



Volume 11, Number 1, © JSSE 2012, ISSN 1618-5293

Comparative Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education

Editors:

Anu Toots, Institute of Politics and Governance, Tallinn University (Estonia),
anuto@tlu.ee

Saskia De Groof, Department of Sociology, Free University of Brussels
(Belgium) saskia.de.groof@vub.ac.be

Dimokritos Kavadias, Department of Political Sciences, Free University of
Brussels (Belgium) and Department of Sociology, University of Antwerp,
dimokritos.kavadias@vub.ac.be

Comparative Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education

Content

<i>Anu Toots, Saskia De Groof, Dimokritos Kavadias:</i> Editorial: New Citizens for Globalised Societies? Citizenship Education from a Comparative Perspective	3-6
<i>Maria Magdalena Isac, Ralf Maslowski, Greetje van der Werf:</i> Native Student Attitudes towards Equal Rights for Immigrants. A Study in 18 European Countries	7-22
<i>Kerry John Kennedy, Xiaorui Huang, Joseph Kui Foon Chow:</i> Hong Kong Students' Levels of Political Trust Ten Years after the Return to Chinese Sovereignty	23-46
<i>Carolyn Barber, Judith Torney-Purta:</i> Comparing Attitudes in the 1999 and 2009 IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies: Opportunities and Limitations Illustrated in Five Countries	47-63
<i>Britt Wilkenfeld, Judith Torney-Purta:</i> A Cross-Context Analysis of Civic Engagement Linking CIVED and U.S. Census Data	64-80
<i>Tit Neubauer:</i> A Critical Review of International Studies into Citizenship and Citizenship Education – Lessons for Citizenship Education in Slovenia	81-102
<i>Review:</i>	
<i>Leif Kalev, Mari-Liis Jakobson:</i> The Citizen, the Nation-State (and Globalization)	103-105
<i>Masthead</i>	106-107

Anu Toots, Saskia De Groof, Dimokritos Kavadias

Editorial: New Citizens for Globalised Societies? Citizenship Education from a Comparative Perspective

Comparative studies on civic and citizenship education have already a solid tradition. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) conducted its first study of civic education covering 10 countries in 1971. However, cross national education studies flourished only in turn of the Millennium when the number of studies and countries involved increased remarkably. The last IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in 2009 had already 38 participating countries, among them 12 non-European countries and 16 emerging democracies.

Citizenship education has always been at the core of mass schooling in modern nation-states since the 18th century (Boli 1989). As nation states try to adapt to increasing economic, political and social interdependence, former approaches to citizenship education are called to meet the challenges of globalisation. The ICCS survey offers the opportunity to answer some pressing issues related to questions of social integration, equity and viability of democracies. What are the national approaches to education? How do schools combine educating knowledge, attitudes and values? Can schools reduce the impact of socio-economic and cultural disadvantages? Are the best educational practices transferrable to other countries? This is only a very short list of common issues in all international educational surveys. Besides these commonalities there are some special reasons why comparative studies on citizenship education gain importance today. Firstly, democracy and democratic governance itself are changing. The quality of governance is shifting and the effect of political institutions on the overall performance of contemporary democracies is faltering (Dalton 2004). Political representation – the linkage between citizens' demands and political decisions – is becoming problematic in globalised markets and multilevel political settings (Mair et al. 2009). This is thought to have led to problems of political participation. Citizens tend to be more critical and even to distrust democratic institutions (Milner 2010). Political engagement tends to diversify and citizens tend to adopt new modes of becoming informed about politics (Norris 2000). As political science literature reveals, established and emerging democracies react differently to these changes (Norris 2004; van Deth et al. 2007). The study of the mechanisms affecting civic trust and engagement can shed light on the working of democracy and provide a piece of the jigsaw in understanding the linkage between citizens and the government in globalised societies. Secondly, societies have become more dynamic and open. This implies that virtually all developed countries today are multicultural with a notable share of immigrant population. High migration combined with the economic

recession increase population disparities even further, which may spill over on civic engagement patterns. These fundamental changes in society and democracy also pose higher expectations on citizenship education. Schools are still expected to prepare young people to undertake their roles as citizens in a diverse and mobile world. The IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study provides a primary outlook to what extent countries have succeeded in this effort (Schulz et al. 2010). However, in order to have a real impact on learning practices and education policy, a more in-depth look is needed. This special issue of JSSE seeks to put large-scale survey data into specific national and local contexts. By choosing such an approach we want to stress that the key feature of citizenship education in the era of globalisation is not unification of learning practices but their growing interdependence. Although the common core of citizenship education around the globe is visible, the effect of global tendencies remains context specific. Furthermore, one of the key lessons of past research on political socialisation is that there seems not to be a “one best way” to educate youngsters into citizens. Every context forms a combination of different conditions that influence simultaneously schools, societies and outcomes. Also, most concepts related to citizenship are multifaceted and students as young citizens hold multiple identities. As such, more sophisticated theoretical models are needed in order to better understand what makes citizenship education work better. Our ambition is to discuss new perspectives as well as limitations of large-scale studies of civic and citizenship education. Such a discussion is made possible by accumulation of relevant datasets and several initiatives on comparative research in the field.

The articles in this issue cover a wide geography of countries ranging from established democracies such as the US and Western European countries to Slovenia and Hong Kong which have experienced fundamental regime change quite recently. Despite the different focus, all articles clearly underscore the central role that democratic attitudes play in contemporary citizenship education. Most articles are based on the IEA ICCS 2009 data, however, several of them (Kennedy, Huang, Chow; Barber, Torney-Purta) employ also data of the previous IEA CIVED 1999 study in order to examine changes over the time or expand the discussion base by introducing other databases (Wilkenfeld, Torney-Purta; Neubauer). The current methodological sophistication enables researchers to combine data from various sources to assess the impact of different conditions on aspects of citizenship education.

The first two articles try to assess the impact of contextual or aggregate variables on attitudes of young people, over and above the effect of individual level variables. The next two articles try to evaluate the methodological possibilities of studying attitudes over time in cross-national research. Finally, the last article tries to review a number of cross-national studies on a content based level.

The opening article by Isac, Maslowski and Van der Werf examines determinants of native students' attitudes towards immigrants in 18 European countries by focusing on the effect of immigrant share in the classroom. By using multilevel modelling the authors reveal that there is a small positive effect of immigrant share on attitudes towards immigrants of natives in most countries, which gives some evidence for the contact

hypothesis. However, some countries significantly differ from this overall pattern. These findings demonstrate how influential contextual factors can be and thus “one cannot take for granted that the opportunity for contact in classroom setting is enough to foster positive attitudes towards immigrants.”

While also focusing on the role of schools and neighbourhood contexts, the second article takes us to the US case. Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta study how family, peers, schools and neighbourhood contexts are related to the civic empowerment gap. The authors found that a positive democratic environment in schools is more beneficial for students in poor neighbourhoods than in rich neighbourhoods. Less advantaged students experience more benefits from democratic and civic learning opportunities than more privileged students. Authors also stress that features of the contexts are at least partly responsible for the civic empowerment gap. The practical significance of this finding can't be underestimated – societies should consider different approaches to the citizenship education depending on varieties of community characteristics.

The third article is devoted to political trust. What makes this study interesting is that Kennedy, Huang and Chow investigate patterns in trust in a transition period in which Hong Kong returned to Chinese sovereignty. In the course of regime change some institutions were more strongly endorsed by adolescents in 2009 than in 1999 (the courts and the United Nations), while others registered declining support (district councils and political parties). Also, they found that levels of trust towards particular institutions have a different impact on civic engagement. Trust in socio-legal institutions goes in pair with a higher willingness to vote, but inhibits other forms of political action. The direction taken by Hong Kong might indicate a shift towards a more “conservative” realisation of civic participation. The authors however warn us for an indiscriminate use of institutional trust. By using confirmatory factor analysis they come to the conclusion that political trust is a multidimensional construct in the context of Hong Kong.

The article by Barber and Torney-Purta continues the methodological issue raised by Kennedy Huang and Chow about possibilities and pitfalls in using the IEA CIVED and ICCS in comparative research. They note that despite visible similarities between the two surveys, they have been constructed as independent studies and therefore special care must be taken when comparing the two datasets. Barber and Torney-Purta illustrate how this can be done with the example of attitudes towards immigrants and political trust in five Nordic countries and point to the limits in interpreting the results.

The final article takes a critical look at various international initiatives on citizenship education research conducted in 2001-2010. Based on an extensive literature review, Neubauer argues that the conceptualization of citizenship has a significant effect on citizenship education research and educational practices. The dominant approach in both research and practice has been the narrow/liberal understanding of citizenship, which – according to the author – does not correspond to contemporary democracy. Looking for a “one best way” seems to reduce the diversity of contemporary societies at absurdum. Although the liberal concept has been modestly

revised and the “good citizen” is becoming replaced by the “active” or “critical citizen” it does not solve the crucial issue – the lack of research on global and multilayered forms of citizenship.

References

Boli, John. 1989. *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden*. Oxford.

Dalton, Russell J. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York.

Mair, Peter; Müller C. Wolfgang; Plasser, Fritz. 2009. *Political Parties and Electoral Change: Party Responses to Electoral Markets*. London.

Milner, Henry. 2010. *The Internet Generation. Engaged Citizens or Political Dropouts*. Boston.

Norris, Pippa. 2000. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*. Cambridge, New York.

Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge.

Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno. 2010. *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, an Engagement among Lower-secondary School Students in 38 Countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.

Van Deth, Jan W.; Montero, Jose R.; Westholm, Anders, eds. 2007. *Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies: A Comparative Analysis*. London.

Maria Magdalena Isac, Ralf Maslowski, Greetje van der Werf

Native Student Attitudes towards Equal Rights for Immigrants. A Study in 18 European Countries

The present study investigates the determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants giving particular attention to the effect of immigrant share in the classroom and the extent to which it can be generalized across country contexts. The contribution sheds some new light on the validity of the contact hypothesis, which suggests that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of support for immigrants' rights. The analyses were conducted across 18 countries participating to the ICCS survey in 2009. For the analyses we applied a three-level multilevel model controlling for individual, classroom, and country characteristics. We tested a random slope for immigrant share in the classroom at country level, and we modeled both linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share. The overall pattern suggests that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share, which does not change dramatically in direction or size at higher immigrant share levels.

Keywords

Attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants, immigrant share in the classroom, citizenship education, European cross-national comparative research on education

1 Introduction

The disengagement of youth from politics as well as increasing levels of social and ethnic tensions have suggested that support for civic society and democratic political institutions is under pressure. To address the decline of engagement and participation among citizens, many countries introduced programs for civic education or intensified already existing educational programs in this field (Birzea 2003). Schools are required to prepare students for becoming 'active and responsible citizens' (Eurydice 2005). An important aspect of civic and citizenship education concerns the attitude of students towards other social and cultural groups in society. Given the increased number of immigrants in most European societies and the negative views of the native population on immigrants' impact in most European societies (cf. Semyonov, Rajiman, Gorodzeisky 2008), one of the current aims of education for citizenship in Europe is to promote tolerance towards people from other cultures such as immigrants (Eurydice 2005). Putnam (2000) refers in this respect to a distinction between 'bridging social capital' in which bonds are formed across diverse social groups, and

'bonding social capital' that only establishes relationships within relatively homogenous groups. According to Putnam, bonding may have a positive effect for those within a particular group, but it is regarded as having a negative effect for society as a whole. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, implies intercultural or interethnic relationships, which may raise mutual understanding – thereby establishing a foundation for social cohesion (see also Mascherini, Vidoni, Manca 2010).

Schools may impact student's attitudes towards immigrants, as well as other democratic attitudes, along different lines. First, there is a documented belief that schools can help students to develop positive attitudes towards immigrants' rights through the formal and informal experiences they provide. Accordingly, schools can promote students' support for the rights of immigrants by enabling them with the required levels of civic knowledge for understanding and respecting different others (Galston, 2001; Elchardus, Roggemans, Op de Beeck 2009; Popkin, Dimock 2000). Schools may foster these attitudes by creating an open academic climate in which students are encouraged to be actively engaged (Barber, Torney-Purta, Fenelly 2010; Kokkonen, Esaiasson, Gilljam 2010; Scheerens, 2009; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, Barber 2008). An open classroom climate can stimulate students to discuss issues of equal rights and tolerance, and can help students understanding the importance and advantages of democratic values and practices (Perliger, Canetti-Nisim, Pedahzur 2006). Thus, it may have a positive effect on the assimilation of these values by students.

Second, educational researchers often focus on the potential influence of classroom ethnic composition when investigating potential determinants of student's attitudes towards immigrants. From this perspective, two contrasting lines of reasoning are found in the literature. One perspective is based on the ethnic competition theory (see also Janmaat 2012; Kokkonen et al. 2010; Vervoort, Scholte, Scheepers 2011) which emphasizes the importance of the relative size of the minority group and indicates that student's attitudes towards immigrants could be more favorable in homogeneous groups. Accordingly, the larger the size of the immigrant group, the more the members of the majority group feels threatened and will react with increasing negative attitudes towards the out-group.

In contrast, based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, educational researchers often assume that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of tolerance and support for immigrants' rights (e.g. Hyland 2006; Janmaat 2012; Kokkonen et al. 2010; van Geel, Vedder 2010). Allport (1954) argued that direct contact between members of different ethnic groups will result in positive intergroup experiences, which will eventually generalize to the entire out-group. These positive attitudes will develop, according to Allport, in case of an equal status of the groups in the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom. Half a century of research later, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted an extensive meta-analysis, which revealed a weak positive effect on intergroup attitudes across different outcomes, national settings and out-groups. They also found that positive attitudes towards the specific out-group generalized to the entire out-group. Even though a result of the meta-analysis was that the

optimal contact conditions specified by Allport were not essential but rather facilitated positive effects, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner and Christ (2011) emphasize the special importance of cross-group friendship in promoting positive contact effects and note that friendships are likely to invoke many of the optimal conditions specified by Allport.

In classroom settings, as Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) argue, the conditions for positive contact between students from different origins seem to be at place. In classrooms students regularly encounter for a whole year, and often even for several years (see also Kokkonen et al. 2010; van Geel, Vedder 2010). Students are supposed to interact on the basis of equality, sharing the common goals of learning, cooperating on different tasks and receiving support from authority figures such as teachers. Therefore, when native students interact with their immigrant peers in the classroom, they are likely to develop positive attitudes towards them from which they could generalize to form their attitudes towards immigrants in general.

However, empirical studies addressing positive intercultural attitudes in educational settings show inconsistent findings. Some studies found a positive relationship between mixed schools or classrooms, and student's attitudes towards immigrants (Janmaat 2012; van Geel, Vedder 2010). Others found no such relationship across and within countries (Barber et al. 2010; Kokkonen et al. 2010) or even a negative one (Vervoort et al. 2011). These studies illustrate that the contact established in the classroom might not be necessarily sufficient for promoting positive attitudes towards immigrants. A recent longitudinal study in the Netherlands reveals that contact between native and other ethnic students may indeed lead to either positive or negative attitudes towards the out-group, depending on whether the interpersonal relationship established between the groups is positive or negative. This finding indicates that the context of the classroom does not necessarily provide the conditions for the development of positive interpersonal relationships, and therefore for positive attitudes towards immigrants. Stark (2011) concludes that positive effects, nevertheless, are to be achieved when practitioners who work in mixed schools give particular attention to the specific context in which contact takes place by creating the right opportunities for the development of positive interpersonal relationships. This can be accomplished, according to Stark, by designing classroom experiences in which students can truly cooperate in order to achieve shared goals while having similar interests and opinions.

Next to that, Steinberg and Morris (2001) note that the way students come to like and interact with peers can be influenced by schools only to a certain extent. The ways in which they relate with their peers can be dependent on other factors which might be difficult to influence and not necessarily under the control of schools such as personality characteristics and preferences (Stark 2011) and the influence of family, community and other peers outside the school (Steinberg, Morris 2001). Peer influence, next to the type of interpersonal relationships between students from different groups (Pettigrew et al. 2011; Stark 2011) might explain why contact between students from different cultural groups does not consistently result in demoting prejudice. Moreover, educational programs and practices which are implemented in mixed classrooms are often designed at a national level. The overall effect of immigrant share in the classroom across schools within

specific educational contexts might, therefore, be dependent on a unique configuration of national conditions (Janmaat 2012). National educational policies and their implementation as well as other country contextual characteristics can have an impact on the quality of interpersonal relationships between native and immigrant students. Therefore, we could not only expect differences in the impact of immigrant share on students' support for immigrant rights between schools and classrooms within national settings but also differences between educational systems.

Nevertheless, as mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms is often considered to be a beneficial policy measure of particular importance (Hyland 2006), the question still largely remains to what extent mixed classrooms promote positive student attitudes towards immigrants and whether the expected positive effects might be reversed when the immigrant group approaches the numerical majority. This study will address this issue by examining the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards immigrants across and within national contexts. For that purpose, the following research questions were formulated: (1) Does the proportion of immigrant classmates positively relate to native student attitudes towards immigrant rights across countries, after controlling for other student, classroom, and country determinants? (2) Would there be an overall positive effect, or are the strength, the direction, and the shape of the relationship different depending on the country?

In addressing these questions we will take into account other factors which might impact native student attitudes towards immigrants' rights. At the individual student level, the influence of civic knowledge, gender, educational expectations and students' socioeconomic status is considered. Based on previous findings female students, students with more civic knowledge, higher educational expectations and a higher socioeconomic status tend to have more favorable attitudes toward immigrants (Barber et al. 2010; Galston 2001; Elchardus et al. 2009; Popkin, Dimock 2000). Moreover, classroom level predictors such as the presence of a democratic classroom climate, the average socioeconomic status and average expected educational attainment are controlled for (see Barber et al. 2010), as well as contextual country variables which were found to be related to adolescents and young adults' attitudes towards immigrants: economic conditions (GDP), size of the out-group (immigrants in society) and government policies regarding immigrants (Semyonov et al. 2008). Adolescents' attitudes towards immigrants are expected to be influenced by the way immigrants are perceived in society, and more advantageous economic conditions, more positive migration policies and lower number of immigrants might be related to student's attitudes towards immigrants.

2 Method

2.1 Sample

For this study data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) were used. This study, which was carried out in 2009,

measures Grade 8 (14-year-olds) students' citizenship competences from 38 countries. The sampling procedure employed by IEA was a two-stage stratified cluster design (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito 2010). First, in each country approximately 150 schools were sampled using a probability proportional to size. Second, only one intact class was randomly sampled from each selected school. All students attending the sampled class were selected to participate in the study.

In order to have valid information on all variables of interest as well as to make sure that a reasonable amount of immigrant students were attending at least a quarter of all classrooms in each country, the following 18 European countries were selected: Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Cyprus, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The number of schools and students used for this study across these 18 countries was 2503 schools and 49350 students. The number of schools and students participating in each country are reported in Table 1. These final numbers of schools and students were obtained after data cleaning which implied deleting the missing information on the dependent variable as well as the categorical variable indicating whether the student is native or a first or second generation immigrant. Moreover, since our study is concerned with the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants, we excluded the number of students with an immigration background.

Table 1. Sample characteristics

Country	N = Classrooms			N = Students	
	Total	Only Native	Mixed*	(native)	
AUT	134	18	116	2619	
BFL	151	59	92	2575	
CHE	155	15	140	2091	
CYP	68	19	49	2741	
DNK	192	74	118	3848	
ENG	124	37	87	2372	
ESP	148	43	105	2871	
EST	138	75	63	2482	
FIN	176	132	44	3140	
GRC	153	34	119	2717	
IRL	144	32	112	2823	
ITA	172	77	95	3040	
LTU	196	135	61	3652	
LUX	31	0	31	2825	
NLD	66	14	52	1667	
NOR	129	43	86	2503	
SVN	163	53	110	2687	
SWE	163	46	117	2697	
Total	2503	906	1597	49350	

Note. * Number of classrooms containing at least 1 immigrant student

2.2 Variables

From the ICCS dataset, information is selected that covers student, country and classroom variables. Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Table 2. For more extensive information about the construction and psychometric properties of the scales, the reader is referred to the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, Kerr 2008), the International ICCS Report (Schulz et al. 2010) and the ICCS Technical Report (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon 2011). Information on country characteristics are derived from country comparisons conducted by the World Bank, the US Department of State (CIA World Factbook), and the British Council.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for all variables

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants	18.48	68.89	48.44	9.99
Civic knowledge	73.14	887.01	527.11	95.12
Gender(girl=1)	.00	1.00	.51	.50
Expected further education	.00	4.00	3.02	1.01
SES	-5.01	3.31	.10	.97
% of immigrants in the country	3.88	34.25	12.43	7.13
GDP per capita in US \$ (z-score)	-.96	1.87	-.07	.61
Migrant integration policy index	35.00	83.00	55.19	12.24
Classroom average SES	-1.56	1.86	.05	.48
Classroom average expected further education	1.20	4.00	3.01	.45
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion	33.77	69.70	50.54	4.06
Immigrant share in the classroom	.00	.97	.10	.13

Note. N:Country = 18; N:Classroom=2503; N:Student=49350

Student's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants are measured using five items. Students were required to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") their level of agreement with the following statements: a) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language, b) immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have, c) immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections, d) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle and e) immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has. The corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .74 to .89 among the selected countries) was re-coded by the IEA experts so that students with higher scores on this scale were those who agreed that immigrants should have equal rights.

Immigrant share in the classroom is calculated by dividing the number of

(first and second generation) immigrant students in the classroom by the total class size. As indicated in Table 2, the proportion of immigrant classmates ranged from 0 to .97 across the 18 countries included in the analysis, with a mean of .10 (SD = .13).

Control variables - student level:

Student's civic knowledge. Civic knowledge is assessed using a 79 item test (median test country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .81 to .87 among the selected countries) which covered four content domains: civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities. One-quarter of the test items concerned factual knowledge of civics and citizenship, and the remaining three-quarter covered civic reasoning and analyzing. The scale reflects "progression from being able to deal with concrete, familiar, and mechanistic elements of civics and citizenship through to understanding the wider policy climate and institutional processes that determine the shape of civic communities" (Schulz et al. 2011, 16). Higher scores on the scale reflect higher levels of civic knowledge. Given that the ICCS study followed a matrix-sampling design, where individual students only respond to a set of items obtained from the main pool of items, five plausible values for each student's proficiency level were estimated and provided. For our analysis only the first plausible value was used.

Student *gender* was measured by an indicator taking the value of 1 for girls and 0 for boys.

Student expectations of further education are measured by an item asking the student to indicate which level of education he or she expects to achieve according to the ISCED classification: 0 = no completion of ISCED 2, 1 = completion of ISCED 2 (lower secondary), 2 = completion of ISCED 3 (upper secondary), 3 = completion of ISCED 4 (non-tertiary post-secondary) or ISCED 5B (vocational tertiary), 4 = completion of ISCED 5A (theoretically oriented tertiary) or ISCED 6 (post graduate).

Students' socioeconomic background is measured by an index derived from the following three indices: highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents in approximate years of education according to the ISCED classification, and the approximate number of books at home. The corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha ranging from .52 to .73 among the selected countries) was re-coded (z-scores) with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. A higher score on this scale represents a student's higher socioeconomic status.

Control variables - country level:

Immigrant share in the country is determined using the World Bank indicator percentage of immigrants out of the total population of that country as it was recorded in 2010. As Table 2 shows, values on this indicator ranged from 3.88 to 34.25 across the 18 countries included in the analysis, with a mean of 12.43 (SD = 7.13).

GDP per capita in US dollars is an indicator of how prosperous a country feels to each of its citizens. The source of information for this indicator was the CIA World Factbook of the US Department of State. The scores was re-coded (z-scores) and the values on this variable range from -.96 to 1.87 with

a mean of $-.07$ ($SD = .61$).

Information on the policies on immigration in each country is captured by the *migrant integration policy index (MIPEX)* 2010, an indicator developed by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group. MIPEX measures policies that promote integration in European societies. In each country, independent scholars and practitioners in migration law, education and anti-discrimination provided information on each of the 148 policy indicators MIPEX in seven policy areas (Labor Market Mobility, Family Reunion, Education, Political Participation, Long-term Residence, Access to Nationality and Anti-discrimination) based on the country's publicly available documents as of May 2010. The overall indicator takes values between 0 and 100 (0 = critically unfavorable; 1-20 = unfavorable; 21-40 = slightly unfavorable; 41-59 = halfway favorable; 60-79 = slightly favorable, and 80-100 = favorable). In the countries included in our analysis, values on the overall indicator range from 35 to 83 (Mean = 55.19; $SD=12.24$).

Control variables – classroom level:

At the classroom level, we control for other elements of classroom composition such as *classroom average socioeconomic status* and *classroom average expected further education* which are aggregated measures (classroom means) based on students' responses (see description of individual variables, above).

Moreover, we control for the presence of an *open classroom climate* for expressing opinions and open discussion. This is an aggregated (average) measure based on students' responses. Students could indicate on a 4-point scales (ranging from "never" to "often") how frequently they thought political and social issues were discussed during regular lessons. Higher values on the corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha ranging from .66 to .81 among the selected countries) reflect perceptions of higher levels of classroom discussion of political and social issues.

Missing values on all variables were substituted with the average at the next higher level for the continuous variables, and imputed randomly for the categorical variables (gender). The effect of the imputation was tested as a final step in the data analysis.

2.3 Data Analysis Strategy

As indicated previously, the ICCS sampling procedure consisted of sampling one intact class from each of the selected schools and selecting all students attending the sampled class to participate in the study. Therefore, the data has a three-level structure with students being nested in schools/classrooms and schools/classrooms being nested in educational systems. Taking this into account, we applied multilevel regression analysis (Snijders, Bosker 2011) using the MLwiN software (Rasbash, Steele, Browne, Goldstein 2009). Guided by the research questions, we followed a forward stepwise model specification procedure.

We analyzed whether immigrant share in the classroom explains differences

across countries in native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. For that purpose, the effect of immigrant share in the classroom has been controlled for other relevant student, classroom and contextual country characteristics in a series of steps. In the first step, an empty model with the specified levels was estimated. In a subsequent step, we controlled for different sets of variables: student characteristics, classroom characteristics and contextual country characteristics. In a third step we tested the effects of the main explanatory variable. Addressing our second research question, we tested in a fourth step a random slope for immigrant share in the classroom at country level. In a last step, we modeled the non-linear effect of immigrants share by estimating fixed and quadratic effects and further tested whether the effects differ between countries. The country parameters, produced in MLwiN, were imported in SPSS for further descriptive analysis.

3 Results

Relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants.

Table 3¹ presents the steps taken in the multilevel analysis to estimate the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants across and within countries.

The empty model reveals the distribution of variance in attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants across the three levels. The results indicate that there is hardly any variance in native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants between classrooms (nearly 6%) and countries (less than 4%). Therefore, in principle, classroom and country context characteristics are unlikely to be strongly related to student's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. The largest differences are to be found between students (around 91%) which make it likely that the main determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants are student-related.

In Table 3, Model 1 the estimated effects of the control variables are summarized. Adding control variables to the model significantly increases model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(10) = 3469.393$; $p \leq .001$). In line with previous findings, the analysis reveals that students' civic knowledge, gender, level of expected further education and socioeconomic status are important determinants of their attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Together, these student characteristics explain approximately 7% of the variation in their attitudes. Native students with more civic knowledge, higher expectations for their further education, and from families with higher socioeconomic status have a significantly more positive attitude towards the rights of immigrants in their country. Moreover, girls are more inclined than boys to grant immigrants the same rights as native citizens.

Significant classroom determinants are average expectations for further education and classroom climate. Native students, who attend classrooms in which pupils have, on average, higher expectations for their further

¹ For Table 3 see Appendix.

education and students who belong to a classroom in which, on average, higher opportunities for expressing opinions and open discussion are perceived, also tend to be more positive towards immigrants. Furthermore, Model 1 also shows the effects of country characteristics. None of the selected national-level determinants of native student attitudes towards immigrants appears to be significantly related to the dependent variable.

Model 2 shows the relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Adding the effect of immigrant share significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 91.253$; $p \leq .001$). Across countries, our findings support the assumed positive effect of opportunities for contact between native and immigrant students in classroom settings. Controlling for other determinants of native students attitudes towards immigrants, the share of immigrant students in a classroom is positively related to native students' attitudes towards immigrants ($B = 4.869$; $SE = 1.216$, $p \leq .001$). Hence, across countries, when native students attend a classroom with relatively many immigrant students, they are more likely to advocate equal rights for immigrants. This effect, however, is rather small: when a classroom has 10% more immigrant students, an increase of ($4.869 \times 0.10 \Rightarrow$) 0.487 points is observed, which equals to ($0.487/9.995 \Rightarrow$) 0.049 of a standard deviation for attitudes. Model 2 also reveals that the effects of most control variables tested in Model 1 have a similar direction and magnitude when the effect of immigrant share is added to the model. The only exception is the effect of class average expectations for further education, which is no longer significant in Model 2.

The estimates in Model 2 are obtained assuming that the effect of immigrant share on the attitudes of natives is homogeneous across countries. However, it is likely that the relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards immigrants differs between countries. In Model 3, the size of the effect is allowed to differ between countries. Adding a random slope for the share of immigrants at the country level significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(2) = 62.404$; $p \leq .001$). As Model 3 illustrates, the fixed average effect of immigrant share on the attitudes of natives is still positive and statistically significant ($B = 4.502$, $SE = 1.567$, $p \leq .01$). Moreover, the random slope standard deviation ($\sqrt{34.515}$) is 5.874, which indicates that the size of the effect varies considerably across countries and the effect of immigrant share in the various countries can be positive as well as negative.

A clear illustration of the differences between countries in the effect of immigrant share is provided by Figure 1.² As can be observed from this Figure, the size of the effects overall is small, but countries differ regarding the strength and the direction of the relationship. In Italy, Cyprus, and Spain negative effects are found for immigrant share in the classroom, although these are close to zero in Cyprus and Spain. This latter applies also to Greece and Ireland, although the relationship between immigrant share and students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants on average is positive. In Slovenia and England the effect is clearly positive, but slightly below average, whereas it is on average in Luxembourg and Austria, and slightly above average in Belgium (Flanders), The Netherlands, and Norway.

² For Figure 1 see Appendix.

The effect is clearly above average in Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, and much higher than average in Lithuania and Estonia.

The analysis so far assumed a linear effect of immigrant share on student's attitudes towards immigrants. It is, however, likely that the data could be better described by a model in which immigrant share has a non-linear effect.

As illustrated in Table 4³ we tested this assumption across countries by estimating both linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share. For reasons of simplicity, Table 4 only reports the effects of immigrant share and the random part of the model. These coefficients are estimated while controlling for all other variables (see Table 3, Model 1). As Model 2 in Table 4, shows, adding the linear and quadratic terms significantly improves model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(2) = 91.35$; $p \leq .001$). Across countries, only the linear effect of immigrant share shows a statistically positive relationship with the dependent variable ($B = 4.681$, $SE = 0.787$, $p \leq .001$). However, Models 3 and 4 illustrate that the effect of both terms varies significantly across countries. The country specific effects are illustrated in Figure 2.⁴

The overall pattern in Figure 2 suggests that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share which does not change dramatically in direction or size with relatively higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom. However, some countries differ significantly from this overall pattern. One extreme is Italy, in which immigrant share in the classroom is negatively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a positive predictor at higher share levels. In Estonia an opposite trend seems to be apparent in which immigrant share in the classroom is positively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a negative predictor at higher share levels.

4 Conclusion and Discussion

The present study investigated the determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants giving particular attention to the effect of immigrant share in the classroom and the extent to which it can be generalized across countries.

Our findings indicate that, even though there is some variation in native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants both across countries and across classrooms within countries, the largest differences are to be found between students. Hence, these results suggest that the determinants of native student attitudes are mainly student-related, while classroom and country characteristics are likely to have only modest effects. Variations in the attitudes of native students towards equal rights for immigrants were found to be related to individual and classroom characteristics, but we could not establish the extent to which the variation across countries can be attributed to country characteristics. Regarding individual determinants, our

³ For Table 4 see Appendix.
⁴ For Figure 2 see Appendix.

findings indicated that the more students know about the wider policy climate, institutional processes and so on, the more positive their attitudes towards immigrant rights. Moreover, positive attitudes are more likely to be held by girls, by students with higher socioeconomic status, and by students with high expectations for their further education. These findings are in line with the literature on citizenship education as well as with other studies on young adult attitudes towards immigrants (Barber. et al. 2010; Galston 2001; Elchardus et al. 2009; Popkin, Dimock 2000; Janmaat 2012; van Geel, Vedder 2010).

