

Title: La lucha por una sociedad abierta: tareas de ética ciudadana en Chile y en A. Latina
(Struggling for the Open Society: Proposals to Improve Participation and Democracy in Chile and Latin America)

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1. Presentation:

The general purpose of my participation in this panel of LASA2000 is to present to you and discuss some proposals to make a didactical and constructive contribution from the Political Science to the activities of political education to improve the democratical regime. Therefore, I hope that the fulfillment of my academic project about this topic in the next future will be useful for scholars and political social actors in Chile and in other countries of Latin America struggling for open society ¹.

The contribution will be supported on knowledge based on rational political-ethical principles, established and systematized during the investigation, and on ad-hoc methodology written when the project is formulated to put into practice in the course of the investigation. The expected results must benefit, in the first place, to those who are worried, direct or indirectly, about the issue, for example, through teaching, working in governmental and non-governmental organizations, in political parties, churches, among others.

2. Why activities of political education to improve the democratical regime in Chile?

Chile transitioned from a long period of authoritarian political regime to a democratic one. Simultaneously, the Chilean economy has had a good performance and the country has grown and it has modernized at an accelerated rhythm. At the end of the nineties, with regard to the mentioned facts, it could be diagnosed that the Chilean democracy is in a process of consolidation, and causal relations can be postulated between economical development, modernization and democracy. Certainly, the economic development generates good conditions to the political order effectiveness. In general it increases the capacities or it turns the political system in a good standing. However, conducts, attitudes and opinions from relevant sectors for the Chilean society that consist, essentially, in disenchantment, distrust, lack of interests and nonparticipation in the political life of its country (look at the elections of december 1997, low inscription of young people in the electoral rolls, etc.) do not allow us to affirm that the Chilean democracy is consolidated. Likewise, critical positions and sincere preoccupation of political actors and intellectuals with regard to the achievements reached by the country in the nineties, make space for diagnosing the need of constructively assuming the pending tasks with the object of going deep into the participation and democratization of Chilean society.

¹ . The project was selected in the annual concourse of the National Found for Science and Technology (Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico - FONDECYT) to have support for the next three years to be implemented at the Instituto de Ciencia Política of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

On the basis of the foregoing foundation, my first hypothesis is that exists a demand for practical propositions that contribute to increase the participation and democratization of the Chilean society, and that a founded contribution for the civic political education, carried out from the Political Science, will mean to take a step in that direction.

An additional support to the foundation of the proposed hypothesis is situated in the experience of other countries of the world, where the transit, from a long period of authoritarian regimen to a consolidated democracy, has required a systematic work in didactics and civic political education. The same as Germany from the ending of the Second World War. In that country conceptions of didactics of the political education/teaching have been developed, which scientific foundation gives the strength enough to contribute to the development of experiences of civic political education in other places of the world. Likewise, a Organization or Center for Political Education (Zentrale zur Politischen Bildung) on the national level, and centers on the regional and local level, coordinated with non-governmental initiatives of organizations, carry out practical activities of political education, such as seminaries, meetings, journeys, etc, and they publish books, periodicals and magazines designed to support the work in civic political education and discernment and civic political participation into the democratic system. The civic political education constitute a real task of the society and the state.

The didactics of political education must be based on a deep scientific and social knowledge. It is not a question of theoretical knowledge only, but also practical knowledge, because the political education or teaching activity itself will produce in situations where human beings participate, in which the relations of individual and society, individual and history, individual and state are didactically thematized.

The political ethics, understood as a joint of questions and principles ratiocinated on the sense and function of the common institutions (social ethics) and on founded orientations for prudent personal behaviors, can be consulted on foundations and political objects, legitimate action methods, criterions for evaluating institutions and common regulations, political virtues or desirable behaviors in the democratic political system, among others. Some examples of political ethics questions to become resolved through discernment are: How does the society concept present and how is it founded in relation to people?, Which are the foundations that make it legitimate?, Which essential conditions or functions must be executed by the individuals and groups to reach the living together, to manifest stable social relations, sustain structures and legitimate institutions?, What is 'institution' in relation to people and social relations?, How and what does the state manifest and in consequence what are its tasks?, What are the tasks for politics?, What possibilities, oportunities and hazards are produced in politics?

The outcomes of the political ethics investigations allow us to present and, in a reasoned manner, a convincing link between individual ethics and social ethics, and for that reason they have good possibilities to become a concrete contribution to stimulate common chilean citizen to think about the possible consequences of there interactions with other individuals, groups, institutions, and of course on the consequences of there decisions.

The political ethics is a powerful support basis for discernment and participation in a state with a democratic political regimen, and in that respect, it is a good foundation for the civic political education/teaching work. The political-ethical knowledge help to improve discernment and desire to participate in the political life, because it is a rational instrument for institutions and

behaviors. In that respect, the political-ethical knowledge gives basic common orientations to the different individuals and groups in a democratic and plural society.

Due to its capacity of contributing to the citizen political learning process, as far as it gives tools to the free, autonomous and responsible discernment, the political ethics is a good foundation for the participation of citizens in their decision making process (political and social). The political ethical knowledge constitutes itself a great stimulus for citizen's fulfillment of their functions in a democratic regimen, this means, that to fulfill with meaning the institutions of its own political order, and then, to be the best guarantee of democratic institutionality and governability.

