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Effective civic and citizenship education

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Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:

2015

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Isac, M. (2015). *Effective civic and citizenship education: A cross-cultural perspective*. University of Groningen.

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EFFECTIVE CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP
EDUCATION
A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

MARIA MAGDALENA ISAC



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ISBN: 978-90-367-8192-3 (book)

ISBN: 978-90-367-8191-6 (e-book)

Cover picture and design: Daniele Vidoni

Printed by: Str press, Rome (IT)

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Effective Civic and Citizenship Education

A Cross-Cultural Perspective

PhD thesis

to obtain the degree of PhD at the
 University of Groningen
 on the authority of the
 Rector Magnificus Prof. E. Sterken
 and in accordance with
 the decision by the College of Deans.

This thesis will be defended in public on

Thursday 1 October 2015 at 16.15 hours

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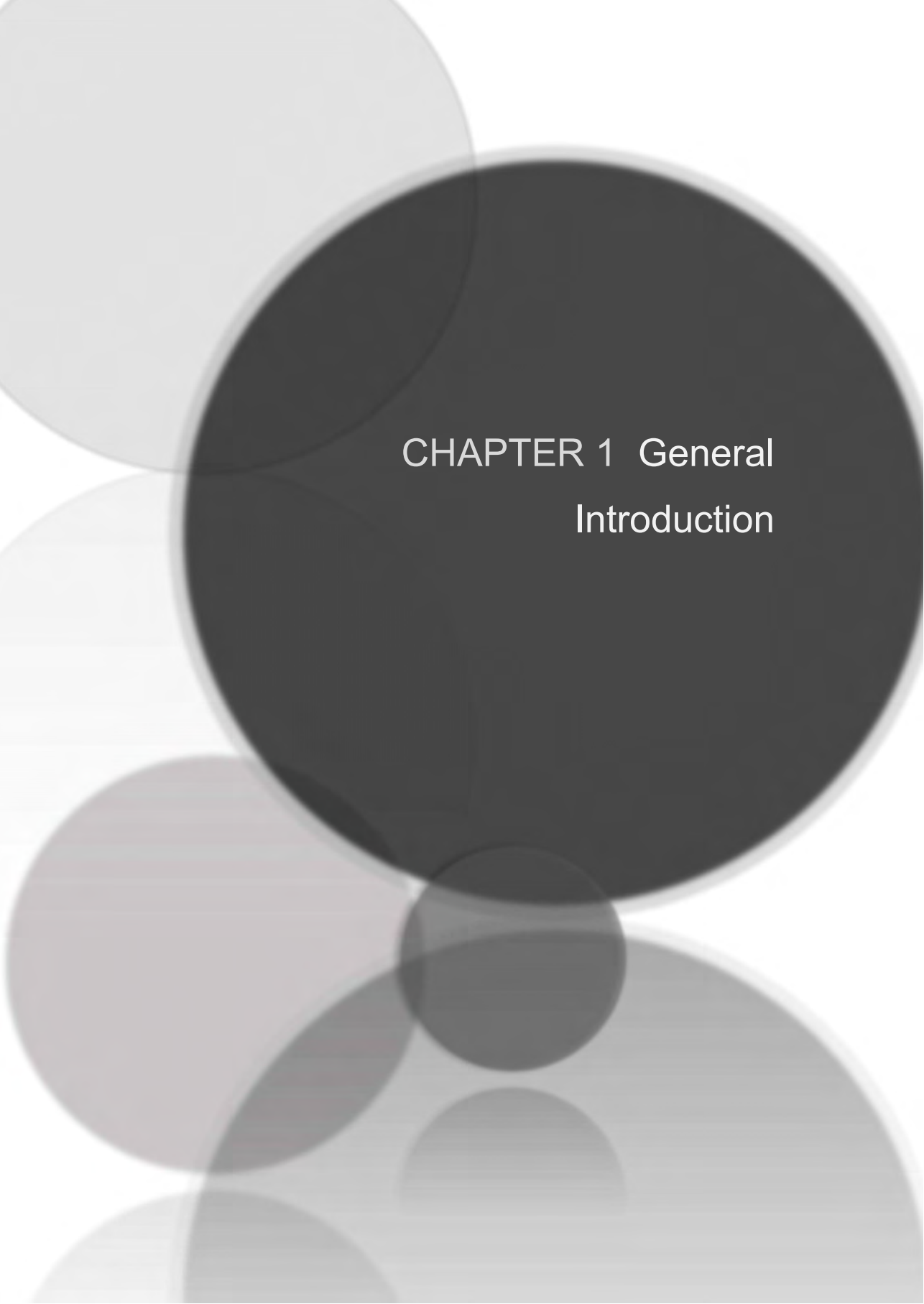
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CHAPTER 1 General
Introduction

Introduction¹

In most educational systems, schools are entrusted with the responsibility of developing students' cognitive skills, as well as their personal, affective, social and civic abilities required for a full participation as future adults in society. Nevertheless, with only a few exceptions (e.g., Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Thomas, 2001), educational effectiveness research has mainly focused on identifying effective school characteristics and processes in relation to the cognitive domain of learning and assessing basic skills in "traditional" subjects, such as mathematics and reading (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008). However, a growing interest of educational effectiveness researchers in "non-traditional" educational outcomes (Reynolds, Sammons, De Fraine, Townsend, & Van Damme, 2011; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007) has led to findings which raise doubts about the influence of schooling on learning outcomes such as civic and citizenship competences: "Whether there is such a thing as a 'civics-promoting' school (and, if there is, how one would identify it) seems doubtful" (Gray, 2004, p. 192). As a result of this increased attention for civic and citizenship education and recent reforms in the field (Birzea, 2003, Eurydice, 2005; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010), the body of empirical evidence on the relevance of this type of education is rapidly growing. Still, the knowledge about the contribution of schools and school factors to the outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs has remained limited.

This dissertation investigates students' civic learning by integrating findings from studies on civic and citizenship education into a theoretical framework based on educational effectiveness research. We explore the factors that influence the five most prevalent types of civic and citizenship outcomes by building on empirical findings

¹ The chapters of this dissertation have been designed to be read as independent scientific research articles. Therefore, some overlap with the General Introduction may occur.

assessed across several educational systems and democratic contexts, while making use of international comparative survey data.

The remainder of this introduction is structured as follows. The first section gives an account of possible learning outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs and describes the main competences examined in the studies conducted for this dissertation. In the second section, the current evidence on the impact of education on civic and citizenship outcomes is presented. The third section deals with theoretical and methodological issues, and formulates the research questions on which this dissertation is based. In the fourth section, we describe the data used for our research. Finally, we conclude this introduction by providing a brief overview of the dissertation.

Learning outcomes of civic and citizenship education in schools

The school is often identified as the most important socializing factor in the development of students into knowledgeable, responsible, participatory, active, and socially integrated young individuals (cf. Eurydice, 2005). Over the past decades some agreement has been reached on the components of citizenship competences which yield “good” citizenship behavior. These competences are conceptualized as a combination of civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and values as well as behavioral dispositions which promote an active and responsible future participation in political and social life (see e.g. Haste, 2004; Homana, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2006; Schulz, 2007; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta & Lopez, 2006; Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004).

Many scholars consider civic knowledge and skills to be the key outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, & van de Gaer, 2011). It is argued that without sufficient knowledge and reasoning skills individuals are insufficiently capable of learning how to participate effectively in society (Galston, 2001, 2004). This knowledge implies, for example, an understanding of topics such as the

fundamental democratic processes, local and national affairs, citizens' rights and responsibilities in a democracy, the ability to recognize the attributes of good citizenship, and the skill to critically analyze and interpret information (Torney-Purta, 2002). Knowledge and skills are thus considered to play a crucial role in guiding students in their current and future participation in society. However, several scholars have argued that knowledge and skills alone are not sufficient, unless they are linked with attitudes that promote a true engagement in democracy and a responsible and active participation in political and social life (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002).

These attitudes and behavioral intentions may take various forms, depending on their underlying conceptualization of or perspective on democracy and democratic involvement. In their seminal work on political culture, Almond and Verba (1963) point to two different facets of good citizenship (see also Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Sherrod et al., 2002, Schulz et al., 2008; Schulz et al., 2010). They refer to “conventional forms” or “social-movement forms” of participation as two distinct interrelated sets of values and expected behaviors that capture citizenship beliefs and “good citizenship” practices. Which form of participation is at stake depends on whether the types of endorsed behaviors are driven by a sense of “citizen duty” or by elements of liberal or communitarian norms of citizenship. Conventional participation concerns compliance with social norms and democratic duties, such as voting in national elections, joining a political party, or following political issues in the media. It is frequently argued, however, that such behaviors must be complemented by more active social-movement forms of participation in society, such as - for example - collecting signatures for a petition or participating in peaceful protests or in activities that benefit the community or promote a social cause (cf. Schulz et al., 2010). The two sets of attitudes and their corresponding expected behaviors are not necessarily contradictory, but reflect contrasting emphases on the role of citizens in politics and society (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Dalton, 2006; Schulz et al., 2010).

Despite the agreement on a wide variety of relevant citizenship competences, fully understanding what schools are expected to achieve in the domain of civic and citizenship

education is not an easy task. In most democratic educational systems, the curricular goals of civic and citizenship education generally promote a broad range of civic competences (Eurydice, 2005 & 2012). In a similar vein, comparative studies of civic and citizenship education aim to capture this variety of civic outcomes by conceptualizing and operationalizing an array of student competences (Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). Generally, these competences include both a cognitive component – civic knowledge and skills – and an affective-behavioral component in terms of citizenship values and behavioral intentions, associated with both conventional and alternative forms of participation (Schulz, 2008). Most educational systems particularly prioritize objectives such as the acquisition of civic knowledge and skills regarding civic and civil institutions and processes, the development of values and participatory attitudes, and tolerance toward other, particularly ethnic, groups (Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Factors related to civic and citizenship outcomes

Over the past decades, several studies have tried to unravel factors that contribute to the development of students' civic knowledge, their attitudes toward citizenship and their participation in civic activities (e.g. Campbell, 2008; Homana, Barber & Torney-Purta, 2006; Lopes, Benton, & Cleaver, 2009; Niemi & Junn, 1998, Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Next to the body of research on adolescent civic engagement (see Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010), a particularly extensive source of findings was provided by two international comparative studies of civic and citizenship education, the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001) and the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010). The factors identified by these studies concern characteristics of schools, classrooms and educational systems, but also individual students' traits and students' activities and experiences outside school, for example at home, or in the wider communities.

The current literature on how educational experiences influence the development of citizenship competences seems to indicate that schools have an important role in socializing students into active citizenship, not only through formal but also particularly through informal learning experiences (Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Maslowski, Breit, Eckensberger & Scheerens, 2009; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Scheerens, 2011; Sherrod, Flanagan & Youniss, 2010; Schultz, 2002). Therefore, citizenship education is conceptualized in a broad sense as learning experiences which are stimulated by both formal and explicit goal-directed teaching and informal learning experiences at school. The latter may be the result of the school's ethos and extracurricular activities, and/or the facilitation of opportunities to participate in the school's decision making processes (Eurydice, 2005; Scheerens, 2011).

