

Young people's civic attitudes and practices: England's outcomes from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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This research report was commissioned before the new UK Government took office on 11 May 2010. As a result the content may not reflect current Government policy and may make reference to the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) which has now been replaced by the Department for Education (DFE).

The views expressed in this report are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department for Education.

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Executive summary

Introduction

In 2006 the, then, Department for Children Schools and Families DCSF), commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to coordinate the administration and analysis of England's participation in the IEA¹ International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). ICCS is a large scale study of pupil knowledge and understanding, dispositions and attitudes, which is administered across 38 countries worldwide².

The specific aims of the commissioning were for NFER to:

- act as National Research Coordinator (NRC) for the ICCS survey in England
 - providing the main point of contact between England and the ICCS study centre
 - overseeing the administration and management of the ICCS survey in England, following internationally agreed procedures and meeting internationally agreed standards
- provide national-level data to ICCS to enable its inclusion in detailed international and regional (European) study reports
- provide detailed national-level analysis and reporting for the Department for Education (DfE), with the power to contribute to decisions about citizenship education and its future direction in England
- disseminate the outcomes of the study as widely as possible, with a range of audiences.

Background

ICCS is a large-scale study of pupil knowledge and understanding, dispositions and attitudes, which is administered across 38 countries worldwide. The results presented in this summary are based upon England's national dataset, with reference to international- and European-level findings, and to findings from the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED), which took place in 1999.

¹ International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

² Countries participating in ICCS were: Austria, Belgium (Flemish), Bulgaria, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Columbia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, England, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Korea, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand.

Research methods

ICCS examines the ways in which countries prepare young people to undertake their roles as citizens in the 21st century. It does this by considering the performance of Year 9 pupils (aged 13-14) in a test of citizenship knowledge and understanding, and through questionnaires that gauge their attitudes, values and dispositions towards citizenship and civic-related issues. It also considers teacher and headteacher responses to questionnaires about school ethos, teaching and learning practices and civic and citizenship education. ICCS is underpinned by an analytical framework that measures:

- **Cognitive understanding** – across two domains (knowing and reasoning).
- **Affective-behavioural attributes** – across four domains (value beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and behavioural intentions).

It considers pupils' outcomes across both these themes within the context of four 'content' domains – civic systems; civic principles; civic participation and civic identities.

Findings

1. Pupils' Civic Knowledge and Understanding

Pupils taking part in ICCS in England answered questions on two tests – an international test, which assessed pupils' knowledge across the cognitive, affective-behavioural and content domains outlined above, and a European test, which assessed their knowledge and understanding of EU practices and processes. Responses to these tests present a mixed picture of pupil proficiency in England.

International cognitive test:

Pupils in England performed well in the international test. England falls within a group of 18 (out of 38) countries which achieved significantly higher scores than the international test average. It does not fall within the highest achieving cluster of countries (Finland, Denmark, the Republic of Korea and Chinese Taipei). Rather, England falls within the next cluster of countries, its closest scoring neighbours being New Zealand, Slovenia and Norway. However,

when compared only with participating European countries, England is mid ranking, being in a group of four countries out of 24 (England, Slovenia, Belgium (Flemish) and the Czech Republic) scoring neither significantly above, nor below, the European average.

Additionally, pupil performance was not even across all areas of the test. So, for example, pupils in England scored much more highly, relative to other participating pupils, on items about civic participation, civic identity and civic society (albeit less so on questions related to state institutions) than they did on items related to civic principles such as freedom, equity and social cohesion. They also achieved more highly, relative to other international countries, in questions that required them to use their analysis and reasoning skills, than in those that required them to demonstrate knowledge.

European test:

The performance of pupils in England in a specific test about the European Union (EU) was less impressive. Indeed, across many of the test questions, our pupils had a level of awareness that was the lowest of all 24 participating countries. Pupils in England scored significantly below the European average in seven out of ten questions covering facts about the EU and its institutions. In questions relating to EU laws and policies, and to the euro currency, they fared a little better, although rarely significantly above the European average. Pupils in England also have lower than average confidence in these topics than their European peers and their teachers have particularly low levels of confidence in teaching about European issues and the EU.

Changes in knowledge and understanding over time:

There was a significant fall in knowledge across nine of the 17 countries that participated in both CIVED and ICCS (including England). It should be noted, however, that England had a large difference in average age between the pupils who participated in CIVED (14.7) and those who participated in ICCS (14.0). Statistical analysis estimates that much of the apparent fall in civic knowledge in England might be explained by the age difference between CIVED and ICCS pupils. This is not the case for other participating countries that witnessed a fall in pupil knowledge from 1999 to 2009.

2. Pupils' Value Beliefs and Attitudes

Attitudes towards democracy and equality:

Pupils in England have views and opinions that strongly support democratic values and are highly tolerant, when compared to the international average, on matters such as equality for men and women and ethnic minority groups. However, support for immigrant rights is among the lowest of all participating countries and pupils in England demonstrate particularly critical views with regard to European migration (especially in relation to economic, as opposed to cultural, migration). Although pupils in England have liberal views on equal access for all ethnic groups to education, and on all ethnic groups having the same rights and responsibilities, they are less tolerant about ethnic minority rights extending to the realm of political office.

Trust in institutions:

A very mixed pattern of levels of pupil trust emerges. Pupils in England demonstrate high levels of trust in the police and the armed forces, in schools and in national government compared to pupils in all participating countries, but their levels of trust in EU institutions are the second lowest of all participating European countries. Whilst pupils believe in the importance of a democratically-elected national government, they have very low levels of trust in politicians and political parties. They are also cautious in their trust of the media. White indigenous pupils and those with secular or Christian beliefs are also more likely to trust state and civil institutions than pupils from other religious or ethnic backgrounds.

Sense of identity:

Pupils in England have a strong sense of national identity. In contrast to pupils in other participating countries, there is no significant difference in the extent to which pupils have this sense of identity according to whether they are of white British, ethnic minority, or immigrant background, suggesting a high degree of cohesion.

Pupils in England also demonstrate a degree of European identity, although they have a score that is lower than the European average on this measure, and their sense of British identity outweighs their sense of European identity. Whilst pupils in England are broadly in favour of harmonisation of social and environmental policy across Europe, they are much more sceptical about

matters of economic or political unification and are opposed to the notion of a supra-national European state, as is the case for most pupils in other European countries.

3. Pupils' Civic Engagement

Interest in social and political issues:

Like their peers across the globe, pupils in England are not particularly interested in social and political issues. They have a level of news media interest that is significantly below the international average, and they are particularly unlikely to engage with Europe-specific news. They also have low levels of confidence in their personal political efficacy (their perceived ability to influence political issues) at the age of 14. Although pupils demonstrate a low level of interest in conventionally political topics, and in European politics, they have higher levels of interest in a range of social and environmental issues and more interest in national than in international topics.

In-school and out-of-school participation:

Pupils in England demonstrate much higher levels of within-school than out-of-school participation. This pattern is observed internationally. School seems to provide an ideal base for pupils to sample democratic decision making and to be involved in a range of proactive activities in a secure learning environment.

That pupils in England rarely participate out of school in their communities, or take part in activities involving collaboration with other European countries appears not to be a cause for concern for pupils of this age group. Multilevel analyses suggest that those who are most engaged in out-of-school activities tend to have the lowest civic knowledge scores.

Propensity for future engagement:

A large proportion of pupils expect to exercise their democratic right to vote in national elections in the future. Although the proportion of pupils in England who intend to vote in national elections is significantly lower than the international average, at 72 per cent it is still high (albeit pupils in England are less likely to vote in European elections). Most pupils in England do not

anticipate taking part in high intensity forms of civic engagement in the future (such as joining a political party or campaigning for political office).

4. Factors that Influence Knowledge, Attitudes and Engagement

Civic knowledge

Having a high civic knowledge score (as measured by the ICCS cognitive test) appears to be a strong predictor of a range of positive pupil outcomes such as: having support for democratic values, gender equality and equal rights for ethnic minority and immigrant groups; being likely to vote in future elections; having interest in social and political issues; and having a high level of within-school participation. However, pupils with a high civic knowledge score are less likely than their similar peers to take part in out-of school activities.

Pupil-level factors

Pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds, girls, and pupils who believe that religion has an important role to play in society are more likely than similar pupils to have high belief in democratic values, and in equality for different groups in society. Conversely, there is a negative relationship between pupils having Christian belief and support for equal rights for immigrants, and between pupils of non-Christian faith, pupils being from an ethnic minority background, and pupils being female, and the outcome of having high levels of trust in national or cross-national organisations.

Home-level factors

Two key home determinants of positive pupil outcomes are: pupils having parents with an interest in social and political issues; and pupils coming from homes where there is a high level of literacy.³ Such factors are significant predictors of pupils having: high civic knowledge scores; a strong interest in social and political issues; a high level of trust in institutions; and a high level of in-school and out-of-school engagement.

School-level factors.

Two key features of the school environment are predictors of positive outcomes (such as support for democratic values, positive attitudes towards

³ Interestingly, other measures of socio-economic-status, such as parental occupation, are found not to be significantly related to such outcomes, when all other variables are accounted for.

equality, trust in institutions, interest in social and political issues, in- and out-of-school engagement, and an intention to vote in future). These features are: an **open climate** of discussion and debate; and a **school ethos** that encourages active engagement in decision making. The only outcome where such factors have less clear predictive power is having a high civic knowledge score.

The school citizenship curriculum itself (measured by the nature of its focus, or its model of delivery) has no significant influence on pupil outcomes once other factors are accounted for. Rather school ethos appears to be a much more significant predictor of pupil outcomes.

5. Implications for policy and practice

Many implications for citizenship education policy and practice in England have arisen from the ICCS study. However, four of the most important implications are outlined here:

1. **Due consideration should be given to the key finding that pupils' knowledge and understanding of the EU, its policies and practices is very low.** Pupils in England have an overall level of knowledge that is significantly lower than that of other pupils in Europe and, across many of the test items, they have the lowest level of awareness of pupils across all 24 participating countries. This is coupled with very low levels of trust in European institutions, and a tendency not to feel a sense of 'belonging' to the EU, although pupils do say that they are proud that their country is part of the EU.
2. **The knowledge and understanding components of the citizenship curriculum may require strengthening.** This is important not only in order to address current gaps in pupils' awareness (as noted above), particularly in relation to Europe and the EU and to civic principles such as freedom, equity and social cohesion, but also because having a high level of civic knowledge is a significant predictor of a range of positive pupil views, attitudes and dispositions. Additionally, some pupils display low levels of trust in civic institutions, or have intolerant attitudes towards various groups in society, due to ignorance, or a feeling of under-representation. Knowledge acquisition may help to overcome some of these tendencies. Particular approaches for such knowledge enhancement might be using pupils' identified 'comfort zone' topics as a way in to research, discussion and debate, and then building upon this base to tackle more controversial issues. Fundamental issues such as **workforce development**, and the degree to which specialist teachers are required, will need to be addressed.

- 3. Schools, and the citizenship curriculum, have an important role to play in helping pupils, who generally have instinctively liberal views at the age of 14, to build upon these attitudes as they progress to adulthood.** Although pupils in England hold views and opinions that are highly tolerant compared to the international average on matters such as the importance of having a democratic society and ensuring equality for men and women and ethnic minority groups, pupil support for **immigrant** rights is among the lowest of all participating countries. Pupils also demonstrate particularly critical views with regard to European migration and have concerns about ethnic minority rights extending to the realm of political office (although they have liberal views on equal access to education and on all ethnic groups having the same rights and responsibilities).
- 4. Schools should provide a secure environment where pupils are encouraged to express opinion, to debate and to practice decision making.** Pupils in schools where there is a climate of openness, and where pupils believe that they can have influence, are more likely than their similar peers to demonstrate a range of positive citizenship views, attitudes and behaviours. Given that pupils from minority religious or ethnic groups are more likely than similar pupils to have a high level of belief in democratic values, and yet a low level of trust in civil and civic institutions, school may be the one institution that can help them to feel that they have a voice, and to encourage a sense of integration and democratic connectedness. The fact that pupils rank schools highly in their assessment of institutions that they trust, means that they are well placed to meet this challenge.

1. Background, Aims and Design of ICCS

1.1 Introduction

This report presents national-level findings for England from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). ICCS is a large-scale study of pupil knowledge and understanding, dispositions and attitudes, which is administered across 38 countries worldwide under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The results presented in this report are based upon England's national dataset, with reference to international- and European-level results as relevant. A first findings international report was published in June 2010 (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a), and full extended international and European reports are being released alongside this national report.

Whilst every effort is made to reference findings from the full international and European reports accurately, it should be noted that national centres in the 38 participating countries have not had sight of the finalised versions of these two reports in advance of publication. Hence, findings reported here are based upon draft chapters of these reports received between July and October 2010, the contents of which may change between draft stage and publication. For this reason, it is only possible to give chapter (as opposed to page) references to the findings reported.

ICCS builds on previous IEA studies of civic education, most notably the Civic Education Study (CIVED), which was administered in 1999, and which sought to explore issues around pupils' school-based citizenship learning and opportunities for civic participation outside school. At this point, CIVED was the largest study of its kind ever undertaken, involving 90,000 14-year olds⁴ as well as teachers and headteachers (Kerr *et al.*, 2001, p. 1). The current ICCS study is larger still, having gathered data from more than 140,000 14-year olds and 62,000 teachers internationally, supplemented by data from headteachers, or their designated senior leaders (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 13). In England, ICCS gathered data from 3,027 pupils across 129 schools. Details of the

⁴ The international grade of testing for both CIVED and ICCS is Grade 8 (which, in schools in England, equates to Year 9 pupils).

sampling procedures followed, adhering to IEA guidelines, can be found in Appendix A.

1.2 Participating Countries

Thirty-eight countries participated in ICCS (ten more that took part in the earlier study, CIVED, in 1999). As Table 1.1 below shows, the majority (26) of the countries are from Europe, with the remainder spread across Latin America (six), Asia (six) and Australasia (one).

Table 1.1. Countries participating in ICCS

Country (plus continent)	
Europe	Slovak Republic
Austria	Slovenia
Belgium (Flemish)	Spain
Bulgaria	Sweden
Cyprus	Switzerland
Czech Republic	Latin America
Denmark	Chile
England	Columbia
Estonia	Dominican Republic
Finland	Guatemala
Greece	Mexico
Ireland	Paraguay
Italy	Asia
Latvia	Chinese Taipei
Liechtenstein	Hong Kong (SAR)**
Lithuania	Indonesia
Luxembourg	Korea (Republic of)
Malta	Russian Federation*
Netherlands	Thailand
Norway	Australasia
Poland	New Zealand
Russian Federation*	

*The Russian Federation's land mass is situated both in Europe and in Asia.

**Special Administrative Region of China

Analysis conducted for the international report provides interesting contextual information on the characteristics of these participating countries (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 2), highlights of which are:

- Countries vary in: population size (from 500,000 to 200 million people); Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (from very high in Luxembourg to very low in Indonesia); and Human Development Index (HDI) ranking. Most countries (23), including England, have a very high HDI, ten countries have a high HDI, and six have a medium HDI.
- The legal voting age is 18 in most countries, including England, with other examples ranging from 16 to 20. Voting is universal (that is open to all citizens of voting age) in all countries, and compulsory in eight.
- Adult literacy rates vary from 73 per cent in Guatemala to 100 per cent in Finland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Luxembourg. Like many other European countries, England has a very high adult literacy rate of 99 per cent.

1.2.1 Participation of England

Like many countries in ICCS, in England civic and citizenship education is a policy priority and a statutory component of its national curriculum (15 ICCS countries report that civic and citizenship education is a high policy priority in their countries) (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter. 2). However, citizenship is still a relatively recent addition to the curriculum in England, having been statutory for just eight years. Interestingly, in terms of the findings from this study, citizenship was introduced into the curriculum in schools in England **between** the CIVED and ICCS studies – in 2002. In principle therefore, it would be interesting to explore any apparent changes in pupils’ knowledge, understanding, attitudes or dispositions over time and to consider the impact that national curriculum citizenship may have had upon any observed changes. In practice, there are challenges associated with undertaking analyses of this nature. These are explored more fully in the chapters that follow, but in essence, the main issues are:

- **Age** - Pupils taking part in CIVED (1999) had an average age of 14.7 whereas those taking part in ICCS (2009) had an average age of 14.0. Not only was there a large age gap between the two cohorts, but, the grade of administration was also different. ICCS pupils undertook the survey in the spring term during which they were in Year 9, whereas CIVED pupils were selected whilst in Year 9, but actually undertook the survey in the following autumn term during which they were in Year 10. This means that both age and curriculum coverage effects need to be taken into

account in any discussion of change over time. This limits the possibility of making any firm conclusions about the impact of the introduction of national curriculum citizenship on pupil knowledge, understanding and attitudes.

- **Questionnaire structure** – Whilst a number of cognitive test items were held back from CIVED for administration in ICCS, thereby ensuring that pupils were asked precisely the same questions in both studies, this was not the case for attitudinal items. Although the ICCS pupil questionnaire covers broadly similar topics to those covered in CIVED, the question structures, wordings and scales have changed too substantially for meaningful time series analyses to be undertaken⁵. Change over time analyses are possible in relation to pupils' cognitive achievement and, indeed, have been undertaken at the international level. Findings are discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3 Background and Aims of the Study

ICCS examines the ways in which countries prepare young people to undertake their roles as citizens in the 21st century. Since the 1990s when the CIVED study took place, there has been a growing interest in the role of citizenship education in preparing young people for the challenges of life, in response to a range of global phenomena (Nelson and Kerr, 2006, p. 8). These challenges include, but are not restricted to, the following:

- global recession (and related impacts upon employment, economic wellbeing and the fabric of society)
- environmental/climate change
- the rapid movement of people within and across national boundaries, what has been referred to as 'population churn' (this is particularly pertinent in European countries since the enlargement of the European Union)
- growing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities (juxtaposed against perceived challenges to identity and belonging, leading to increases in racism, prejudice and xenophobia)
- the collapse of political structures, the birth of new ones, and the challenge of achieving social cohesion in periods of economic and social turmoil

⁵ CIVED scales generally included a 'don't know' or 'not applicable' column, whereas ICCS scales did not. This means that, in ICCS, pupils were encouraged to fit their responses into the given scales (e.g. 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree', 'strongly disagree' without the option of saying that they were unsure or didn't know). In consequence, percentage pupil responses, by category, are likely to be higher in ICCS than was the case in CIVED. Added to this is the fact that the ICCS international and national analyses are based on the **valid percentage** of responses (i.e. omitting non-responses), whereas the CIVED national report was based upon the **total percentage** of all pupils answering each question (i.e. including non-responses). This means that the percentage pupil response, by category, in ICCS is likely to be higher still than was the case in CIVED.

- concerns, in many countries, particularly in Europe, about a sharp downturn in participation in civic society and in voter turnout at elections. This is often referred to as a ‘democratic deficit’, and is particularly apparent among younger generations
- revolution in and globalisation of information and communication technologies (ICT) and the media
- the threat of terrorism – which has become particularly prominent since 2001 and poses a challenge not only to global security, but also to social cohesion at national and community level.

A particular response to these issues across many countries has been a focus upon improving the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities in modern society – not least through a school curriculum which has, as part of it, a focus upon education for citizenship. Whilst citizenship has been a statutory national curriculum subject at Key Stages 3 and 4 in England since 2002, the content of that curriculum has changed recently to include the following features (QCDA, 2010):

- **Key concepts** – democracy and justice; rights and responsibilities; and identity and diversity: living together in the UK.
- **Key processes** – critical thinking and enquiry; advocacy and representation; and taking informed and responsible action.

Whilst some of these concepts and processes reflect a continuation of emphasis from the original citizenship order, new emphases include: the key concept of identity and diversity; the key process of advocacy and representation; and the key process of taking informed and responsible action. These new foci demonstrate the important role that schools and the curriculum are believed to have in responding to some of the challenges outlined above - specifically, in aiming to instil in young people a sense of national identity, a desire for social cohesion, and a willingness to get involved in their schools and communities as active citizens now and in the future. The chapters that follow explore the extent to which pupils participating in ICCS in England demonstrate some of these attributes and, where appropriate, the extent to which there is a relationship between this and their experience of citizenship education at school, or their school’s ethos in a broader sense.

1.4 Design of ICCS

The design of ICCS is based on a conceptual framework which was developed by the ICCS international consortium (which comprises the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), the National Foundation for Educational Research in England (NFER) and Università degli Studi Roma Tre in Italy). Details of this framework are provided below.

1.4.1 Assessment Framework

Known as the ICCS 'assessment framework' (Schulz *et al.*, 2008), this underpinning rationale for the study builds upon a theoretical model developed during the CIVED study. Crucially:

it reflects the pivotal assertion of the CIVED model that the individual pupil exists as a central agent within their civic world, with both an influence on and being influenced by their multiple connections with their civic communities...Consequent to this...and further reflected by the ICCS assessment framework is the assertion that young people learn about civics and citizenship through their interactions with their multiple civic communities and not just through formal classroom instruction. (p. 12).

An exploration of these inter-relationships is a feature of both the international and European analyses and of this national-level report on England, as Section 1.5 below elaborates.

The ICCS assessment framework is a detailed document but, in summary, it can be described as follows. The framework features three overarching **dimensions**, each of which contains a series of **domains**:

1. **Content dimension** – incorporating four domains: civic systems; civic principles; civic participation and civic identities.
2. **Cognitive dimension** – incorporating two domains: knowing and reasoning/analysing.
3. **Affective-behavioural dimension** – incorporating four domains: value beliefs; attitudes; behaviours and behavioural intentions.

A matrix, with some examples showing the relationship between the dimensions and domains, is provided below.

Table 1.2. ICCS Dimensions and Domains

	Content Dimension			
	Domain 1 <i>Civic society and systems</i>	Domain 2 <i>Civic principles</i>	Domain 3 <i>Civic participation</i>	Domain 4 <i>Civic identities</i>
Cognitive Dimension				
Domain 1 - Knowing	<i>e.g. pupil knowledge about the role of parliament</i>			
Domain 2 - Analysing and reasoning			<i>e.g. pupil ability to identify the reasons for protest</i>	
Affective Behavioural Dimension				
Domain 1 – Value beliefs		<i>e.g. pupil views on everyone having the right to express opinions freely</i>		
Domain 2 - Attitudes	<i>e.g. pupil self-reported level of trust in parliament</i>			
Domain 3 - Behavioural intentions			<i>e.g. pupil expectation to participate in peaceful protest</i>	
Domain 4 - Behaviours			<i>e.g. pupil past involvement in voting in a school election</i>	

This matrix has been used as a broad template for the structure of the international report and also for this national report, as section 1.6 below outlines. It is also the overarching framework that underpinned all development work on the ICCS pupil, teacher and headteacher instruments.

1.4.2 Research Instruments

All study instruments were developed and designed by the ICCS consortium. The international pupil questionnaire and test were developed by ACER, the school and teacher questionnaires by Università degli Studi Roma Tre, and the European Module and National Contexts Survey by NFER. Although the instruments were developed by the consortium, each participating country, including England, was given the opportunity to comment on and review all instruments and items. Additionally, a pilot of the instruments was undertaken in the Summer term 2007 (England was one of three countries that gathered feedback on the instruments as part of this process) and a field trial of the instruments and all survey processes was undertaken in the Autumn term 2007. Following these various stages of quality control, the following instruments were agreed upon and used in the ICCS main survey. They provide the basis for the results discussed in the following chapters:

- **An international pupil cognitive test** (lasting 45 minutes). There were seven versions of the test booklet, with some overlap of items. In each school, the seven versions were distributed evenly amongst participating pupils. Each booklet contained approximately 30 questions (there were 80 items overall). Most questions were multiple choice with a small number (six questions spread across the seven booklets) that required the pupils to write their own response to an open question. Questions were a mix of those testing pupils' knowledge of 'facts' and those testing pupils' analysis and reasoning skills across the four content domains shown in Table 1.2 above.
- **An international pupil attitudinal questionnaire** (lasting 40 minutes). The questionnaire contained 36 questions, almost all of which were pre-coded tick-box response items. Just four questions, relating to parents'⁶ occupational status, required pupils to write their own description of their parents'/carers' employment. The pupil questionnaire covered topics covered by the four affective behavioural, and four content, domains shown in Table 1.2 above.
- **A European Module** (lasting 30 minutes). England participated in this innovative element of ICCS along with 24 other European countries. The instrument contained a short European cognitive test and a pupil attitudinal questionnaire. All test questions were multiple choice, and all questionnaire items were pre coded. The European cognitive test focused upon pupils' knowledge of facts relating to the European Union (EU), thus fitting with the cognitive domain *knowing* in Table 1.2 above. The European attitudinal questionnaire focused on five European-related civic and citizenship issues: European citizenship and identity; European inter-

⁶ Although the ICCS instruments asked pupils questions about their 'parents', for the purposes of this report, the term 'parents' is taken to be indicative of parents or carers.

cultural relations; freedom of movement of European citizens; European policies, processes and institutions and European language learning.

- **An international school questionnaire** (lasting 30 minutes). This questionnaire was designed to be completed by the Headteacher or a designated senior leader in each school. It contained 23 questions, which were largely pre-coded tick-box response items relating to the school environment, the local community, school size and resources and the school's approach to civic and citizenship education.
- **An international teacher questionnaire** (lasting 30 minutes). This questionnaire was designed to be completed by up to 15 teachers in each school. It was not designed specifically for teachers of citizenship, rather for teachers of all subjects across the school (although six questions at the end of the questionnaire were designed to be completed only by those teaching a citizenship-related subject). There were 29 pre-coded tick-box response items in total, which focused upon teachers' backgrounds, perceptions of school inclusiveness and ethos, and views of the school's approach to civic and citizenship education.

Findings from all these instruments are discussed through the following chapters, as explained in Section 1.6 below.

1.5 Analysing and Interpreting the Results

Analysis of the data, including setting up the international database, was the responsibility of the IEA Data Processing Center (DPC) in Hamburg. NFER sent a complete dataset containing pupil, teacher and school responses to the international instruments and pupil responses to the European module, coded and marked according to IEA standards. England's, and all other countries', datasets were then carefully checked and cleaned prior to analysis, in consultation with National Research Coordinators (NRCs) in each country. Once the data were fully cleaned, the DPC computed the weights that were to be applied, according to an approved sampling design. DPC also sent a national dataset to each country so that each country could carry out its own, national-level, analyses.

1.5.1 International analyses

For the cognitive test analysis, the ICCS international team used the Rasch model to derive a cognitive 'scale' from 79 separate items appearing in the pupil test. The resulting scale had a '*highly satisfactory reliability of 0.84.*' (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 32). It was set to a metric with a mean of 500 (the

ICCS 'average' score) and a standard deviation of 100 for equally weighted national samples. For questionnaire analysis, the Rasch Partial Credit model was used for scaling. The resulting weighted likelihood estimates were transformed into a metric with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted ICCS samples⁷. The resulting ICCS scale scores mean that an 'average' can be presented, and participating countries compared to this. It also means that items can be excluded for individual countries where they do not fit the model, without compromise to the overall comparability of the scale. The 'ICCS average' is referred to at various points throughout this national report.

1.5.2 National analyses

England's national dataset was subjected to a range of further analyses by NFER's Statistics, Research and Analysis Group (SRAG) and by the research team at NFER. As well as computation of basic frequencies and cross-tabulations, analyses also included:

- Change-over time analyses on 17 test items that had appeared in both CIVED and ICCS.
- Analyses looking at the impact of age on cognitive achievement.
- Multi-level modelling analyses looking at the impacts of a variety of independent variables (derived from the pupil, teacher and school questionnaires and the pupil test) on a selection of dependent variables (such as pupil knowledge, attitudes, participation, and dispositions).

The outcomes of these various analyses are outlined in the chapters that follow. The statistical methods used are further described in Appendix B.

1.6 Structure of the Report

The overall structure of this national report for England follows that of the study's international report and the first findings report, which was published in June 2010 (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a). Both the national report and the international report are based upon the ICCS Assessment Framework matrix, described in Section 1.4.1 above. This national report examines, in the following order:

⁷ For CIVED, the mean was 10 and the standard deviation was 2.

- **Chapter 2 – Pupil and school characteristics.** This chapter presents much of the background data that comprises the independent variables in the modelling analyses that are reported in later chapters.
- **Chapter 3 – Pupils’ citizenship knowledge and understanding.** This chapter focuses upon the extent of pupils’ *knowing* and their ability to *analyse and reason* in relation to topics covered by the four civic and citizenship content domains, through both the ICCS cognitive assessment and the European test.
- **Chapter 4 – Pupils’ value beliefs and attitudes.** This chapter presents findings from the ICCS and European pupil questionnaires in relation to the first two of the affective-behavioural domains (value beliefs and attitudes), across the four content domains.
- **Chapter 5 – Pupils’ civic engagement.** This chapter also presents findings from the ICCS and European pupil questionnaires. It focuses specifically on the last two of the affective-behavioural domains (behavioural intentions and behaviours) in relation to content domain 3 (civic participation).
- **Chapter 6 – Conclusions and recommendations.** This chapter, as the title suggests, draws together the main conclusions from the study, at national, European and international levels. It attempts to turn these conclusions into recommendations for policy, practice and research in citizenship education in England.

Unlike the CIVED report (Kerr *et al.*, 2002), this report does not present separate chapters on England’s results in the international report, on the views of teachers and headteachers, or on the connections between independent (background) and dependent (outcome) variables (as explored through multilevel modelling). Rather, **each chapter** considers England’s results thematically, with each theme explored in the context of:

- The international findings.
- The European findings.
- Findings from the earlier CIVED study.

Each chapter also includes statistical models, as appropriate, under each theme. These models consider the influence of a range of variables upon the pupils’ knowledge, views, attitudes and dispositions under discussion. Rather than being reported separately, teacher and headteacher views of factors such as: school ethos; issues affecting their schools; pupil voice; and the focus of citizenship education within schools are built into the models as independent

variables, which may, or may not, help to explain the pupil outcomes (dependent variables) observed.

Other studies such as the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS), which is undertaken on behalf of the DfE, by NFER, provide a rich source of data on teacher and headteacher attitudes towards citizenship education (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming). To present the findings of the ICCS teacher data here would merely be to duplicate many of these findings. Additionally, only a very few of the school staff questionnaire items relate specifically to citizenship education (as distinct from school ethos more generally) and thus are more useful for inclusion in statistical modelling than for reporting in their own right.

The chapter that follows sets the scene for the ICCS national report, by considering the characteristics of the schools, teachers and pupils in England that took part in the study.

2. Pupil and school characteristics

This chapter provides contextual background on the pupils and schools in England that took part in the ICCS main survey. It is based on responses from the pupil questionnaire on self-reported characteristics on ethnicity and religion, socio-economic status and family environment. It also includes contextual information from responses in the teacher and school questionnaires.

2.1 Pupil background

The ICCS main survey was carried out in England between the end of February and beginning of April 2009, when pupils in Year 9 were between 13 and 14 years old (the average age of participants was 14.0). There was a slightly larger proportion of girls (53 per cent) responding than boys.

As the first findings international ICCS report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a) points out:

the role of family background appears to be influential in providing a more stimulating environment and in enhancing the educational attainment and future prospects of adolescents-factors that, in turn, foster political involvement among individuals. (p. 75)

This section of the national report therefore describes the ethnic and immigrant background of the pupil participants in England, the educational achievement of their parents/carers and parental occupational status, and the pupils' expectations of their own educational achievement.

2.1.1 Ethnic background and place of birth

Of 2,889 responding pupils in the sample, over three-quarters (79 per cent) described their ethnic background as White British, with the largest ethnic minority category describing themselves as British Asian or non-British Asian (10 per cent), as Table 2.1 below shows.

Table 2.1. What best describes your ethnic background?

Pupils Ethnic background	%
White (British)	79
White (Non-British)	3
Asian (British)	8
Asian (non-British)	1
Black (British)	3
Black (non-British)	2
Mixed ethnic origin	3
Other ethnic background	1
Unweighted N = 2889	100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

Almost one quarter of the pupils reported that their parents or carers had not been born in England – five per cent of mothers had been born in other parts of the United Kingdom (UK) or Republic of Ireland, and 17 per cent in a different country: six per cent of fathers had been born in the UK/Ireland and 19 per cent in another country. By contrast, 92 per cent of the pupils had been born in England, with a small proportion (one per cent) born in other parts of the UK/Ireland, and only seven per cent in another country.

According to the first findings international report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 76), on average, 92 per cent of pupils who took part in ICCS were classified as ‘non-immigrant pupils’. Table 2.2, which shows the immigrant background of pupils who took part in England, indicates that 85 per cent were pupils with no immigrant background. This is a lower non-immigrant figure than the ICCS average. However, the percentages for first-generation and non-native pupils included those who were born in other parts of the UK/Ireland (or whose parents/carers were), and so did not necessarily involve any cultural or linguistic difference to native pupils. For example, a pupil who had been born in Scotland would have been classified as a non-native pupil, even though he or she would have been born within the UK and would have English as a first language.

Table 2.2 Extent of immigration

Immigration background	%
Native pupil	85
First-generation pupils	9
Non-native pupils	6
Unweighted N = 2809	100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

While 92 per cent of respondents spoke English at home most of the time, two per cent spoke another European language and six per cent spoke a non-European language.