With respect to classroom characteristics, this study revealed that an open classroom climate could be an important asset if schools want to create right conditions for the development of positive attitudes towards immigrants. On the other hand, aggregated classroom characteristics capturing school composition tend to be statistically insignificant with the exception of immigrant share in the classroom. Indeed, in our analysis conducted across countries, the immigrant share in the classroom proved to be one of the few classroom determinants of native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Overall, our results confirm the assumption that having the opportunity to interact with more non-native peers could lead to have a more positive attitude among native students towards immigrants in general. The study, thus, overall supports Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. Moreover, across countries, this relationship does not change dramatically in direction or size at higher immigrant share levels.

However, our country specific analyses revealed considerable variation between countries in the direction, the strength, and the shape of the relationship between immigrant share and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. When assuming a linear relationship, the study revealed that, while the effects are positive for a wide majority of countries, in some countries the effects are negligible or even negative. This, however, does not imply that the contact hypothesis might not hold for these countries. Rather, these findings indicate that one cannot take for granted that the opportunity for contact in classroom settings is enough to foster positive attitudes towards immigrants. Conditions for meaningful contact, like an equal status of native and immigrant students, might not be ensured in schools within these countries. This requires other individual and context specific factors to be investigated.

Moreover, our study indicated that, at least in some countries, the relationship between immigrant share and student's attitudes towards immigrants is not necessarily linear. In most countries an increase of immigrant students in the classroom seems to maintain a small positive effect, although the presence of relatively large shares of immigrant students tends to reduce the size of this effect. However, more complex patterns emerge for countries like Italy and Estonia. Our findings suggest that in these two countries the relationship between immigrant share and student attitudes is clearly curvilinear. These results could indicate that the inclusion of immigrant students could create a critical mass igniting different dynamics in the way students interact and form their attitudes. Although in Italy there is a negative linear effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards immigrants' rights, the

quadratic effect of the variable is strong and positive, indicating that the linear negative effect tends to wipe out at larger shares of immigrants in the classroom, and in this sense the Italian example shows further support for the contact hypothesis. In contrast, the case of Estonia shows the opposite with strong positive effects rapidly decreasing at higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom.

These findings could be the result of an effect of large numbers of immigrant peers that might either result in more contact and more understanding, or in feelings of alienation. However, an alternative explanation might be that schools with relatively high number of immigrant students might differ from schools with only few immigrant students. In large cities, for example, probably larger numbers of immigrants are found than in rural areas. Similarly, the period and home country of immigrants might differ between urban and rural regions. To determine whether any differences in number and nature of immigrant students across regions or between urban and rural areas, could explain the positive or negative effects found for large shares of immigrant students requires further research. A second alternative explanation could be related to the sample of schools in these two countries. The estimation of the linear and quadratic terms is not robust with small samples of schools. Selection effects, then, can have a considerable effect on the coefficients that are found.

Moreover, the cross-sectional nature of our study does not allow for strong causal inference. We assumed that native students in classrooms with high proportions of immigrant students would hold positive attitudes towards immigrants' rights, but the causality could actually flow in the opposite direction. This issue can be addressed by further research by employing longitudinal designs. Second, even though we were able to show that the size and direction of the effect can differ across educational contexts, we cannot show which individual, classroom, and national context characteristics provide the conditions for the development of positive interpersonal relationships between native and immigrants students in the classroom. Our findings show the need for investigating other characteristics, which could account for country variations in the effect of immigrant share. In this respect, further research might require cross-country studies, which could show which country characteristics might influence how students relate to their immigrant peers. The reviewed literature and our findings seem to indicate that student attitudes could be influenced by contextual factors outside school such as the community, the family, and the peers, or by the extent to which educational systems are prepared to deal with immigrant students. For example, the detected negative linear effects in Italy, Spain, and Cyprus could be related to the social tensions ignited by the relative novelty and growing size of the immigration phenomenon in these countries (OECD, 2008). Native student may have preconceptions towards their immigrant peers, and this negative effect would only wipe out in presence of sufficient interaction between natives and immigrants (i.e. the positive quadratic effect). An alternative explanation could underline how the relationships between native and immigrant students could depend on more local influences (Stark 2011) that would only be detected by in-depth country specific analyses.

To conclude, aside from providing overall support for the contact

hypothesis across the 18 European countries participating in ICCS 2009, our analysis indicates a number of promising research strands to be followed when investigating native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. First and foremost, the determinants of student attitudes are mainly student-related, and future studies should further explore the relationship between student attitudes and student individual characteristics. Still, some school characteristics do appear to make a difference. Specifically, while most aggregated classroom characteristics capturing school composition – such as average socioeconomic status – tend to be statistically insignificant, the immigrant share in the classroom consistently shows a relationship with student attitudes, and this dimension should therefore receive further attention. Last but not least, this study also suggests the need of looking at contextual factors outside school such as the community, the family, and the peers, or at the extent to which educational systems are prepared to deal with immigrant students. Although the availability of comparable data for all the dimensions of interest limits the number of countries that can be compared, it would be extremely interesting to extend the analysis to other continents. At the same time, the already mentioned importance of community, family, peer factors and the nature of interpersonal relationships established between students also points to the need of more in-depth analyses at national or infra-national level.

References

- Allport, Gordon W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge.
- Barber, Carolyn; Torney-Purta, Judith; Fennelly, Katherine. 2010. Adolescents' Attitudes toward Immigrants' Rights and Nationalism in 25 Countries. Paper presented at the 4th IEA International Research Conference (IRC-2010), Gothenburg, Sweden.
(http://www.iea-irc.org/index.php?id=cived_and_iccs)
accessed November 21, 2010.
- Birzea, Cezar. 2003. *All European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC). Synthesis of EDC Policies in Europe*. Strasbourg.
- CIA World Factbook database. 2010. US Department of State.
(<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>) accessed October 5, 2011.
- Elchardus, Mark; Roggemans, Lilith; Op de Beeck, Sara. 2009. Citizenship Education and Ethnocentrism. In: Elchardus, Mark; Siongers, Jessy, eds. *Strangers: A Cultural Sociological Approach to Ethnocentrism*. Belgium.
- Eurydice. 2005. *Citizenship Education at School in Europe*.
(<http://www.moec.gov.cy/programs/eurydice/publication.pdf>)
accessed September 31, 2007.
- Galston, William A. 2001. Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education. In: *Annual Review of Political Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 217-

234.

Hyland, Nora E. 2006. Detracking in the Social Studies: A Path to a More Democratic Education? In: *Theory into Practice*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 64-71.

Janmaat, Jan G. 2012. The Effect of Classroom Diversity on Tolerance and Participation in England, Sweden and Germany. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 21-39.

Kokkonen, Andrej; Esaiasson, Peter; Gilljam, Mikael. 2010. Ethnic Diversity and Democratic Citizenship: Evidence from a Social Laboratory. In: *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4, 331-335.

Mascherini, Massimiliano; Vidoni, Daniele; Manca, Anna Rita. 2011. Exploring the Determinants of Civil Participation in 14 European Countries: One-Size-Fits None. In: *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 6, 790-807.

Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). 2010. British Council & Migration Policy Group. (<http://www.mipex.eu>) accessed December 2, 2011.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2008. A Profile of Immigrant Populations in the 21st Century: Data from OECD Countries.

(http://www.oecd.org/document/27/0,3746,en_2649_33931_40110299_1_1_1_1,00.html) accessed March 20, 2010.

Perliger, Arie; Canetti-Nisim, Daphna; Pedahzur, Ami. 2006. Democratic Attitudes among High-School Pupils: The Role Played by Perceptions of Class Climate. In: *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 119-140.

Pettigrew, Thomas F.; Tropp, Linda R. 2006. A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory. In: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 90, No. 5, 751-783.

Pettigrew, Thomas F.; Tropp, Linda R.; Wagner, Ulrich; Christ, Oliver. 2011. Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory. In: *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 35, 271-280.

Popkin, Samuel L.; Dimock, Michael A. 2000. Knowledge, Trust and International Reasoning. In: Lupia, Arthur; McCubbins, Mathew D.; Popkin, Samuel L., eds. *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. Cambridge, UK, 214-238.

Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York.

Rasbash, Jon; Steele, Fiona; Browne, William J.; Goldstein, Harvey. 2009. *A User's Guide to MLwiN, v2.10*. University of Bristol.

Scheerens, Jaap. 2009. *Informal Learning of Active Citizenship at School*. Springer.

Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno. 2010. *ICCS 2009 International Report: Citizenship Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary School Students in 38 Countries*. Amsterdam.

- Schulz, Wolfram; Fraillon, Julian; Ainley, John; Losito, Bruno; Kerr, David. 2008. International Civic and Citizenship Education Study: Assessment Framework. Amsterdam.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian, eds. 2011. ICCS 2009 Technical Report. Amsterdam.
- Semyonov, Moshe; Raijman, Rebeca; Gorodzeisky, Anastasia. 2008. Foreigners' Impact on European Societies. Public Views and Perceptions in a Cross-National Comparative Perspective. In: International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 49, No. 1, 5-29.
- Snijders, Tom; Bosker, Roel. 2011. Multilevel Analysis: An Introduction to Basic and Advanced Multilevel Modeling, Second Edition. London.
- Stark, Tobias, H. 2011. Integration in Schools. A Process Perspective on Students' Interethnic Attitudes and Interpersonal Relationships. The Netherlands.
- Steinberg, Laurence; Sheffield Morris, Amanda. 2001. Adolescent Development. In: Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 52, No. 83, 83-110.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Wilkenfeld, Britt; Barber, Carolyn. 2008. How Adolescents in 27 Countries Understand, Support, and Practice Human Rights. In: Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 64, No. 4, 857-880.
- van Geel, Mitch; Vedder, Paul. 2010. Multicultural Attitudes among Adolescents: The Role of Ethnic Diversity in the Classroom. In: Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, Vol. 14, No. 4, 549-558.
- Vervoort, Miranda H.M.; Scholte, Ron H.J.; Scheepers, Peer L.H. 2011. Ethnic Composition of School Classes, Majority-Minority Friendships, and Adolescents' Intergroup Attitudes in the Netherlands. In: Journal of Adolescence, Vol. 34, No. 6, 257-267.
- World Development Indicators (WDI) database. 2011. World Bank. (<http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do>) accessed December 04, 2011.

Appendix: Tables 3, 4 and Figures 1, 2

Table 3. Results of multilevel analysis: The relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants									
Fixed Part	Model 0 - Empty		Model 1 - Control variables		Model 2 - Effect of immigrant share		Model 3 - Radom slope immigrant share		
	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	
Constant	48.258	0.448	47.039	0.500	46.991	0.506	47.014	0.522	
<i>Student characteristics</i>									
Civic knowledge			0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***	
Gender(girl=1)			2.693	0.232***	2.685	0.232***	2.688	0.232***	
Expected further education(GMC)			0.185	0.056**	0.193	0.055***	0.192	0.056**	
SES (GMC)			0.369	0.086***	0.349	0.085***	0.354	0.084***	
<i>Country characteristics</i>									
% of immigrants in the country			0.055	0.113	0.015	0.117	0.016	0.116	
GDP per capita			-0.308	1.357	-0.500	1.374	-0.566	1.373	
Migrant integration policy			-0.032	0.052	-0.032	0.052	-0.033	0.053	
<i>Classroom characteristics</i>									
Classroom average SES			-0.537	0.297	-0.209	0.381	-0.117	0.347	
Classroom average expected further education			0.824	0.400*	0.603	0.422	0.362	0.376	
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion			0.099	0.041*	0.096	0.037*	0.102	0.035**	
Immigrant share					4.869	1.216***	4.502	1.567**	
<i>Random effects</i>									
Country level a) intercept	3.527	0.921	3.629	0.760	3.736	0.748	3.982	0.785	
b) intercept – slope							-0.385	2.275	
c) slope immigrant share							34.515	18.327	
School level	5.762	0.720	4.569	0.587	4.300	0.597	3.968	0.526	
Student level	91.169	3.788	85.336	3.356	85.301	3.359	85.284	3.362	
Deviance	364847.30	9	361377.900		361286.663		361224.3		
Deviance difference			3469.393***		91.253 ***		62.404***		
Variance explained			(10 df)		(1df)		(2df)		
			≈ 7%		≈ 1%				

Note. GMC= group-mean centred; All other continuous variables are grand-mean centred; *** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$

Figure 1. Effect of immigrant share by country

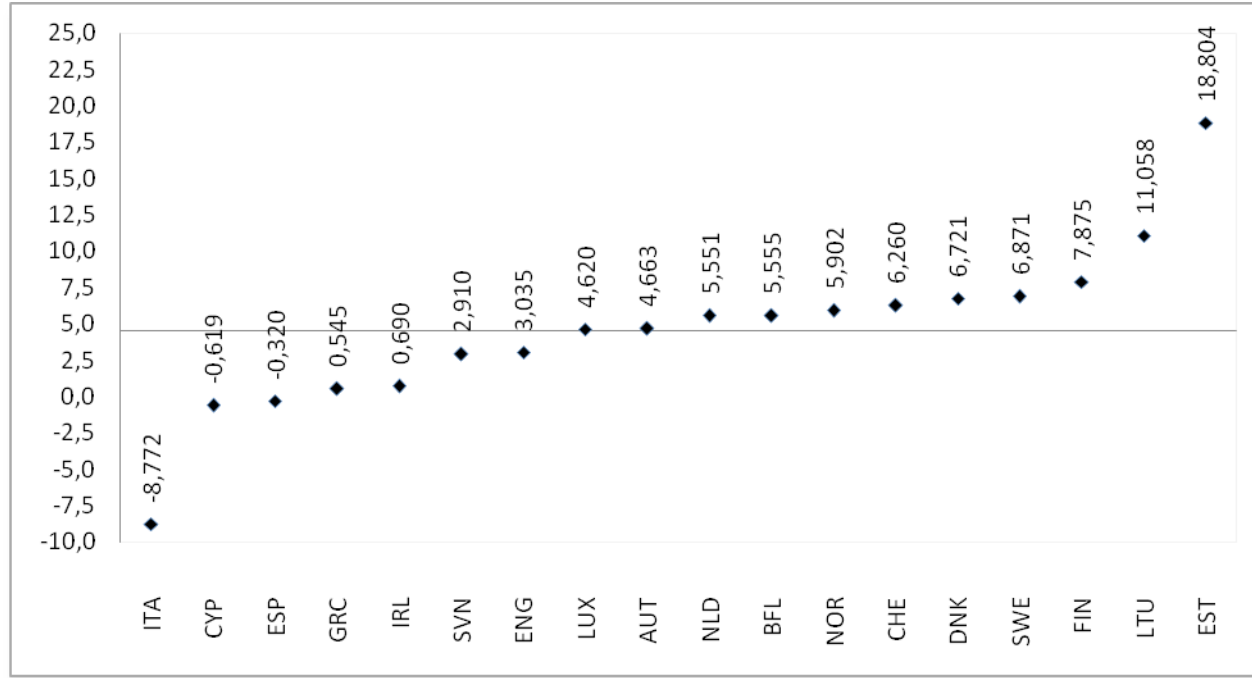
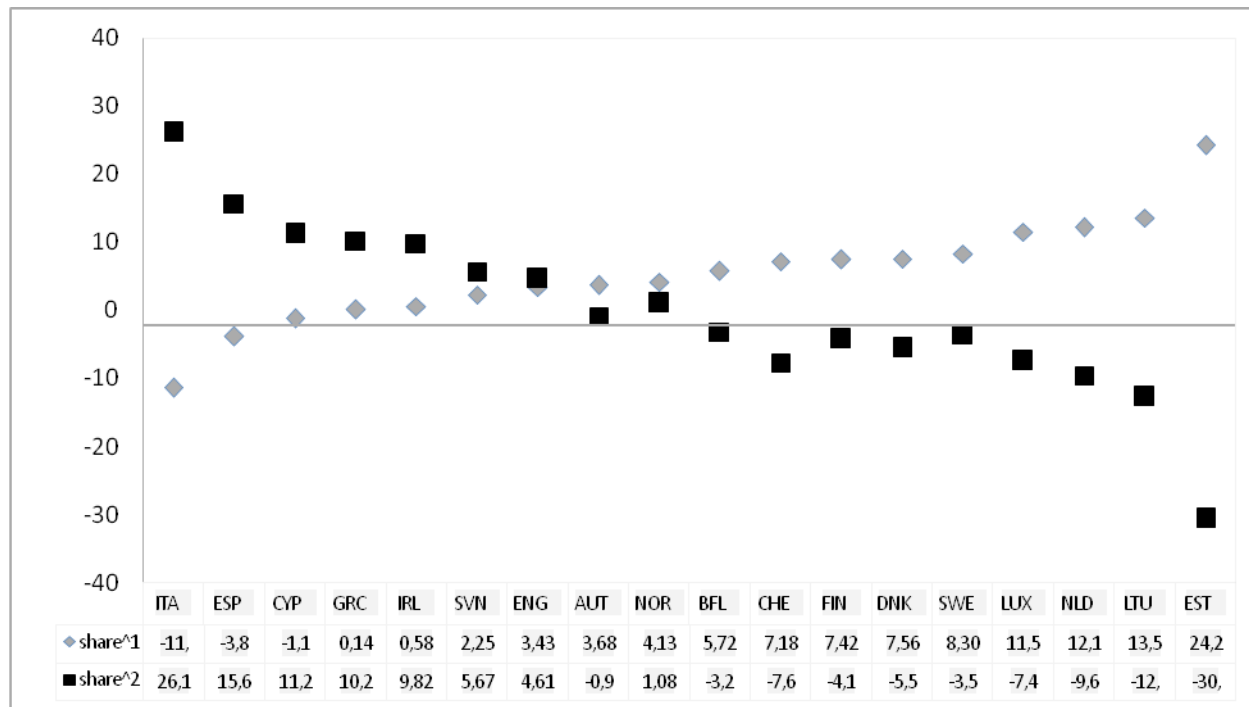


Table 4. Results of multilevel analysis: The curvilinear relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants

Fixed Part	Model 2 – Linear & quadratic effects of immigrant share		Model 3 - Radom slope immigrant share^1		Model 4 - Radom slope immigrant share^2	
	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.
Constant	46.980	0.465	47.027	0.479	46.957	0.464
Immigrant share^1	4.681	0.787***	4.786	1.618**	5.457	2.098**
Immigrant share^2	0.627	2.002	-1.024	2.187	-0.259	3.534
Random Part						
Country a) intercept	3.737	1.269	3.976	1.357	3.718	1.277
b) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^1) covariance			-0.403	3.019	-0.143	4.095
c) slope Immigrant share^1			34.883	13.386	67.445	26.276
d) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^2) covariance					2.183	6.889
e) Immigrant share^1 - Immigrant share^2 covariance					-106.801	43.302
f) slope Immigrant share^2					162.375	73.871
School level intercept	4.299	0.255	3.967	0.245	3.945	0.245
Student level intercept	85.301	0.557	85.284	0.556	85.287	0.556
Deviance	361286.57		361224		361210.49	

Note. Model controlled for all other variables (see Table 3, Model 1); *** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$;

Figure 2. Linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share by country



Kerry John Kennedy, Xiaorui Huang, Joseph Kui Foon Chow

Hong Kong Students' Levels of Political Trust Ten Years after the Return to Chinese Sovereignty¹

Hong Kong's return to the People's Republic of China in 1997 marked the beginning of a political transition that, if successful, will result in full democracy by 2020 (Ma 2008). Given that there are different levels of political trust in established and emerging democracies (Catterberg, Moreno 2005) and that regime changes itself exerts an influence on trust, this paper reports on a study that compares levels of political trust between two samples of Hong Kong's young people. The results indicated that more than ten years after Hong Kong's retrocession to China, some institutions were more strongly endorsed in 2009 than in 1999 but others registered a lower level of endorsement. Structurally it seems that 'political trust' is understood by both samples as a multidimensional construct that has a direct impact on the way they see their future citizenship responsibilities. The implications of these results for both political theory and civic education are discussed.

Keywords

Political trust, students, citizenship attitudes

1 Introduction

There is increasing agreement that Hong Kong's political system can best be described as a 'hybrid' (Scott 2004; Case 2008; Ma 2011). *The Economist's* 'Democracy Index 2010' confirmed this categorization by placing Hong Kong in the 'hybrid regime' category and ranking it toward the mid-point of the index (80/167) based on a composite index that took into consideration the electoral system, the functioning of government, political culture, political participation and civil liberties. The index included "full democracies," (ranked 1-26), "flawed democracies" (ranked 27-29) "hybrid regimes" (ranked 80-111) and "authoritarian regimes" (ranked 112-167) (Economist Intelligence Unit 2010). The issue of whether hybrid regimes are "in transition" to democracy has been hotly debated in light of evidence that it is also likely that they can revert to authoritarianism (Levitsky, Way 2002). Morlino (2008, 16) has argued that "the most significant problem in terms of specific cases is to ensure the existence of institutions more or less capable of performing their functions." Levy and Fukuyama (2010) have recently shown the importance of liberal democratic political institutions in limiting the power of the state. They show how such institutions can

¹ This research reported here was conducted as part of a Public Policy Research Grant [HKIEd 8001-PPR-5, *Hong Kong Students' Attitudes to Citizenship: Monitoring Progress Ten years after Hong Kong's Return to China*] supported by the Central Policy Unit and the Hong Kong Research Grants Council.

increase the legitimacy of the state and, in some cases, provide the foundations of economic growth. Given the importance of such institutions, this paper is concerned with how they have been perceived by young people in Hong Kong at two points in time – immediately after Hong Kong’s return to China and after ten years under Chinese sovereignty. This focus is especially important in the political context of a Hong Kong since as a ‘hybrid regime’ serious flaws have been identified in its existing democratic processes. A key question, therefore, concerns the ‘democratic utility’ (Jamal, Nooruddin 2010) of political institutions in a hybrid regime the future directions of which are still being negotiated.

2 Political Trust – Theoretical and Measurement Issues

It is important to state at the outset that there have been very few studies dealing with the issue of adolescents’ political trust, with the notable exceptions of Torney-Purta, Barber and Richardson (2004) and Hooghe and Wilkenfeld (2008). These studies used similar data to that which has been used in the current study, but they did not include Hong Kong students in their analyses. More recently, Kennedy, Mok and Wong (2011) used samples of Asian adolescents to examine political trust as a student and school level variable influencing civic understanding. The current study builds on these by exploring in more detail the structure of political trust as a construct and its influence in the particular political context of Hong Kong over time. The remainder of this section will deal with the theoretical and measurement issues associated with political trust with some reference to Hong Kong’s political status.

Warren (1999, 2), writing about the relationship between democracy and trust, pointed out that:

“A society that fosters robust relations of trust is probably also a society that can afford fewer regulations and greater freedoms, deal with more contingencies, tap the energy and ingenuity of its citizens, limit the inefficiencies of rule-based means of coordination, and provide a greater sense of existential security and satisfaction.”

Given the assumed significance of trust, Offe (1999) explored the more basic issue of how trust might be developed in a democratic society. He suggested that under certain conditions vertical trust i.e. trust amongst fellow citizens, can be established through the institutions that serve society. He set very high standards for these institutions relating to truth (“truth telling and promise keeping” and justice (“fairness and solidarity”). The extent to which institutions are characterized by these values is the extent to which they are capable of generating trust among citizens. He commented that:

“Persons who withdraw trust in “everyone else” do so due not to the (impossible) observation that everyone else (or, for that matter, the “political class”) does in fact not deserve to be trusted, but to the perception of failure of the institutions to perform their formative and constraining role according to any or all of these four standards.” (Offe

1999, 75).

This kind of assertion leads naturally to the question of exactly what it is in which members of society should have trust – in themselves, in each other, in society’s government and non-government institutions or all of these? For Offe, the answer was clear – trust should be reserved for individuals and not institutions. This is an important distinction because it gives rise to what is best known as “social trust” as distinct from “political trust.” It is the former that has been the focus of writers such as Putnam (1995) who has developed a significant discourse around the concept of ‘social capital’ and how it provides the basic infrastructure for democratic participation.

Yet the views of the social capital theorists have not been undisputed. Jamal and Nooruddin (2010, 45) have argued that “existing government institutions play an important role in promoting levels of generalized trust because, in democracies and non-democracies alike, political confidence in existing political institutions is linked to higher levels of generalized trust.” According to this argument it is not useful to dichotomize trust since one provides the foundation for the other. A similar view has been supported by Newton (2001), Rothstein and Stolle (2002) and Freitag and Bühlmann (2009) based on their respective secondary analyses of large scale surveys. As Rothstein and Stoll (2002, 28) pointed out “our causal mechanism and developed theoretical insights suggest that parts of generalized trust can be influenced by the institutions in which it is embedded.”

This institutional view of trust is part of a broader debate about the origins or source of trust. Protagonists for a cultural perspective have supported a view that suggests trust is endogenous – almost an inherited characteristic within the social system that is transmitted generationally (Uslaner 2008a). Such a view refers to generalized levels of trust in society. Yet the institutional view of trust, as described in the previous paragraph, sees trusts as exogenous – influenced by factors outside of individuals. Mishler and Rose (2001) showed in relation to post-communist societies that both exogenous and endogenous factors were at work in the development of trust – endogenous factors had indirect effects on trust while exogenous factors exerted a direct effect. Oskarsson (2010) examined a variation on this perspective showing that exogenous factors were more influential for survey respondents who held lower levels of trust. Dinesen (2011), coming from the perspective of migrants in new societies, also supported the interactive effect of generalized and political trust. In this context, Schoon and Cheng (2011) supported a lifelong learning model of political trust rather than a championing of either culturalist or institutional view, a perspective that had been endorsed by Mishler and Rose (2001) a decade earlier. Therefore, while it is possible to distinguish between generalized and political trust it is their interaction that seems more important.

Yet it has also been argued that political trust has its limitations. Jamal and Nooruddin (2010) have argued that the ‘democratic utility’ of trust is effective only in democratic contexts since trust in institutions linked to authoritarian regimes has no spin off for democracy. Jamal (2007) demonstrated in a sample of Arab countries that measures of trust were related to traditional and nondemocratic values while low levels of trust were associated with more liberal values. On the other hand, Li (2010) has

reported how farmers in rural China used ‘freedoms’ provided by central authorities to leverage their claims against local officials. Thus trust in institutions at one level of an authoritarian regime is used to bring about change at another. As Li (2010, 66) pointed out, “if people assert their rules-based claims using the politically accepted language of rights, they may also disguise their claims about rights using the even safer language of rules.” ‘Democratic utility’, therefore, is not an absolute construct – it is determined by both macro political contexts and micro level actions. Yet Jamal’s finding on the importance of ‘distrust’ is also significant. The efficacy of trust depends on its object and at times it may be important to withhold trust where the ends are not democratic. Skepticism towards trust has some support in the literature (Hardin 1999).

In the study to be reported here, the focus will be on political trust or trust in institutions. It is not an entirely new topic in the Hong Kong context. Wong, Hsiao and Wan (2009), for example, have shown that citizens in Hong Kong and Taiwan have different levels of institutional trust. In Taiwan it is overall quite low and in Hong Kong there are relatively high levels of trust in government and the courts but lower levels in the legislature. The explanation is seen as more related to the quality of institutions than to cultural explanations. In a more wide ranging study Wong, Wan and Hsiao (2011) looked across six Asian societies to test the cultural/institutional explanation for levels of political trust. They came down on the side of institutions as the key factor in building political trust in these societies. The current study will extend this regional research by focusing on adolescents rather than adults to investigate how young people in an important area of the region at different points in time have viewed the institutions that govern or influence their lives almost on a daily basis.

Hong Kong’s unique status as an administrative unit of the People’s Republic of China, yet with a colonial heritage that has bequeathed the rule of law, an independent judiciary and an embryonic electoral system, will provide the context for the study. It might be expected that this tension between China’s authoritarian system in which Hong Kong is now embedded and extant political institutions reminiscent of a more fully fledged democracy may have created some ambiguity for Hong Kong’s young people. This study, as well as investigating the nature of the political trust as a construct, will also provide some insight into how Hong Kong’s unique context has influenced adolescent thinking about political trust.

3 The Study

This comparative study drew on cross sectional data from two administrations of the survey used in the IEA Civic Education Study [CivEd] (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). The first administration was part of the Hong Kong component of CivEd and took place in 1999. The second administration occurred in 2009. Details relating to the sample, instrument and analytic techniques are provided below.

Sample. Details concerning CivEd sampling procedures can be found in

Torney-Purta et al. (2001) and Schulz and Sibberns (2004). The 1999 Hong Kong sample consisted of 4497 students with an average age of 15.3 ($SD = 0.8$). The 2009 sample consisted of 602 students with a mean age of 15.35 years ($SD = .79$). Successive random samples of 500 students were chosen from the 1999 group and the full sample was used for the 2009 group.

Data. The CivEd questionnaire contained 12 questions addressing level of trust in political institutions. The items are shown in Table 1. Students were asked: “How much of the time can you trust each of the following institutions”? Answers were provided using four-point scale ‘1=never, 2=only some of the time, 3=most of time, and 4=always.’

Analysis. SPSS 16.0 was used to produce descriptive statistics that were analyzed using ‘*t*’-tests to test for statistical significance and Cohen’s ‘*d*’ to determine effect size. To provide another perspective on the item level analysis, Winsteps (Lincare 2006) was used to conduct a Rating Scale Analysis and determine item difficulty. A Principal Components Analysis of the residuals was also conducted to explore the dimensionality of the items. The dimensionality of the data was also investigated using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). The internal reliability (α) of the proposed scales was calculated and the scree plot and eigenvalues were examined to determine the number of factors. Subsequently Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted using a second random sample of students. Model fit indices were calculated to test the extent to which the proposed model fitted the data. Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) was then used to test the measurement invariance of the model across the two cohorts of students. This involved testing a series of progressively restricted models to assess the extent to which the models were comparable. A series of multiple regression analyses was conducted to test the relationship between the identified model of Political Trust and three dependent variables. These were ‘Political Knowledge,’ measured by CivEd’s Total Civic Knowledge scale score, and ‘Political Participation,’ measured with two different scales, a two item ‘Informed Voting’ scale and a three item ‘Conventional Political Action’ scale.

4 Results

Descriptive statistics. The descriptive statistics for both samples are shown in Table 1.

A number of points can be made from the item analysis in Table 1. The institutions that were endorsed more strongly in 2009 than 1999 with large effect sizes were the “courts” and the “United Nations.” The “police,” “news on television,” “news on radio” and “news in the press” were endorsed more strongly in 2009 but the effect sizes were small. The institutions that were endorsed less strongly in 2009 than 1999 were “district councils” and “political parties” and the effect sizes were large.

Table 1. Mean scores on political trust items for students in 1999 and 2009

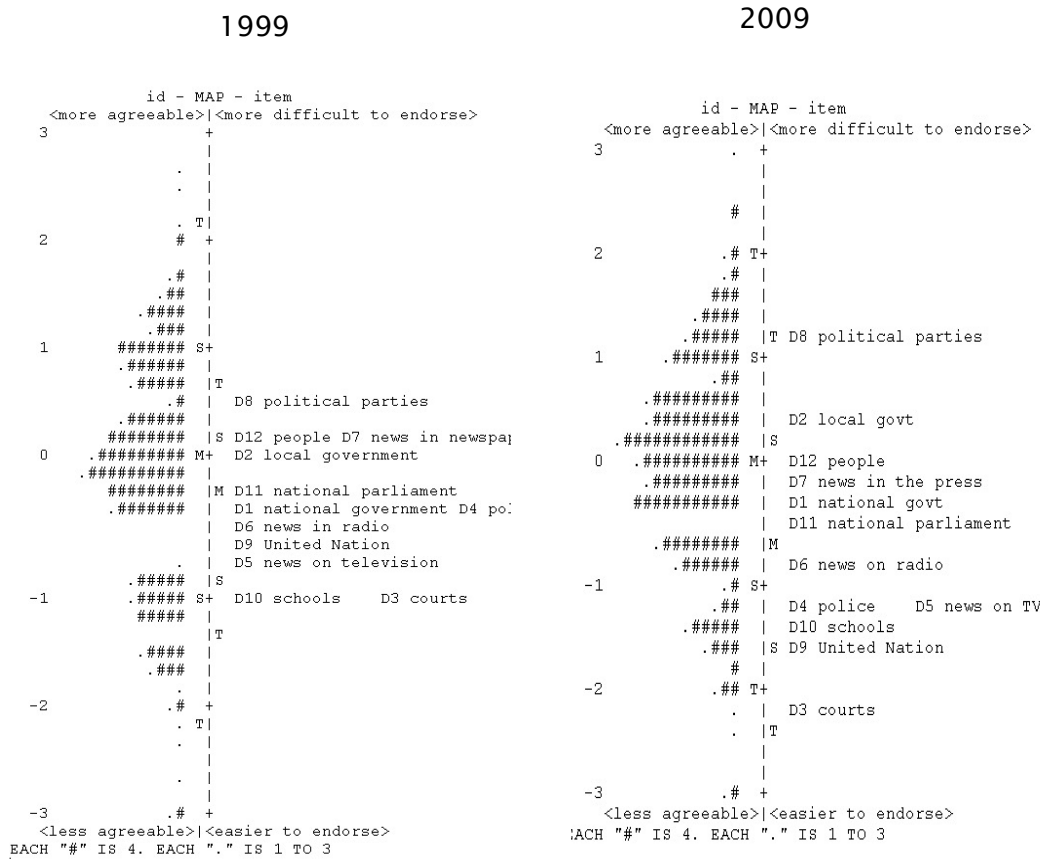
	1999		2009		<i>t</i>		<i>Cohen's d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
D1 The national government	2.55	0.78	2.57	0.71	-0.52		-0.03
D2 District councils (local government)	2.42	0.74	2.30	0.64	4.02	***	0.17
D3 Courts	2.89	0.82	3.22	0.76	-9.97	***	-0.41
D4 The police	2.66	0.82	2.84	0.77	-5.50	***	-0.22
D5 News on Television	2.70	0.76	2.86	0.71	-5.11	***	-0.21
D6 News on the radio	2.67	0.75	2.70	0.70	-1.10		-0.04
D7 News in the press	2.34	0.69	2.50	0.69	-5.30	***	-0.23
D8 Political parties	2.18	0.72	2.01	0.60	5.89	***	0.24
D9 United Nations	2.67	0.90	3.03	0.83	-9.37	***	-0.40
D10 Schools(Education institutions)	2.85	0.80	2.91	0.72	-1.92		-0.08
D11 National parliament (Congress)	2.54	0.77	2.54	0.75	-0.21		0.00
D12 The people who live in this country	2.38	0.83	2.42	0.66	-1.25		-0.05

Note: *** p<.001

As a complement to the item analysis using descriptive statistics, a rating scale analysis (RSA) (Andrich 1978) was also conducted. RSA does not report the raw scores but the transformed raw scores that take into account both

the positive and negative responses to an item (Bond, Fox 2007). This is often referred to as the distribution of item difficulties – an easy item has more positive endorsements and fewer negative endorsements while a difficult item has more negative endorsements and fewer positive endorsements. The RSA enabled a comparison to be made between the item difficulties and their distribution between 1999 and 2009. The results are shown in Figure 1 in the form of a Wright map that provides a graphical display of the interval scale (Wilson 2005) with item difficulties on the right hand side and the distribution of student endorsements on the left hand side.