Previous studies have revealed several aspects of schooling to be beneficial to students' civic and citizenship competences. These aspects certainly include the provision of formal learning, such as structured civic education and social studies classes (Niemi & Junn, 1998), but also elements of informal citizenship education, for example a positive school environment, a democratic classroom climate, and opportunities to participate in activities both at school and in the community. A school environment that supports the learning of citizenship is characterized by elements such as respectful student behavior, a community of teachers committed to collaborative practices, close communication between the school and the students' home environments and a strong sense of both the students and the teachers of belonging to the school (e.g. Deakin Crick, Coates, Taylor, Ritchie, 2004; Scheerens, 2011).

The classroom climate is regarded as central in the development of citizenship competences. It refers to an environment in which high quality dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged and where inclusive and mutually respectful teacher-student and student-student relationships are fostered (e.g., Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Furthermore, citizenship outcomes are believed to be enhanced when students are given opportunities to participate actively in extracurricular activities (e.g. volunteering in the community) and

the school's democratic structures (see Sherrod et al., 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2010). In addition, other school characteristics considered to have an influence on student citizenship competences include the composition of the student body in terms of socioeconomic status and ethnic background (Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012; Maslowski et al., 2009; Schulz, 2002). With regard to the latter, the ethnic composition of the classroom is often regarded as an influential determinant of students' attitudes toward immigrants. It is argued that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of tolerance and support for immigrants' rights (e.g. Allport, 1954; Hyland, 2006; Janmaat, 2012; Kokkonen, Esaiasson, & Gilljam, 2010; van Geel, & Vedder, 2010).

Yet, scholars in the field widely recognize that the development of civic and citizenship competences is not only the result of schooling (Sherrod et al., 2002). It is considered to be simultaneously linked with individual student characteristics and activities and experiences outside the school. Therefore, also categories of factors other than those associated with school are regarded as important for student civic learning. These categories include individual student characteristics and various forms of opportunities to learn and develop civic competences outside the school environment, either via the family, peers, the larger community, or the media. For example, background characteristics, such as age, socio-economic status, immigrant status, and gender are clearly related to the degree to which students acquire civic and citizenship competences (e.g. Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss & Atkins, 2007; Schmidt, Shumow & Kackar, 2007; Sherrod et al., 2002; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Moreover, to some extent civic competences can be predicted based on individual factors, such as students' interests in political and social issues, their citizenship self-efficacy, their educational aspirations, their opportunities to engage in political discussions with their parents and peers, and their participation in the community (e.g. Gainous & Martens, 2012; Hoskins et al., 2012; Ichilov, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Sherrod et al., 2002; Schulz, 2005; Schulz et al., 2010; Solhaug, 2006; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Quintelier, 2010).

Still, apart from the obvious influence of individual and home characteristics, the role of educational systems remains to be considered crucial (e.g. Birzea, 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 1999; Quintelier, 2010). National differences in civic and citizenship competences point to the importance of the status of civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, the quality of teacher training in civics, the evaluation of civic education, as well as the broader socio-political context, such as levels of social and economic development and a country's democratic tradition (Hoskins, Barber, Van Nijlen, Villalba, 2011; Sherrod, Torney-Purta and Flanagan, 2010; Schulz et al., 2011).

The existing research on civic and citizenship education provides valuable hints concerning potentially relevant factors at the student, school/classroom, and country levels. These factors are generally positively related to students' civic and citizenship outcomes. However, most of the current studies address these aspects in isolation. Both conceptually and empirically, the multilevel nature of the influences on the different outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs largely remains unaccounted for. What is particularly still lacking is knowledge of the contribution of schools to these outcomes and of the relevant factors in this context at the different levels of education.

The current research

This study aims to contribute to the knowledge base on civic and citizenship education by attempting to shed some light on the contribution of schools to outcomes of this type of learning. Furthermore, it focuses on identifying what factors at the different levels within schools and in the wider learning environment can directly explain differences in outcomes among students, while taking students' background characteristics into account (see Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008, p.12).

Both conceptually and methodologically, we have striven to integrate the findings gathered in the field of civic citizenship education research into a comprehensive framework which accounts for multiple, multilevel potential influences on student outcomes. For this purpose, we concentrated on factors that contribute to the acquisition

of civic and citizenship outcomes using a framework from educational effectiveness research. More specifically, categories from the Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness as developed by Creemers (1994)² have been used to structure and identify the student, school and context characteristics that may influence students' civic learning (for a general description see Figure 1-1).

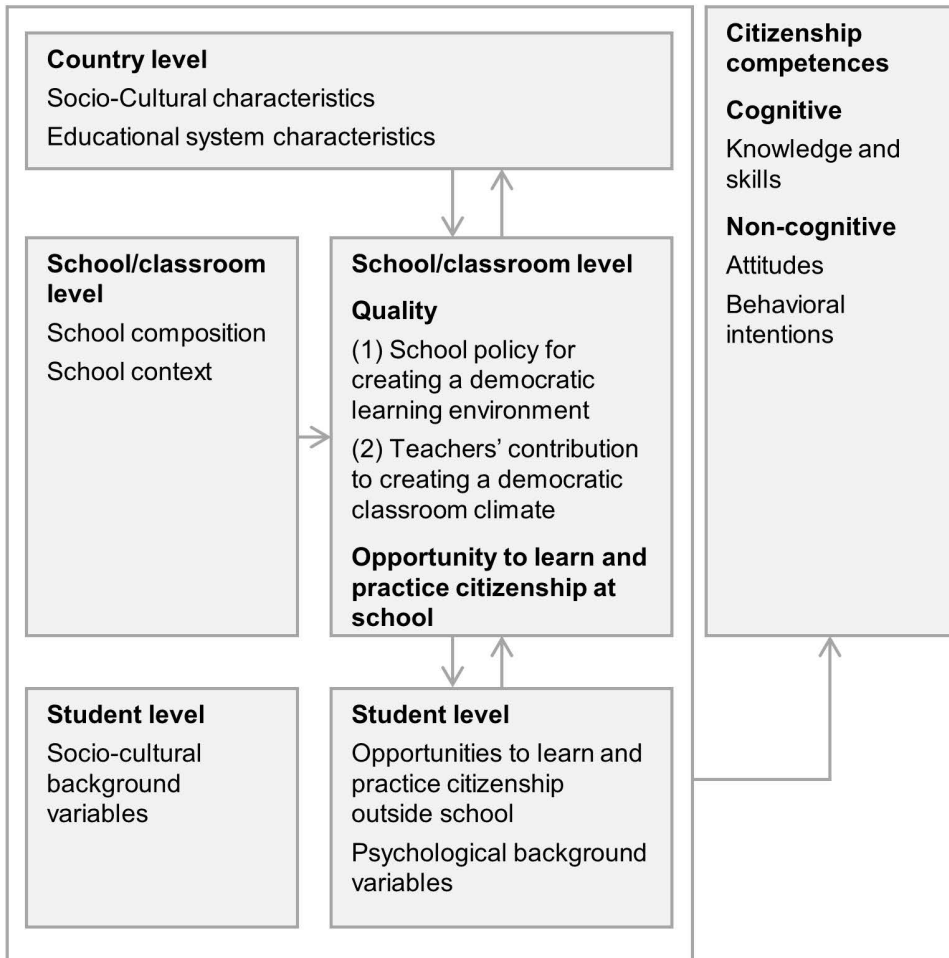
This model, further elaborated by Creemers and Kyriakides (2008), was designed with the objective to provide general explanations for all types of student outcomes. While no previous application to the field of civic and citizenship education was available, the model was tested using a wide number of studies and proved to be generally explanatory for several types of cognitive and non-cognitive learning outcomes (see De Jong, Westerhof, & Kruiter, 2004; Driessen & Sleegers, 2000; Kyriakides, 2005; Kyriakides, 2006; Kyriakides, Campbell, & Gagatsis, 2000; Kyriakides & Tsangaridou, 2004; Reezigt, Guldmond, & Creemers, 1999).

For the current research, a fair number of findings of the educational effectiveness studies were considered as well as meaningful hints provided by the general domain. More specifically, we acknowledge that differences among schools in student outcomes tend to be larger for subjects that are traditionally taught (e.g. mathematics) or for which schools are able to provide a more substantial coverage compared to other socialization agents, such as the family, peers, or the wider community (see Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008). In the particular case of civic and citizenship education outcomes, the differences among schools have been found to be very small, as reported by the limited number of studies in the field (Van der Wal, 2004; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007). It is therefore likely that in the case of learning outcomes representing educational goals which are less prioritized in the curriculum, socialization agents other than the schools are more influential. Moreover, we take into account that schools may have a larger effect on cognitive than on non-cognitive outcomes of learning (see Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008;

² For a detailed description of the Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness (Creemers, 1994) as well as its applications to the study of civic learning, the reader is referred to Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

Gray, 2004; Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Thomas, 2001) and that depending on the type of outcome, particular sets of factors could be especially important for student civic learning.

Figure 1-1 Conceptual Framework



With these considerations in mind, the objective of this research has been threefold, namely: (a) to estimate school differences regarding different types of cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship competences; (b) to identify student, school, and educational system factors that need to be taken into account in interpreting differences in students' civic and citizenship competences; and (c) to investigate whether specific sets

of factors are more important than other elements for student civic learning, depending on the type of outcome. This objective has been operationalized in the following transversal research questions:

- To what degree do schools differ in terms of their students' cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes? Do these differences depend on the type (cognitive vs non-cognitive) of outcome?
- Which school factors can explain differences in students' civic and citizenship outcomes? Do these factors vary depending on the outcome?
- Which student and educational system characteristics are related to the outcomes of civic and citizenship education? Do these characteristics differ depending on the outcome?

Data

To answer the research questions, data from two international surveys were used namely the 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) and the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). Both studies were conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The information provided by these surveys is unique in that currently they are the only two comprehensive quantitative sources of knowledge on civic and citizenship education available at the international level.

The 1999 CIVED study was set up with the intention to strengthen the empirical foundations of civic education by providing up-to-date information about the civic knowledge, attitudes, and activities of 14-year-olds (Grade 8 students) in 28 countries in Europe, North America, South America, Asia and the Pacific (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito & Kerr, 2008; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). It had the particular goal to confirm that the outcomes of education are broader than those produced by the traditional cognitive assessments of basic subjects. Next to gathering information on how young people are prepared to undertake their role as citizens, for example, by assessing their knowledge of the fundamental principles of democracy or their skills in interpreting political communication, the survey also aimed

to gain an insight into the background of students and the multiple contexts in which civic education takes place. To this end, contextual data were gathered via questionnaires administered to students, teachers and school principals.

While CIVED was, to some extent, explorative in nature, its successor (ICCS, 2009) offered more possibilities for data analysis. ICCS 2009, which surveyed 13-to-14-year old students in 38 European, Latin American and Asian countries, was a slightly larger-scale study than CIVED. In ICCS, the CIVED conceptual framework was further improved, particularly in terms of content covered and quality of the instruments. In this way, the measurement of both cognitive and non-cognitive student outcomes could be additionally refined and developed. Learning outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs were classified into two domains: (1) cognitive (knowledge and skills); and (2) affective-behavioral (attitudes toward citizenship, behavioral intentions and behaviors) (Schulz, 2008). Next, the survey collected more in-depth information regarding the individual backgrounds of students, their home environments, their schools and classrooms, and the wider community.