If political ethics wants to be the bases of a democratic society, it must emphasize its orientation to the practical application. Certainly, at the beginning, the theoretical and general aspects of the social sciences' knowledge must serve the political and social analysis. However, the political teaching priority is to support the discernment of the behavior and actions in a democratic political regimen in daily life situations, and therefore it must produce practical results. Accordingly, political ethics cannot be a question of arguments in favor of specific abstract moral principles, staying in the politics objective level. Political ethics must argue, mainly in the media dimension, prudent positions and desirable ways of behavior in politics, that is understood as human beings praxis in the society. Likewise, it must offer orientations for the application of principles shared in the political resolution of conflicts, in difficult political situations, in which the living together becomes problematic and in the process of taking a decision.

After the actor participates in a political education or teaching didactical process, founded in political-ethical knowledge, the individual would have internal trust in his potentialities. He will also win a positive attitude of his interests and convictions in the society, admitting, at the same time, that the actor must interact with other human beings in the common institutions, that the social, economical and institutional conditions do make sense and they do have legitimacy while they have its compliance, and that his decisions have consequences to him and to the others. Through this way, the individual conscience will gradually develop a valuation of democracy as a participatory political regimen.

My second hypothesis is that the effort to develop a didactics of civic political education, founded in political-ethical knowledge, developed in Political Science, will translate into contribution to participation and democracy.

People who put in practice the political education, counting on a consistent political-ethical basis, will have the stimulus of understanding and experiencing the foundations, principles and consequences of their practical and didactical work.

A proposition of a civic political education will contribute to support democracy, as long as it is the result of collective reflection. That not only implies to review relevant literature, but also, and especially, to generate a dialogue (dialogue) with representative social-political actors of society, with regard to their conceptions of politics, participation, democracy and their proper methods for civic political education.

In that respect, it can be argued with the experiences of other countries, where political ethics education and didactics are the result of open, participative and plural debates about their principles and methods.

Therefore, my third hypothesis is that didactics for democratic political education, founded, originally on the political-ethical acquired knowledge, will be enriched and will become legitimated in the Chilean society thanks to the contributions of several socio-political actors that represent plural interests, experiences and points of view of the society.

In Political Science, just as in other social sciences, it is possible to put to the test variable relation hypothesis through experimental investigation designs. One possible way to research consists of exposing the experimental group individuals to the effects of an independent variable. With the object of discarding alternative rival hypothesis to the postulated causal relation, control groups of similar characteristics to the group that is subjected to the independent variable are used, and the respective measurements are made. Both the election of the control and experimental groups and the empirical observations can be carried out through sampling and techniques of public opinion polls that constitute a common heritage of the empirical social sciences. If the measurement of the effects of the independent variable is achieved through this way, the relation hypothesis will be consistent.

Therefore, the fourth and last hypothesis is that didactics of political education/teaching for democracy will have greater possibilities to execute its function of stimulating participation and supporting democracy, if it is based, among other factors, on the experimental designs application of ad hoc investigations.

Therefore, of all the foregoing mentioned facts and hypothesis, the following are the specific proposal for an investigation project in Chile:

First, systematize political-ethical knowledge that is the result of research, which will offer contributions to the democratic political education in Chile from the political science perspective. Second, propose political didactics sustain in political ethical knowledge and on the contribution of social political actors, which are representative of Chilean society.

Third, provide empirical foundations of political didactic propositions, my investigation project will use empirical research designs, and it will implement to empirically lay the foundations of the political didactical proposition that this investigation project will make room for with empirical investigation designs and its implementation.

3. Some observations about literature

When the nineties were concluding, the publications destined to evaluate the Chilean political system strengths, weaknesses, problems and challenges are substantial, and they come from the political and intellectual world (see, like an example, G. Campero 1997, *Renovar la Concertación* 1998 -Renovating Concertation-, *La Gente Tiene Razón* 1998 -People are Right-, *La Gente Quiere Cambios* 1998 -People Want Changes-, PNUD 1998; Lechner 1998, Brunner 1998, Huneeus 1998, Godoy 1999, Tironi/Agüero 1999, Martínez 1999). In general, there is a consensus in relation to the advance that the transition meant from an authoritarian regime to a democratic political regime, and the carrying out of the Concertation's governments is positively evaluated in comparison to the preceding government. But the opinions and arguments are divergent when it is a question of evaluating the transformations and modernizations that have been produced in the economical, social and political position. The studies and opinions tend to agree in recognizing that there is a relevant Chilean percentage that do not participate in the political life of its country. Diagnosis and evaluation about the causes of this phenomenon are divergent, and so are the evaluations of the same phenomenon, too (see

like examples: Guzmán/Villagrán 1997; Campero 1997, 414-415; Lechner 1998, 231-242; Brunner 1998, 176-177; DESUC-COPESA 1997).

In a comparative perspective, the founded studies about civic participation, political culture and democracy in other countries with experiences of political transition from totalitarian or authoritarian to democratical political regimens, do not allow us to have objective indicators to evaluate the Chilean process (Mac Donough/Barnes/López 1986, Dogan 1988, Schmidt 1990, Beetham 1991, Weil 1993, Dalton 1994, Gunther/Puhle/Diamandouros 1995, Morlino/Tarchi 1996, Anderson/Guillory 1997, Montero/Gunther/Torcal 1999). In studies about the cases of Germany, Italy and Spain, where similar methods of qualitative analysis and empirical investigation are used (concept operationalizations, information compilation about political attitudes and support to the democratic system through public opinion polls, quantitative and qualitative analysis of data, etc.), it gets to very different conclusions about legitimacy and the degree of consolidation of the democratic system throughout time.

