

Helpdesk Research Report

Civic education: approaches and efficacy

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Question

What approaches have been taken to civic education programmes, including in school curricula and more broadly, and what evidence is there for their efficacy? What does the literature say about the efficacy of civic education in incentivising civic behaviour in the context of strong financial incentives in society for non-civic behaviour?

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1. Overview

Civic education (CE) was extremely popular in the 1990s as a method for promoting democracy, especially expounded by USAID, which spent between USD 30 and 50 million per year on civic education between 1990 and 2005 (Finkel, 2011). Resultantly, much seminal work on CE is from this time period, with far fewer projects and evaluations conducted recently. Some evaluations only present anecdotal evidence or lessons learned, but there is a trend towards more rigorous and quantitative evaluation. Many programmes reviewed here have used case-control methods¹ to present robust evidence on what works. So, although there is a small evidence base from 2005 to now, the evidence is quite reliable.

The CE literature is largely focused on Africa and smaller thematic areas looking at post-communist and post-conflict transitions. Much current literature focuses more narrowly on elections and voter education

¹ Arising from medical science, this experimental method compares a treatment or intervention group against a control group with overall similar characteristics except the intervention. http://www.ehib.org/faq.jsp?faq_key=34

rather than general civic education. Given that much CE happens in school, there is also a thematic focus on youth and youth engagement.

This report first presents findings on efficacy of CE, drawing on the work of Steven E. Finkel, who posits that **CE must be repeated often; interactive; and given by a respected teacher**.

It then presents overviews of the approaches and efficacy of several programmes. CE is most often imparted through workshops or a variety of media sources including radio and plays. A key finding is that the method used to deliver CE is important to its effectiveness; participatory, interactive methods are best-received and appear to deliver better, longer-term results. The process of participating in a session is itself a lesson in democracy, and informal approaches are shown to foster tolerant democratic attitudes towards others. Another finding is that CE tends to improve people's direct knowledge and understanding of political processes and their role in them, but does not necessarily increase support for democracy or belief in the political system. A final lesson is that CE's effectiveness in developing democracies is constrained by the lack of resources. Ineffective methods may be used because no alternatives are available.

Thematic findings drawn from the literature are that **targeting women specifically or women alone is likely to increase effectiveness** for women's knowledge. Expecting a trickle-down effect for women in a community is unrealistic, and gender-sensitive materials and approaches should be used. Attitudes to election-related violence in Kenya were more tolerant and forgiving among those who had received CE than those who had not, showing a long-term positive effect of CE.

Finally, within the context of financial incentives such as vote-buying, poverty is the main driving factor affecting people's decisions. CE may raise awareness of the moral issues around clientelism and vote-buying, but people are still likely to take incentives for their votes. Voters are quite likely to take the incentives and vote the way they already intended, indicating that they are not being undemocratic or lacking in knowledge, but acting in their economic interests. **CE, therefore, may not be a particularly effective means of counteracting vote-buying.**

2. Efficacy

There is no particularly strong evidence on the impacts of CE programmes. Impacts can vary across individual knowledge increase and behavioural change, to making a difference to which candidate is elected. Given that much CE aims to educate youth, the results are hard to measure and may take time to emerge, if the aim is to change a generation's attitude. The findings from projects described below generally show that CE has positive effects on increasing knowledge and to some extent increasing democratic behaviour and attitudes. It is not clear that any one method is more effective than another, but there are several key lessons drawn from leading scholars which seem to hold true.