Figure 1. Item difficulty distributions 1999 and 2009

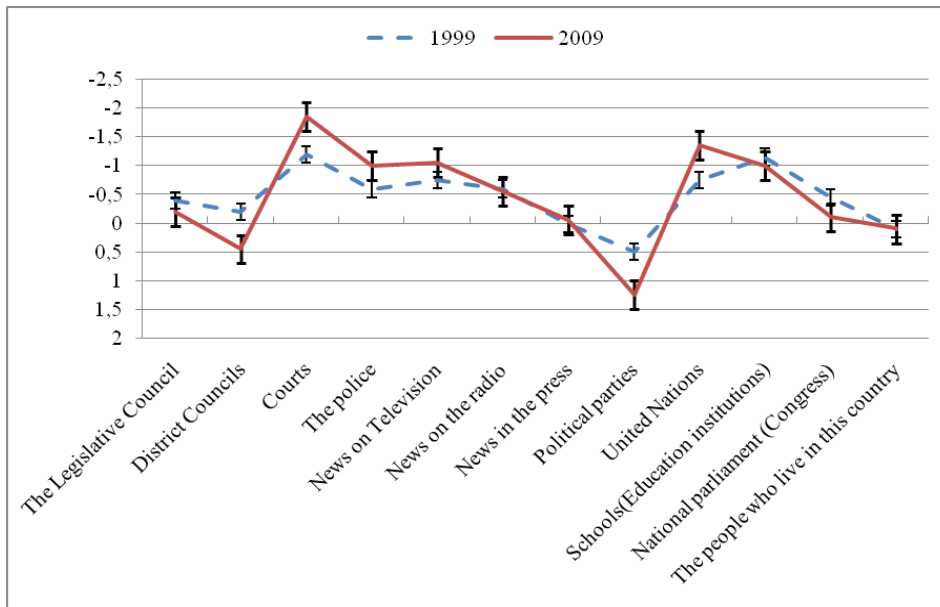


In general, the item difficulty distribution in 2009 was more spread out than item difficulty distribution in 1999 suggesting that some items were more difficult to endorse in 2009 and some were easier. The items - “national government” (1999: -0.63 logits; 2009: -0.28 logits), “district councils” (1999: -0.16 logits; 2009: 0.44 logits), “political parties” (1999: 0.48 logits; 2009: 1.26 logits) and “national parliament” (1999: -0.43 logits; 2009: -0.18 logits) appeared easier to endorse in 1999 than in 2009 suggesting that students in 2009 had higher trust towards these institutions than their peers in 1999. While items “courts” (1999: -1.26 logits; 2009: -1.86 logits),

the “police” (1999: -0.59 logits; 2009: -0.94 logits), “news on TV (1999: -0.83 logits; 2009: -0.98 logits), and the “United Nations” (1999: -0.74 logits; 2009: -1.35 logits) in 2009 appear to be easier to endorse by students in 1999 suggesting that students in 1999 had lower trust towards these institutions than their peers in 2009. These results were consistent with the results obtained from the descriptive analysis.

As in the analysis of raw scores reported earlier, not all differences are necessarily substantial. As Figure 2 shows, there were observable differences (i.e. > 0.5 logits) for “districts councils” and “political parties,” the “courts,” and “United Nations.” These differences were also identified through large effect sizes in the analysis or raw scores.

Figure 2. Item difficulty: 1999 and 2009



It should also be noted that a Principal Component Analysis of residuals of the data for both 1999 and 2009 revealed that item D5, 6, 7 might form another dimension different from the other items. This was indicated by the eigenvalues of over 2.0 (both equal 2.6), accounting for 21.8% and 21.3% respectively of the unexplained variance left from the extracted Rasch dimension in 1999 and 2009. Thus while the scale above has been reported as though it were unidimensional, further analyses will be conducted in the following section to explore further the dimensionality of the scale.

5 Factor Analyses

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA): 1999 data

Item 12 (“the people live in this country”) was deleted from the analysis

because it is not consistent with the other items that focus on specific institutions. It showed a low squared multiple correlation ($R^2=.17$), and low communality (.23). Eleven items with internal reliability (Cronbach's α) of .83 were included in the final analysis. The scree plot suggested a 2- or 3-factor model. Mplus 5.1 (Muthén, Muthén 1998-2007) was used to perform an EFA from 2 factors to 4 factors using a Crawford-Ferguson Varimax rotation method. Goodness of fit indices for 2 to 4 factors are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of factors and goodness fit for EFA

No. of factors	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR	AIC	BIC
2	540.00	34	.933	.892	.080	.038	48851	49098
3	227.64	25	.973	.941	.059	.025	48557	48856
4	61.64	17	.994	.981	.034	.012	48407	48561

The GFIs suggested 3- and 4- factor models. One factor in the four factor model only had one item loading on it when looking at the specific factor loading on each factor. Based on these preliminary findings, it appeared that the most parsimonious summary of the data could be based on 3 distinct components. The major loadings of the Crawford-Ferguson Varimax rotation are presented in Table 3 with all loadings lower than .3 suppressed.

Table 3. Factor loadings for EFA

Item No.	Institutions	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
D1	The national government	.53		
D2	District councils	.96		
D3	Courts			.59
D4	The police			.52
D5	News on Television		.93	
D6	News on the radio		.83	
D7	News in the press		.43	
D8	Political parties	.37		
D9	United Nations			.48
D10	Schools			.59
D11	National parliament	.36		(.39)

Note: the first three eigenvalues are 3.89, 1.77, and 0.98, the corresponding R^2 are .38, .16, and .09.

'National parliament' double loaded on both Factor 1 and Factor 3, but since conceptually it is related to the other items in Factor 1 it was deleted from

Factor 3. This provided a four item factor with all items conceptually related by their link as government related institutions: the “national government,” district councils” or “political parties,” and “national parliament.” Factor 1 was therefore named *Trust in Government Related Institutions*. The second factor had three items – “news on television,” “news on the radio” and “news in the press.” Factor 2 was named *Trust in Media*. The indicators of this factor were consistent with the international data in CivEd (Schulz, Sibberns 2004) and were also signaled in the Principal Components Analysis of the residuals mentioned earlier. The third factor included “courts” the “police,” “United Nations” and “schools.” These are conceptually different from either *Government Related Institutions* or the *Media* but they were not identified in CivEd as a distinct factor (Schulz, Sibberns, 2004). Hooghe and Wilkenfeld (2008) identified “national or federal government,” “local government,” “courts,” “police,” “political parties,” “national parliament/Congress,” and the “United Nations” as a unidimensional scale they labeled *Political Trust*. Yet in their analysis of European Social Survey data, Allum, Read and Sturgis (2010, 11) noted that “items on trust in legal system, the police, European Parliament and United Nations... were not used in this study, because following some preliminary confirmatory factor analysis, they appeared to measure a separate dimension of political trust.” This view is supported by Rothstein and Stolle (2002, 20) who identified a similar dimension using these items with the explanation that these “institutions that are expected to function with less political bias and in an impartial manner” and in this sense they are not overtly political institutions. In the current study using Hong Kong CivEd data, the distinct latent structure of the items “courts” the “police,” “United Nations” and “schools” reflected the qualities described by Rothstein and Stolle (2002) contrasting with the political orientation of *Government Related Institutions* and the obviously distinctive items in the Media dimension. Thus the third factor was named *Trust in Socio-Legal Institutions*.

6 Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA)

To test the model fit of the EFA that emerged from the 1999 data a CFA was conducted (Model 1) using a second random CivEd sample of 596 students. The model fit indices were $\chi^2 (41) = 137.238$, CFI=.951, TLI=.934; RMSEA=.063, SRMR=.045. Discounting the significant χ^2 , the other fit indices showed a good fit to the data. The corresponding factor loading on each factor and the correlations among factors are shown in Figure 3.

The factor loading of each indicator was high on each factor. The results showed a high correlation between Government Related Institutions and Socio-Legal Institutions and a medium correlation between Socio-Legal Institutions and the Media, but a relative low correlation between Government Related Institutions and Media.

A second CFA (Model II) was conducted using the full 2009 sample (n=602) and the model that was confirmed for the 1999 data. The model fit indices for the 2009 model also showed a moderately acceptable fit to the data (CFI=.923, TLI=.896, RMSEA=.069, SRMR=.052.) The standardized estimated

parameters for the 2009 data are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 3. Confirmatory factor analysis: 1999 data

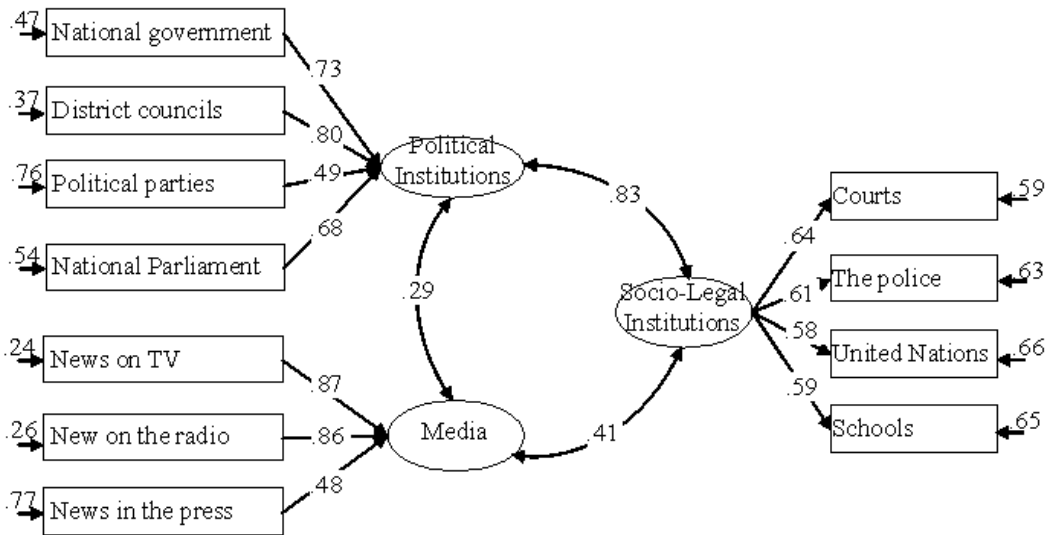
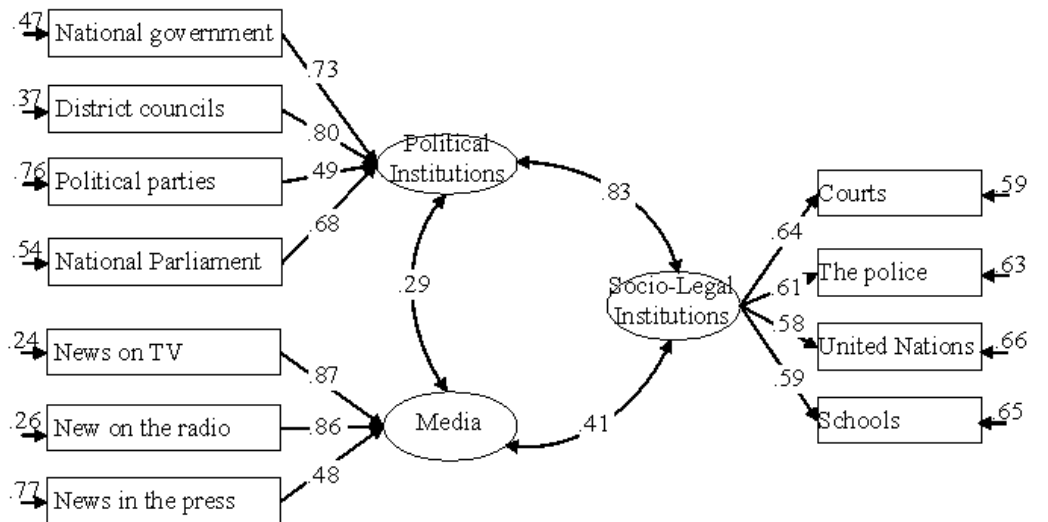


Figure 4. Confirmatory factor analysis: 2009 data



A necessary condition to test for measurement invariance between the two groups (1999 and 2009) is that they are configurally invariant (Horn, McArdle 1992). That is, the factor structure must be the same for each group. Or, put another way, “participants from different groups conceptualize the constructs in the same way” (Milfont, Fischer 2010, 115).

In the goodness of fit indices reported for each of the models above, $\Delta RMSEA = .006$ thus meeting Cheung and Rensvold's (2002) criteria for configural invariance ($\Delta RMSEA < .05$). A Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) was then conducted testing a series of progressively restricted models (Vandenberg, Lance 2000; Vandenberg 2002). The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Multigroup factor analysis: 1999 and 2009

No.	Model	χ^2	df	CFI	ΔCFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
I	Unrestricted Model	297.981	82	.938	/	.917	.066	.049
Weak invariance								
II	Government Related Institutions	323.634	86	.932	-.006	.913	.068	.070
III	Media and Socio-legal equal	310.839	89	.936	-.002	.921	.065	.062
IV	All factor loadings equal	332.422	93	.931	-.005	.919	.066	.079
Strong Invariance								
V	Intercepts of Socio-legal	404.315	93	.910	-.026	.894	.075	.092
VI	Intercept of Media	344.478	92	.927	-.009	.913	.068	.072

The MGCFA process started with an unrestricted model without constraint and parameters equal across two groups (Model I in Table 4). Factor loading invariance, that tests whether “different groups respond to the items in the same way” (Milfont, Fischer 2010), was tested for the three dimensions of the scale (Model IV in Table 4) resulting in $\Delta CFI = -.005$. Based on Meade et al.'s (2008) criteria that requires ΔCFI to be equal to or less than .002, strong factor loading invariance was rejected. Next, partial factor loading invariance was tested (Vandenberg, Lance 2000). Of the three dimensions Government Related Institutions was not invariant ($\Delta CFI = -.006$) (Model II) but Socio-Legal Institutions and Media were invariant ($\Delta CFI = .00$) (Model III). This suggests partial factor loading invariance for the Political Trust Scale. Further examination to test for intercept invariance (“individuals who have the same score on the latent construct would obtain the same score on the observed variable regardless of their group membership” (Milfont, Fischer 2010, 115) of Socio-Legal Institutions and Media led to rejection of invariance based on the respective ΔCFI 's, -.026 and -.009 (Models V and VI) in Table 4.

7 The Relationship of Political Trust to Civic Knowledge and to Citizenship Responsibilities

The relationship between political knowledge and political trust was examined using the 1999 data. Political knowledge was measured by the CivEd Total Civic Knowledge score (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Political trust was measured by the multidimensional scale identified in this study. The results showed that higher Trust in Government Related Institutions and Trust in Media were associated with lower Civic Knowledge scores (β s = $-.31$ and $-.12$, SEs = $.046$ and $.021$, $ps < .001$, respectively). Higher Trust in Socio-Legal Institutions was associated with higher Civic Knowledge scores ($\beta = .49$, SE = $.050$, $p < .001$).

The relationship between political participation and political trust was also examined. Political participation was defined by two different measures based on Torney-Purta et al. (2004). Informed Voting was measured by two items - "vote in national elections" and "get information about candidates before voting" and Conventional Political Action was measured by three items - "join a political party," "write letters about social/political concerns," and "be a candidate for a local/city office" (this last item was not included in Torney-Purta et al. 2004). Results showed that Trust in Government Related Institutions was associated with a high probability for voting behavior and political action (β s = $.19$ and $.45$, SEs = $.040$ and $.043$, $ps < .001$, respectively). Trust in Socio-Legal Institutions was also associated with a higher probability for voting behavior, but negatively associated with political action (β s = $.17$ and $-.18$, SEs = $.045$ and $.048$, $ps < .001$). Trust in Media had a negative effect on voting behavior ($\beta = -.04$, SE = $.020$, $ps < .05$) and no significant relationship with political action ($\beta = .01$, SE = $.021$, $p = .821$).

8 Discussion

This section will first review the results at the item level, followed by a discussion of the multidimensional model identified for both cohorts of students and finally the implications that can be drawn from the multiple regression analyses.

8.1 Changes in Hong Kong Students' Political Trust

The institutions in which there were substantial changes in level of endorsement were the 'courts' and the 'United Nations' suggesting these are the institutions in which young Hong Kong people in 2009 had the most trust. Yet they are quite different institutions and the level of support for them requires different explanations.

- *The Courts*

Torney-Purta et al. (2004) analyzing CivEd data found in the six countries they studied that trust in the courts was an important feature but they added that this was particularly so “in long-standing democracies” (Torney-Purta et al. 2004). Thus students from the United States had higher levels of trust in the courts than students from Bulgaria. Hong Kong students’ level of trust in the courts as measured in 2009 indicates that they responded much more like students in a mature democracy than students in a non-democratic state and they responded more emphatically that their peers in 1999 who also registered positive attitudes towards the courts. This can perhaps be explained by the adoption in Hong Kong of the rule of law, arguably the most significant residue of the British colonial heritage (Tsang 2001). As many scholars have explained (Maravall, Przeworski 2003; Fukuyama 2010) the rule of law itself is capable of different interpretations but they are agreed that commitment to the rule of law is an important adjunct to the development of democracy. Students’ trust in the courts, therefore, can be seen as an important ingredient on Hong Kong’s path to democracy. If young people in Hong Kong continue to see the courts as an institution they can trust, then these institutions can play a very important role in the future to ensure stability. At the same time, there may be other local reasons that have served to increase the level of trust in the courts.

Hong Kong’s independent judicial system and authority remained intact after the return to Chinese sovereignty and a series of improvements were made. The most important among those changes was that court proceedings can now be conducted in either English or Chinese and the laws themselves are available in Chinese. This may have led to the rise in the number of civil cases since access has been made easier (Martin 2007). These changes reflect increased awareness and concern among Hong Kong people about their legal rights and consequently the role of courts in seeking to support these. This may be another reason for increasing levels of political trust among Hong Kong’s young people.

Can it be concluded from these results that Hong Kong’s young people, in valuing the courts, are committed to the rule of law? According to Wen (2001), the answer will depend on how the rule of law is understood. He has argued, based on his review of the famous “right of abode” case in 1999 where the National People’s Consultative Committee was asked by the Hong Kong government for an interpretation of the Basic Law, “that Hong Kong’s legal culture is characterized by strong elements of legal instrumentalism. In other words, in contrast to the common law perspective, law is treated by the common people as a means to an end, and law is valued for its contribution to collective well-being. In such a culture, the public looks for substantive justice, as defined by dominant social values and collective needs, rather than the procedural justice fundamental to the rule of law”. It cannot be expected that the 15 year olds who responded to the survey in 2009 were able to make this fine distinction between legal philosophies but it does highlight the point that there is a ‘legal culture’ in Hong Kong, that young people are aware of it, probably through different socialization agents such as parents and media, and it registers as trust in an institution seen to be of value to the well being of themselves and Hong Kong.

- The United Nations

Torgler (2007), using adult samples, investigated trust in international organizations, particularly the United Nations, and found a positive relationship between levels of trust in the local political system and levels of international trust – citizens satisfied locally will also be satisfied internationally. He also found a relationship between cosmopolitan attitudes and trust in the United Nations. Thus it may be that students in Hong Kong, promoted by the government as “Asia’s world city” are reflecting levels of trust that acknowledge the city’s much vaunted status. Torney-Purta et al. (2004) pointed out that even though students may not have direct experience with such organizations, that they do pick up ideas and understandings from discussions within the family and at school and, we might add, the media.

From a different perspective, Hooghe and Wilkenfeld (2008) have shown that psychometrically, local political institutions and the United Nations form part of a single factor or scale that measures political trust. This suggests that conceptually students can link local and international institutions even though they may not endorse the individual institutions equally strongly. In their study, using both CivEd and European Social Survey data, however, students endorsed local institutions more strongly than the United Nations. In the current study the reverse was true. Apart from the “courts,” the “United Nations” was the most strongly endorsed institution. This remains an important area for future research since Hong Kong students’ trust or confidence in the United Nations needs to be better understood than the research methodology used in this study has allowed. Brewer, Gross, Aday and Willnat (2004), for example, have explored the concept of “international trust” and the extent to which citizens in the United States look outwards to judge the efficacy of national political institutions. They also suggested that citizens with high levels of international trust also have high levels of trust in international organizations such as the United Nations. This area remains to be explored with Hong Kong students.

There were also institutions in which the extent of the change was not as marked as that in the institutions described above. These institutions are discussed below.

- The police

Torney-Purta et al. (2004) found that students displayed moderate levels of trust in the police across the six countries in their secondary analysis of CivEd data with the strength of the endorsement not too different from that given by Hong Kong students. The higher level of trust in “police” expressed by students in 2009 (with small effect size) is probably a better indicator of social rather than political trust as argued by Netjes (2005) and this is supported by the location of the item in the scale ‘socio-legal institutions.’ Comparatively, it seems the social trust in police is higher than trust in political institutions. This makes sense since the police are likely to be much closer to the everyday life of students than distant political institutions. In a sense the police are somewhat like the courts - a community service looking

after immediate needs. Over a ten year period it seems this kind of social trust has increased, even if it is a marginal increase, indicating the confidence young people in Hong Kong continue to have in this important social institution.

- News on television and news in the press

It is important to note that trust in the media has increased over the ten year period, even though the changes are not substantial. Yet based on Husfeldt, Barber and Torney-Purta's (2005) secondary analysis of the Trust in Media scale Hong Kong students' level of trust in the media in 1999 was below the international mean. How can improved levels of trust be explained over the ten year period?

This increase maybe a reflection of Hong Kong's freedom of the press, guaranteed by the Hong Kong Bill of Rights, a freedom that has received constant attention over the ten year period especially in light of the concerns expressed at the time of Hong Kong's return to China (Sciutto 1996). Freedom of the press, therefore, remains an important value in Hong Kong that ranked 34th in the 2010 World Freedom of the Press Rankings (Reporters without Borders 2011). This was just ahead of Asian democracies such as South Korea (42nd) and Taiwan (48th) but well ahead of Singapore (136th), Indonesia (117th) and Thailand (153rd) although behind Japan (11th), New Zealand (9th) and Australia (18th). For students in 2009, it seems the media continue to play a community role that wins their positive support. Since the media can play an important role in mediating attitudes and understandings to the general public ongoing trust in the media appears to be an important element of democratic development.

There were two institutions that were endorsed less positively in 2009 than 1999 suggesting that levels of political trust in these institutions have declined. These were district councils and political parties. The latter were also identified as problematic in Hong Kong by Cheung (2010). Lack of trust in political parties is an international phenomena amongst young people (Schulz et al. 2010) and adult populations as well (Ware 1996). Political parties are always the least strongly endorsed political institutions so that Hong Kong students' attitudes are not unique in this regard. Yet it should be noted that political parties have continued to develop in post-handover Hong Kong although not always with high levels of public support (Chung 2006). But for the students who answered the survey in 1999, parties had only been on the scene since the early 1990s. It seems that a decade of experience with parties since that time has not improved their image among Hong Kong 15 year olds.

District Councils are very local political institutions having replaced Municipal Councils after the handover. They are the political institutions closest to citizens and their members are elected by universal suffrage, but with a provision also for the direct appointment of members by the Chief Executive. Local political parties are also connected closely to District Councils and the fortunes of the party representation are decided by four yearly elections. As DeGloyer (2008) pointed out in relation to the 2007 District Council elections "voters, seeing the District Councils as

neighborhood agents for liaison with government, chose those who demonstrated ... practical abilities rather than those who called for the more abstract goal of added democracy.” This link to political parties, coupled with the pragmatism of the Hong Kong electorate seeking outcomes of personal benefit rather than principle, may well account for declining levels of political trust in District Councils. Again, lack of trust in local institutions is an international phenomena rather than something unique to Hong Kong (Catterberg, Moreno 2005).

8.2 How Best to Understand Political Trust?

Our analysis of the items in Table 1 suggests that political trust for these samples of Hong Kong students is better understood as a multidimensional construct consisting of three interrelated factors. This is in contrast to other analyses using different national samples that have identified political trust as either a unidimensional construct (although without the media items) as suggested by Hooghe and Wilkenfeld (2008) or the two dimensional scale (including the media items) proposed by Schulz and Sibberns (2004). What is more, for Hong Kong students the latent structure of political trust was invariant for the two cohorts of students suggesting that the structure was not simply an artefact of a single sample. At the same time, however, the scale is not fully invariant across the two groups as shown by the MGCFA. This means that direct comparison of scale scores is problematic because students from each group have responded differently to some of the items. Thus more work is needed on the dimensionality of the scale and in particular it needs to be tested with other populations. Perhaps one reason that this has not happened to date is that the media items were not used in the original international analyses of CivEd (Husfeldt et al. 2005). Although the role of media has been explored in the context of political socialization it seems that a focus on its role in building political trust would be an equally important area of future research.

One reason for suggesting this direction is that the regression analyses shown above suggested that the different dimensions of political trust had differential impacts on civic engagement. The predictive potential of these dimensions has important implications for a better understanding of ways to promote civic engagement through the development of political trust. Trust in Government Related Institutions, for example, was positively related to both voting and political action. This is a similar result to that of Torney-Purta et al. (2004) who used CivEd data from six participating countries (not including Hong Kong). Yet for Hong Kong students this trust dimension was a much stronger predictor of political action than voting – the reverse for each of the six country samples reported in Torney-Purta et al. (2004). One explanation for this result may be the absence of universal suffrage in Hong Kong since electoral democracy is limited in important ways. Yet there is a strong protest culture that provides opportunities for full participation and this culture is protected by a Bill of Rights and even the Basic Law (Beatty 2003). Building trust in government related institutions, therefore, may be an important way to support this alternative democratic culture in Hong

Kong.

Trust in Socio-Legal Institutions produced a different result – it positively affected voting but negatively affected political action. This result makes sense if socio-legal institutions are seen as those which primarily play a protective or safeguarding role in society. As Rothstein and Stolle (2002, 11) pointed out, “one should keep in mind that for their personal welfare, citizens are usually much more dependent on the institutions that implement public policies than on the institutions that are supposed to represent their interests or ideology. To be protected by the police and the courts, to get health care and education for one’s children is for many seen as of vital importance.” Confidence in such institutions may mean that young people do not see the need to take political action to secure their purposes, thus the negative relationship between this scale and ‘Conventional Political Action.’ Nevertheless, they would be willing to participate in more conventional forms of participation such as voting. In this sense, trust in socio-legal institutions produces a conservative response to civic participation.

Trust in the Media produced negative associations both with ‘Informed Voting’ and ‘Conventional Political Action.’ Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2003) have argued that the media are caught in a “disengagement vortex” whereby the constant reporting of negative political content creates cynicism and feeds into existing predilections for not trusting politicians and the institutions they represent. Thus trust in a negative and at times cynical media produces the disinclination to participate, perhaps out of a sense of lack of political efficacy in light of such negative contexts. Moy, McCluskey, McCoy and Spratt (2004, 540) also found negative associations between trust in various forms of media and participation. Their tentative explanation was “that people who trust the media (may be) more complacent and allow journalists to participate on their behalf (i.e. engage in participation by proxy).” This suggests that in order to promote civic engagement, there needs to be a healthy distrust in the media or, alternatively, that the media needs to be constructed in such a way that its negative messages are not so pervasive as to provide a rationale for not participating. As Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2003, 18) comment, “in a society where trust is declining and distrust increasing, media, like political parties must begin to reflect on the consequences of their action on public opinion and democracy.”

Finally, the relationship between the different dimensions of trust and civic knowledge also deserves some comment. Trust in Government Related Institutions and Trust in the Media were associated with lower levels of civic knowledge yet Trust in Socio-Legal Institutions was associated with higher levels of civic knowledge. Developing a “trustful” citizenry, therefore will not necessarily lead to a more knowledgeable citizenry, except in the case of building trust in those institutions designed to protect citizens’ interests in an impartial way. This again highlights the importance of understanding the multidimensionality of institutional trust as a construct and supports the view of Uslaner (2008b) that “not all trust is the same,” a view also highlighted by Rothstein and Stolle (2002). Different aspects of trust have different effects whether it is in relation to civic knowledge, voting or political action.

9 Conclusion

This study has shown that 15-year-old students in Hong Kong – those in 1999 as well as in 2009 – understood political trust as a multidimensional construct, as shown by the configural invariance between the two groups; but they did not view that construct in exactly the same way as shown by the partial metric invariance. Differences at the item level gave some idea of how the latent constructs differed across the ten year period. Some of the changes showed more positive attitudes to institutions (for example the ‘courts’ and the ‘United Nations’) and some attitudes were more negative (for example ‘political parties’ and ‘district councils.’) These results suggest that Hong Kong 15 year olds have remained alert to their institutional environment, are able to make nuanced responses to differentiate between institutions and are aware of the role that different institutions play in the local context.

Developing political trust is not a usual goal of civic education yet trust is an important process that can ensure stability and develop confidence in the operations of society. Increasingly links are being drawn between the development of trust and economic growth and development. What role might civic education play? One important role might be in relation to media education since it seems from the results reported here that too much trust in the media is not healthy for democracy. Developing critical skills for media analysis might encourage both productive use of media as well as enhance the potential for civic engagement. These same skills could be applied to analyzing both government and socio-legal institutions – their strengths, their weaknesses and their role in a democratic society. Direct experience could be provided with visits to institutions followed by role play and simulations. It may well be time for civic educators to consider how trust-building (or distrust in case of media) can be included as an explicit part of civic education. The benefits would be far beyond traditional civic knowledge but would extend to civic engagement as well as the potential to contribute to social stability and cohesion.

Over time levels of trust have changed towards some of these institutions with the most positive changes having taken place towards the courts and the United Nations. Smaller positive increases in trust were registered towards the police and certain kinds of media. Lower levels of trust were recorded towards political parties and district councils. The latter should not be seen as unusual but as part of an international trend of disillusion with political institutions. Overall, Hong Kong students’ level of political trust should be regarded as healthy providing a good foundation for the future development of the local political system.

Finally, there is now considerable evidence about the multidimensionality of political trust – not just from this study but in the wider literature (Uslaner 2008b; Rothstein, Stolle 2002). Future large scale assessments of civic and citizenship education need to take this aboard so that appropriate items can be included to allow for a more accurate modeling of the latent structure of the construct. The continuing confounding of ‘government’ and ‘socio-legal’ institutions is a serious barrier to the proper understanding of how different kinds of trust can be developed and the differential impact that these kinds

of trust can have. This would be an important step forward in better understanding adolescent conceptions of political trust, the contexts that influence such trust and its potential as both a citizen attribute and a social reality.

References

Allum, Nick; Read, Sanna; Sturgis, Patrick. 2010. Evaluating Change in Social and Political Trust in Europe Using Multiple Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis with Structured Means.