2.1.2 Educational achievement

As Table 2.3 shows, the highest level of education completed by the parents or carers of respondents, as reported by pupils, was most commonly finishing secondary school (with qualifications), followed by achieving a university degree.

Table 2.3 What is the highest level of education completed by your mother and father?

Highest level of education:	Mother %	Father %
University Degree	26	28
HNC, HND, Diploma in HE, NVQ Level 4 or 5	14	14
Secondary School (with qualifications)	47	43
Secondary School (without qualifications)	11	14
Primary School (by age 11)	1	1
Did not complete primary school	1	1
Unweighted N = 2366 (M) 2281 (F)	100	100

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

This corresponds with the highest levels that pupils themselves expected to achieve, as shown in Table 2.4, although a much higher proportion of pupils expected to progress to Higher Education, than was the case for their parents or carers. Only a very small proportion (three per cent) expected to leave school with no qualifications.

Table 2.4. Which level of education do you expect to complete?

Expected further education	%
University Degree	57
HNC, HND, Diploma in HE, NVQ Level 4 or 5	14
A Level, NVQ Level 3, AVCE, GCSE, NVQ Level 1-2	26
I expect to leave school without qualifications	3
Unweighted N = 2817	100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

2.1.3 Family composition and socio-economic status

Most pupils (95 per cent) lived with their mother, and more than two-thirds (70 per cent) with their father. The majority (83 per cent) lived with siblings and a small minority (six per cent) with grandparents.

Table 2.5 shows parental occupational status as reported by participating pupils. Parental occupations were coded according to the ISCO-88 classification (ILO, 1990). They indicate a spread across all the categories, with more than one quarter of mother's occupation and father's occupation reported as being in the two highest categories. According to the first findings international report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 81), on average, across countries, 36 per cent of parents or carers had 'low', 40 per cent 'medium' and 23 per cent 'high' occupational status.

Schulz *et al.* (2010a, p. 78, Table 25) draw attention to the strong association in all countries between civic knowledge and parental occupational status, but England was one of three countries where this association was particularly strong. On average, across ICCS countries, parental occupational status accounted for 10 per cent of the variance in scores on the civic knowledge scale. However, in England it was 15 per cent (exceeded only by Bulgaria and Liechtenstein where it was 20 per cent). This is not altogether unexpected, as there is a well-known achievement gap in UK countries between young people from affluent and more deprived families, which has not yet been effectively closed, despite policy interventions in this area (Coghlan *et al.*, 2009; Kendall *et al.*, 2008; LGA, 2008; Morris *et al.*, 2008).

Table 2.5. Mother's occupation / Father's occupation

	%	%
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	17
Professionals	20	14
Technicians and associate professionals	19	12
Clerical workers	10	2
Service workers and shop workers	21	8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1	2
Craft and related trades workers	2	20
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	11
Elementary occupations	7	8
Housewife/househusband	7	<1
Social beneficiary	3	2
Generally vague answer	1	3
Unweighted N = M 2781: F 2698	100	100

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

A further measure of socio-economic status, indicating home literacy levels, is the reported number of books in the home. Just under one third (29 per cent) of pupils in England indicated a category of 26 to 100 books, which would be the expected average. Roughly equal proportions were at the highest and lowest ends of the scale – 11 per cent reported fewer than ten books in the home, and ten per cent reported more than 500 books.

2.1.4 Religion

As Table 2.6 shows, all major religions were represented among the pupil sample, although a large minority (44 per cent) reported having no religion. The majority of those with religious belief (42 per cent) reported themselves as Christian, and the second largest group (six per cent) as Muslim.

Table 2.6. What is your religion?

Pupil's religion	%
No religion	44
Buddhist	1
Christian	42
Hindu	2
Jewish	1
Muslim	6
Sikh	1
Other religion	3
Unweighted N = 2786	100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

2.2 School background

More than half of headteachers who responded to the school survey (63 per cent) were male. On average, respondents had ten years experience as headteachers.

Most responding schools were in the state sector (80 per cent), a figure that reflects the national picture, and, as would be expected, the largest single group was in average-sized towns, as shown in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 What best describes your school location?

Size of community:	%
A village or hamlet	14
A small town	21
A town	28
A city	23
A large city	14
Unweighted N = 108	100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – School Questionnaire

According to headteachers, the average total number of pupils in responding schools was 889, with approximately 157 pupils in Year 9 and slightly more girls than boys. The average total number of teachers was 69, with an average of 45 teachers involved in teaching Year 9 pupils per school.

2.3 Teacher background

A total of 1544 teachers responded to the survey. The majority of the teachers who responded were female (60 per cent). The average number of years they had been teaching was 13, with, on average, eight years in their current school.

As Table 2.8 shows, of the subject categories presented to teachers, most taught either Languages or Humanities as their main subject. However, almost two-fifths (38 per cent) identified ‘other’ subjects as their main areas of specialism. This is not surprising, as core subjects such as English and Physical Education were not included in the list of options available to the teachers.

Table 2.8. Main subject taught

Main Subject	%
Languages	20
Humanities	20
Sciences	15
Mathematics	11
Other	38
Unweighted N = 1492	100

A total of 1492 respondents answered at least one item in this question.

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Teacher Questionnaire

Just under one third of respondents (29 per cent) considered that they taught a citizenship-related subject. This low figure needs to be taken into consideration when examining the responses made by teachers to questions on citizenship-related topics. Furthermore, more than half the respondents (55 per cent) stated that they spent less than 20 per cent of their time teaching Year 9 pupils, with a further 41 per cent spending between 20 and 39 per cent of their teaching time with Year 9 pupils.

In terms of additional teaching responsibilities, more than one third of the respondents (38 per cent) were heads of departments and six per cent held senior management positions. More than one fifth (22 per cent) were involved in guidance or counselling activities, 10 per cent said that they were school representatives in their community, and four per cent were representatives on their school governing body.

The following chapter investigates the citizenship knowledge and understanding of the pupils in England and places this in an international context.

3. Pupils' Civic Knowledge and Understanding

Key messages:

England's position in relation to countries internationally

- Pupils in England performed well in the ICCS core international test. England falls within a group of 18 (out of 38) countries which achieved significantly higher scores than the international test average. England was one of a group of 13 countries in which the highest single percentage of its pupils (34 per cent) scored in the top proficiency level in the test – Level 3.
- However, when compared only to participating European countries, England is more mid ranking, being in a group of four countries (out of 23) scoring neither significantly above, nor below, the European average.
- Pupils in England achieved more highly, relative to other international countries, in questions that required them to use their analysing and reasoning skills, than in those that required them to demonstrate knowledge.
- Pupils in England achieved highly, relative to other international countries, on questions that tested their awareness of issues related to civic participation and civic identity. They also performed well on questions related to civic society and systems (but more so on those concerning civil institutions and the role of citizens, than on those concerning state institutions).
- However, they performed poorly, compared to other international countries, on questions regarding civic principles such as equity, freedom and social cohesion.

England's position in relation to European countries

- England's performance in a specific test about the EU, its policies, institutions and processes, was less impressive than its performance in the core international test.
- Pupils in England scored significantly below the European average in seven out of ten questions covering facts about the EU and its institutions (such as knowing that the European Parliament meets in Brussels). Indeed, in four of these questions, pupils had the lowest level of awareness of pupils across all 24 participating countries.
- In six questions relating to EU laws and policies, pupils in England fared a little better, although never at a rate significantly above the European average. Indeed, in two of these questions, pupils had the lowest level of awareness of pupils across all 24 participating countries.
- In relation to questions about the Euro currency, pupils in England scored more highly. However, living in a non-Eurozone country, pupils in England were potentially advantaged when answering two questions about whether or not the Euro was the official currency of all countries in Europe, and of all EU countries. Their performance on the other two questions was significantly below the European average.

Changes in knowledge and understanding over time

- Only 17 countries internationally were involved in an analysis that compared pupils' test scores in the CIVED study of 1999 with those achieved in 2009. Across nine of these countries (including England) there was, a significant decline in pupil knowledge over time. Only in one country (Slovenia) was there a significant increase.
- However, England, unlike other countries, had a large difference in age between the pupils who participated in the earlier study CIVED (14.7) and those who participated in ICCS (14.0). Statistical analysis, considering the impact of age upon knowledge scores, estimates that much of the apparent fall in civic knowledge over time in England may be explained by the large age difference between CIVED and ICCS pupils.

In the ICCS core international test, civic knowledge and understanding was measured through a cognitive assessment instrument comprising 79 questions. Seventy three of these questions were multiple-choice items, typically preceded by some brief contextual stimulus material (usually a visual image or a written scenario). Additionally, six questions were 'constructed-response' questions – that is, open questions that require pupils to provide responses of between one and four sentences in length. Coverage of the cognitive and content domains (described in the Assessment Framework and in Appendix C) within the test is as follows (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 31):

- **Cognitive domains** – knowing (25 per cent); analysing and reasoning (75 per cent).
- **Content domains** – civic society and systems (40 per cent), civic principles (30 per cent), civic participation (20 per cent), civic identities (10 per cent).

As described in Section 1.5.1, the 79 items contained in the pupil test were used to derive a cognitive 'scale' with a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100. This scale allows us to compare different countries' performance across the whole test in relation to an ICCS 'average' of 500. Additionally, the international research team developed a 'proficiency scale' of achievement, which describes a 'hierarchy' of civic knowledge (for full details, see Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, pp. 32-34). Both the scale and the proficiency levels enable us to consider the cognitive performance of pupils in England, compared to pupils internationally. The proficiency scale is summarised below and presented in more detail in Appendix D:

- **Level 1** (395 to 478 score points) – pupils working at this level demonstrate familiarity with some principles of democracy and demonstrate familiarity with fundamental concepts of the individual as an active citizen.
- **Level 2** (479 to 562 score points) – pupils working at this level demonstrate a more sophisticated understanding of the broad concept of representative democracy as a political system. Pupils recognise the influence that active citizenship can have beyond the local community.
- **Level 3** (563 score points and above) – pupils working at this level make sophisticated connections between the processes of social and political organisation and the legal and institutional mechanisms that control them. Pupils demonstrate familiarity with broad international economic forces and the strategic nature of active participation.

Findings from these analyses, with particular reference to England, are discussed in the following sections.

3.1 England's position in relation to countries internationally

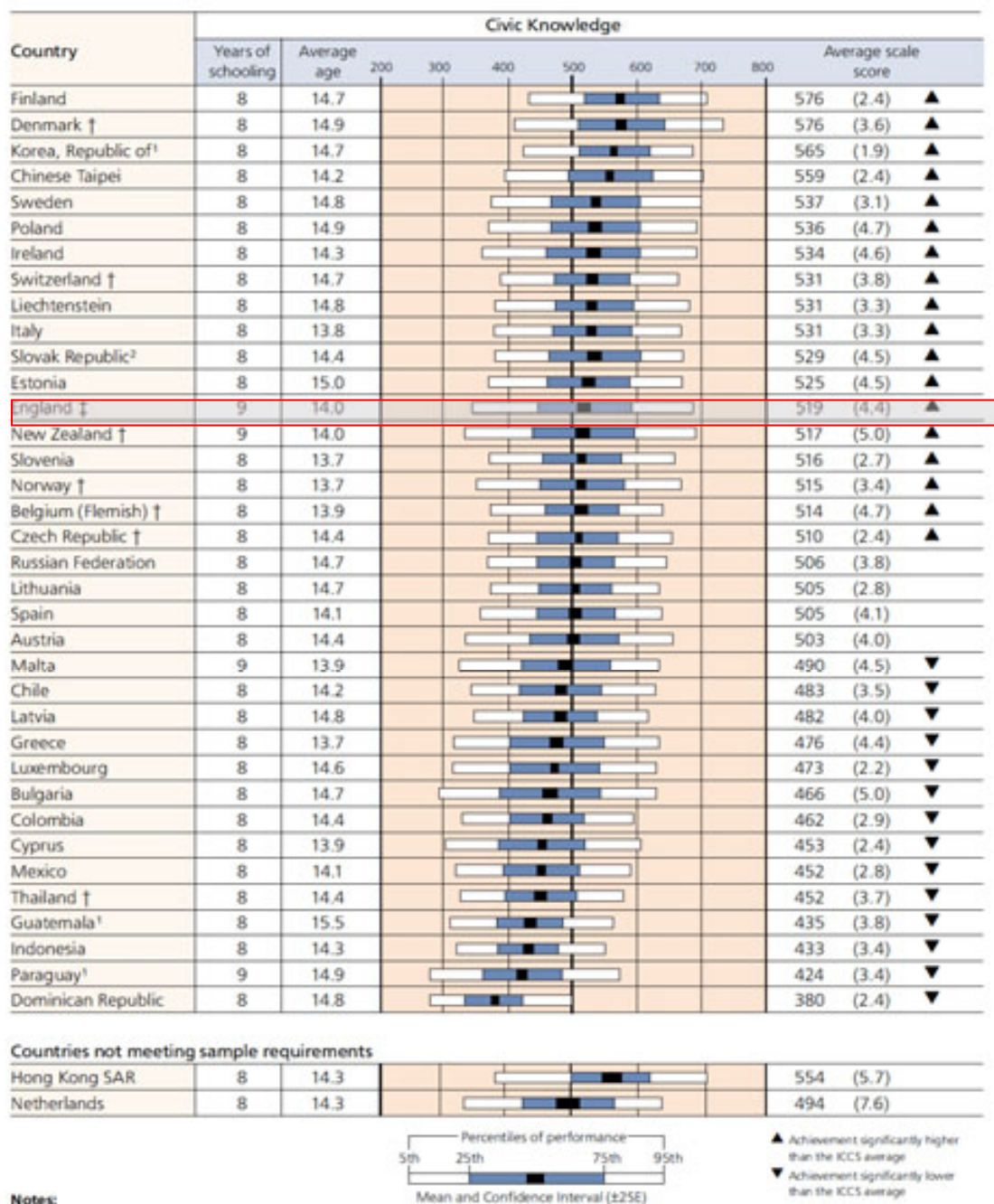
The following chart shows the distributions of pupil achievement in the civic knowledge test for all participating countries. The countries appear in descending order of average score. The chart reveals considerable variation across countries in pupils' civic and citizenship knowledge. Indeed, the first findings international report states: *'The average country scores on the civic knowledge scale ranged from 380 to 576 scale points, thereby forming a range that spanned a standard of proficiency below Level 1 to a standard of proficiency at Level 3. The span was equivalent to almost two standard deviations'* (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 36).

England falls within a group of 18 countries which achieved significantly higher scores than the ICCS international average (500) in the test. It does not fall within the highest achieving cluster of countries (Finland, Denmark, the Republic of Korea and Chinese Taipei), which achieved average scale scores of between 559 and 576. Rather England, with an average scale score of 519, falls within the next cluster of countries, which is separated by 17 scale points from the top cluster. England's results should be regarded as encouraging, especially given that:

- the average age of pupils in England taking part in ICCS (14.0 years) was at the younger end of the international age range (from 13.7 to 15.5 years)

- civic knowledge is not a key feature of national curriculum citizenship in England.

Table 3.1. National averages for civic knowledge by years of schooling, average age, and percentile graph



Source: Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 38.

International analysis also revealed that, across all countries, over four fifths of pupils (84 per cent) achieved scores that placed them within proficiency

levels 1, 2 and 3 and that overall, the distribution of pupil scores across countries was largely within Levels 2 and 3. Over one third (34 per cent) of pupils in England were in the highest of three proficiency levels in the test (Level 3) and over half (53 per cent) were in Level 2 or Level 3. Additionally, England was one of a group of 13 countries in which the highest percentage of pupils was in Level 3 – a positive finding.

Like all other countries taking part in the test, girls in England gained higher civic knowledge scores than boys. England was one of 32 countries in which the average scale scores of female pupils were significantly higher than those of male pupils. Only in five countries was the difference between male and female scale scores not significant. (For full details, see Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, pp. 39-42).

3.1.1 Performance across different areas of the test

It is not possible to provide a detailed breakdown of pupils' responses across all items within the test, as only a small number of items are being made available for release at present. The extended international report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b Chapter 3) provides seven example items, which are included to provide an indication of the types and range of question that pupils were required to answer (for example constructed response, multiple choice, and questions linked by a common stimulus, as well as those covering different cognitive and content domains). They are also included to provide examples of items with different degrees of 'difficulty' – i.e. those that corresponded to the various levels within the ICCS proficiency scale (see Appendix D). Tables showing these seven items, along with country scales showing overall percentage correct and item parameters are included in Chapter 3 of the extended international report, and also in Appendix E (Tables E1-E7) of this report.

Some commentary on findings from this analysis, as they relate to England, is provided below. It should be borne in mind that this analysis is based upon a very small proportion of questions within the overall test and hence should not be regarded as a definitive assessment of pupil performance or capability in England. Across the seven questions there was a relatively mixed picture, with no clear patterns of achievement, as the summary below shows:

- The percentage of pupils answering each question correctly was above the international average in **four questions** and below the international average in **three questions**.
- There was a slight tendency for the questions that pupils scored more highly on to be those indicative of lower levels of achievement on the ICCS proficiency scale (i.e. questions measuring achievement at Level 1 rather than Levels 2 or 3). However, one of the questions in which pupils scored more highly than the international average was question E7 (a Level 3 question), and one of the questions in which they scored below the international average was question E1 (a Level 1 question).

Further analyses conducted at the national level enable an exploration of pupil knowledge and understanding across the complete international test to be undertaken by considering pupils' relative performance on questions that tested their knowledge and understanding under the various content and cognitive domains outlined in the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz *et al.*, 2008) and in Table 1.2 above⁸. Overall, pupils in England achieved 60 per cent of the available marks across the whole international test, a figure that put them in 14th ranked position (out of 38 countries). The breakdown by domain is interesting, and shows that pupils in England achieved more highly, relative to pupils in other participating countries, on questions testing certain domains than others. It also shows that the overall 14th ranking position fluctuates depending upon the domain in which questions are situated. The findings are summarised below:

a. Findings related to cognitive domains

Only two cognitive domains were measured through the ICCS core test: *Knowing*, and *Analysing and Reasoning*. Pupils in England achieved 64 per cent of the available marks for 'Knowing' and 60 per cent for 'Analysing and Reasoning'. Although the marks achieved were higher for 'Knowing', when compared to other countries internationally, pupils in England actually performed more highly on questions that required them to use their analysis and reasoning skills than on those that required them to demonstrate knowledge. Compared to other international countries, England ranked 15th for 'Analysing and Reasoning' and 19th for 'Knowing' – both positions that were slightly below England's ranking on the test overall.

⁸ This analysis is based upon a calculation of achievement, according to the percentage of available marks within each domain that were achieved by pupils in each country. This calculation enables a country 'ranking' to be undertaken.

b. Findings related to content domains

The ICCS test covered four content domains: *civic society and systems*; *civic principles*; *civic participation* and *civic identities*. Pupils in England achieved, in descending order, 71 per cent of the available marks for ‘civic identities’, 65 per cent for ‘civic participation’, 59 per cent for ‘civic society and systems’ and 59 per cent for ‘civic principles’. Whilst this distribution of marks is not all that large, England’s ranking, relative to other participating countries, is more telling. The analysis demonstrates that there is a wide range of performance, relative to other countries, as follows. (A full explanation of the meaning of, and themes covered by, each sub domain is provided in Appendix C):

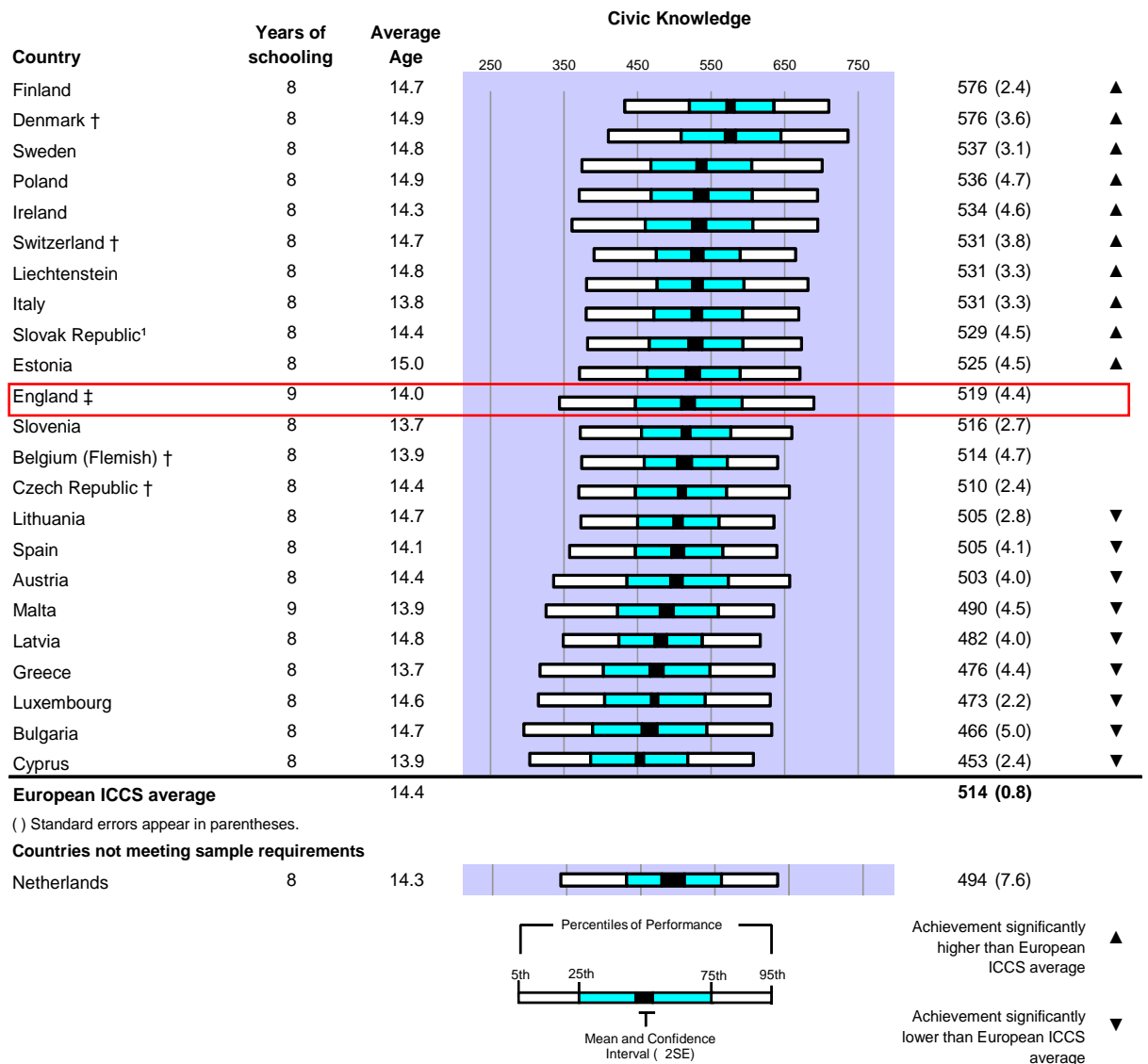
- In questions related to **civic participation**, England ranked 7th out of 38 countries. Questions related to this domain are clearly understood and answered well by pupils in England. There are three sub domains within the wider domain – *decision making*, *influencing* and *community participation*. Only four test items related to ‘community participation’, so it is not possible to meaningfully compare England’s results to those of other countries. However, it is possible to see that pupils fared slightly better on questions related to ‘influencing’ (9th ranking) than they did on questions related to ‘decision making’ (12th ranking). The fact that there is a focus in England’s citizenship curriculum on active participation may be having an impact on pupils’ awareness of this issue, relative to pupils in other countries.
- In questions related to **civic identities**, England ranked 12th out of all participating countries. This ranking is higher than England’s ranking across all test items, suggesting that this is a theme that pupils have a good degree of confidence in. Having said that, only five items covered this domain (two covering the sub domain of *civic self image*, and three covering the sub domain of *civic connectedness*, so it is important not to attach too much weight to this finding.
- In questions related to **civic society and systems**, England ranked 14th out of the 38 countries. This ranking is in line with England’s ranking across all test items. When broken down into the three sub domains of *citizens*, *state institutions* and *civil institutions*, it is possible to see that pupils in England are more knowledgeable about ‘civil institutions’ (10th ranking) and ‘citizens’ (12th ranking) than they are about ‘state institutions’ (19th ranking).

- In questions related to **civic principles**, England's ranking was much lower – 22nd out of 38 participating countries. There was little distinction according to sub domain, so, for example, England ranked 21st on questions related to *equity*, 21st on questions related to *freedom* and 20th on questions related to *social cohesion*. It is hoped that the introduction of the revised National Curriculum for Citizenship, with its focus on the key concept of 'Identity and Diversity: living together in the UK' might, over time, develop pupils' understanding and awareness of issues related to civic principles.

3.2 England's position in relation to European Countries

Analysis undertaken by the European research team shows that on average, pupils from 24 participating European countries tended to score more highly on the international test than did the complete group of 38 participating countries. Table 3.2 below shows this graphically. With a mean of 514 scale points, pupils in Europe clearly score more highly than the 500 scale point average internationally.

Table 3.2. Means (with SE), years of schooling, average age and percentile graph ordered by average test performance on the ICCS core test



Source: Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 3.

Whereas in the international ranking England was in a group of 18 countries scoring significantly above than the international average, when compared with other countries from Europe only (as shown in Table 3.2 above), we see that England is more mid ranking, being within a group of four countries scoring neither significantly higher, nor significantly lower, scores than the European average. The European report points out the potential advantage held by England and Malta, in that pupils in these two countries were in their ninth year of schooling, compared to pupils in all other European countries who were in their eighth year, and the fact that, in spite of this, pupils in these

two countries did not achieve more highly than pupils in other countries (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 3). However, a perceived 'years of schooling' advantage can be misleading. It is noticeable that both England and Malta had amongst the **youngest** pupils of all participating European countries (both falling within a group of seven countries where the average age of participating pupils was 14.0 or lower). Analyses described in Section 3.3 below, show that the impact of age upon civic knowledge may be substantial.

In addition to analyses carried out on the performance of participating European countries in the international cognitive test, a specific 'European cognitive test' was also answered by 24 participating European countries. This test was a short assessment comprising 12 questions (incorporating 20 items). It was focused upon cognitive domain 1 – *Knowing* (see Table 1.2), and its theme was the European Union (EU), its policies, institutions and processes. The test addressed three specific areas:

- facts about the EU and its institutions
- knowledge of EU laws and policies
- knowledge of the Euro currency.

As the authors of the ICCS European report explain, it is not possible to provide an overall European test score for each participating country, which would enable a 'ranking' to be undertaken. Rather, they note that: *'There was wide variation in difficulty across national samples and consequently it was neither possible to create a scale of items from most to least difficult across countries not to compare overall performance of pupils across countries in the same way that was done using the international test item data'*. (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 3). Details of countries' responses to these different items are provided in the sections below. A detailed description of all test questions and a series of statistical tables are provided in the ICCS European report (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 3). On balance, pupils in England performed less impressively in the European test than they did in the core international test.

3.2.1 Facts about the EU and its institutions

Ten questions in the test related to facts about the EU and its institutions. All questions were either multiple-choice or true/false answers. Pupils did not have to present their answers in written form. Across most of these questions,

pupils in England performed poorly compared to pupils in other participating countries. So, for example, pupils in England had scores that were:

- **significantly higher** than the European average in only one question
- **neither higher nor lower** than the European average across two questions
- **significantly lower** than the European average in seven questions. (In four of these questions, they had scores that were more than 10 percentage points lower than the European average).

The questions that pupils in England answered **in line** with the international average were:

- knowing whether or not their country was a member of the EU (97 per cent of pupils answered this question correctly – a figure that was the same as the European average)
- knowing that the statement: *The EU is an economic and political partnership between countries* was true (87 per cent of pupils answered this correctly – the European average was 85 per cent).

Additionally, pupils in England were significantly **more likely** than their European peers to know who it is that votes for Members of the European Parliament (correct answer – *Citizens of each EU country*). Pupils in England were more than ten percentage points above the European average of 35 per cent in this question, although, with a figure of 46 per cent, it was still a minority of pupils in England who answered this question correctly. European Parliament voting criteria were clearly not well understood by pupils across Europe.

The questions that pupils in England answered, at a level significantly below, or well (more than 10 percentage points) below, the European average are outlined below. This gives useful examples of EU knowledge that pupils in England are currently lacking, relative to their peers in Europe:

- Being able to recognise the flag of the EU (The European average was high (at 93 per cent). However, pupils in England had a level of recognition that was well below this average. At just 66 per cent, pupils in England had the **lowest level of awareness** of the flag of the EU of all participating countries).

- Knowing that the European Parliament meets in Brussels (Of all participating countries, pupils in England had the **lowest level of awareness** of this fact by a wide margin. Only just over one fifth (22 per cent) of pupils answered correctly, compared to 67 per cent on average across all participating countries).
- Knowing that 'between 21 and 30' countries are member states of the EU (with only 35 per cent of pupils answering this correctly, England had the **lowest level of awareness** of all participating countries and was well below the international average of 57 per cent).
- Knowing basic principles of the possible enlargement of the EU (only 39 per cent of pupils answered correctly, a figure that was well below the European average of 57 per cent, and where England demonstrated the **lowest level of awareness** of all participating countries).
- Knowing that people get new political rights when their country joins the EU (56 per cent of pupils answered correctly – the European average was 65 per cent).
- Knowing that a key requirement for a country to be able to join the EU is that it is considered to be democratic (only 38 per cent of pupils answered correctly – the European average was 41 per cent).
- Knowing the basis for how much money each member country contributes to the EU (only 35 per cent of pupils answered correctly – the European average was 44 per cent).

3.2.2 Knowledge of EU laws and policies

Six questions in the test assessed pupils' knowledge of EU laws and policies. Most questions were true/false answers, with just one multiple choice question. Pupils in England performed slightly better on average across these questions, although never at a rate significantly above the European average. Pupils in England had scores that were **neither higher nor lower** than the European average in three of the questions and that were **significantly lower** than the European average in the remaining three questions (two of which had scores that were more than 10 percentage points lower than the European average).

The questions that pupils in England answered **in line** with the international average were as follows⁹:

⁹ The high European average percentage may be explained by the fact that these were true/false questions and so pupils had a 50 per cent chance of guessing correctly.

- Agreeing with the statement: The EU aims to promote peace, prosperity and freedom within its borders (90 per cent answered correctly – matching the European average).
- Agreeing with the statement: All EU countries have signed the European Convention on Human Rights (86 per cent answered correctly – matching the European average).
- Agreeing with the statement: The EU pays EU farmers to use environmentally friendly farming methods (51 per cent answered correctly – the European average was similar at 52 per cent).

The questions that pupils in England answered, at a level significantly below or well (more than 10 percentage points) below the European average, were as follows:

- Agreeing with the statement: The European Union has made laws to reduce pollution (Only 57 per cent of pupils agreed with this statement – the correct answer – compared to 70 per cent of pupils across Europe on average. Pupils in England had the **lowest level of awareness** on this issue of all participating countries).
- Knowing that all citizens of the EU can study in any EU country without needing a special permit (only one fifth, 20 per cent, of pupils answered correctly, compared to 30 per cent of pupils across Europe on average. Pupils in England had the **lowest level of awareness** on this issue of all participating countries)¹⁰.
- Disagreeing with the statement: The EU decides what is taught in your school about the EU (whereas 65 per cent of pupils across Europe disagreed with this statement on average, only 58 per cent of pupils in England did so).

3.2.3 Knowledge about the Euro currency

The final section of the European cognitive test related to knowledge about the Euro currency. In this section, pupils in England performed more highly than in other sections. For example, they were significantly more likely than pupils in other European countries (by a wide margin) to know that the Euro is not the official currency in all EU countries (74 per cent answered correctly, compared to 49 per cent across Europe on average). Similarly, they were significantly more likely to know that the Euro is not the official currency of all countries in Europe (73 per cent, compared to a European average of 70 per cent).

¹⁰ The lower percentages in this question are explained by the fact that this is a multiple choice question, rather than a true/false question.

However, it is not altogether surprising that pupils in England performed well in these questions, given that England is clearly in Europe, that most pupils know that it is in the EU, but also know that it does not use the Euro as its currency. Indeed, none of the European countries that scored highly on these questions were Euro zone countries and therefore could be seen to have been at an advantage. Although the European report (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 3) shows that an advantage is not inevitable, because two non-Euro zone countries had lower than average percentages of pupils answering correctly, it would seem that pupils in England were advantaged by these statements. This is particularly the case in light of an otherwise low level of performance in the European cognitive test, and the fact that on the other two questions related to the Euro currency, pupils in England performed significantly below the European average. These questions were as follows:

- Knowing that Euro banknotes have the same design in every country where it is the official currency (63 per cent of pupils answered correctly – compared to 67 per cent across Europe on average).
- Knowing the correct answer to a multiple-choice question about the advantage of the Euro (that buying and selling goods between countries is made easier). (Only 52 per cent of pupils answered correctly – compared to a European average of 66 per cent. Pupils in England had the **lowest level of awareness** on this issue of all participating countries).