The use of the data provided by these surveys has had advantages, especially in the context of the research objectives addressed in this dissertation. First, they give the possibility to operationalize cognitive and non-cognitive outcome measures of civic and citizenship educational programs, as they are prioritized by educational policies in a relatively large number of countries. Second, the nested nature of the sample allowed for a decomposition of the variation in student outcomes through the use of different levels, namely the individual, the school, and the educational system level. This made it possible to estimate school differences in students' civic and citizenship outcomes. Moreover, the data provided information about multiple factors identified and measured at these levels by previous research, which enabled us to take different potential determinants of student civic and citizenship outcomes into account simultaneously. However, as all international assessments of student performance, also the surveys used for this dissertation had some limitations. Most notably, the cross-sectional nature of the data posed challenges in making causal claims, while some explanatory variables may have remained unmeasured.

We therefore acknowledge that most of the findings in this research have to be considered as explorative and descriptive.

Overview of the dissertation

The current dissertation is composed of three parts, in which our main objectives and research questions in relation to the various outcomes of civic and citizenship educations are central.

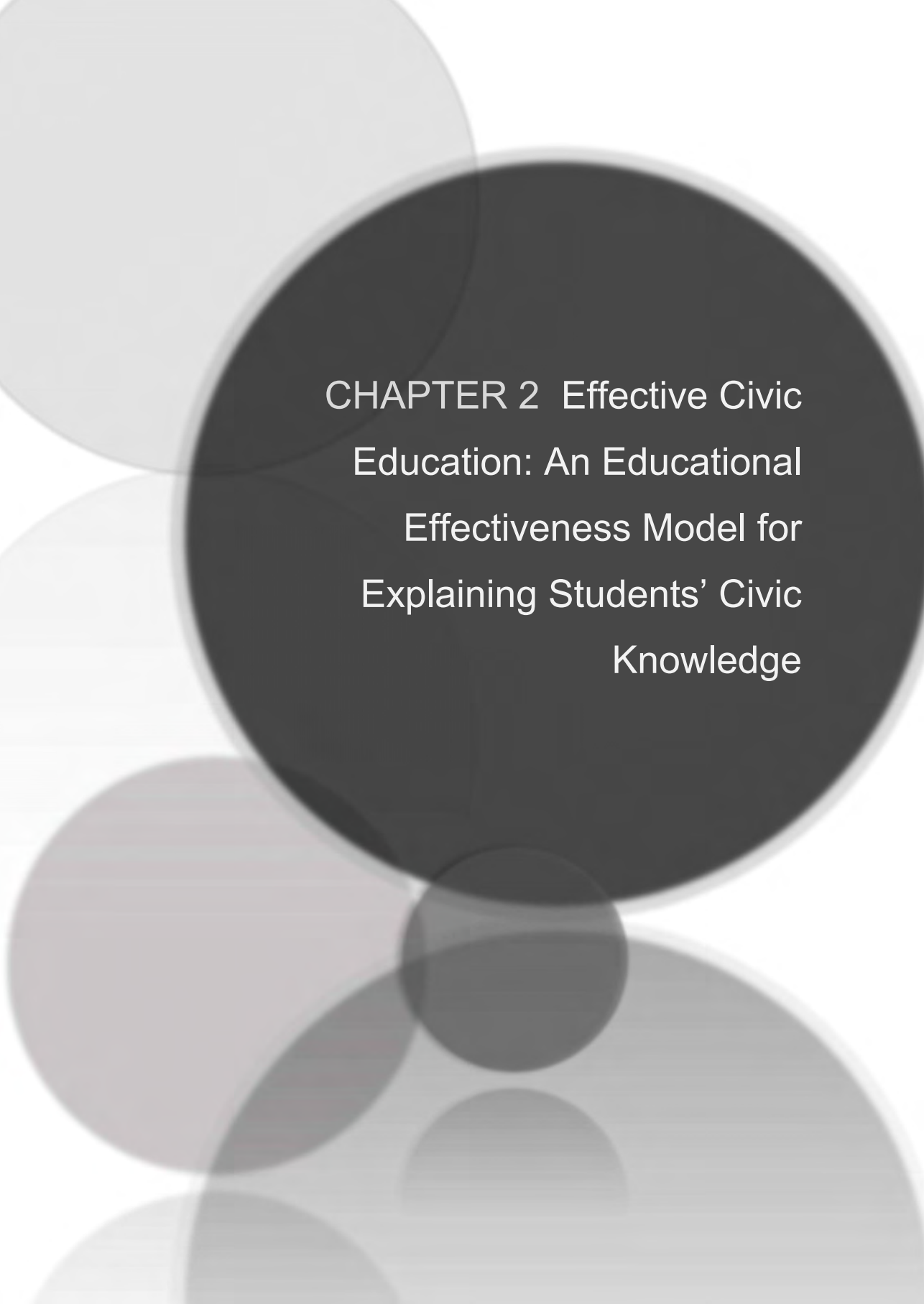
Chapter 2 provides an overview of the first explorative study based on data from the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). CIVED focuses on students' cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes, thus their civic knowledge and skills in interpreting political communication. It is an explorative study aimed at answering the need for a comprehensive theoretical framework to address the multilevel nature of the factors that promote students' civic knowledge and skills. Adopting Creemers' (1994) Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness, we explore to what extent differences in students' civic knowledge and skills can be explained by factors on the student, classroom/school and system levels. To this end, these factors are conceptualized into the categories 'context for learning', 'opportunities to learn', and 'quality factors'. Next, we perform a three-level multilevel regression analysis on the CIVED sample, consisting of 93,565 students across 4,136 classrooms in 28 countries.

In Chapter 3, we analyze the impact of schools and educational systems on the cognitive component of citizenship competences. We also address several non-cognitive student outcomes highly emphasized in civic and citizenship education programs. This is done by modeling three elements: the determinants of students' civic knowledge and skills in interpreting social and political information, students' attitudes toward conventional and social-movement good citizenship behaviors, and student-intended participation in both conventional and social-movement-related activities. In this research, we further extend and refine the exploration-based CIVED data. We use the data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in 2009 to

improve the coverage of the theoretical framework. This improvement enables a better integration of the findings from the various citizenship education studies into the educational effectiveness framework. For this purpose, multivariate multilevel regression analysis is used on a sample encompassing 102,396 lower secondary-school students of 4,078 schools in 31 European, Latin American and Asian countries. Taking the correlations among the outcome variables into account, this procedure facilitates a simultaneous estimation of the variance in the student cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes and the influence of different predictors.

Again based on the main research questions, Chapter 4 focuses on another highly desired type of learning outcome of civic and citizenship education programs, namely student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. Building on previous research, we take a slightly different approach to dealing with this issue by using findings which emphasize the potential importance of classroom composition. More specifically, we want to know whether the opportunity to interact with non-native peers in the classroom could lead to more positive attitudes among native students toward immigrants in general, and whether the expected positive effects are perhaps reversed when the immigrant group approaches the numerical majority. Using information from the ICCS 2009 study, we investigate the student, school and educational system determinants of positive student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. For the analyses a three-level multilevel model is used for a sample including 49,350 native students nested in 2,503 schools in 18 ICCS countries.

Chapter 5 summarizes the main results of the studies reported upon in Chapters 2 to 4. Next, the main conclusions with regard to the research questions are presented and an overview is provided of the limitations of our current research. Finally, some suggestions are made for future research in the field of civic and citizenship education.



CHAPTER 2 Effective Civic
Education: An Educational
Effectiveness Model for
Explaining Students' Civic
Knowledge

Abstract

In this study, a comprehensive educational effectiveness model is tested in relation to student's civic knowledge. Multilevel analysis was applied on the dataset of the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001), which was conducted among junior secondary-school students (age 14), their schools, and their teachers. In total, 28 countries, 4,136 classrooms, and 93,565 students were included in the analysis. The results indicated that the influences on students' civic knowledge are multilevel. Students' civic knowledge and skills were partially explained by individual characteristics, by factors related to quality and opportunities for civic learning offered by classrooms and class composition, and by factors at the national context level. We conclude that most effectiveness factors are relevant for the field of civic and citizenship education and that schooling and educational policy matter for students' success in this field.

Keywords: civic knowledge; citizenship education; educational effectiveness model; international comparative study; secondary analysis.

This chapter is based on the published article:

Isac, M.M., Maslowski. R., & van der Werf, M.P.C. (2011): Effective civic education: an educational effectiveness model for explaining students' civic knowledge, *School Effectiveness and School Improvement: An International Journal of Research, Policy and Practice*, 22(3), 313-333, DOI: 10.1080/09243453.2011.571542

Introduction

The disengagement of youth from politics as well as increasing levels of social and ethnic tensions have suggested that support for civic society and democratic political institutions is under pressure. To address the decline of engagement and participation among citizens, many countries introduced programs for civic education or intensified already existing educational programs in this field (Birzea, 2003). International studies were conducted on civic competences of youngsters to guide the efforts of policy-makers to strengthen civic education in their countries (Birzea, 2003; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). With regard to benchmarking students' civic competences, the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) has proved to be a landmark. The CIVED study reported differences between countries on outcomes of civic education programmes for students in secondary education. The study revealed that countries do differ in enhancing young people's citizenship knowledge and skills, with the group of high-performing countries including some countries that experienced massive political transitions during the lifetimes of the students, as well as countries that have been long-standing democracies (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Differences in students' achievement within and across countries were found to be related to students' personal and social backgrounds, teaching and learning processes in the classroom, school organization, and characteristics of the educational system (Schulz, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Although CIVED, as well as other international comparative studies on factors affecting civic competences, did not address the multilevel nature of these factors, the importance of differentiating between the specific influences of different contexts in which citizenship education takes place is nevertheless widely acknowledged (Schulz, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Moreover, studies into civic knowledge are rarely rooted in theoretical notions on which classroom factors may be conducive to students' civic learning.

In this study, to address the embeddedness of a student's civic learning in school, which is related to the priority of citizenship in the education policy and to a number of

general features of the education system, Creemers' (1994) Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness is adopted as a framework for identifying educational characteristics that may foster civic learning of students. This model is built around Carroll's conceptualization of school learning. Carroll's model of school learning (Carroll, 1963) explains why students perform differently in handling a learning task. Carroll argued that the degree of mastery is a function of the ratio of amount of time students actually spend on learning tasks to the total amount of time they need. The variations on educational achievement were mainly attributed to variables as aptitude, opportunity to learn, perseverance, quality of instruction, and ability to understand instruction.

Creemers (1994) developed Carroll's model (1963) by distinguishing three components within the quality of instruction: grouping procedures, curriculum materials, and teacher behavior, while taking into account the multilevel structure of student learning in schools. The model assumes that students' achievement is influenced by students' social background, intelligence, motivation, by the time they actually spend learning, and the way in which they use the opportunities to learn. The factors at the student level are conditioned by the time for learning and opportunity to learn provided at the classroom level as well as by the quality of instruction. Creemers argues that the classroom level is most important for creating conditions for learning. The quality, time, and opportunity to learn at the classroom level are influenced by the same components situated at the higher levels of the school and the education system. Therefore, the influence of context-and school-level factors on student achievement is mediated by classroom factors; the factors at higher levels being conditional for those on lower levels.