(<http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~nallum/AllumReadandSturgis2010.pdf>)

accessed September 24, 2011.

Andrich, David. 1978. A Rating Formulation for Ordered Response Categories. In: *Psychometrika*, Vol. 43, 561-573.

Beatty, Bob. 2003. *Democracy, Asian Values and Hong Kong: Evaluating Political Elite Beliefs*. Westport.

Bond, Trevor G.; Fox, Christine M. 2007. *Applying the Rasch Model: Fundamental Measurement in the Human Sciences*. 2ndeds. Mahwah, N.J.

Brewer, Paul; Gross, Kimberly; Aday, Sean; Willnat, Lars. 2004. International Trust and Public Opinion about World Affairs. In: *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 93-109.

Case, William. 2008. Hybrid Politics and New Competitiveness: Hong Kong's 2007 Chief Executive Election. In: *East Asia*, Vol. 25, 365-388.

Catterberg, Gabriela; Moreno, Alejandro. 2005. The Individual Bases of Political Trust: Trends in New and Established Democracies. In: *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 31-48.

Cheung, Anthony Bing-leung. 2010. Restoring Governability in Hong Kong: Managing Plurality and Joining Up Governance. In: Tao, Julia; Cheung, Anthony; Li, Chenyang; Painter, Martin, eds. *Governance for Harmony in Asia and Beyond*. London, 158-185.

Cheung, Gordon W.; Rensvold, Roger B. 2002. Evaluating Goodness-of-Fit Indexes for Testing Measurement Invariance. In: *Structural Equation Modeling*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 233-255.

Chung, Christine. 2006. Political Party Development in Hong Kong. In: *Hong Kong Journal*, No 4.

(http://www.hkjjournal.org/archive/2006_fall/chung.htm)

accessed September 25, 2011.

DeGolyer, Michael. 2008. Hong Kong's 2007 Elections and What They Mean. In: *Hong Kong Journal*, No. 1.

(http://www.hkjjournal.org/archive/2008_spring/1.htm)

accessed September 25, 2011.

Dermody, Janine; Hanmer-Lloyd, Stuart. 2003. Negative Media: Nail in the Democratic Coffin?.

(<http://www.gold.ac.uk/media/janinedermody-paper.pdf>)

accessed September 29, 2011.

Dinesen, Peter Thisted. 2011. Where You Come from or Where You Live? Examining the Cultural and Institutional Explanation of Generalized Trust Using Migration as a Natural Experiment. In: *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 5.

(<http://esr.oxfordjournals.org/>) accessed June 24, 2011.

Economic Intelligence Unit. 2010. Democracy Index 2010.

(http://graphics.eiu.com/PDF/Democracy_Index_2010_web.pdf)

accessed September 27, 2011.

Freitag, Markus; Bühlmann, Marc. 2009. Crafting Trust: The Role of Political Institutions in a Comparative Perspective. In: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 12, 1537-1566.

Fukuyama, Francis. 2010. Transitions to the Rule of Law. In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 33-44.

Hardin, Russell. 1999. Do We Want Trust in Government? In: Warren, Mark E., eds. *Democracy and Trust*. Cambridge, 22-41.

Horn, John; McArdle, John. 1992. A Practical and Theoretical Guide to Measurement Invariance in Aging Research. In: *Experimental Aging Research*, Vol. 18, No 3-4, 117-144.

Hooghe, Marc; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2008. The Stability of Political Attitudes and Behaviors across Adolescence and Early Adulthood: A Comparison of Survey Data on Adolescents and Young Adults in Eight Countries. In: *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, Vol. 37, 155-167.

Husfeldt, Vera; Barber, Carolyn; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2005. Adolescents' Social Attitudes and Expected Political Participation: New Scales in the Enhanced Database for the IEA Civic Education Study. In: *Online Civic Education Data and Research Services*.

(<http://www.terpconnect.umd.edu/~jtpurta/Original%20Documents/CEDARS%20new%20scales%20report.pdf>) accessed September 25, 2011.

Jamal, Amaney. 2007. When is Social Trust a Desirable Outcome? Examining Levels of Trust in the Arab World. In: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 11, 1328-1349.

Jamal, Amaney; Nooruddin, Irfan. 2010. The Democratic Utility of Trust: A Cross-National Analysis. In: *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 1, 45-59.

Kennedy, Kerry John; Mok, Magdalena Mo Ching; Wong, Michael Ying Wah. 2011. Developing Political Trust in Adolescents: Is There a Role for Schools? In: Curtis, Bernadette, eds. *Psychology of Trust [Series: Psychology of Emotions, Motivations and Actions]*. New York, 137-156.

Levy, Brian; Fukuyama, Francis. 2010. Development Strategies – Integrating Governance and Growth. In: *World Bank Policy Research Paper*.

Levitsky, Steven; Way, Lucan A. 2002. The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 51-65.

Li, Lianjiang. 2010. Rights Consciousness and Rules Consciousness in Contemporary China. In: *The China Journal*, Vol. 64, 47-68.

- Linacre, John Michael. 2006. WINSTEPS Rasch Measurement Computer Program. Chicago.
- Ma, Ngok. 2008. Civil Society and Democratization in Hong Kong: Paradox and Duality. In: *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 155-175.
- Ma, Ngok. 2011. Hong Kong's Democrats Divide. In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 54-67.
- Maravall, Jose Maria; Przeworski, Adam, eds. 2003. *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge.
- Martin, Michael F. 2007. *Hong Kong: Ten Years after the Handover*. Congressional Research Services Report [Order code RL34071]. (<http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/row/RL34071.pdf>) accessed September 05, 2011.
- Meade, Adam W.; Johnson, Emily C.; Braddy, Phillip W. 2008. Power and Sensitivity of Alternative Fit Indices in Tests of Measurement Invariance. In: *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 93, No. 3, 568-592.
- Milfont, Taciano; Fischer, Ronald. 2010. Testing Measurement Invariance across Groups: Applications in Cross Cultural Psychology. In: *International Journal of Psychological Research*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 111-121.
- Mishler, William; Rose, Richard. 2001. What are the Origins of Political Trust? Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies. In: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 30-62.
- Morlino, Leonardo. 2008. Hybrid Regimes or Regimes in Transition? Working Paper 70, FRIDE. (<http://www.fride.org/publication/504/hybrid-regimes-or-regimes-in-transitionaper>) accessed March 27, 2001.
- Moy, Patricia; McCluskey, Michael R.; McCoy, Kelly; Spratt, Margaret A. 2004. Political Correlates of Local News and Media Use. In: *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 532-546.
- Muthén, Linda K.; Muthén, Bengt O. 1998-2007. *Mplus User's Guide*. Fifth Edition. Los Angeles, CA.
- Netjes, Catherine E. 2005. Institutional Trust in Central and Eastern Europe: Barometer of Democracy or Performance Thermostat? In: Working Papers Political Science No. 2005/02, Department of Political Science, Vrije University Amsterdam. (http://www.fsw.vu.nl/en/Images/Institutional%20Trust%20in%20Central%20and%20Eastern%20Europe%20Barometer%20for%20Democracy%20or%20Performance%20Thermostat_tcm31-42713.pdf) accessed September 19, 2011.
- Newton, Kenneth. 2001. *Social Trust and Political Disaffection: Social Capital and Democracy*. Paper presented to the EURESCO Conference on Social Capital: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Exeter. (<http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/politics/research/>) accessed 15-20 September, 2011.
- Offe, Claus. 1999. How Can We Trust our Fellow Citizens? In: Warren, Mark E., eds. *Democracy and Trust*. Cambridge, 42-87.
- Oskarsson, Sven. 2010. Generalized Trust and Political Support: A Cross-National Investigation. In: *Acta Politica*, Vol. 45, 423-443.

- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton.
- Rothstein, Bo; Stolle, Dietlind. 2002. How Political Institutions Create and Destroy Social Capital: An Institutional Theory of Generalized Trust. Paper presented at Collegium Budapest, Project on Honesty and Trust: Theory and Experience in the Light of Post-Socialist Experience Workshop 2: Formal and Informal Cooperation, 22-23 November.
- Reporters without Borders. 2011. Press Freedom Index 2010. (<http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>) accessed September 25, 2011.
- Scott, Ian; Leung, Joan Yin-Hung. 2004. Dysfunctional Elections and the Political System in Hong Kong. In: *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1-30.
- Schoon, Ingrid; Cheng, Helen. 2011. Determinants of Political Trust: A Lifetime Learning Model. In: *Development Psychology*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 619-631.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Juliant; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno. 2010. ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes and Engagement among Lower-Secondary School Students in 38 Countries. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Schulz, Wolfram; Sibberns, Heiko. 2004. IEA Civic Education Study Technical Report. eds. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Sciutto, James E. 1996. China's Muffling of the Hong Kong Media. In: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 547, 131-143.
- Torgler, Benno. 2007. Trust in International Organizations: An Empirical Investigation Focusing on the United Nations, Working/Discussion Paper # 213, School of Economics and Finance, Queensland University of Technology. (<http://www.bus.qut.edu.au/faculty/schools/economics/documents/discussionPapers/2007/FINAL%20213.pdf>) accessed April 08, 2011.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carylton Henry; Richardson, Wendy Klandl. 2004. Trust in Government-Related Institutions and Political Engagement among Adolescents in Six Countries. In: *Acta Politica*, Vol. 39, 380-406.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Lehmann, Rainer; Oswald, Hans; Schulz, Wolfram. 2001. *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*. Amsterdam.
- Tsang, Steve. 2001. *Judicial Independence and the Rule of Law in Hong Kong*. New York.
- Uslaner, Eric M. 2008a. Where You Stand Depends upon Where Your Grandparents Sat – The Inheritability of Generalized Trust. In: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 4, 725-740.
- Uslaner, Eric M. 2008b. Trust as a Moral Value. In: Dario Castiglione; Jan W. van Deth; Guglielmo Wolleb, eds. *Handbook of Social Capital*. Oxford, 101-

121.

Vandenberg, Robert J.; Lance, Charles E. 2000. A Review and Synthesis of the Measurement Invariance Literature: Suggestions, Practices, and Recommendations for Organizational Research. In: *Organizational Research Methods*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 4-70.

Vandenberg, Robert J. 2002. Toward a Further Understanding of and Improvement in Measurement Invariance Methods and Procedures. In: *Organizational Research Methods*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 139-158.

Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. New York.

Warren, Mark E., ed. 1999. *Democracy and Trust*. Cambridge.

Wen, Zhimin. 2001. The Right of Abode Cases: The Basic Law on Trial (Part II). In: *Perspectives*, Vol. 2, No. 4.

(http://www.oycf.org/Perspectives2/10_022801/right_of_abode_cases.htm) accessed September 05, 2011.

Wilson, Mark. 2005. *Constructing Measures: An Item Response Modeling Approach*. Mahwah, NJ.

Wong, Timothy Ka-Ying; Hsiao, Michael Hsin-Huang ; Wan, Po-San. 2009. Comparing Political Trust in Hong Kong and Taiwan: Levels, Determinants, and Implications. In: *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 147-174.

Wong, Timothy Ka-Ying; Wan, Po-San; Hsiao, Michael Hsin-Huang. 2011. The Bases of Political Trust in Six Asian Societies: Institutional and Cultural Explanations Compared. In: *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 263-281.

Carolyn Barber, Judith Torney-Purta

Comparing Attitudes in the 1999 and 2009 IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies: Opportunities and Limitations Illustrated in Five Countries¹

Both the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) and the 2009 IEA International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) sought to examine young people's attitudes and behaviors as related to civic engagement in addition to their civic knowledge. Now that both studies are completed, questions can be asked about the extent to which the averages of outcomes across countries have stayed consistent or changed. The purpose of this article is to review the CIVED and ICCS studies to examine the potential for, and potential limitations to, such a comparison extending beyond the cognitive domain to some attitudinal and participatory outcomes. We compared guiding frameworks for each study, examined the similarities and differences among items in scales appearing in both studies, and provided a general discussion of the pitfalls of comparing IRT scales across cohorts. An item-level analysis explored whether young people's average attitudes toward immigrants' rights and institutional trust changed between 1999 and 2009 in five Nordic countries. Stability in support for immigrants' rights and increasing trust are apparent in most countries, although exceptions to this pattern exist. Recommendations for secondary analysis of CIVED and ICCS are discussed.

Keywords

Attitudes toward immigrants, CIVED, ICCS, political trust, adolescents, Nordic countries

1 Introduction

Studies in the area of civic education conducted by IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) are unique in comparison to other studies conducted by this organization because they focus on attitudinal and participatory outcomes of schooling relating to young people's civic development in addition to knowledge and cognitive outcomes. The International Civics and Citizenship Education Study of 2009 (ICCS) was the most recent of three such studies. The predecessors of ICCS were the 1971 study (Torney, Oppenheim, Farnen 1975) and the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study [CIVED] (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, Schulz 2001), to which the ICCS study is more comparable. In IEA studies in other

¹ We are grateful to Professor Erik Amna whose YeS Project at Orebro University (Sweden) organized a Workshop on Cluster Analytic Techniques in Political Socialization Research (funded by the Swedish Research Council) for representatives from the Nordic region in June 2011. We are also grateful to Wolfram Schulz, who contributed to the first sections regarding changes made between CIVED and ICCS.

subject areas, notably the Trends in International Mathematics and Sciences Studies (TIMSS), comparisons across cohorts have become commonplace (e.g., Mullis, Martin, Foy 2008), and the ability to establish such trends in cognitive outcomes is a key rationale for repeating subject-area assessments. To create a cross-cohort comparison in the area of civics, Schulz et al. re-scaled responses to 17 items of civic content knowledge² that were kept secure by IEA and used in both the CIVED and ICCS data sets. The scale scores were compared across the CIVED and ICCS datasets to identify increases or decreases in average civic content knowledge among young people in a country (Schulz et al. 2011, 83). Among the 17 countries that could be compared, only Slovenia improved its test performance, while other countries had either stable or lower performance in 2009 compared to 1999.

A similar analysis has not yet been conducted with other civic-related outcomes, despite its importance and appeal to social scientists interested in the relation between sociocultural context and young people's development of civic engagement. Now that the ICCS data and reports are available, researchers in education and social science can use this new data source to explore outcomes other than cognitive achievement for two cohorts of youth. However, these comparisons are not straightforward, largely because some changes were made in the instruments measuring civic-related attitudes and behavior. The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of the opportunities for, and limitations in, conducting cross-cohort comparisons of attitudes, values, and behaviors between the CIVED and ICCS studies.

The first international reports from the ICCS study (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito 2010) focused on describing the knowledge, values, attitudes, and current or expected participation of eighth-graders in 2009 in 38 countries. The presentation of mean scale scores by country and of multilevel models to identify contextual predictors of some outcomes provides an important basis for more targeted secondary data analyses. We begin with a broad overview of similarities and differences between the CIVED and ICCS studies, in terms of their general purposes and the more specific frameworks guiding the creation of the questionnaires. This discussion of similarities and differences in the broader conceptualization of the two studies is important to ensure that the general purpose and approach of the studies were similar enough to warrant cross-cohort comparisons. We then move to a discussion of the feasibility of comparing students' attitudes between the 1999 and 2009 cohorts. Several considerations echo the concerns when conducting trend analysis of civic knowledge, while others are unique to the study of attitudes. Taking these issues into consideration, we present an exploratory cross-cohort analysis of two civic attitudes (trust and immigrant rights attitudes) in five countries (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Norway and Sweden) that are in a common region. We conclude with recommendations for further secondary analysis employing these studies.

² Civic content knowledge (also referred to as KNOWLMLE in CIVED) was one subscale of total civic knowledge, along with skills in interpreting political material. Only items pertaining to civic content knowledge were used again in ICCS; therefore, comparisons can only be made on this subscale.

2 Comparison of Purposes for the CIVED and ICCS Studies

Prior to comparing across the two studies, a simple question can be asked about whether two studies were designed to meet similar goals in their assessment of attitudes. Torney-Purta et al. (2001) described the beginnings of the CIVED study in the international report on the survey of 14-year-olds in 28 countries. The IEA General Assembly voted to conduct a study of civic education in 1994. The resulting study was the first study conducted by IEA in the area of civic education in almost 30 years, and assessed knowledge and attitudes in about three times as many countries as the 1971 study. The primary impetus for a civic education study in the 1990s came from the recent political shifts in Eastern Europe, as countries that had previously been under Communist rule were transitioning to democratic forms of government. Another source of concern was the lack of interest in politics among many young people in Western Europe.

In the major international report from the ICCS 2009 study, Schulz et al. (2010) describe several sociocultural shifts that occurred between 1999 and 2009 that served as an impetus for an updated study of civics and citizenship. These include terrorism threats, persistent social inequality, migration and immigration, the importance of non-governmental groups in defining social participation, and globalization. ICCS includes new questionnaire items regarding participation in more localized forms of engagement (including those in the school context) as well as additional items regarding threats to democracy. In addition, the ICCS study includes regional modules (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, Lietz 2011 for Latin America; Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, Burge 2011 for Europe; Fraillon, Schulz, Ainley in press, for Asia). These modules provide an opportunity to assess students' views on civic engagement in relation to specific issues in a region.

Although Schulz et al. describe the background of the ICCS study in a way that highlights the differences between it and CIVED, there are in fact many similarities between the purposes of the two studies that are conducive to cross-cohort analyses. Most important here, both studies state that civic education is focused not only on the development of knowledge, but on the formation of attitudes and values that support democratic principles and individual participation. This means that both studies were committed to examining students' attitudes, values, and participatory behavior (current or expected).

3 Comparison of Assessment Frameworks in CIVED and ICCS

The potential for cross-cohort comparison can also be assessed through a comparison of the assessment frameworks guiding the CIVED and ICCS studies. After outlining the general purposes of their respective studies, researchers associated with the CIVED and ICCS studies developed a framework to guide the assessment of civic and citizenship knowledge and engagement. In this section, we describe the content of these frameworks. There are several areas of common ground between the two studies that

support cross-cohort comparisons. There are also differences that result in limitations and caveats.

3.1 Creating a Framework for the CIVED Study

The CIVED study consisted of two phases: a qualitative study (Phase I) and quantitative survey (Phase II). In Phase I, researchers conducted a series of structured qualitative case studies in 24 countries (21 of which took part in the quantitative survey study in Phase II). Results from these case studies (Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo 1999) were used along with the recommendations of National Research Coordinators to identify three core domains of topics and concepts: Democracy and Citizenship; National Identity and International Relations; and Social Cohesion and Diversity (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, 191-194). The National Research Coordinators met to define the types of items to be included in the instrument to assess each of these domains. Two item types (knowledge of content and skills in interpretation of political material) were included in the test of civic knowledge. These items included one correct response and three incorrect distracters. Three additional item types assessed understanding of concepts of democracy of citizenship, a large number of attitudes, and several participatory actions (current and expected). These items were included in the questionnaire and were not keyed with right answers.

The results from the case studies were also important in elaborating a theoretical framework for explaining how students developed civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Titled the “Octagon Model,” this framework situated the student at the center of a complex social context in which multiple and overlapping social settings, both proximal and distal, shape the processes of civics education. Reports from the CIVED study (including Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schulz, Sibberns 2004) describe this model as informed by ecological models of human development (e.g., Bronfenbrenner 1979) and by theories of communities of practice that serve to situate or contextualize cognition (e.g., Lave, Wenger 1991). Wilkenfeld, Lauckhardt, Torney-Purta (2010) further discuss the relation of the IEA assessments to developmental psychological theories.

3.2 The Assessment Framework for the ICCS 2009 Study

Fraillon (2011) described the conceptual framework guiding ICCS as “designed to subsume and broaden the conceptual model underpinning IEA’s 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) test items” (21). Earlier, Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, Kerr (2008) presented the Octagon Model from the CIVED study as an illustration in their overview of the assessment framework, suggesting close conceptual and theoretical ties between the two studies. In the same overview, the contextual framework that is presented describes multiple levels of influence (e.g., wider community, school/classroom, and home environments) as they relate to individual

outcomes, but distinguishes pre-existing “antecedents” from active “processes.”

In the assessment framework itself, differences as well as many similarities between the ICCS study and the CIVED study are apparent. Four content domains were identified in ICCS: Civic Society and Systems, Civic Principles, Civic Participation, and Civic Identities. The term “civic” is described as referring to “any community where the shared connections between people at a level larger than that of the extended family, including the state” (Schulz et al. 2008, 15). Whereas the CIVED report describes “item types,” ICCS describes the cognitive processes required by specific test items (Knowing or Reasoning/Analyzing), or in the affective/behavioral domain by specific questionnaire items (Value Beliefs, Attitudes, Behavioral Intentions, and Behaviors).

3.3 Similarities and Differences between the CIVED and ICCS Assessment Framework

A comparison of the CIVED theoretical and assessment frameworks as discussed by Husfeldt, Torney-Purta (2004) and the ICCS assessment framework, discussed by Schulz et al. (2008) sheds further light on the possibilities for comparison between the two studies. The ICCS domain of Civic Society and Systems is quite similar to the CIVED domain of Democracy and Citizenship relating to institutions and rights and duties of citizenship. Similarly, the ICCS domain of Civic Principles includes sub-domains related to equity and social cohesion, similar to the CIVED’s Social Cohesion and Diversity. Further, the ICCS domain of Civic Identities, which includes considerations of civic self-image and connectedness, encompasses the concepts captured in the CIVED domain of National Identity and International Relations. Given these similarities in frameworks, it is not surprising that many of the same attitudinal items and scales were used in both studies, thus allowing cross-cohort comparisons.

There are differences as well. The ICCS domain of Civic Identities suggests a focus on the multiple identities that students have in their communities, be they local, national, or international. As another example, “democracy” is considered a “key concept” under the general domain of Civic Society and Systems in ICCS, but is included in the CIVED domain of Democracy and Citizenship. This suggests a shift in focus to a broader range of civic institutions: formal and informal, state-sponsored or not. Most notable, however, is the addition of Civic Participation as a fourth content domain in ICCS. These concepts had previously been captured under the CIVED Domain of Democracy and Citizenship, under the sub-domain of “rights and duties of citizenship,” but the identification of this as a domain in itself in the ICCS study illustrates its increased importance. Accordingly, there was an increase in the number of questionnaire items (and resulting scales) pertaining to students’ participation (both current and expected), which corresponds to the addition of civic participation as a separate content domain. Although possibilities for cross-cohort comparisons are limited in this domain, these new items will allow further secondary analysis of

activism, such as that reported by Hart, Gullan (2010).

Similarities and differences also exist in the cognitive or affective/behavioral domains represented in test and questionnaire items. The two domains of knowledge and skill are represented in both studies (although operationalized quite differently), as are considerations of civic attitudes and behaviors. For the purpose of our current focus on attitudinal items, the re-conceptualization of “concept” items as items assessing “value beliefs” is the most important to consider. The CIVED student questionnaire included 25 items titled “concepts of democracy.” This part of the assessment pertained to the domain of Democracy and Citizenship and presented items in which students were asked to indicate how “good for democracy” or “bad for democracy” they believed a behavior or situation to be (e.g., “when courts and judges are influenced by politicians”). In ICCS these were replaced by a few items all about positive situations (such free expression of opinion) and were labeled “endorsement of basic democratic values” (Schulz et al. 2008, 22). These items were phrased as attitudes or beliefs, and were widely endorsed. These differences aside, however, there is considerable overlap between the two studies in their assessment of attitudes that warrants cross-cohort comparison.

4 Methodological Considerations in Comparing Attitudinal Responses

While some changes in focus resulted in the addition or deletion of items between the studies, our review of the intended purpose and frameworks guiding the two studies suggests that there is enough conceptual overlap to support a cross-cohort comparison of attitudes. Our attention now turns to more technical considerations in comparing the responses from 1999 and 2009. We begin by examining similarities and differences between the wordings of the items appearing in each questionnaire, before raising issues related to comparing scales that incorporate these items.

4.1 Overlap in Specific Items between the CIVED and ICCS Studies

The first step in assessing the technical feasibility of cross-cohort comparison was to map the similarities and differences in how specific items were worded in the CIVED and ICCS studies, with a focus on items that appear in attitudinal scales developed for these studies (Schulz, Sibberns 2004; Husfeldt, Barber, Torney-Purta 2005; Schulz et al. 2010). Most of these scales correspond to the civic affective/behavioral domains in the framework described above; however, two widely-used scales pertaining to school context (confidence in school participation and openness of classroom climate) are also included in this overview. The Appendix contains detailed comparisons of items wordings, and is organized according to the order in which they appear in the CIVED student

questionnaire. Further, within each questionnaire section, a discussion of the items is organized by the scale in which the item appears.

Drawing on our extensive experience with the CIVED study, we made a joint judgment as to whether items appearing in each of the two studies could be considered “the same” in both studies. Items were included as they appeared in the Technical Report of the CIVED Study (Schulz et al. 2004) and in the Supplement to the ICCS 2009 User Guide (Brese, Jung, Mirazchiyski, Schulz, Zuehlke 2011). These judgments were then sent to an author of the major ICCS reports for his comment, with additional changes in response to his recommendations. In many cases, the wording of individual items is identical. These items appear in the middle column of each table in the Appendix. The majority of items included in the attitude scale of Support for Immigrants’ Rights, for example, did not change at all.

In other cases, we judged the items to be essentially the same in meaning despite a few minor changes. These items appear in the middle column of the Appendix as written in the CIVED study, with the adapted wording from ICCS appearing in brackets. An example of this appears in the section on Support for Women’s Rights. In each study, an item asks how strongly students agree that there should be gender equality in rights. In CIVED, this item is worded to ask whether “women should have the same rights as men,” while in ICCS it is worded as “men and women should have equal rights,” removing the assumption that men have rights that women may not. The general focus of the item, however, was judged to remain the same. Many items relating to conventional citizenship values also fell into the category of minor changes.

There were also instances where changes to the wording of an item were extensive enough that we judged the item to be incomparable across the two studies. In these cases the wording for the CIVED version of the item appears in the left column of the table, and the wording of the ICCS version of the item appears on the same row in the right column of the table. An example of this pertains to national attitudes. Both studies included an item that assessed the extent to which students agreed that their country was a good one to live in. In CIVED, this item was worded so that students indicated how much they would want to live permanently in another country. (This item was reverse-coded, so that disagreement with this item indicated more positive national feelings.) In ICCS, this item was revised to ask students whether, “generally speaking,” their country was a good one to live in. This change from a personal preference to a more general assessment of the country was judged to change the item enough that they could not be considered comparable.

A number of questions were added to or deleted from the ICCS questionnaires. In the Appendix, this is represented by an item appearing in only the left (CIVED) or right (ICCS) column. Many of the items that appeared in CIVED but were removed from ICCS were part of factors that were not scaled in the CIVED study (Schulz, Sibberns 2004). These include items pertaining to anti-democratic groups, protective nationalism, exposure to school experiences such as cooperative learning and the use of traditional class activities such as lectures/textbooks. The CIVED study also included several specific items pertaining to trust in the media, whereas the

ICCS study only included a single item assessing “trust in the media.” To contrast, items were added to ICCS that allowed researchers to examine new dimensions. Several items were added relating to intended participation that allowed for a scale of intended participation in legal protest activities. The scale of national attitudes had a core set of common questions along with several additional questions that were unique to one study or the other.

Finally, there were cases where, even if the wording of individual items remained the same, the common stem or instructions for a section of the questionnaire changed. When examining norms of conventional citizenship, for example, the CIVED study began with the stem “A good citizen...,” with the implication that the items that followed completed that sentence (e.g., “A good citizen obeys the law”). In the ICCS studies, this was changed to “How important are the following behaviors for a good citizen?” In general, however, the meaning is the same. Another important example can be found in the section pertaining to classroom climate, where in the CIVED study students were asked to think about what happens in civics, social studies, or history classes. In the ICCS version of this section, the instructions prompt students to think about their classes more generally. Although many of the items are the same, this change needs to be kept in mind.

In summary, by mapping similarities and differences in questionnaire sections common to CIVED and ICCS, we see that, even if a concept or construct was included in both studies, there are varying degrees to which the items themselves are the same. This may have affected international comparability of items, and as a result have implications for the extent of work needed to make valid comparisons across the two studies. Some approaches to addressing these implications are addressed in the next section.

4.2 Limitations in Comparing Attitudes across Cohorts Using IRT Scales

The large majority of items we have been discussing are part of IRT scales (that is, those based on Item Response Theory: see Schulz 2004; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon 2011 for additional detail). Given that the primary reports of both CIVED and ICCS data focus on cross-national comparisons of these IRT Scale scores, it may be tempting to take scale scores from CIVED and compare them directly to scores from ICCS, particularly if the items appear generally similar. The most apparent limitation to this approach is that the scaling itself is different: the CIVED scales are set to have an international mean of 10 and SD of 2 (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, Schulz, Sibberns 2004), while the ICCS scales are set with an international mean of 50 and a SD of 10 (Schulz et al. 2010). Even if one were to put the scales on the same metric, however, direct comparisons would be inappropriate.

The first limitation is that the scale scores (derived through IRT methodology) are designed to indicate a student’s or country’s average

attitude relative to the international average of students across all countries participating in a given study. The scale scores only represent how much one deviates from the average of one's own cohort. Since the scales for CIVED were constructed separately from the ICCS scales, an "average" score on a scale in CIVED may represent stronger or weaker endorsement of items than an "average" score on the same scale in ICCS. In short, the IRT mean scores provided in the reports cannot be used to compare the absolute strength of attitudes in the two cohorts. A more technical and related limitation is that the exact methods for scaling changed from one study to the next as methods preferred by psychometric specialists changed over the last decade.

A second consideration is that the CIVED and ICCS had different groups of countries who participated, and country scores on average are compared to different reference groups. Even if one wanted to discuss changes in relative (rather than absolute) attitudes, the reference group has changed. To illustrate this, a list of countries appearing in the CIVED study only, the ICCS study only, and both studies is provided in Table 1.³ CIVED scale scores reference students' attitudes to 28 countries, including Australia and the United States as well as several additional European countries. To contrast, ICCS scores reference attitudes to 38 countries, including 4 additional Latin American countries and 4 additional Asian countries (regions with very limited representation in CIVED). If countries added or deleted have systematically more or less positive attitudes on a scale, it changes what either a ranking or an "average" scale score indicates.

In summary, scale development processes were conducted separately for each study, and each study used a different set of countries and somewhat different scaling techniques to compute scale scores. An important next step is the extensive work required to re-scale these attitudes items using the set of countries that is common across the two studies, common scaling techniques, and common item parameters, as was done by Schulz et al. in creating a comparable civic content knowledge score to compare 17 countries. Until this type of analysis takes place, statements comparing attitude scales across CIVED and ICCS should be broad and descriptive in nature, focusing on the relative ranking based on countries that participated in both studies. This is the approach taken in the ICCS reports, where results on cross-national comparisons of attitudes in CIVED were described very broadly before reporting on ICCS findings.

5 Comparing ICCS and CIVED at the Item Level: Procedures and an Example

The broad comparison of where a country ranks in CIVED and ICCS does not allow for an assessment of how much attitudes have changed on average, for the reasons discussed in the last section. In the absence of extensive re-scaling, the most reasonable option is to conduct an item-level analysis that compares responses across the two cohorts within individual countries. In this section, we describe such an analysis and present results for two sets

³ For Table 1 see Appendix.

of items (support for immigrants' rights and trust) in each of five countries.

5.1 Selection of Sample and Items for Cross-Cohort Comparisons

In this analysis, we chose to focus on a comparison of CIVED and ICCS cohorts in five countries: Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. A factor in our selection is that the five countries can all be considered part of the Nordic region. Recent workshops conducted in Sweden have called on researchers across this region to take advantage of ICCS and other large-scale studies of youth development to understand how civic-related attitudes (especially concerning issues of intergroup relations) are shaped. By focusing on this set of countries, we are reporting exploratory work in this area. It should be noted that Denmark was not included in the cross-cohort analysis of civic knowledge conducted by Schulz et al. (2010) because several major changes were made in how civic knowledge items were translated in ICSS from CIVED. Because these changes in translation were limited to cognitive items, Denmark can be included in this cross-cohort analysis of attitudes (Jens Bruun, personal communication).

We also narrowed our focus to two sets of items: Support for Immigrants' Rights and Trust in Institutions. As previously described, there is extensive overlap between the items presented on these topics in CIVED and ICCS. Each of these item sets has been the focus of extensive secondary analyses using CIVED data (typically using IRT scale scores). Support for immigrants' rights has been examined across 27 CIVED countries as related to human rights knowledge and national policies by Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, Barber (2008), while predictors of extreme negative immigrant attitudes have been examined in five CIVED countries by Husfeldt (2006). In the United States, a comparison of support for immigrants' rights among Latino and non-Latino youth has been conducted by Torney-Purta, Barber, Wilkenfeld (2006, 2007). Trust was a similar focus of early secondary analysis of the CIVED data (e.g., Torney-Purta, Barber, Richardson 2004), presented in a special issue for the Belgian Political Association's journal *Acta Politica*. Support for immigrant rights attitudes and trust also each featured prominently in the identification of attitudinal clusters, including a small but virulent "alienated" clusters of young people with extreme negative attitudes and an extreme lack of trust (Torney-Purta 2009; Torney-Purta, Barber 2011). Recent secondary analyses have justified the examination of 1999 CIVED data because of the insight provided into the development of today's young adults; however, the ICCS data provide an opportunity to describe how attitudes have changed in this area, thus providing new relevance to these data.