In terms of knowing facts about the EU and its institutions, understanding about EU laws and policies, and understanding the finer details of the Euro currency, it is clear that pupils in England have a level of awareness that is below (and often well below) that of their European peers. The reasons for this are likely to be various. The themes of Europe and the EU are typically not always well covered through the citizenship curriculum. Similarly, findings of the ICCS teacher survey are that teachers in schools in England (n=437) display low levels of confidence in teaching about the EU. When presented with a question about confidence levels across 15 citizenship-related topics, only **14 per cent** of teachers said that they were 'very confident' in teaching about the EU. This was second only to teaching about 'legal institutions and courts', which, at nine per cent, represented the lowest level of teacher confidence across all the topics. This is in comparison to much higher levels of confidence in teaching about equal gender opportunities (35 per cent were 'very confident'), different cultures (31 per cent were 'very confident') and teaching about human rights and citizens rights (30 per cent, respectively, were 'very confident' in teaching about both of these topics). If teachers lack

confidence in teaching about the EU, then it is likely that pupils will not develop an in-depth understanding of related issues and will perform less well in related aspects of a citizenship test.

This is borne out, to some extent, by a question in the European test asking participating pupils to indicate their levels of confidence in answering questions about EU topics. The analysis shows that pupils in England had the lowest levels of confidence amongst pupils in Europe, along with Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland (a non-EU country) (all of which recorded a percentage confidence level of 46 per cent). This low confidence level may not be helped by the fact that media coverage of the EU in England is often negative in nature, which possibly means that the messages pupils are receiving are incomplete, and do not encourage them to engage with European issues or to want to understand the workings of the EU and its related institutions.

3.3 Changes in knowledge and understanding over time

The ICCS international test¹¹ included a link to the 1999 CIVED survey through the inclusion of 17 secure items from the CIVED item pool. The inclusion of these items allows analysis to be undertaken, which considers changes over time (between 1999 and 2009) in pupil performance across the countries that participated in both surveys. Although 38 countries took part in ICCS, only 17 of these countries had also taken part in CIVED and had used appropriate item translations to enable them to be included in the change over time analysis.

Table 3.3 below shows changes in pupils' civic knowledge across 17 countries between 1999 and 2009. Headline findings are that, across nine of the countries there was a **significant decline** in pupils' civic knowledge, and in only one country there was a significant increase.

¹¹ Trend analysis of the European test is not possible, because ICCS saw the introduction of a European Module for the first time.

Table 3.3. Changes in civic content knowledge between 1999 and 2009

Country	Years of Schooling	Mean Scale Score 2009	Average Age 2009	Mean Scale Score 1999	Average Age 1999	Differences between 1999 and 2009	Differences 1999/2009				
							-20	-10	0	10	20
Slovenia	9	104 (0.6)	14.7	102 (0.5)	14.8	3 (1.0)			■		
Finland	8	109 (0.7)	14.7	108 (0.7)	14.8	1 (1.1)			□		
Estonia	8	95 (0.9)	15.0	94 (0.5)	14.7	1 (1.2)			□		
Chile	8	89 (0.7)	14.2	89 (0.6)	14.3	0 (1.1)					
Lithuania	8	94 (0.6)	14.7	94 (0.7)	14.8	0 (1.1)					
Italy	8	100 (0.7)	13.8	101 (0.7)	13.9	-1 (1.2)			□		Score in 1999 higher
Latvia	8	91 (0.6)	14.8	92 (0.9)	14.5	-1 (1.2)			□		Score in 2009 higher
Switzerland (German)†	8	94 (1.0)	14.8	95 (0.9)	15.0	-2 (1.5)			□		
Colombia	8	85 (0.6)	14.4	89 (0.8)	14.6	-4 (1.1)			■		
Norway †~	9	97 (0.8)	14.7	103 (0.5)	14.8	-5 (1.1)			■		
Greece	9	102 (0.8)	14.7	109 (0.7)	14.7	-7 (1.3)			■		
Poland	8	103 (1.0)	14.9	112 (1.3)	15.0	-9 (1.8)			■		
Slovak Republic ¹	8	97 (1.1)	14.4	107 (0.6)	14.3	-10 (1.4)			■		
Czech Republic †	8	93 (0.5)	14.4	103 (0.8)	14.4	-10 (1.1)			■		
Bulgaria	8	88 (0.9)	14.7	99 (1.1)	14.9	-11 (1.5)			■		
Average		96 (0.0)	14.6	100 (0.0)	14.6	-4 (0.1)			■		

Countries with different survey periods in 1999

England ² †	9	90 (0.7)	14.0	96 (0.6)	14.7	-6 (1.1)			■		
Sweden ³	8	98 (0.8)	14.8	97 (0.8)	14.3	0 (1.2)			□		

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met ICCS guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied ICCS guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

~ In 1999, overall participation rate after replacement less than 75 percent.

¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

² In 1999, country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

³ In 1999, country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the school year.

■ Difference statistically significant at 0.05 level

□ Difference not statistically significant

Source: Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p.43.

Like most countries, England saw a decline in pupil civic knowledge over time (a drop of six CIVED scale points). However, unlike most other countries, this finding needs to be treated with caution. For technical reasons, England's data (along with that of Sweden) are included in a separate part of the table because of the large age difference between pupils who took part in CIVED and pupils who took part in ICCS. The effect of this age difference is unknown in the international analysis, and hence England's data is not included in the main table.

These two countries are reported in a separate section of the table and are not included in the overall statistics because of the unknown extent of the confounding effect of these extreme differences in the age of surveyed pupils in CIVED and ICCS. (Schulz et al., 2010b, Chapter 3).

Pupils who took part in ICCS in England had an average age of 14.0, whilst those who took part in the earlier study were older, with an average age of 14.7. Additionally, pupils who took part in ICCS were in the middle of Year 9

whereas those taking part in CIVED had just started Year 10 of their schooling. National-level analyses have been undertaken to explore the impact of these issues. The implications are discussed below:

- **Impact of age:** Statistical analysis at a national level shows that each additional year in age is associated with a gain of approximately 3.5 points on the CIVED knowledge scale. Therefore, we can estimate that an additional eight months of age (which is the difference seen between CIVED and ICCS pupils) might account for roughly 2.5 points of the drop of 6 points between 1999 and 2009. Once we take into account the margin of error around this estimate it is possible that up to 4.5 points of the drop might be attributable to the change in the age of participants.
- **Impact of year group:** The above analysis does not take into account the difference in year group between CIVED (Year 10) and ICCS (Year 9) as distinct from age. The fact that pupils in CIVED had received greater curriculum coverage than those in ICCS, had been through the process of making their option choices, and had embarked upon their Key Stage 4 programmes of study, may have had an additional effect on results. However, the impact of this change cannot be estimated within the given data.

These factors suggest that the apparent decline in pupil civic knowledge between 1999 and 2009 may have more to do with the age difference between CIVED and ICCS pupils, than with any real decline in pupils' knowledge or understanding of citizenship-related civic content. Furthermore, detailed analysis of the 17 test questions that pupils answered in both CIVED and ICCS, reveals that the apparent decline in pupil civic knowledge over time is not as straightforward as pupils having known the correct answers to the questions in 1999 and not having known them in 2009. In fact:

- the same 10 questions were answered correctly by the majority of pupils in both 1999 and 2009
- the same five questions were answered incorrectly by the majority of pupils in both 1999 and 2009
- one question was answered correctly by the majority of pupils in 1999, but incorrectly by the majority of pupils in 2009
- one question was answered correctly by the majority of pupils in 2009, but incorrectly by the majority of pupils in 1999.

It would appear, therefore, that the apparent decline in pupil civic knowledge over time is explained by a shift in the **percentage** of pupils getting each question right or wrong. The percentage difference is skewed, so that the gap

between those getting each answer right and wrong is larger when pupils did better in 1999 (12 questions), and smaller when pupils did better in 2009 (four questions)¹². Aside from the impact of age, which appears to explain much of the decline in test scores over time, it is a challenge to establish other factors that may be at play. The National Curriculum for Citizenship in England has a stronger focus upon developing citizenship skills, dispositions and active participation than it does upon imparting civic knowledge. It might, therefore, be that, if there was any hangover of a more traditional style of civics teaching in some schools in 1999, this might explain some of the apparent fall in pupil knowledge over time. It is also noticeable that pupils did less well on questions containing reference to the concept of 'democracy' (five questions) in 2009 than they did in 1999. For whatever reason, it would seem that the term 'democracy' and that concept of democratic governance are less clearly understood by pupils now than they were in 1999.

It is important not to overplay these interpretations, given that most of the affected questions saw only a 1-8 percentage point fall between 1999 and 2009. However, two questions saw, respectively, a 16 and a 17 percentage point fall in correct response. These are outlined in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 below.

Table 3.4 Most Multinational Businesses are owned and managed by...

	Year of study	
	1999 %	2009 %
Companies from developed countries	*61	*44
Companies from developing countries	7	9
The United Nations (UN)	20	33
The World Bank	12	15
Unweighted N	2,972	1,206

**Denotes correct answer*

A multiple choice question

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: CIVED Main Survey 1999 and ICCS Main Survey 2009 – Pupil Test

¹² In one question, the same proportion of pupils answered the question correctly in both 1999 and 2009.

Table 3.5 What is the Key Feature of a Free Market Economy?

	Year of study	
	1999 %	2009 %
Compulsory Trade Union membership	16	25
Extensive control of the economy by the government	20	27
Active competition between businesses	*43	*27
Wealth for all people	21	21
Unweighted N	2,939	1,190

*Denotes correct answer

A multiple choice question

Source: CIVED Main Survey 1999 and ICCS Main Survey 2009 – Pupil Test

Both of the above questions are related to economic understanding. In terms of Table 3.4, which presents the results of a question about **multinational businesses**, whilst the majority of pupils (61 per cent) got this question right in 1999, the majority (56 per cent) got the question wrong in 2009. It would seem that most of this fall in understanding can be explained by a shift away from pupils giving the correct answer, to pupils choosing the ‘United Nations’ (UN) category. Quite why pupils were more likely in 2009 than in 1999 to believe that the UN owned and managed most multinational businesses is unclear. It may be to do, either with a lessening of focus upon economic understanding within the National Curriculum, or with an enhanced profile of the work of the UN within the media since 1999. It is important to recognise that, although pupils in England were less likely to answer this question correctly in 2009 than they had been in 1999, when considered in terms of the international average correct response to this item in 2009 (42 per cent), pupils in England actually performed at a level higher than this, with 44 per cent answering correctly (see Appendix E, Table E7).

Similarly, Table 3.5 demonstrates that pupils’ understanding of the concept of a **free-market economy** is poorly developed. Even in 1999 the majority of pupils (57 per cent) answered this question incorrectly, but by 2009, pupils were as likely to believe that that the distractor categories were right as they were to choose the correct answer, with only just over one quarter (27 per cent) of pupils answering correctly. It may be that, although pupils in England have had a citizenship curriculum since 2002, the focus on economic issues within that curriculum has been weak.

Certainly, responses to the ICCS teacher questionnaire indicate that among those teachers who teach a citizenship-related subject (n=437), there is a low level of confidence in teaching about the economy and business. When presented with a question about confidence levels across 15 citizenship-related topics, only **16 per cent** of teachers said that they were 'very confident' in teaching about the economy and business. Only teaching about the EU (14 per cent) and about legal institutions and courts (nine per cent) recorded lower confidence levels. It would seem that teachers are much more confident about teaching topics related to the environment (45 per cent were 'very confident'), gender opportunities (35 per cent said the same), different cultures (31 per cent were 'very confident') and human rights and citizens' rights (30 per cent respectively said the same). If teachers lack confidence in teaching some elements of the citizenship curriculum, then it is likely that pupils will perform less well in related aspects of a civic cognitive test.

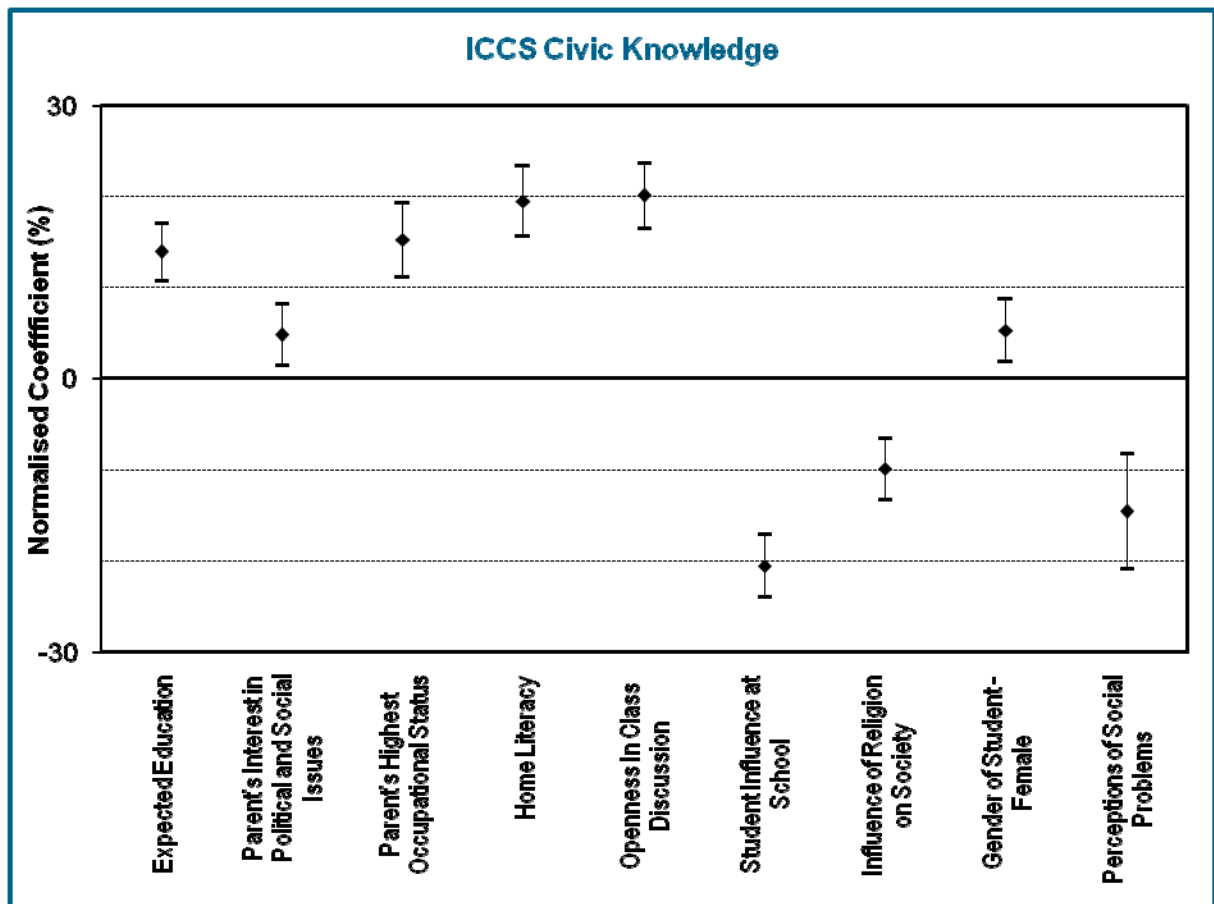
However, it is important not to attach too much weight to the issue of teacher competency, and to remember that pupils taking part in ICCS were, on average, eight months younger than those who participated in CIVED, and had also just embarked upon Year 10 of their schooling. These factors appear to have had the largest bearing upon changes in pupils' civic knowledge over time.

3.4 Influences on knowledge and understanding

In spite of the discussion above about pupils' relative performance on international test items in 1999 and 2009, analyses have shown that pupils in England performed well in the ICCS international cognitive test relative to pupils in other participating countries (see Table 3.1). It is important to identify the factors that seem to underlie success in the ICCS test, and in particular to understand any individual, societal or school-level factors that may be at play. Such understanding will help policy makers and practitioners to understand what drives pupils' civic knowledge and understanding in order to develop effective approaches in the future.

Multilevel modelling, undertaken to explore the factors that influence pupils' civic knowledge, found that the following characteristics were significantly

related. A full list of variables incorporated in the multilevel modelling is provided in Appendix F.



All the factors in the above chart are significantly related to pupil civic knowledge, but those with the greatest predictive power are outlined as follows. The analysis presents an interesting picture of the factors that are significantly related to knowledge.

- It is noticeable, for example, that pupils who say that they have **influence on decisions** made within and about school, have **lower** knowledge scores than similar pupils. This is in spite of the fact that having a high level of civic knowledge appears to be an influencing factor in pupils taking an active role in school life (see Section 5.2.1).
- In contrast, pupils who feel that they experience **openness in class discussions** are more likely than their peers to achieve higher scores in the ICCS test. The reasons for this strong differentiation are unclear, but it would seem that where schools encourage a climate of class-based discussion and debate, there can be positive benefits in terms of enhanced civic knowledge and understanding.

- Not surprisingly, socio-economic status appears to be strongly related to civic knowledge. So, pupils reporting a **high home literacy level** (measured through the number of books in their homes), pupils whose **parents or carers are in the highest categories for occupational status**, and pupils who have an expectation of achieving a **high level of education**, are more likely than similar pupils to have a high level of civic knowledge.
- By the same token, and perhaps not surprisingly, pupils in schools in which teachers report that there are a **range of social problems**, tend to have lower civic knowledge scores than pupils in other similar schools.

3.5 Conclusion

The analysis of England's performance in the ICCS and European cognitive tests presents a mixed picture of proficiency. Whilst pupils in England scored well in the international cognitive test when compared to all participating international countries, performance was much closer to the 'average' when compared only with other European countries. Given that England has a Human Development Index (HDI) ranking, level of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, and adult literacy rate that is closer to those of the participating European countries, than to those of some of the other countries taking part in ICCS, particularly in Latin America, then this comparison with other Europeans is the one that is most appropriate.

Additionally, performance in the cognitive test was not uniform across all domains. Pupils in England would appear to have particularly high levels of understanding of issues relating to civic participation, and good levels of understanding of those relating to civic identity and civic society. However, there is a need for more focus upon developing pupils' understanding of civic principles (such as freedom, equity and social cohesion). It is hoped that the focus upon key concepts such as 'Identity and Diversity: living together in the UK' within the new citizenship curriculum will have an impact upon this level of pupil knowledge and understanding in future years.

Finally, pupils in England performed particularly poorly in the European cognitive test, which assessed their knowledge of the EU. This demonstrates that, relative to pupils in other European countries, pupils in England lack both basic and more sophisticated knowledge and understanding about the EU's institutions, policies and processes. Given that England is a member of the

EU, and that all British citizens (including current school pupils in the future) have the right to vote in European parliamentary elections, this is a cause of some concern.

This lack of civic knowledge about the EU is not an issue that can necessarily be resolved just through the school curriculum (or the citizenship curriculum specifically). In relation to the citizenship curriculum, responses to the ICCS teacher survey indicate that teachers of citizenship in England have lower levels of confidence in teaching about the EU than they do in teaching about most other citizenship-related topics, suggesting a teacher development issue that needs consideration. However, it should also be noted that pupil development of civic knowledge is influenced not just by what goes on in the classroom, but also by what goes on in society, particularly through the media. Pupils in England are also subjected to a national climate in which there is often, at best, apathy towards Europe and the EU amongst the adult population, politicians and the media and, at worst, a degree of hostility.

These are not straightforward challenges to overcome, but it may be that a stronger focus upon knowledge and understanding of the workings of Europe and of EU affairs within the school curriculum might benefit pupils in England. If this is to be effective, consideration may also need to be given to the skills and qualifications of those teaching citizenship, and the extent to which there is a need for further professional training and development in relation to this topic.

4. Pupil value beliefs and attitudes

This chapter explores the attitudes of pupils in England towards democracy, national identity and diversity, by examining their responses to questionnaire items on democratic values, gender equality and rights for ethnic minorities and immigrants, and levels of trust in civic institutions. These responses are compared to pupil views in the international and European questionnaires, where relevant, and include an analysis of the apparent influences on these attitudes, which are also considered within the context of findings from the earlier 1999 CIVED study.

Pupil attitudes to democratic values and their trust in institutions are likely to influence their willingness to participate in the political process in future, and support for democratic values is crucial for the strength of a democratic society. Views on gender equality and ethnic and immigrant rights can be a useful indicator of current and future social stability and levels of community cohesion and integration.

Key messages:

Pupil attitudes to democratic values:

- Pupils in England strongly supported the basic principles of a democratic society – freedom of speech and the press, free elections and respect for the individual's political rights.
- There was greater divergence of opinion on the possible need to curtail some freedoms if there was a threat to national security.
- There would appear to be a positive relationship between cognitive achievement and support for democratic values.

Trust in institutions:

- The highest levels of trust were for the police, the armed forces and schools, while, in common with other ICCS participating countries, the lowest level of trust was in political parties.
- Pupils in England recorded the second lowest levels of trust of all European ICCS countries in European Union institutions, such as the European Parliament and European Commission - only a little ahead of political parties.

Sense of identity:

- In common with the European countries that participated in the regional European module, pupils in England have a strong sense of national identity. England was one of four European countries where there were no significant differences between pupils' attitudes to their own country by immigrant status, and the only country with no significant differences

between immigrant and non-immigrant pupils in terms of their sense of European identity.

- Pupils in England also had a sense of European identity, with more than 80 per cent seeing themselves as European. However, this was lower than the average proportion in European ICCS countries.

Attitudes to the European Union:

- There was considerable variation in pupil attitudes to the European Union (EU). For example, although more than 80 per cent were in agreement that they were proud that their country was a member of the EU, only 56 per cent were in agreement that they felt part of the EU. Although there was a similar divergence in other European countries, pupils in England were at the lower end of the European scale in their level of positive response to feeling part of the EU.
- In common with other European countries, pupils in England were positive on harmonisation of social and environmental policies, but negative in attitudes towards political convergence.
- Pupils in England were generally positive towards the enlargement of the EU, although less so than the European ICCS average.

Pupil views on equality:

- Maintaining the trend as revealed by CIVED, Pupils in England were very positive in their attitude to gender equality – England was one of ten ICCS countries demonstrating the highest levels of support for this concept.
- Although girls were more supportive of gender equality than boys, a high level of cognitive achievement appears to have an even stronger positive influence.
- Pupils in England were strongly supportive of the rights of ethnic minorities, with a mean score that was significantly above the ICCS average, but there was divergence in the views of White and ethnic minority pupils.
- Support for immigrant rights was at a lower level than for ethnic minority rights, and was significantly below the ICCS average.
- Civic knowledge scores appeared to have the strongest influence on support for minority and immigrants' rights, but there were differences in attitude between native and non-native pupils. Although there was a similar pattern in other ICCs countries, England was one of five countries where this gap between native and non-native pupil attitudes was widest.
- The attitude of pupils in England to the free movement of people across Europe was mixed, with higher support for movement for cultural rather than economic reasons. Most pupils were in agreement that immigration from Europe was a cause of unemployment and that the movement of workers should be restricted, but they were overwhelmingly supportive of the rights of all EU citizens in England.

4.1. Pupil views on democratic values

The first section of this chapter considers the views of pupils on democratic values and their level of trust in civic institutions. Multilevel modelling is used to explore the factors that influence their attitudes.

Table 4.1 below shows pupil responses to a wide range of questions on attitudes to democratic principles, and demonstrates that there was particularly strong support for what could be described as the basic principles of a democratic society – that people should be able to express their opinions freely, that political rights should be respected and that there should be free elections. Over 90 per cent of pupils agreed or strongly agreed with the statements relating to these concepts.

Table 4.1 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about society?

Views on society	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
People should be able to express opinions freely	60	37	2	1
Politicians should not give jobs to family	19	48	28	5
No company or government should be allowed to own all newspapers	30	50	16	4
Police should be able to hold suspects without trial	16	42	32	10
Political rights should be respected	47	47	4	1
People should be free to criticise government publicly	27	53	18	3
Security organisations should be free to check those suspected of threatening national security	17	50	23	10
Leaders should be elected freely	51	43	4	1
Protest should be allowed if a law is unfair	38	52	8	2
Protest should never be violent	38	50	10	3
Differences in income should be small	23	51	20	6
Government should control media when faced with threats to national security	20	49	25	7
Unweighted N = 2891				

*A series of single response questions
Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

Levels of agreement (strongly agree or agree) were also high with regard to the statements connected to freedom of speech and expression. Pupils agreed that people should be able to express opinions freely (96 per cent), that protest should be allowed if a law is unfair (90 per cent), that no company or government should be allowed to own all newspapers (80 per cent), and that people should be free to criticise the government publicly (80 per cent), although there were substantial minorities disagreeing with the last two statements (around 20 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed).

Although the right to protest against an unfair law was strongly supported (90 per cent agreed or strongly agreed), there was a similar level of support for the principle of non-violent protest (88 per cent), which perhaps suggests that pupils considered violent protest as undermining democracy.

There was greater divergence of views (with around one third of pupils disagreeing or strongly disagreeing) with statements concerning national security and political influence. Although a clear majority (67 per cent) agreed or strongly agreed that politicians should not give jobs to their families, the level of disagreement was more noticeable. The extent to which pupils considered this practice to be unfair, rather than going against democratic principles, is impossible to say, but it indicates that a substantial minority did not rank it as an important principle in relation to some of the other statements.

Divergence of pupil opinion was even more marked on issues of national security, which is not surprising given the current prominence of this in the national media. Despite their generally strong support for the principle of freedom of speech, over two-thirds (69 per cent) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the government should control the media when faced with threats to national security. The other statement that could be interpreted as relating to national security was that the police should be able to hold suspects without trial – just over half (58 per cent) of pupils agreed or strongly agreed with this, but 42 per cent disagreed, or strongly disagreed. This statement therefore divided opinion to a greater degree than any of the others, and can be seen as a reflection of the division of opinion nationally on this issue. Perhaps, along with many adults, this particular issue presented a dilemma for pupils, who supported the democratic principle of a fair trial for criminal suspects, but

interpreted this statement in the context of terrorist activity, and so considered that public safety should take precedence.

It is not possible to compare the attitudes to democratic values of pupils involved in ICCS with those that responded to the CIVED study, as the questions asked and scales used were not comparable (see Chapter 1, footnote 2). However, over four-fifths (81 per cent) of pupils in 1999 supported the view that ‘it is good for democracy when everyone has the right to express opinions freely’, and, as reported above, the statement that ‘people should be able to express opinions freely’, had a very high level of support (96 per cent) in 2009. This suggests a degree of consistency in pupils’ views over time.

What influences pupil attitudes to democratic values?

Multilevel modelling, which explored the factors that influenced pupils’ attitudes to democratic values, found that certain characteristics were significantly related to these attitudes.

Figure 4.1 Variables significantly related to pupil support for democratic values

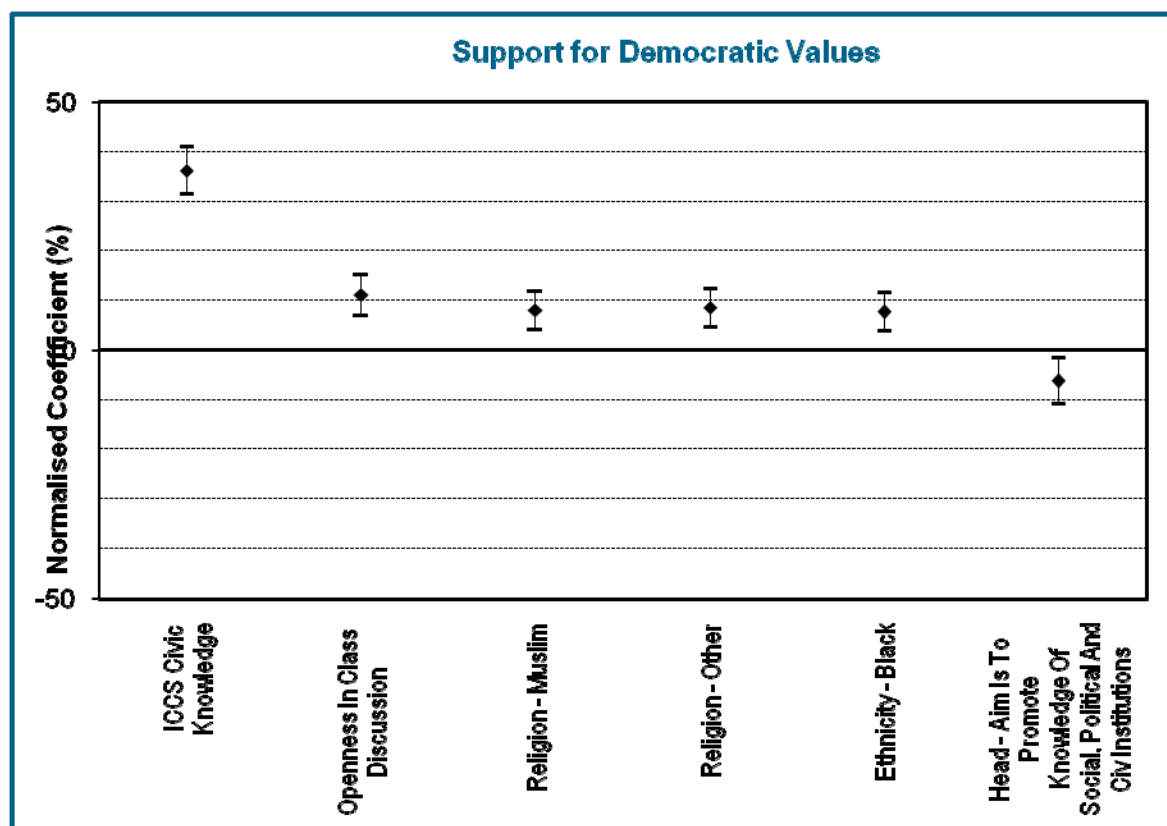


Figure 4.1 shows all variables that were found to be significantly related to pupils' attitudes towards democratic values. Those that were most positively related were:

- Pupil **civic knowledge**, as measured by the ICCS test. Pupils scoring highly in the cognitive test were more likely than other similar pupils to support democratic values. This suggests that knowledge of how democratic institutions operate and relate to concepts such as free elections and freedom of speech, can be important in encouraging support for democratic values.
- A school ethos which encourages **openness in class discussion**. It would seem that providing pupils with an opportunity to exercise their own freedom of expression, while listening to the views of others, had positive benefits in terms of encouraging a support of democratic values.
- Belonging to the **Muslim, or to another (non-Christian) religion**, or to a **Black ethnic group**. Such pupils were more likely to support these values than other pupils with similar characteristics and scores on the cognitive test. This finding is interesting, as ethnicity and religious background did not emerge in Chapter 3 as particularly significant variables in explaining pupils' civic knowledge. This is the first time that these characteristics have been identified as significantly related to a pupil outcome.

Figure 4.1 also shows that one variable is negatively associated with support for democratic values. Pupils in schools in which the headteacher reported that 'promoting knowledge of social, political and civic institutions' was a main aim of civic and citizenship education were less likely than other similar pupils to be supportive of democratic values. Although it is difficult to speculate on the reasons for this, it may be that promoting knowledge of institutions could sometimes edge out time for open discussion and exploration of attitudes, suggesting that a balance between the two is required.

4.1.1 Citizenship behaviours

Pupil attitudes to what contributes towards being a good citizen, as shown in Table 4.2, revealed that 'working hard' and 'obeying laws' were considered to be of particular importance (94 and 93 per cent respectively viewed these behaviours as 'very' or 'quite' important). The same behaviours had been indicated by pupils in England as most important to being a good citizen in the CIVED study (Kerr, *et al*, 2001, p 57), and have been reinforced in the findings of the final Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) report (Keating, *et al.*, 2010).

Table 4.2. How important are the following behaviours for being a good citizen?

Important for being a good citizen	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not important at all
	%	%	%	%
Voting in every election	24	55	17	3
Joining a political party	5	27	57	11
Learning the country's history	17	46	31	6
Following issues in media	18	54	24	4
Respecting government representatives	25	56	16	4
Engaging in political discussions	9	42	42	7
Participating in peaceful protest	14	44	32	9
Participating in community activities	25	56	16	4
Promoting human rights	29	48	19	4
Protecting the environment	30	49	16	4
Working hard	59	35	5	1
Obeying laws	63	30	5	2

Unweighted N = 2885

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

Examples of political engagement and responsibility, such as voting in elections and respecting government representatives, were regarded as very or quite important by more than three-quarters of respondents, although joining a political party and engaging in political discussions were not - more than two-thirds (68 per cent) of pupils considered that joining a political party was not very or not at all important. Moreover, non-political behaviours such as protecting the environment and human rights were regarded as being as important as, for example, voting (although the wording of the question which asked about 'good' rather than 'active' citizen behaviour may have influenced the responses). Pupil views on what constituted good citizen behaviour revealed that they were thinking in broader terms than simply conventional political engagement and it would appear that building on pupil interests in these wider social issues in citizenship education is likely to be of benefit in engaging young people. This point is reflected further in the next chapter (section 5.1.1).

