à la nécessité d'une action constructive à suivre.

▶ **RÉSISTANCE OUVERTE** : Efforts consolidés pour utiliser les mécanismes et processus institutionnels et culturels pour décourager l'engagement et la mise en œuvre de processus de changement et / Ou proposer des réformes progressives. Habituellement pas caché ou masqué.

▶ **RÉSISTANCE PASSIVE (-AGGRESSIVE)** : Des efforts intuitifs pour adopter la non-conformité ou des efforts concertés pour contrer les réformes progressistes. Généralement organisé à travers des gestes, des symboles et des messages non-formels.

▶ **INDIFFÉRENCE** : Manque de motivation, la réflexion et l'action sont motivés par le sentiment d'inutilité des changements proposés. Il implique généralement d'une composante institutionnelle et culturelle forte.

▶ **HOSTILITÉ** : Dédaigner ouvertement la discussion, les propositions et les changements visant à ancrer la démocratie. Habituellement motivés politiquement ou à tout le moins, imprégnés de l'intention hégémonique de dénigrer les tentatives de modification du statu quo.

▶ **REJET** : Moins ouvertement hostile, mais avec la même intention de dénigrer les tentatives de modification du statut Quo. Souvent, il implique des arguments pour fermer le débat et les efforts de réforme.

▶ **REFUS** : Reconnaissance du contexte et des propositions de changement mais non implication et non engagement avec le processus. Habituellement, il s'agit d'une collaboration informelle pour confronter les dynamiques de pouvoir.

The Four-Level, Integrated, Hierarchical Model of Types of Education With Respect to Democracy

Extending the dynamic, dimensions, depth and scope of the democracy, political literacy and transformative education research, and in concert with the Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy and the Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy, Thésée and Carr developed the Four-Level Integrated, Hierarchical Model of Types of Education With Respect to Democracy. This model serves to explain the diverse dimensions—ontological, praxiological, epistemological and axiological—that encapsulate the varied approaches, experiences,

outcomes and realities of how democracy is viewed, understood, practiced and explored within the educational context. There are thin and thick contours to each of the dimensions presented, and our research has found that solely focusing upon only one particular dimension, which is commonly the case within formal educational contexts in relation to Education about Democracy (EaD), will not reinforce conscientization, critical engagement, political literacy and transformative education.

Forms of Democracy	EDUCATION ABOUT DEMOCRACY (EaD)	EDUCATION THROUGH DEMOCRACY (EtD)	EDUCATION IN RELATION TO DEMOCRACY (ErD)	EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY (EfD)
DIMENSION	Ontological dimension (What is...?)	Praxeological dimension (How to...?)	Epistemological dimension (Who...? Who is in/out? Whose knowledge?)	Axiological dimension (Why for...? Interests? Advantages? Impacts?)
DESCRIPTION	Learning and knowing characteristics, properties, categories, policies, institutions, historical steps, key figures & discourses in democracy	Engaging and acting with models, methods or means accepted or emerging as being democratic	De-constructing and re/ coconstructing democratic knowledge, consciousness, attitudes, actions (in formal, non-formal and informal education settings)	Claiming and pursuing democratic values and finalities; developing democratic consciousness, attitudes and engagement to fight for: Human rights, Social/Environmental justice, Peace, Education for all...
DOMAINS	Politics (geopolitics, partisan politics, conflicts)	Social (economy, culture, technology, deontology)	Critical theory, critical perspectives	Ethics, living-together, becoming-together, becoming better-together