As a connection to the previous section, we examined the countries' rank order for average attitudes of trust and toward immigrants (from most to least positive) using only the 21 countries appearing in both the CIVED datasets. In general, the ranking are quite similar across the ten year period. The item-level analyses that follow will add to the information available from rank-ordering countries by examining the absolute levels of

change in attitudes between cohorts in each of the five countries.

5.2 Data Cleaning Required for Cross- Cohort Comparisons

Prior to comparison across cohorts, we cleaned the CIVED and ICCS data sets separately so that they could be merged into a common data set. This required addressing several differences between items in the two datasets. The first issue was that the coding of response options in ICCS was changed to the opposite of the coding employed by CIVED. The purpose was closer alignment with procedures and formats employed by other IEA studies such as TIMSS (Wolfram Schulz, personal communication). In CIVED, a response of 1 indicated the lowest possible endorsement of an item, while 4 indicated the highest possible endorsement. In ICCS, the reverse was the case, with a response of 1 indicating the highest endorsement and 4 indicating the lowest endorsement. In the analysis here we chose to recode the ICCS data to match the CIVED data, such that higher numbers were indicative of stronger endorsement in both cohorts. This was also the approach taken by ICCS researchers when responses to individual attitudinal items were used to create IRT scales, where higher numbers indicate more positive attitudes (Schulz et al. 2010).

From the perspective of the respondents, there is little evidence in the survey methodology literature that making this change in labeling responses would affect respondents (Weng, Cheng 2000). However, from the perspective of a researcher conducting secondary analysis, it is important to keep in mind that on the ICCS data files the item response of strongly agree is coded 1, of agree is coded 2, of disagree is coded 3 and of strongly disagree coded 4. This coding is opposite to that on the CIVED data files.

The second issue was that the CIVED questionnaire included a “don’t know” option for each attitudinal item, while the ICCS questionnaire did not. Research on survey methodology suggests that “don’t know” responses are especially common for items that are cognitively complex (Shoemaker, Eichholz, Skewes 2002). Preliminary work on the ICCS study revealed only small differences in response patterns between pilot forms including and without a “don’t know” response, supporting the decision to leave this option out (Wolfram Schulz, personal communication). For the purposes of the analysis reported here “Don’t know” responses were coded as missing data. Including “don’t know” responses from CIVED, total missing data across all countries and both cohorts ranged from 3.9% (for trusting the police) to 9.0% (trusting local government). Given the exploratory nature of this analysis, we did not impute data. Additional analysis of attitudes should address this limitation and examine missing data in more depth (including the “don’t know” option).

5.3 Analytic Techniques

Several options exist for conducting item-level analyses of CIVED and ICCS data. In our presentation of results, we chose to treat items as continuous variables. In addition to examining each item individually, we also created an average score of each person by taking the mean of their responses on individual items. A mean score was assigned if students had valid data on one or more of the items in the set. Tables 2 and 3 report the mean item scores and overall scale score in each country for each cohort on Support for Immigrants' Rights and Trust (respectively). Within each country, the statistical significance of any changes in attitudes from CIVED to ICCS was assessed by conducting t-tests for comparisons of independent means. Statistical analyses were conducted using SAS PROC SURVEYMEANS (SAS Institute Inc. 2008), which adjusted for the unequal probabilities of sampling by taking into account sample strata and cluster, and by employing normalized population weights (referred to as "house weights" in the CIVED and ICCS data sets).⁴ Weights are designed to allow us to say that these results are nationally-representative; however, in this analysis bias still exists, especially when substantial numbers of students did not answer individual items.

We chose to present means and standard deviations for ease in interpretation. Given the ordinal nature of the Likert-scale response options, we could have compared the frequency of response in each scale category. We ran a second set of analyses taking this approach, using SAS PROC SURVEYFREQ (SAS Institute Inc. 2008) to conduct chi-square analyses to determine whether, within each country, the distribution of response options was significantly different for the CIVED and ICCS cohorts, also taking into account the survey design. The results of the chi-square analyses were generally the same as those for the t-tests.

5.4 Results of Cross-Cohort Item Analyses

Table 2⁵ presents a comparison between CIVED and ICCS of the mean scores on items pertaining to support for the rights of immigrants in the five countries of interest. These analyses reveal statistically significant differences in the attitudes toward immigrants in Denmark. Compared to the levels of endorsement observed in CIVED, the ICCS cohort demonstrated more agreement with each of the presented statements (higher support for immigrants' rights). Accordingly, the average score across items is also significantly higher for Danish participants in ICCS (2009), compared to their CIVED (1999) counterparts. In the other four countries (Estonia, Finland, Norway and Sweden), average score differences are not statistically significant, suggesting relative stability in attitudes within each country.

Looking at individual items, however, provides a more nuanced description. In all countries except Denmark, there was a decrease in support for

⁴ The analysis employed Taylor series approximations to account for the sampling design. While the IEA reports employ jackknife estimation techniques instead, the two techniques yield similar results (Stapleton 2008).

⁵ For Table 2 see Appendix.

immigrants being allowed to continue to speak their own language. In Norway and Sweden, there was also a decrease in support for immigrants being allowed to continue practicing their own customs. Estonia and Finland saw some increased support for immigrants at the item level, particularly as related to the opportunity to vote in elections (Finland only) and general attitudes toward having the same rights as “everyone” (both Finland and Estonia). These attitudes deserve additional attention from researchers and the policy community. Although general attitudes about rights are relatively stable when data from 2009 are compared with ten years earlier, there is an increase in the belief that immigrants should assimilate with respect to their language and customs.

Table 3⁶ presents a similar comparison of items pertaining to trust. Table 3 shows that the Danish ICCS cohort reported significantly less trust in all institutions than did their CIVED counterparts in 1999; accordingly their mean trust score was also significantly lower. The opposite can be said for Finland, where the ICCS cohort was significantly more trusting. All the institutions were more trusted by Finnish students in 2009 than they had been in 1999. This pattern of greater trust in the 2009 cohort also characterized Sweden (although not their attitudes toward the Police) and Estonia (although not their attitudes toward Police, Political Parties, and National Parliament, the latter of which declined). There was less change over the ten year period in Norway, although the ICCS cohort was significantly more trusting of Local Government and Political Parties than their CIVED counterparts.

6 Discussion and Conclusions

In sum, the work of the ICCS study builds in many ways upon the work of the CIVED study, and many opportunities for cross-cohort analyses of attitudes are present. Although changes in the past decade were reflected in some changes in focus in ICCS, the overall purpose of assessing both cognitive and non-cognitive civic-related outcomes remains. In fact, many items to assess these attitudinal, value, and behavioral outcomes of interest remain the same (or appear with only limited changes to wording) in each of the two studies.

That said, there are notable differences between the studies (even in scales with the same title) that warrant careful consideration prior to making comparisons. First, any changes to an item’s wording may change the likelihood that students will agree with it. Second, the IRT scales reported in the major CIVED and ICCS reports are meant to facilitate comparisons among the countries within a study, not between cohorts. They are not directly comparable across studies, even if scales are referred to by the same name. Some potential for comparability of the rank-order of countries appearing in both studies exists, but the conclusions that can be drawn are limited.

We reported results from an analysis that attempted to address these limitations by focusing on individual items and average scores calculated

⁶ For Table 3 see Appendix.

across these items. This analysis provided some initial insight into ways that attitudes have changed among young people from 1999 to 2009. We see generally that attitudes toward immigrants' rights have stayed stable among young people in four of these five countries, while institutional trust appears to be increasing in three of the five. Denmark provides a notable and intriguing exception in that immigrant rights support was higher in the more recent cohort, yet institutional trust was lower. In the ICCS cohort, Denmark appears more similar to the other Scandinavian countries (Norway and Sweden) in its average levels of trust and immigrant rights. Exceptions to this general pattern, particularly decreasing support for immigrants' rights to keep their own language and customs in several of these countries, are worthy of further analysis.

While this analysis provides a descriptive overview of patterns, it does not go into depth. Changes in the demographic profile of young people in these countries, including those due to changes in migration patterns, may account for the some differences in responses across the cohorts. Similarly, changes in the social context of these countries, including (but not limited to) persistent income inequality and disappointment with democratic reforms may explain some of these differences. Yet another possibility is that some reported differences are due to "differential item functioning" for attitudinal items (similar to that described by Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon 2011 for some cognitive items). In pursuing any of these paths, it is especially important that researchers interested in conducting similar analyses note the data cleaning procedures necessary to ensure comparability in the datasets, especially the reverse-coding of items (i.e., 1 represents strongly disagree in CIVED; while 1 represents strongly agree in ICCS) and the different meaning of some IRT scales, even those which may have the same name.

At the same time, several limitations to item-level analyses are clearly apparent. One relates to the issue of missing data. Several individual items (particularly relating to trust) have high rates of missing data. This is especially the case in the CIVED study, where "don't know" was presented an option and coded in this analysis as missing. One advantage of using IRT scales for attitudinal items is the precision of their estimates using few items, even when missing data are present (Schulz, Sibberns 2004). If respondents are missing on one item, then the responses on other items can be used to estimate the attitudes. When one is working at the item level (and without imputation), however, this is not a possibility.

Thus, while item level analyses are an important and approachable first step in conducting cross-cohort analysis, additional work is clearly needed. Ideally, this would involve the use of analyses similar to those employed by Schulz et al. (2010) when comparing content knowledge between CIVED and ICCS. Scales with common items in both studies would be re-scaled to fit the same model on a common metric using IRT techniques, and would use data only from those countries that participated in both studies. There are more than enough "anchor items" to make such rescaling possible. Tests could be conducted to assure consistent item functioning across both countries and cohorts. This would address both the concerns over comparability as well as the more technical measurement issues.

Additional work is also needed to compare and contrast CIVED and ICCS in other ways. While Schulz et al. focused on a comparison of content knowledge, and this overview focused on attitudinal and participatory outcomes, much of the CIVED and ICCS studies are devoted to obtaining background information about the nature of national, school, home, and out-of-school contexts. Researchers could use this information to develop complex, multilevel analyses predicting various civic outcomes. However, a comparison of two contextual scales included in the student questionnaire of CIVED and ICCS (referred to in CIVED as Confidence in the Value of Participation and Openness of Classroom Climate for Discussion) reveal some important differences between the two studies. Notable, as discussed before, is the change from prompting students to consider the openness of their civic (or social studies or history) classroom climate to having them consider the openness of their class climates more broadly across the school. This shift is echoed in the way that the teachers were sampled; in CIVED only civic-related teachers participated, while in ICCS teachers were sampled without respect to subject matter taught (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schulz et al. 2010). Cross-cohort comparisons of context variables have not yet been explored.

To conclude, an overview of the two studies suggests that the potential exists for comparison of attitudes between the CIVED and ICCS cohorts. This opens the doors for high-quality analyses assessing changes in attitudes, values, and behaviors from 1999 to 2009 that would add to the utility of the civics and civic education studies of IEA—a series of studies that is gaining extensive attention from educators, policymakers, and social scientists in a variety of fields (Torney-Purta, Amadeo, in press). Other IEA studies have the ability to track trends over time, and the ICCS researchers have examined changes in civic content knowledge. Similarities and differences in the civic attitudes and practices of young people over a decade can also be tracked and provide important information to the public as well as to scholars.

References

Brese, Falk; Jung, Michael; Mirazchiyski, Plamen; Schulz, Wolfram; Zueklke, Olaf. 2011. ICCS 2009 Users Guide for the International Database. Amsterdam.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1979. *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge.

Frailon, Julian. 2011. ICCS 2009 Test Development. In: Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Frailon, Julian, eds. *ICCS 2009 Technical Report*. Amsterdam, 21-31.

Frailon, Julian; Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John. In press. *ICCS 2009 Asian Report. Civic Knowledge and Attitudes among Lower Secondary Students in Five Asian Countries*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

- Hart, Daniel; Gullan, Rebecca. 2010. The Sources of Adolescent Activism: Historical and Contemporary Findings. In: Sherrod, Lonnie; Torney-Purta, Judith; Flanagan, Constance, eds. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. Hoboken, NJ, 67-90.
- Husfeldt, Vera. 2006. Extreme Negative Attitudes towards Immigrants: An Analysis in Five Countries. In: *Prospects (a UNESCO Journal)*, Vol. 36, No. 5, 355-374.
- Husfeldt, Vera; Barber, Carolyn; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2005. Students' Social Attitudes and Expected Political Participation: New Scales in the Enhanced Database of the IEA Civic Education Study. College Park, MD.
- Husfeldt, Vera; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2004. Development of the CIVED Instruments. In: Schulz, Wolfram; Sibberns, Heiko, eds. *IEA Civic Education Study Technical Report*. Amsterdam, 17-26.
- Lave, Jean; Wenger, Etienne. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge.
- Kerr, David; Sturman, Linda; Schulz, Wolfram; Burge, Bethan. 2011. *ICCS 2009 European Report: Civic Knowledge and Attitudes among Lower-Secondary Students in 24 European Countries*. Amsterdam.
- Mullis, Ina; Martin, Michael; Foy, Pierre. 2007. *TIMSS 2007 International Mathematics Report: Findings from IEA's Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study at the Fourth and Eighth Grades*. Chestnut Hill, MA.
- SAS Institute, Inc. 2008. *SAS/STAT® 9.2 User's Guide*. Cary, NC.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian, eds. 2011. *ICCS 2009 Technical Report*. Amsterdam.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno. 2010. *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary Students in 38 Countries*. Amsterdam.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Freidman, Tim; Lietz, Petra. 2011. *ICCS 2009 Latin American Report: Civic Knowledge and Attitudes among Lower-Secondary Students in Six Latin American Countries*. Amsterdam.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Fraillon, Julian; Ainley, John; Losito, Bruno; Kerr, David. 2008. *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study Assessment Framework*. Amsterdam.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Sibberns, Heiko, eds. 2004. *IEA Civic Education Study Technical Report*. Amsterdam.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J.; Eichholz, Martin; Skewes, Elizabeth A. 2002. Item Nonresponse: Distinguishing between Don't Know and Refuse. In: *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 193-201.
- Stapleton, Laura. 2008. Variance Estimation Using Replication Methods in Structural Equation Modeling with Complex Sample Data. In: *Structural Equation Modeling*, Vol. 15, 183-210.
- Torney, Judith; Oppenheim, Abraham; Farnen, Russell. 1975. *Civic*

Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study. Stockholm.

Torney-Purta, Judith. 2009. International Psychological Research that Matters for Policy and Practice. In: *American Psychologist*, Vol. 64, 822-837.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Amadeo, Jo-Ann. In press. The Contribution of International Large-Scale Studies in Civic Education and Engagement. In: von Davier, Matthias; Kirsch, Irwin; Yamamoto, Kentaro; Gonzalez, Eugenio, eds. *The Role of International Large Scale Assessments*. New York.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn. 2011. Fostering Young People's Support for Participatory Human Rights through their Developmental Niches. In: *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 81, No. 4, 473-481.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn; Richardson, Wendy. 2004. Trust in Government-Related Institutions and Political Engagement among Adolescents in Six Countries. In: *Acta Politica*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 380-406.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2006. Differences in the Civic Knowledge and Attitudes of U.S. Adolescents by Immigrant Status and Hispanic Background. In: *Prospects (a UNESCO Journal)*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 343-354.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2007. Latino Adolescents' Civic Development in the United States: Research Results from the IEA Civic Education Study. In: *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 111-126.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Lehmann, Rainer; Oswald, Hans; Schulz, Wolfram. 2001. *Citizenship and Education in 28 Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age 14*. Amsterdam.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Schwille, John; Amadeo, Jo-Ann. 1999. *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-Four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam, NL.

Torney-Purta, Judith; Wilkenfeld, Britt; Barber, Carolyn. 2008. How Adolescents in Twenty-Seven Countries Understand, Support, and Practice Human Rights. In: *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 64, No. 4, 857-880.

Weng, Li-Jen; Cheng, Chung-Ping. 2000. Effects of Response Order on Likert-Type Scales. In: *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 60, No. 6, 908-924.

Wilkenfeld, Britt; Lauckhardt, James; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2010. The Relation between Developmental Theory and Measures of Civic Engagement in Research on Adolescents. In: Sherrod, Lonnie; Torney-Purta, Judith; Flanagan, Constance, eds. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. Hoboken, NJ, 193-220.

Appendix: Tables

Table 1. Comparison of countries participating in CIVED (1999) and ICCS (2009) civic education studies

CIVED (1999) Only	CIVED and ICCS	ICCS (2009) Only
Australia	Bulgaria	Austria
Belgium (French)	Chile	Belgium (Flemish)
Germany	Colombia	Chinese Taipei
Hungary	Cyprus ¹	Dominican Republic
Portugal	Czech Republic	Guatemala
Romania	Denmark ¹	Indonesia
United States	England ²	Ireland
	Estonia	Korea, Republic of
	Finland	Liechtenstein
	Greece	Luxembourg
	Hong Kong (SAR) ¹	Malta
	Italy	Mexico
	Latvia	Netherlands
	Lithuania	New Zealand
	Norway	Paraguay
	Poland	Spain
	Russian Federation ¹	Thailand
	Slovak Republic	
	Slovenia	
	Sweden ²	
	Switzerland	

1. Changes to the target population or to the test instrument meant that comparable data on civic content knowledge are not available. Such changes may or may not affect the comparability of attitudinal comparisons.

2. Due to differences in the time of school year when tests were administered, the Swedish and English cohorts from ICCS and CIVED may have limited comparability. Schulz et al. (2010) presents comparisons of civic knowledge levels from 1999 to 2009 in a separate section to qualify conclusions.

Note: Israel also participated in the CIVED study, but only in testing the upper secondary cohort. Israel did not participate in ICCS.

Table 2. Agreement with Items Pertaining to Support for Immigrants Rights in Five Countries across CIVED and ICCS Cohorts

	Denmark				Estonia				Finland				Norway				Sweden			
	CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS	
	(n = 3125)		(n = 4329)		(n = 3375)		(n = 2696)		(n = 2747)		(n = 3241)		(n = 3239)		(n = 2795)		(n = 2986)		(n = 3402)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Should be allowed to speak their own language	2.47	0.96	2.62*	0.82	2.87*	0.71	2.68	0.81	2.89*	0.82	.74	0.79	2.95*	0.90	2.68	0.87	3.10*	0.87	2.96	0.89
Should have same opportunities for education	3.23	0.79	3.38*	0.64	3.22	0.61	3.37*	0.65	3.22	.73	3.31	0.72	3.32	0.78	3.39	0.73	3.40	0.74	3.43	0.75
Should have the opportunity to vote in elections	3.03	0.87	3.14*	0.75	2.96	0.72	2.96	0.75	2.91	0.84	3.01*	0.80	3.06	0.86	3.10	0.84	3.28	0.78	3.21	0.82
Should be allowed to continue their customs	2.70	0.95	2.94*	0.76	2.95	0.69	2.90	0.75	2.92	.81	2.84	0.81	3.01*	0.88	2.78	0.89	3.12*	0.84	3.01	0.88
Should have the same rights as everyone	3.03	0.86	3.24*	0.72	2.96	.72	3.19*	0.76	3.07	0.80	3.23*	0.75	3.22	0.83	3.25	0.80	3.32	0.78	3.39	0.78
<i>Average Score</i>	<i>2.90</i>	<i>0.70</i>	<i>3.06*</i>	<i>0.56</i>	<i>2.99</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>3.02</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>3.00</i>	<i>0.65</i>	<i>3.03</i>	<i>0.62</i>	<i>3.11</i>	<i>0.69</i>	<i>3.04</i>	<i>0.65</i>	<i>3.23</i>	<i>0.67</i>	<i>3.20</i>	<i>0.69</i>

Notes: Sample sizes pertain to the average score; Cohort score is significantly greater than the other cohort score within the same country, * $p < .05$

Table 3. Trust in National Institutions in Five Countries across CIVED and ICCS Cohorts

	Denmark				Estonia				Finland				Norway				Sweden			
	CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS		CIVED		ICCS	
	(n = 3104)		(n = 4132)		(n = 3381)		(n = 2692)		(n = 2745)		(n = 3283)		(n = 3260)		(n = 2780)		(n = 2968)		(n = 3387)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
National Government	2.92*	0.64	2.84	0.69	2.33	0.74	2.68*	0.76	2.58	0.75	2.94*	0.63	2.74	0.69	2.75	0.73	2.50	0.72	2.80*	0.72
Local Government	2.79*	0.62	2.65	0.70	2.50	0.76	2.67*	0.73	2.52	0.74	2.85*	0.64	2.65	0.73	2.74*	0.72	2.34	0.76	2.71*	0.70
Courts	3.22*	0.70	3.00	0.76	2.69	0.82	2.79*	0.76	2.71	0.80	2.94*	0.66	2.88	0.73	2.82	0.71	2.86	0.76	2.95*	0.75
Police	3.28*	0.71	3.03	0.79	2.68	0.87	2.66	0.87	3.06	0.84	3.15*	0.77	3.13	0.83	3.11	0.82	2.92	0.83	2.97	0.89
Political Parties	2.65*	0.69	2.57	0.69	1.98	0.75	2.04	0.70	2.03	0.71	2.61*	0.68	2.33	0.74	2.51*	0.73	2.24	0.73	2.60*	0.74
National Parliament	2.83*	0.71	2.74	0.73	2.47*	0.84	2.38	0.79	2.44	0.80	2.83*	0.70	2.88	0.75	2.79	0.76	2.71	0.79	2.81*	0.76
<i>Average Score</i>	<i>2.97*</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>2.81</i>	<i>0.55</i>	<i>2.45</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>2.54*</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>2.57</i>	<i>0.55</i>	<i>2.89*</i>	<i>0.52</i>	<i>2.78</i>	<i>0.51</i>	<i>2.79</i>	<i>0.57</i>	<i>2.60</i>	<i>0.55</i>	<i>2.81*</i>	<i>0.61</i>

Notes: Sample sizes pertain to the average score; Cohort score is significantly greater than the other cohort score within the same country, * $p < .05$

Appendix: Map of CIVED and ICCS Items

A1. Section B: Good citizens (Corresponds to ICCS Q21)*

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
	<p><i>Norms of Conventional Citizenship</i></p> <p>Votes in every [national] election</p> <p>Joins a political party</p> <p>Knows [learns] about the country's history</p> <p>Follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, or on TV [or the internet]</p> <p>Shows respect for government representatives</p> <p>Engages in political discussions</p>	
	<p><i>Norms of Social Movement Citizenship</i></p> <p>Would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust</p> <p>Participates in activities to benefit people in the community</p> <p>Takes part in activities promoting human rights</p> <p>Takes part in activities to protect the environment</p>	
<p>Would be willing to serve in the military to defend the country</p> <p>Is patriotic and loyal to the country</p> <p>Would be willing to ignore a law that violated human rights</p>	<p><i>Other Items</i></p> <p>Obeys the law</p> <p>Works hard</p>	

*(CIVED asked "an adult who is a good citizen..." with a response scale of Very Important= 4 to Not important (1) ICCS asked "How important are the following behaviors for being a adult citizen: with the same response scale reverse-coded).

A2. Section D: Trust in institutions (Corresponds to ICCS Q27)

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
	<p><i>Trust in Government Institutions</i></p> <p>The national government The local council or government Courts [of justice] The police Political parties National Parliament</p>	
<p>News on television News on the radio News in the press</p>	<p><i>Trust in the Media</i></p>	<p>The Media</p>
	<p><i>Other Items</i></p> <p>United Nations Schools The people who live in this country [in general]</p>	<p>The Armed Forces European Commission European Parliament State/Provincial Government</p>

A3. Section E: Our Country (Corresponds to ICCS Q28)

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
<p>I would prefer to live permanently in another country (reversed)*</p>	<p><i>Positive Attitudes towards One's Nation</i></p> <p>The flag of this country is important to me</p> <p>I have great love [respect] for this country</p> <p>This country should be proud of what it has achieved</p>	<p>I am proud to live in this country</p> <p>Generally speaking this country is a better country to live in than most other countries</p> <p>The political system in this country works well</p> <p>This country shows a lot of respect for the environment</p>
<p>To protect jobs in this country we should buy products made in this country**</p> <p>We should keep other countries from trying to influence political decisions in this country**</p> <p>We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to this country's political independence**</p> <p>This country deserves respect from other countries for what we have accomplished</p> <p>There is little to be proud of in this country's history</p> <p>People should support their country even if they think their country is doing something wrong</p> <p>The national anthem of this country is important to me</p> <p>We should stop outsiders from influencing this country**</p>	<p><i>Other Items</i></p>	

*Item appears in ICCS Q28 but is not included in the scaling.

** Appeared in CIVED scale assessing Protective Attitudes toward One's Country. No comparable items were included in ICCS.

A4. Section G: Opportunities (Corresponds to ICCS Q24 and Q25)

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
<p>Women should run for public office and take part in the government just as men do</p>	<p><i>Support for Women's Rights [Gender Equality]</i></p> <p>Women should have the same rights as men [Men and Women should have the same rights] in every way</p> <p>Women should stay out of politics</p> <p>When jobs are scarce [when there are not many jobs available], men should have more right to a job than women</p> <p>Men and women should get equal pay when they are in the same jobs.</p> <p>Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women</p>	<p>Men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in government</p>
	<p><i>Support for Ethnic Minority Rights</i></p> <p>All ethnic groups should have equal chances to get a good education in this country</p> <p>All ethnic groups should have equal chances to get good jobs in this country</p> <p>Schools should teach students to respect members of all ethnic groups</p> <p>Members of all ethnic groups should be encouraged to run in elections for public office</p>	<p>Members of all ethnic groups should have the same rights and responsibilities.</p>
	<p><i>Other Items*</i></p>	<p>Women's first priority should be raising children</p>

*4 other items assessed tolerance of anti-democratic groups (scaled in Husfeldt et al. 2005); nothing comparable was included in ICCS.

A5. Section H: Immigrants (Corresponds to ICCS Q26)

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
	<p><i>Positive Attitudes toward Immigrants</i></p> <p>Immigrants should have the opportunity to keep their own language</p> <p>Immigrants' children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have</p> <p>Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in national elections</p> <p>Immigrants should have the opportunity to keep their own customs and lifestyle</p> <p>Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in a country has</p>	
<p>Immigrants should be forbidden to engage in political activity</p> <p>Having many immigrants makes it difficult for a country to be united and patriotic</p> <p>All countries should accept refugees who are trying to escape from wars or political persecution in other countries</p>	<p><i>Other Items</i></p>	<p>When there are not many jobs available, immigration should be restricted</p>

A6. Section J: School (Corresponds to ICSS Q19)*

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICSS (2009) only
<p>Electing student representatives to suggest changes in how the school is run makes schools better</p>	<p><i>Confidence in [perceptions of] the Value of Participation in School</i></p> <p>Lots of positive changes happen in this school when students work together</p> <p>Organizing groups of students to state their opinions could help solve problems in this school</p> <p>Students acting together can have more influence on what happens in this school than students acting alone</p>	<p>Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better</p> <p>All schools should have a school parliament</p>

* Three additional items in CIVED pertaining to students' self-confidence in school matters; these items were never scaled and are not included in ICSS.

A7. Section M: Political Action 2 (Corresponds to ICCS Q31, Q32, and Q33)*

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
	<p><i>Informed Voting</i></p> <p>Vote in national elections</p> <p>Get information about candidates before voting in an election</p>	<p>Vote in local elections</p>
<p>Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns (issues)**</p>	<p><i>Political Activities</i></p> <p>Join a political party</p> <p>Be a candidate for local or city office (local elections)</p>	<p>Join a trade union</p> <p>Help a candidate or party during an election campaign</p>
<p>Collect money for a social cause</p> <p>Collect signatures for a petition***</p>	<p><i>Community Participation</i></p> <p>Volunteer time to help people in the community</p>	
	<p><i>Illegal Protest Activity</i></p> <p>Spray-paint protest slogans on walls</p> <p>Block traffic as a form of protest</p> <p>Occupy (public) buildings (as a form of protest)</p>	

*Only those categories of items originally in CIVED are included, not items added in ICCS.

**Item appears ICCS Q31 (participation in protest activity in the future) and is included in the scale of Legal Protest Activity Expectations

***Item appears in Q31 (participation in protest activity in the future) in ICCS and is included in the scale of Legal Protest Activity Expectations

A8. Section N: Classrooms*

Appears in CIVED (1999) only	Appears in both instruments	Appears in ICCS (2009)
<p>Students are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues</p> <p>Teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them during class</p> <p>Students feel free to disagree openly with their teacher about political and social issues during class**</p>	<p><i>Openness of Classroom Climate for Discussion</i></p> <p>Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students</p> <p>Teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions</p> <p>Teachers present several sides of an issue when explaining it in class</p>	<p>Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds</p> <p>Teachers encourage students to express their opinions</p> <p>Students bring up current political events for discussion in class***</p>
<p>Students bring up current political events for discussion in class***</p> <p>Teachers place great importance on learning facts or dates when presenting history or political events</p> <p>Teachers require students to memorize dates or definitions</p> <p>Memorizing dates and facts is the best way to get a good grade from teachers in these classes</p> <p>Teachers lecture and students take notes</p> <p>Students work on material from the textbook</p>	<p><i>Other Items</i></p>	<p>Students feel free to disagree openly with their teacher about political and social issues during class**</p>

* CIVED asked about history, civic education or social studies classes while ICCS asked about discussing political issues during “regular lessons.”

** Item also appears in ICCS but is not included in the Openness of Classroom Climate scale

*** Item also appears in CIVED but is not included in the Openness of Classroom Climate scale

Britt Wilkenfeld, Judith Torney-Purta

A Cross-Context Analysis of Civic Engagement Linking CIVED and U.S. Census Data

This study investigates direct and indirect family, peer, school, and neighborhood effects on adolescents' civic engagement utilizing data from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study and the U.S. Census. The nationally representative sample consists of 2,729 students from 119 schools in the U.S. Multi-level regression techniques provide precise estimates of the separate and shared impact of each context on adolescents' civic engagement. Individual students' civic experiences and discourse in school and at home predict higher civic engagement, although the effects of these experiences vary based on the larger school and neighborhood contexts. Overall, interactive effects indicate that students who may traditionally be deemed at a disadvantage (either because of poor school or neighborhood conditions) experience more benefits from increases in civic learning opportunities than do more advantaged students. Suggestions are made for secondary analyses of ICCS (the IEA civic education study of 2009).

Keywords

IEA CIVED, adolescents, civic engagement, political socialization, socioeconomic factors, neighborhood context, school climate

1 Introduction

Competencies for informed civic engagement are important for all youth just as competent citizens are important for successful democracies. Yet we know that groups of young people display differential preparedness for citizenship. On national and international assessments of civic knowledge in the United States, white and Asian students score higher than African American, Latino, and American Indian students (Lutkus, Weiss 2007). Considering immigrant status, in comparison to Latino native-born youth, Latino immigrants have higher civic content knowledge but lower civic skills (Torney-Purta, Barber, Wilkenfeld 2006). Higher parental education and family income are both associated with higher civic knowledge across countries (Lutkus, Weiss 2007; Wilkenfeld 2009). Similar findings exist for participation in civic behavior. Youth from impoverished families report lower levels of current volunteerism and lower intentions to participate in future volunteer work and to vote once eligible (Spring, Dietz, Grimm 2007).

The development of civic knowledge, democratic attitudes, and participation in civic activities requires constructive educational and out-of-school experiences. Many contexts provide the experiences that foster civic development. Parents provide models of civic behavior (McIntosh, Hart,

Youniss 2007) and peer groups maintain norms that support participation (Harell, Stolle, Quintelier 2008). Schools provide learning opportunities by teaching political topics (Niemi, Junn 1998; Torney-Purta, Barber, Wilkenfeld 2007), an influence which appears to be sustained over time (Amnå, Zetterberg 2010). Aspects of the neighborhood context also are related to youth civic engagement, including the level of poverty (Atkins, Hart 2003) and the proportion of college-educated residents (Theokas, Lerner 2006).¹ The tendency to ignore the full range of contexts and their interaction when interpreting individuals' behavior has been noted by Shinn and Toohey (2003), who call this systematic tendency the "context minimization error."