Given international differences in education policies regarding civic education, the system level is of importance. The same components – quality, time, and opportunity to learn – can be distinguished at the country level. Quality refers to national goals and policies that focus on educational effectiveness, the availability of policies on evaluation and training and support systems for promoting effective schools and instruction. Time is concerned with national and regional guidelines with respect to time schedules of schools and the supervision of the maintenance of schedules. Opportunity to learn refers to national guidelines regarding curriculum development, the school working plan, and

the activity plans at the school level resulting from (the absence of) a national curriculum. Moreover, resources concern the availability of materials, teachers and teacher training, and other components that support education.

These categories of factors were found to be related to student achievement in the cognitive domain (see, e.g., De Jong, Westerhof, & Kruiter, 2004; Driessen & Slegers, 2000; Reezigt, Guldmond, & Creemers, 1999, for The Netherlands; Kyriakides, 2005; Kyriakides, Campbell, & Gagatsis, 2000; Kyriakides & Tsangaridou, 2004, for Cyprus) as well as in the affective and psychomotor domain (Kyriakides, 2005; Kyriakides & Tsangaridou, 2004). Support for the model internationally was provided by the study of Kyriakides (2006), in a secondary analysis of the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 1999 (Martin, Gregory, & Stemler, 2000).

In 2008, Creemers and Kyriakides further developed the above model into the Dynamic Model of Educational Effectiveness (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008). A similar theoretical framework was advanced, but there were a few differences, the most notable being the introduction of the concept of change. The dynamic model creates links between understanding student achievement and possibilities for improvement practices. The constantly changing goals of education and the associated changes in the teaching and learning strategies are incorporated in the modelling of educational effectiveness by acknowledging that each factor can be measured in terms of five dimensions: frequency, focus, stage, quality, and differentiation.

The aim of the present study is to identify whether civic learning of students can also be conceptualized as resulting from the quality of education, time, and opportunity to learn in the classrooms. Moreover, the study sets out to explore to what degree higher levels as the classroom and the education system are conducive to students' civic learning. More specifically, the effect of differences at the country level is of interest, as some countries pay explicitly attention to citizenship education, while others have no formal policy on civics or consider efforts in this area under discretion of schools.

Conceptual framework

Definitions of civic and citizenship education often emphasize the role of the school in promoting civic-related outcomes. In a report from Eurydice, for example, citizenship education refers to “school education for young people, which seeks to ensure that they become active and responsible citizens capable of contributing to the development and well-being of the society in which they live” (Eurydice, 2005, p. 10). The direct outcomes of civic education are thereby specified in terms of political literacy, critical thinking, and the development of certain attitudes and values, as well as active participation. Even stronger emphasis on the school’s role can be observed from the definitions underlying international comparative studies on citizenship education (see Homana, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2006). From this perspective, citizenship education is conceptualized as “the opportunities provided by schools to engage students in meaningful learning experiences . . . and other active teaching strategies to facilitate their development as politically and socially responsible individuals” (Homana et al., 2006, p. 2). Its aim is fostering the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that young people need to develop into politically aware and socially responsible individuals (Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004).

Outcomes of citizenship education are often conceived as civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Torney-Purta & Lopez, 2006). Effective civic education should enable students to have

...meaningful knowledge about the political and economic system, to recognize the strengths and challenges of democracy and the attributes of good citizenship, to be comfortable in participating in respectful discussions of important and potentially controversial issues, and to be aware of civil society organizations. (Torney-Purta, 2002, p. 203).

Within this context, civic knowledge is considered an important cognitive component of citizenship that should lead to skills in interpreting political

communication and dispositions favoring actual involvement in conventional citizenship behavior (Kirlin, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002).

A number of comparative studies have been conducted to investigate differences between countries on outcomes related to civic education for pupils in secondary education and have tried to identify factors that are influencing students' civic achievement. The 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) provided an extensive source of findings and secondary analyses. CIVED studied differences between 28 countries on outcomes related to civic education for pupils in secondary education – more particularly civic knowledge of students in secondary school (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). The CIVED study, as well as several other studies in this field, revealed that gender has a significant influence on civic knowledge. Both IEA Civic Education Studies, conducted in 1971 (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975) and 1999 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), for example, identified a significant influence of gender on test performance. These findings are in line with results from earlier international studies on citizenship as well as outcomes of secondary analyses of the IEA Civic education study (Schultz, 2002). These international studies further emphasized the importance of a student's home environment. The home literacy resources that students possess are an indicator for higher level performance in civic education (Schultz, 2002). The socioeconomic or academic climate at home, as measured by the number of books students report having at home, was also found to be positively related to civic knowledge (Schultz, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In addition, a strong positive predictor of performance in civics seems to be students' expected further education. This variable can be regarded as an indicator of students' general ability and motivation and proved to be a strong predictor of knowledge in both IEA civic education studies (Torney et al., 1975; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) as well as in the study of Schultz (2002). Furthermore, speaking the language of the test at home had a strong significant effect in a secondary analysis of IEA 1999 data in almost all countries from a sample of 27 (Schultz, 2002).

Most studies on civic education give special attention to school and classroom-related variables while emphasizing the important role that schools and classrooms play in developing civically knowledgeable students. Due to the sampling procedures in IEA

international studies, different factors that are distinctly associated with classroom and school level are treated often as located at the classroom level. Some of these factors related to students' civic knowledge refer to students' opportunities to learn in civic education, like the existence of an "open classroom climate", which reflects students' perceptions of a climate in class that stimulates discussions (Campbell, 2005; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schultz, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Furthermore, researchers in the field acknowledge the importance of the national context level. The first qualitative phase of CIVED tried to map the common features of civic education in 24 countries (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Torney-Purta et al. (1999) point to issues related to characteristics of the educational systems as degree of decentralization of educational control and other instructional factors specific to civic education as the status of the subject in the curriculum and teacher training. The importance of the country-level context for civic education outcomes is highlighted also in a quantitative analysis for the 27 countries participating in CIVED (Schultz, 2002). Estimating in a multilevel analysis the amount of variance between countries, Schultz reports that 9% is to be explained by the country level. In none of the studies on citizenship education conducted by now, the influence of specific country context factors on civic students' achievement was further examined.

Overall, the studies mentioned above provide valuable information concerning relevant variables at the student, school/classroom, and country levels that positively predict students' civic knowledge and skills. However, none of these studies used theories on learning, took account of the national context level, nor – with some exceptions (Schultz, 2002; Torney-Purta, Richardson, & Barber, 2005) – addressed the multilevel nature of the influences on civic achievement.

The present study

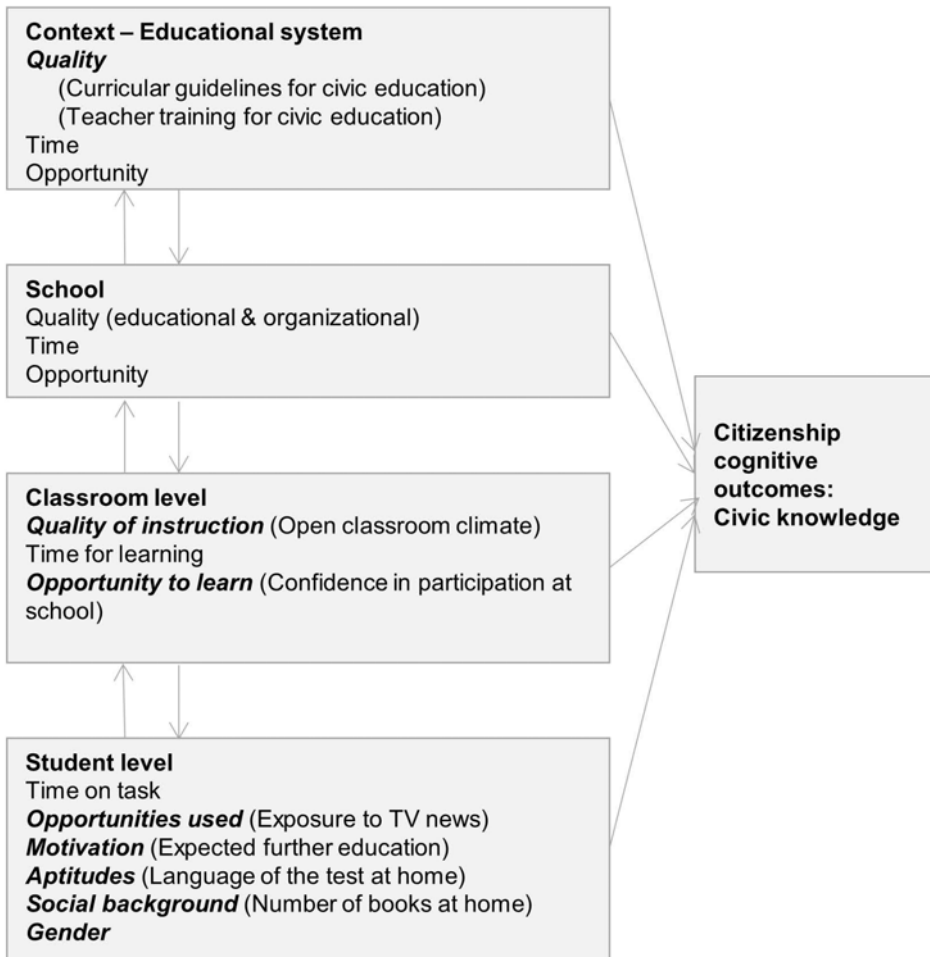
This study aims to analyze data from the CIVED study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), taking account of the limitations of previous studies. It is an explorative study which

considers previous findings in the field of civic education while trying to apply the general theoretical framework provided by Creemers' (1994) Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness to the field of civic and citizenship education. We also base our decisions on findings from a similar secondary analysis of an IEA study testing the comprehensive model (Kyriakides, 2006). Due to limitations imposed by conducting a secondary analysis of an international study, we cannot make use of the Dynamic Model of Educational Effectiveness (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008). CIVED was not designed to test educational effectiveness theoretical frameworks, and the information available is measured mainly in a quantitative way. We are, therefore, only able to describe and further understand student civic achievement.

The criterion for effectiveness investigated here is related to one of the most important goals of the field of civics and citizenship education. Students' civic knowledge is expected to be explained by factors situated at student, classroom, and educational system levels. To examine factors enhancing students' civic knowledge, variables are identified within categories such as context for learning, opportunity to learn, and quality factors. The main concepts considered in the study and the coverage of the comprehensive model of educational effectiveness are illustrated in Figure 2-1.

First, we assume that students' civic knowledge is influenced by students' social background, their aptitude, motivation, and the opportunities they have to be exposed to relevant political information in the home environment. Students' gender and their home literacy resources (the number of books that students reported to have at home) which are a proxy indicator of students' socioeconomic status (Schultz, 2002) are expected to explain the variations in civic knowledge. Furthermore, students' general ability and motivation to improve their knowledge are indicated by their expectations about the length of their future education, while proficiency in reading is regarded as an indicator of reading problems that can have a negative impact on students' performance on the civic knowledge test. Moreover, as civic education is a result of activities both within and outside school, it is assumed that the opportunities that students have to be exposed to civic-related content at home (TV news items that contain political information) is a relevant factor for their success.

Figure 2-1 Coverage of the Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness (Creemers, 1994)



Second, at the classroom level, the quality of learning and the opportunities students have in the classroom are regarded as conducive to students' civic learning. Teacher behavior that facilitates an open classroom climate, which was proven to be a strong predictor of civic knowledge in several studies (Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schultz, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), is regarded as an indicator of the educational aspect of quality of instruction at the classroom level. Furthermore, the subject of civic and citizenship education is reflected not only in specific subjects but also in the entire curricular and extracurricular experiences that classrooms and schools

provide. Participating in school life and being confident about it can facilitate students' opportunities to be exposed to civic-related content as well as to skill acquisition in this domain.