Forms of Democracy	EDUCATION ABOUT DEMOCRACY (EaD)	EDUCATION THROUGH DEMOCRACY (EtD)	EDUCATION IN RELATION TO DEMOCRACY (ErD)	EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY (EfD)
KEYWORDS	Political literacy, institutions, laws, charters, policies, rules	Social consciousness, participation, experiences, social activism, praxis (thinking in/on action)	Education is all about knowledge, conscientization, multiple relations to power/ knowledge, knowledge co-construction, knowledge of «Others» included	Transformation (collective), emancipation (individual)
VALUES	Patriotism; nationalism	Social justice, social engagement, citizenship, interdependence, inclusion, equity, solidarity	Critical consciousness, social transformations, emancipation, contextualized knowledge, media literacy	Democracy, fundamental rights, diversity, identity, pluralism, environmental/ social, justice, eco-citizenship, mondiality (being to the world)
ACTIONS	Being informed, voting	Speaking, communicating, denouncing, dialoguing, debating, deliberating	Reclaiming new balances of power/knowledge, de/re/co/construction of knowledge	Building «trans-identities» (beyond multi & inter paradigms): trans/culturality, trans/nationality, trans/disciplinarity, trans-gender
LOCATION	International, national	Local (citizens, communities, non-governmental organizations, voluntary work,...)	Regional, national, international (media, culture, literature, research, institutions, social media and networks)	Local, regional, national, international, global (ecological development systems)
EDUCATION	Formal (schools, curricula, programs, courses, specific professions)	Mostly non formal (diversity of social activities)	Formal, non formal & informal education (research based knowledge, community based knowledge, oppressed based knowledge)	Informal/non formal/formal education (all spheres of living: families, communities, institutions, societies, social network, ...)

Le modèle hiérarchique intégré à quatre niveaux des types d'éducation en lien avec la démocratie

En étendant la dynamique, les dimensions, la profondeur et la portée de la recherche en démocratie, en alphabétisation politique et en éducation transformatrice au spectre épais-mince de l'éducation pour la démocratie et au spectre de l'engagement critique pour l'éducation pour la démocratie, Thésée et Carr ont développé le modèle hiérarchique intégré à quatre niveaux des types d'éducation en lien avec la démocratie. Ce modèle sert à expliquer les diverses dimensions - ontologique, praxiologique, épistémologique et axiologique - qui encapsulent les diverses approches, expériences,

résultats et réalités de la façon dont la démocratie est perçue, comprise, pratiquée et explorée dans le contexte éducatif. Il existe des contours minces et épais pour chacune des dimensions présentées et notre recherche a révélé que se concentrer uniquement sur une dimension particulière, comme c'est couramment le cas dans les contextes éducatifs formels en relation avec l'éducation à la démocratie (EaD), ne renforcera pas la conscientisation, l'engagement critique, l'alphabétisation politique et l'éducation transformatrice.

Types de démocratie	ÉDUCATION SUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EaD)	ÉDUCATION PAR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EtD)	ÉDUCATION EN RELATION À LA DÉMOCRATIE (ErD)	ÉDUCATION POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EfD)
DIMENSION	Dimension ontologique (Quoi?)	Dimension praxéologique (Comment?)	Dimension épistémologique (Qui? Qui est/n'est pas inclus? Les savoirs de qui?)	Dimension axiologique (Pourquoi? Quels sont les intérêts et pour qui? Quels sont les avantages et pour qui? Quels sont les impacts et pour qui?)
DESCRIPTION	Apprendre et connaître les discours démocratiques : leurs types, caractéristiques et propriétés; les politiques et institutions associées; le contexte historique et les personnages importants associés.	Engager et agir avec des modèles, des méthodes ou des moyens acceptés comme étant démocratiques.	Déconstruire et reconstruire ensemble la connaissance démocratique, la conscience, les attitudes, les actions (dans les établissements d'éducation formelle, non formelle et informelle)	Réclamer et poursuivre les valeurs et les finalités démocratiques ; Développer la conscience démocratique, les attitudes et l'engagement à lutter pour: les droits de l'homme, la justice sociale/ environnementale, la paix, l'éducation pour tous.
DOMAINES	Politique (géopolitique, politique partisane, gestion des conflits)	Social (économie, culture, technologie, déontologie)	Théories critiques, perspectives critiques	Éthique, vivre-ensemble, devenir-ensemble, (...)