Therefore, the Chilean situation can be caused by changes in the ways of participation, which are originated in the correlation between megatendencies, such as globalization, increasing pluralism, among others, and modernization, and that are already affecting society in economical, social, cultural and political dimensions (Brunner 1998, Valdivieso 1998, Martínez 1999).

In any case, neither Chilean study nor foreign studies would agree that a lack of participation is desirable for the good functioning of a democratic political regimen. In Chile and in the world exist a consensus with regard to the importance of the participation for the good functioning of a democratic political regime (Renovar la Concertación 1998, La Gente Tiene Razón 1998, La Gente Quiere Cambios 1998, PNUD 1988, Lechner 1998, Brunner 1998, Huneus 1998, Valdivieso 1998, Godoy 1999, Tironi/Agüero 1999, Martínez 1999).

Next we will present some observations about the literature on this subject for discussion of these proposals.

Studies of political theory about participative democracy (Pateman 1970, Bachrach 1970, Bachrach/Botwiniek 1992), expansive democracy (Warren 1992), solid democracy (Barber 1994) associative democracy (Hirst 1994) and cosmopolitan democracy (Archibugi/Held 1995), give special importance to participation and maximization of the participation's opportunities (Phillips 1991) in its democratical regimen visions. Studies inclined for normative argumentations found that political systems where the participation in all public issues is promoted are desirable. Participation is the *modus operandi* for defining collective interests, competing of interests, controversies and decision making. Some authors, Barber (1994) for example, maintain, according to the J.J Rousseau's thesis, that representation affects participation and, at this rate also, the democratic foundations. R. Dahl (1994) argues on behalf of participative democracy, presenting it as a counterweight to a nondemocratical organization, derived from the increasing internationalization and globalization of economics and politics. Some studies emphasize participation as a principle that must make space for dissolution of diverse control ways that still persist in the state and society: Vilmar (1973) proposes to minimize all those ways of control that are not legitimated, substituting them for ways of control from the bottom up, through the co-participation of the citizenship and the increment of cooperation through participation, keeping guaranteed the free determination principle. Other authors suggest the need of intensifying and cultivating the diverse expressions of the citizens' will, communication and education of political will (Pateman 1970, Offe/Preuss 1991; J. Habermas

1992). In conclusion, all those theoretical perspectives found there trust in stability and its persistence of the democratic system through the extension and getting to the bottom of participation in the political process.

A real democracy, according to the mentioned authors, must have discussion, procedur(e)s to administrate conflicts and ways to come to consensus. These procedures not only need institutions and general rules, but also, and specially, on conslitical terms, people, associations, and small groups that participate democratically (Habermas, 1981). In his reports about deliberative democracy, Habermas, affirms that deliberative politics is an understanding and a way to form political will formation way about public issues. It obtains its legitimacy from the participative process structure of formation of ideas, convictions and political will (Habermas 1992).

Empirical studies about participative democracy, that are in tune with the studies of practical politics about participation, argue on the basis of measurements of political participation (Kaase, 1992). One of the main results of this investigation consist on empirically proving that in the western countries exist a big demand from population for opportunities to participate, and that the demand of certain groups reachid the point of exceeding the institutional possibilities of participation (Barnes/Kaase, Kaase 1992, Habermas 1992). There are studies that have built models founded on empirical information to explain differences in the talent for participating in distinct groups (Dalton 1986, 1994).

Publications about ethics and politics could wholly fill up libraries, because the investigation of those topics have found spacious place since ancient times. A review of some of the literature:

In my opinion it seems that there are three positions with regard to the relation between ethics and politics: subordination of politics by moral, separation between politics and moral, and acceptance of validity of everyone and of a tension relation between them. They find spacious place in the contemporary theoretical reflection, center(ed) on the subject itself of relation between ethics and politics (for example Gogarten 1932; Kinneth 1961, Thielicke 1966, Gollwitzer 1962; Hffe 1979), on the subject of justice (Salomon 1937, Del Vecchio 1954, Trude 1955, Kriele 1963, Rawls 1972, Hffe 1975), on the subject of separation between state and private moral (Meinecke 1976, Quaritsch 1970, Schnur 1975), on the subject of dialectics of goals and means, and problems of the use of the force (Arendt 1970, Jouvenel 1972, Matz 1975, Walzer 1982, Bckle/Krell 1984), on the argument about the relation between norm and exception (Schmidt 1928; Lbbe 1971), on the distinction between conscience ethics and responsibility ethics (Weber 1971, Jonas 1979, Saladin 1984), and on the human rights theory as a link between ethics and politics (Schnur 1974; Schwartl%onder 1978, Sutor 1992, Valdivieso 1998).