4.1.2 Trust in institutions

Pupil responses to levels of trust in groups and institutions revealed some interesting similarities and differences to the responses made by pupils in the 1999 CIVED study.¹³ As shown in Table 4.3, civic institutions such as the armed forces and the police attract higher levels of trust than national and local government and parliament. Indeed the armed forces and the police are the most trusted organisations among pupils in England, replacing schools, which held that position in 1999. Although the level of trust in schools and the law courts has not decreased, those for the police and particularly for the armed forces seem to have risen considerably. The reasons for this are difficult to judge, although for the armed forces, it is possible that media coverage of the wars in Afghanistan, and perhaps also in Iraq, may be a contributing factor.

Table 4.3. How much do you trust these groups/institutions?

Trust institutions	Completely %	Quite a lot %	A little %	Not at all %
National Government	16	55	24	4
Local Government	11	54	29	5
Courts of Justice	19	53	23	4
Police	33	43	18	6
Political Parties	6	37	46	12
Parliament	11	44	35	10
The Media	11	36	42	12
The Armed Forces	34	43	18	5
Schools	22	51	21	7
The United Nations	18	47	28	7
People in general	9	43	40	7
European Commission	8	39	43	11
European Parliament	8	37	42	13
Unweighted N = 2858				

*A series of single response questions
Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

¹³ Although caution should be exercised in making comparisons, because of changes in question wording and scaling between CIVED and ICCS (see Chapter 1, footnote 2).

Whereas levels of trust in cross national organisations such as the EU. and U.N. were higher than for national government in CIVED, this has now been reversed. More than half the pupils in England had only a little, or no trust at all in the European Parliament (55 per cent) and the European Commission (54 per cent). A comparison with the other European countries that participated in ICCS (outlined in the ICCS European Report, which is being released alongside this national report), shows that pupils in England had the second lowest levels of trust (after Cyprus) in both these bodies. For example, only 45 per cent of pupils in England trusted the European Parliament completely, or quite a lot, compared to pupils in Italy with the highest level of 79 per cent. In fact the level of trust in the European Parliament among pupils from England was lower than that among those from Switzerland (54 per cent), in spite of the fact that Switzerland is not a member of the EU. The UN fared better, with almost two thirds (65 per cent) of pupils in England saying that they trusted the UN completely or quite a lot, which was just behind the level of trust for local government. This may be because of more positive media coverage in Britain of the work of the UN compared to the institutions of the EU.

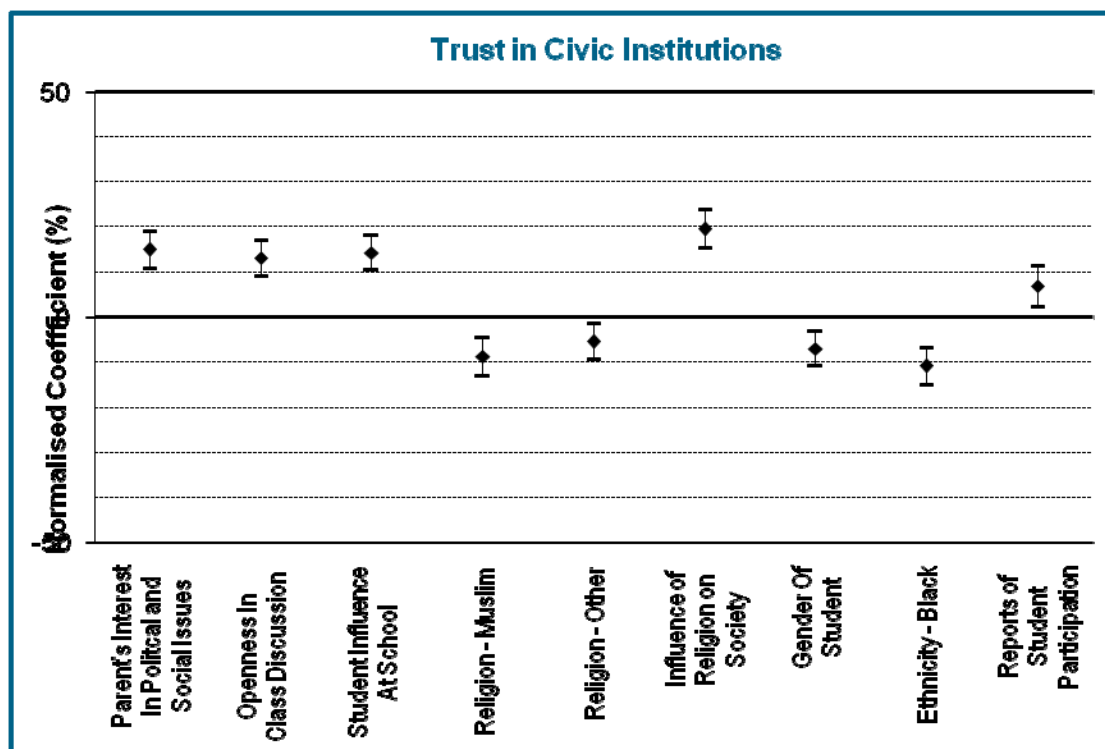
Just over half the ICCS pupils (54 per cent) trusted the Media only a little or not at all, but the level of trust was lowest for political parties, (as it had been in CIVED). In the light of this, it was not surprising that the majority of pupils in England said that they were unlikely to join a political party and did not have an interest in any particular party. (See Section 5.3.1a). However, lack of trust in political parties was not peculiar to pupils in England. A key finding of the international analysis is that political parties are the least trusted of the range of institutions with which pupils were presented across most of the participating countries (Schulz, *et al*, 2010a, p.45). The level of trust of pupils in England for national government was significantly above the ICCS average, while trust in the Media was more than ten percentage points lower than the ICCS average (Schulz, *et al*, 2010a, p.46).

The lack of trust in the media shown by pupils in England could be interpreted positively as their education having encouraged a development of objectivity. The relatively high level of trust in schools - almost three-quarters (73 per cent) of pupils had quite a lot or complete trust in their school, is a positive finding, as it provides a foundation on which to build young people's sense of social responsibility.

What influences trust in institutions?

Figure 4.2 below shows the outcomes of multilevel modelling analysis at the national level. The chart shows a range of factors that have been found to be significantly related to pupils' trust in civic institutions.

Figure 4.2. Variables significantly related to pupil trust in civic institutions



The following points summarise the outcomes of the analysis. The factors most strongly positively associated with trust in institutions are:

- **Pupils believing in the importance of religion having an influence on society.** It is difficult to say why this factor seems to have the strongest influence, except that those expressing religious faith may be more disposed to trust generally, particularly in institutions that exist for the common good.
- **Pupils reporting parent/carer interest in social and political issues,** pupils believing that they have **influence at school** (in terms of being able to contribute to decision-making), and pupils considering that their school **encourages openness in class discussion.** This suggests that family background, and perhaps open discussion in the home can have an influence on levels of trust, as can the encouragement of participation and democratic values in school.

Four variables, however, had a negative association with trust in civic institutions – being female; being of the Muslim religion; being of any other

religion (excluding Christian); and being from a Black ethnic background. Bearing in mind issues of community cohesion and integration and the need to encourage trust and participation in civic institutions, this may indicate the need for schools to continue to be particularly aware of encouraging positive attitudes to civic engagement for certain ethnic and religious groups and for girls. Providing opportunities for pupils to feel part of decision-making processes in schools, preferably from primary level onwards, may help not only to raise levels of participation in civic life, but also confidence in the value of, and potential for reform of civic institutions.

This is particularly important given that we know from the multilevel modelling analyses discussed in Section 4.1, that Black and Muslim pupils, and pupils from other non-Christian religions, are **more likely** to support democratic values than other pupils with similar characteristics and scores on the cognitive test. There appears to be a current mismatch between this level of support on the one hand and the trust that such pupils have in institutions on the other.

4.2 Pupil sense of identity

This section considers the attitudes of pupils in England to issues of national identity and of belonging to wider communities. Unfortunately, comparisons between attitudes to national identity as revealed by ICCS and CIVED participants are not possible, as the CIVED questions referred to the United Kingdom, whereas the ICCS questions were specific to England. This section therefore looks only at the responses on national identity made by pupils in England taking part in ICCS and their relationship to the European findings.

As can be seen from Table 4.4, pupils in England responded positively to all the questions on respect for, and pride in, their country and nearly three-quarters of respondents (73 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the negatively phrased statement: *'I would prefer to live in another country'*. This suggests a strong sense of both national identity and national pride (over 90 per cent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: *'In England we should be proud of what we have achieved'*). However, statistical analysis carried out on some of these responses for the 24 European countries

that participated in the European regional module,¹⁴ indicated that the positive attitude of pupils in England towards their country was below that of other European pupils, (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, Chapter 4).

Table 4.4. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about England?

Attitude to England	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
The Union Jack is important to me	18	47	30	6
The political system works well	8	65	23	4
I have great respect for England	32	56	9	2
We should be proud of what we have achieved	34	57	7	2
I would prefer to live in another country	8	19	47	26
I am proud to live in England	35	52	11	2
England has respect for the environment	11	42	39	9
England is better to live in than most countries	24	46	25	5

Unweighted N = 2857

*A series of single response questions
Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

The European report cited above also looked at differences between the responses of pupils from an immigrant background (either born outside the country in which they live, or born to immigrant parents) and those from non-immigrant families. England was one of four countries where there were no significant differences in pupils' attitudes to the country in which they live by immigrant status, and England was the **only country** with no statistically significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrant pupils in terms of their sense of **European identity** (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, Chapter 4). This is a particularly striking finding, but one for which there is no clear explanation. It may be that in England, immigrant pupils are just as likely as non-immigrant pupils to feel European (and indeed 'English'), due to a long history of immigration and a high degree of cultural and social integration.

The European context of pupil responses on sense of identity is considered in more detail in section 4.2.1 below.

¹⁴ The two European countries that participated in ICCS, but not in the European module, were Norway and Russia.

The table also shows that although almost two-thirds (65 per cent) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the British national flag, the ‘Union Jack’, was important to them, a substantial minority disagreed with this statement. It is possible that the reason for this was that the question asked about the British flag, rather than the English flag (the Cross of St George), and use of the latter has become much more prevalent in recent years because of its use in connection with sports events. Or it may be that flag association is not a major part of national identity for young people in England.

The only question on which opinion was more obviously divided was on the statement: ‘*England has respect for the environment*’. Although the majority agreed or strongly agreed with this, almost half the respondents (47 per cent) did not. Pupil responses to other ICCS questions showed a high level of pupil interest in environmental issues (see, for example, Section 5.1). It appears that this interest was not always matched by a sense that, at the national level, all was being done that might be to deal with environmental challenges.

4.2.1 The European dimension

The pupils in England who completed the European module questionnaire were able to consider statements on their attitudes to Europe. Table 4.5 shows their levels of agreement with these statements.

Table 4.5. How do you see yourself?

Views on identity	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
I see myself as European	34	48	15	3
I see myself first as a citizen of Europe then as a citizen of England	19	31	43	8
I am proud to live in Europe	28	63	8	1
I feel part of Europe	24	54	20	2
I see myself first a citizen of Europe then a citizen of the world	17	49	30	5
I have more in common with young people from European communities than from those outside Europe	15	43	36	6
I feel part of the European Union	13	43	39	6
I am proud my country is a member of the European Union	18	63	16	3
I feel more part of Europe than of the UK	7	13	57	23

Unweighted N = 2735

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

A large majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they saw themselves as European (82 per cent), that they were proud to live in Europe (91 per cent), and that they felt part of Europe (78 per cent).

These responses indicate that the majority of pupils in England had a sense of European identity in addition to their sense of national identity. The view across all 24 countries that took part in the European module indicates that this sense of European identity was common to pupils in all participating countries. However, the positive response of pupils in England to the statement ‘I see myself as European’ was lower than the European average of 91 per cent and was at the lower end of the range (only Latvia, with 81 per cent, had a lower positive response to this statement).

The European report (Kerr, *et al*, 2010 Chapter 4) points out the complexity of relationships between European identity and national and global identity in all the participating countries, and this was evident from the responses of pupils in England. For example, the statement ‘I see myself first as a citizen of Europe and then as a citizen of England’ divided pupils almost equally, but taken across all 24 countries, the 50 per cent of pupils in England who agreed

or strongly agreed was the second highest positive response after Cyprus (with 53 per cent), and well above the 37 per cent average who reported seeing themselves first as a citizen of Europe and then as a citizen of the individual country in which they live. The response of pupils in England to the statement ‘I see myself first as a citizen of Europe and then as a citizen of the world’ was even more positive, with two-thirds (66 per cent) agreeing or strongly agreeing, and on this they were closer to the European mean of 69 per cent. This indicates that, along with their European peers, the majority of pupils in England identified with a sense of European citizenship, but that a considerable proportion (just under one third) of pupils in England and in Europe possessed a sense of global identity that was even stronger.

For pupils in England there was an added layer of complexity due to the wider national context of the U.K. Pupils in England also considered the statement ‘I feel more part of Europe than of the UK’, and more than three-quarters (80 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed. So although the majority possessed a sense of European identity, their sense of British identity was far stronger.

So it appears from the responses of pupils in England, and in Europe more widely, that young people have a complex mixture of identities, in which national identity features most strongly, alongside European and global identities.

Sense of belonging to the EU

In addition to questions about national and European identity, there were two regional optional questions in the European module questionnaire which asked about the EU (items 7 and 8 in Table 4.5 above).

Considering their low levels of trust in the European Parliament and European Commission (as reported in section 4.1.2), it was interesting that just over four-fifths (81 per cent) of pupils in England responded positively to the statement ‘I am proud that my country is a member of the EU’. By contrast, opinion on ‘feeling part of the EU’ was much more evenly divided, with only 56 per cent of pupils agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement. A similar, although less divergent, pattern of response emerged in other European countries. On average, 86 per cent of pupils in the 22 EU member states were proud of their country being a member of the EU, with a lower 70 per cent feeling part of the EU.

However, pupils in England were noticeably at the lower end of the European scale in their level of positive response to feeling part of the EU (just above Latvia with 54 per cent and Sweden with 50 per cent). By contrast, at the most positive end of the scale, Italy had 90 per cent of its pupils on average feeling a part of the EU. Although Italy has been a member of the EU for longer than the UK, this would not appear to be a major influence, as countries such as Bulgaria (71 per cent) and Cyprus (73 per cent) had far more positive scores despite having joined the EU much more recently. Perhaps the generally more sceptical view of the EU which is more prevalent in England and the wider UK than in other parts of Europe has an effect on pupil views on belonging to the EU, although this would not explain why the great majority of pupils in England also said that they were proud that England is a member of the EU.

Attitudes to European policies

Pupils who completed the European module had the opportunity to consider statements on the organisation of the EU, including political convergence and harmonisation of policies within Europe. Table 4.6 shows the responses of pupils in England.

Table 4.6. How much do you agree with these statements about EU organisation?

Organisation of EU	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	%	%	%	%
European countries lose individual identities if all part of one political union	12	56	29	3
All European countries should have same approach to relationships with countries outside Europe	13	68	17	2
European countries should have common policies on the environment	16	69	13	2
European countries should have similar education systems	15	63	18	3
One day there should be a President of all Europe	6	23	44	27
European countries should have similar rules and laws	11	63	23	4
Each European country should be free to decide own affairs	18	64	16	2
Countries that join the EU should give up own government	6	28	49	16
One day, the European parliament should replace the parliaments of all European countries	6	27	47	21
Unweighted N = 2705				

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

The responses are not unexpected, showing a positive attitude to examples of coordinated policy on social and environmental issues, but negative attitudes towards political unification. For example, 85 per cent of pupils agreed or strongly agreed that ‘European countries should have common policies on the environment’, but the three statements relating to potential political change (items 5, 8 and 9) attracted negative responses from around two-thirds of pupils. This reaction was very similar to that in other European countries. On the scale score created for responses to these three items, England was one point below the average. There was in fact, very little variation between countries, with the lowest score in Finland and the highest in Cyprus (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, Chapter 4).

The strongly positive response from pupils in England to harmonisation of environmental policies was also in line with the response of their European

peers, as 87 per cent of pupils overall agreed or strongly agreed with this, and this item was the one most positively received overall. Although the majority of pupils in England are supportive of European countries attempting to align their policies on foreign affairs, education and regulation, as are pupils from other European countries, there was also a high level of agreement (82 per cent) with the statement that 'each European country should be free to decide its own affairs'. This, as well as attitudes to political unity, suggests that, while pupils in England, and across Europe, have a favourable attitude towards harmonisation of social policies that may contribute to the well-being of all, the majority do not support the development of a supranational European state.

Attitude to European economic policies

The attitude of pupils in England to economic harmonisation was generally positive. For example, two-thirds of respondents (66 per cent) agreed or strongly agreed with a statement on alignment of economic policies: 'all European countries should have the same economic policies', which again was in line with pupils across Europe (68 per cent overall agreed or strongly agreed with this statement) (Kerr, *et al*, 2010 Chapter 4).

Interestingly, although the majority of pupils also agreed or strongly agreed that having a common currency had advantages (67 per cent and 65 per cent respectively agreed or strongly agreed that 'there are more advantages to a common currency than disadvantages' and that 'if all European currencies had the same currency they would be stronger'), more than half (58 per cent) gave a negative response to the statement 'all countries in Europe should join the Euro'. It would appear that although pupils in England were largely positive about the general principle of economic harmonisation, they were more sceptical about the reality of a common currency, and in that respect their views are similar to that of many adults.

In the European analysis, the items discussed above relating to a single European currency were used to create a scale. England was one of four countries with a scale score more than three points below the ICCS average (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, Chapter 4). The other three were Denmark, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. These are all non-Euro zone members, and Liechtenstein and Switzerland are also non-EU members.

Attitudes towards enlargement of the EU

The European module questionnaire also included a series of statements about EU enlargement. As can be seen from Table 4.7, pupils in England were positive about enlargement, particularly in relation to the view that membership encourages countries to respect human rights (82 per cent agreed or strongly agreed with this).

Table 4.7. How much do you agree with these statements about EU enlargement?

Attitudes to EU enlargement	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
The EU should enlarge until it includes all European countries	13	58	26	3
The EU should be enlarged so more countries can benefit from economic advantages	11	65	21	3
All European countries should aspire to become members of the EU	10	57	29	3
An advantage of enlargement is that it encourages countries to be democratic	10	61	25	3
The EU will have greater influence in world if more countries join	15	62	20	3
To be a worthwhile organisation, the EU needs to include all European countries	10	46	39	5
An advantage of enlargement is that it encourages countries that want to respect human rights	17	65	14	3
Unweighted N = 2700				

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

However, when responses to the statements above were scaled across the participating countries, England's score was one of ten countries significantly below the ICCS average. The reasons for this are unclear, but may be connected to media coverage about the perceived problems caused by the flow of migrants from countries that have recently joined the EU. Additionally, England is largely a 'receiving' nation in terms of the flow of EU migration. Pupils in European countries where emigration opportunities are seen to be a key benefit of enlargement may well display more positive attitudes to these questions.

Concluding on attitudes to Europe, it would appear that pupils in England have a sense of European identity, although this is less strong than their sense

of national identity, and their attitudes to the EU are mixed. They support the harmonisation of economic and social policies that can be regarded as broadly advantageous to all member countries, and the majority are in favour of EU enlargement, but they are not in favour of a supranational European state.

4.3 Pupil views on equality

The ICCS pupil questionnaire included items designed to reveal pupils' attitudes towards the opportunities and rights of women, ethnic minorities and immigrants.

4.3.1 Gender equality

Investigating the attitudes of pupils to opportunities and rights for women was a feature of the first Civic Education Study in 1971 (Torney-Purta, *et al*, 1975), built upon through CIVED in 1999 (Torney-Purta, *et al*, 2001), and continued through ICCS.

As had been the case with CIVED (Kerr, *et al*, 2001, p 75), pupils in England were very positive in their attitude to gender equality, as revealed in Table 4.8, with only a small minority dissenting from key concepts on equality of rights, participation in government and equal pay. As had been the case with CIVED, there were positive attitudes to gender equality in all participating countries, as pupils overwhelmingly agreed with the positively worded statements and disagreed with those not supportive of gender equality. However, pupils in England were more than three score points above the international average on attitudes to gender equality and were within a group of ten countries demonstrating the highest levels of support for this concept (see Schulz, *et al*, 2010, p 49), which is encouraging as it underpins support for democratic values.

Table 4.8. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about the roles of women and men?

Gender rights	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
Men and women should take part in government equally	67	30	2	1
Men and women should have same rights in every way	66	28	5	1
Women should stay out of politics	2	5	28	65
Men should have more rights to a job than women	5	9	28	58
Men and women should have equal pay for same jobs	67	25	5	3
Men are more qualified to be political leaders than women	4	9	33	54
Women's first priority is raising children	10	27	33	30

Unweighted N = 2876

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

Also reflecting CIVED findings, female pupils in all participating countries were more supportive of gender equality than male pupils. Cross tabulations by gender of the responses to these questions by pupils in England showed a marked difference in the responses of boys and girls. For example, on a more general statement such as: ‘*men and women should have the same rights in every way*’, 58 per cent of boys strongly agreed, compared to 75 per cent of girls. The contrast was even stronger with responses to what might be regarded as more controversial statements. So, although 42 per cent of boys strongly disagreed with the statement that ‘*men should have more rights to a job than women*’, 73 per cent of girls did so, and while 37 per cent of boys strongly disagreed that ‘*men are more qualified to be political leaders*’, 69 per cent of girls did so.

The table above shows that almost two-thirds of pupils (63 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that: ‘*women's first priority is raising children*’. However, a substantial minority (37 per cent) agreed or strongly agreed, which perhaps indicates that this area is less clear than other aspects of gender equality. This is perhaps not surprising, as this particular aspect can be seen as relating more to individual family preference than the broader

principles of political and economic equality between men and women. It is interesting that the difference in responses to this item between boys and girls, although substantial, was not as wide as for some other items (21 per cent of boys strongly disagreed with this statement, compared to 39 per cent of girls).

What influences attitudes to gender equality?

Being female is not the only factor positively related with having positive attitudes towards gender equality in England. Multilevel modelling analysis shows that, once a range of factors are taken into consideration, three variables are significantly related to attitudes towards gender equality. These are:

- **Civic knowledge** (normalised coefficient of 37.5). The higher pupils' scores in the cognitive test, the more likely they are to support gender equality.
- **Being female** (normalised coefficient of 28.1). As outlined above, girls are more likely to support gender equality than similar boys.
- **Openness in class discussions** (normalised coefficient of 8.2). Although not as strong an association as the two variables above, it would seem that the more pupils believe they can express their views freely in class, the more likely they are to support gender equality.

As pupils with the highest civic knowledge scores are particularly more likely than other similar pupils to support gender equality, developing pupils' understanding of civic and social issues may assist in challenging gender stereotyping, as may providing opportunities for open discussion of these issues.

4.3.2 Rights for ethnic minorities and immigrants

Table 4.9 indicates that pupils in England held broadly liberal views on the rights of ethnic minority groups, with more than 70 per cent of respondents in agreement with all the statements on rights and responsibilities. The only statement that had a noticeably higher level of disagreement (24 per cent) was that: *'all groups should be encouraged to run for political office'*. This may indicate that although there is strong support for the ideas of equal respect, rights and educational opportunities, there is greater hesitancy about ethnic minority political influence. Cross tabulation of the responses by ethnic group showed that 25 per cent of pupils describing themselves as White British disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, 20 per cent of White non-

British and Black British did so, and for all other ethnic groups, the proportion disagreeing was below 20 per cent.

However, support for equality in employment for all ethnic groups was stronger, with over four fifths (86 per cent) of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that ‘*all groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs*’.

Table 4.9. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements on the rights and responsibilities of ethnic groups?

Ethnic rights and responsibilities	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
All groups should have equal chance to get a good education	46	45	6	2
All groups should have equal chance to get good jobs	40	46	11	3
Schools should teach respect for all groups	43	45	9	3
All groups should be encouraged to run for political office	26	51	19	5
All groups should have the same rights and responsibilities	44	45	8	3
Unweighted N = 2857				

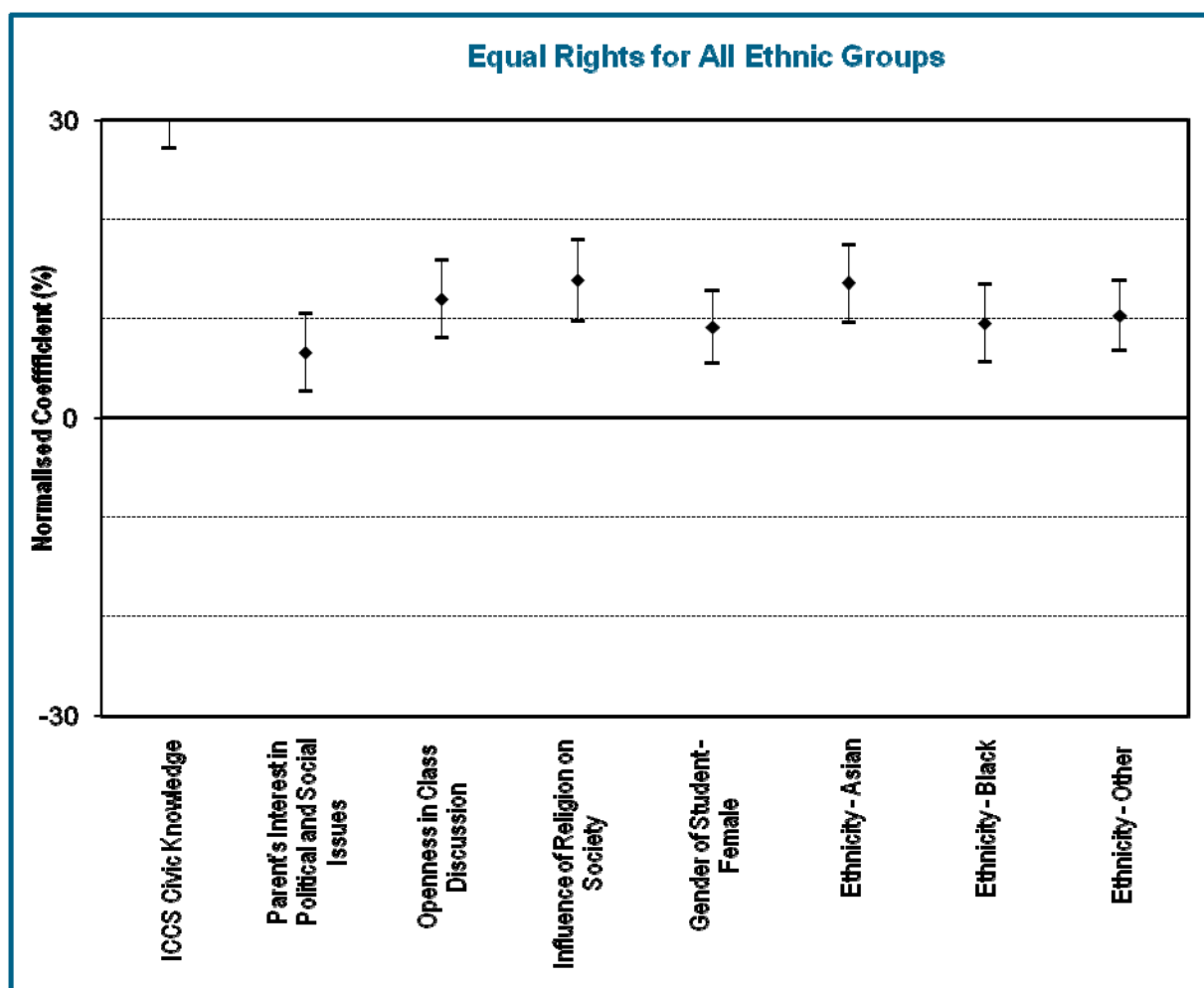
*A series of single response questions
Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

CIVED did not ask about pupils’ attitudes on the rights of ethnic minorities, only towards immigrants, so it is not possible to make any comparisons between pupils’ views in 1999 and 2009.

What influences attitudes to rights for ethnic groups?

Multilevel modelling analysis indicates a number of factors that are positively related to attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic groups. Figure 4.3 below shows that, as for attitudes towards gender equality, the most significant predictor of believing in ethnic minority rights is having a high level of civic knowledge, as measured by the ICCS cognitive test. As with combating gender stereotyping, this would indicate the value of developing pupils’ knowledge and understanding of citizenship-related issues in order to promote tolerance and encourage community cohesion.

Figure 4.3. Variables significantly related to views of equal rights for ethnic groups



All the variables in the above chart are significantly related to having positive views towards equality for all ethnic groups, but those with the greatest levels of influence are:

- **Pupils believing in the influence of religion on society.**
- **Pupils feeling that they can express their views openly in the classroom.**
- **Being of an Asian, Black, or other non-white ethnic minority group.** Such pupils are more likely than other similar pupils to support equality for all ethnic groups.

The latter finding is not surprising. Indeed, cross tabulation of the statements in Table 4.9 by ethnic group indicated a difference in attitude between White British and ethnic minority pupils. For example, 40 per cent of White British

pupils strongly agreed that all ethnic groups should have the right to a good education, while the proportions of pupils from ethnic minority groups who strongly agreed with this statement were much larger -73 per cent of Asian British pupils, 72 per cent of Black British pupils, 78 per cent of mixed ethnic origin pupils and 62 per cent of those from other ethnic backgrounds. The contrasts were even stronger for statements relating to the right to employment, as shown in Table 4.10 below:

Table 4.10. Ethnic rights – all ethnic groups should have an equal chance to get good jobs in England

Pupils' ethnic background	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
White (British)	33	50	13	4
White (Non-British)	43	45	10	2
Asian (British)	69	27	3	1
Asian (Non-British)	67	30	3	0
Black (British)	70	25	4	1
Black (Non-British)	62	34	4	0
Mixed ethnic origin (e.g. Asian father, white mother)	73	22	4	2
Other ethnic background	63	37	0	0
Unweighted N = 2857				

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

Pupils were also asked how much they agreed or disagreed with statements about immigrants' rights (immigrants were defined as 'people who move to another country and settle there') as distinct from ethnic minority rights. As Table 4.11 shows, although the majority supported the positive statements, pupils' views on immigrant rights were less tolerant than those relating to ethnic minority rights. The final CELS report (Keating, *et al.*, 2010) has also found that pupils' attitudes towards refugees and immigrants tend to become less tolerant as they become older.

Table 4.11. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about immigrants?

Immigrant rights	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
Immigrants should be able to speak own language	17	46	26	11
Immigrant children should have equal educational opportunities	32	52	11	5
Immigrants should be able to vote in elections	24	50	20	6
Immigrants should be able to continue own customs	20	50	22	8
Immigrants should have same rights as everyone	31	47	16	7
When there are few jobs immigration should be restricted	21	41	27	11
Unweighted N = 2863				

*A series of single response questions
Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

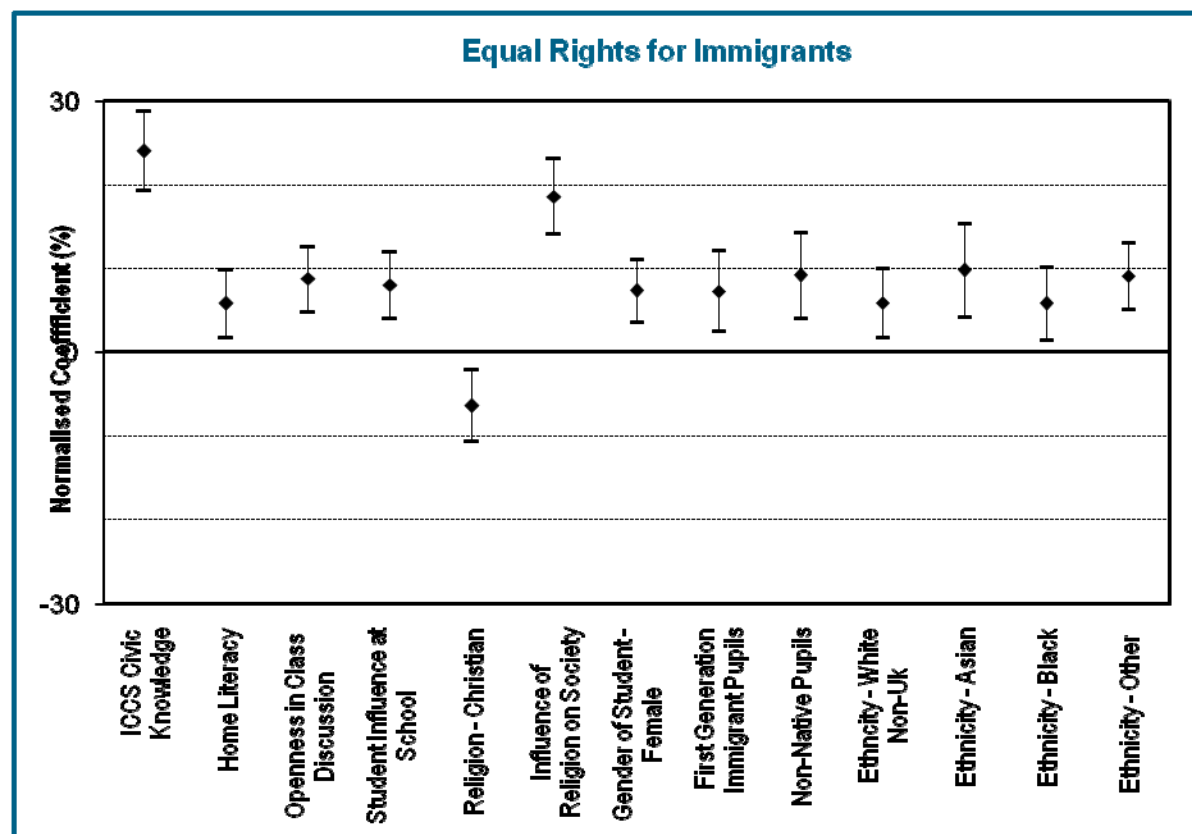
Support was strongest for equal educational opportunities for immigrants' children, for the general principle of immigrants having the same rights as everyone, and for the right to vote. However, nearly one third of respondents (30 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed that immigrants should be able to continue their own customs, and more than one third (37 per cent) did not think immigrants should be able to speak their own language. The statement about restricting immigration when there are few jobs was supported by almost two-thirds of respondents (62 per cent).