Types de démocratie	ÉDUCATION SUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EaD)	ÉDUCATION PAR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EtD)	ÉDUCATION EN RELATION À LA DÉMOCRATIE (ErD)	ÉDUCATION POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (EfD)
MOTS-CLÉS	Littératie politique, institutions, législations, chartes, politiques, règlements	Conscience sociale, participation citoyenne, expériences de vie, activisme social, praxis (réflexion dans l'action)	L'éducation est d'abord une question de savoir, de conscientisation, de relations multiples entre le pouvoir et le savoir. C'est une coconstruction du savoir, une inclusion du savoir de « l'Autre ».	Transformation (collective), émancipation (individuelle)
VALEURS	Patriotisme, nationalisme	Justice sociale, engagement social, citoyenneté, interdépendance, inclusion, équité, solidarité	Conscience critique, transformations sociales, émancipation, savoir contextualisé, littératie médiatique	Démocratie, droits fondamentaux, diversité, identité, pluralisme, justice sociale et environnementale, écocitoyenneté, mondialité (être-au-monde)
ACTIONS	Être informé, voter	Parler, communiquer, dénoncer, dialoguer, débattre, délibérer	Revendiquer de nouveaux équilibres de pouvoir et de savoir, dé/re/co/ construction du savoir	Construire des « trans-identités » (au-delà des paradigmes multi et inter) : Trans/culturalité, Trans/nationalité, Trans/disciplinarité, Trans/genres
SECTEURS	International, national	Local (citoyens, communautés, organisations non-gouvernementales, implications bénévoles, ...)	Régional, national, international, (médias, culture, littérature, recherche, institutions, médias sociaux, réseaux)	Local, régional, national, international, global (développement des systèmes écologiques)
ÉDUCATION	Formelle (écoles, curriculums, programmes, cours, professions spécialisées)	Majoritairement non formel (diversité des activités sociales)	Éducation formelle, non-formelle et informelle (savoir basé sur la recherche, savoir basé sur la communauté, savoir basé sur les oppressions)	Éducation formelle, non-formelle et informelle (toutes les sphères du vivant : famille, communauté, institutions, société, réseaux (...)).

Synthesis of hierarchical model of types of education with respect to democracy

<p>3) EDUCATION IN RELATION TO DEMOCRACY (ErD) <i>Epistemological Dimension</i></p> <p><u>De/Re/Constructing knowledge</u> Perceptions; Representations; Social representations, Stereotypes, Concepts, Theories, Discourses, Questions, Descriptions, Categorizations, Definitions, Models, Beliefs, Balance of power/ knowledge, Relations to power/knowledge)</p> <p><i>*Complexifying epistemological resistance</i></p>	<p>4) EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY (EfD) <i>Axiological Dimension</i></p> <p><u>Reclaiming and pursuing democratic values</u> Environmental/social Justice; Diversity; Fundamental individual and collective rights</p> <p><i>*Sharing hope, and dreams in action, that the world can be transformed, Transformation is possible and must take place, Emancipation is a right</i></p>
<p>2) EDUCATION THROUGH DEMOCRACY (EtD) <i>Praxiological Dimension</i></p> <p><u>Engaging in actions</u> Seeking social justice for all, equity, inclusion; acces to resources for all; combatting sexism, racism, classism, xenophobia, all types of discriminations.</p> <p><i>*Developing praxis (reflection in/on action)</i></p>	<p>1) EDUCATION ABOUT DEMOCRACY (EaD) <i>Ontological Dimension</i></p> <p><u>Learning facts</u> Elections; Institutions; History; Rules; Important figures (almost always males, whites, occidentals)</p> <p><i>*Put those "facts" in perspective, consider the "Others" perspectives, including those of women, Blacks, Indigenous peoples, colonized peoples, etc.</i></p>

Synthèse du modèle hiérarchique des types d'éducation en relation à la démocratie