Finkel's body of work strongly suggests that the **efficacy of programmes is related to the pedagogies used.** A general consensus exists on several consistent lessons drawn from civic education in developing countries across the last fifteen years and in a number of different contexts (Finkel et al, 2012), held to be true across all contexts that this team has investigated². The following are the conditions under which CE is most effective (Finkel, 2011):

² Expert comment

- repetition (more than one attendance)
- an interactive teaching method
- training provided by a respected source

The frequency of attendance is the most important determinant of individual change: attendance at one or two sessions has little impact, with a threshold reached at three sessions where participants showed large gains in democratic orientations. Use of participatory methods is significantly more effective than lecture-based instruction. Teachers who were perceived to be higher quality, knowledgeable and inspiring led to greater impact than those who did not engage well with the participants. These findings are drawn from rigorous mixed methods evaluations of 10 CE programmes in four countries (Poland, South Africa, Kenya, Dominican Republic). There is little doubt that CE programmes can be effective in stimulating local-level participation, increasing knowledge about the political system and in developing democratic values.

Finkel (2011) also suggests that **CE** is more effective in increasing political knowledge than changing long-term values. CE tends to have a modest effect on 'civic competence' and overall support for democracy, but strong effects on knowledge and a sense of political efficacy. A **focus on local level issues and encouragement and opportunities to engage with local officials** are far more successful than general information-led workshops. Programmes run by advocacy NGOs, as is often the case, are themselves a form of political mobilisation, showing individuals how to problem-solve and bring issues to the attention of local government.

A final note from Finkel's (2011) work is that the work in Kenya around the 2002 election shows that CE can have **positive secondary effects on the broader community**. In the post-test questionnaire, participants responded that 70 per cent had discussed the content of the workshops with five or more other people, and 25 per cent had discussed with five or fewer. Of those who did not attend the workshops, about half had had discussions with those who did. This demonstrates a high likelihood of achieving positive change through post-intervention cascading discussion.

3. Projects

Project Citizen

Approach

The **Project Citizen** approach, developed by the Center for Civic Education in the USA, has been widely exported for use in schools and with youth internationally. Prinzing (2011) reviews the project in Thailand, which was partly motivated by the clashes between the Red and Yellow shirts. The project aims to promote **competent and responsible participation in local and state government, through developing skills in influencing public policy.** Students identify a problem, research and evaluate alternative solutions, develop a solution and action plan and present it publically to the community (Prinzing, 2011). The focus is on public policy. The programme combines with civic education elements in the national curriculum, which allow Project Citizen to be offered as either a compulsory part of the curriculum or as an elective module, depending on the school. The follow-up course **Foundations of Democracy** (FOD) is also offered in Thailand, which consists of materials on four fundamental concepts:

- Authority (distinguish authority/power; choosing leaders; cost/benefit analysis of authority; scope and limits of authority);
- Privacy (importance; cost/benefits; limits);
- Responsibility (choosing amongst responsibilities; assigning and accepting responsibility; cost/benefit);
- Justice (distributive, corrective and procedural justice).

Training of trainers has also focused on training community educators and adult education teachers to use the Project Citizen approach outside of schools, and it has also been implemented in Rajabhat University as a compulsory component.

In Indonesia, Project Citizen and Foundations of Democracy are combined to create a two-year programme building a network of educational institutions, NGOs, and religious organisations to deliver the programme (Center for Civic Education, 2009). The programmes were implemented in six conflict and post-conflict areas and aimed to foster a **democratic political culture among youth**.

An adapted form of Project Citizen was used in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo with the aim to **increase tolerance and inter-ethnic amity among youth** (Terra, 2010). A curriculum was implemented in schools in the three countries, then students were brought together in a 5-day workshop to present their Project Citizen portfolios and participate in workshops on leadership, personal identity and self-awareness. The second set of workshops centred around the Authority, Justice and Responsibility modules described above and encouraged inter-group collaboration. The pedagogy was based around activities and games rather than teacher-led instruction.

Efficacy

Project Citizen in Thailand is monitored through **teachers' lesson plans and self-evaluation, and students' knowledge and behaviour** (Prinzing, 2011). Some anecdotal evidence suggests that students are going on to better schools after graduating. There is a **concern about the level of teachers' knowledge and confidence** in presenting these somewhat new concepts and style of learning, but there are efforts to develop and share best practice to improve the quality of teaching. The project-based learning approach is widely considered effective and Project Citizen is internationally recognised as high-quality. The use of interactive participatory methods correlates to Finkel's second finding.