Prior research has generally focused on one or two contexts, instead of examining a comprehensive model of youth civic engagement that includes predictors from as many as four contexts. Examinations of adolescent development in fields such as psychology, sociology, and education policy have found that these contexts often converge in their relations with adolescents' psychological (Wilkenfeld, Moore, Lippman 2008) and academic outcomes (Pong, Hao 2007). When examining adolescent civic development it is important to consider several contexts for their influence, including the way in which those contexts are related to each other. This study extends previous research by simultaneously examining the family, peer, school, and neighborhood contexts, including how contexts are interrelated in their influence on civic engagement.

Civic engagement is a multifaceted construct that encompasses civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, and participation. Civic knowledge often refers to the comprehension of facts pertaining to domestic and international history and government (Rubin 2007), as well as fundamental democratic principles (Torney-Purta 2002). Civic skills involve monitoring news and current events as well as interpreting public and political communication (McIntosh et al. 2007; Zhang, Torney-Purta, Barber 2012). Civic attitudes pertain to beliefs about democratic societies, including the rights and responsibilities of the government and members of society. Finally, civic participation or civic behavior refers to formal and informal involvement in political and civic institutions, including activities such as voting, volunteering, and attending a political rally. In this study we focus on civic knowledge and civic participation, which are interrelated aspects of civic engagement (Galston 2001).

The two civic outcomes examined are a measure of adolescents' civic knowledge and a measure of adolescents' anticipated participation in community and volunteer activities. Given that certain aspects of engagement may have more salience for particular groups, it is important to examine multiple ways in which young people may be civically engaged. Additionally, each context may affect aspects of civic engagement differently (e.g., school practices having a stronger relation to knowledge than behavior). Therefore it is more useful in deriving policy and practice implications to consider more than one civic outcome.

This type of analysis is particularly important because insufficient civic learning opportunities in schools and neighborhoods may prevent adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds from being adequately

¹ Although not examined here, features and policies of more distal systems such as the school district, state, and nation are associated with adolescents' civic engagement as well (Campbell 2007; Hart, Atkins, Markey, Youniss 2004; Hooghe, Wilkenfeld 2008; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, Barber 2008).

prepared for citizenship (Atkins, Hart 2003; Kahne, Middaugh 2008). Indeed, groups that are the most socially and economically disadvantaged have the lowest levels of civic knowledge and engagement, and therefore are also politically disadvantaged (Delli Carpini, Keeter 1996; Lutkus, Weiss 2007). The irony is that it is students in disadvantaged schools, and adolescents in disadvantaged neighborhoods, who would especially benefit from being part of an informed and engaged citizenry. This is described as constituting a “civic empowerment gap” in young people by Levinson (2010), and similar processes have also been studied as related to a lack of political agency in young African-American adults by Chung and Probert (2011).

In the current study potential explanations for disparities in adolescent civic engagement are examined through a comprehensive analysis of context effects, including a focus on the mechanisms by which schools and neighborhoods collectively and interactively facilitate civic engagement. Identifying the specific characteristics, practices, and processes of schools that help or hinder diverse groups of adolescents can suggest promising ways to enhance civic engagement for young people of a particular demographic background or in a particular neighborhood environment. Demonstrating this in one nation may suggest modes of analysis for future research and in other national contexts.

2 Method

In this study the relations between multiple contexts and adolescent civic engagement were analyzed using data from the U.S. sample of the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, Schulz 2001) merged with data from the 2000 U.S. Census.² Census data were linked to CIVED data through school zip-codes, obtained by license from the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. The large majority of students in the U.S. attend neighborhood schools. CIVED is a study of approximately 90,000 adolescents in 28 countries, including nearly 3,000 14-year-olds in the United States. The U.S. Census reports the demographic, social, and economic composition for every zip-code in the United States.

2.1 Background

The CIVED Study was conducted in 1999 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), a consortium of governmental agencies and research institutions founded for the purpose of conducting comparative education studies. The theoretical background for the study is described in the context of several other theories by Wilkenfeld, Lauckhardt, and Torney-Purta (2010), as well as in Torney-Purta et al. (2001).

² The United States did not participate in the International Civics and Citizenship Study conducted in 2009 so these data are the most recently available data of this scope.

Two instruments were utilized in the CIVED: an assessment of students' knowledge of fundamental democratic principles and skills in applying such knowledge, and a survey of students' attitudes toward civic issues, conceptions of democracy and citizenship, and expected civic participation. The administration of the assessment and survey to a representative sample of 14-year-olds occurred in 28 countries in 1999. In the United States the data were collected in October, 1999. Students were given two hours during class to complete the assessment and survey, which also included several measures of students' perceptions of their schools.

2.2 Current Study

The U.S. sample of the CIVED is the focus of the current study; the analytic sample contains 2,729 ninth-grade students in 119 schools nationwide. Because it is a nationally representative sample of schools and a class was randomly selected within the school, findings can be generalized to the national population of ninth graders (or 14-year-olds in the United States). Utilizing a large dataset with advanced statistical techniques (including hierarchical linear modeling [HLM]; Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon 2004) enables the appropriate examination of students within schools and students between schools. This is particularly important if one wishes to examine not only characteristics of contexts, but the interactions between those contexts.

- Outcomes

Given the multidimensional nature of civic engagement, the current study considered context effects related to two distinct aspects of civic engagement. These were civic content knowledge (an internationally developed measure consisting of 25 test items) and anticipated community participation (a 3-item scale assessing adolescents' expectations for informal civic participation in subsequent years). These measures were scaled using IRT methodology and had high alphas when classical measurement theory was used. All had been analyzed for national differences and gender differences in the summary report of CIVED (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) or in the supplementary CEDARS report (Husfeldt, Barber, Torney-Purta 2005). The two outcome variables are described further in Appendix A and descriptive statistics of the measures (and the predictors discussed below) are illustrated in Table 1.

- Predictors

Predictor variables pertaining to the adolescent, social interactions with parents and peers, the school, and the neighborhood were included in the analysis. The first set of predictors were demographic characteristics of students, including *gender* (male or female), *race* (white, black, Latino, Asian, multiracial, and American Indian), *immigrant status* (born in the U.S.

or not born in the U.S.), and *socioeconomic status (SES)*. Here, SES is conceptualized as exposure and access to intellectual and material resources. The SES measure can also be thought of as family educational resources because the construct is a combination of maternal education, paternal education, and books in the home. It is relevant to note that adolescents' demographic characteristics were not considered merely as control variables, but rather were specifically examined for interactions with context variables.

The broader concept of social interactions was captured with the specific measures of discourse with parents, discourse with peers, and time spent with peers in the evening. *Political discourse with parents* is a two-item scale measuring the frequency with which students discussed national and international politics with their parents. Similarly, *political discourse with peers* is a two-item scale measuring how often students discussed national and international politics with their peers. *Evening time spent with peers* is a single item measuring how often students spent time with peers in the evening outside the home.

We also included three predictors pertaining to students' civic experiences in school, as reported by the students. *Student confidence in the effectiveness of participation in school processes* is a four-item IRT scale measuring real-world experiences of democratic processes and participation in school (e.g., whether electing student representatives to inform school change makes schools better). *Perception of the openness of classroom climate for discussion* is a six-item IRT scale assessing whether students have had opportunities to express and understand different sides of social issues in class (e.g., students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students). *Civic curriculum* is a six-item scale assessing students' exposure to learning about democratic practices and ideals (e.g., to cooperate in groups with other students or to learn about one's own or other countries).

The three measures of students' civic experiences in school were aggregated in order to capture the average level of civic experiences within each school. The aggregate measures (*school confidence in participation, school open climate, and school civic curriculum*) were treated as level-2 predictors and were used to examine contextual effects. *School SES* (an aggregate of student SES within a school) was also utilized as a level-2 predictor.

The final set of predictors pertains to the neighborhood context. U.S. Census data were used to construct measures of *neighborhood affluence* (a three-item factor comprised of the proportion of high school or college educated, high-income, and professional residents), *neighborhood poverty* (four-item factor comprised of the proportion of residents living below the poverty line, unemployed, receiving public assistance, and in female-headed households), *neighborhood racial diversity* (heterogeneity based on the proportion of residents from different racial and ethnic backgrounds), and *neighborhood immigrant population* (one-item measure of the proportion of foreign-born residents). See Table 1 for descriptive statistics of predictor variables and Appendix A for specific items in each scale.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of outcome and predictor variables (weighted)

Variable	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Outcomes				
Civic knowledge ^a	.00	1.00	-3.89	2.32
Community participation ^a	.00	1.00	-2.64	2.27
Level- 1 variables				
Student demographics				
Female ^c	.52	.50	.00	1.00
White ^c	.63	.48	.00	1.00
Latino ^c	.14	.34	.00	1.00
Black ^c	.12	.33	.00	1.00
Asian ^c	.05	.22	.00	1.00
Multiracial ^c	.04	.20	.00	1.00
American Indian ^c	.01	.09	.00	1.00
Immigrant ^c	.11	.31	.00	1.00
SES ^b	.00	1.00	-3.09	1.46
Social relationships				
Discuss politics with parents	2.48	.90	1.00	4.00
Discuss politics with peers	1.90	.80	1.00	4.00
Time spent with peers at night	2.91	.92	1.00	4.00
School civic experiences				
Confidence in participation ^a	.00	1.00	-3.07	1.85
Open climate for discussion ^a	.00	1.00	-3.55	2.24
Civic curriculum ^b	.00	1.00	-4.01	2.15
Level- 2 variables				
School demographics				
School SES	-.10	.49	-1.28	1.17
School civic environment				
School confidence in participation	-.04	.32	-.87	.83
School open climate for discussion	-.04	.33	-.59	.97
School civic curriculum	-.01	.29	-.82	.75
Neighborhood characteristics				
Affluence ^b	.00	1.00	-2.09	3.11
Poverty ^b	.00	1.00	-1.45	4.43
Racial diversity ^b	.00	1.00	-1.49	2.58
Foreign-born residents ^d	.11	.12	.00	.54

^aVariable is an IRT scale that was standardized for the analytic sample.

^bVariable is standardized for the analytic sample.

^cDichotomous variable where the mean indicates the proportion represented in the sample of 2,729 students.

^dDichotomous variable where the mean indicates the proportion represented in the sample of 119 schools.

- Analysis

In order to examine the influence of multiple contexts on civic outcomes, while also accounting for the nested nature of the data, we employed HLM, which is a multilevel regression procedure. Through this statistical procedure we were able to examine main effects, inter-level interactive effects, and intra-level interactive effects on the two civic outcomes. In a statistical interaction two predictors have a combined relation with the outcome, which provides a more nuanced understanding of the process of adolescent development. From an applied perspective, a statistical analysis of interactions can indicate whether specific educational practices are more effective for particular groups of young people (for example, conditional on students' demographic characteristics or neighborhood conditions). Therefore, we examined interactions between individual characteristics of adolescents and their environments, as well as interactions between the school context and the neighborhood context. Examining how youth are differentially responsive to environmental influences can also provide evidence for ways in which adolescents actively contribute to their own civic development. Previous studies typically have not tried to distinguish whether there are aspects of the environment that are more beneficial for students of different demographic groups (often because the samples tested are not large enough or constructed in a way to allow this kind of analysis).

3 Results

Before examining aspects of different contexts that relate to civic engagement it was necessary to determine whether students differed in civic outcomes based on their demographic characteristics. For each civic outcome, we compared students based on gender, race, immigrant status, and socioeconomic status. Mean scores on the civic outcomes by demographic group are depicted in Table 2 (as well as results of t-tests and ANOVAs). There were apparent group differences in the civic outcomes of interest, indicating gaps in civic knowledge and behavior based on student demographics. Overall, the differences in students' civic knowledge were larger than anticipated community participation. Students who were white, Asian, native-born, and of high-SES consistently had higher scores on civic knowledge; females and high-SES students had higher scores on anticipated community involvement. These findings are consistent with prior research on civic engagement.

Table 2. Mean scores on civic outcomes based on adolescents' demographic characteristics

Demographic characteristic (n)	Civic knowledge	Anticipated community participation
Gender^a		
Female (1,388)	.02 (.92)	.24 (.91)***
Male (1,300)	-.01 (1.07)	-.26 (1.02)
Immigrant status^a		
Immigrant (286)	-.35 (.95)	.09 (1.10)
Native-born (2,400)	.05 (1.00)***	.00 (.98)
Race^b		
White (1,704)	.22 (1.03)abc	-.04 (1.00)
Latino (373)	-.42 (.79)ade	-.03 (1.04)
Black (330)	-.57 (.67)bf	.09 (.91)
Asian (142)	-.03 (1.04)df	.17 (1.07)
Multiracial (114)	.02 (1.06)eg	.14 (1.14)
American Indian (20)	-.55 (.99)c	.30 (.67)
Socioeconomic status^b		
Low SES (455)	-.53 (.74)a	-.11 (.99)a
Average SES (1,728)	-.02 (.95)a	.02 (.98)
High SES (506)	.58 (1.10)a	.06 (1.07)a

Note. Under demographic characteristic, the number of students in each demographic group is noted in parentheses. Under each civic outcome, standard deviations are noted in parentheses.

^a For gender and immigrant comparisons, *** indicates significant differences at $p < .001$.

^b For race and SES comparisons, categories with the same letter following the standard deviation statistic are statistically different from each other at $p < .05$. For example, white students have significantly higher civic knowledge than Latino (indicated by the a), Black (indicated by the b), and American Indian (indicated by the c) students.

Having determined that a civic engagement gap existed between students based on demographic characteristics, the next step was to employ multilevel regression techniques to examine how potentially influential contexts were related to the gaps. In each step of the analysis we examined change in the within-school and between-school variance components to determine whether the family, peer, school, and neighborhood contexts explained any of the original variance in the outcome. The results of the HLM analysis of students' civic knowledge and anticipated community participation (including significant interactions) are depicted in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3. Multilevel model of students' civic knowledge (n = 2,704)

	Model 1: Student characteristics	Model 2: Social relationships	Model 3: School experiences	Model 4: School environment	Model 5: Neighborhood environment
FIXED EFFECTS					
Intercept	-.04	-.02	.00	-.10**	-.06
School confidence				.06	
School climate				.35**	
School curriculum				.01	
School SES				.87***	
Neighborhood affluence					.17*
Neighborhood poverty					-.15**
Neighborhood race diversity					-.06
Neighborhood foreign-born residents					-.59
POVxSchConf					
DIVxSchClim					
Female	-.01	-.07*	-.09*		
Latino	-.20**	-.20**	-.20**		
Black	-.44***	-.40***	-.44***		
Asian	.01	-.04	-.03		
Multiracial	-.02	.01	.06		
American Indian	-.51**	-.60*	-.62**		
Immigrant	-.12*	-.12*	-.14**		
SES	.24***	.21***	.20***		
Discuss with parents		.15***	.14***		
Discuss with peers		-.01	-.02		
Evening with peers		-.12***	-.12***		
Confidence in participation			.04*		
Open climate			.09***		
Civic curriculum			-.03		

Note. The table contains HLM coefficients (under fixed effects) and variance components (under random effects). All variables have been centered on their grand mean.

* p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

3.1 Civic Knowledge

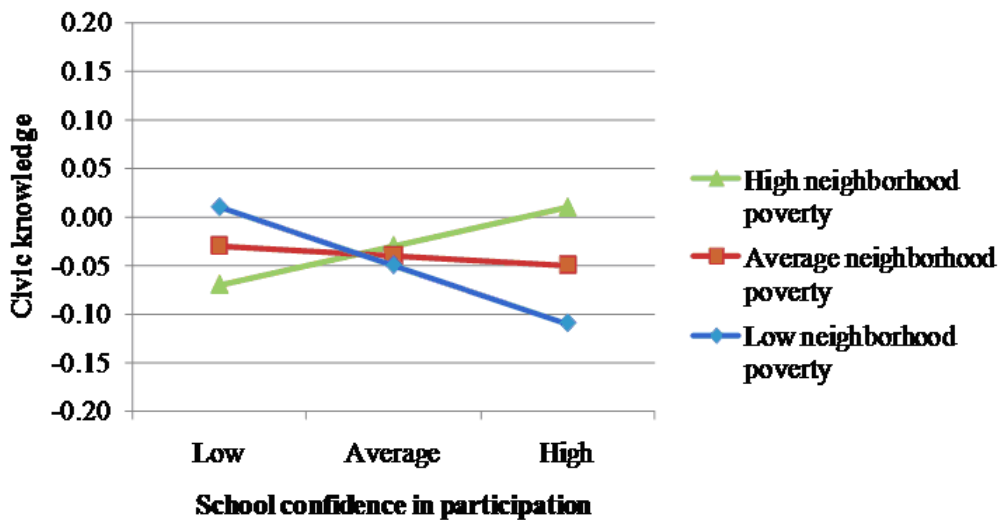
Characteristics of adolescents and measures of the family, peer, school, and neighborhood contexts predicted students' civic knowledge. Discourse with parents was related to higher knowledge levels, discourse with peers was not related, and extensive time spent with peers during the evenings was associated with lower knowledge. Students' civic-related experiences in school were weak predictors of student knowledge. The experience of an open classroom climate for discussion was positively associated with knowledge, however, confidence in school participation and civic curriculum experiences were not significant predictors. At level 2, the aggregate school climate was a positive predictor of civic knowledge.

The nature of the relation between student demographics and the outcomes sometimes changed when variables pertaining to other contexts were included. For instance, once the positive influences of parental discourse and civic experiences in school (and the negative influence of evening time spent with peers) were accounted for, boys had higher knowledge levels than girls. Similarly, once the influence of the school environment was accounted for, Latino students had knowledge levels comparable to white students. Methodologically, these findings illustrate the importance of including predictors from multiple contexts when examining youth outcomes. Practically, they indicate that features of these systems of influence and opportunity are partly responsible for civic engagement gaps.

There were interesting interactions between contexts in their relation to civic knowledge. For example, the relation between the average level of student confidence in participation and students' civic knowledge differed

according to the level of neighborhood poverty (this interaction is illustrated with point estimates of students' civic knowledge in Figure 1). In neighborhoods with high poverty levels, the confidence in the value of school participation on the part of students was positively associated with their civic knowledge. Although the differences in student knowledge were not large (approximately .10 SD), the interaction does indicate that this aspect of the school civic environment is particularly beneficial for students attending schools in high-poverty neighborhoods. In other words, schools in disadvantaged communities can have a larger impact on students by enhancing schools' democratic civic environments.

Figure 1. Interaction between neighborhood poverty and school confidence in participation on students' civic knowledge



3.2 Anticipated Community Participation

The findings for anticipated community participation were comparable to civic knowledge in that many characteristics of adolescents and their relationships and experiences related to the outcome. Female gender was consistently a positive predictor of community participation, but the strength of the relation was influenced by characteristics of the school environment that either attenuated or amplified the gender effect.

Multiracial and American Indian students were more likely to expect to participate in this civic activity, while black and Asian students were not once neighborhood and school environment variables were held constant. A separate analysis examining neighborhood effects on the Latino slope found that neighborhood racial diversity benefitted Latinos by enhancing their anticipated civic participation (table not included).

Table 4. Multilevel model of students' anticipated community participation (n = 2,439)

	Model 1: Student characteristics	Model 2: Social relationships	Model 3: School experiences	Model 4: School environment	Model 5: Neighborhood environment	Model 6: Full model	Model 7: Full model + interactions
FIXED EFFECTS							
Intercept	.01	.00	.00	-.01	.01	.00	.01
School confidence				.11		-.03	-.09
School climate				.02		-.05	-.02
School curriculum				.35**		.26*	.27*
Mean female enrollment				.43*		.43*	.41*
School SES				-.06		-.09	-.06
Neighborhood affluence					.03	.05	.06
Neighborhood poverty					.05	.05	.08
Neighborhood race diversity					-.04	-.04	-.04
Neighborhood foreign-born residents					.41	.25	.19
POVxSchCurr							.14*
Female ^a	.47***	.46***	.38***			.39***	.37***
School SES							.29*
School climate							-.32*
Latino	.05	.01	.02			-.01	.00
Black	.08	.14*	.13*			.12	.11
Asian	.20*	.20*	.14*			.12	.11
Multiracial	.16	.17	.24*			.24*	.23*
American Indian	.32*	.31*	.32*			.34*	.37*
Immigrant	.08	.03	.03			.02	.01
SES	.07**	.02	.00			.01	.01
Discuss with parents		.24***	.17***			.17***	.16***
Discuss with peers		.14***	.11**			.11**	.11**
Evening with peers		.02	.02			.03	.03
Confidence in participation			.13***			.12***	.12***
Open climate			.07**			.07*	.07*
Civic curriculum ^a			.15***			.15***	.16***
Foreign-born							.57**
RANDOM EFFECTS							
Between-school (Intercept)	.03***	.03***	.03***	.01*	.02***	.02***	.02***
Female	.10***	.09***	.08**			.08**	.07**
Civic curriculum			.02**			.02**	.02**
Within-school	.87	.78	.70	.97	.97	.69	.69

Note. The table contains HLM coefficients (under fixed effects) and variance components (under random effects). Unless otherwise stated, variables have been centered on the grand mean.

^aVariable is centered on the group mean.
 + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Political discourse with parents and peers and civic-related experiences in schools and classrooms all were directly related to higher expectations of community participation. School and neighborhood environment variables interacted with each other, with other contexts, and with the adolescent for a differential effect on anticipated community participation.

The school civic curriculum was positively related to students' anticipated community participation across neighborhood contexts. However, in high-poverty neighborhoods the beneficial influence of school civic curriculum was even more apparent (illustrated in Figure 2). In high-poverty neighborhoods, students attending schools with high mean civic curriculum had community participation expectations that were .24 SD higher than students attending schools with low mean civic curriculum. In low-poverty neighborhoods, the difference based on school civic curriculum was much smaller at .08 SD. Therefore, in terms of the relation to the civic outcome of participation in community activities, higher levels of school average civic curriculum are beneficial for all students, but are particularly beneficial for

students attending schools in high-poverty neighborhoods.

There was another significant interaction pertaining to the civic curriculum in schools, but at the student level rather than the school level. This cross-level interaction captured the random effect of student experiences of a civic curriculum in school. Student exposure to a strong civic curriculum (including both local and global aspects) was positively associated with anticipated community participation, but the strength of the relation was stronger in neighborhoods with higher proportions of foreign-born residents (see Figure 3). This interaction indicates that the beneficial effect of exposure to a strong civic curriculum is more pronounced in neighborhoods with higher proportions of immigrants. Experiencing a civic curriculum in which students learn about cooperation, their communities, and other countries appears to broaden students' perspectives and civic commitment in these particular environments. The significance of the combined predictors' indirect effect demonstrates the importance of looking at interactions between contexts for their mutual influence on adolescents' outcomes.

Figure 2. Interaction between neighborhood poverty and school curriculum on students' anticipated community participation

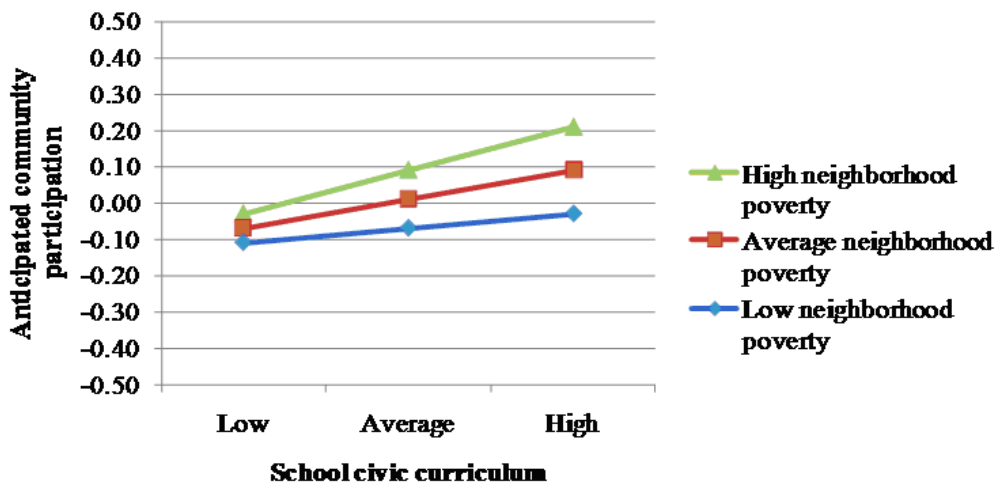
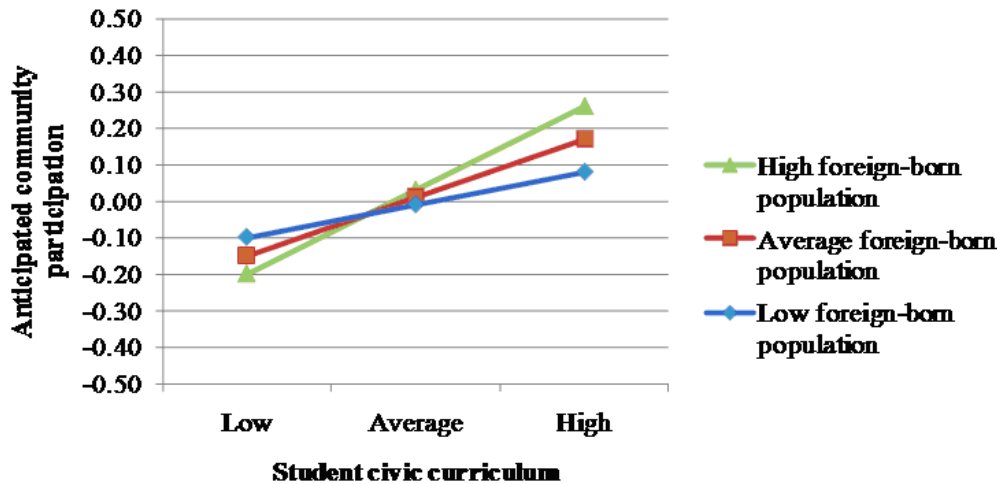


Figure 3. Interaction between neighborhood foreign-born population and student civic curriculum on students' anticipated community participation



4 Discussion

Four consistent patterns emerged from this analysis. First, the analysis confirms a civic engagement gap among adolescents in the United States associated with students' demographic characteristics. The most disadvantaged groups are African American, American Indian, immigrant, and low-SES youth. Males are also disproportionately part of the group with low community involvement. Although civic learning opportunities and experiences in multiple settings narrow some of these gaps, many still persist. Clearly there are groups of young people who are not adequately prepared to be functioning members of the polity and society. Additionally, there are likely to be cumulative effects for young people who are represented in more than one of the disadvantaged groups (for instance, low-SES African Americans). Other studies have identified group differences in civic engagement, however research on the demographic characteristics associated with civic outcomes typically has not examined characteristics and experiences beyond individual demographics that could explain the engagement gap. The next reasonable line of inquiry was to examine whether specific experiences within contexts, as well as characteristics of different contexts, were related to the civic engagement gap.

Second, civic learning opportunities in many contexts are related to the civic engagement of young people. Parental discourse about national and international politics and civic experiences in school provide learning opportunities that are consistently beneficial. Through discourse with parents, adolescents construct knowledge and internalize civic values and beliefs. Civic experiences in school enable adolescents to learn through social and democratic processes. Once inequalities in civic experiences in

school and the overall school environment are controlled for, the civic engagement gaps between racial minority and white students (and between low-SES and high-SES youth) are greatly reduced. For example, the gap between Latino and white students in civic knowledge becomes insignificant if individuals' civic experiences, and schools' civic and socioeconomic environments are equalized statistically.

Third, contextual effects for characteristics of the school such as school SES and school climate for open discussion in the classroom are found over and above individual effects. For example, attending a school with a high-SES population is associated with higher civic knowledge even after the individual's own SES has been taken into account. Attending a school where an open classroom climate for discussing issues is reported by many students is associated with higher civic knowledge even after the individual's own report of class climate is taken into account.

Fourth, aspects of the neighborhood context influence adolescents' civic outcomes through interactions with the school environment, students' civic experiences, and students' demographic characteristics. The interactive effects indicate that students who may traditionally be deemed at a disadvantage (either because of poor school or neighborhood conditions) experience more benefits from increases in civic learning opportunities than do more advantaged students.

The findings of this study have implications for the conceptual understanding of development within context, methodological considerations, and educational practice. Adolescents' civic outcomes varied as a function of characteristics of the person and of multiple systems of influence. In particular, there are processes inherent in each context that can account for the ways in which environments influence adolescents' development. The processes that seem to be most important pertain to aspects of interpersonal relationships with parents (especially the level of discourse), patterns of activity within schools, institutional resources within neighborhoods, and the collective socialization that occurs in neighborhoods. This study has provided empirical evidence for processes related to human development proposed by theorists such as Bronfenbrenner (1979), Lave and Wenger (2002), and Jencks and Mayer (1990). Torney-Purta and Barber (2011) present a model for visualizing neighborhoods as providing developmental niches for developing participatory citizenship and avoiding alienation among adolescents.

Although this analysis was limited to the United States, parallel types of analysis could be conducted with the International Civics and Citizenship Study (ICCS). Schulz et al. (2010) in their recent examination of the influence of one context at a time on civic knowledge and engagement suggest that analyses similar to the one presented here would be a fruitful part of secondary analysis. Their initial analysis of the ICCS data shows that home literacy resources and parents' participation in political discussion with their children play important roles in fostering civic knowledge and intent to participate in the electoral process particularly in the English speaking countries (Ireland and England) and the Nordic countries (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Norway, and Sweden). Although it may not be possible to link census data (and thus neighborhood factors) to these student outcomes

across all these countries, it would at least be possible to examine the interaction between school, peer, and parent factors (including both those related to socioeconomic status and to parents' political interest). Aggregating SES factors to the school level (or using material from the school questionnaire) might provide an approximation of the neighborhood data examined here. In many countries school track could be added as a predictor. The important aspect of the model used here is that it explicitly examines interactions between variables representing different contexts of influence (rather than controlling for SES, for example).

The current study provides further support for the existence of distinguishable types of civic-related school experiences and the importance of examining multiple contexts of influence on development. Considering other evidence of a civic engagement gap (Levinson 2010) and a civic learning opportunity gap (Kahne, Middaugh 2008), the current findings indicate that the engagement gap can be narrowed when the learning opportunity gap is reduced. Schools, although implicated in the existence of a civic engagement gap, also have the potential to narrow the gaps between different groups of students. Students acquire meaningful concepts, knowledge, and skills through these civic experiences, and schools could better serve students by ensuring that such experiences are available. Effective school practices are especially important in schools located in high-poverty neighborhoods. Civic experiences in schools contribute to the preparation of youth for active citizenship and equal access to these experiences has the potential to reduce civic engagement gaps between students of different demographic groups.

References

- Amnå, Eric; Zetterberg, Par. 2010. A Political Science Perspective on Socialization Research: Young Nordic Citizens in a Comparative Light. In: Sherrod, Lonnie; Torney-Purta, Judith; Flanagan, Constance, eds. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. Hoboken, NJ, 43-65.
- Atkins, Robert; Hart, Daniel. 2003. Neighborhoods, Adults, and the Development of Civic Identity in Urban Youth. In: *Applied Developmental Science*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 156-164.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1979. *The Ecology of Human Development*. Cambridge.
- Campbell, David. 2007. Sticking Together: Classroom Diversity and Civic Education. In: *American Politics Research*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 57-78.
- Chung, He Len; Probert, Stephanie. 2011. Civic Engagement in Relation to Outcome Expectations among African American Young Adults. In: *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 227-234.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X.; Keeter, Scott. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters*. New Haven, CT.
- Galston, William. 2001. Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4, 217-234.