In Political Science of many countries, particularly developing once, political ethics has found little space as a subdiscipline. There are scarce studies, which connect ethical reflection with the typical subject and procedures of political science. Out of the books that I review, Sutor (1992) turns out to be the only political scientist that offers a systematic presentation of political ethics outstanding for my conception. The author makes use of the conceptual instruments that are based on theory and political philosophy of politics. Later he argues ethically from the perspective of goals and means of politics, and he systematically offers orientating basic principles to working in political ethics. The author consistently shows the possibility of finding a way of thinking that, expressed in a reasoned manner, is in conditions of serving as support and orientation to the daily and permanent work of constructing a democratic order of coexistence.

It is surprising that in many of specialized journals, at least in the nineties, there are not many studies about political ethics approached from the perspective of my proposals and my investigation project (I mean an Ethics, Neue Hefte für Philosophie, Journal of Political Theory, Philosophy and Public Affairs, Political Studies, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Political Theory, Politics and Society). Some of those reports about ethical subjects basically repeat common notions; in this manner, for example, one author, thinking on the ethical demands on politics from the anthropological approach, emphasizes the relation of reciprocal dependence between individual and society, because neither exists a previous situation of individuals only nor exists a social structures previous to people (Bevir 1996). Therefore, he reiterates the dichotomy individual/collectivity stated since Classical Philosophy.

In my opinion, the majority of publications about specific subjects can be classified in three dimensions of politics: **one**, internal or pertaining to the state political order (Messner 1984, Nell-Breuning 1985, Utz 1963/64/86, Bückenrde, 1988/90, Buchheim 1981, Bachele 1987, Maier 1990, Nell-Breuning 1975, Roos 1963, Scarcinelli (ed.) 1990, Welte 1965, Castiglione 1996, Bellami 1996, Black 1997), **two**, economic and social political order (Messner 1984, Auer 1984, Klose 1988, Kuppler 1988, Nell-Breuning 1975, Rauscher 1985, Camacho 1986, Homann/Blome-Drees 1992, Ilse 1996), **three**, international system and security (Furger 1989, Jonas 1979, Korff 1979, Thesing/Weigelt 1988, Vgtle 1983, Weiler 1988, Zweifelhofer 1980, De-Shalit 1996, Moore 1997, Carter 1998). From every one of these perspectives, we could infer concrete ethical demands toward politics. In the area of internal politics, orientated by the goal of liberty, we can find demands for the state for example, a democratic constitution, the affirmation of human rights in the state, conditions for pluralism, instruments to administrate divergences and to arrive to minimal necessary consensus. In the economic and socio-political area oriented by the goal of justice, we can find demands for the state, for example market economy, social politics, politics of property and income, work and labor relations, production and environmental treatment. In the area of international relations center in the goal of peace we have ethical demands toward politics of security and defense, the use of resources, the international economical relations, the cooperation and development, etc.

In countries with consolidated democratic political regimens, didactic reports for political education founded on solid ethical knowledge and with the goal of supporting free, autonomous and responsible discernment of citizens, so that they can participate in the deliberative process (social and political), constitute the main foundation to think that it is possible to make the same kind of contribution in Chile and another countries (see Gutmann 1987, Thompson 1987, Gutmann/Thompson 1991, Mappes/Zembaty 1992, Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung/326 1994; Smith 1994, H. Wasser 1994; Hochschild 1994; Brody 1994; Sander 1997; Breit/Schiele 1998; Sullivann 1998). Those reports offer useful orientations about procedures to understand politics in the learning process and ways of stimulating the formation of personal opinions, among others.

Therefore they call into attention some important aspects of learning that must be considered by those who are teaching. First, attitudes, positions and conditions of learning that must be considered by those who are teaching. Second, objective conditions of context for good didactics. Third, recommendations about organization of the learning process. Fourth ways of communication. Fifth, methods for working with political subjects. Sixth, qualitative and standardized methods to evaluate programs, experiences and advances.

For example, Thompson (1987) centers his attention in concrete subjects referred to process of decision making in the public ambit, and the reading of ethical discussion about those concrete issues that allows to assimilate a methodology for the ethical evaluation of cases. This methodology consists in the exposition of a central ethical hypothesis, a kind of 'written conversation' with the ethical literature that support that hypothesis, and the proposition of alternative ethical hypothesis, without dispensing to the necessity of extracting own conclusions. Mappes/Zembaty (1992), disturbed by public discussion issues, presents subjects related to those that have different value positions at work – such as abortion, reproducing technology, pornography and censorship, discrimination and preferential treatment, economic justice, poverty, and environmental treatment. The authors offer good methodological orientations for the ethical analysis of cases. They include, in the treatment of each subject, an introduction with conceptual clarifications, a presentation of extreme ethical positions (liberal, conservative). After that they continue with an exposition of the cases, of the arguments that could be defended from each ethical perspective, and finally bibliographies on the subject.

Gutmann/Thompson (1991) develop a similar methodology, but it is more systematic and complete. Every chapter starts with an introduction, in which they briefly exposed and explain(e)d concepts that will appear in the cases for discussion. This contributes to the best understanding of the later expositions, and likewise, different postures related with certain concepts and problems are clarified. The cases are extracted from different publications (journals, summaries of books, annual reports of the USA Congress, pastoral letters, newspapers, university publications). It's a question of expositions carried out by direct protagonists or by people who have reflectioned afterwards about the subjects. These cases give, more than anything, information about the different problematics that are outlined, relevant facts, involved people, postures and decisions, and many others data points that the reader is beginning to perceive and to observe the different ethical dilemma that enclose a certain situation. Editors group a certain number of related cases and they make commentaries about the main ethical questions that emanate, in their judgment, from every subject. In certain occasions, they take only one case and then they comment it. Likewise, certain dilemmas are postulated to resolve with different alternatives. Diverse philosophical currents are used, therefore the questions and dilemma do not emanate from only one ethical perspective. At the end of each unity, complementary readings of the outlined subject are annexed in order to suggest more documental information and complementary valoric perspectives in relation with the treated cases.