Third, some findings (e.g., Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2001) point out that the addition of class composition variables (academic and sociocultural composition) to models with class process variables (here, the quality of learning and opportunity to learn) can cause a decline in the effect of important class process variables.

Therefore, we include factors related to the context of the classroom and specifically classroom composition in order to control for their effects. Classroom composition in terms of percentage of girls, average ability levels (expected further education), average socioeconomic status (number of books at home), as well as the heterogeneity of student population (according to educational expectations and socioeconomic status) are thought to be related to the class process variables. Moreover, these variables can also show a direct effect on student civic knowledge. For example, higher averages of expected further education and number of books at home might be positively related to civic knowledge (Schultz, 2002). Furthermore, particularly in the case of citizenship education, the heterogeneity of student population (according to educational expectations and socioeconomic status) within classrooms might have direct effects on student civic knowledge. According to the "contact hypothesis" (Allport, 1954), we may assume that a classroom with a heterogeneous student population is more likely to facilitate situations in which potentially controversial issues might be debated which will in turn lead to higher civic knowledge levels. However, we also acknowledge that the opposite hypothesis can be formulated: students in classrooms with a homogeneous population may have a more homogeneous value system (shared values, mutual acceptance) which might relate to higher civic knowledge (Geijsel et al., 2012).

Fourth, educational policy can contribute to effective civic learning by stimulating the schools to focus on effectiveness in this field. Civic education is considered a low-status subject in most of the countries investigated in CIVED (Torney-Purta et al., 1999). The explicit attention paid to citizenship education in the curriculum as well as the

training and support systems provided to teachers are of most importance for promoting the quality of civic learning. Therefore, the presence of national curricular guidelines for civic education shows the importance that is placed on this topic within different countries. With clear curricular guidelines, teachers are more likely to plan effectively the teaching and learning process. Moreover, teachers are thought to be most responsible for the effects of civic and citizenship education, and the extent to which they are prepared to organize these learning experiences must be taken into account in this field. Furthermore, factors indicating the specific context of the country are expected to explain differences in civic achievement.

Method

Sample

This study is a secondary analysis of the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), in which a number of 28 countries participated. In these countries, students were selected from the grades where most 14-year-olds were found at the time of testing (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004). The sampling procedure employed by IEA was a two-stage stratified cluster design (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004). First, schools were sampled using a probability proportional to size. Second, only one intact class was sampled from each selected school. All students attending the sampled class were selected to participate in the study. Following this procedure, for each country, sample sizes of schools varied between 112 and 185 with a number of 2,075 to 5,688 students per country. Student participation rates were at least 89% in the participating countries. Sampling weights were applied based on the participation rates (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004).

For the analyses, all the countries participating in CIVED were taken into account: Australia, Belgium (French), Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovak Republic,

Slovenia, Switzerland, Sweden, and the USA. Data of 4,136 classrooms and 93,565 students in these countries were used. To test the robustness of the findings, two subsequent analyses were performed. The first included 26 countries, excluding Chile and Columbia. For the second analysis, only European countries were included (23 countries), thereby excluding Australia, Chile, Colombia, Hong Kong (SAR), and the USA.

Variables

To examine factors enhancing students' civic knowledge, variables were taken from the student questionnaire, teacher questionnaire, and school questionnaire that were used in the IEA CIVED study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). We acknowledge that the information provided by CIVED is rather scarce, and some of the variables considered could be more accurately measured. Especially, at the student level, we were limited to using some proxy indicators of students' socioeconomic status, proficiency in reading, and motivation to improve their knowledge. Furthermore, the variables investigated at the classroom level are individual student ratings aggregated (averages) at the class level, while some of the country-level variables are country-level aggregates of teacher or school-level information. An indicator of the reliability of these measures, the ICC(2)³

³ The ICC(2) (Ludtke et al., 2009) (an intraclass correlation estimate) is a reliability measure useful in determining whether aggregated individual-level ratings are reliable indicators of group-level constructs. The ICC(2) is estimated based on the ICC(1), an intraclass correlation estimate which indicates to which extent individual ratings are affected by the environment. These indices are estimated by applying the following formulae:

$$ICC(1) = \frac{MS_B - MS_W}{MS_B + (k-1)MS_W}$$

where

MS_B between-group mean square

MS_W within-group mean square

k group size

$$ICC(2) = \frac{k \times ICC(1)}{1 + (k-1) \times ICC(1)}$$

where

ICC(1) the proportion of total variance that can be attributed to between-group differences.

k group size.

(see Ludtke, Robitzsch, Trautwein, & Kunter, 2009; Ludtke, Trautwein, Kunter, & Baumert, 2006) is provided in what follows when appropriate.

Below, we firstly discuss the outcome variable, which is civic knowledge. Next, we discuss the predictor variables, organized according to student, classroom, and country levels.

Outcome variable – civic knowledge

The outcome variable of interest is students' civic knowledge. Civic knowledge refers to "students' ability to answer questions requiring knowledge of civic content and questions requiring skill in interpreting civic-related material" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 44). For the population of 14-year-old students, student civic knowledge was assessed by means of a cognitive test. The IEA civic knowledge test consisted of 38 multiple-choice items (minimum Cronbach $\alpha = .85$) that covered a broad range of civic content areas. A number of 25 items consisted of knowledge items of specific content domains. Six content domains were identified: (a) Democracy and its defining characteristics; (b) Institutions and practices in democracy; (c) Citizenship: rights and duties; (d) National identity; (e) International relations; and (f) Social cohesion and diversity. The remaining 13 items were directed towards measuring skills in interpreting political communication (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004). Sample items for civic content knowledge and skills as well as more information on test characteristics can be found in the IEA Civic Education Study Technical Report (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004). The Maximum Likelihood (ML) estimates for civic knowledge obtained by applying the Item Response Theory (IRT) One-Parameter Model (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004) were standardized (z scores) for the purpose of this analysis.

Explanatory variables – student level

Student background is measured by means of gender and home literacy resources. Both variables are based on student self-reports from the CIVED student questionnaire. Home literacy resources refer to the number of books students report to have at home. This variable is regarded as a proxy indicator for the socioeconomic status of the student.

Students' responses for this variable range from 0 to 4 (0 = "none of very few books", 1 = "11 to 50 books", 2 = "51 to 100 books", 3 = "101 to 200 books", and 4 = "more than 200 books").

Second, students' expectations regarding the length of their future education is considered as proxy for students' motivation and ability to improve their knowledge. This variable refers to how many years students expect to be involved in further education. Students' responses for this variable range from 0 to 6 indicating none to more than 10 years of expected further education.

Third, students' proficiency in reading is taken into account. Students that reported speaking the language of the test at home never or sometimes are coded 1, while students that are using it always are coded 0.

Fourth, an indicator of the opportunities that students have to be exposed to civic-related content at home is used. The variable measures the frequency with which students are watching TV news items that contain political information. Students' responses for this variable range from 0 to 3 (0 = never; 1 = rarely; 2 = sometimes; 3 = often).

Data on these student characteristics were derived from the CIVED student questionnaire.

Explanatory variables – classroom level

At the classroom level, the CIVED database hardly contains variables that can be considered as meaningful operationalizations of the concepts of quality and opportunity to learn. However, the CIVED study offers two indicators that can be considered to be closely related to these concepts.

The first one refers to teachers' behavior that facilitates an open classroom climate. This variable (average scale Cronbach $\alpha = .77$; average ICC(2) = .81) reflects students' perceptions of an open classroom climate for discussions. Students were required to indicate the degree to which they can openly discuss about political and social issues in

the classroom, whether they are stimulated and encouraged to form and express their own opinions, and whether the teacher emphasizes different perspectives on a topic.

The second variable is students' confidence in participation at school. It is indicated by items which show whether students think that student activities in school may be possible and effective. Average Cronbach alpha for this scale is .69 and average ICC(2) is .78.

The scores for these two variables at the classroom level are aggregated from the student-level data.

Contextual classroom variables

Variables related to the context of the classroom such as percentage of girls, average home literacy, and average years of expected education are measured.

For these analyses, classroom averages and classroom deviation scores for home literacy resources and years of expected education were computed. The classroom deviation scores indicate to what degree classes are segregated by these two characteristics.

Explanatory variables – country level

Unfortunately, CIVED does not provide much information on variables related to quality and opportunities that educational systems offer. Therefore, other sources were used to describe the characteristics of civic education at the educational system level and the context of the country. First, for instructional variables related to civic education, the CIVED teacher questionnaire was used. Second, for some indicators of the country context, the Human Development Report 2000 (in Torney-Purta et al., 2001, pp.17–18) provided information that was collected approximately in the same period. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000 thematic report on school factors in relation to quality and equity (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2005) was used for the same purpose.

Planning according to curricular guidelines

Data on planning according to curricular guidelines were derived from the teacher questionnaire where teachers indicate the extent to which they use the official curricular guidelines when planning for civic and citizenship education. The scores on this item were aggregated at the country-level average ($ICC(2) = .97$).

Teachers' preparation

Two items in the teacher questionnaire provided information on teachers' initial and in-service training for civic and citizenship education. Teachers were required to indicate if they hold a degree for civic education as well as if they participated in in-service teacher training for civic education. These scores were aggregated (percentages) at the country level. Teacher training for citizenship education is rather scarce, and in different educational systems it is organized differently with different emphasis on one or the two forms of training. For better describing the reality of teacher preparation for teaching citizenship, a cluster analysis was performed in order to see if countries are similar in their teacher training scores. For this purpose, an agglomerative cluster analysis was applied using Ward's (1963) method, and a tree cluster solution was determined and retained. Each cluster had a different composition. In the first cluster, a number of countries like Australia, Denmark, Finland, Poland, and the USA had high percentages of teachers participating in both forms of training. In the second cluster (Belgium (Fr), Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Estonia, Hong Kong, Lithuania, Latvia, Portugal, and Slovenia), teachers' participation in both forms of training was low. The third cluster (Bulgaria, Switzerland, Germany, England, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Romania, Russia, Slovak Republic, and Sweden) contained teachers who benefited from initial teacher training, but their participation in in-service training was rather low. For the purpose of these analyses, two dummy variables in which the second cluster was the reference category were created.

Contextual country variables

For this study, the following country context variables were used: socioeconomic background of the country, public expenditure on education, and four measures for decentralization of the educational system. The Human Development Report 2000 (in Torney-Purta et al., 2001) was the source of information on the socioeconomic characteristics of the countries as Gross National Product (GNP) per capita (in US \$) and public expenditure in education (as % of GNP) for 1998. Four aspects for the degree of educational decentralization are considered in this study, namely school autonomy for personnel management, financial resources, student policies, and curriculum and instruction. The data on these variables come from the PISA 2000 report (OECD, 2005). The report provides information for most of the countries considered in the analyses on percentages of students enrolled in schools in which the school principal reports that the school board, school principal, department head, or teachers have some responsibility for personnel management ($ICC(2) = .97$), financial resources ($ICC(2) = .99$), student policies ($ICC(2) = .95$), and curriculum and instruction ($ICC(2) = .85$).