In Indonesia, the Project Citizen and FOD programmes were also successful (Center for Civic Education, 2009). The Project Citizen evaluation found that participants were more positive about their ability to influence change in the government than the control group; a higher political interest; more likely to become politically engaged; and a positive change in teaching style to be more creative and interactive. The key findings from FOD programmes are that the course materials and teaching style are considered effective and promote student engagement and learning; teachers want to use the same methods in other courses; the course has changed students' behaviour and attitudes towards more critical thinking. These findings suggest that Project Citizen was effective in changing young people's views and likelihood of engaging politically.

The Project Citizen showcase in Macedonia started with the presentation by students of their projects. This positioned them as leaders and experts, and allowed them to learn about the projects of the other students, giving them an experience in common (Terra, 2010). Students reported that the judges for the showcase were divergent in their approaches to judging, and felt that this was unfair. The leadership and

self-awareness workshops were highly scored in student feedback, partly due to the **high quality of materials and activities**. The second set of workshops on Authority, Responsibility and Justice were also well-received. There is some evidence that indicators increased over the time involved, as students grew more comfortable in the environment. The **interactive and student-led methods** used by Project Citizen were high-quality and well-received.

Non-formal education

Kuenzi (2005) reviews the effect of formal and non-formal education³ (NFE) on Senegalese citizens' political attitudes. Using a case-control study, it reviews the effects of four NFE programmes (two NGO-and two government-run) through a questionnaire examining views around voting and expressing opinions. The author found that the two NGO programmes – Tostan and PIP – had more positive results than the government programmes. Both these programmes provide **basic and non-formal education to people in poverty**. PIP provides literacy training to the ethnically marginalised Pulaar people, using **participatory methods**, and Tostan provides education through six modules on thematic areas such as **problem-solving**, **health**, **leadership or financial management**. The overarching aims of both programmes include elements of empowerment, self-development, and social mobilisation.

The study shows that both formal and non-formal education have positive effects on attitudes towards democracy and civic culture. Both NFE and formal schooling increase the likelihood of a person supporting democratic values and that people with NFE will have a less authoritarian attitudinal orientation than those without NFE. The effect of education on support for democratic values does not differ greatly between formal and non-formal education until a threshold of six years in formal education was reached. That is, respondents receiving 1-5 years of either form of education were equally as likely to support democratic values, and significantly more likely to support them than those without any education. Those receiving formal education for more than 6 years see an increasing payoff for each additional year of education. The effect of NFE on authoritarianism was quite significant, along with frequency of listening to news on the radio, formal schooling and gender. Those with NFE are taught with participatory, non-authoritarian methods which foster a practical understanding of democratic methods, corresponding to Finkel's second finding.

The reason why the NGO NFE programmes were more successful than the government programmes in developing these attributes is attributed to the NGOs' management and development of strong curricula. Both government programmes delegate responsibility to local actors, and maintain little oversight of the projects, allowing their operators free rein over the curricula. By contrast, the NGOs adhere to internationally tested models of high educational quality.

TV lessons in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, TV lessons have been introduced as a form of providing greater education to cope with the sudden increases in secondary school enrolment and to provide more expertise to regions which do not have teachers with the necessary knowledge. Semela et al. (2013) review this method of teaching and conclude that it is quite ineffective for students' learning due to the lack of interactivity in this context due to resource constraints.

³ Any organised educational activity outside the formal schooling system. Informal education is the lifelong learning process of daily experience.