<p>3) ÉDUCATION EN LIEN AVEC À LA DÉMOCRATIE (E_rD) <i>Dimension épistémologique</i></p> <p><u>Dé/Re/Co</u>construire le savoir Perceptions, représentations, représentations sociales, stéréotypes, concepts, théories, discours, questions, descriptions, catégorisations, définitions, modèles, croyances, savoirs, équilibres et relations au pouvoir/savoir.</p> <p><i>*Complexifier la résistance épistémologique.</i></p>	<p>4) ÉDUCATION POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (E_pD) <i>Dimension axiologique</i></p> <p>Revendiquer et aspirer à des valeurs démocratiques Justice sociale et environnementale, diversité, droits individuels et collectifs fondamentaux</p> <p><i>*Partager l'espoir et le rêve – ancré dans l'action – qu'il est possible de transformer le monde, que cette transformation est possible et doit se faire, et que l'émancipation est un droit.</i></p>
<p>2) ÉDUCATION PAR LA DÉMOCRATIE (E_tD) <i>Dimension praxéologique</i></p> <p>S'engager dans l'action À la recherche de la justice sociale pour tous, l'équité, l'inclusion, l'accès aux ressources pour tous, combattre le sexisme, le racisme, le classisme, la xénophobie et toutes les formes de discriminations.</p> <p><i>*Développer la praxis (réflexion dans l'action).</i></p>	<p>1) ÉDUCATION SUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (E_aD) <i>Dimension ontologique</i></p> <p>Apprendre par les faits Élections, institutions, histoire, règlements, personnalités importantes (majoritairement des hommes blancs occidentaux).</p> <p><i>*Mettre ces « faits » en perspective; considération des perspectives de «l'Autre» (femmes, noirs, autochtones, en situation de colonisation, etc.).</i></p>

Complexified, Aligned Education for Democracy Model with Theoretical Dimensions

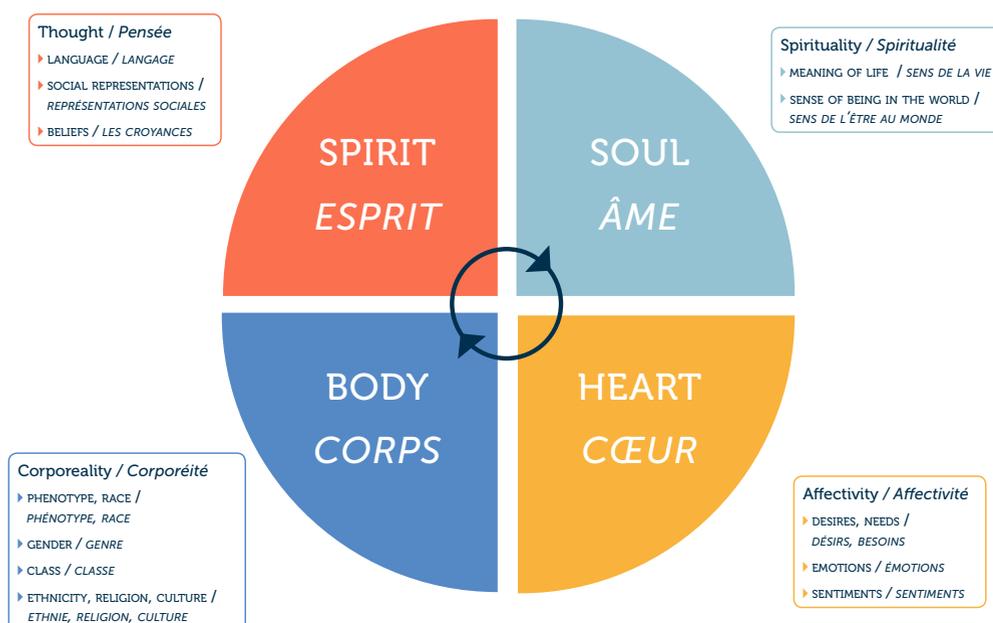
	POSITIVIST (Unicity)	INTERPRETATIVE (Multiplicity)	SOCIOCRITICAL (Diversity)	ECOLOGICAL (Mondiality)
EaD facts	Knowing facts in unidimensional/ scientific way.	Understanding facts in multiple dimensions.	Deconstructing « facts » according to diverse stakeholders.	<i>Metaphor EARTH</i> Reconstructing «facts» to prepare the «democratic soil» .
	Polis = political parties	Polis = multiple dimensions of local context	Polis = diverse contexts	Polis = global/planet
EtD actions	Acting by following democratic rules as they are in formal contexts.	Participating in multiple formal and non formal structures in multiple contexts.	Engaging in the praxis of the social dialogue in diverse contexts.	<i>Metaphor WATER</i> Living the «flow of the presence to the world». Global citizenship.
ErD knowledge	Learning knowledge as the scientific study of a reality out there.	Constructing knowledge from multiple points of view (relativism).	Deconstructing «toxic knowledge» / power.	<i>Metaphor AIR</i> Reconstructing the relation to knowledge/power/ environment.
	Mono/disciplinarity	Multi/disciplinarity	Inter/disciplinarity	Trans/disciplinarity
EfD values	Behaviorist: - Normative - Patriotic	Cognitive: - Critical thinking - Opening to Others	Political: - Developing critical consciousness - Transformation - Emancipation - Social justice & solidarity	<i>Metaphor FIRE</i> Holistic: - Ignite the passion for a Living-well-together on the Planet
	Hégémonic Citizenship	Progressive citizenship	Citizenship	Global citizenship