Didactics of political teaching is understood as education for the participation in democracy and it is inserted in the intellectual tradition of the contractual and liberal flowing of The Age of Enlightenment (Behler 1995). That is to say, didactics of political teaching aspire to emancipate the individual's autonomy. Its contents and questions are oriented by the will of supporting people in a constructive political interaction with everybody else, of supporting the participative interaction of the generations in the democratical, modern and future process, and therefore, of promoting questioning and questions related to participation (Hilligen 1975). But, in this task, distinct conceptions that are in competence and they also complement each other have generated. We limit us to present some of them without entering in a deep debate with regard to every one in particular. However it could be very useful for my project if you could share some ideas in this regard.

In the fifties, Fridrich Oetinger and Theodor Wilhelm developed the conception of cooperation and association, as objectiv(e)s to which didactics of political teaching must aspire (Oetinger 1951, Wilhelm 1956). Those authors, together with critically tematizing the authoritarian experiences of the German empire and National Socialism for cultivating a political culture of

'slaves' and subservients, proposed a didactics of political formation oriented to stimulate the associations of the citizens and the voluntary cooperation in the common order of institutions and regulations.

Oetinger postulates that exists a natural ordering of the human being in the community, and that the political education must contribute to it, to form the community and to make its sense stronger in the main of everyone (Oetinger, 1951). That is to say, in that author's view the political education must execute a function of legitimation of the participation in small communities and big groups. It must also contribute to improve participation of people in communities, not only by the fact of having to execute obligations, by obligation or by force, sanctions or fear, but also participate by the desire of cooperating in affairs concerning to everybody, that will have consequences to everyone. Special importance has the sense of legitimacy in the participation of common institutions, because they are the expression of shared community values, and they function well only when express the consent of people (Oetinger 1951). Those ideas have been further developed by other authors (Litt 1956, Schmiederer 1972).

To generate the spirit of voluntary cooperation of the people in a common democratic order of associations, the political education must teach with a methodological orientation the application of basic rules for the functioning of democracy, such as commitment, tolerance, rationality, principles of majorities, principle of opening and transparency, among others (Oetinger, 1951). Over all in Latin America and other countries with strong holistic mentality and authoritarian historical experience, those principles and rules must contribute to finish the mentality of slaves and subservients. In contrast, it must favor free community, in which the state loses all legitimacy that is not based on the participation and consent of the citizens (Oetinger, 1951).

Oetinger's ideas have also been postulated as a foundation for the teaching of civic virtues in democracy (Lenk, 1991). Specially Wilhelm emphasizes more the idea of associations as a mean of education for democracy. In his conception, the individual must learn through experiences associated to 'co-responsibilities' that correspond to the individual in its political order (Wilhelm, 1956).

Adorno and Kehr criticize the exposed conception, because they consider that the political education for participating in associations does not necessarily lead to democracy as culture and political attitude (Adorno, 1970; Kehr, 1980). Following this critical argumentation, if the posture of slave and subservant is discussed, and if we want to eliminate it, why not do it stimulating individuality, autonomy and security of the individual for opposing authorities and going in conflicts? (Krappmann 1972; Habermas 1969).

In the line of argumentation of previous authors, Klafki (1963) postulates that the function of didactics is to find a teaching, introducing as in the logic of conflict, because that is the reflect of interactions that are daily happening in the society and politics. For another authors the importance of the didactical perspective of the conflict is founded with the aid of knowledges of the social sciences, pedagogy and psychology (Fischer 1970). The Parsons and Dahrendorf's theories constitute a solid foundation (1962). From this perspective, didactics must found a political teaching that emphasize controversy, conflict and discernment's capacity, as a mean from which who participate in the teaching's process will be actively involv(e)d on it. Very concret methods are develop(e)d by W. Hilligen, K. G. Fischer and R. Engelhard.

H. Giesecke, who sees the political education/teaching as a way of contributing to the political participation of people in democracy, affirms that political teaching must give priority to the analysis of current conflicts, in which there are distinct interests and convictions, because only at this rate politics, understood as a subject that demands decision making, can become perceived as a subject that makes sense. For the author, the political teaching must aspire to four levels of learning: first, to understand (understanding); second, to have orientation; third, to familiarize with ways of political behavior; fourth, to get knowledge about action (Giesecke 1974). In a concrete manner, the author postulates that the decisive concrete measure consists in presenting a set of categories for the treatment of a current political conflict. The use of these categories to work out the conflict leads to a better analysis, and in this way mobilize the four dimensions of the political conscience of those who are learning. This way of organizing the process of political teaching really leads to the political learning. The categories proposed by Giesecke are: conflict, concretization, power (that is not based on force or control mechanisms, but on legitimacy), right, functioning relations, interests, co-determination, solidarity, ideology, historicity, human dignity (Giesecke 1974). For Giesecke these categories are fundamental assumptions of the democratic society model, because according to the author, the majority of them do not exist in an authoritarian state. Then, in Giesecke's proposal, making use of those categories for the analysis leads to the emergence of a politically illustrated conscience for the behavior facing political conflict. In these categories are implicitly involved political-ethical conceptions about people's sociability, legitimate ways of interpersonal relations, relations between individuals, groups and state, relations of individuals with politics, etc. (Giesecke 1974). Giesecke develops his conception in the spirit of the 'common sense' of the republican society.