Students listen and watch a pre-recorded 30 minute presentation from a TV teacher, presented as a lecture or 'TV news' format. There is space for students to answer questions and think about the problems posed, but both teachers and students report there is not enough time allocated for this. The curriculum focuses heavily on domestic laws, including regional and federal constitutions, while giving little time to international affairs and laws. Students report that the TV lessons do not facilitate interactivity, either with the TV teacher or classroom teacher. The recording cannot be stopped halfway through, nor is there communication with the TV teacher to ask for further clarification or respond to issues. In Australia, the same method was used to much greater success because there was a live telephone connection to the TV teacher and students could ask real-time questions.

It is important to note that the TV lessons do not match with what is in the textbooks and teachers' handbook for civic education, which has a clear directive to educate active citizens who will participate in community life. The use of TV lessons breaches that objective, as they are not learner-centred and are not driven by the same philosophical underpinnings as the civic education curriculum. Instead, the use of TV seems to be a quick-fix solution to the multiple obstacles of poor infrastructure, lack of qualified teachers, and lack of learning resources. This method was considered ineffective by students and teachers for its lack of interactivity and time to think and discuss the issues. Students in Ethiopia did not see any clear advantage of TV lessons over the classroom teacher, but the teachers identified the usefulness of the TV teacher in being able to teach subjects of which they did not have sufficient knowledge.

Voter education in Sudan

The United States Institute for Peace programme in Sudan followed the Sudanese 2006 peace agreement which established the devolution referendum (Levine and Bishai, 2010). Given the lack of knowledge of constitutional frameworks and voting rights of citizens, USIP provided voter education and citizen skills workshops to mixed audiences, aiming to spread understanding quickly and broadly through different sectors of society (Levine and Bishai, 2010). One of the first methods used was a play about voter education written by an early participant in a workshop (theatre teacher at a university). It was performed at several workshops and drew large crowds. The play included information on voting, civic rights and skills and social responsibility, but was funny and reflected local dialogue and customs (Levine and Bishai, 2010).

USIP further developed a programme of electoral violence prevention workshops which provided case studies on four similar African elections; conflict management skills; and citizenship training providing a long-term view on democracy (Levine and Bishai, 2010). The workshops used highly interactive techniques, including the voter education play. High-ranking police were invited to speak at some workshops on their role in the elections, and training-of-trainers was also conducted.

USIP also held a conference on changing the civic education national curriculum, which did not adequately address the diverse identities in Sudan (Levine and Bishai, 2010). Education officials and experts gathered in 2007 to discuss and analyse the history of civic education in Sudan and comparative models from other places. The voter education play was performed, and special representatives of primary school age children were present. The conference identified resource constraints as drivers of the poor level of civic education; specifically poor teaching quality, little material in the curriculum, and the low social status of teachers (Levine and Bishai, 2010).

The programme does not have a rigorous evaluation but does offer anecdotal assessments which suggest that participants felt that the workshops were useful and have contributed to their civic understanding. Trainers were trained in groups for the north and south of Sudan, and commented that **interacting with citizens of different ethnicity**, **language and culture was a good chance to cooperate and learn about each other** (Levine and Bishai, 2010). Civic issues are possible bridges between conflicted groups, uniting them through a common interest. The outcomes of the conference have not been taken up by the Ministry of Education, so it has not had a direct impact on the curriculum.

Voter education in DRC

The Voter Opinion and Involvement through Civic Education Program (VOICE) was implemented in 2009 by IFES in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to improve the capacity of the Congolese people to participate in the ongoing decentralisation (Finkel, 2012). One of the key communication strategies was the use of 'boîtes à images' (image boxes), using simple drawings to communicate messages which facilitate a discussion of the issue depicted. This helps overcome illiteracy. The sessions were approximately two hours long, with 100 participants each time (Finkel, 2012). The programme also held a song contest for three categories of songs (Best in French, Best in Swahili, Best for Youth) which would motivate the Congolese to vote in the 2011 elections. 14 artists and community radio stations entered, and their songs were played across the country through radio station partners⁴.