Although direct comparisons with CIVED findings on attitudes to immigrants' rights are not possible (see Chapter 1, footnote 2), the national CIVED report for England (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, p.78) indicated similar levels of dissent, for example, on immigrants speaking their own language and keeping their own customs.

What influences attitudes to equal rights for immigrants?

Multilevel modelling indicates that the factor with the strongest influence on positive attitudes to equal rights for immigrants is, again, pupils' **civic knowledge score**. Figure 4.4 below shows that pupils with higher scores are more likely than other similar pupils to support equal rights for immigrants.

Figure 4.4. Variables significantly related to views of equal rights for immigrants



The other main factors that appear to have a positive influence on pupil attitudes are:

- **Believing in the influence of religion on society** (although being of the Christian religion appears to exert a negative influence).
- **Belonging to an Asian ethnic group.**
- **Being non-native (i.e. not born in England).**
- **Belonging to any ethnic minority group** not covered by the categories White, Asian or Black.
- **Pupils believing they can express themselves openly in the classroom.**
- **Pupils believing that they can influence decisions made in school.**
- **Being female.**

As stated previously in relation to attitudes to gender equality and ethnic minority rights, encouraging the development of knowledge and understanding of social and civic issues, providing opportunities for open discussion within a classroom setting, and creating a school climate in which pupils feel that they can influence decisions, may assist in promoting tolerance

and objectivity in attitudes towards immigrants. This, in turn, could help to promote good community relations and make the spread of uninformed opinion less damaging.

Cross tabulation of pupils' responses by native and non-native pupils confirmed the difference in attitudes between the two groups. Whereas the majority (61 per cent) of pupils born in England agreed or strongly agreed that *'immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language'*, an even higher proportion (78 per cent) of pupils born outside England did so. Although more than two-thirds (69 per cent) of native pupils agreed or strongly agreed that *'immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle'*, 78 per cent of non-native pupils did so, and, the difference between native and non-native pupils' level of agreement towards the statement: *'when there are not many jobs available, immigration should be restricted'*, was 63 per cent as compared with 52 per cent.

However, the gap was narrower on attitudes towards opportunities for education for immigrants' children, with 84 per cent of native pupils agreeing or strongly agreeing with this, compared to 90 per cent of non-native pupils. It may be that educational opportunity was not perceived as a potential threat to the native population in the way that economic or political influence might be, or simply that the statement referred to immigrants' children and their future rather than to current immigrants coming into England. The difference in scores between the two groups however, does suggest an attitudinal gap that could have an adverse impact on community relations.

Attitudes of pupils in England compared to pupils internationally and across Europe

Many other countries also have large and diverse ethnic minority populations and attract immigrants, so it is interesting to compare the responses of pupils in England, both towards ethnic minority rights, and towards immigration, with those in other ICCS countries in Europe and beyond.

The items in Tables 4.9 and 4.11 on rights for ethnic minorities and immigrants were scaled in order to investigate levels of support across all countries that participated in ICCS. This showed that in all countries, pupils agreed with positively worded statements and disagreed with those not

supportive of equal rights for ethnic groups and immigrants, but that there were differences in the degree of support across and within countries. (Kerr, *et al.*, 2010 Chapter 5). For England, the mean score on attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups was significantly above the ICCS European average, but on attitudes towards rights for immigrants, it was significantly below the ICCS European average. In fact England, along with Belgium (Flemish) and the Netherlands, had the lowest mean score on attitudes towards rights for immigrants (Kerr, *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 5).

When attitudinal scores for responses on immigrant rights from European countries participating in ICCS were broken down by immigrant (non-native) pupils and non-immigrant pupils, there was a similar pattern to that found in England. Across Europe, pupils from immigrant families were significantly more positive than those from non-immigrant families, but England was one of five countries where this difference was widest (the others were Sweden, Finland, Austria and the Netherlands).

Pupils who completed the European module questionnaire had the opportunity to consider statements on the free movement of people within Europe. As immigration from EU countries has featured strongly in the media in the UK over the last few years, it is interesting to see the responses of the pupils in England to these statements, which are shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. Attitudes to immigration from the EU

Statements about EU immigration	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
Citizens of European countries should be allowed to live and work anywhere in Europe	22	58	17	3
There should be restrictions on travel in Europe to help fight terrorism	15	51	30	4
Other Europeans living in England leads to conflict between people of different nationalities	9	49	38	4
English citizens will be safer from crime if they close their borders to immigrants from other European countries	13	39	41	8
Other Europeans living in England is good because they bring different cultures with them	16	58	21	5
There is more unemployment for citizens of England because of immigration from European countries	20	53	24	4
Travel restrictions within Europe prevent people from knowing Europe better	12	59	25	4
Allowing citizens from other European countries to work here is good for the economy of England	12	53	30	6
The movement of workers between European countries should be restricted to stop too many immigrants	18	55	23	4
European citizens should be free to travel to understand other European cultures better	21	57	18	4

Unweighted N = 2725

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

Attitudes to free movement across Europe were mixed, with four-fifths (80 per cent) of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that European citizens should be allowed to live and work anywhere in Europe, but almost three-quarters (73 per cent) agreeing or strongly agreeing that there was more unemployment because of immigration from European countries and that movement of workers between European countries should be restricted to stop too many immigrants from moving between countries. Although a large majority of pupils in England were in agreement with the statement that European citizens should be allowed to live and work anywhere in Europe, England had the lowest percentage agreement on this statement, alongside Switzerland and Belgium (Flemish), of the European countries that participated

in ICCS, and was ten points below the ICCS European scale average of 90 per cent.

There were higher levels of support from pupils in England towards population movement for cultural reasons, for example, more than three-quarters of respondents (78 per cent) agreed or strongly agreed that European citizens should be free to travel to understand other European cultures better, although this was below the ICCS European average. However, as indicated above, there was a far less positive attitude to movement for economic reasons and a perception that immigration from Europe was one of the causes of unemployment in England. This is perhaps not surprising, given that there has been much media coverage in recent years in England that has encouraged this perception. Across other European countries there was also stronger support for free movement of citizens for cultural rather than economic reasons (Kerr, *et al*, 2010, Chapter 5), and the countries that had the highest levels of support for free movement for economic reasons were those that had recently joined the EU. Just under two-thirds (64 per cent) of pupils in England agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that allowing European citizens to work in England is good for the economy, and although this was not the lowest proportion, it was below the European scale average of 70 per cent.¹⁵

Although the responses of pupils in England appear to show some concern about the negative effect of European immigration on crime and employment, when they were asked about the rights of EU citizens in England, there was strong support for those rights, as Table 4.13 shows.

Table 4.13. How much do you agree with the following statements about EU citizens' rights in England?

Citizens of European countries who come to England should have the same opportunities:	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
Whatever their ethnic or racial background	33	53	11	3
Whatever their religion or beliefs	31	54	11	3
Whatever language they speak	26	48	22	4
Whether they come from a rich or poor country	32	55	10	3
Whatever their level of education	23	48	24	5

Unweighted N = 2717

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

¹⁵ The wording of this item in the European module was adapted to reflect each country of test.

There was a similarly positive attitude to these rights among European pupils generally, and so it would seem that in England, as in other European countries, although there may be divergent opinions about the relative benefits for the host country of European immigration, there is a strongly held view that the rights of all citizens should be upheld.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has looked at a wide range of attitudes amongst pupils in England to democratic values and institutions, sense of identity and equal rights, and has drawn out some of the apparent influences on these attitudes. The main themes that have emerged have been:

- strongly positive support for democratic principles, national civic institutions and equal rights
- the influence exerted on these views by individual pupil characteristics such as cognitive achievement, gender and ethnicity
- the importance of school-level factors, such as a perception of openness in class discussions, in attitudinal responses
- the complex interplay between national and wider European identity and attitudes to national autonomy and harmonisation of policies in Europe.

It is encouraging to see the strength of support from pupils in England for democratic values, such as freedom of speech and association and free elections, and opposition to those things which can be considered to undermine democracy, such as violent protest. Higher levels of trust for institutions such as the police and the armed forces, over national and local government and parliament, has been maintained over time. Nor is it surprising, given that pupils would be much more aware of the work and challenges faced by the first two organisations than they would be of the political institutions, and the latter tend to receive more negative media coverage. The fact that pupils in England had a level of trust in national government that was higher than the ICCS average suggests that there is actually quite a strong level of support for the institutions of a democratic political system, and that this is separated from attitudes to political parties. These have the lowest levels of trust among pupils in England, a trend maintained over time and also the case in other ICCS countries, and not necessarily a cause for concern, given the age of the participating pupils and

their strong support for the principle of free elections. The high level of trust in schools is also a promising foundation for building young people's sense of social responsibility.

There is also a positive picture in terms of the levels of support for equal rights for all citizens in England, a concept which can be considered as underpinning democratic values. However, there may be some cautionary messages in the less liberal attitude to immigrants' rights, and in the apparent gap between attitudes according to gender, ethnicity and native/non-native pupils. Although pupils in England are not alone in having an average score on attitude to immigrant rights that is significantly below the ICCS average, England is one of five countries where the gap between positive responses from native and non-native pupils is widest, and this could become a negative factor in developing community integration. Although there was agreement that there was a detrimental impact on unemployment and crime as a result of European immigration, the great majority supported the principle of upholding the rights of all EU citizens in England, which suggests that they are still positive in reflecting democratic values.

In terms of implications from these findings, the multi-level modelling indicated that cognitive achievement, as reflected in civic knowledge scores, appears to have a particular influence on positive attitudes to support for democratic values, gender equality and equal rights for ethnic minority and immigrant groups. This implies that such positive attitudes can be encouraged through raising pupil awareness of democratic principles and institutions and the balance required between rights and responsibilities. However, school-level factors also need to be taken into account, and it is also apparent that a school ethos which encourages open discussion and where pupils feel that they have some influence in decision-making, play their part. So the opportunity to voice opinions in an atmosphere of genuine debate, where the development of objectivity can be promoted and where democratic principles are actually applied also needs promotion. This would also help to address the difference in views between members of sub-groups (for example, gender, ethnic groups and native/non-native pupils). Encouraging reasoned and objective debate with pupils of this age group is not easily achieved, but the benefits would appear to be considerable both for school communities and beyond.

5. Pupils' Civic Engagement

This chapter considers the extent of pupils' interest in social and political issues, their current within- and out-of- school participation in community and political activities and their propensity to get involved in their communities and as active citizens in the future. Pupils' views about social and political issues, and their dispositions to engage, are not only key measures of the impact of citizenship learning in schools, but are also essential determinants of a healthy future for democratic society.

Key messages:

Pupil interest in social and political issues:

- Pupils across participating ICCS countries tend not to be particularly interested in social or political issues. Pupils in England fit with this trend.
- However, pupils in England are more interested in national, than in local, European, or international politics, and are even more interested in national-level social issues.
- Pupils in England have relatively low levels of confidence in their personal political efficacy. They have higher levels of confidence in their understanding of political issues. Boys tend to have higher levels of confidence than girls.

In-school and out-of-school civic participation:

- Internationally and at European level, pupils are more likely to be involved in civic participation activities within, than out of, school. Pupils in England fit with this trend. Girls are more likely than boys to believe that participating in school is valuable.
- In England, activities such as voting for school council and taking part in voluntary activities are more commonplace than those involving decision making or intellectual engagement. However, pupils have relatively high levels of confidence in undertaking a range of activities in school involving discussion and argument.
- Pupil involvement in out-of-school organisations, or in activities involving collaboration with other European countries is low. Also, large proportions of pupils report never discussing political or European issues with family and friends.
- Pupils are more likely to engage with news at a general level than they are to engage with Europe-specific issues, although pupils in England have a level of news media interest that is significantly below the international average. They also have a level of involvement in discussions about Europe that is among the lowest levels observed across European countries. This is in spite of the fact that the majority of pupils in England believe that their schools provide opportunities to learn about a range of European issues.

- There is a negative relationship between cognitive achievement and out-of-school civic participation. The higher the pupil's civic knowledge score, the less likely he or she is to participate in out-of-school civic activities.

Propensity for future engagement:

- Pupils in England anticipate their main political involvement being in low-intensity activities such as voting. Although the proportion of pupils in England who intend to vote in national elections is significantly lower than the international average, at 72 per cent it is still high. The proportion expecting to vote in European elections is lower, and at 43 per cent is significantly below the European average.
- Internationally, England is in a group of eight countries in which a higher than average proportion of pupils have no party political preferences. This is not necessarily a cause for concern. Pupils who favour a political party a lot or a little tend to have lower civic knowledge scores than those who express only moderate support.

The following sections provide an analysis of the views and dispositions of pupils in England, and the factors that underlie those views. Multilevel modelling is used to explore the factors that influence pupils' interest in social and political issues, participation, and propensity for future engagement and the results are explored in detail in the following sections. The findings are compared to those of pupils across other international and European countries participating in ICCS, where relevant.

5.1 Interest in social and political issues

As a precursor to exploring pupils' specific political beliefs and plans for future participation, pupils were asked how interested they were in a range of social and political issues. Pupil interest in social and political issues has been shown to be an important factor predicting future political engagement and participation (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 49).

International analyses show that pupils across participating ICCS countries tend not to be particularly interested in social or political issues. Pupils in England fit with this trend, having neither especially high, nor especially low, levels of interest compared to the international average. Whilst in some countries there is a difference between boys' and girls' levels of interest, the gender gap in England is minimal: a positive finding (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 51).

Table 5.1 below presents the responses of pupils in England to a question about their interest in social and political issues. This demonstrates that whilst the international finding about a general lack of interest holds true, there are some issues over which pupils in England demonstrate high levels of interest.

Table 5.1. How interested are you in the following issues?

Interest in issues	Very interested	Quite interested	Not very interested	Not interested at all
	%	%	%	%
Political issues in community	6	33	43	18
Political issues in country	12	39	35	15
Social issues in country	12	46	30	12
Politics in other countries	6	24	46	24
International politics	8	26	45	21
Environmental issues	19	43	25	13
European politics	6	25	46	23

Unweighted N = 2877

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

The table shows that pupils are more interested in **national**, than in local, European, or international politics, with almost half (49 per cent) saying that they are ‘very’ or ‘quite’ interested in national politics, a pattern that is borne out across countries that took part in the European module (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 6). However, pupils have an even greater interest in environmental and national-level **social** issues. Over half (58 per cent) are ‘very’ or ‘quite’ interested in national-level social issues, whilst almost two thirds (62 per cent) are ‘very’ or ‘quite’ interested in environmental issues.

Whilst these findings seem positive on the one hand, on the other they may reflect the findings of the Power Report (White, 2006), that there is a gradual dwindling of interest in conventional politics and party politics among the population at large as well as among young people, which is replaced, to a certain degree, by a more active interest in a range of topical ‘issues’ (such as the environment, for example). On the other hand, ten years ago during the CIVED study, only 21 per cent of pupils agreed or strongly agreed with the statement *I am interested in politics*. Whilst it is not possible to draw direct

comparisons between the ICCS and CIVED responses,¹⁶ this suggests that a dwindling of interest in conventional politics among pupils in England is not an especially recent phenomenon.

Alternatively, the findings regarding pupil interest may reflect issues to do with their confidence levels and sense of personal political efficacy. The notion of *efficacy* – the sense that through their own actions people can make a difference – is central in studies of political socialisation. A number of items in previous IEA studies (Torney *et al.*, 1975; Torney-Purta, *et al.*, 2001) sought to measure young people’s sense of political efficacy, and some of these themes have been followed up in the current ICCS study. The following table provides details of pupils’ views on their relationship with political issues.

Table 5.2. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about you and politics?

(IS2P23)

Participation in politics	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
I know more about politics than others	5	19	55	20
I have views on political issues	8	40	38	14
I am able to understand political issues easily	8	50	31	11
I have political opinions worth listening to	7	35	44	14
I will be able to take part in politics as an adult	8	42	36	13
I have good understanding of political issues	9	43	36	13

Unweighted N = 2871

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

A total of 2871 respondents gave at least one response to these questions

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

This table demonstrates that pupils have relatively low levels of confidence in their personal political efficacy at the age of 14 (as shown through low proportions saying that they ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with statements such

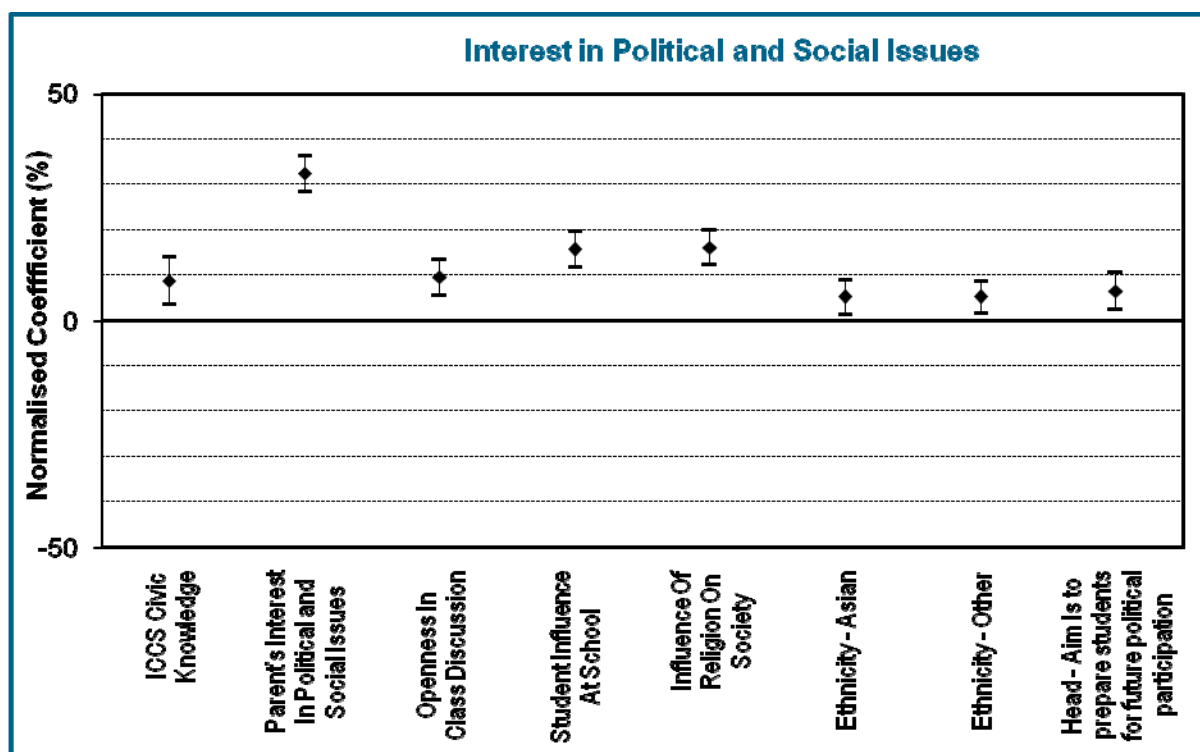
¹⁶ This is because in CIVED, pupils were asked one broad question about their interest in politics, whilst, in ICCS, they were asked seven specific questions related to their interest in social and political issues (see Table 5.1 above). Additionally, differences in scaling (see Chapter 1, footnote 2), mean that it is not possible to draw direct comparisons between the two data sources.

as: *I know more about politics than others* (24 per cent) and *I have political opinions worth listening to* (42 per cent). However, pupils have more confidence in their ability to **understand** political issues, with over half (58 and 52 per cent respectively) stating that they are *able to understand political issues easily* and *have a good understanding of political issues*. Pupils in England follow the international trend in that boys tend to demonstrate higher levels of personal efficacy than girls. However, the average international difference of two scale points (about one fifth of a standard deviation) is not replicated in England, where there is only one scale point difference between girls and boys (see Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 5). The final report of the CELS Study in England (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) has, significantly, found that even as they approach adulthood, young people are still only moderately likely to feel that they as individuals can shape the political and social institutions that shape their lives, suggesting that a sense of efficacy is not strong among pupils in England.

5.1.1 What influences pupils' interest in social and political issues?

Multilevel modelling, undertaken to explore the factors that influence pupils' levels of interest in social and political issues in England, found that the following characteristics were significantly related with pupil interest.

Figure 51. Variables significantly related with interest in political and social issues



All the factors shown in the figure above are positively related with pupils having an interest in social and political issues, but those with the greatest predictive power are:

- **having parents or carers who themselves have an interest in social and political issues.** This demonstrates the important impact of home environment and family background on pupil engagement
- **the extent to which pupils feel they have influence on decisions made within and about school.** This suggests that where schools give pupils voice and decision-making abilities, there can be positive pay offs in terms of enhanced political interest and engagement amongst young people.
- **the extent to which pupils believe that religion should have an influence on society.** This suggests that pupils with belief in the importance of religion are likely also to be engaged in political and social issues.

International analysis also shows that, across all participating countries, pupils who report that they have 'weekly' conversations about social and political issues with their friends (the minority) have on average more than half a standard deviation higher interest scores than those who rarely or never talk about social and political issues (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 5).

Although the international analyses demonstrate that there is a generally low level of interest in social and political issues across participating countries, when broken down, the findings for England suggest that there is clear pupil interest in, and understanding of, issues wider than the conventionally 'political'. This is further exemplified in a question that asks pupils to rank a range of statements about citizenship behaviours on a scale of 'very important' to 'not important at all'. Similarly to the findings reported in CIVED (see Kerr *et al.*, 2001, pp. 57-59), and to those reported in the recent final report of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS), (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming), the behaviours pupils consider to be most important are 'working hard' (93 per cent believe that this is 'very' or 'quite' important) and 'obeying laws' (92 per cent believe the same) (see Section 4.1.1). Joining political parties (32 per cent see this as 'very' or 'quite' important), engaging in political discussions (51 per cent), and taking part in peaceful protests (58 per cent) are less valued as citizenship behaviours.¹⁷

¹⁷ The fact that this question asks about 'good' rather than 'active' citizenship may influence pupils' responses. The questions asked, and scales used, in CIVED were substantially different to those used in ICCS, but the outcomes of both studies present a similar picture.

It is possible that an apparent pupil interest in social and topical issues, as distinct from conventional political issues, can be built upon through the citizenship curriculum and other areas of school life, in order to contribute to nurturing active and engaged citizens for the future. There is also evidence that encouraging pupils to take responsibility for decision making within school may help to encourage high levels of interest in social and political issues.

5.2 Current in-school and out-of-school civic participation

The international report shows that pupils are more likely to participate in a range of civic activities within school than they are out of school – an unsurprising finding given that many of these activities take place as part of the normal school day. ICCS supports findings from other studies, which suggest that school is a microcosm of wider society and the ideal environment in which pupils can experiment with democratic decision making and so develop a sense of political efficacy (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 5). Pupils in England show no deviation from the finding that in-school civic activity is more prevalent than out-of-school activity, as the following sections demonstrate. England also fits the international trend of girls being more likely than boys to believe that participation in school is valuable, although the gap between boys' and girls' views on this matter is significantly lower than the international average (Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter. 5).

5.2.1 In-school participation

Pupils participating in ICCS were asked whether they had ever undertaken a range of activities at school. The results are presented in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3. At school, have you ever done any of the following activities?

Activities in school:	Yes, within the last 12 months	Yes, more than a year ago	No, I have never done this
	%	%	%
Voluntary activity	35	28	38
School debate	25	24	52
Voting for school council	48	31	21
Decision-making about how school is run	25	30	45
Discussions about school	13	25	63
Becoming a school council candidate	15	25	60

Unweighted N = 2885

*A series of single response questions
 Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100
 A total of 2885 respondents gave at least one response to these questions
 Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire*

The table shows a relatively low level of within-school participation amongst Year 9 pupils within the last 12 months. However, if taken in combination with activities undertaken more than one year ago, the proportions increase, with ‘voting for school council’ being the main form of reported participation (79 per cent). Additionally, around two thirds (63 per cent) of pupils report having taken part in voluntary activities in school. Activities involving decision-making or intellectual engagement (such as debate) are less commonly identified by pupils as activities they have taken part in, whilst ‘becoming a school council candidate’ is also rarely identified (40 per cent of pupils). Given that the nature of this role is as a representative of others, and therefore that it is not possible for all pupils to engage in it, it is surprising, and encouraging, that as many as two fifths of pupils say that they have undertaken this role at some point in the past.

In terms of pupils’ **confidence** in undertaking a range of civic activities, the majority of pupils believe that they would undertake the range of stated activities ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ well. Amongst the highest ranked (n = 2,838) are:

- discussing a newspaper article (70 per cent)
- arguing a point of view (66 per cent)
- writing a letter to a newspaper (62 per cent)
- organising a group of pupils (61 per cent).

Pupils are generally less confident about activities that involve representing others or presenting ideas to them. Only just over one half (51 per cent) of pupils feel they would stand 'well' or 'fairly well' as a candidate for school council, whilst under half (48 per cent) feel they would be able to speak in front of their class 'very' or 'quite' well.

It is encouraging that school-based civic participation and pupils' confidence to participate, are both relatively high. The international report has found that school-based civic participation is of great benefit to pupils. It is positively correlated with the highest levels of civic knowledge and also with the highest levels of interest in social and political issues (a finding also borne out in national-level multilevel model analysis – see Section 5.1.1 above). This suggests that pupil voice, active participation and decision-making opportunities within schools have a crucial and continuing role to play in developing knowledgeable, active and engaged citizens for the future.

As to what else is associated with civic participation at school, multilevel modelling shows that the most important predictors are, in the following order¹⁸:

- **Civic knowledge** – all else being equal, the higher pupils' scores in the cognitive test, the greater their likelihood of participating in school (normalized coefficient of 17.0).
- **Home literacy level** – all else being equal, the more books pupils have in their homes (and therefore the more likely they are to be exposed to the importance of reading and to have access to literature), the more likely they are to participate in school (normalized coefficient of 14.9). It is worth noting that other indicators of socio-economic status (such as parent/carer occupation and parent/carer education level) are not significantly related to pupils' participation in school once other factors (such as civic knowledge and home literacy level) are taken account of.
- **Parents' and carers' interest in political and social issues** – as is the case for pupil interest in political and social issues, having politically engaged parents or carers is also positively associated with pupils' likelihood of participating in school (normalized coefficient of 13.1).

¹⁸ Other predictors of civic participation in school include: pupils believing in the importance of religion having an influence on society; pupils' expected educational levels (the higher the level, the more likely they are to participate in their schools); the gender of the pupil (girls are more likely than similar boys to have high levels of participation) and the religion of the pupil (being Christian is a predictor of participation in school, although being a member of another religion is not).

- **Pupils' perception of classroom 'openness'** – all else being equal, the more pupils believe they can express their views freely in class, the more likely they are to participate in school life (normalized coefficient of 10.2). This suggests that where schools give pupils voice, there is potential for them to reap the rewards of having pupils who are willing to be actively engaged as citizens of their schools.

Once factors such as those described above are taken into account, the organisation of the school citizenship curriculum (for example, whether a discrete subject or cross-curricular, or a mixture of approaches) and characteristics of the school (such as whether the school is in an area of high social tension) are **not** significant predictors of pupil participation in school life.

5.2.2 Out-of-school participation

The international and European ICCS results show a much lower level of participation out of than within school, both in terms of practical activity, and in terms of cultural or political engagement. This may be a reflection of the relatively young age of the surveyed pupils, and illustrates the importance of school as a democratic institution in which pupils can gain opportunities to participate and contribute to decision making.

a) Practical activity:

In England, very high proportions of pupils responding to the international questionnaire (n = 2,877) state that they have 'never' been involved in out-of-school organisations such as: 'human rights organisations' (92 per cent); cultural organisations (88 per cent); political youth organisations (85 per cent); young people's campaigns (83 per cent); or environmental organisations (82 per cent). The highest level of participation amongst pupils is 'collecting money for a social cause' (46 per cent of pupils have had such involvement within the past 12 months or more than one year ago), and 'involvement with a community voluntary group' (39 per cent of pupils, almost two fifths, have had such involvement within the past 12 months or more than one year ago).¹⁹

England fits the international trend in this respect. As Schulz *et al.* (2010b, Chapter 5) state:

¹⁹ The same patterns were observed in CIVED, with only very small proportions of pupils saying that they had been involved in the out-of school organisations outlined here. Due to the differences in scaling between CIVED and ICCS, and due to the fact that many more items were included in the CIVED question (for example, participation in sports organisations and arts organisations), it is not possible to make direct comparisons between the two surveys.

Results showed only small minorities of pupils reporting participation in formal organisations...However, larger numbers of pupils reported that they had participated in voluntary activities such as collecting money or volunteering.

The final CELS report (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) demonstrates the same pattern of pupil participation whilst noting that as pupils get older, there is a notable increase in the proportions helping out in their local community.

Similarly, high proportions of pupils responding to the European questionnaire (n = 2,732) state that they have rarely been involved in a range of activities that involve collaborating with European countries. The following proportions of pupils (all over two thirds) say that they have **never**:

- been on a trip to a European country organized by a religious or cultural organization (85 per cent)
- been on exchange programmes with European pupils (74 per cent)
- been involved in activities that involve meeting people from other European countries (72 per cent)
- participated in festivals in another European country (70 per cent)
- participated in sports events in another European country (69 per cent)
- been involved in town twinning activities (68 per cent).

The only activities that the majority of pupils report having been involved in, within the past 12 months or more than one year ago, are: taking a holiday in a European country (80 per cent); gathering information about another European country (59 per cent); and going on a school trip to a European country (52 per cent). This shows that pupils' main experience of Europe is either through family or school vacation, or through desk-based educational activities within school. It is less common for pupils to be involved in community-based or collaborative activities with other European countries. This is perhaps not surprising given the relatively young age of the participating pupils.

b) Political and cultural engagement:

Table 5.4 shows pupils' responses to the international questionnaire about their involvement in a range of out-of-school activities and discussions about politics.²⁰

Table 5.4. How often are you involved in each of the following activities outside school?

Level of involvement with activities outside school:	Never or hardly ever	Monthly (at least once a month)	Weekly (at least once a week)	Daily or almost daily
	%	%	%	%
Talking with parents – political issues	59	21	13	7
Watching the news on TV	22	21	28	28
Reading newspapers	38	21	26	15
Talking with friends – political issues	68	19	9	5
Using the internet for information	50	26	16	8
Talking with parents – about other countries	32	34	25	9
Talking with friends – about other countries	52	31	13	4
Special interest groups	65	6	22	6
Unweighted N = 2897				

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

A total of 2897 respondents gave at least one response to these questions

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

Again, it is clear from this table that large proportions of pupils report **never having taken part** in out of school activities that involve engaging with political issues such as:

- talking with friends about political issues (over two thirds, 68 per cent, have never done this)
- taking part in 'special interest groups' (over two thirds, 65 per cent, say the same)
- talking with parents or carers about political issues (almost three fifths, 59 per cent, have never done this)
- talking with friends about other countries (just over half, 52 per cent, agree).

²⁰ Differences between CIVED and ICCS scaling and question content are too great to make any meaningful comments about differences in views over time on this topic.

Political engagement activities that pupils are **most likely** to have taken part in either monthly, weekly or daily are: 'watching the news on TV' (over three quarters of pupils, 78 per cent, say that they do this); 'talking with parents about other countries' (just over two thirds, 68 per cent agree, although pupils will not necessarily have taken this question to mean talking about politics or social issues in other countries); and 'reading newspapers' (just under two thirds, 62 per cent say that they do this). Interestingly, pupils are equally divided on whether they use the internet for information (50 per cent equally say that they never do this, or that they do this monthly, weekly or daily). This suggests that, although internet usage among young people is generally recognised as high, the extent to which they use the internet for educational or political purposes is less clear. According to international analyses on pupils' use of three media – television, newspapers and the internet - England has a rate of usage that is significantly below the ICCS average, although not among the lowest rates (as seen in Cyprus, Greece, Ireland and New Zealand).

A similar question in the European questionnaire, about the extent to which pupils are involved in discussions about European cultural and political issues, suggests that pupils are **less likely** to engage in European, than in general political, issues. Indeed, analyses conducted at the European level show that England was one of only two European countries (the other being Belgium (Flemish)) in which pupils had a level of participation in discussions about Europe that was significantly, and well below, the European average (four scale points in the case of England). That said, the activities that pupils in England are most and least likely to engage in are broadly similar to those identified in Table 5.4 above.²¹ For example, the activities that pupils are most likely to take part in, at European level (n = 2,731) are:

²¹ Caution should be applied in comparing the results of the European and international questionnaires too closely. This is because slightly different scales were used in each questionnaire. In the international questionnaire, the scale applied was: 'hardly ever', 'monthly' 'weekly' 'daily', whereas in the European questionnaire, the scale was: 'hardly ever', 'yearly', 'monthly' 'weekly'. For the purposes of making comparisons, the 'hardly ever' and 'weekly' categories are used. 'Weekly' comprises the weekly category only in the European data, and the weekly and daily categories combined in the international data.