The didactical propositions of the author are based on very realistic observations. In the conflicts, the constitution and dispositions of groups and persons are evidently expressed. We, people, are in the first place, individuals that follow their own interests. Therefore it is important for everyone to take clear conscience of those interests. The process of taking conscience and the wish of not falling in a war against everybody leads to a solidary disposition of stable social relations. The searching process of the individual interest realization, in a context of solidary co-participation, demands to distinguish between illusory and real possibilities (Giesecke 1974). The development of conflicts is produced in the context of a common, acknowledged, basic right that establishes conditions. The preceding does not mean, at any rate, that these rights and their norms can not become an object of conflict.

In the didactic of conflict, the fact that everybody tries to formulate the best foundation of his position and conduct as the others and tries to convince the others that they lead to the public welfare, must be expected by the actors that look for the realization of interests. The debate will help to take conscience of the primary and secondary consequences of the interests and possibilities of solution for the conflicts (Giesecke 1974).

In the didactic of conflicts the central supposition is that the conflict corresponds to daily life. At the same time, individuals and groups do not automatically have harmony in the searching of the realization of their interests. It is not a question of a didactical proposition that points to the utopia of a society without conflicts. On the contrary, it is a question of a didactic that teaches one to learn how to administrate conflicts. In the author's didactics, the central idea is the incorporation of the analysis of conflicts into the political teaching.

On a more philosophical level, Giesecke postulates that in society itself, in its 'common sense', exists a political social interpretation, which is essentially democratic, and that it can be

estimulated in its development through re(a)sonable concepts, proper questions and even fundamental positions (Giesecke 1974). That interpretation must begin to appear in the society and history. It also must begin to be founded with the support of didactics to analysis of conflicts.

Other conceptions related to didactics of conflict, postulated and defended in the context of an extensive debate about political teaching of didactics (about this debate in German see Mickel 1988, Sutor 1999, Giesecke 1999, Misselwitz 1999, Patzelt 1999), are didactics of notable conscience, that start in the sphere of political teaching with Negt's work (1971) and the anti-authoritarian didactics. In Negt's work, an objective conflict, between antagonistic social classes dialectically conditioned is postulated. In that direction, Negt reaffirms with his didactical postulates, a political theory already formulated in the nineteenth century. That conception has found quite a resistance in modern didactics of political teaching (Mills 1963, Gagel 1991). In the second one, anti-authoritarian didactic, does not exist a proposal of formulating a concept of political teaching. The need for a favorable didactics to the autonomy, responsibility and independence with regard to foundations and irrational authorities is postulated (Horn 1972). The didactical goal consists in contributing to liberate people from a circle of authoritarian and repressive teaching and a way of life where sanctions for posing critics exist, to show autonomy and independence. Didactics must be a common practice of mental emancipation orientede to the stimulus of autonomous thought.

In conclusion, in esence the exposed didactical conceptions are related to the enlightenment thought, and they aspire to contribute to the individuals' maturity and to their participation in the democratic life. It is a question of a critical enterprise toward the people's servitude, it is an enterprise of enthronization of human beings, citizens responsible for their actions, for their historical processes and their political system. This conception is contributing toward a change in the individuals' relations in small and big groups: the partner, the fellow is something different to the subaltern, to the slave or to the vassal . In the didactic of conflicts the individual is challenged and estimulated to critically participate, to discern, to shake off the original harmony order. It is been postulated that the position of the individual, of the person, can be improve, if the individual can obercame the dominant interpretations, and if he can really be the architect of his society and political system.

Finally, other didactics' conception emphasize the ethical foundation of didactics and politics. Sutor and other more modern authors, among them the author of this presentation (Sutor 1971; Valdivieso 1998a, 1998b) look for ways to connect foundations of political education/ teaching with theory and political philosophy and anthropological conceptions, that rescue the essence of the teaching coming since The Greek. It is not a question of a work oriented to the creation of a new current of philosophy or something like that, because it follows the ilustrated tradition of ' teaching of autonomous and critical mentalities'; it is a question of an argumentative political ethics that lay the foundations of human dignity, of autonomy and freedom. It is not a question of an effort to come back to a control speech, a conception of the political teaching that try to eliminate the person's position of the individual in a democratical society constituted on the basis of principles of liberty. Neither is it a question of de-politize the person or imposing certain 'essential' truths.