- Harell, Allison; Stolle, Dietlind; Quintelier, Ellen. 2008. Network Diversity and Political Participation: A Complication or Asset? Paper Presented at the Conference on Comparative Perspectives on Political Socialization, Bruges, Belgium.
- Hart, Daniel; Atkins, Robert; Markey, Patrick; Youniss, James. 2004. Youth Bulges in Communities: The Effects of Age Structure on Adolescent Civic Knowledge and Civic Participation. In: *Psychological Science*, Vol. 15, No. 9, 591-597.
- Jencks, Christopher; Mayer, Susan. 1990. The Social Consequences of Growing up in a Poor Neighborhood. In: Lynn, Laurence Jr.; McGeary, Michael, eds. *Inner-City Poverty in the United States*. Washington, DC, 111-186.
- Hooghe, Marc; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2008. The Stability of Political Attitudes and Behaviors across Adolescence and Early Adulthood: A Comparison of Survey Data on Adolescents and Young Adults in Eight Countries. In: *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 155-167.
- Husfeldt, Vera; Barber, Carolyn; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2005. Students' Social Attitudes and Expected Political Participation: New Scales in the Enhanced Database of the IEA Civic Education Study. College Park, MD: Civic Education Data and Researcher Services, Department of Human Development, University of Maryland College Park.
- Lave, Jean; Wenger, Etienne. 2002. Legitimate Peripheral Participation in Communities of Practice. In: Lea, Mary Rosalind; Nicoll, Kathy, eds. *Distributed Learning: Social and Cultural Approaches to Practice*. London, 56-63.
- Levinson, Meira. 2010. The Civic Empowerment Gap. In: Sherrod, Lonnie; Torney-Purta, Judith; Flanagan, Constance, eds. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. Hoboken, NJ, 331-362.
- Lutkus, Anthony; Weiss, Andrew. 2007. *The Nation's Report Card: Civics 2006 (NCES 2007-476)*. Washington, DC.
- McIntosh, Hugh; Hart, Daniel; Youniss, James. 2007. The Influence of Family Political Discussion on Youth Civic Development: Which Parent Qualities Matter? In: *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 40, 495-499.
- Niemi, Richard; Junn, Jane. 1998. *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*. New Haven, CT.
- Pong, Suet-Ling; Hao, Lingxin. 2007. Neighborhood and School Factors in the School Performance of Immigrants' Children. In: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 206-241.
- Raudenbush, Stephen W.; Bryk, Anthony S.; Cheong, Yuk Fai; Congdon, Richard T. 2004. *HLM 6: Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling*. Lincolnwood, IL.
- Rubin, Beth. 2007. "There's Still Not Justice:" Youth Civic Identity Development Amid Distinct School and Community Contexts. In: *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 109, No. 2, 449-481.
- Schulz, Wolfram; Ainley, John; Fraillon, Julian; Kerr, David; Losito, Bruno.

2010. ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary School Students in 38 Countries. Amsterdam.
- Shinn, Marybeth; Toohey, Siobhan. 2003. Community Contexts of Human Welfare. In: *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol. 54, 427-459.
- Spring, Kimberly; Dietz, Nathan; Grimm, Robert. Jr. 2007. *Leveling the Path to Participation: Volunteering and Civic Engagement among Youth from Disadvantaged Circumstances* (Youth helping America series). Washington, DC.
- Theokas, Cristina; Lerner, Richard M. 2006. Observed Ecological Assets in Families, Schools, and Neighborhoods: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Relations with Positive and Negative Developmental Outcomes. In: *Applied Developmental Science*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 61-74.
- Torney-Purta, Judith. 2002. The School's Role in Developing Civic Engagement: A Study of Adolescents in Twenty-Eight Countries. In: *Applied Developmental Science*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 203-212.
- Torney-Purta, Judith. 2009. International Research that Matters for Policy and Practice. In: *American Psychologist*, Vol. 64, No. 8, 825-837.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn. 2011. Fostering Young People's Support for Participatory Human Rights through their Developmental Niches. In: *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 81, No. 4, 473-481.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2006. Differences in the Civic Knowledge and Attitudes of Adolescents in the United States by Immigrant Status and Hispanic Background. In: *Prospects*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 343-354.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2007. Latino Adolescents' Civic Development in the United States: Research Results from the IEA Civic Education Study. In: *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 111-125.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Lehmann, Rainer; Oswald, Hans; Schulz, Wolfram. 2001. *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries*. Amsterdam.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2009. *Paths to 21st Century Competencies through Civic Education Classrooms: An Analysis of Survey Results from Ninth-Graders* (Technical Report). Chicago, IL.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Wilkenfeld, Britt; Barber, Carolyn. 2008. How Adolescents in Twenty-Seven Countries Understand, Support, and Practice Human Rights. In: *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 64, No. 4, 857-880.
- Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2009. *A Multilevel Analysis of Context Effects on Adolescent Civic Engagement: The Role of Family, Peers, School, and Neighborhood* (Doctoral dissertation). Dissertations & Theses: A&I (Publication No. AAT 3359321).
- Wilkenfeld, Britt; Lauckhardt, Jim; Torney-Purta, Judith. 2010. The Relation between Developmental Theory and Measures of Civic Engagement in Research on Adolescents. In: Sherrod, Lonnie; Torney-Purta, Judith; Flanagan, Constance, eds. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in*

Youth. Hoboken, NJ, 193-219.

Wilkenfeld, Britt; Moore, Kristen A.; Lippman, Laura. 2008. Neighborhood Support and Children's Connectedness (Fact Sheet No. 2008-05). Washington, DC.

Zhang, Ting; Torney-Purta, Judith; Barber, Carolyn. 2012. Students' Conceptual Knowledge and Process Skills in Civic Education: Identifying Cognitive Profiles and Classroom Correlates. In: Theory and Research in Social Education, Vol. 40, 1-34.

Appendix: Items and Scales Used in Analyses³

Outcome Variables

Civic knowledge: An item response theory (IRT) scale comprised of 25 test items measuring adolescents' civic content knowledge (i.e., knowledge of fundamental democratic principles).

Anticipated community participation: Three-item IRT scale assessing adolescents' expectations for informal civic participation in the next few years (e.g., "Volunteer time to help people in the community").

Level-1 (L1) Predictor Variables

Student demographic characteristics: Gender (52% of the sample was female), Race (63% White, 14% Latino, 12% African American, 5% Asian, 4% Multiracial, 1% American Indian), Immigrant status (11% immigrant), and Socioeconomic status (a composite of maternal education, paternal education, and books in the home).

Political discourse with parents: Two-item scale measuring how often students discuss national and international politics with their parents.

Political discourse with peers: Two-item scale measuring how often students discuss national and international politics with their peers.

Evening time spent with peers: A single item measuring how often students spend time with peers in the evening outside the home.

Confidence in effectiveness of school participation: Four-item IRT scale assessing real-world experiences of democratic processes and participation in school:

1. Lots of positive changes happen in this school when students work together.
2. Organizing groups of students to state their opinions could help solve problems in this school.
3. Students acting together can have more influence on what happens in this school than students acting alone.
4. Electing student representatives to suggest changes in how the school is run makes schools better.

Openness of classroom climate for discussion: Six-item IRT scale assessing whether students have had opportunities to express and understand different sides of social issues in class:

1. Students feel free to disagree openly with teachers about political and social issues during class.
2. Students are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues.
3. Teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them during class.

³ All predictor and outcome variables are from the CIVED except the level-2 neighborhood variables which are from U.S. Census data.

4. Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.
5. Teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions.
6. Teachers present several sides of an issue when explaining it in class.

Civic curriculum: Six-item scale assessing students' exposure to learning about democratic practices and ideals:

1. Learned to understand people who have different ideas.
2. Learned to cooperate in groups with other students.
3. Learned to contribute to solving problems in the community.
4. Learned to be a patriotic and loyal citizen of my country.
5. Learned to be concerned about what happens in other countries.
6. Learned the importance of voting in national and local elections.

Level-2 (L2) Predictor Variables

School SES (aggregate of corresponding L1 variable)

School confidence in participation: Average level of confidence in school participation (aggregate of corresponding L1 variable)

School open climate: Average perception of open classroom climate (aggregate of corresponding L1 variable)

School civic curriculum: Average level of school civic curriculum (aggregate of corresponding L1 variable)

Neighborhood affluence: Three-item factor comprised of the proportion of adult residents in the neighborhood with a high school or college education, in managerial or professional occupations, and with annual incomes greater than \$75,000.

Neighborhood poverty: Four-item factor comprised of the proportion of residents in the neighborhood living below the poverty line, unemployed, receiving public assistance, and living in female-headed households.

Neighborhood racial diversity: Measure of heterogeneity within a neighborhood; computed by combining the proportion of White, Latino, African American, Asian, Multiracial, and American Indian residents using the fractionalization equation $(1 - [\sum s^2])$, where s represents each groups' proportion of the population).

Neighborhood immigrant population: One-item measure of the proportion of foreign-born residents in the neighborhood.

Tit Neubauer

A Critical Review of International Research on Citizenship and Citizenship Education – Lessons for Citizenship Education in Slovenia

Referring to a critical review of eight international research initiatives (e.g. studies, surveys, research reports) conducted between 2001 and 2010 in the field of citizenship and citizenship education, this paper examines the relationship between different conceptualisations of citizenship and the nature, role and impact of citizenship education. I focus on the European aspects of these research initiatives and draw on the knowledge they disseminate to reflect on the theory of citizenship and the practice of citizenship education in Slovenia. First, I present an overview of the methodology used in the literature review and reflect on the significant limitations in conducting international and comparative research. Second, I reflect on the various relationships between different conceptualisations of citizenship and their effects on citizenship education practices as presented in the overviewed literature. On the basis of the knowledge and results of the literature review, I then make several observations which are relevant to the advancement of citizenship theory and citizenship education practice in Slovenia. Finally, I argue that different conceptualisations of citizenship can have a significant influence on the practice of citizenship education, as evinced by the analysis of the recent results on civic knowledge in Slovenia.

Keywords

Citizenship, citizenship education, civic knowledge, international research

1 Introduction

Conducting research in the field of citizenship and citizenship education has become the core objective of a number of fields in the social sciences and humanities. This focus gained particular relevance in the 1960s when researchers in the field of political socialisation began to systematically analyse how young people acquired knowledge and developed the skills necessary for undertaking their roles as citizens in democracies (Hahn 2010). Nonetheless, the era after 1990 represents a revival in the interest in different aspects of citizenship (Deželan 2009), and Isin and Turner (2002) estimate that more than 50 per cent of all scientific literature on citizenship was published after the 1990s. Therefore, it is not surprising that the most globally dispersed and widely accepted international and comparative studies in citizenship education were carried out in the late 1990s and early 2000s.¹ As multi-layered decision-making has become increasingly relevant

¹ An extensive overview of research by world regions (e.g. the Americas, Europe, Asia, etc.) is available in Hahn (2010).

in the global socio-political context, the relevance of international and regional (e.g. European) research on citizenship and citizenship education has also grown, and recently, several attempts have been made to review the existing international research (Hoskins et al. 2008; Hahn 2010; Johnson, Morris 2011). The results of the international research initiatives concerning citizenship and citizenship education often represent knowledge resources which are significant to strategic policy objectives and which can have positive effects on the development of the field of citizenship education in an individual state. International and regional research, for the most part, reflect upon the state of affairs in an individual state, taking into account the international or regional context, and provide a number of internationally acknowledged good practice cases and initiatives which can, with certain adaptations, be transferred to national education systems. There appears to be a lively discussion in the educational and citizenship fields regarding the issue of transferability, as some argue, particularly within the European or EU context, that some general conclusions and recommendations can be applied to different socio-political contexts and to countries with different traditions in a *one size fits all* manner (Hoskins et al. 2008), while others warn against generalising the findings to other contexts (Hahn 2010).

Furthermore, international and comparative research initiatives promote knowledge and an understanding of structural social change on a global and/or regional level (Holford, Edirisingha 2003) and can, in this manner, represent a significant base for facilitating the development of multiple (and multi-layered) citizenship identities, which transcend the narrowness and limits of the national environment and represent a catalyst for citizens' engagement in a global and multicultural community. The conclusions of many international citizenship and citizenship education research initiatives demonstrate a growing discrepancy between the policy rhetoric (what is intended or planned at the state, regional or local level) and the practice of citizenship education (what *de facto* happens in classrooms) (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002; Bîrzéa et al. 2004; Kerr et al. 2010; see also Kerr 1999). These observations enable us to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the relation between the institutional and normative guidelines (i.e. policy objectives), on the one hand, and the real practice in the field of citizenship education in individual states, on the other hand (i.e. policy results).

Accordingly, the general purpose of this paper is to review the available research, reflect on the theoretical knowledge and, to a lesser extent, the empirical data produced by the international research on citizenship and citizenship education in order to examine how different conceptualisations of citizenship influence the nature, role and impact of citizenship education. Additionally, this reflection will be used to collect international and, in particular, European knowledge in the field, thus, facilitating the theoretical basis for the advancement of citizenship education in Slovenia.

The paper is structured into three main parts. In the first part, I present important aspects of the methodology for conducting the critical review of different international research initiatives and briefly reflect on some of the potential limitations of the methodology for data collection commonly used in international comparative research. The second part of the paper presents the outcomes of the review and reflects on the relationship

between different conceptualisations of citizenship and the nature, role and impact of citizenship education. Adopting an approach similar to that described by Hahn (2010), I identify the highlights of various international research initiatives which bear importance for Europe, rather than provide an in-depth analysis of individual studies, surveys and reports. Although I make some brief direct references to particular results of studies on individual states, the focus in this part is on the understanding and knowledge of the relationship between different conceptualisations of citizenship and their impacts on citizenship education practices. In the last part, I draw on the previous observations in order to provide relevant conclusions for the development of citizenship theory and citizenship education practices in Slovenia.

2 Methodological Overview

Certain methodological limitations of international and comparative studies must be highlighted and taken into consideration. The most apparent limitation is that there is no clear distinction between the terms *international studies* and *comparative studies*, as “international means between nations, implying a potentially comparative aspect whereas comparative refers to explicit, direct comparisons usually across national borders” (Hahn 2010, 15). Consequently, for the purposes of this paper, I will, where applicable, interchangeably use the terms *international research initiatives* or *international* and *comparative studies*. The second obvious limitation is that it would be impossible to review all of the international research initiatives undertaken across the globe (Hahn 2010). For this reason, I have limited my review to those international and comparative studies which bear the most significance for Slovenia and have placed particular emphasis on Europe. Another limitation, which is directly connected to those mentioned above and which is important for the work presented here, is the fact that international research initiatives vary in nature and purpose. In the context of citizenship and citizenship education, some focus on the approaches, practices and results of citizenship education (Torney-Purta 2001; Kerr 2010), and some are developed by gathering data on policies and legislative frameworks (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002; Bîrzéa et al. 2004), while others review the existing literature and reflect on the different conceptualisations, policies and strategies of citizenship, active citizenship and citizenship education (Holford, Edirisingha 2003; Chioncel, Jansen 2004). However, as Kerr correctly notes, citizenship education goes beyond the issue of importing knowledge and needs to be both analysed and developed while taking into account different factors, from policy-making, evaluation and monitoring to the issue of creating an (European) environment which promotes active participation in the larger society (Kerr 2008).

Furthermore, most international research initiatives collect information from national resources and reports (e.g. Harrison, Baumgartl 2002), which is a common practice in conducting international comparisons. In some cases, the approach based on national reports and their results can be

partially misleading, as it is based on qualitative data from national reports produced by individuals or individual institutions and organisations, which can be either excessively positively or negatively oriented towards the state of affairs in different states. In this case, the seemingly objective expert and scientific analysis can potentially become a space of ideological discourse, partial views and misinterpretations, which is of particular relevance for the qualitative evaluation of the state of affairs in different states. At the same time, the synthesis and interpretation of results is subjected to the prevailing, traditional views and analytical frameworks which are apparent in the international environment. There are many similar methodological issues related to international and comparative studies which can, by some accounts, also be contributed to the process of globalisation (Crossley 2002; Hahn 2010), and although attempts to reconceptualise the field of international and comparative studies have been made, only minor changes have been realised in practice.

The purpose of the critical review on which this paper is based was to reflect the international and regional contexts of citizenship and citizenship education and to analyse the existing international research initiatives (with a primary focus on European countries) in the fields of citizenship and citizenship education.²

The method used to select the sources of the international research initiatives was structured upon three phases and three criteria as follows:

- A review of scientific literature using key words analysis;
- A review of the research financing history by key European institutions (primarily the EU and the Council of Europe);
- A “snow ball effect” method of reviewing references in the studies already identified through previous phases.

The application of the above mentioned criteria generated a list of 48 international research initiatives. As the large number of studies presented both a methodological and a research challenge beyond the capacity of the research group, the number of studies which were eventually examined was reduced to eleven, using the selection criteria listed below:

- Citizenship education as the key research field (e.g. studies focusing only on political participation without reference to citizenship education were excluded);
- At least three countries had to be presented in the study in order to satisfy the criteria of an international-comparative analysis, and the study had to compare the international and national contexts (e.g. studies solely representing good practice cases without reflecting the possibilities of transferring them into national contexts were excluded);
- The analysis was based on the final reports of the international studies (e.g. scientific articles and books published before or after the period selected were excluded).

Since one of the purposes of this paper is to reflect on the relevant

² The review was prepared as part of the institutional approach analyses conducted by researchers at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana in 2011 through the project Citizen(ship) in a New Age, and as such, complements the substantive comparative study of citizenship education in the EU Member States (Pikalo et al. 2011).

international knowledge for the advancement of citizenship theory and citizenship education practice in Slovenia, I decided to include an additional selection criterion as follows:

- Slovenia is included as one of the countries analysed or reviewed by the international and comparative study.

Based upon the three phases and the criteria listed above, a final selection of eight international research initiatives was made (Table 1) to provide with information on the titles of the selected studies, the years of publication of the final reports, the contracting or financing authorities and the participating states, regions or geographical areas. As discussed above, although the nature and scope of the selected international research initiatives varies, it is, nevertheless, significant to review all the different aspects of citizenship and citizenship education at the international level. With this in mind, I decided to add to Table 1 general information regarding the nature and purpose of each study reviewed.

Table 1. International research initiatives included in the review

<i>Title of the study</i>	<i>Year of publication</i>	<i>Contracting/ financing party</i>	<i>Area/countries involved</i>	<i>Nature of the study</i>
Civic Education Study – CIVED 1994-2002	2001	The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)	Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Columbia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland and United States of America	The study identifies and examines in a comparative manner the approaches to the context and meaning of citizenship education , as well as students' civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement.
Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe	2002	Council of Europe	Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Monte Negro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia	Based on country reports the study gathers and analyses data on current policies in the field of Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC).

<i>Title of the study</i>	<i>Year of publication</i>	<i>Contracting/financing party</i>	<i>Area/countries involved</i>	<i>Nature of the study</i>
Citizenship and Governance Education in Europe: A critical review of the literature - the project ETGACE	2003	European Commission	Great Britain, Finland, Slovenia, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain	Study of the literature on education and training for active citizenship. It was produced as a part of the EU research project ETGACE, which aimed to deliver "a scientific basis for educational interventions to involve European citizens more actively in shaping their own futures."
All European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies	2004	Council of Europe	EU Member States and Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Andorra, San Marino, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, Albania, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Monte Negro, Romania, Serbia	The study analyses and presents different European policies and legislative frameworks in the field of Education for Democratic Citizenship.
Reviewing Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe - the Central and Eastern European Perspective-Project RE-ETGACE	2004	European Commission	Netherlands, Belgium, Hungary, Romania in Slovenia; focus on Hungary and Romania	The study analysed different conceptualisations of citizenship, active citizenship and governance . It also identified and analysed formal policies and strategies linked to active citizenship, and the conditions for practicing active citizenship. Developed as a part of the EU research project RE-ETGACE.
Citizenship Education at School in Europe - Eurydice	2005	European Commission	EU Member States and Switzerland, Iceland, Norway	The purpose of the study was to analyse how citizenship education is taught in primary and secondary schools in Europe.

<i>Title of the study</i>	<i>Year of publication</i>	<i>Contracting/financing party</i>	<i>Area/countries involved</i>	<i>Nature of the study</i>
Indicators for Monitoring Active Citizenship and Citizenship Education	2005	European Commission	31 countries involved in the EU Lifelong Learning Programme (EU Member States, EEA countries and Turkey)	A research report based on a study conducted for the European Commission, which aimed to identify and propose indicators for active citizenship and citizenship education.
The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 - ICCS European Module	2010	The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)	24 European Member States of the IEA, including EU Member States, candidate countries, potential candidate countries and non-member states	The study analyses and presents different approaches to citizenship education, as well as students' civic knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and behaviors.

In order to examine the relationships between different conceptualisations of citizenship and the nature, role and impact of citizenship education, and to reflect on the knowledge relevant to the development of citizenship theory and citizenship education practices in Slovenia, the review was conducted, taking into account the following research questions³ for each study:

1. How does the study conceptualise citizenship and citizenship education?
2. What are the contextual bases and research questions of the study?
3. In what form, if any, does the study address the local/national/global dimension of citizenship and/or citizenship education?
4. Which topics of citizenship education are addressed by the study?
5. What are the observations with regard to Slovenia?

For each of the selected international and comparative studies, a separate general analysis was conducted first, than a separate report on the five research questions listed above was prepared. Major observations and findings of the comparative analysis are presented below.

³ In the original review, which presents the basis for this paper, a set of eight research questions was formulated and used in the analysis. Some research questions were omitted in this paper, as their purpose goes beyond the purpose of this paper. Among them were questions related to the form of citizenship education analysed (formal, non-formal, and informal), the methods used for data collection and the general conclusions for each of the research initiatives examined.

3 General Observations

3.1 Concept of Citizenship

Most of the studies reviewed comprise either a broad (maximal) or narrow (minimal) understanding of citizenship (McLaughlin 1992; Isin, Turner 2002). Along these lines, the general hypothesis is that a narrow or minimal understanding of the concept of citizenship, which limits the concept to mere formal, legal and judicial terms (McLaughlin 1992),⁴ leads to a narrow definition and function of citizenship education. Such an approach to citizenship education, in turn, provides students and all citizens (from a lifelong learning perspective) with a set of general information on and knowledge of the existing political system, tradition and culture, thus merely equipping the citizens with the realisation of their legal status in society and the state. For instance, both IEA studies (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Kerr et al. 2010) and the All-European Study (Bîrzéa et al. 2004), and to a lesser extent the ETGACE research, define citizenship through the classic Marshallian perspective of civil, political and social rights (Marshall 1950). Although such an approach to understanding and describing citizenship has become common to the degree that it could be considered as a canon of citizenship studies, for nearly a decade, authors have argued that as a result of the ever-changing socio-political context, Marshallian citizenship has become insufficient for reflecting contemporary forms of citizenship (Turner 2001; Isin, Turner 2007; Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011). In this manner, the ETGACE (Holford, Edirisingha 2003) and RE-ETGACE (Chioncel, Jansen 2004) research initiatives are significant, as they problematise the traditional and solely legal understanding of citizenship as the relation(s) between the citizen(s) and the state and call for (although not explicitly) an understanding of citizenship from the perspective of the republican citizenship tradition, as opposed to the prevailing liberal one (Chioncel, Jansen 2004). Furthermore, the authors of the ETGACE study report argue that the concept of citizenship is a fluid and complex concept based on competing and interchanging theoretical perspectives, which should not be understood solely in terms of national or supranational governance (Holford, Edirisingha 2003).

Both the Stocktaking (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002) and the Indicators study (de Weerd et al. 2005) are built on the concept of active citizenship rather than citizenship in general, and centre the concept around the ideals of human rights and the values of participation, tolerance, non-violence, respect for the rule of law and citizens' responsibility. This similarity is perhaps not surprising, since both international and comparative studies are policy driven, as compared to the others mentioned above. The nature and the purposes of the studies are, in this manner, reflected in their intensely political (in contrast to a more political scientific) understanding of citizenship. Nonetheless, a common factor can be identified in the underlying concept of responsibility, which seems prevalent in several of the international research initiatives, regardless of their nature and purpose. Some authors argue that the contemporary concept of active

⁴ In some cases, the terms *thick* and *thin* are also used to describe the two different conceptualisations of citizenship and citizenship education (McLaughlin 1992; Kerr 1999).

citizenship is intrinsically connected to the ideal of responsibility, which is one of the determining factors of the prevailing neoliberal rationality (Rose 1999; Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011). Similarly, the Eurydice study (2005) is based on the concept of good citizenship, which is also seen as highly problematic, as it is understood to be increasingly exclusive, to facilitate individualisation and, in the long term, to result in increased socio-political passivity and compliance. “The constant reiteration of active citizenship as a responsibility and not a right [in and of itself] affirms passive messages about the ‘good (young) citizen’ today” (Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011, 907). As Mitchell points out, “[E]ducating a child to be a good citizen is no longer synonymous with constituting a well-rounded, nationally oriented, multicultural self, but rather about attainment of the ‘complex skills’ necessary for individual success in a global economy” (Mitchell 2003, 399 cit. Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011, 899).

On the other hand, a broad or maximal (McLaughlin 1992; Isin, Turner 2002) understanding of the concept of citizenship in an individual state or society tends to foster a broad understanding of the role of citizenship education, which equips individuals with the knowledge and skills to critically reflect their role, status and impact on society and the state, and motivates them to critically evaluate the existing societal structures and processes so that they might be questioned (Wolmuth 2010). A broad understanding of citizenship and with it a broad role of citizenship education may be understood as supporting the youth’s development of critical knowledge and facilitating them “to become not mere ‘responsible citizens,’ responding to state needs, but activist citizens who make justice demands of the state” (Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011, 911).

3.2 The International Research Initiatives and Their Contextual Bases

Some authors see the maximal/minimal division and the prevalence of one over the other as a result of different, specific traditions of citizenship and of the governments’ political orientation on the left-right continuum (Holford, Edirisingha 2003). In this context, the so-called political right understands citizenship as a narrow rights based concept, while the so-called political left endorses the concept of social citizenship, which is primarily centred on particular social welfare rights. On the other hand, the Eurydice research initiative (2005), without focusing on the left-right continuum, argues that in most of the countries they analysed in their research, an elision of the broader understanding is evident. The narrow understanding is manifested by overemphasizing the importance of respect for the citizens’ rights and duties and neglecting what Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011, 911) call “making justice demands on the state.” Kerr (1999) notes that changes in government and governance (both in the political and structural senses) have an increasing progressive or retrogressive impact on citizenship education and the educational systems at large. Nonetheless, changes in government and governance in particular can also affect the way that citizenship in general is conceptualised and the

way that citizenship education is developed and practiced. Within a number of contemporary liberal-democratic states and through the introduction and gradual prevalence of the paradigm of lifelong learning, the issue of fostering citizenship education and executing active citizenship has become individualised through the concept of responsabilisation, where addressing socio-political issues is considered as the responsibility of every individual, but not as the responsibility of society as a whole (Rose 1999; Lemke 2002).

In some studies, the different conceptualisations of citizenship are understood as a consequence of individual or group activities in either civic or civil society (Kerr et al. 2010),⁵ influencing whether a specific society fosters a culture of and the practices of *civic education* or *citizenship education*. The former is characterised by the predominant focus on the knowledge of formal structures and processes of civic life (e.g. elections, voting), while the latter focuses on the knowledge and understanding of the broader aspects of citizens' participation and engagement (ibid.).

Finally, some authors see the different conceptualisations as a consequence of the processes of transition and the era of post-transition (Chioncel, Jansen 2004). The issue of the discrepancy between citizenship education and students' knowledge in countries with a long-standing democratic tradition and those still in the process of democratic consolidation is discussed in many international studies (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Chioncel, Jansen 2004). Our analysis revealed that this is an issue which divides many scholars and experts, as different arguments and conclusions are common. For instance, the CIVED study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) argues that there is no significant difference at the primary level of education between countries with a long-lasting democratic tradition and those yet to consolidate their democracy, while the final report of RE-ETGACE (Chioncel, Jansen 2004) understands transition to democracy as one of the most important factors influencing education for active citizenship. It argues that a number of states which have undergone or are still undergoing the process of (post-)transition tend to overemphasize the importance of the so-called democratic hardware (legal structures and institutions), while neglecting the importance of the so-called democratic software (socio-political relations and mechanisms), which is crucial for informed and collective decision-making in contemporary states and societies.

Most of the studies (with the exception of Torney-Purta et al. 2001) initially address and to different extent problematise the modern concept of citizenship as being exclusively and directly connected to the environment of the nation state. In this manner, the RE-ETGACE research places citizenship and active citizenship in the context of postmodern, post-transitional and globalised environment and argues that the political, economic, social and cultural conditions highly influence the changing nature of citizenship and citizenship education (Chioncel, Jansen 2004). Furthermore, the authors argue that placing all the burden of developing active citizenship in the hands of the educational environment could be fruitless if the political, economic and social environment do not follow suit

⁵ Civil society here refers to the connections among individuals and groups in society, not including the state, while civic society refers to societal connections which include relations to the state (Kerr et al. 2010).

and play an active role in de-individualising the nature of active citizenship. Nonetheless, the studies observe that the concept of citizenship within citizenship education in many national systems remains limited to the legal relation between the nation state and its citizens. A further observation in this context was made by the Indicators study (de Weerd 2005), which explicitly warned that insufficient information was available in individual countries on the nature, approach and results of citizenship education. This, in turn, could be understood as a confirmation of the discrepancy (or gap) between the policy rhetoric and citizenship education practices, which several research initiatives found to be a common problem in many countries (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002; Bîrzéa et al. 2004; Kerr et al. 2010).

A common understanding of citizenship, and consequently of citizenship education, is the so-called approach of creating a dutiful citizen (Bennett 2003), where the overall focus is on respect for human rights, non-violence and the rule of law (e.g. Harrison, Baumgartl 2002). Most of the international and comparative studies examined focus on the direct correlation between a narrow/minimal or broad/maximal understanding of citizenship and the nature, practice and role of citizenship education in different states. In this manner, the more narrow *civic education* is seen as private, exclusive, elitist, formal and content led, but also easier to achieve and measure. On the other hand, the broader approach seen in *citizenship education* is inclusive, activist, participative and process led, but much more difficult to achieve and measure in practice (Kerr et al. 2010). By doing so most of the studies try to avoid promoting an individual concept of citizenship and tend to focus on the multiplicity of relations between citizenship and citizenship education. One exception which I must note here is the 2005 Eurydice study in which the concept of citizenship, and consequently citizenship education, is primarily viewed through the lens of good or responsible citizenship. Reference to good and/or responsible citizenship is provided both in the introductory section⁶ and the definitions section, where the concept is directly connected to raising awareness on the rights and duties of the so-called responsible citizenship. The use of the concept of good and/or responsible citizenship is highly problematic for several reasons. First, although the concept of good and/or responsible citizenship in the study is undoubtedly democratically based, the concept can be seen as archaic, as it originates from colonial Britain and it is primarily based on training (mostly of affluent young men) for important decision-making positions in society. The concept builds on the idea of continuous loyalty and instinctive subordination to the rules (as it originates from the British army and the imperial power structures) and, thus, does not facilitate the development of critical thinking or question the existing socio-political practices (Crick 2000). Second, its understanding and use can be directly connected to the neoliberal rationality which, as some authors argue (Kennelly, Lywelyin 2011), does not foster critical knowledge and differentiated forms of (active) citizenship, but rather maintains the need for active compliance. Finally, as mentioned above, the concept of good and/or responsible citizenship, which (over)emphasizes respect for citizens'

⁶ The introduction to the Eurydice study states "In the interests of social cohesion in Europe and a common European identity, pupils at school need to be informed specifically about what it means to be a citizen, the kinds of rights and duties that citizenship entails and how to behave like a 'good citizen'" (Eurydice 2005, 7). This implies that it is the citizens who are responsible for the task of enabling social cohesion in Europe and that the project of a common European identity and European social cohesion could be unsuccessful if the citizens fail to act in accordance with the ideals of a "good citizen."

rights and duties as a response to the needs of the state, fails to make any reference to the fact that citizens also have the right (and in terms of classical political theory, even the duty) to make demands on the state or even on the supranational governing bodies.

3.3 Local, National and Global Dimensions

Globalisation is seen as one of the determining factors of the modern and/or postmodern socio-political context, characterised by increased individualisation, atomisation, hybridisation, multi-level governance and fragmentation of traditional forms of community life (Pikalo 2010). Globalisation is also one of the key factors influencing different conceptualisations of citizenship, which, as I noted above, directly influence the nature, role and impact of citizenship education. Similarly, local and regional integrations (e.g. the European Union) play an important role in reducing the once prevailing national context of citizenship and citizens' engagement. In this respect, new dimensions of citizenship education are becoming increasingly relevant.

From this perspective, the findings of the most recent international and comparative study on citizenship education (Kerr et al. 2010) are crucial, as they reveal students' superficial knowledge on topics and issues related to the EU and other global events. The global content of citizenship education in most countries is reduced to delivering information on political symbols, political and legal structures, rights and duties and classic forms of political participation. The result is that students' knowledge of basic regional or global topics (e.g. symbols) is satisfactory, while the knowledge of specific regional or global topics (e.g. the processes of policy making in multilevel governance) is significantly lower (Kerr et al. 2010). In-depth information and knowledge about citizenship (not exclusively global) content is often neglected in citizenship education classrooms. The main factor identified by a number of studies lies in the lack of knowledge and confidence among teachers of citizenship education, which can, to a great extent, be attributed to non-existing and/or inappropriate systems of teacher training (Chioncel, Jansen 2004; Eurydice 2005; Kerr et al. 2010) and, to a lesser extent, to the issue of teachers' specialisations and professional backgrounds.