- **Watching television about European news** (27 per cent do this weekly, compared to 56 per cent of pupils responding to the international questionnaire who say that they watch general news on television weekly).
- **Discussing European sports events** (23 per cent do this weekly, compared to 34 per cent of pupils responding to the international questionnaire who say that they talk with their parents about other countries weekly).
- **Reading newspapers about European news** (20 per cent do this weekly, compared to 41 per cent of pupils responding to the international questionnaire who say that they read newspapers weekly).

Activities in which pupils are least likely to have been involved are: 'discussing issues raised in European Parliament with friends and family' (65 per cent have never done this); 'discussing the European Union with friends and family' (64 per cent say the same), discussing the political/economic situation in Europe with friends and family (53 per cent have never done this) and 'talking about the possibility of work in another European country (50 per cent agree). This raises questions about pupils' and families' interest in Europe, and about the extent to which pupils are developing sufficient understanding of European political and cultural issues within school and beyond upon which they can build in their wider lives. Interestingly, as Table 5.5 below shows, when asked whether their schools provide them with opportunities to learn about European issues, pupils generally agree that they are receiving a good grounding from their schools.

Table 5.5. My school provides opportunities to:

Opportunities provided	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %
Visit other European countries	30	55	11	4
Meet young people from other European countries	15	44	34	7
Learn about political/economic issues in European countries	9	54	32	6
Find out what is happening in other European countries	10	61	24	4
Find out through internet what is happening in other European countries	11	52	31	5
Learn about art and culture in other European countries	16	62	18	4
Learn about sport in other European countries	14	47	33	6
Find out what it is like to live in other European countries	12	53	29	6
Learn about how to work in other European countries	9	40	41	9
Unweighted N = 2733				

A series of single response questions

Due to rounding errors percentages may not sum to 100

A total of 2733 respondents gave at least one response to these questions

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – European Module Questionnaire

The table shows that the majority of pupils strongly agree or agree with all of the statements, and particularly with statements to the effect that schools provide opportunities to: visit other European countries (85 per cent); learn about art and culture in other European countries (78 per cent); and find out what is happening in other European countries (71 per cent).

c) What influences pupils' out-of-school civic participation?

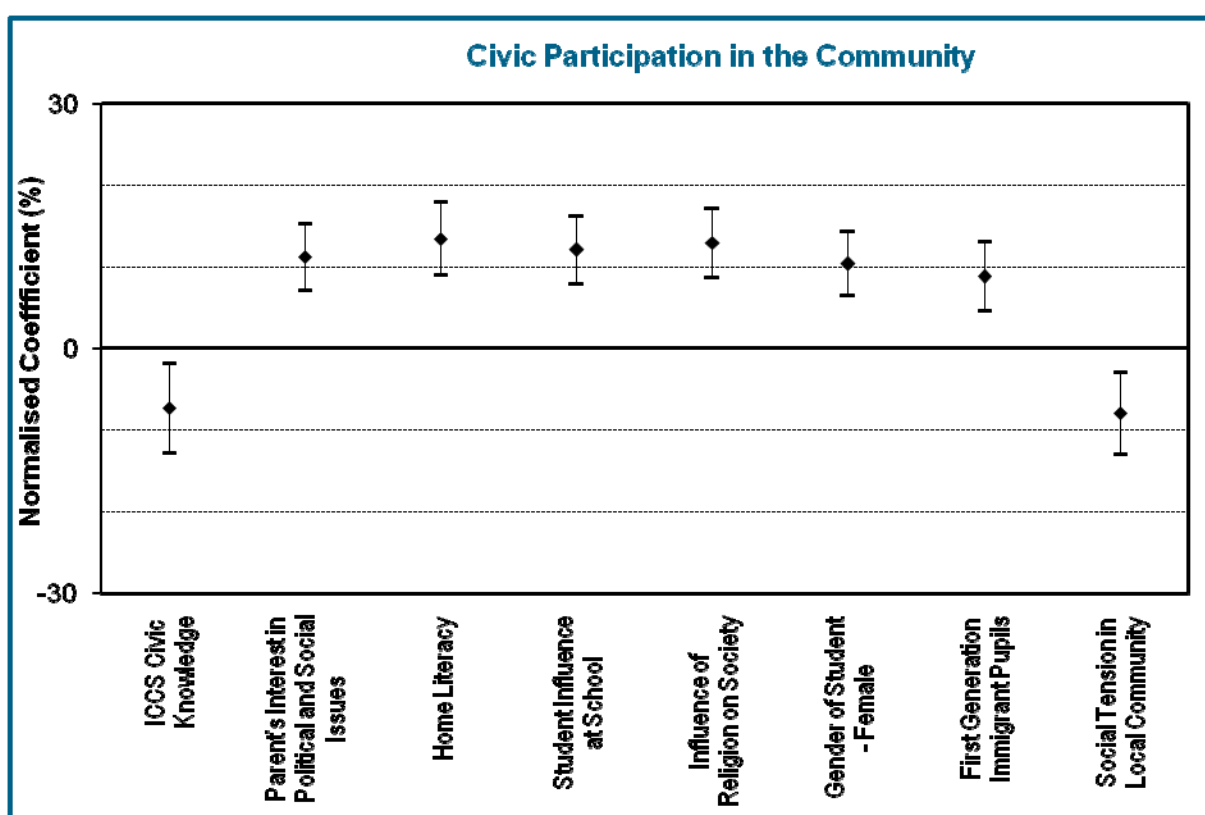
The message about whether or not out-of-school civic participation is of benefit to pupils is mixed. Pupils in England matched the following pattern observed across most participating countries in the ICCS international analysis:

- Pupils who frequently participate in a range of community activities (the minority) do not have higher test scores than other pupils, and there is even a tendency for frequent participants to be **less** knowledgeable than those who have never taken part in community activities.

- There is a positive correlation, however, between civic participation in the community and the highest levels of pupil interest in social and political issues.

Multilevel modelling of England’s national data, which was used to explore the relationship between pupils’ out-of-school civic participation and other variables, produced some interesting results, which broadly reflect the international trends described above. The variables that were found to be significantly related to pupils’ out-of-school civic participation are shown in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2. Variables significantly related to civic participation in the community



The figure demonstrates that the four most important predictors of pupils’ community-based civic involvement are not dissimilar to those found to be significant in explaining pupils’ school-based civic participation. Findings are that pupils:

- **with higher literacy levels** than other similar pupils are more likely to take part in out-of-school civic activities
- **who believe that religion should have an influence on society** are more disposed than other similar pupils to get involved in community-based civic activity

- **who believe that they have influence at school** (in terms of being able to make decisions about class and school rules and the content of lessons) are more likely than other similar pupils to take part in out-of-school civic activities
- **who have parents or carers with interest in social and political issues** are more likely than other similar pupils to get involved in their communities.

The figure also shows that two variables are negatively associated with pupils' out-of-school civic participation. These are **civic knowledge** and being in a school where there is reportedly **social tension** in the local community. The finding regarding civic knowledge reflects a key finding of the international report – that pupils with higher levels of civic knowledge than similar pupils are **less** likely to take part in community-based civic activity. It also shows that pupils in schools serving areas of social tension are less likely than similar pupils to participate in out-of-school civic activity.

The multilevel modelling analysis also demonstrates that, when the factors described above are taken into account, there is **no relationship** between schools where teachers and headteachers report that one of the main aims of citizenship education is *to promote pupils' participation in the local community*, and pupils' actual out-of-school civic participation. This suggests that specific curriculum content has less impact upon pupils' propensity to become involved in the community than home environment factors or factors more broadly associated with school ethos and the school learning environment.

In conclusion, it would seem that, whilst out-of-school civic participation (practical or political) can help to develop an interest in citizenship-related issues and behaviours (or vice-versa), it does not have a positive impact upon pupils' citizenship knowledge. It is also the case that having a high level of civic knowledge is not a predictor of community engagement. The reasons for this are unclear. They may reflect the fact that the highest achieving pupils tend to focus upon schoolwork and homework rather than upon out-of-school activities. They may also be related to the way in which pupils are encouraged to learn about citizenship. Schools with a strong focus upon civic knowledge and understanding may not always be the schools that are most likely to encourage pupils to play an active role in school decision making or classroom

discussion and debate – factors which have a bearing upon pupils' likely participation in the wider community.

5.3 Propensity for future engagement

Given the young age of ICCS pupils (Year 9 pupils are 13-14 years old), a series of survey questions focused upon their future behavioural **intentions** – i.e. their plans to participate as adults or in the near future, in a number of conventional political activities as well as in social or community-based activities.

5.3.1 Conventional political activity

Two questions asking pupils about the extent to which they expect to take part in political life and protest activity in the future show a clear distinction between activities where the majority of pupils say that they will 'certainly or probably **do this**' and activities where the majority of pupils say that they will 'certainly or probably **not do this**'. The diagram below demonstrates this.

Figure 5.3. Pupils' expectations of taking part in political life and protest

I will certainly/probably do this	I will certainly/probably <u>not</u> do this
Political activity	
Vote in local elections (76%) Vote in national elections (72%) Get information about candidates (69%)	Stand as a candidate in a local election (83%) Join a political party (81%) Join a Trade Union (79%) Help a candidate or party (65%) Vote in European elections (57%)
Protest activity	
Not buy certain products (62%) Collect signatures for a petition (61%) Write a letter to a newspaper (59%) Wear a badge or T-shirt (54%)	Block traffic (83%) Occupy a public building (80%) Spray paint protest slogans (75%) Contact an MP (65%) Take part in a peaceful rally (56%)

Two questionnaire items asking a series of single response questions

A total of 2827 respondents gave at least one response to the questions on political activity, whilst a total of 2837 respondents gave at least one response to the questions on protest activity

Source: ICCS main Survey 2009 – Pupil Questionnaire

a) Political activity

Pupils anticipate their highest levels of political involvement being in activities that are non-intensive and relatively undemanding (such as voting). It is worth noting that voting only applies to **English** local and national elections. The majority of pupils (57 per cent) say that they would probably or certainly not vote in **European** elections. This is a finding that is borne out in European-level analysis. Whilst the European average for anticipated voting in local elections is 80 per cent and for voting in national elections is 78 per cent, the percentage of young people across Europe expecting to vote in European elections is only 58 per cent. Within this finding, England is significantly below the European average for intention to vote in European elections at just 43 per cent (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, Chapter 6).

The proportion of pupils in England who intend to vote in national elections (72 per cent) is also significantly lower than the international average (which is around 80 per cent) (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, pp. 57-59), although not in the group of countries where the lowest levels of anticipated participation is observed (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Switzerland). This figure of 72 per cent, which represents almost three quarters of pupils in England, is nonetheless high, and is especially encouraging given historically low voter turnout in national elections in England. It is also encouraging given the findings of the recent CELS report (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) that intentions to vote generally get stronger as pupils get older, and that ICCS pupils were substantially younger at the time of completing the ICCS questionnaire. In CIVED, the proportion of pupils saying that they would certainly or probably 'vote in every election' (there was no differentiation between national and local elections in this survey) was 68 per cent. This suggests that, once the 16 per cent who stated that they 'did not know' or who did not respond to the question, are taken into account, there has been little change in pupils' voting intentions in England over the past decade.

Multilevel modelling analyses at the national level explored the relationship between anticipated adult electoral activity and other pupil characteristics. A number of variables were found to be significantly related,²² the most important two of which were:

²² Other predictors of future voting intention include: pupils believing in the importance of religion having an influence on society; pupils' perception that there is a climate of classroom 'openness'; pupils having high home literacy levels; and pupils' gender (male pupils are more likely than similar female pupils to say that they will vote in the future).

- **Civic knowledge** – the greater pupils' civic knowledge (as measured through the ICCS cognitive test), the more likely they were to say that they would vote in the future (normalized coefficient of 29.7). This indicates that developing pupils' knowledge and understanding of citizenship-related issues may have a positive impact upon the likelihood of their future democratic participation.
- **Parents' and carers' interest in social and political issues** – as has been found with many of the other themes explored in this chapter, pupils with engaged parents or carers are more likely than other similar pupils to undertake their democratic electoral rights and responsibilities in the future (normalized coefficient of 25.3). The home environment clearly has an important role to play.

Figure 5.3 above shows that intentions to join a political party or to stand as a candidate in an election are a great deal less apparent than intentions to vote (indeed the proportions of pupils saying that they would not consider doing these things are generally higher than the proportions saying that they **would** take part in voting-related activity – a trend that reflects the findings from the CIVED report 10 years ago (Kerr *et al.*, 2001, p. 90). This level of apparent apathy towards direct political involvement is borne out in a separate question asking pupils whether or not they favour a particular political party. Almost two thirds (67 per cent) say that they have no favoured party. Of the remainder who do have a preference, the majority (56 per cent) say that they are in favour of this party only 'to some extent'. Internationally, England is in a group of eight countries in which a higher than average proportion of pupils has no party political preferences, which may be linked to the findings of the final CELS report (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) that pupils in England have a high and growing level of distrust in politicians. However, this may not necessarily be a cause for concern or a predictor of citizenship achievement however. Our analysis found that pupils who favoured a political party a lot or a little tended to have lower civic knowledge scores than those who expressed only moderate support.

Although Year 9 pupils do not generally expect to take part in political activities that will require high levels of time and commitment, it is encouraging that the majority intend to exercise their democratic right as citizens in the future through voting (albeit less likely in European elections). At the age of 14, it may be that keeping an open mind regarding political issues and future political activity is healthy, enabling pupils to develop a

rounded view that can contribute to higher cognitive achievement and better citizenship understanding.

b) Protest activity

In terms of protest activity, there is a clear divide between activities that are legal (such as boycotting the purchase of certain products and writing letters to newspapers), and those that are illegal (such as blocking traffic, occupying buildings or spray painting slogans). As might be expected, pupils are likely to agree that they might take part in legal activities and to disagree that they might take part in illegal activities, as Figure 5.3 demonstrates. Pupils in England are no more, or less, likely than pupils across other participating countries to anticipate taking part in legal or illegal activities (see Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 5). Two exceptions are that the majority of pupils in England (65 and 56 per cent respectively) say that they would **not** contact an MP or take part in a peaceful rally, both of which are democratic rights. This suggests that pupils are unlikely to take direct political or collective action, even when it is legal, and that they have a preference for non-direct, or low intensity, forms of protest.

The international analysis has found that generally, girls are more likely to anticipate participating in legal protest than boys, and that boys are more disposed than girls to participation in illegal activities. In the latter case, statistically significant differences were found in all but one of the participating countries (see Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter 5). England matches these observed patterns.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated a range of influences upon pupils' interest in social and political issues, upon participation within and out of school and upon propensity for future engagement as adult citizens. Three key themes emerge:

1. The importance of home environment.
2. The importance of pupil-level factors.
3. The importance of school-level factors.

5.4.1 Home environment

Possibly the most significant factor in explaining pupil outcomes is the role of the home environment. Pupils who have parents or carers with an interest in social and political issues tend themselves to be more likely than other pupils to be interested in social and political issues, to participate in their schools and in out-of-school activities and to anticipate that they will exercise their democratic right to vote in the future. Similarly, pupils with high home literacy levels (measured by the number of books that pupils have in their homes) are more likely to participate in school and in the community than other pupils with similar characteristics, although other measures of socio-economic status are found not to be significantly related to pupil outcomes when other factors are taken into account. There is also a clear relationship between pupils who believe that **religion** has an important role to play in society. Such pupils tend to be more interested in social and political issues than other similar pupils, more likely to participate in school and community-based activities and more disposed to future voting activity than their other similar peers.

5.4.2 Pupil-level factors

Cognitive achievement also has a bearing upon pupil outcomes, although it is not always a straightforward or linear relationship. Pupils with the highest levels of cognitive achievement are more likely than other pupils with similar characteristics to participate in school and to be disposed towards voting in the future. However, surprisingly, they are **less** likely to take part in community-based civic activity than similar pupils. The reasons for this are unclear (see Section 5.2.2 c) above), but the message is that having a high level of civic knowledge is not a predictor of the likelihood of pupils taking part in community-based civic activities, or engaging with and discussing political issues.

5.4.3 School-level factors

So far, we have outlined the importance of the home environment and of pupils' abilities in predicting pupils' civic engagement. It is difficult to extrapolate from this to make recommendations for policy and practice relating to citizenship learning in schools, as the research points to the conclusion that the most able pupils, with the most engaged parents or carers,

are those that are the most likely to commit to civic and citizenship related activity both now and in the future. However, multilevel modelling has also demonstrated a relationship between certain **school-level** factors and pupil outcomes. So, for example, the analysis tells us that pupils who believe that there is a climate of 'openness' in their classes, or say that they have influence in school decision-making processes, are more likely than other similar pupils to be interested in social and political issues, to participate both within and outside of school and to anticipate voting in elections in the future.

This suggests that where schools give pupils voice and decision-making power there can be benefits to the school and the young people themselves in terms of enhanced pupil political interest and engagement. Schools, which provide pupils with a safe, secure environment in which to 'practice' democratic participation, thus have a continuing, and important, role to play in developing knowledgeable and engaged citizens for the future. It is interesting to note that, the **content** of the citizenship curriculum (for example, whether it highlights knowledge and understanding, or participation in the wider community) and the **model** of citizenship delivery (whether discrete, cross-curricular or delivered through specific subjects for example) are not significantly related with pupils' civic engagement, when a range of other factors are taken into account. The main influences would seem to be the school's ethos and broader learning environment – an encouragement of openness and of a climate that empowers pupils to make decisions about the running of their schools, would seem to be key.

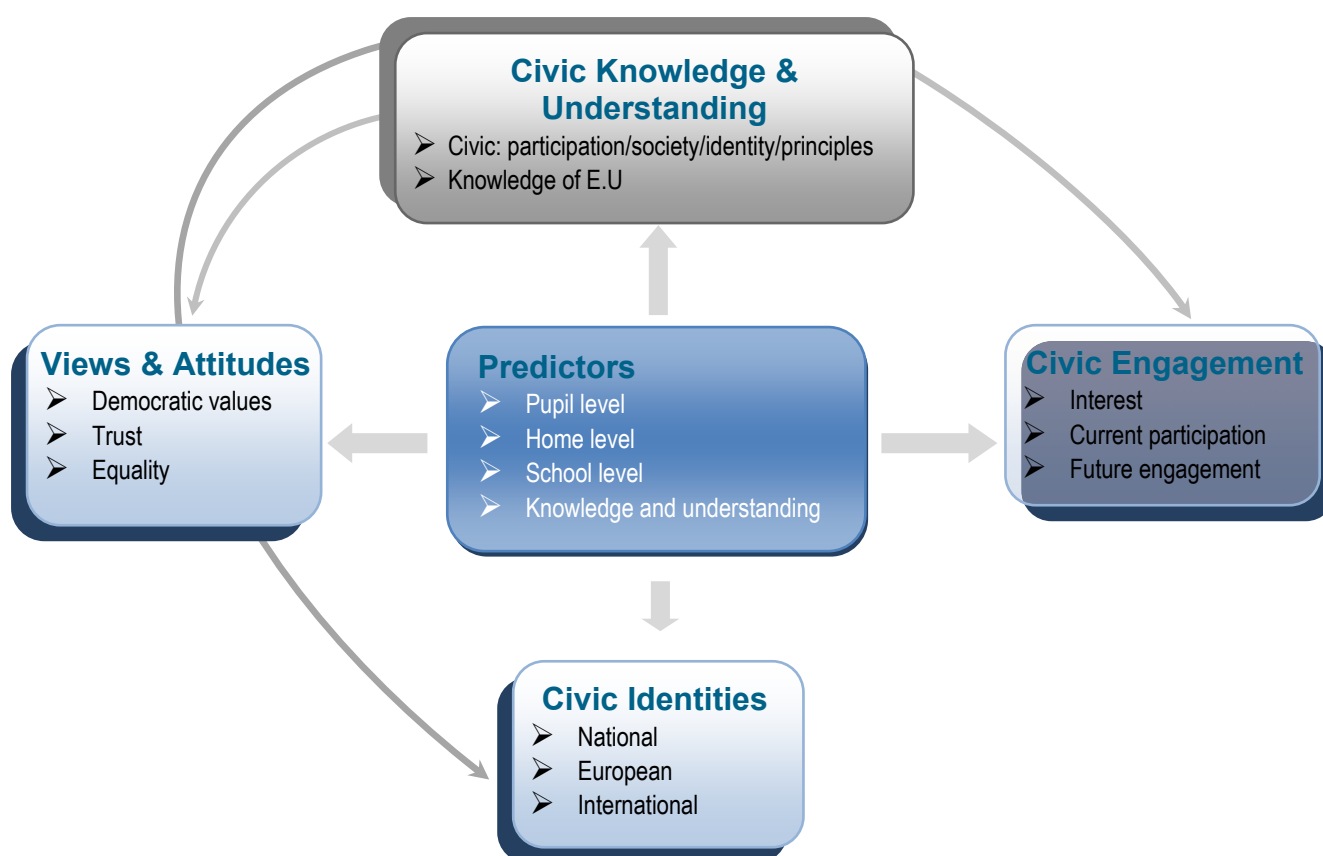
6. Conclusions and Implications

This report has presented the findings of a series of rich and complex datasets from the ICCS study at international, European and national level. In this conclusion the focus is upon the salient themes that have emerged through the analyses, and the key implications for policy and practice that emerge. At a broad level, the data can be divided into four themes (or outcomes). These are:

- Civic knowledge and understanding.
- Views and attitudes towards civic and citizenship related issues.
- Sense of civic identity.
- Civic engagement.

Analyses have also enabled us to predict the factors that are most closely associated with these outcomes. Figure 6.1 below presents this diagrammatically. As can be seen, the predictive variables identified influence all four pupil outcomes (knowledge and understanding, views and attitudes, sense of identity, and civic engagement). Additionally, knowledge and understanding (as measured through the ICCS cognitive test) is also often a predictor of each of the other (affective-behavioural) outcomes. Pupil responses to a variety of questionnaire items also demonstrate many links between the views, sense of identity and levels of engagement of participating pupils. These links are explored in the following sections.

Figure 6.1. Relationship between pupil outcomes and predictive variables



There is a complex interplay between the types of pupil outcome observed; the knowledge, views and dispositions of participating pupils; and a range of contextual factors at the level of the pupil, the home and the school. But what can be said about this complex interplay and what are the key messages that emerge from it?

6.1 Civic knowledge and understanding

When consideration is given to pupil responses to the international and the European cognitive tests, a mixed picture of pupils' proficiency in civic knowledge and understanding proficiency emerges. Whilst pupils in England achieved highly in the international test compared to all pupils in other participating countries, their performance was only average when compared with pupils in other European countries. Additionally, pupil performance was not even across all areas of the international test. So, for example, pupils in England scored much more highly, relative to other participating pupils, on

items about civic participation, civic identity and civic society (albeit less so on questions related to state institutions) than they did on items related to **civic principles** such as freedom, equity and social cohesion. Interestingly, pupil responses to questionnaire items demonstrate attitudes which are, on average, highly liberal on principles such as having a democratic society, and having equal rights for men and women, for ethnic groups and for immigrants. Nevertheless, when faced with scenarios such as threats to national security, the retaining of traditional (non-English) language and cultural rights by immigrants, and a pressure on employment, pupils become considerably less tolerant in their views towards different elements of the community. The extent to which there is interplay between these attitudes, and pupil knowledge and understanding of civic principles, is unclear at this stage.

Analyses undertaken to explore changes over time in pupils' civic knowledge between the CIVED (1999) study and the current ICCS (2009) study, also indicate that pupils (and their teachers) appear to lack knowledge and confidence in topics related to **democracy**, and to **business and the economy**. Pupils in England perform also very poorly, compared to pupils in other European countries, in the European cognitive test about the European Union (EU). Pupils in England lack both basic and more sophisticated understanding of **EU institutions, policies and practices**. They have lower than average confidence in these topics than their European peers and their teachers have particularly low levels of confidence in teaching about European issues and the EU. This lack of knowledge is mirrored by lower levels of: trust in EU institutions; a sense of European identity; a willingness to accept EU migration; and, an intention to vote in future European elections, than that expressed by pupils across other European countries. It is possible that a low level of civic knowledge and understanding of the EU is affecting pupils' views, values and attitudes on European and EU-related issues, generating predominantly negative views and dispositions.

6.1.1 Implications relating to civic knowledge and understanding

On balance, pupils in England did well on questions that tested their analysis and reasoning skills, or on those that tested their knowledge of certain facts or principles. However, there are clearly areas for development in pupils' civic knowledge base. Multilevel modelling analyses have demonstrated that having a high civic knowledge score is a predictor of a number of positive views and

intentions (such as support for democratic values, support for gender and ethnic equality, and intention to vote in future elections).

This would suggest that investing time and resource in citizenship learning in schools continues to be of prime importance for pupils, schools and society. It also suggests that there may need to be a push on the **knowledge and understanding elements** of the citizenship curriculum (particularly as they relate to Europe, the EU and the workings of state democracy). It is clear that teachers currently lack confidence in these areas, and that pupils do not fully understand them. **'Political literacy'** was a strand of the original National Curriculum Order, introduced following the recommendations of the Advisory Group on Citizenship chaired by Sir Bernard Crick (QCA, 1998). It would seem that these recommendations are still pertinent. In taking this implication on board, it should be recognised that:

- There may be associated **workforce development** issues. ICCS makes clear that teachers often lack confidence in the aspects of citizenship that require specialist knowledge of the political system, the courts and the judiciary or the workings of the EU, for example. Although this study has not explored the issue of the organisation of citizenship learning within schools, this finding would appear to add weight to the findings of the final CELS report (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) that support and training is needed for the political literacy strand of citizenship, and that citizenship lessons should be developed by the teacher delivering lessons, and not conflated with personal, social and health education (PSHE).
- Developing knowledge and understanding does not mean that schools have to focus upon 'imparting facts'. Pupil responses to the attitudinal questionnaire indicate that they enjoy opportunities to discuss and debate topical issues and have high levels of confidence in using sources such as newspapers, arguing a point of view and organising groups of pupils. It may be that **using topical issues** such as EU migration, the single European currency, or the European quota system as a starter for class-based discussion could be a useful means of introducing EU-related topics in an accessible manner, and gradually building in a more technical understanding of the workings of the EU as pupils progress and develop.

So what of pupils' attitudes, views and dispositions towards a range of citizenship-related and societal issues?

6.2 Attitudes towards equality

The overall message from the ICCS study is that pupils hold views and opinions that are broadly liberal on matters such as the importance of having a democratic society and ensuring equality for men and women and ethnic minority groups. Not surprisingly, girls tend to be more in favour of gender equality than boys, and ethnic minority pupils more supportive of equal rights for ethnic minorities than pupils in general. However, even when this is taken into account, pupils in England have attitudes that are highly tolerant compared to the international average. That said, there are instances in which pupils' 'in principle' liberalism is challenged. For example:

- Pupil support for **immigrant** rights is among the lowest of all participating countries. Pupils appear to differentiate between people who they see as settled and part of British society (ethnic minorities) and those who they view as 'incomers' (immigrants). Pupils demonstrate particularly critical views with regard to European migration. This is perhaps not surprising given that England is essentially a 'host' nation for European immigration, whereas other participating countries are facing lower levels of immigration, or even emigration of their citizens to other European countries.
- Pupils have concerns about ethnic minority rights extending to the realm of **political office** (although they have liberal views on equal access to education and on all ethnic groups having the same rights and responsibilities).

6.2.1 Implications regarding attitudes towards equality

Pupils' views on matters of equality are likely to be affected by a range of influences. All the above concerns reflect contemporary issues, and the majority of pupils are likely to be well aware of them, and their potential impacts, as a result of media coverage of recent terrorist attacks, a toughness on immigration debated in detail during recent political debates, and the views of their parents, families and friends. Whilst it is entirely legitimate for pupils to hold individual views, it is important that these are not based upon ignorance or ill-informed argument. It is also vital that pupils from minority religious or ethnic groups are helped, in the interests of social cohesion, to feel that they are an integral part of their schools, communities and society more generally. We know that these groups currently have amongst the highest levels of belief in the importance of a democratic society, and yet the lowest

levels of trust in state and civil institutions. This suggests that there is a current mismatch between their expectations and their experiences.

These findings suggest that schools, and the citizenship curriculum, have an important role to play in helping pupils, who generally have instinctively liberal views at the age of 14, to build upon these attitudes as they progress to adulthood. Pupils need to be encouraged to engage with, and learn about, controversial issues, through research, debate or collective group work. Although many such topics may be difficult to tackle, there would seem to be an argument for including topics such as the impact of acts of terrorism on minority and human rights, or the impact of immigration on society, the economy and communities, for example. By learning about such topics in a controlled and objective manner, not only might pupils develop well informed views, but their knowledge and understanding of issues related to civic principles (such as social cohesion or equity – topics that they scored poorly on in the international test) might also be enhanced. It is clear that teachers will need **specific skills and expertise, and training** if this is to be addressed effectively. Not only will they need to be knowledgeable about the issues under discussion, but also well trained in techniques such as facilitation and conflict resolution.

6.3 Trust

A very mixed pattern of pupil 'trust' emerges. Pupils demonstrate relatively high levels of trust in national government and, interestingly, in the police and the armed forces compared to pupils in all participating countries, but levels of trust in European institutions that are the lowest of all participating European countries.²³ Multilevel modelling analysis has also demonstrated a **negative** relationship between having trust in institutions and being of the Muslim faith, of any other non-Christian faith, or from a black ethnic background. This suggests that white indigenous pupils and those with secular or Christian beliefs are more likely to feel that state and civil institutions serve their needs than do pupils from other backgrounds. This has major implications for social cohesion and integration within British society.

²³ It should be noted that the ICCS questionnaire was completed by pupils in England before the parliamentary expenses scandal came to public notice.

It is also noticeable that, for all pupils in England, levels of trust in political parties is low, and that levels of trust in the media are significantly below the international average. There is an interesting distinction here between trust in national government and trust in political parties. Encouragingly, pupils appear to believe in the importance and value of a democratically elected national government, but are sceptical about those who actually hold positions of power, whatever political party they may represent. They are also cautious in their trust of the media. These latter points are not necessarily a cause for concern, although it is, of course, important that political parties and members are able to engage with their young potential electorate. Analyses undertaken at the international level found that pupils with a high level of trust in, or support for, one particular political party at the age of 14 tended to have lower civic knowledge scores on average than those who expressed only moderate support, perhaps because they did not keep their minds open to a range of perspectives at a young age.

Similarly, it can be viewed as encouraging that pupils in England seem to take an objective view when it comes to the media and the stances of different political parties, suggesting that they are not willing to trust the messages and commentary that they see or hear at face value. This may be related to findings from Chapter 3 of this report, which demonstrates that pupils in England tend to do better on cognitive test questions that assess their analysis and reasoning skills than on questions that test their knowledge of facts, compared to pupils in other participating countries. This suggests that pupils in England are developing analytical skills, a willingness to question and criticise, and an ability to assess bias.

6.3.1 Implications regarding trust

The extent to which policy makers or practitioners should be concerned about apparent low levels of trust in some institutions is open to debate. What needs to be considered is whether a lack of trust is underpinned by:

- critical appraisal (which is healthy)
- ignorance or over-reliance on what is heard or seen in the media (as may be the case in relation to trust in some EU institutions)
- a feeling of under-representedness (as appears to be the case for some minority religious and ethnic groups).

It is not necessarily the role of schools to address all these complex and deep-seated issues. However, as mentioned in Section 6.1. above, a stronger emphasis upon **knowledge and understanding** of the roles and issues faced by community, national, and supranational institutions, and a discussion of related issues, might help pupils to adopt a constructively critical stance, rather than a stance which is based upon hearsay, or upon a feeling of alienation. An important point to make here is that schools rank highly in pupils' assessment of institutions that they trust. This means that schools are well placed to allay some of the fears or concerns that pupils may have about other civic or civil institutions.

6.4 Civic identities

Issues of identity are closely related to those of trust, and, again, a complex picture emerges. On a positive note, pupils in England have a strong sense of **national identity**. Unusually, there is no significant difference in the extent to which they have this sense of identity according to whether they are of white British, ethnic minority, or immigrant background. This suggests a higher level of shared identity than that experienced by other countries with substantial minority populations and is, in some ways, a counterbalance to the concerns about social cohesion and integration outlined in the section above. It is also notable that pupils in England scored well in the ICCS cognitive test on questions relating to civic identity, suggesting a good level of awareness of this area.