The 'boîtes à images' are evaluated as effective in raising knowledge levels of electoral issues by an average of 5 percentage points higher than non-participants (Abdul-Latif, 2013). Exposure to media messages on elections through TV and radio was also considered effective in raising knowledge. The experimental evaluation using case-control groups conducted by Finkel (2012) revealed that the 'boîtes à images' were very effective in raising correct knowledge about decentralisation (12-45 per cent correct answers in the questionnaire, as opposed to control villages' 5-10 per cent). Further, the greatest effects were seen among the participants with the lowest prior levels of information. These are claimed to be some of the largest effects in adult CE interventions, and perhaps surprising given that they arise from a single village-level event (Finkel, 2012). However, there was no particular change in attitudes towards decentralisation or any other observable changes in political orientations. This indicates that CE may increase knowledge but not necessarily transform attitudes or increase support for democracy. Contrary to Finkel's own work in Kenya around the 2002 elections (above), no spillover effects were found in DRC, meaning attendees did not seem to discuss their new knowledge with family and friends (Finkel, 2012). The most significant effects were found when: the quality of the session and facilitators was perceived to be high; immediately after the sessions (knowledge decreased over time); and no particular demographic differences in results (Finkel, 2012).

Voter education in Nepal

The National Election Observation Committee of Nepal has reviewed available information, education and communication materials produced country-wide for the 2009 Constituent Assembly election (National Election Observation Committee, n.d.).

One intervention targeted women through workshops. The workshops used **participatory methods** using the CA calendar, CA hand books, news cuttings and discussion, and a **mock election** to demonstrate how

⁴http://www.comminit.com/global/content/voter-opinion-and-involvement-through-civic-education-voice-program

the election would work. Roleplaying a mock election was highly effective at increasing understanding of the process.

An intervention targeting youth used a campaign bus to reach 12,000 youth over two months, and radio announcements on two national and twenty local stations, in 12 local languages (National Election Observation Committee, n.d.). Radio announcements were found to be effective means of reaching people, as 90 per cent of people in Nepal listen to the radio for two hours per day, while TV was more effective at reaching urban and wealthier audiences. Docudramas, plays, serials, and broadcasts of political debates and Q and A sessions have been effective and widely listened to throughout Nepal (National Election Observation Committee, n.d.).

DDR in Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone, training was provided to members of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) to encourage disarmament, reintegration and reconciliation (DDR) processes; encourage community-based mechanisms and promote human and civic rights (Wlodarczyk, 2009). Since many of the fighters had had no access to a non-violent life before, the focus was on basic political education and building an awareness of systems beyond patron-client networks. Towards the end of the war, the CDF was approached by Conciliation Resources to resolve conflicts between factions of the CDF and between the CDF and citizens. This evolved into a CE project giving workshops on citizen's rights and duties and expectations for civil life. Crucially, these were provided through the existing CDF structures, and utilised the authority and existing respectful relationships with key figures within the force, in line with Finkel's third finding that a respected source is necessary for CE to be successful. DDR in general was less successful in creating citizenship, as it focused primarily on economic reintegration and did not provide much political education (Wlodarczyk, 2009).

4. Thematic findings

Women

Pang et al. (2011) conducted a randomised controlled trial in China to see whether women's voting behaviour changed after training. One intervention provided voting training to women only, one provided the same training about women's voting rights to community leaders, and the third provided training to both groups. A control group was also included. The results were very clear that training women directly on their rights was effective in increasing their knowledge and voting behaviour, but that training leaders only had no effect on women's voting, nor on leaders' knowledge. Before the intervention, fewer than 80 per cent of women fully exercised their voting rights, but this increased by 10-14 per cent after the training. The qualitative results showed that the intervention also had a positive effect on women's confidence, sense of importance and contribution to village life. This study shows clearly that targeting women specifically is much more effective for increasing knowledge and voting behaviour than targeting community leaders and expecting trickle-down effects for women.