The studies reviewed most commonly refer to the local-national-global dimension of citizenship education through the prism of multiculturalism, particularly when stressing the importance of tolerance and the concept of non-violence in the global socio-political environment. Interestingly, although diversity is one of the main foci of the Stocktaking research initiative, it primarily addresses the subject from a national perspective in terms of fostering respect among different social groups within a particular country (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002). Globalisation and the need to overcome the seemingly anachronous national frames of citizenship (education) is, in many cases, presented as one of the basic premises of the research initiatives, but is rarely (with the exceptions of RE-ETGACE 2004 and Eurydice 2005) addressed and reflected upon as an individual topic of

analysis or research question. For instance, the All-European Study (Bîrzéa et al. 2004) argues that globalisation represents a significant challenge to the existing national policies of citizenship education, but fails to elaborate on the dilemma. The RE-ETGACE project (Chioncel, Jansen 2004) stresses the importance of the multiple territorial identities which lie at the heart of postmodern forms of citizenship and unveil a number of dilemmas in relation to existing nation states. The authors note that this has a direct influence on the nature and content of citizenship education, as multilevel forms of citizenship call for a diverse set of strategies, competencies and skills to foster active citizenship at the local, regional, national and global levels. Similarly, the ETGACE research initiative (Holford, Edirisingha 2003) addresses the issues of global governance and multilevel decision-making, but does not make any particular connections to citizenship and the consequential effects on citizenship education. The Eurydice study (2005) reflects the dimension strictly from a citizenship education perspective, stating that students should be made aware that local community based activities (can) have global impacts and *vice versa*.

Nonetheless, all the studies agree and build upon the fact that recent socio-political trends and transformations, such as the decreasing levels of traditional forms of political participation and the global nature and impacts of migration, call for comparable information and data relevant to citizenship education.

3.4 Citizenship Education Characteristics and Approaches

Most of the international research initiatives tend to focus on formal citizenship education. The analysis of non-formal citizenship education is predominately approached from a perspective which reduces non-formal citizenship education to a supportive environment of formal education systems and does not define it as a specific field of citizenship education. The exceptions are the research of ETGACE and RE-ETGACE which addresses the importance of non-formal and informal citizenship education and call for civil society's enhanced role in the processes of teaching and learning active citizenship (Holford, Edirisingha 2003; Chioncel, Jansen 2004). These observations are confirmed by the conclusions of the All-European Study which illustrate that formal citizenship education is the cornerstone of (active) citizenship related activities in most of the countries included in the survey (Bîrzéa et al. 2004). In this respect, a lack of specific measures for the development of non-formal citizenship education is also evident from the studies analysed. This is complemented by the fact that an in-depth international analysis of non-formal citizenship education, which some authors call for (Chioncel, Jansen 2004), has thus far not been conducted. The importance of promoting non-formal and informal citizenship becomes even more evident when taking into account the fact that citizenship education tends to be neglected in comparison to other more "traditional" subjects within the formal education system of most of the countries analysed (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002).

Based upon the observations of a number of international studies, three

prevailing approaches to citizenship education have been identified: citizenship education as a *compulsory*, specific school subject; the *integration* of citizenship education content into traditional subjects of social studies (e.g. history, geography); and the *cross-curricular* approach. Three (England, Czech Republic and Slovenia) out of four countries where students perform above average in civic knowledge implement the approach of a specific and compulsory citizenship education subject (Kerr et al. 2010). The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) in England shows that the positive effects of citizenship education (among them a higher level of civic knowledge) increase when schools practice citizenship education as a specific subject with a discrete slot of over 45 minutes per week, when citizenship education is developed by the teachers who are teaching the curriculum, when the curriculum is formally examined and when it is delivered regularly and consistently (Keating et al. 2010, VII).

The Eurydice study (2005) draws attention to the fact that in states where the concept of citizenship is understood solely as a set of relations between the citizen and the state, and where the discourse of citizens' rights and duties is in the forefront, an elision of a broad sense of citizenship occurs in citizenship education classes. The 2001 CIVED study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) also shows that democratic practices (in schools and the wider local environment) have greater effects on students' civic knowledge and foster socio-political participation to a greater extent than the sole provision of socio-political facts and information. In this context, the importance of cultivating a broad concept of citizenship at the local, national or global level becomes even greater and should be viewed as a potential mechanism for citizens' empowerment, increased socio-political participation and mobilisation. These elements are regarded by most of the international research initiatives as clear indicators of successful citizenship education. Perhaps most importantly, voter turn-out rates among the youth, participation in interest groups, non-violent protests and public discussions are proposed as indicators of active citizenship by the Indicators study (de Weerd et al. 2005). As such, they are also considered as tools for monitoring the success of citizenship related activities. However, some authors argue that overemphasizing perceivably legitimate activities is a discursive strategy which tends to de-legitimise other forms of the dissent driven activities often employed by activists (e.g. political sit-ins, graffiti slogans, breaking of windows) (Kennelly 2009).

Furthermore, Eurydice (2005) concludes that citizenship education in the examined European states is not based on the development of theoretical knowledge, but focuses on developing and fostering civic values and virtues, and as such, primarily acts as a nurturing mechanism, rather than a process of knowledge appropriation. According to Kerr (1999), value explicit citizenship education is characterised by a broad (maximal) understanding of the citizenship concept and a clear public orientation. On the contrary, value neutral citizenship education is related to the private field and is characterised by a narrow (liberal) understanding of the citizenship concept. Countries with a value explicit citizenship education have clearer objectives and aims of citizenship education, but at the same time, these objectives are harder to monitor and implement in practice, which is primarily the consequence of the broad, inclusive, participative,

activist and process oriented nature of citizenship education (Kerr 1999). The results of the recent ICCS study validate this argument (Kerr et al. 2010).

Drawing on these observations, Kerr argues that citizenship education can be categorised as education *about* citizenship, education *through* citizenship and education *for* citizenship. Education *for* citizenship, which includes the relevant characteristics of the first two categories, is predominantly practiced in the countries of Northern Europe (and the United States of America), and represents the ultimate and most desired approach to educating and training active citizens (Kerr 1999).

4 Observations and Effects of the International Studies on Slovenia

The contemporary form of citizenship education in Slovenia is most commonly associated with the effects of the educational reform that occurred between 1996 and 1999, and introduced a national curriculum where the importance of educating students about democratic citizenship had been set as one of the underlying principles of modern education in Slovenia (Sardoč 2008). As such, the educational reform created a legal, political and educational foundation on which a compulsory citizenship education subject was introduced at the primary level of education (grades 7 through 9). Since the late 1990s, the policy rhetoric on citizenship education has been particularly strong (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002), and the primary goals and purposes of citizenship education have been based on the recommendations provided by leading international institutions in the field of citizenship education (e.g. The EU Commission, Council of Europe, OECD) (Sardoč 2008). As noted by ETGACE, the process of transition has been a significant determinant for the development of citizenship education in Slovenia (Holford, van der Veen 2003). One of the most notable effects of the educational transition process, and one which has had long-term effects on citizenship education, was the gradual increase in the autonomy provided to schools, which enabled the development of a strong democratic and participatory environment, where students were given the chance to participate in multilevel school decision-making activities (Bîrzéa et al. 2004; Eurydice, Sardoč 2008).

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the findings of the international studies conducted under the IEA (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Kerr et al. 2010) show that the students' civic knowledge in Slovenia is just slightly above the international average,⁷ and that the data for 2009 show that Slovenia is the only country where the students' civic knowledge statistically increased as compared to 1999 (Kerr et al. 2010). In the case of Slovenia, a positive association can be observed between the students' civic knowledge and the implementation of citizenship education as a compulsory separate school subject. Slovenia is also among a small number of countries which have specifically defined criteria for its students' evaluation, and where external

7 The CIVED study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) ranks Slovenia 13th among 28 countries according to students' civic knowledge. According to the data of the international ICCS module (Schulz et al. 2010), Slovenia ranks 15th in students' civic knowledge among 36 countries. Among the 23 European countries included in the ICCS study, Slovenia ranks 12th in students' civic knowledge (Kerr et al. 2010).

school review is implemented regularly. Nonetheless, in a recent study on citizenship education published in Slovenia, the authors observed a broad discrepancy between the policy rhetoric and the practices of citizenship education, noting several inconsistencies (e.g. top-down based curriculum development, understanding citizenship as a nationally and legally based concept, education for good instead of active citizenship, relationship between patriotic and citizenship education, lack of systematic in-service training for teachers who rarely have the appropriate expertise for teaching citizenship education) between the policy defined goals and the pedagogical materials, didactic tools and teachers' competencies in the field (Zavadlav, Pušnik 2010).

4.1 The Relation to Citizenship and Its Impact

A number of international studies list the process of transition and the legacy of the former political order as significant elements which have had a great impact on the understanding of citizenship and relate to citizenship education. According to many authors, the prevalence of the legal dimension of citizenship, the exclusiveness of understanding citizenship in narrow terms of the relations between the citizens and their state, and the increasing democratic deficit in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are among the most apparent consequences of the nondemocratic political legacy (Holford, van der Veen 2003; Chioncel, Jansen 2004). These findings are further supported by the recent analysis of citizenship education in Slovenia, where some authors argue that a lack of a broader understanding of the concept of citizenship is evident and that a legal, rights based conceptualisation of citizenship is still prevalent (Zavadlav, Pušnik 2010). Other authors argue that these phenomena could be a result of individuals' negative responses to the principles of collectivism imposed in the past (Chioncel, Jansen 2004).

Another issue which can be raised here is the role of the nation state (and national politics and policies) in the era of transition and post-transition. In the inherent desire of all post-socialist countries to break the ties and praxis connected to the previous regime and political order, policies were formulated relatively artificially and swiftly in order to establish a clear position of otherness and differentiation from the past, regardless of their positive or negative impact upon the citizens' relations to the socio-political environment, institutions and processes. In this context, the ETGACE research initiative notes that trade unions played, and continue to play, an important role in non-formal and informal citizenship education in Slovenia (Holford, van der Veen 2003). The data for 2009 shows that teachers in Slovenia are above average in terms of promoting and stimulating critical thinking and independent reflection on citizenship and the role of individuals in society. Furthermore, the Stocktaking research (Harrison, Baumgartl 2002) exemplifies Slovenia as the only country in South-East Europe which is actively addressing the issue of teacher training in the field of citizenship education. The study also draws attention to specific training which is available for teachers of both officially recognised ethnic minorities

in Slovenia (i.e. Italian and Hungarian), but at the same time, emphasizes that no such measures have been adopted in the case of the Roma population.⁸ However, Slovenian researchers note that most teachers are inadequately equipped with the specific competencies needed in citizenship education (Zavadlav, Pušnik 2010) and that no long-term teacher training and specialisation is available, a problem also noted by the All-European Study (Bîrzéa et al. 2004).

4.2 Challenges and Recommendations

Although recent international studies acknowledge the relative progress of citizenship education in Slovenia, they also highlight challenges in several areas where there is still room for improvement. The CIVED and ICCS studies (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Kerr et al. 2010), which were conducted ten years apart, note that trust in democratic institutions (e.g. national government, parliament, courts) among Slovenian youth is below the international average. Furthermore, according to the studies, the pupils in Slovenia report that the formal education system does not provide them with sufficient information and knowledge on topical issues raised in countries around the world. Within the CIVED study, the results show that the students' trust in media in Slovenia in 2001 was among the lowest, comparable only to the results reported in Italy (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). However, the data for 2009 (Kerr et al. 2010) shows a significant yet relative improvement in the area of trust in media, as Slovenia ranked above the European average. As I briefly discussed above, most of the international studies (particularly both studies conducted under the IEA) address these complex socio-political issues and phenomena strictly from a statistically relevant perspective and do not provide in-depth qualitative insight into the impact of citizenship education on students' views and relations to relevant socio-political processes, organisations and institutions. An in-depth qualitative study based upon this statistical data would be more than called for, if we are to critically assess the role and effects of citizenship education.

A persistent issue, and one which may be attributed to the conceptualisation of citizenship education within the research initiatives reviewed, is the students' lack of insight into post-national and globalised forms of citizenship and governance. Although many of the international and comparative studies acknowledge that global and regional (e.g. the EU) content is available through citizenship education in Slovenia (Eurydice 2005, Kerr et al. 2010), the most recent study shows that the students' in-depth knowledge of supranational political processes is below the European average (Kerr et al. 2010). The All-European Study (Bîrzéa et al. 2004), which does not examine Slovenia individually but as part of the South European context, lists four critical challenges for policy development in the field of citizenship education. These are the implementation of sustained teacher training, support for an effective system of developing textbooks and other pedagogic resources, fostering a democratic ethos in schools and

⁸ Measures for other ethnic minorities living in Slovenia were not addressed in the study report.

increased cooperation among policy makers and NGO representatives in the field of education. The issue of cooperation among different stakeholders (among them policy makers, NGOs, researchers and experts) of citizenship education in Slovenia is additionally highlighted by the authors of the Slovenian analysis, who note that cooperation is mostly sporadic, unsystematic and predominantly implemented in a top-down manner (Zavadlav, Pušnik 2010).

5 Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to examine how a number of selected international and comparative studies on citizenship and citizenship education reflect the relationship between different conceptualisations of citizenship and the nature, role and impact of citizenship education. Most authors observe that a broad or narrow conceptualisation of citizenship at the national or international level has a significant influence on the purpose, approach, content, delivery and effects of citizenship education. Citizenship theory as presented in the critically reviewed studies and in this article emphasizes that a broad conceptualisation of citizenship leads to the development of citizenship education (rather than civic education) that is inclusive, activist, process led and participative. Although the example of Slovenia seems to negate this hypothesis at first glance, a more in-depth evaluation can provide additional clarifications. As noted, in recent years, Slovenia has showed significant improvement in its students' civic knowledge (Kerr et al. 2010). Since its independence at the beginning of the 1990s, the field of citizenship and citizenship education in Slovenia has been almost exclusively addressed by the legal sciences, which tend to focus on the formal, legal and judicial aspects of citizenship and present the content of citizenship education by information on political symbols, political and legal structures, rights and duties and classic forms of political participation. After the year 2000, citizenship, and citizenship education in particular, became an important stream of research in social sciences. However, this is not a phenomenon which is exclusively linked to Slovenia, as the field of citizenship experienced an international revival among social scientists (particularly in political science) in the mid-1990s (Isin, Turner 2002). In this context, I may conclude that the revival of interest in citizenship education among political scientists was accompanied by a revitalisation and re-articulation of the concept of citizenship in its broadest terms. This, in turn, led to a change in the nature and, ultimately, in the effects of citizenship education, which together with several other factors that must not be overlooked (e.g. the introduction of citizenship education as a compulsory subject at the primary level of education, revisions of the citizenship education curriculum), have yielded results in the recent international comparative studies (Kerr et al. 2010), where Slovenian students exhibited statistically relevant improvement in civic knowledge.

A particular issue raised in this article was the prevalent non-problematic use and application of the concept of responsible and/or good citizenship. A recent Canadian analysis of school curricula shows that the concept of

active citizenship is understood primarily through responsible citizenship characterised by apparently legitimate forms of active citizenship (Kennelly, Llewellyn 2011). It would be worth exploring and conducting similar research at the international, European level and/or national level in order to gain insight into whether citizenship education is understood as a mechanism for enabling critical thought or is simply, as most critics would say, a tool of indoctrination into the prevailing system of governance, which, as such, only reinforces the compliance and passivity of the citizen. In conclusion, I must note that one of the most evident drawbacks of the examined international and comparative studies on citizenship and citizenship education is their lack of research into global, postmodern and multi-layered forms of citizenship. Whether narrow or broad, the concept of citizenship used in citizenship education needs to take into account the processes of globalisation, individualisation, atomisation, hybridisation and multi-layered decision-making (Pikalo 2010), as these have become the determining factors of life in the twenty-first century.

References

List of International Research Initiatives Reviewed

Bîrzéa, César; Kerr, David; Mikkelsen, Rolf; Froumin, Isak; Losito, Bruno; Pol, Milan; Sardo, Mitja. 2004. All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies. Strasbourg.

(http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/Source/Pdf/Documents/2003_26_All-EuropeanStudyCentraleEuropeRegion_En.PDF)

accessed February 15, 2011.

Chioncel, Nicoleta; Jansen, Theo. 2004. Reviewing Education and Training for Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe – A Central and Eastern European Perspective. Project RE-ETGACE.

([http://cordis.europa.eu/search/index.cfm?](http://cordis.europa.eu/search/index.cfm?fuseaction=proj.document&PJ_RC�=6063048)

[fuseaction=proj.document&PJ_RC�=6063048](http://cordis.europa.eu/search/index.cfm?fuseaction=proj.document&PJ_RC�=6063048)) accessed February 22, 2011.

de Weerd, Marga; Gemmeke, Mireille; Rigter, Josine; van Rij, Coen. 2005. Indicators for Monitoring Active Citizenship and Citizenship Education.

Research Report for European Commission DG/EAC.

(http://ec.europa.eu/education/pdf/doc280_en.pdf)

accessed January 15, 2011.

Eurydice, The Information Network on Education in Europe. 2005.

Citizenship Education at School in Europe.

(<http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/eurydice/portal/page/portal/Eurydice/showPresentation?pubid=055EN>) accessed February 15, 2011.

Harrisson, Cameron; Baumgartl Bernd. 2002. Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe. Regional Analysis and Intervention Proposals. Council of Europe, GIV/EDU/CIT (2001) 45 Final Regional Report.

(http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/ecit2001-oth-enl-t05.pdf)

accessed February 15, 2011.

- Holford, John; Edirisingha, Palitha. 2003. Citizenship and Governance Education in Europe: A Critical Review of the Literature, ETGACE Project. European Commission. Directorate-General for Research, Citizen and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society.
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.118.3829&rep=rep1&type=pdf> accessed February 24, 2011.
- Holford, John; van der Veen, Ruud. 2003. Lifelong Learning, Governance and Active Citizenship in Europe, ETGACE Project Final Report. European Commission. Directorate General for Research, Citizen and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society.
ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/citizens/docs/hpse-ct-1999-00012etgace_eur21533final.pdf accessed February 22, 2011.
- Kerr, David; Sturman, Linda; Schulz, Wolfram; Burge, Bethan. 2010. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study European Report; Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower-Secondary Students in 24 European Countries. Amsterdam.
http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/ICCS/ICCS_EuropeanReport.pdf accessed February 22, 2011.
- Torney-Purta, Judith; Lehmann, Reiner; Oswald, Hans; Schulz, Wolfram. 2001. Civic Education Study: Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen. Amsterdam.
<http://www.terpconnect.umd.edu/~jtpurta/interreport.htm> accessed February 22, 2011.

List on Literature Cited

- Bennett, Lance W. 2008. Changing Citizenship in the Digital Age. In: Bennett, Lance W., ed. Civic Life Online: Learning how Digital Media Can Engage Youth. Cambridge, 1-24.
- Council of Europe. 2010. Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education. Strasbourg.
- Crick, Bernard. 2000. Essays on Citizenship. London.
- Crossley, Michael. 2002. Comparative and International Education: Contemporary Challenges, Reconceptualization and New Directions for the Field. In: Current Issues in Comparative Education, Vol. 4, No. 2.
www.tc.columbia.edu/ice accessed February 22, 2011.
- Deželan, Tomaž. 2009. Relevantnost tradicij državljanstva. [The Relevance of Citizenship Traditions]. Ljubljana.
- Giroux, Henry. 1988. Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning. Westport.
- Hahn, Carole L. 2010. Comparative Civic Education Research: What We Know and What We Need to Know. In: Citizenship Teaching and Learning, Vol. 6, No. 1, 5-23.
- Hoskins, Bryony; Janmaat, Jan Germen; Villalba, Ernesto. 2011. Learning

Citizenship through Social Participation Outside and Inside School: An International, Multilevel Study of Young People's Learning of Citizenship. In: British Educational Research Journal.

(<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411926.2010.550271>)

accessed March 17, 2010.

Isin, Engin F.; Turner, Bryan S. 2010. Citizenship Studies: An Introduction. In: Isin, Engin F.; Turner, Bryan S., eds. Handbook of Citizenship Studies. London, 1-11.

Isin, Engin F.; Turner, Bryan S. 2007. Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies. In: Citizenship Studies, Vol. 11, No. 1, 5-17.

Isin, Engin F.; Turner, Bryan S., eds. 2002. Handbook in Citizenship Studies. London.

Johnson, Laura; Morris, Paul. 2011. Critical Citizenship Education in England and France: A Comparative Analysis. In: Comparative Education.

(<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050068.2011.588885>)

accessed February 22, 2011.

Keating, Avril; Kerr, David; Benton, Thomas; Mundy, Ellie; Lopes, Joana. 2010. Citizenship Education in England 2001-2010: Young People's Practices and Prospects for the Future: the Eighth and Final Report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS). London.

Kennelly, Jacqueline; Llewellyn, Kristina R. 2011. Educating for Active Compliance: Discursive Constructions in Citizenship Education. In: Citizenship Studies, Vol. 15, No. 6-7, 897-914.

Kennelly, Jacqueline. 2009. Good Citizen/Bad Activist: The Cultural Role of the State in Youth Activism. In: Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, Vol. 31, No. 2-3, 127-149.

Kerr, David. 2008. Research on Citizenship Education in Europe: A Survey. In: Georgi, Viola B., ed. The Making of Citizens in Europe: New Perspectives on Citizenship Education. Bonn, 167-179.

Kerr, David. 1999. Citizenship Education, International Perspective. In: International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks (INCA).

(http://www.inca.org.uk/pdf/citizenship_no_intro.pdf)

accessed February 22, 2011.

Lemke, Thomas. 2002. Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique. In: Rethinking Marxism, Vol. 14, No. 3, 49 - 64.

Marshall, Thomas. H. 1950. Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays. Cambridge.

McLaughlin, Terance. 1992. Citizenship, Diversity and Education: A Philosophical Perspective. In: Journal of Moral Education, Vol. 21, No. 3, 235-250.

Pikalo, Jernej; Popović, Daniel; Bahor, Maja; Ilc, Blaž; Vodovnik, Žiga; Banjac, Marinko; Toplak, Cirila; Kurnik, Andrej; Bezjak, Simona; Lukšič, Andrej A.; Podobnikar, Petra; Turnšek-Hančič, Maja; Monik, Špela. 2011. Vsebinski okvir državlanske vzgoje v državah Evropske unije – mednarodna primerjalna analiza [The Content Framework of Citizenship Education in

Member States of the European Union: An International Comparative Analysis]. Ljubljana.

Pikalo, Jernej, ed. 2010. Nova državljanstva v dobi globalizacije [New Citizenships in the Era of Globalisation]. Ljubljana.

Rose, Nikolas. 1999. Powers of Freedom Reframing Political Thought. Cambridge, New York.

Sardoč, Mitja. 2008. Citizenship Education in Slovenia. In: Georgi, Viola B., ed. The Making of Citizens in Europe: New Perspectives on Citizenship Education. Bonn, 119-126.

Turner, Bryan S. 2001. The Erosion of Citizenship. In: The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 52, No. 2, 189-209.

Wolmuth, Anna. 2010. Are the Aims of Citizenship Education in Conflict with the Promotion of an 'Employability' Agenda within Secondary Schools? (<http://www.citized.info/pdf/students/Anna%20Wolmuth.pdf>) accessed October 28, 2010.

Zavadlav, Alexandra; Pušnik, Tomaž. 2010. Analiza stanja državljske vzgoje v Sloveniji. Analiza institucionalnega okvira, teoretskih podlag, učnih načrtov in učbenikov na področju državljske vzgoje [Citizenship Education in Slovenia: An Analysis of the Institutional Framework, Theoretical Backgrounds, Teaching Curricula and Text Books in the Field of Citizenship Education]. Ljubljana.

Reviewers: Leif Kalev, Mari-Liis Jakobson

The Citizen, the Nation-State (and Globalization)

Review of the Book: "Globalization, the Nation-State and the Citizen: Dilemmas and Directions for Civics and Citizenship Education"

written by Alan Reid, Judith Gill and Alan Sears, eds.

New York; Oxon: Routledge 2010, 252 pages

Price: \$ 140

ISBN: 978-0-415-87223-2

The book *Globalization, the Nation-State and the Citizen*, edited by Reid, Gill and Sears offers a valuable insight to the current trends of civics and citizenship education (CCE). The contributions include 12 case studies from various regions of the world, and their generalising reflections.

The focus of the book is very timely as citizenship has become one of the areas where the national authorities have proved stern in maintaining a close relationship of citizens to state. Even in the European Union, with the most advanced multi-level governance arrangements, citizenship and education remained relatively little changed. So CCE is a good empirical test to analyse the practical dynamics of political globalisation.

The merits of this book comprise: 1) the emphasis on contextual factors that have an impact on the development of citizenship and CCE, 2) and a broad definition of CCE, encompassing not only official curricula, but also the societal context, teaching methods that foster different citizen identity and participation of students, as well as civil society initiatives in developing citizenship education (e.g. the chapter on Brazil).

The book provides efficient access to various national experiences covering the dynamics in a broad historical and regional contexts: from the high colonial age (late 19th century) to date and ranging from calm Canadian multiculturalism to Pakistani seemingly unending row of authoritarian projects. The case studies feature highly developed Anglophone countries (England, the United States, Australia, Canada), the swift modernisers known as "the Tiger economies" (Ireland, Singapore, Hong Kong), and many developing countries who have chosen different political pathways (Brazil, South Africa, Pakistan, Russia, Mexico).

The editors justify this selection claiming that the cases "were deliberately sought as symptomatic of nation-states undergoing significant change processes at socio-political, cultural and constitutional levels" (Reid, Gill, Sears 2010, 11). Though the sample provides an interesting comparison between highly developed and developing countries in many respects, the

case studies overwhelmingly deal with the grounds of the former British empire, complemented by only 3 exceptions – Russia, Brazil and Mexico. Thus, the practical experience of globalisation of education via europeanization (EU Lisbon strategy, Bologna process, related domestic politics etc.) remains underexplored.

The empirical chapters share broadly similar thematic foci that foster the process of grasping comparable information. At the same time, not all chapters follow the same structural logic, which is understandable, since different countries have been previously studied to a different extent. Some authors go in depth with the policy discourse of citizenship (e.g. chapters on Russia, Ireland, Hong Kong), some authors stress the importance of political discourses (e.g. the chapter on the USA gives Obama's election campaign a revolutionary importance in transforming the essentials of citizenship and citizenship education).

Instead of a concluding chapter, the book ends with four analytical or reflective chapters that critically reflect on the case studies (e.g. chapters by Osler and Hébert), offer frameworks of analysis (Parker), or elaborate on the transforming context (Kennedy). Some of the key issues have been highlighted already in the analytical introduction by the editors.

The book has a specific approach to globalization. As a starting point, the editors of the book have undertaken Hobsbawm's (2007) assertion that the nation-states are not able to tackle the problems of globalizing economy and ecological problems, and ask, "how have the nation-states responded and are the responses adequate to meeting the sorts of challenges of globalisation spelt out by Hobsbawm?" (Reid, Gill, Sears 2010, 6), and in order to do so, they explore CCE.

However, this investigation tends to remain shallow: it is not supported by the foci nor the structure used in the case studies, nor is this problematic reassessed in the analytical chapters. Though the title of the book begins with the word 'globalization', it remains a contextual factor within national cases. The introductory chapter poses a problem of dealing with globalization but there is no systematic analysis of the various dimensions of globalization in the book that would enable comparison. This also inspired the title of the review, where the words of the original title have been re-aligned according to their relevance to the contents of the book.

Instead, this book can be interpreted as an empirical exploration into the multiple facets of globalization. For example, in the case of Brazil, globalization can be interpreted as multi-level governance: McCowan and Puggian describe how supranational institutions have succeeded in pressurizing domestic curricula. Hong Kong is an exemplary case of the interconnectedness and the resulting complexity of the globalizing world: Tse Kwan-Choi describes the 'rope walk' of China's regained, albeit globalized province in balancing China's nationalizing ambitions and global economic competition, and how this results in the political apathy of the citizens.

Chapters on both Russia and the United States seem to be interpreting globalization as Westernization, or even more, as Americanization. Piattoeva describes Russia's resulting scepticism, when adapting to international norms and contexts after the end of the Cold War, while Scott and Cogan envision global citizenship education as a subject, where other countries'

interpretations on US foreign policy are discussed (sic). Moodley's chapter on South Africa undertakes a Marxist stance, claiming that globalization is not an issue in South Africa, a poor and underdeveloped country, but rather, an issue for the global elite.

The more regular themes of globalization addressed in the chapters are the increasing flow of people and capital resulting in the need for multicultural education (discussed e.g. in the chapters on Australia, Canada, the United States, Ireland), or a need to balance global economic competition with national identity (discussed e.g. in chapters on Singapore, Hong Kong, and Ireland).

From a political science perspective the key interest is how does the CCE reflect the changes in statehood and power. One of the messages the case studies demonstrate is how clearly CCE is tied to the (nation-)state. The correspondence of the changes in CCE and national policies marked by several case studies reflects the ensuing importance of state for CCE both in Western world and other states.

In the Western world the liberalisation of CCE visible in 1960s-1970s was followed by a more conservative period in 1990s-2000s (see e.g. the chapter on Australia by Reid and Gill). The latter indicates that the publics have interest in some level of political integration and the governments possess tools to make this happen. Plainly activity-based and value-neutral CCE is not necessarily the legitimate or even working way to develop citizen competences and agency as people also need common reference points. As individual consumerism and disenchantment from politics increased the political elites responded with renationalising CCE.

A more colourful picture of governmental influence on CCE is illustrated by the example of the non-democratic experience such as the Pakistani consecutive national projects of technocratic modernisation, socialism and islamism. This case study demonstrates how common is the use (and abuse) of CCE by the regime as an instrument for shaping or dominating the society.

This generates caution toward the role of authorities in designing and steering CCE. The caution should not equal to rejection of their role in the national project. A more promising analytical strategy is to develop rational parameters to assess the ways authority is exercised and its practical influence.

There seems to be some hope that in the current decade it is possible to more reflexively synthesise democratic patriotism and individual emancipation in CCE. This is in particular important as several case studies point that (neo)liberalisation tends to hollow out civics as a subject undermining the national political community and citizen agency anyhow contested by globalisation.

Summing up, both the case studies and analytical elaborations provide fresh insights to the current interrelationships of education, politics and governance. Studying changes in contemporary CCE needs clearly more than one volume. In line with Hébert (2010, 237-238), we hope that the book initiates several new research projects and publications.

Masthead

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Reinhold Hedtke, Bielefeld University, Faculty of Sociology
Prof. Ian Davies, PhD, Department of Educational Studies, University of York, UK
Prof. Dr. Andreas Fischer, Leuphana University Lüneburg, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences
Prof. Dr. Tilman Grammes, University of Hamburg, Faculty of Education, Psychology and Human Movement
Prof. Isabel Menezes, PhD, University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences
Prof. Dr. Birgit Weber, University of Cologne, Faculty of Human Sciences

Editors of the Issue:

Anu Toots, Saskia De Groof, Dimokritos Kavadias

Managing Editor:

Anna Zaytseva

Editorial Office:

Journal of Social Science Education
Bielefeld University
Faculty of Sociology
Postbox 100 131
33501 Bielefeld
Germany

E-Mail: info@jsse.org

Editorial Board:

Prof. Dr. Helena C. Araújo, Portugal
Prof. Dr. François Audigier, Genève, Switzerland
Prof. Dr. Cesar Birzea, Bucharest, Romania
Prof. Pepka Boyadjieva, Sofia, Bulgaria
Ass. Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayir, Istanbul, Turkey
Prof. Peter Davies, PhD, Stoke-on-Trent, UK
Prof. Dr. Georgi Dimitrov, Sofia, Bulgaria
Ass. Prof., PhD, Niklas Eklund, Umeå, Sweden
Prof. Dr. Peter Filzmaier, Krems, Austria
Prof. Dr. Karl Peter Fritzsche, Magdeburg, Germany
Prof. Dr. Ipek Gurkaynak, Ankara, Turkey
Prof. Dr. Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski, Wrocław, Poland
Prof. Takahiro Kondo, PhD, Tokyo, Japan
Prof. Dr. Gitsa Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, Athens, Greece
Dr. Janez Krek, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Prof. Dr. Klaus-Peter Kruber, Kiel, Germany
Ass. Prof., PhD, Anna Larsson, Umeå, Sweden
Prof. Dr. Bruno Losito, Rome, Italy
Ass. Prof. Despina Makridou-Bousiou, Thessaloniki, Greece

Dr. Tristan McCowan, London, UK
Prof. Erich Mistrik, PhD, Bratislava, Slovakia
Prof. Dr. Concepción Naval, Pamplona, Spain
Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Fritz Oser, Fribourg, Switzerland
Prof. Dr. Dr. Constantinos Papanastasiou, Nicosia, Cyprus
(passed away on January 20, 2012)
Prof. Dr. Vedrana Spajic-Vrkas, Zagreb, Croatia
Prof. Dr. Anu Toots, Tallinn, Estonia
Prof., PhD, Ilo Trajkovski Skopje, Rep. Macedonia
Prof. Dr. Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, Villeneuve d'Ascq Cedex, France
Dr. Ruud Veldhuis, Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Prof. Arja Virta, Turku, Finland
Ass. Prof. Dr. Irena Zaleskienė, Vilnius, Lithuania