Pupils in England also demonstrate a degree of **European** identity, although they have a score that is lower than the European average on this measure. There is a curious interplay between issues of national identity and European identity. For example, pupils in England have the second highest score of all participating European countries for the statement: *I see myself first as a citizen of Europe, then as a citizen of England* (which would suggest a high degree of European, as against English identity). However, when presented with the statement *I feel more part of Europe than of the UK*, four fifths of pupils disagree (suggesting a sense of British identity that outweighs a sense of belonging in Europe). It is difficult to explain this discrepancy, other than to suggest that pupils may have viewed the first item less as a question about identity, than as a ranking question. So, with Europe being the bigger entity,

pupils may have perceived it as coming first, followed by the smaller, national, entity – England. It may also be an issue of perceived ‘belonging’. So, for example, whilst pupils in England said, in a similar question, that they were proud to be part of the EU, they were less likely than pupils in other participating countries to say that they ‘felt part’ of the EU.

Finally, whilst pupils in England are broadly in favour of harmonisation of social and environmental policy across Europe, they are less so on matters of economic or political unification, and are opposed to the notion of a single supranational European state, as was the case for most other pupils across Europe. In this regard they reflect the views of many adults, politicians and elements of the media, who argue a strong case for retaining British sovereignty, with varying degrees of agreement or disagreement about the extent to which Britain should remain in the EU.

6.4.1 Implications regarding civic identities

The findings concerning civic identities are broadly positive, if a little confusing in relation to pupils’ sense of European identity. What emerges is a picture where pupils (including those from minority backgrounds) are developing a range of identities which co-exist. They have a strong sense of national identity and, with caveats, also a relatively strong sense of European identity. Whilst pupils concur with the broad principles of convergence and harmonisation of environmental and social policy across Europe, they are less willing to accept the concept of unification, and are particularly opposed to the notion of a single European currency, as are pupils in other non Euro-Zone countries. Whilst these views are not necessarily problematic, it is noticeable that they reflect public views as often expressed through the media on these more controversial aspects of European policy. This implies, as outlined in the sections above, that there may be scope for more detailed coverage of issues relating to Europe and the EU within the citizenship curriculum, in order that pupils can develop objective, and well informed, views on these matters.

6.5 Civic engagement

Moving on from pupil attitudes, consideration is now given to levels of pupil engagement in a range of social, political and citizenship-related issues and activities. What emerges is a picture of pupils who are, like their peers in other ICCS countries, not particularly interested in social and political issues at the age of 14, not especially likely to engage in community-based activities, and unlikely to anticipate undertaking forms of civic engagement in the future other than voting. In spite of these conclusions, which indicate a fair degree of apathy, a number of positive messages emerge:

- Although pupils demonstrate a low level of interest in conventionally political topics, and in European politics, they have higher levels of interest in a range of **social and environmental 'issues'** and more interest in **national** than in international issues.
- Although pupils rarely participate in out of school civic activities in their communities, they show much higher levels of **within-school participation**. This appears to be a positive finding for pupils of this age group, as analyses have shown that those who are most engaged in out-of-school civic activities tend to have the lowest civic knowledge scores. School also provides an ideal base for pupils to sample democratic decision making and to be involved in a range of civic activities in a secure environment.
- Although most pupils do not anticipate taking part in high intensity forms of civic engagement in the future (such as campaigning for political office), a large proportion of pupils expect to exercise their democratic right to vote in national elections (albeit less likely in European elections).
- Pupils scored most highly on questions in the ICCS cognitive test that related to the domain of 'civic participation'. Indeed, England ranked seventh out of 38 countries on correct responses to such test items.

6.5.1 Implications regarding engagement

Although at a broad level there would seem to be a certain degree of apathy amongst pupils towards civic participation, some encouraging messages emerge about what schools can do to create a spark of interest. Firstly, school ethos would appear to be key. Pupils need to be given opportunities to participate in school and class decision-making processes and to take an active part in school life. Whilst it is important for schools to stress the importance of future adult engagement in political life, it is not imperative that pupils are encouraged to take part in too much out-of-school activity at the age of 14. It

seems much more advantageous to pupils to develop an understanding of democratic process and of decision making through the secure environment of their schools and classrooms.

Secondly, given that pupils express a high degree of interest in social and environmental, and in national-level, issues, these would seem to be a useful springboard for starter citizenship lessons that can then be augmented to include broader political, European or international issues. For example, a general lesson about the impact of pollution could be developed in subsequent sessions to include the work of the European Commission and the G20 summit on climate change, for example, so that pupils can see how national, European and global politics interact, and that environmental issues are also political and economic in nature. This joint focus on developing knowledge, whilst simultaneously encouraging well informed views, attitudes and dispositions, seems to be key to citizenship learning, if some of the findings from the ICCS study are to be effectively addressed.

6.6 Predicting positive outcomes

As Figure 6.1 demonstrated, all four of the pupil outcomes discussed in this conclusion are influenced by a range of factors. These factors help us to understand what leads to positive outcomes, and therefore, what might need to be put in place to ensure that pupils develop: the highest levels of civic knowledge and understanding; the most positive views and attitudes towards civic and citizenship related issues; the strongest sense of civic identity; and the greatest propensity to become active and engaged citizens in the future. Factors that emerge from the analyses as influential are:

- Civic knowledge.
- Pupil-level factors.
- Home-level factors.
- School-level factors.

These factors are explored in detail in the following sections, and the implications for policy and practice highlighted. Broadly speaking, the four factors above tend to have quite consistent influences across all the pupil

outcomes discussed in this conclusion, with the exception of civic knowledge, where a more complex picture emerges.

6.6.1 Civic Knowledge

Multilevel modelling analyses have demonstrated that having a high civic knowledge score (as measured by the ICCS cognitive test) is a strong predictor of a range of positive pupil outcomes. These include:

- having support for democratic values
- having support for gender equality, and for equal rights for ethnic minority and immigrant groups
- being likely to vote in future elections
- having interest in social and political issues
- having a high level of within-school participation.

It should be noted, however, that this last point does not necessarily imply a reciprocal relationship. Although pupils with a high civic knowledge score are more likely than their similar peers to take part in school-based civic activity, being a pupil in a school that encourages a high level of pupil engagement is not necessarily a predictor of having a high civic knowledge score. For example, although pupils reporting a climate of openness in class discussion were more likely than their similar peers to have a high civic knowledge score, those who felt that they had influence on decisions made at school actually had lower civic knowledge scores than similar pupils. Additionally, pupils with a high civic knowledge score are **less** likely than their similar peers to take part in out-of school civic activity. It would seem that the link between knowledge and civic engagement is less apparent than is the link between knowledge and pupil views and attitudes (with the exception of propensity to vote in future elections).

So what does this suggest in terms of policy and practice related to schools and citizenship education? Firstly, it reinforces the points made in Sections 6.1 to 6.5 above, that schools need to focus upon enhancing pupils' civic **knowledge** of a range of socio-economic and political issues. This is not only a response to specific gaps in knowledge that have been identified through ICCS (specifically knowledge of matters related to civic principles, state institutions, democracy, business and the economy and the EU), but also

because there is evidence of a relationship between high civic knowledge scores and positive civic attitudes, behaviours and intentions, which should be encouraged. Secondly, although this issue has not specifically been explored through ICCS, there would seem to be evidence to support the findings of the final CELS report (Keating *et al.*, 2010, forthcoming) that citizenship needs to be regarded as a specialist subject in schools, supported by staff with the necessary training and curriculum time to develop pupils' political literacy effectively.

6.6.2 Pupil-level factors

Multilevel modelling analyses also demonstrate a strong link between a range of pupil-level characteristics and various positive pupil outcomes. So, for example, pupils from an **ethnic minority background** are more likely than similar pupils to have high belief in the importance of equal rights for ethnic minorities, and also to have high support for democratic values, whilst **female** pupils are more likely than similar pupils to have high levels of support for democratic values, belief in the importance of equal rights for ethnic minority groups and support for gender equality. Pupils who believe that religion has an important part to play in society are also more likely than similar pupils to believe in the importance of equal rights for ethnic minority groups.

Conversely, there is found to be a negative relationship between pupils having Christian belief and believing in equal rights for immigrants. This suggests that religion has a powerful (and, depending upon the faith practised, varying) influence on pupils' perceptions of democracy and rights. We also see that there is a negative relationship between: pupils of non-Christian faith; pupils being from an ethnic minority background; and pupils being female; and the outcome of having high levels of **trust** in national or supranational organisations. This suggests that whilst pupils from minority religious and ethnic groups, as well as girls, tend to have the most liberal attitudes towards equality and democratic values, they are the least likely to feel well served or trusting of various civil and civic institutions. The implications of this mismatch are potentially far reaching, because they imply that a potentially engaged and tolerant sector of the community does not feel well represented by the structures that are in place to support all citizens.

It cannot fall solely to schools to attempt to address such complex, and deep-seated, issues of perception, equality, diversity and cohesion. However, it is hoped that the new key concept within the revised National Curriculum for Citizenship of *Identity and Diversity: living together in the UK* might go some way towards addressing some of these issues and tackling the, undoubtedly, sensitive issues of identity and diversity. These ICCS findings also, again, highlight the importance of ensuring that pupils' **understanding** of the roles and functions of different civic institutions are well understood, so that pupils can develop attitudes towards them that are based upon well-informed judgement. They also highlight the important roles that schools have to play as democratic institutions in their own right, helping pupils to learn about the importance of democracy and voice, and enabling pupils from all sections of the community to feel that they have an equal, and important, role to play.

6.6.3 Home-level factors

ICCS national analyses indicate that **home** is one of the most important influences on a range of positive pupil outcomes. The two key determinants are: pupils having parents or carers with an interest in social and political issues; and pupils coming from homes where there is a high level of literacy.²⁴ Perhaps not surprisingly, ICCS has found that such factors are significant predictors of pupils having:

- high civic knowledge scores
- a strong interest in social and political issues
- a high level of trust in civic institutions
- a high level of in-school and out-of-school civic engagement.

This finding implies that pupils from educated backgrounds are more likely, not only to have greater knowledge than their similar peers, but also to display some of the most positive citizenship attitudes and dispositions. This seems to reinforce well researched evidence that poverty of opportunity and aspiration has a negative effect upon pupils' educational outcomes, and that the educational 'gap' between affluent and less affluent pupils has yet to be effectively closed (Nelson *et al.*, 2010). Fortunately, pupil- and home-level characteristics are not the only factors that influence pupil outcomes, as the

²⁴ Interestingly, other measures of socio-economic-status, such as parental occupation, are found not to be significantly related to such outcomes, when all other variables are accounted for.

following and final section demonstrates. There is much that schools seem to be in a position to do to maximise positive pupil outcomes.

6.6.4 School-level factors

Multilevel modelling analyses undertaken at the national level have found strong relationships between, on the one hand, two key features of the school environment as reported by pupils: an **open climate** of discussion and debate; and a **school ethos** that encourages pupils to take an active role in decision making; and, on the other hand, a wide range of positive pupil outcomes, including:

- strong support for democratic values
- positive attitudes towards gender equality
- strong belief in equal rights for ethnic minorities and immigrants
- high levels of trust in civic institutions
- high levels of interest in social and political issues
- high levels of in-school and out-of-school civic engagement
- an intention to vote in future elections.

Interestingly, the only outcome where such factors have less clear predictive power is pupils having a **high civic knowledge score**. Although pupils who report a climate of openness in class discussion are significantly more likely than similar pupils to have high civic knowledge scores, pupils who believe that they have influence in the school decision-making process are significantly less likely than their similar peers to have high civic knowledge scores. The reasons for this are unclear, but it may be that schools with a particularly participative ethos place less emphasis upon developing civic knowledge or political literacy than they do upon developing pupils' attitudes, skills and dispositions. It also seems that factors such as the **model** of citizenship teaching (whether discrete, cross curricular, or integrated within other subjects), and the **focus** of citizenship teaching (whether based around developing knowledge and understanding, or encouraging active participation, for example) have no significant influence on the pupil outcomes described above, once other factors are accounted for. School ethos appears to be a much more significant predictor than the precise focus or content of the school citizenship curriculum.

Many implications for citizenship policy and practice in England have arisen from the ICCS study. However, four of the most important implications are outlined here:

- 1. Due consideration should be given to the key finding in this report that pupils' knowledge and understanding of the EU, its policies and practices is very low.** Pupils in England have an overall level of knowledge that is significantly lower than that of other pupils in Europe and, across many of the test items, they have the lowest level of awareness of pupils across all 24 participating countries. This is coupled with very low levels of trust in European institutions, and a tendency not to feel a sense of 'belonging' to the EU, although pupils do say that they are proud to be part of the EU.
- 2. The knowledge and understanding components of the citizenship curriculum may require strengthening.** This is important not only in order to address current gaps in pupils' awareness (as noted above), particularly in relation to Europe and the EU and to civic principles such as freedom, equity and social cohesion, but also because having a high level of civic knowledge is a significant predictor of a range of positive pupil views, attitudes and dispositions. Additionally, some pupils display low levels of trust in civic institutions, or have intolerant attitudes towards various groups in society, due to ignorance, or a feeling of under-representation. Knowledge acquisition may help to overcome some of these tendencies. Particular approaches for such knowledge enhancement might be using pupils' identified 'comfort zone' topics as a way in to research, discussion and debate, and then building upon this base to tackle more controversial issues. Fundamental issues such as **workforce development**, and the degree to which specialist teachers are required, will need to be addressed.
- 3. Schools, and the citizenship curriculum, have an important role to play in helping pupils, who generally have instinctively liberal views at the age of 14, to build upon these attitudes as they progress to adulthood.** Although pupils in England hold views and opinions that are highly tolerant compared to the international average on matters such as the importance of having a democratic society and ensuring equality for men and women and ethnic minority groups, pupil support for **immigrant** rights is among the lowest of all participating countries. Pupils also demonstrate particularly critical views with regard to European migration and have concerns about ethnic minority rights extending to the realm of political office (although they have liberal views on equal access to education and on all ethnic groups having the same rights and responsibilities).

- 4. Schools should provide a secure environment where pupils are encouraged to express opinion, to debate and to practice decision making.** Pupils in schools where there is a climate of openness, and where pupils believe that they can have influence, are more likely than their similar peers to demonstrate a range of positive citizenship views, attitudes and behaviours. Given that pupils from minority religious or ethnic groups are more likely than similar pupils to have a high level of belief in democratic values, and yet a low level of trust in civil and civic institutions, school may be the one institution that can help them to feel that they have a voice, and to encourage a sense of integration and democratic connectedness. The fact that pupils rank schools highly in their assessment of institutions that they trust, means that they are well placed to meet this challenge.

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Appendix A ICCS Sampling Requirements

Introduction

Due to the fact that research methods like multi-level modelling analysis, and secondary analysis of sub groups, require minimum numbers of valid cases in the data on each level, the ICCS consortium set high standards for sampling precision. Minimum sample sizes for schools, classrooms, pupils and teachers are described in the following section.

Minimum Sample Sizes

For the ICCS Main Survey, the minimum selected sample size in each country was 150 schools. Countries with a smaller or a slightly higher number of schools included all their schools in the survey. In England, 160 schools were selected in the sample due to the fact that the average class size was too small for the *pupil* sample size requirements to be met by selecting only 150 schools.

Each country had to attain an **achieved** sample of 3000 tested pupils to meet the ICCS Main Survey requirements.

In each sampled school, a minimum of 15 teachers was also selected for the survey. If less than 15 teachers were present in any one school, then all teachers were included in the survey. If the number of eligible teachers was higher than 15, but less or equal to 20, all teachers were selected. A summary of the ICCS sample requirements is presented below.

Table A.1. Minimum sample size requirements for the ICCS Main Survey

Schools:	select at least 150 in each country.
Classrooms:	select at least 1 per school.
Pupils:	test at least 3000 in each country.
Teachers:	select at least 15 per school, if possible.

Exclusion Rates

In ICCS, there are strict regulations that the percentage of pupils excluded from the study must not account for more than five per cent of the national desired target population of pupils. Three 'types' of exclusion were permitted:

- pupils in schools that were excluded before school sampling
- pupils in sampled schools who attended classes that were excluded before class sampling
- pupils in sampled classes who were excluded from taking the ICCS test (for example, those with a Statement of Special Educational Need, where appropriate).

Participation Requirements

To ensure the highest data quality, and to guarantee comparability between the participating countries, it was necessary to achieve excellent sample implementation. High participation rates were necessary to reduce bias due to non-response.

In general, the goal for sampling participation in ICCS is 100 per cent at all levels. Countries were asked to make efforts to convince all sampled schools, classes, pupils and teachers to participate in ICCS, and many months were spent in England attempting to achieve this goal. Standards have been established that define what participation rates and what exclusion rates are regarded as acceptable. These standards are the result of discussions between the members of the ICCS Joint Management Committee, the ICCS Project Advisory Committee and the ICCS Sampling Referee.

Pupil Survey Participation Standards

In most participating countries, only one class per school was selected for ICCS. In these countries, the requirement was as follows:

Participating school – pupil survey

A sampled school is regarded as ‘participating’ if, in its sampled class, at least 50% of its pupils participate.

Any school unable to meet this requirement was regarded as a non-responding school in the pupil survey. The non-participation of this school had an effect on the school participation rate, but the pupils from this school had no influence on the pupil response rate.

In a few countries, more than one classroom was selected in at least some of the schools. For these schools, the participation requirement was modified like this:

Participating class

A sampled class is regarded as ‘participating’ if at least 50% of its pupils participate.

A sampled school is regarded as ‘participating’ if all sampled classes participate.

Based on these definitions, three categories of pupil sampling participation were established. These categories are defined as follows. England achieved participation in Category 2 for the pupil survey, and in Category 3 for the teacher survey.

Category 1: Satisfactory sampling participation rate without the use of replacement schools.

In order to be placed in this category, a country has to have:

- An unweighted school response rate without replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND an unweighted pupil response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- A weighted school response rate without replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND a weighted pupil response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- The product of the (unrounded) weighted school response rate without replacement and the (unrounded) weighted pupil response rate of at least 75 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole per cent).

Category 2: Satisfactory sampling participation rate only when replacement schools were included.

A country will be placed in this category if:

- It fails to meet the requirements for Category 1 but has either an unweighted or weighted school response rate without replacement of at least 50 per cent (after rounding to the nearest per cent)

AND HAS EITHER

- An unweighted school response rate with replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND an unweighted pupil response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- A weighted school response rate with replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to nearest whole percent) AND a weighted pupil response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- The product of the (unrounded) weighted school response rate with replacement and the (unrounded) weighted pupil response rate of at least 75 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent).

Category 3: Unacceptable sampling response rate even when replacement schools are included.

Countries that can provide documentation to show that they complied with ICCS sampling procedures, but do not meet the requirements for Category 1 or Category 2 will be placed in Category 3.

The school response rate was based on all sampled schools. The pupil response rate was based on the sampled pupils in the participating schools only (sampled and replacement). Pupils from non-participating schools did not have an influence on the pupil response rate.

Teacher Survey Participation Standards

Similar to the pupil survey, each school had to meet a minimum teacher participation requirement to be counted as participating:

Participating school – teacher survey

A school is regarded as 'participating' in the teacher survey if at least 50% of its sampled teachers participated.

Any schools unable to meet this requirement were regarded as a non-responding school in the teacher survey. The non-participation of such schools had an effect on

the school participation rate, but the teachers from such schools had no influence on the teacher response rate.

The sampling participation categories for the teacher survey were similar to those in the pupil survey. The three categories for teacher sampling participation can be defined as follows:

Category 1: Satisfactory sampling participation rate without the use of replacement schools.

In order to be placed in this category, a country has to have:

- An unweighted school response rate without replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND an unweighted teacher response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent.

OR

- A weighted school response rate without replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND a weighted teacher response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- The product of the (unrounded) weighted school response rate without replacement and the (unrounded) weighted teacher response rate of at least 75 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent).

Category 2: Satisfactory sampling participation rate only when replacement schools were included.

A country will be placed in category 2 if:

- It fails to meet the requirements for Category 1 but has either an unweighted or weighted school response rate without replacement of at least 50 per cent (after rounding to the nearest percent)

AND HAS EITHER

- An unweighted school response rate with replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND an unweighted teacher response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- A weighted school response rate with replacement of at least 85 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent) AND a weighted teacher response rate (after rounding) of at least 85 per cent

OR

- The product of the (unrounded) weighted school response rate with replacement and the (unrounded) weighted teacher response rate of at least 75 per cent (after rounding to the nearest whole percent).

Category 3: Unacceptable sampling response rate even when replacement schools are included.

Countries that can provide documentation to show that they complied with ICCS sampling procedures, but do not meet the requirements for Category 1 or Category 2 will be placed in Category 3.

Reporting of data

Countries not achieving participation category 1, are still included in the international report with the following caveats:

- **Category 1:** Countries in this category will appear in the tables and figures in international reports without annotation.
- **Category 2:** Countries in this category will be annotated in the tables and figures in international reports. England is in this category for the pupil survey.

- **Category 3:** Countries in this category will appear in a separate section of the tables. England is in this category for the teacher survey.

Appendix B Statistical Methods Adopted

a) **Multilevel modelling**

Throughout the report multilevel modelling has been used to assess the relationship between pupil attitudes and behaviours, cognitive achievement and numerous school and pupil characteristics. Multilevel modelling is a development of regression analysis and has a number of distinct advantages over other estimation procedures. First, as with other regression techniques, it allows us to make comparison on a like-with-like basis. For example we may be interested in assessing the relationship between cognitive achievement and other attitudes but know that cognitive achievement scores tend to be higher for those pupils who have parents or carers who are interested in politics. For this reason we need to disaggregate the relationship of attitudes with cognitive achievement from the relationship of attitudes with parental interest in politics. Multilevel modelling enables this by estimating the relationship between cognitive achievement (for example) and attitudes, all other things being equal. In other words it estimates what the relationship between attitudes and cognitive achievement would look like if parental interest in politics (as well as all other pupil and school characteristics) remained constant across pupils. Similarly it estimates what the relationship between parental interest in politics and pupil attitudes would be if cognitive achievement remained constant across pupils. As such we are able to identify those variables that are significantly related to attitudes of interest over and above other influences.

The second advantage of multilevel modelling, which is particularly important in the analysis of educational data, is that it takes account of the fact that there is often more similarity between individuals in the same school than between individuals in different schools. By recognising the hierarchical structure of the data, multilevel modelling allows the most accurate estimation of the statistical significance of any relationships.

Multilevel modelling examined the impact between pupil outcomes (such as attitudes, behaviours or cognitive achievement) and the following school and pupil characteristics (for a detailed variable list, see Appendix E):

- Length of time the pupil expects to remain in education
- Parents'/carers' interest in political and social issues
- Occupational status of parents/carers
- Educational level of parents/carers
- Home literacy resources
- Pupil's perceptions of openness of class discussions
- Pupil's perceptions of the extent of influence pupils have in schools
- Pupil's religion
- Pupil's views on the amount of influence religion should have on society
- Gender
- Immigrant status
- Ethnicity
- Teacher views on pupil participation
- Teacher perceptions of pupil influence
- Teacher views on the aims of citizenship education
- School leader views on the extent of social tension in the local community
- School leader views on the extent of social problems at school
- School size
- School leader perception of the level of autonomy of the school
- Whether the school is an independent school
- Delivery method for citizenship education within the school
- School leader views on the aims of citizenship education.

In addition to this, all multilevel models examining pupil attitudes and behaviours also considered the relationship with cognitive achievement. The variables included within the final multilevel models were identified using a backward stepwise procedure so that ultimately only relationships that are statistically significant at the one per cent level are reported.

b) Assessing the impact of age

Table 11 of the ICCS Initial Findings report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 43) displays a drop from 96 to 90 in the civic content knowledge of pupils in England between 1999 and 2009 (on a scale with an international mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 20). However it also shows that the pupils involved in ICCS are approximately eight months (0.7 years) younger on average than the pupils involved in CIVED. In order to explore the possible influence of the change in age on results further analysis was undertaken.

In order to assess the effect of age on achievement a linear regression of cognitive achievement in ICCS 2009 on age was performed. This revealed that each additional year in age was associated with a gain of approximately 18 points on the ICCS civic knowledge scale. On the basis that five points on the ICCS scale are worth approximately one point on the CIVED knowledge scale (since the standard deviation of the CIVED knowledge scale was set to 20 rather than 100) we can estimate that an additional eight months of age might account for roughly 2.5 points of the drop of six points between 1999 and 2009. Once we take into account the margin of error around this estimate²⁵ it is possible that up to 4.5 points of the drop might be attributable to the change in the age of participants.

Furthermore it should be noted that both the time of year of the survey and the school year of the pupils involved changed between the two studies. It is not possible for us to know whether or not this would have had any additional effect on the levels of civic content knowledge displayed by pupils.

²⁵ Calculated using the IDB analyzer.

Appendix C Civic and Citizenship Content Domains

The following extract is taken from the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz *et al.*, 2008, pp. 16-27). It outlines in detail the elements of each of the content and cognitive domains.

Civic and citizenship content domains

The first content domain, *civic society and systems*, comprises the mechanisms, systems, and organizations that underpin societies. The second domain, *civic principles*, refers to the shared ethical foundations of civic societies. *Civic participation* deals with the nature of the processes and practices that define and mediate the participation of citizens in their civic communities (often referred to as active citizenship). The ICCS assessment framework recognizes the centrality of the individual citizen through the *civic identities* domain. This domain refers to the personal sense an individual has of being an agent of civic action with connections to multiple communities. Together, these four domains describe the civic and citizenship content to be assessed in ICCS.

Content Domain 1: Civic society and systems

Civic society and systems focuses on the formal and informal mechanisms and organizations that underpin both the civic contracts that citizens have with their societies and the functioning of the societies themselves. The three sub-domains of civic society and systems are:

- *Citizens*
- *State institutions*
- *Civil institutions.*

Citizens

Citizens focuses on the civic relationships between individuals and groups of citizens and their societies. The aspects of this sub-domain relate to knowledge and understanding of:

- *Citizens' and groups' assigned and desired roles within their civic society*
- *Citizens' and groups' assigned and desired rights within their civic society*
- *Citizens' and groups' assigned and desired responsibilities within their civic society*
- *Citizens' and groups' opportunities and abilities to support the ongoing development of their civic society.*

State institutions

State institutions focuses on those institutions central to the processes and enacting of civic governance and legislation in the common interest of the people they represent and serve.

The aspects of this sub-domain are:

- *Legislatures/parliaments*
- *Governments*
- *Supranational/intergovernmental governance bodies*
- *Judiciaries*
- *Law enforcement bodies*
- *National defense forces*
- *Bureaucracies (civil or public services)*
- *Electoral commissions.*

Civil institutions

Civil institutions focuses on those institutions that can mediate citizens' contact with their state institutions and allow citizens to actively pursue many of their roles in their societies.

The aspects of this sub-domain are:

- *Religious institutions*
- *Companies/corporations*
- *Trade unions*
- *Political parties*
- *Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)*
- *Pressure groups*
- *The media*
- *Schools*
- *Cultural/special-interest organizations.*

Content Domain 2: Civic principles

Civic principles focuses on the shared ethical foundations of civic societies. The framework regards support, protection, and promotion of these principles as civic responsibilities and as frequently occurring motivations for civic participation by individuals and groups. The three sub-domains of civic principles are:

- *Equity*
- *Freedom*
- *Social cohesion.*

Equity

Equity focuses on the principle that all people have the right to fair and just treatment and that protecting and promoting this equity is essential to achieving peace, harmony, and productivity within and among communities. The principle of equity is derived from the notion of equality—that all people are born equal in terms of dignity and rights.

Freedom

Freedom focuses on the concept that all people should have freedom of belief, freedom of speech, freedom from fear, and freedom from want as articulated in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). Societies have a responsibility to actively protect the freedom of their members and to support the protection of freedom in all communities, including those that are not their own.

Social cohesion

Social cohesion focuses on the sense of belonging, connectedness, and common vision that exists amongst the individuals and communities within a society. When social cohesion is strong, there is active appreciation and celebration of the diversity of individuals and communities that comprise a society. It is acknowledged (in regard to this sub-domain) that manifestations of social cohesion vary between societies, that there may be tensions within societies between social cohesion and diversity of views and actions, and that the resolution of these tensions is an ongoing area of debate within many societies.

Content Domain 3: Civic participation

Civic participation refers to the manifestations of individuals' actions in their communities. Civic participation can operate at any level of community and in any community context. The level of participation can range from awareness through engagement to influence. The three sub-domains of civic participation are:

- *Decisionmaking*
- *Influencing*
- *Community participation.*

Decisionmaking

Decisionmaking focuses on active participation that directly results in the implementation of policy or practice regarding the individual's community or a group within that community. The aspects of this sub-domain are:

- *Engaging in organizational governance*
- *Voting.*

Influencing

Influencing focuses on actions aimed at informing and affecting any or all of the policies, practices, and attitudes of others or groups of others in the individual's community. The aspects of this sub-domain are:

- *Engaging in public debate*
- *Engaging in demonstrations of public support or protest*
- *Engaging in policy development*
- *Developing proposals for action or advocacy*
- *Selective purchasing of products according to ethical beliefs about the way they were produced (ethical consumption / ethical consumerism)*
- *Corruption.*

Community participation

Community participation focuses on participation, with a primary focus on enhancing one's connections with a community, for the ultimate benefit of that community. The aspects of this sub-domain are:

- *Volunteering*
- *Participating in religious, cultural, and sporting organizations*
- *Keeping oneself informed.*

Content Domain 4: Civic identities

Civic identities includes the individual's civic roles and perceptions of these roles. As was the case with the CIVED model, ICCS assumes that individuals both influence and are influenced by the relationships they have with family, peers, and civic communities. Thus, an individual's civic identity explicitly links to a range of personal and civic interrelationships. This framework asserts and assumes that individuals have multiple articulated identities rather than a single-faceted civic identity.

Civic identities comprises two sub-domains:

- *Civic self-image*
- *Civic connectedness*

Civic self-image

Civic self-image refers to individuals' experiences of their place in each of their civic communities. Civic self-image focuses on individuals' civic and citizenship values and roles, individuals' understanding of and attitudes toward these values and roles, and individuals' management of these values and roles whether they are in harmony or in conflict within each of these people.

Civic connectedness

Civic connectedness refers to the individual's sense of connection to their different civic communities and to the different civic roles the individual plays within each community.

Civic connectedness also includes the individual's beliefs about and tolerance of the levels of diversity (of civic ideas and actions) within and across their communities, and their recognition and understanding of the effects of the range of civic and citizenship values and belief systems of their different communities on the members of those communities.

Civic and citizenship affective-behavioral domains

The items measuring the affective-behavioral domains do not require correct or incorrect responses. They are typically measured through use of a Likert-type item format in the student questionnaire.

Affective-behavioral Domain 1: Value beliefs

Value beliefs can be defined as beliefs about the worth of concepts, institutions, people, and/or ideas. Value beliefs are different from attitudes insofar as they are more constant over time, deeply rooted, and representative of broader and more fundamental beliefs. Value beliefs help individuals resolve contradictions, and they form the basis of how we see ourselves and others. Value systems are sets of value beliefs that individuals adopt and that, in turn, influence both attitudes and behavior.⁴

Value beliefs relevant in the context of civics and citizenship include beliefs about fundamental concepts or ideas (freedom, equity, social cohesion). Two types of value beliefs are measured in ICCS:

- *Students' beliefs in democratic values*
- *Students' beliefs in citizenship values.*

Students' beliefs in democratic values

This construct refers to student beliefs about democracy and relates mainly to Content Domain 2 (civic principles). In the IEA CIVED survey, students were asked to rate a number of characteristics of society as either "good or bad for democracy." Contrary to expectations, the results did not show similar patterns of conceptual dimensions along which students rate these items. However, several items represented a factor related to a "rule of law" model of democracy that was consistent across countries (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Instead of asking about positive or negative consequences for democracy, the ICCS assessment framework includes a set of nine items that seek out the extent of student agreement as to what a society should be like. The items, adapted from a subset of those included in CIVED, reflect students' endorsement of basic democratic values. In addition, three items reflect students' beliefs about what should be done in response to groups that pose threats to national security.

⁴ Rokeach (1973, p. 5) gives the following definitions: "A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning desirable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance."

Students' beliefs in citizenship values

This construct refers to student beliefs regarding "good citizenship" and relates mainly to Content Domain 1 (civic society and systems). Items asking about the importance of certain behaviors for "good citizenship" were included in the first IEA study on civic education in 1971 (Torney et al., 1975). In CIVED, a set of 15 items asked students to rate the importance of certain behaviors relative to being a good citizen (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 77f). Two sub-scales on conventional and social-movement-related citizenship were reported (see Schulz, 2004). Kennedy (2006) distinguishes *active* (conventional and social-movement-related) from *passive* citizenship elements (national identity, patriotism, and loyalty). ICCS includes 12 items on good citizenship behavior, most of which are similar to those used in CIVED.

Affective-behavioral Domain 2: Attitudes

Attitudes can be defined as states of mind or feelings about ideas, persons, objects, events, situations, and/or relationships. In contrast to value beliefs, attitudes are narrower in nature, can change over time, and are less deeply rooted. It is also possible for individuals to harbor contradictory attitudes at the same time.