Analysis strategy

Prior to performing the main analysis, handling missing data was required. Because the multilevel analysis requires complete datasets, two procedures were employed. First, cases with missing scores on the outcome variable were removed from the dataset. They represented less than 1% for every country included in the analysis. Second, there were missing values on explanatory variables at student and classroom levels. The missing values for the student variables that were measured on a continuous scale were imputed by replacing them with the weighted classroom average. Missing values on the classroom continuous variables were replaced with the weighted country average of the variable. Teacher data were not available for Colombia; therefore, the scores for this country were replaced with the ones of the only other Latin American country investigated in CIVED, Chile. The PISA report (OECD, 2005) did not provide information for Colombia, Italy, Lithuania, and Slovak Republic. The scores for these countries were substituted with the ones for Chile, Greece, Latvia, and Czech Republic.

In order to ensure that the analyses are not negatively affected by the missing data, missing data dummy variables were created. They indicate if a substitution has been made (1) or the original score was used (0). These variables were later included in the model as predictors to check if the imputation had changed the effect of each predictor.

Using the weighting procedures developed in the CIVED study (Schultz & Sibberns, 2004), the data were weighted so that every country contributed equally to the analysis. Within-country weights were also used to make sure that the sample was fully representative of the population.

For an adequate comparison of the effects in this study, all continuous variables included in the analysis were standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

The effect of the educational effectiveness factors on civic knowledge was analyzed by using multilevel analysis (Snijders & Bosker, 1999) with MLwiN (Rasbash et al., 2000).

In the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), one intact classroom was sampled from each school; therefore, the classroom-level coincides with the school level. As a result, three levels were distinguished: student, classroom, and country level. A model with the specified levels was estimated, and, in subsequent steps, explanatory variables at different levels were added starting with student level.

First, an empty model was estimated. In the first model, the student-level variables were added in order to test for their effect on students' performance on the civic knowledge test. In the second model, the instructional variables at the classroom level were introduced. They were followed by the classroom context variables in the third model. The fourth model contains the country instructional variables followed by the contextual country variables in the fifth model.

In the sixth model, only significant predictors at $p = 0.01$ were retained. Nonsignificant predictors were removed stepwise from the model starting with the ones with the highest p value.

The fixed effects in the model were tested by using t ratio coefficients. For the random part, the deviance test was used (Snijders & Bosker, 1999).

Results

The specification of the model started with the empty model, with three levels and one dependent variable (civic knowledge). In subsequent steps, explanatory variables at each of the three levels were added, starting at the student level. The results of multilevel analysis are presented in Table 2-1.

48 Table 2-1 Results of multilevel analysis to explain variation in civic achievement (standardized variable); parameter estimates

	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Fixed effects							
Constant	-0.03(.06)	0.03(.06)	0.03(.05)	0.85(.13)	0.64(.19)	0.73(.16)	0.76(.12)
<i>Student Characteristics</i>							
Gender (female)		-0.03(.02)	-0.03(.02)	-0.03(.01)	-0.03(.01)	-0.03(.01)	-0.03(.01)*
Number of books at home		0.11(.01)	0.11(.01)	0.10(.01)	0.10(.01)	0.10(.01)	0.10(.01)*
Expected further education		0.24(.02)	0.24(.02)	0.23(.02)	0.23(.02)	0.23(.02)	0.23(.02)*
Language of the test at home		-0.30(.02)	-0.29(.02)	-0.28(.03)	-0.28(.03)	-0.28(.03)	-0.28(.03)*
Exposure to TV news		0.08(.01)	0.08(.01)	0.08(.01)	0.08(.01)	0.08(.01)	0.08(.01)*
<i>Classroom Characteristics</i>							
Open classroom climate (CA)			0.13(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)*
Confidence in participation at school (CA)			0.10(.02)	0.05(.01)	0.05(.01)	0.05(.01)	0.05(.01)*
<i>Classroom composition</i>							
Percentage of girls				0.01(.01)	0.01(.01)	0.01(.01)	
Number books at home (CA)				0.11(.03)	0.11(.03)	0.11(.03)	0.11(.03)*
Number books at home (SD)				-0.33(.06)	-0.33(.06)	-0.34(.06)	-0.34(.06)*
Expected further education (CA)				0.10(.02)	0.10(.02)	0.10(.02)	0.10(.02)*
Expected further education (SD)				-0.29(.05)	-0.29(.06)	-0.29(.05)	-0.29(.05)*

Note: Fixed coefficients are followed by their standard error. CA = Classroom average; SD = Classroom standard deviation; * p < .01

Table 2-1 (Continued) Results of multilevel analysis to explain variation in civic achievement (standardized variable); parameter estimates

	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Fixed effects							
<i>Country Characteristics</i>							
Planning according to curricular guidelines					-0.08(.06)	0.01(.05)	
High level of teacher training					0.28(.13)	0.11(.13)	
High level of initial teacher training					0.20(.12)	0.06(.09)	
<i>Contextual factors</i>							
Socio-economic background						0.04(.05)	
Public expenditure on education						-0.18(.05)	-0.15(.06)*
Educational decentralization PM						-0.01(.04)	
Educational decentralization FR						0.16(.05)	0.19(.05)*
Educational decentralization SP						-0.18(.06)	-0.17(.06)*
Educational decentralization CI						0.07(.05)	
Random effects							
Country level	0.09(.02)	0.08(.02)	0.08(.02)	0.08(.02)	0.07(.02)	0.04(.01)	0.04(.01)
Classroom level	0.24(.02)	0.15(.01)	0.13(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)
Student level	0.64(.03)	0.58(.03)	0.58(.03)	0.57(.03)	0.57(.03)	0.57(.03)	0.57(.03)
Deviance	246303.58	234743.47	234136.42	233065.98	233059.61	233045.61	233051.03

Note: Fixed coefficients are followed by their standard error.

PM = Personnel management; FR = Financial resources; SP = Student Policies; CI = Curriculum and instruction; * p < .01

In Model 1, the background variables at the student level were added. Together, these variables explain about 16% of the total variance in civic knowledge. The effects of the background factors gender, number of books at home, years of expected further education, speaking the language of the test at home, and exposure to TV news items were all statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. The effects of these contextual variables on student civic knowledge are the expected ones. On average, girls tend to achieve slightly lower civic knowledge scores than boys. The number of books at home and the years of expected further education show strong positive relationships with achievement. Overall, students that have more books at home and have high expectations regarding their future education obtain a higher civic knowledge level. As expected, not speaking the language of the test at home tends to significantly lower the results on the civic knowledge test. Statistically significant effects were found as well for the factor related to the opportunities to be exposed to civic-related content. In this respect, exposure to TV news items is positively associated with civic knowledge.

In Model 2, the effects of the variables at the classroom level related to the quality of instruction and opportunities to learn as an open classroom climate and students' confidence in school participation are analyzed. The results reveal that classrooms with an open classroom climate have, on average, higher average civic knowledge scores than classrooms with less of an open classroom climate. Similarly, the classrooms in which students are confident to participate in school life tend to achieve, on average, higher mean civic knowledge scores. Together, these variables explain 2% of the total variance in civic knowledge.

The effects of the contextual classroom variables are shown in Model 3. Being in a classroom with a high percentage of girls does not seem to make a difference in civic knowledge scores as the effect of this variable is not significant. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the civic knowledge scores between classrooms which are more segregated according to gender and those that are not. However, the results indicate significant effects for the classrooms' averages and deviation scores for number of books at home and years of expected education. Attending a classroom that has a high average of numbers of books at home and years of expected education positively influences

students' civic achievement in those classrooms. Even stronger predictors are the classrooms' deviation scores for the two variables. It seems that classrooms that are more heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status (number of books at home) and expected further education achieve, on average, lower civic knowledge scores. All classroom-level variables explain 7% of the total variance, 5% being explained only by the classroom composition characteristics.

Model 4 shows the effect of the variables related to the quality factors at the country level. They explain 1% of the total variance. Only one of the characteristics, teachers' level of initial and in-service training, is positively associated with civic achievement. Planning according to curricular guidelines does not have a significant effect on civic knowledge. Therefore, there are no significant differences between countries with regard to the importance teachers attach to planning their lessons for civic education according to official curricular guidelines. Teacher training, however, tends to positively influence civic knowledge. Only one of the teachers' training variables included in the analyses has a significant effect. The more teachers in a country participate in initial and in-service teacher training programs for civic education, the higher the results their students achieve. In contrast, not providing teachers with preparation to teach civic education leads to significantly lower civic knowledge results.

In Model 5, the contextual variables at the country level were entered. Significant effects were found for variables such as country's public expenditure on education and degree of decentralization of the educational system in terms of financial resources and student policies. It seems that the higher the public expenditure on education, the lower the average scores on the civic knowledge test. This finding is surprising, since it was expected that the reverse effect would be true. Another finding is that the more autonomy educational systems enjoy in disposing of their financial resources, the higher their average civic achievement. However, in those countries in which school principals report, on average, a higher degree of school autonomy with regard to student policies, the average performance on the civic knowledge scale tends to be lower. When the contextual country variables are added, the effect of the country variable that indicates the degree of initial and in-service teacher training loses its significance. The analysis of

the variance components shows that adding the contextual country variables leads to a 4% reduction of the between-country variance only.

In Model 6, only the significant factors from the previous models were retained. This model explains 7% of the variation between students, 15% of the variation between classrooms, and 5% of the variation between countries.

When conducting the initial analyses presented here, there were some concerns about possible outliers. For this reason, we reanalyzed the data for only 26 countries excluding the two Latin American countries in the CIVED database, Chile and Colombia, and again only for the 23 European countries in the database. The comparative results for the final parsimonious models in which we keep only the significant effects are presented in Table 2-2.

The results show the robustness of the findings. The effects of student-, classroom-, and country-level variables on student civic knowledge are the same and have approximately the same magnitude. The only difference found is the significant main effect for the country-level variable associated with the degree of initial and in-service teacher training when the analysis is run with the 23 European countries only.

Table 2-2 Results of multilevel analysis for the three data sets

	CIVED – full dataset N = 28	CIVED without the 2 Latin American countries N = 26	CIVED European countries N = 23
Fixed effects			
Constant	0.76(.12)	0.78(.11)	0.72(.09)
<i>Student Characteristics</i>			
Gender (female)	-0.03(.01)	-0.04(.01)	-0.05(.01)
Number of books at home	0.10(.01)	0.10(.01)	0.11(.01)
Expected further education	0.23(.02)	0.24(.02)	0.26(.02)
Language of the test at home	-0.28(.03)	-0.30(.03)	-0.28(.02)
Exposure to TV news	0.08(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.08(.01)
<i>Classroom Characteristics</i>			
Open classroom climate (SA)	0.09(.01)	0.09(.01)	0.10(.01)
Confidence in participation at school (SA)	0.05(.01)	0.05(.01)	0.04(.01)
<i>Classroom composition</i>			
Number books at home (SA)	0.11(.03)	0.08(.02)	0.08(.02)
Number books at home (SD)	-0.34(.06)	-0.38(.06)	-0.37(.06)
Expected further education (SA)	0.10(.02)	0.11(.02)	0.09(.02)
Expected further education (SD)	-0.29(.05)	-0.31(.05)	-0.26(.05)
<i>Country Characteristics</i>			
High level of Teacher Training			0.29(.09)
<i>Contextual factors</i>			
Public expenditure on education	-0.15(.06)	-0.15(.06)	-0.16(.06)
Educational decentralization FR	0.19(.05)	0.16(.05)	0.17(.05)
Educational decentralization SP	-0.17(.06)	-0.14(.06)	-0.12(.05)
Variance explained			
Country level	5%	3%	5%
Classroom level	15%	15%	15%
Student level	7%	8%	8%
Total	27%	26%	28%

Note: Fixed coefficients are followed by their standard error.