In his doctoral thesis, Sutor (1965) asks if the scientific positivism and the relativism of values can be obercame by an existential philosophy (influence of an existentialist phase by K. Jaspers). The author follows the philosophical way, asking for principles that transeind time with its specific circumstances and that have validity in nowadays world. An illustrative

example: if it is valid or not to postulate that human beings are fundamentally historic, subdued to different situations in time and space, and what consequences are derived from the answer for the conception of didactics of political education. Following this way, Sutor makes explicit anthropological, philosophical and ethical foundations for didactics of political teaching. The reflection, and therefore the knowledge of those foundations and principles, is in itself a way to beginning to acquire critical values of evaluation of the political reality. With the foregoing are introduced central concepts in didactics of political teaching, principles or categories that must help to take conscience and to discern in the political teaching process: personality, 'sociality' (Gesellschaftlichkeit), historicity, politics as practice, as behavior with similar human beings, public welfare, representation, power and force, legitimacy, justice, pluralism, solidarity, etc.

The political philosophy contained in those concepts must not be directly used for the political teaching, to the effect of being taught to transform the citizens in real true philosopher or wise men. What is really important is that who is dedicated to the political teaching must be clear about its analysis'categories, in order to be able to carry out its former goals (Sutor 1965). The re-formulated concepts must serve as orientation to (w)hom is dedicated to the political teaching, in order to execute its goal.

I made in the past the systematic exercise of consulting in the Social Doctrine of The Church for orientations that can be common for Christians and non Christians, in order to demonstrate that it is possible to found the ethical-political thought, rescuing questions and principles that are common to that doctrine and to other currents of thought since ancient times. My purpose was to start to elaborate a set of ethical-political foundations that, canalized via didactical, meant a contribution to participation and democracy (Valdivieso 1998a, 1999).

The initial literature on which empirical methodological proposition of my proposals and my project are founded can be situated in the conductist orientation within the Political Science. There are investigations that **operationalize** concepts and relations formulated by political theory reports, and that make use of methods of standardized measurements, developed by physico-mathematical sciences, biology and sociology. In Political Science, general methods of public opinion poll, steps and measurements of attitudes and social behaviors outstanding for the democratic political life have been formulated by Stouffer (1955), and they have been improved by subsequent investigations about culture and political psychology (Sullivan/Pierson/Marcus 1982, McClosky/Brill 1983, Sniderman/Brody/Tetlock 1991, Kublinski/Riggle/Ottati/Schwarz 1991, Gibson 1992). The mentioned authors focus their attention in tolerance, a concept considered key for the democratical culture. They postulate diverse factors that produce an effect to a lesser or greater extent of that disposition. The postulated relations are exposed to an empirical examination and they are validated or rejected. For example: ideological factors and tolerance, social-economical indicators and tolerance, etc. Specially relevant for my process of finding out approaches to implement in Chile is the work of Brody (1995), that makes use of an experimental design with control groups and data of public opinion polls, in order to measure the effects of a political teaching program over a group of students. The main contribution of that work is the transparency: the author develops step by step the method that follows and finally he includes an appendix with all the questions of the public opinion poll and its results.

4. How to go about with the implementation of the project?

As we remember, four central hypotheses lead my proposals:

First work hypothesis: exists a demand for practical propositions that contribute to increase the participation and democratization of the Chilean society. A contribution for the civic political teaching that is founded on political science knowleges will be a step in that direction.

Second work hypothesis: the effort for developing a didactics of the civic political teaching, founded on ethical-political knowledge developed in Political Science, will translate into a contribution to participation and democracy.

Third work hypothesis: didactics for the democratical political teaching, founded on acquired knowledge from political ethics, will be enriched and it will get legitimacy in the Chilean society thanks to the contributions of diverse social-political actors that effectivelly represent plurality of interests, experiences and points of view of the society.

Fourth work hypothesis: didactics of political teaching to democracy will have greater possibilities of performing its function of stimulating of participation and support of democracy, if in the stage of formulation it is validated by experimental designs of ad-hoc investigation.

In this section I will propose a methodology to work with the hypothesis

In order to systematize ethical-political and didactical knowledge, I will proceed to read, to register and to work in an intelectual and systematic manner, with the bibliographic material that exist, that I have and that you could suggest. I will search for material in diferent sources. National and international journals specialist in things about political ethics and didactics of political teaching will be systematically reviewd, national and foreign collegs will be consulted and the sources that Internet offers to accede to the useful information for the project will be used.

In order to arrange material and ideas that are beginning to appear during the period of the work with literature, the criterion will consist in following the guidelines of the works mentioned in my presentation (for example Sutor 1971, Gutmann 1987, Gutmann/Thompson 1991, Sander 1997, Valdivieso 1998, Breit/Schiele 1998; Sullivan 1998).

The results that are beginning to be obtained, will be operationalized in form of themes and questions, diagnoses and propositions, that will be systematically prepared in order to have access to representative social-political actors, through two ways:

First, dialogue with social-political actors

Representatives of relevant social-political actors will be identified for the investigation. These representatives could be sellected from the following sectors (it is possible that categories can be supressed and that other can be included in the typology, and that will happen in the period destined to identify and to contact people): central state, local government, political actors, representatives of the private business sector, of the academicians, of diverse social nongovernmental organizations.

At least three representatives of each category will be contacted in order to generate a dialogue regarding the purpose of my project. That dialogue points out to enrich the didactical proposition of this project, and to involve representative actors from several sectors that could become influenced by the project. Likewise, these conversations will serve to prepare the work in a workshop of discussion and to beginn to properly operationalize the didactical proposition for political education.