The different types of attitudes relevant with respect to civics and citizenship include:

- *Students' self-cognitions related to civics and citizenship*
- *Students' attitudes toward rights and responsibilities*
- *Students' attitudes toward institutions.*

Students' self-cognitions related to civics and citizenship

Interest in political events and social issues: This construct reflects students' motivation relative to politics and relates to Content Domain 4 (civic identities). The first IEA Civic Education Study in 1971 included measures of interest in public affairs television, which turned out to be a positive predictor for civic knowledge and participation (Torney et al., 1975). An item on political interest was used in the CIVED survey (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Similar to earlier findings, CIVED results also showed interest in politics as a positive predictor of civic knowledge and likelihood to vote (Amadeo et al., 2002). ICCS uses a list of items covering students' interest in a broader range of six different political and social issues. An additional item, optional for European countries and referring to interest in European politics, is also included.

Self-concept regarding political participation (political internal efficacy): This construct refers to students' self-concept regarding political involvement and relates to Content Domain 3 (civic participation). The broader concept of *political efficacy* has played a prominent role in studies on political behavior and political socialization. Political efficacy is the "feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change" (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954, p. 187). Analyses of items typically used to measure political efficacy reveal a two-dimensional structure of political efficacy, where *internal efficacy* can be defined as individuals' confidence in their ability to understand politics and to act politically, whereas *external efficacy* constitutes individuals' beliefs in the responsiveness of the political system (see Balch, 1974; Converse, 1972).

The CIVED survey used three items measuring internal political efficacy, which was positively associated with indicators of civic engagement (see Schulz, 2005). In ICCS, the three CIVED items are complemented with three additional items.

Citizenship self-efficacy: This construct reflects students' self-confidence in active citizenship behavior and relates primarily to Content Domain 3 (civic participation). Individuals' "judgements of their capabilities to organise and execute courses of action required to attain

designated types of performances" (Bandura, 1986, p. 391) are deemed to have a strong influence on individual choices, efforts, perseverance, and emotions related to the tasks. The concept of self-efficacy constitutes an important element of Bandura's (1993) *social cognitive theory* about the learning process, which advocates that learners direct their own learning.

The distinction between self-concept regarding political participation (political internal efficacy) and citizenship self-efficacy is as follows: whereas internal political efficacy considers global statements regarding students' general capacity to act politically, citizenship self-efficacy considers students' self-confidence to undertake specific tasks in the area of civic participation. ICCS includes seven items reflecting different participation activities.

Students' attitudes toward rights and responsibilities

The following constructs reflect students' attitudes toward rights and responsibilities and are relevant with regard to civics and citizenship.

Attitudes toward gender rights: This construct reflects student beliefs about rights for different gender groups in society. It relates to Content Domain 2 (civic principles). The first IEA Civic Education Study in 1971 included four items measuring support for women's political rights. The CIVED survey used a set of six items to capture students' attitudes toward women's political rights (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). ICCS includes seven items on gender rights, some of them identical with or similar to those used in CIVED.

Attitudes toward the rights of ethnic/racial groups: This construct reflects students' beliefs about rights for different ethnic/racial groups in society. It relates primarily to Content Domain 2 (civic principles) and is measured with five items. Four of these items were present in the CIVED survey but the results were not included in the international report (Schulz, 2004).

Attitudes toward the rights of immigrants: This construct reflects students' beliefs about rights for immigrants and it relates to Content Domain 2 (civic principles). CIVED measured this construct with eight items, five of which were included in a scale reflecting attitudes toward immigrants (Schulz, 2004; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). ICCS includes a slightly modified version of the same five items used for scaling, together with one additional item.

Students' attitudes toward institutions

The following constructs reflect students' attitudes toward institutions and are deemed important for civic and citizenship education.

Trust in institutions: This construct reflects students' feelings of trust in a variety of state and civic institutions in society, and relates mainly to Content Domain 1 (civic society and systems). The first IEA Civic Education Study (1971) included one item on trust in government (Torney et al., 1975). CIVED used a set of 12 items covering political/civic institutions, media, the United Nations, schools, and people in general. ICCS uses a similar range of 11 core items in modified format together with three optional items on European institutions and state/provincial institutions.

Confidence in student participation at school: This construct reflects students' beliefs regarding the usefulness of becoming actively involved at school. Adolescents are generally not able to vote or stand for office in "adult politics," but they experiment as students to determine what degree of power they have to influence the ways schools are run (Bandura, 1997, p. 491). CIVED included seven items asking about students' perceptions of their influence at school. Four of these questions focused on general confidence in school participation (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). ICCS uses a set of four (partly modified) CIVED items and one additional item reflecting student attitudes toward student participation at school. The construct relates to Content Domain 3 (civic participation).

Attitudes toward one's nation: This construct reflects students' attitudes toward abstract concepts of nation. One can distinguish different forms of national attachment (symbolic, constructive, uncritical patriotism, nationalism). These are different from feelings of national identity (Huddy & Khatib, 2007).

The CIVED survey included 12 items reflecting students' attitudes toward their respective countries. Four of these items were used to measure "positive attitudes toward one's nation" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). ICCS uses a set of eight items (four of them from CIVED) to measure students' attitudes toward the country they live in and to cover students' symbolic patriotism and uncritical patriotism. Two of these items relate to the concept of national pride (Huddy & Khatib, 2007) but avoid the use of the term "pride" and focus instead on students' perceptions of satisfaction with different aspects (political system and respect for the environment) of their respective countries. The construct relates mainly to Content Domain 4 (civic identities).

Attitudes toward religion: Religion is sometimes viewed as an important catalyst of civic participation (see Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). ICCS uses a set of six items to assess students' attitudes toward religion. This construct relates mainly to Content Domain 4 (civic identities). The set of items forms part of an international option on religious denomination, practices, and attitudes toward religion.

Affective-behavioral Domain 3: Behavioral intentions

Behavioral intentions refers to student expectations of future civic action. This affective-behavioral domain, assessed in the student perceptions questionnaire, contains items that ask students about their intentions toward civic action in the near future or when they are adults. Given the age group surveyed in ICCS and the limitations for 14-year-olds to participate as active citizens, behavioral intentions are of particular importance when collecting data about active citizenship.

One important aspect of measuring behavioral intentions in the area of civics and citizenship is political participation. This aspect can be defined as "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action—either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba et al., 1995, p. 38).

During the 1970s and 1980s, protest behavior as a form of participation became more prominent in Western democracies (Barnes et al., 1997). Scholars have distinguished "conventional" (voting, running for office) from "unconventional" (social movement) activities (grassroots campaigns, protest activities). They have also distinguished, among the latter, legal from illegal forms of behavior (Kaase, 1990).

Verba et al. (1995) identify the following three factors as predictors of political participation: (a) resources that enable individuals to participate (time, knowledge); (b) psychological engagement (interest, efficacy); and (c) "recruitment networks," which help to bring individuals into politics (these networks include social movements, church groups, and political parties).

The CIVED survey included 12 items measuring expected participation (voting, active, conventional, unconventional, protest). ICCS has developed a broader set of items that cover a wider range of behavioral intentions related to the following constructs or sets of constructs:

- *Preparedness to participate in forms of civic protest*
- *Behavioral intentions regarding future political participation as adults*
- *Behavioral intentions regarding future participation in citizenship activities.*

Preparedness to participate in forms of civic protest

This set of nine items reflects students' beliefs about future involvement in protest activities (for example, collecting petitions, participating in protest marches, blocking traffic). It relates to Content Domain 3 (civic participation). The items relate to two different dimensions of protest behavior—legal and illegal.

Behavioral intentions regarding future political participation as adults

This set of seven core and two optional items reflects two different constructs (voting-related participation, political activities) that were measured in CIVED. The set of items reflects students' beliefs about future political participation as an adult (for example, voting in elections, active campaigning, joining a party, becoming a candidate) and relates mainly to Content Domain 3 (civic participation).

Behavioral intentions regarding future participation in citizenship activities

This construct was also included in the CIVED student questionnaire, and it relates mainly to Content Domain 3 (civic participation). It reflects students' beliefs about their future participation in citizenship activities (for example, volunteer work, opinion leadership, writing letters to newspapers), and is measured with a set of five items in the ICCS assessment.

Affective-behavioral Domain 4: Behaviors

Civic-related behavior is limited for 14-year-old students, and many activities for citizens are not available at this age. However, several civic-related behaviors can occur among 14-year-olds, and the aim is to capture these through the student questionnaire.

The IEA CIVED survey used a wide range of participation forms both inside and outside of school. Reported student participation in a school council or in a student parliament turned out to be a positive predictor of civic knowledge and engagement (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Amadeo et al., 2002). Participation in political youth organizations had a positive effect on feelings of political efficacy (Schulz, 2005). From their analysis of NAEP data, Niemi and Junn (1998) found that participation in role-playing elections or mock trials related positively to civic knowledge.

The ICCS student questionnaire collects data on students' involvement in

- *Civic-related activities in the community*
- *Civic-related activities at school.*

Involvement in civic-related activities in the community

Students are asked about current or past participation in organizations such as human-rights groups, religious associations, and/or youth clubs. The underlying construct relates mainly to Content Domain 3 (civic participation) but is also a relevant contextual variable, as described in the contextual framework.

Involvement in civic-related activities at school

The ICCS student questionnaire includes questions about a wide range of civic-related participation at school (for example, in school councils/parliaments, in student debates). The underlying construct relates primarily to Content Domain 3 (civic participation) and is also relevant as a contextual variable, as described in the contextual framework.

Civic and citizenship cognitive domains

To respond correctly to the ICCS cognitive test items, students need to know the core set of civic and citizenship content being assessed. Students also need to be able to apply more complex cognitive processing to their civic and citizenship knowledge and to relate their knowledge and understandings to real-world civic action.

The two ICCS cognitive domains comprise the cognitive processes that students are expected to demonstrate in the ICCS cognitive test. The data derived from the test items constructed to represent the processes in the cognitive domains will be used to construct a global scale of civic and citizenship knowledge and understandings of the four content domains. The first cognitive domain, *knowing*, outlines the types of civic and citizenship information that students are required to demonstrate knowledge of. The second domain, *reasoning and analyzing*, details the cognitive processes that students require to reach conclusions. These processes are broader than the contents of any single piece of knowledge, and include the processes involved in understanding complex sets of factors influencing civic actions and in planning for and evaluating strategic solutions and outcomes.

Cognitive Domain 1: Knowing

Knowing refers to the learned civic and citizenship information that students use when engaging in the more complex cognitive tasks that help them make sense of their civic worlds. Students are expected to recall or recognize definitions, descriptions, and the key properties of civic and citizenship concepts and content, and to illustrate these with examples. Because ICCS is an international study, the concrete and abstract concepts students are expected to know in the core cognitive assessment are those that can be generalized across societies. There is scope in the regional modules (where applicable) to target regionally specific knowledge.

Cognitive Domain 2: Reasoning and analyzing

Reasoning and analyzing refers to the ways in which students use civic and citizenship information to reach conclusions that are broader than the contents of any single concept. Reasoning extends from the direct application of knowledge and understanding to reach conclusions about familiar concrete situations through to the selection and assimilation of knowledge and understanding of multiple concepts. These outcomes are then used to reach conclusions about complex, multifaceted, unfamiliar, and abstract situations.

Appendix D ICCS Proficiency Levels

The following table is taken from the ICCS First Findings International Report (Schulz *et al.*, 2010a, p. 33). It provides details of the three proficiency levels, with text outlining the nature of knowledge and understanding at each level.

<p>Level 3: 563 score points and above</p> <p>Students working at Level 3 make connections between the processes of social and political organization and influence, and the legal and institutional mechanisms used to control them. They generate accurate hypotheses on the benefits, motivations, and likely outcomes of institutional policies and citizens' actions. They integrate, justify, and evaluate given positions, policies, or laws based on the principles that underpin them. Students demonstrate familiarity with broad international economic forces and the strategic nature of active participation.</p> <p><i>Students working at Level 3, for example:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify likely strategic aims of a program of ethical consumption • Suggest mechanisms by which open public debate and communication can benefit society • Suggest related benefits of widespread cognitive intercultural understanding in society • Justify the separation of powers between the judiciary and the parliament • Relate the principle of fair and equal governance to laws regarding disclosure of financial donations to political parties • Evaluate a policy with respect to equality and inclusiveness • Identify the main feature of free market economies and multinational company ownership.
<p>Level 2: 479 to 562 score points</p> <p>Students working at Level 2 demonstrate familiarity with the broad concept of representative democracy as a political system. They recognize ways in which institutions and laws can be used to protect and promote a society's values and principles. They recognize the potential role of citizens as voters in a representative democracy, and they generalize principles and values from specific examples of policies and laws (including human rights). Students demonstrate understanding of the influence that active citizenship can have beyond the local community. They generalize the role of the individual active citizen to broader civic societies and the world.</p> <p><i>Students working at Level 2, for example:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relate the independence of a statutory authority to maintenance of public trust in decisions made by the authority • Generalize the economic risk to developing countries of globalization from a local context • Identify that informed citizens are better able to make decisions when voting in elections • Relate the responsibility to vote with the representativeness of a democracy • Describe the main role of a legislature/parliament • Define the main role of a constitution • Relate the responsibility for environmental protection to individual people.
<p>Level 1: 395 to 478 score points</p> <p>Students working at Level 1 demonstrate familiarity with equality, social cohesion, and freedom as principles of democracy. They relate these broad principles to everyday examples of situations in which protection of or challenge to the principles are demonstrated. Students also demonstrate familiarity with fundamental concepts of the individual as an active citizen: they recognise the necessity for individuals to obey the law; they relate individual courses of action to likely outcomes; and they relate personal characteristics to the capacity of an individual to effect civic change.</p> <p><i>Students working at Level 1, for example:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relate freedom of the press to the accuracy of information provided to the public by the media • Justify voluntary voting in the context of freedom of political expression • Identify that democratic leaders should be aware of the needs of the people over whom they have authority • Justify voluntary voting in the context of freedom of political expression • Recognize that the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights is intended to apply to all people • Generalize about the value of the internet as a communicative tool in civic participation • Recognize the civic motivation behind an act of ethical consumerism.

Appendix E Example items from international test

Table E1. Example Item 1 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 1	Country	Percent at least 1 point	Percent 2 points only
<p>Public debate is when people openly exchange their opinions. Public debate happens in letters to newspapers, TV shows, radio talkback, internet forums and public meetings. Public debate can be about local, state, national or international issues.</p> <p>How can public debate benefit society? Give two different ways.</p> <p>1. _____ _____</p> <p>2. _____ _____</p> <p>CODING GUIDE</p> <p>Code 2</p> <p>ICCS Knowledge Scale Proficiency Level 3</p> <p>Refers to benefits from two different categories of the five categories listed below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • better knowledge or understanding of the substance of an issue or situation • provides solutions to problems OR a forum from which solutions can come • increase in social harmony, acceptance of difference, or reduction of frustration • increases people's confidence or motivation to participate in their society • represents, enacts the principle of freedom of expression for people <p>Code 1</p> <p>ICCS Knowledge Scale Proficiency Level 2</p> <p>Refers only to reasons from one of the five listed categories (including responses in which different reasons from the same category are provided).</p>	Austria	58 (2.4)	20 (2.0)
	Belgium (Flemish)	63 (2.2)	19 (1.4)
	Bulgaria	72 (2.4)	24 (1.7)
	Chile	70 (1.5)	21 (1.1)
	Chinese Taipei	76 (0.9)	27 (1.1)
	Colombia	58 (1.3)	16 (1.2)
	Cyprus	58 (1.9)	10 (1.1)
	Czech Republic †	73 (1.0)	19 (1.1)
	Denmark	83 (1.4)	38 (1.6)
	England ‡	59 (1.7)	15 (1.2)
	Finland	60 (1.5)	13 (1.0)
	Greece	54 (1.9)	15 (1.3)
	Guatemala ¹	65 (1.6)	15 (1.0)
	Ireland	79 (1.5)	28 (1.4)
	Italy	75 (1.8)	23 (1.4)
	Korea, Republic of ²	86 (0.9)	42 (1.2)
	Liechtenstein	42 (4.5)	6 (2.3)
	Lithuania	67 (1.6)	17 (1.3)
	Malta	59 (2.7)	20 (2.0)
	Mexico	66 (1.1)	23 (1.0)
	New Zealand †	69 (1.9)	25 (1.5)
	Norway †	71 (1.5)	18 (1.3)
	Paraguay ¹	48 (2.5)	7 (1.1)
	Poland	83 (1.5)	32 (1.4)
	Russian Federation	79 (1.9)	25 (1.4)
	Slovak Republic ²	83 (1.2)	34 (1.7)
	Slovenia	69 (1.5)	18 (1.3)
Spain	68 (1.6)	15 (1.3)	
Sweden	73 (1.5)	22 (1.2)	
Switzerland †	54 (1.8)	9 (1.2)	
Thailand †	57 (1.5)	11 (0.8)	
ICCS average	67 (0.3)	20 (0.2)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements			
Hong Kong SAR	69 (2.6)	14 (2.0)	
Netherlands	37 (2.7)	4 (0.8)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

² National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E2. Example Item 2 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 2	Country	Percent correct response
<p><Male Name> buys new school shoes. <Male Name> then learns that his new shoes were made by a company that employs young children to make the shoes in a factory and pays them very little money for their work. <Male Name> says he will not wear his new shoes again.</p> <p>ICCS Knowledge Scale Proficiency Level 1</p> <p>Why would <Male Name> refuse to wear his new shoes?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He thinks that shoes made by children will not last very long.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He does not want to show support for the company that made them.*</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He does not want to support the children that made them.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He is angry that he paid more for the shoes than they are actually worth.</p> <p><Male Name> wants other people to refuse to buy the shoes.</p> <p>How can he best try to do this?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> buy all of the shoes himself so no one else can buy them</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> return the shoes to the shop and ask for his money back</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> block the entrance to the shop so people cannot enter it</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> inform other people about how the shoes are made*</p>	Austria	79 (1.4)
	Belgium (Flemish)	81 (1.3)
	Bulgaria	73 (1.7)
	Chile	75 (1.6)
	Chinese Taipei	67 (1.1)
	Colombia	74 (1.4)
	Cyprus	52 (1.5)
	Czech Republic †	67 (1.2)
	Denmark	91 (0.7)
	Dominican Republic	45 (1.4)
	England ‡	82 (1.3)
	Estonia	72 (1.6)
	Finland	92 (0.8)
	Greece	73 (1.4)
	Guatemala*	57 (2.1)
	Indonesia	38 (1.5)
	Ireland	85 (1.3)
	Italy	85 (1.0)
	Korea, Republic of†	77 (1.1)
	Latvia	74 (1.4)
	Liechtenstein	83 (2.4)
	Lithuania	74 (1.4)
	Luxembourg	74 (1.3)
	Malta	72 (1.7)
	Mexico	61 (1.2)
	New Zealand †	82 (1.4)
	Norway †	84 (1.5)
Paraguay†	56 (1.9)	
Poland	76 (1.4)	
Russian Federation	75 (1.1)	
Slovak Republic‡	61 (2.0)	
Slovenia	75 (1.5)	
Spain	82 (1.6)	
Sweden	86 (1.0)	
Switzerland †	85 (1.3)	
Thailand †	57 (1.5)	
ICCS average	73 (0.2)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	73 (1.7)	
Netherlands	72 (2.9)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

* Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

† National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E3. Example Item 3 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 3	Country	Percent correct response
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p><Male Name> buys new school shoes. <Male Name> then learns that his new shoes were made by a company that employs young children to make the shoes in a factory and pays them very little money for their work. <Male Name> says he will not wear his new shoes again.</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>Why would <Male Name> refuse to wear his new shoes?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He thinks that shoes made by children will not last very long.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He does not want to show support for the company that made them.*</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He does not want to support the children that made them.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> He is angry that he paid more for the shoes than they are actually worth.</p> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Below ICCS Knowledge Scale Proficiency Level 1</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p><Male Name> wants other people to refuse to buy the shoes.</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>How can he best try to do this?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> buy all of the shoes himself so no one else can buy them</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> return the shoes to the shop and ask for his money back</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> block the entrance to the shop so people cannot enter it</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> inform other people about how the shoes are made*</p> </div>	Austria	88 (1.1)
	Belgium (Flemish)	95 (0.8)
	Bulgaria	83 (1.7)
	Chile	88 (0.9)
	Chinese Taipei	89 (0.7)
	Colombia	83 (1.0)
	Cyprus	75 (1.3)
	Czech Republic †	93 (0.5)
	Denmark	95 (0.7)
	Dominican Republic	64 (1.5)
	England ‡	93 (0.9)
	Estonia	91 (1.2)
	Finland	97 (0.4)
	Greece	84 (1.4)
	Guatemala*	87 (1.0)
	Indonesia	81 (1.4)
	Ireland	94 (0.8)
	Italy	94 (0.6)
	Korea, Republic of*	97 (0.4)
	Latvia	87 (1.4)
	Liechtenstein	90 (2.2)
	Lithuania	94 (0.7)
	Luxembourg	87 (1.0)
	Malta	82 (1.5)
	Mexico	79 (1.1)
	New Zealand †	90 (1.0)
	Norway †	90 (0.9)
	Paraguay*	81 (1.3)
Poland	93 (0.8)	
Russian Federation	90 (1.0)	
Slovak Republic*	94 (0.9)	
Slovenia	90 (0.9)	
Spain	88 (1.0)	
Sweden	94 (0.7)	
Switzerland †	94 (0.8)	
Thailand †	83 (1.1)	
ICCS average	88 (0.2)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	90 (1.0)	
Netherlands	90 (2.0)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

* Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

* National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E4. Example Item 4 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example Item 4	Country	Percent correct response
Which of the following is the main purpose of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? <input type="checkbox"/> to promote the political rights of well-educated people <input type="checkbox"/> to decrease political conflicts between countries <input type="checkbox"/> to guarantee the same basic rights to everyone <input type="checkbox"/> to make it possible for new countries to be established	Austria	74 (1.6)
	Belgium (Flemish)	67 (2.2)
	Bulgaria	70 (1.7)
	Chile	63 (1.4)
	Chinese Taipei	87 (0.8)
	Colombia	63 (1.2)
	Cyprus	67 (1.5)
	Czech Republic †	79 (0.8)
	Denmark	77 (1.2)
	Dominican Republic	41 (1.4)
	England ‡	73 (1.3)
	Estonia	71 (1.7)
	Finland	82 (1.0)
	Greece	66 (2.0)
	Guatemala*	62 (1.6)
	Indonesia	57 (1.6)
	Ireland	80 (1.6)
	Italy	83 (1.2)
	Korea, Republic of*	92 (0.6)
	Latvia	58 (1.9)
	Liechtenstein	77 (3.2)
	Lithuania	75 (1.1)
	Luxembourg	71 (1.4)
	Malta	60 (1.9)
	Mexico	65 (1.3)
	New Zealand †	71 (1.5)
	Norway †	66 (1.5)
	Paraguay*	68 (2.2)
	Poland	85 (1.1)
	Russian Federation	75 (1.6)
	Slovak Republic ²	79 (1.5)
	Slovenia	79 (1.2)
	Spain	76 (1.6)
Sweden	66 (1.5)	
Switzerland †	79 (1.7)	
Thailand †	42 (1.3)	
ICCS average	71 (0.3)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	77 (1.9)	
Netherlands	51 (2.6)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

* Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

² National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E5. Example Item 5 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 5	Country	Percent correct response
<p>What is the main purpose of <labour/trade unions>? Their main purpose is to ...</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> improve the quality of products produced.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> increase the amount that factories produce.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> improve conditions and pay for workers.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> establish a fairer tax system.</p>	Austria	50 (1.3)
	Belgium (Flemish)	64 (1.8)
	Bulgaria	60 (1.6)
	Chile	61 (1.4)
	Chinese Taipei	56 (1.2)
	Colombia	65 (1.0)
	Cyprus	56 (1.4)
	Czech Republic †	52 (1.2)
	Denmark	72 (1.3)
	Dominican Republic	45 (2.2)
	England ‡	53 (1.9)
	Estonia	56 (1.9)
	Finland	72 (1.1)
	Greece	68 (1.3)
	Guatemala*	50 (1.9)
	Indonesia	26 (1.1)
	Ireland	55 (1.6)
	Italy	80 (1.1)
	Korea, Republic of*	77 (0.9)
	Latvia	50 (1.9)
	Liechtenstein	36 (4.0)
	Lithuania	49 (1.3)
	Luxembourg	45 (1.2)
	Malta	65 (1.7)
	Mexico	64 (1.2)
	New Zealand †	50 (1.4)
	Norway †	52 (1.8)
	Paraguay*	56 (1.3)
	Poland	77 (1.5)
	Russian Federation	50 (1.8)
	Slovak Republic*	46 (1.9)
	Slovenia	69 (1.4)
	Spain	67 (1.6)
Sweden	57 (1.6)	
Switzerland †	50 (2.2)	
Thailand †	61 (1.3)	
ICCS average	57 (0.3)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	53 (2.1)	
Netherlands	55 (2.1)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

* Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

* National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E6. Example Item 6 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 6	Country	Percent correct response
<p>In many countries, media such as newspapers, radio stations and television stations are privately owned by media companies. In some countries, there are laws which limit the number of media companies that any one person or business group can own.</p> <p>Why do countries have these laws?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> to increase the profits of media companies</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> to enable the government to control information presented by the media</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> to make sure there are enough journalists to report about the government</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> to make it likely that a range of views is presented by the media</p>	Austria	40 (1.3)
	Belgium (Flemish)	42 (1.6)
	Bulgaria	41 (1.7)
	Chile	42 (1.3)
	Chinese Taipei	35 (1.2)
	Colombia	49 (1.4)
	Cyprus	44 (1.3)
	Czech Republic †	30 (1.1)
	Denmark	52 (1.2)
	Dominican Republic	29 (1.1)
	England ‡	40 (1.4)
	Estonia	36 (1.6)
	Finland	70 (1.4)
	Greece	42 (1.5)
	Guatemala*	53 (1.3)
	Indonesia	28 (1.1)
	Ireland	41 (1.3)
	Italy	42 (1.6)
	Korea, Republic of ¹	50 (1.1)
	Latvia	40 (1.6)
	Liechtenstein	41 (4.0)
	Lithuania	43 (1.4)
	Luxembourg	33 (1.0)
	Malta	31 (1.7)
	Mexico	47 (1.0)
	New Zealand †	40 (1.5)
	Norway †	48 (1.7)
	Paraguay ¹	47 (2.0)
	Poland	43 (1.4)
	Russian Federation	40 (1.5)
	Slovak Republic ²	33 (1.6)
	Slovenia	41 (1.3)
Spain	37 (1.6)	
Sweden	45 (1.6)	
Switzerland †	33 (2.0)	
Thailand †	41 (1.1)	
ICCS average	41 (0.3)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	40 (1.5)	
Netherlands	32 (1.9)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

² National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table E7. Example Item 7 with overall percent correct and item parameters

Example item 7	Country	Percent correct response
<p>Most multinational businesses are owned and managed by ...</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> companies from developed countries.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> companies from developing countries.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> the United Nations.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> the World Bank.</p>	Austria	36 (1.4)
	Belgium (Flemish)	23 (1.4)
	Bulgaria	40 (1.6)
	Chile	51 (1.5)
	Chinese Taipei	51 (1.2)
	Colombia	46 (1.5)
	Cyprus	38 (1.5)
	Czech Republic †	26 (1.1)
	Denmark	69 (1.5)
	Dominican Republic	37 (1.6)
	England ‡	44 (1.5)
	Estonia	28 (1.6)
	Finland	47 (1.4)
	Greece	38 (1.7)
	Guatemala*	48 (1.5)
	Indonesia	33 (1.2)
	Ireland	58 (1.6)
	Italy	52 (1.8)
	Korea, Republic of*	54 (1.1)
	Latvia	35 (1.6)
	Liechtenstein	43 (4.5)
	Lithuania	55 (1.5)
	Luxembourg	28 (1.0)
	Malta	54 (1.9)
	Mexico	47 (1.1)
	New Zealand †	46 (1.7)
	Norway †	25 (1.3)
	Paraguay*	36 (1.5)
	Poland	36 (1.7)
	Russian Federation	38 (1.9)
	Slovak Republic*	42 (1.8)
	Slovenia	52 (1.7)
	Spain	44 (1.7)
Sweden	46 (1.7)	
Switzerland †	41 (1.9)	
Thailand †	30 (1.2)	
ICCS average	42 (0.3)	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	50 (2.1)	
Netherlands	36 (3.3)	

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

* Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

* National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

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Source: Schulz *et al.*, 2010b, Chapter. 3.

Appendix F Variables defined for multilevel modelling

All dependent variables are highlighted. Independent variables are all those variables under 'ICCS Civic Knowledge', but also include 'ICCS Civic knowledge' as an independent variable for dependent attitudinal variables.

Variable	label	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ETHRGHT	Equal Rights For All Ethnic Groups	19.29	65.88	49.69	11.08
IMMRGHT	Equal Rights For Immigrants	18.48	68.89	46.42	10.74
PARTCOM	Civic Participation In The Community	38.68	86.34	49.11	9.29
PARTSCHL	Civic Participation At School	28.23	78.47	50.20	10.32
DEMVAL	Support For Democratic Values	12.34	67.34	48.19	10.07
INTPOLS	Interest In Political And Social Issues	26.58	73.81	49.02	10.38
ELECPART	Adult Electoral Participation	23.85	63.05	47.56	10.07
GENEQL	Attitudes Towards Gender Equality	16.25	64.56	53.32	10.12
INTRUST	Trust In Civic Institutions	20.21	77.35	50.78	8.60
POLPART	Adult Participation In Political Activities	29.85	75.47	49.21	8.99
INFPART	Future Informal Political Participation	27.57	74.09	49.05	9.49
COGNIT	ICCS Civic Knowledge	134.13	901.73	522.45	103.25
SISCED	Expected Education	1.00	4.00	3.27	0.94
PARINT	Parent/carer's Interest In Political and Social Issues	0.00	3.00	1.84	0.79
HISEI	Parent/carer's Highest Occupational Status	16.00	90.00	50.55	16.20
HISCED	Highest Parent/Carer Educational Level	0.00	5.00	3.76	1.04
HOMELIT	Home Literacy	0.00	5.00	2.48	1.44
OPDISC	Openness in Class Discussion	14.83	78.98	53.15	10.45
STUDINF	Pupil Influence at School	26.86	73.84	45.65	9.03
RELchris	Religion - Christian	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.50
RELmuslim	Religion - Muslim	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.23
RELOther	Religion - Other	0.00	1.00	0.07	0.26
RELINF	Influence Of Religion On Society	29.46	71.75	47.02	9.92
SGENDER	Gender Of Pupil (Female)	0.00	1.00	0.51	0.50
IMMfirst	First Generation Immigrant Pupils	0.00	1.00	0.09	0.29
IMMnonna	Non-Native Pupils	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.24
ETHwhite	Ethnicity - White Non-UK	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.16
ETHasian	Ethnicity - Asian	0.00	1.00	0.09	0.29
ETHblack	Ethnicity - Black	0.00	1.00	0.05	0.21
ETHother	Ethnicity - Other	0.00	1.00	0.04	0.20
TSTCLACT	Reports of Pupil Participation	37.88	57.53	48.25	3.34

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TSTUDINF	Perception of Pupil Influence	41.51	56.85	47.67	2.95
Variable	label	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
TSCPROB	Perceptions Of Social Problems	41.24	69.81	56.79	4.40
IT2G21A	Teachers - Aim Is To Promote Knowledge Of Social, Political And Civic Institutions	0.00	60.00	27.06	12.50
IT2G21E	Teachers - Aim Is To Promote Knowledge Of Citizens' Rights And Responsibilities	10.00	88.89	51.09	14.82
IT2G21F	Teachers - Aim Is To Promote Pupils Participation In The Local Community	0.00	66.67	27.22	12.87
IT2G21J	Teachers - Aim Is To Prepare Pupils For Future Political Participation	0.00	36.36	6.72	7.56
COMSOCT	Social Tension In Local Community	22.56	77.18	53.38	9.73
CSCPROB	Social Problems At School	38.09	70.53	57.53	6.07
GRENROL	School Enrolment In Target Grade	40.00	351.00	181.14	58.78
SCAUTON	Perception Of School Autonomy	43.72	80.15	56.84	6.60
PRIVATE	Private School Indicator	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.23
IC2G16A	CCE is a-Separate Subject	0.00	1.00	0.43	0.50
IC2G16B	CCE is-in Human And Social Sciences	0.00	1.00	0.59	0.49
IC2G16C	CCE is-Integrated Into All Subjects	0.00	1.00	0.62	0.49
IC2G16D	CCE is an-Extra-Curricular Activity	0.00	1.00	0.22	0.42
IC2G16E	CCE is the-Result Of School Experience	0.00	1.00	0.71	0.45
IC2G16F	CCE is not-Not Part Of School Curriculum	0.00	1.00	0.08	0.28
IC2G17A	Head - Aim Is To Promote Knowledge Of Social, Political And Civic Institutions	0.00	1.00	0.34	0.47
IC2G17E	Head - Aim Is To Promote Knowledge Of Citizens' Rights And Responsibilities	0.00	1.00	0.65	0.48
IC2G17F	Head - Aim Is To Promote Pupils Participation In The Local Community	0.00	1.00	0.49	0.50
IC2G17J	Head - Aim Is To Prepare Pupils For Future Political Participation	0.00	1.00	0.10	0.29

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