Modèle d'éducation pour la démocratie, complexifié et aligné avec des dimensions théoriques

	POSITIVISTE (Unicité)	INTERPRÉTATIF (Multiplicité)	SOCIOCRITIQUE (Diversité)	ÉCOLOGIQUE (Mondialité)
Faits EaD	Connaître des faits dans une perspective unidimensionnelle scientifique.	Comprendre des faits dans de multiples dimensions multiples.	Déconstruire les faits selon diverses perspectives.	<i>Métaphore EARTH</i> Reconstruire les faits pour préparer le «terreau démocratique».
	Polis = partis politiques	Polis = dimensions multiples d'un contexte local	Polis = divers contextes	Polis = contexte global et planétaire
Actions EvD	Agir en suivant des règles démocratiques telles qu'elles sont dans les contextes formels	Participation démocratique dans de multiples structures formelles et non formelles, et dans divers contextes.	S'engager dans une praxis de dialogue social dans divers contextes.	<i>Métaphore EAU</i> Vivre la «mouvance de la présence dans le monde». Citoyenneté mondiale.
Savoirs ErD	Apprendre le savoir dans une démarche scientifique pour comprendre la réalité extérieure.	Construire le savoir à partir de multiples points de vue (relativisme).	Déconstruire des « savoirs toxiques » et les pouvoirs.	<i>Métaphore AIR</i> Reconstruire la relation à soi, à l'Autre, au savoir et au monde.
	Mono/disciplinarité	Multi/disciplinarité	Inter/Disciplinarité	Trans-disciplinarité
Valeurs EpD	Behavioriste : - Normatif - Patriotique	Cognitif : - Pensée critique - Ouverture à l'autre	Politique : - Perspective critique - Conscientisation - Transformation - Émancipation - Justice sociale et solidarité	<i>Métaphore FEU</i> Holistique: - Allume l'espoir pour un bien-vivre-ensemble sur Terre.
	Citoyenneté hégémonique	Citoyenneté progressive	Citoyenneté	Citoyenneté globale

Wounded citizenship: The self (individual and collective) in all of its multiple states of vulnerability (to heal, to reassure, to comfort, to recognize and to love)

Citoyennetés blessées: le Soi (individuel et collectif) dans leurs états de vulnérabilités multiples (à panser, à rassurer, à réconforter, à reconnaître, à aimer)



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