The formal aspects of the dialogue with the actor will be carefully planned, in order that the conversations do not get interrupted, if under any circumstances the main investigator is disabled of performing them, because there will be an assistant to perform them. The foregoing means to plan and carefully follow all the steps demanded by a good interview for a study of Political Science (a design of an interview with precise operationalizations, prudent calculation of time, preparation of a coherent sequence of themes and types of questions - open, close, filter, general, specific, etc.)

Second, workshop:

Organization of a workshop or round tables for open discussions, for sessions that will be performed every two months, where social-political representatives, with whom a dialogue has been initiated, will be specially invited. In the workshop, some ethical-political themes will begin to be treated and discussed. The themes will be determined in the course of the investigation, and they have to be relevant from the point of view of the responsible investigator and from the representatives of social-political actors. In that direction, the workshop will serve as a forum of discussion and analysis to begin to enrich the acquired knowledge through readings, reflections, and interviews with individual actors.

Another way to be able to interact with actors, to enrich the elements of didactics of political education, and to offer a concrete service to those who need it from the beginning of the execution of my project, will be to elaborate a Web page. In the Web page, that probably will be identified with the project's title: Political Ethics, and not with an institution particularly, the partial results of the investigation, such as synthesis of the ethical-political analysis, of didactical suggestions, of workshop meetings will be presented in a pleasant and proper manner for Internet. The design of the page will be done with advice of specialists in computing and Internet communications. Probably, documents of work about themes that can be interesting for didactics of political education will be also included. Likewise, the page will contain a section of communications, where it will be possible to receive and send messages, to release documents of work, and in general, to have access to other Web pages relevant for the project in Chile and the World (for example Web of the Ministry of Education, Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Center for Civic Education of Los Angeles, among others). The same Web page will serve as a way to perform interactive teaching between the responsible investigator and other national and foreign academic entities, in the case that it is considered as a benefit for the purposes of the project. In that direction, all the experience that has been acquired by the responsible investigator in interactive teaching through Internet will be used.

My project considers to empirically validate the didactical propositions that begin to appear in itself through concrete experiences of political education, that include mechanisms to be able to measure the effects of didactics in disposition to participation and to fulfill public functions in the democratic regimen. Concretely, three steps will be taken:

First, education/teaching activities

To link the project with the teaching of the responsible investigator, in form of two courses of ethics and didactics of political teaching, which will be given at the Catholic University (PUCCh) the second semesters of the next two years. I will contribute to this experience with the teaching methodologies that I have been developing in projects of investigations for supporting

teaching and with didactics that I have designed to improve my own teaching activity. The used methodology in the courses will consist in a combination of knowledge and didactical experiences that I already acquired and on the offered contributions by other activities of the project, such as the deepened study and the evaluation of didactics presented (Giesecke 1974, Thompson 1987, Gutmann/Thompson 1991, Mappes/Zembaty 1992). In effect, the didactical formula to be used in the course will consider the use of controvertial cases controverted for debate. That is to say, selection of conflictive current themes, rigorous clarification of relevant concepts to understand well, making use of specialized dictionaries of Political Science (EICS 1977, Bobbio 1983, G rres 1995, Nohlen 1995, Borja 1997), complete documentation to be able to make consistent evaluations, evaluations about ethical and political consequences of the decisions that can be adopted, and reading of the ad-hoc literature. The documentation of the cases will be done using typologies of order, because they allow to have a high degree of trust, not to ignore relevant informations, and at the same time, they serve as a diagram classificatory of information about affairs of political reality (processes, contents and structures). Typological diagrams specially useful for the purpose of documenting cases and arranging informations are: PINC (Power- Ideology- Norms and Communication; central dimensions of politics) and the model of strata of the political reality that allow to ask about involv(e)d dimensions on the micro and macro level (methodological orientations in Bortz/D ring 1995; specially Patzelt 1993, 9-48).

Second, advising in civic political education realized by and with social-political actors of a representative municipality (commune) of the Chilean population (urban, populous, principally integrated by middle and middle –lower social-economical estrata, difficulties of infrastructure, civic insecurity, models of political participation representative of the Chilean reality, among others).

A representative of social-political actors of the municipality will be involved in this project through the individual dialogue with the responsible investigator and his participation in the workshop. The actor will elaborate a public political teaching project practicable in his municipality, making use of the methodologies that he begins to extract from this project, and he will count with the advising of the responsible investigator for that.

Third, measurements

Two designs of empirical investigation will be elaborated in order to measure the effects of the didactics of this investigation about the dispositions to participate and to execute public functions in democracy: design of temporal series to evaluate my applied (aplaid) didactics and experimental design with control groups to evaluate practic(e)d didactics by the social-political actor. I will make use of knowleges of methodology of Political Science acquired in my studies and in teaching experience (postgraduated in Germany, teaching in Chile and Japan and perhaps all of you). Concretely, I will operationalize knowleges acquired in the process of preparation and execution of this project. Those operationalizations of concepts and affirmations (relations) will acquire the form of public opinion polls that will be apply in the moment that the proyect finishes (after five monts) to evaluate my applied didactics, and the experimental groups and the control one, in the case of the didactical experience measurement of the social actor in his municipality.

Now I would be very gratefull of your comments, observations and sugestions

Thank you very much!

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