CA = Classroom average; SD = Classroom standard deviation; $p < .01$

Conclusion and implications

In this study, the effects of some educational effectiveness factors on civic knowledge have been explored. The results of the analyses revealed that a model based on educational effectiveness research can be tested in relation with students' achievement in civic and citizenship education and that secondary analyses of international data can provide interesting insights for the field.

Most of the variables tested in the model are associated with students' civic knowledge. This is true for all the student-level variables tested in this study, which also confirmed previous results from CIVED secondary analyses. It was confirmed that the individual-student variables as gender, number of books at home, years of expected further education, speaking the language of the test at home, and exposure to TV news explain students' success in civic education. Even though student variables explain 14% of the variance in students' civic knowledge scores, most of the unexplained variance (57%) remains at the student level. This is in line with similar findings in educational effectiveness research that found that most of the variance to be explained is at the student level. The instructional classroom variables that reflect the quality of instruction and opportunities to learn in civic education proved to have positive effects on student civic knowledge. In particular, providing students with an open classroom climate for discussions seems to make a difference in students' success. Notably, the composition of classrooms makes the greatest difference at the classroom level. Attending a classroom in which students on average have a high number of home literacy resources and expect a high number of years to follow education positively influences their civic achievement. A very strong effect is attributed to the other indicators of classroom composition. Being part of a classroom in which students have similar home literacy resources and expectations for their future education can significantly improve their chances for success in this field. Even though it could be assumed that civic and citizenship knowledge and skills could be better acquired when there is a diversity of backgrounds and perspectives (Allport, 1954), the present study shows that the opposite seems to be true. This finding might be explained by the possibility that students in classrooms with a homogeneous

population may have a more homogeneous value system (shared values, mutual acceptance) which might relate to higher citizenship competences including civic knowledge (see Geijssel et al., 2012). However, the effects of class composition/heterogeneity on students' civic knowledge is a complex issue that needs further investigation. Further studies could use more complex measures of class heterogeneity that might be more relevant for the field of citizenship education (e.g., including ethnic composition), test the relationships of these factors with other types of civic outcomes (e.g., attitudes), and also take into account measures of school composition.

The study revealed that the country effect was also of importance. The model accounted for more than half of the variance to be explained at this level. Again, some of the variables related to the context of the country had the most important effects. It seems that the more educational systems invest in their education, the lower their students' civic knowledge is. This finding is surprising but can probably be explained by the low status of civic education when compared with other priorities for the country's educational policies. However, this is an assumption that needs further investigation. Another finding was that the more autonomy educational systems possess in disposing of their financial resources, the higher the results of their students on the civic knowledge test are. In contrast, the higher the autonomy of educational systems in establishing discipline, assessment, and admittance policies, the lower their student civic achievement. This finding is difficult to interpret without taking into account other factors operating at the national system level.

Interesting was the effect of one of the variables directly related to characteristics of civic and citizenship education at the country level, the degree of teacher training.

The effect of this variable disappeared when the contextual country variables were added to the model. However, in analyses conducted separately for the European countries only, this effect reappeared, showing that this factor is relevant for the European context. Therefore, the ways in which European educational systems organize civic education does count for their students' success. In this respect, providing the

teachers with initial and in-service training for civic education seems to be of most importance.

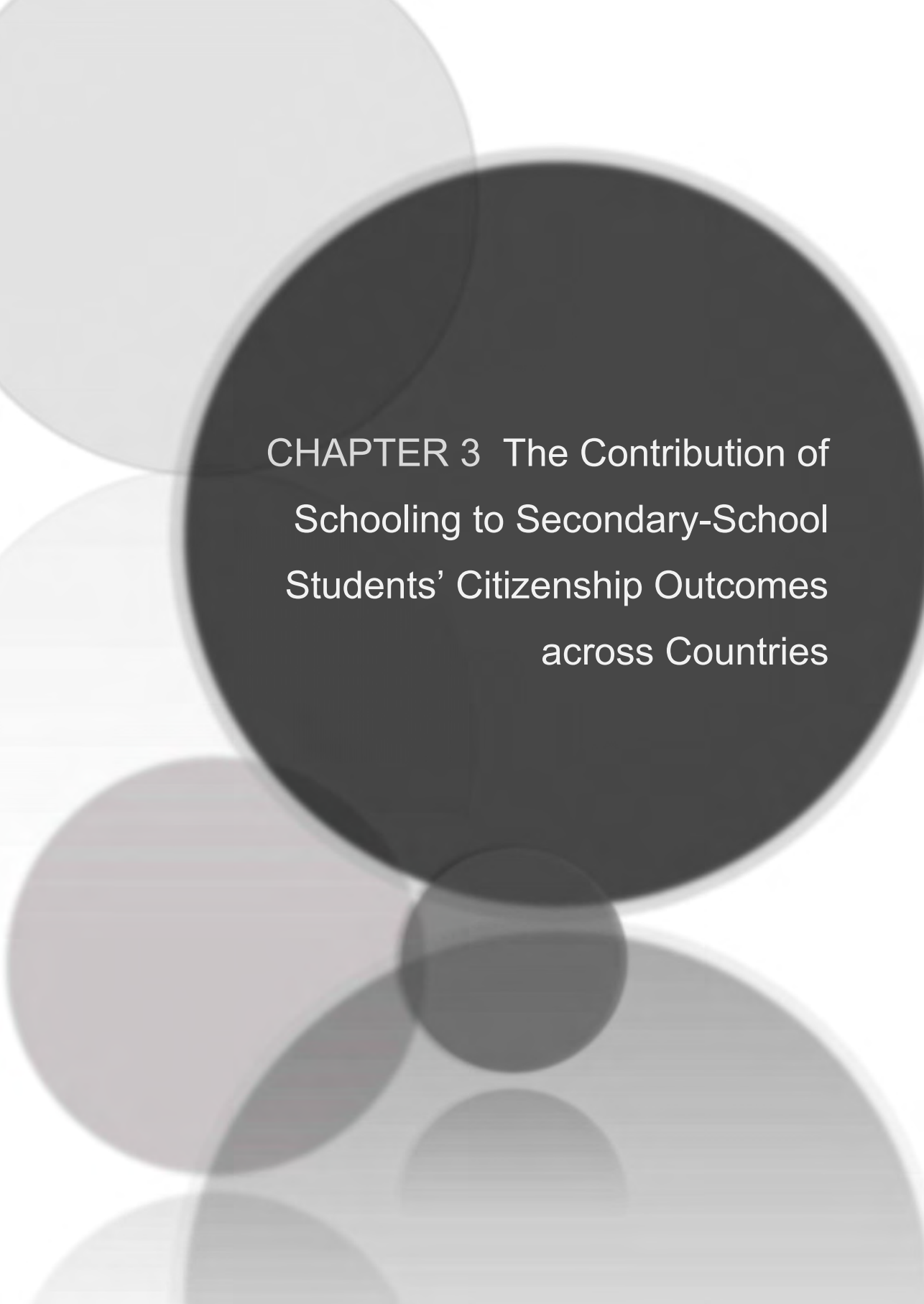
The study provided us with enough information to conclude that factors located at different levels of the educational system do influence students' civic cognitive outcomes. The model did not account for much of the variation at the student level, but it covered more than half of the variance at the classroom and country levels confirming findings from a similar study testing the comprehensive model on mathematics achievement using TIMMS 1999 data (Kyriakides, 2006). However, there is still more to be explained at all these levels, especially at the student level.

This study has several limitations, which are mainly due to the fact that it is a secondary analysis of an international comparative study. Even though it provided rich and relevant information regarding civic and citizenship education, CIVED was not designed with the aim of detecting educational effectiveness factors, and several factors in the educational effectiveness model could not be covered. Therefore, it was not possible to take a prior civic knowledge measure into account, which could probably explain an important amount of unexplained variance at the student level. Moreover, some of the variables used in these analyses were proxy indicators of the student background information, and we acknowledge that the influences of such variables on civic knowledge are a matter of discussion and must be interpreted with caution. Furthermore, a much larger amount of reliable information on student characteristics would be of importance in explaining their civic achievement. Moreover, the present study did not have available resources to investigate other contextual and instructional classroom-and school-level variables that might better explain the differences between classrooms and schools in civic education, nor did it offer much information on factors operating at the national context level.

However, this explorative study showed that the influences on students' achievement are multilevel, that most effectiveness factors are relevant for the field of civic and citizenship education across countries, and that schooling and educational policy matter for students' success in this field. Showing that the influences on student

civic knowledge are multilevel and that the main factors related with the quality and opportunities to learn at student, classroom, and educational systems levels are associated with student achievement in civics provides further support for considering Creemers' model a generic model of educational effectiveness (Kyriakides, 2006). This conclusion is also supported by previous findings generated by a separate multilevel analysis of CIVED for 27 countries (Schulz, 2002), which showed that most of the student variables and the quality of the classroom climate show the same association with civic knowledge as indicated by this study for almost every country in CIVED.

This study is a first step in applying educational effectiveness findings to the field of civic and citizenship education in an international context. To further enable mapping all the above mentioned educational effectiveness factors, as well as the relationships between them, future studies must make use of more information. Moreover, these factors must be investigated as well in relationship with other outcomes of civic and citizenship education such as students' attitudes and behaviors, while taking into account the unique characteristics of students' civic learning.



CHAPTER 3 The Contribution of
Schooling to Secondary-School
Students' Citizenship Outcomes
across Countries

Abstract

This article uses an educational effectiveness approach to model the impact of student, school, and educational system characteristics on several cognitive and non-cognitive student outcomes related to citizenship education. Using multivariate multilevel analysis, data from the IEA-ICCS 2009 study were analyzed, encompassing 102,396 lower secondary-school students (14-year-olds) in 4,078 schools in 31 countries. The results indicate that schools have a small influence on students' civic knowledge and hardly an impact on civic attitudes and intended civic behavior. Civic competences are mainly explained by individual student characteristics and out-of school factors. Factors at the school level that were found to make a difference in students' civic competences are related to stimulating a democratic classroom climate in which free dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged, nurturing positive interpersonal relationships and creating opportunities for students to learn and practice democracy.

Keywords: civic and citizenship education; citizenship competences; educational effectiveness; cross-national study

This chapter is based on the published article:

Isac, M.M., Maslowski, R., Creemers, B., & van der Werf, M.P.C. (2014). The contribution of schooling to secondary-school students' citizenship outcomes across countries, *School Effectiveness and School Improvement. An International Journal of Research, Policy and Practice*, 25(1), 29-63, DOI: 10.1080/09243453.2012.751035

Introduction

The past decades have witnessed a growing interest of educational effectiveness researchers in “non-traditional” educational outcomes, such as civic competences (Reynolds, Sammons, De Fraine, Townsend & Van Damme, 2011; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007). Although civic education still remains a relatively rare topic in the field of educational effectiveness, some insightful leads on its possible effects have been provided by studies on topics such as the differences between schools in student outcomes associated with new goals of education (e.g. Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Thomas, 2001), the consistency of school effects across cognitive and non-cognitive domains (Van der Wal, 2004; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007) and the question whether effectiveness factors operate in a similar way across contexts, subjects and competences (e.g. Kyriakides, 2006; Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008; Sammons, 2009; Reynolds et al., 2011). Furthermore, the results of international comparative studies have contributed to the knowledge base on the variations in student citizenship competences and their determinants (e.g. Ainley & Schulz, 2011; Hoskins, Janmaat & Villalba, 2012; Isac, Maslowski & van der Werf, 2011; Janmaat & Mons, 2011; Schulz, 2002; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz, 2001; Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2004; Quintelier, 2010).