This finding is borne out by Abdul-Latif (2013), who shows that the 'boîtes à images' sessions in DRC produced higher levels of impact in men than in women, by 10 percentage points. The sessions were not sex-segregated nor were women targeted specifically, and the paper calls for learning methods which are more effective for women.

The four non-formal education programmes in Senegal reviewed by Kuenzi (2005) exhibited **negligible or negative effects on gender; women were less likely than men to develop democratic or non-authoritarian attitudes.** This is attributed to the generally conservative culture for women and their lack of participation in public life.

The Nepali women's workshop which aimed at increasing knowledge of the upcoming Constituent Assembly election was considered successful in increasing women's knowledge. This was partly attributed to the good orientation in the training of trainers sessions, meaning the **trainers were good quality.** However, the general information materials disseminated before the election tended not to be gender-balanced, and there were complaints about the lack of women-friendliness.

Violence

Finkel et al.'s (2012) review of Kenya's post-election violence in 2007 is a rare assessment of CE's long-term effect and its potential to 'inoculate' against political violence (full details on the programme can be found in M'Cormack, 2011). The NCEP-II URAIA programme was implemented before the elections, but due to the violence was not evaluated until January 2009, leaving around a two-year gap between implementation and evaluation. The results showed that **CE was relatively effective in the long-term**, with little decrease in democratic attitudes over time, even with violence. **Exposure to URAIA blunted the negative impacts that the violence had on the control group** – participants in the programme who were affected by the post-election violence were less likely than non-participants to adopt negative views on ethnic relations, tolerance and conflict, and more likely to oppose political violence, support the rule of law, and forgive the perpetrators. This shows that CE can be effective in the long-term and increase tolerance and forgiveness in the face of violence, contributing to social cohesion and democratic culture.

5. Financial incentives

There is not much information on the efficacy of civic education as a persuasive factor for civic behaviour in the context of strong financial incentives otherwise, i.e. vote-buying. Most literature which reviews interventions to prevent vote-buying recommends a narrow form of voter education which does not include general civic education. There is mixed evidence on the relationship between election monitoring, voter education and election-related violence, with no clear indication of whether election monitoring or voter education may be best for targeting vote-buying (Walton, 2012). Bratton (2008) reviews vote-buying in Nigeria and concludes that the issue is not around people's knowledge and understanding of the electoral process, nor their belief that vote-buying is morally wrong, but that the problem lies centrally in their poverty and susceptibility to take the money offered by politicians. In this case study, voters are quite likely to take the incentives and vote the way they already intended, indicating that they are not being undemocratic, but acting in their economic interests. The review of attitudes in this paper shows that the majority of Nigerians are educated on electoral processes and view vote-buying as morally wrong, from which Bratton concludes that poverty is the driving factor in vote-buying, which must be counteracted by a system of incentives for democratic behaviour rather than civic education initiatives.

Vicente and Wantchekon (2009) describe an anti-vote-buying leaflet campaign in São Tomé and Príncipe for the presidential elections of 2006. 10,000 leaflets were distributed in 10 of the 149 census areas, and comprised a slogan 'Do not let your conscience be bent by vote buying—Your vote should be free and in good conscience', an allusive drawing for the illiterate, and passages of the Campaign Financing Law

regarding the illegality of vote buying. The results showed that the campaign decreased the frequency of vote-buying, but was most effective on voting choices, i.e. that voters did not feel they had to vote according to who had given them incentives. In this context, the incumbent had an advantage through clientelism and only the challenger was buying votes; the result of the campaign was to shift more votes to the incumbent. As above, voters are poor and quite likely to accept cash-for-votes, but an education campaign can still encourage them to 'vote in conscience' at the polling booth, which is a step towards free and fair elections.

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Key websites

- Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability: http://www.drc-citizenship.org/
- IDEA's Civic Education Research Database: http://civiced.idea.int/
- CERI, the Civic Education Resource Inventory (many resources non-English): http://ceri.civnet.org/
- Center for Civic Education: http://www.civiced.org/

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