Despite this growing body of research into the effects of schooling on topics other than the “traditional” ones, studies have hardly addressed the size or consistency of school effects on civic outcomes, while only a limited number of cross-country studies have investigated the concurrent impact of citizenship education on several cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes (for notable exceptions, see Hoskins, Janmaat & Villalba, 2012; Torney-Purta & Richardson, 2004).

Understanding the extent to which schools make a difference in students’ outcomes related to citizenship and if they are capable of fostering several types of citizenship outcomes simultaneously, are issues of the utmost importance for the field of civic and citizenship education. Countries have implemented civic education in various

ways, for example as a separate subject, as a set of subjects, as a cross-curricular theme or even as an extra-curricular topic. These arrangements have implications for the time spent on civics in school, the teacher preparation and the evaluation of the civic competences (cf. Birzea, 2003; Quintelier, 2010). Moreover, findings from international studies indicate a gap between countries' formal arrangements and their implementation in the schools (Schulz et al., 2010; Ainley & Friedman, 2012). Schools generally put most emphasis on civic knowledge and understanding and less on other domains of citizenship, like students' attitudes. One might therefore expect that schools differ in terms of their impact on the civic outcomes and the consistency of these results (cf. Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007).

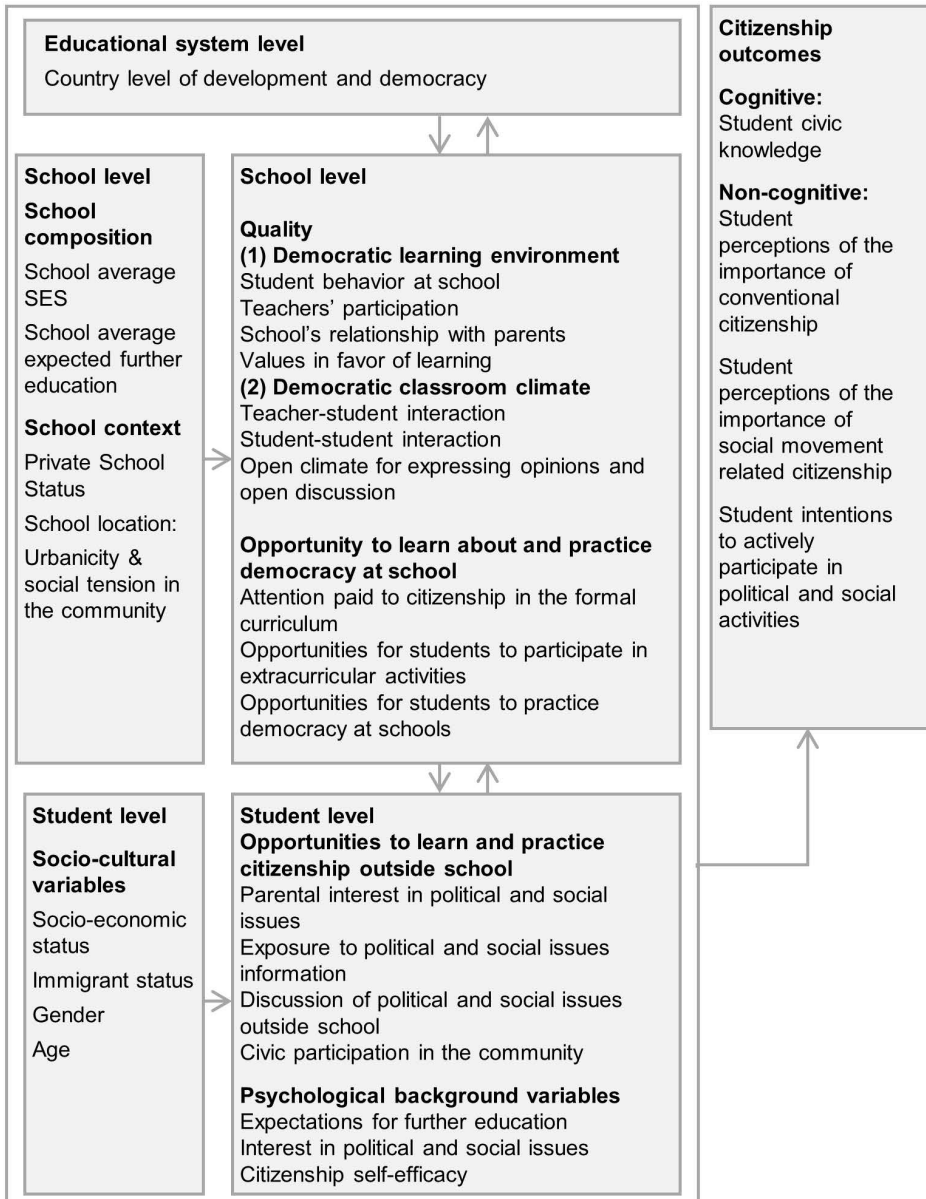
The purpose of this study has been to address these issues using data from the IEA 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study. First, the size of school and educational system effects on students' civic competences was examined and compared across cognitive and affective-behavioral outcomes. We then examined whether schools and national educational systems are consistent in their effects on these outcomes. Second, we explored school factors that affect civic learning and compared the effect of these factors across cognitive and non-cognitive citizenship outcomes. More specifically, we investigated whether differences in students' civic learning are related to the opportunities of students to learn and experience citizenship at school and the quality of the civic education they receive.

These issues were explored using Creemers' Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness (Creemers, 1994; Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008). By integrating⁴ findings from citizenship research into this theoretical framework (see Figure 3-1) we could take into account that the learning of citizenship is not limited to

⁴ For further information on the factors covered by Creemers' model as well as empirical evidence of their effects, we refer the reader to Creemers (1994) and Creemers & Kyriakides (2008). Please note that especially due to the diversity of curricular approaches to citizenship education across countries (rarely a separate subject) as well as the conceptualization of citizenship education as the result of efforts made by the entire school team rather than by the individual teacher, some important factors related to student characteristics (e.g. time on task) and in particular teacher behavior in the classroom (e.g. orientation, structuring etc.) could not be covered or measured.

formal school settings and distinguish among factors at student, school and system level. Moreover, this approach served as a tool for conceptualizing the quality of instruction and the opportunities for learning in schools from the perspective of citizenship education.

Figure 3-1 Conceptual framework



A Comprehensive Framework to Explain Students' Civic Learning in Schools

Citizenship education refers to “school education for young people, which seeks to ensure that they become active and responsible citizens capable of contributing to the development and well-being of the society in which they live” (Eurydice, 2005, p. 10). Civic and citizenship education aims at enhancing students’ civic knowledge and skills and developing their attitudes toward citizenship and their intentions to engage in political and social activities (Hoskins, Villalba, Van Nijlen, & Barber, 2008; Schulz, 2007).

Civic knowledge is probably one of the most commonly investigated components of citizenship and often regarded as the key outcome of civic and citizenship education programs (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley & van de Gaer, 2011). Without sufficient knowledge, understanding and reasoning skills, individuals are unlikely to learn to participate effectively in society (Galston, 2001; Galston, 2004). Thus, with respect to the future participation in society civic knowledge is an important asset. This participation may take various forms, depending on the underlying conceptions or perspectives of democracy and democratic involvement. Torney-Purta et al. (2001) refer in this respect to more conventional and institutionalized forms of participation in addition to the social movement activities that citizens might engage in. Conventional participation relates to citizen behavior associated with compliance with social norms or democratic duties, like voting in national elections or the willingness to learn about one’s country’s history. Social movement participation is more concerned with citizens’ democratic rights and active participation in society to improve one’s own life circumstances and those of others. Examples are collecting signatures for a petition, non-violent protest, or raising funds for a social cause (cf. Schulz et al., 2010).

The conceptions of the importance and value of the conventional and social movement citizenship are therefore likely to be related to students’ expected political participation in later adulthood. Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995) define political participation as activities that have “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” (p. 48). Therefore, political participation includes activities such as becoming a member of a political party, run for candidate for a local or national parliament or engaging in grass-root campaigns and protest activities – thus intended behavior in the framework of both conventional and social movement citizenship (Schulz et al., 2010; Mascherini, Vidoni, Manca, 2011).

Over the past decades, several studies have tried to unravel student and school factors that contribute to the development of students’ civic knowledge and their attitudes toward citizenship (e.g. Campbell, 2008; Homana, Barber & Torney-Purta, 2006; Lopes, Benton & Cleaver, 2009; Niemi & Junn, 1998, Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). According to the Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness (Figure 3-1), these factors concern characteristics of both schools and classrooms, as well as traits of the educational system.

Student characteristics related to outcomes of citizenship

Civic knowledge and attitudes differ among students based on their socio-economic status, immigrant status, gender and age. Native students as well as those coming from families with a higher socio-economic status generally demonstrate higher levels of civic knowledge (see Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). However, depending on the type of outcome in question, the influence of the home situation might differ across students. Disadvantaged youth, for example, might be more inclined to conceptualize citizenship in terms of law obedience and is therefore more likely to support mainly the conventional forms of citizenship (Sherrod et al., 2002). Furthermore, in some studies girls have been found to show lower levels of knowledge but a larger focus on social-movement-related citizenship (Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss & Atkins, 2007; Schmidt, Shumow & Kackar, 2007; Schulz, 2002), although, concerning civic knowledge, these results have been overturned by recent findings (Schulz et al., 2010). Age is normally an indicator of school career delay within a specific cohort. It therefore usually has a negative impact on civic knowledge (Isac et al., 2011; Schulz, 2002).

In addition, students' interest in political and social issues and in particular their citizenship self-efficacy and educational aspirations are often identified as strong predictors especially of participatory attitudes (e.g. Schulz, 2005; Solhaug, 2006; Quintelier, 2010). Students who regularly engage in political discussions with their parents and peers, appear to be more knowledgeable of politics (Ichilov, 2007; Torney-Purta, Barber & Wilkenfeld, 2007). Richardson (2003) found that students who are more confident about the value of participating in school are also more likely to expect to participate in both conventional and social-movement-related political activities as adults.

Previous studies further indicate that parental interest, exposure to information on political and social issues by the media, discussion of political and social issues with parents and peers, and voluntary participation in the community are positively related to students' levels of knowledge, support for conventional and social-movement citizenship, and expected participation in political and social activities (see Gainous & Martens, 2012; Hoskins et al., 2012; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Sherrod et al., 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010). These contexts represent various forms of opportunities to learn and develop civic competences outside school, either via the family, peers, the larger community, or the media.

School characteristics related to outcomes of citizenship

School composition in terms of average socio-economic status and average expectations as regards further education, has an impact on the civic competences acquired by students at school. Isac et al. (2011) indicate that students in classrooms with peers from families with a higher socio-economic status acquire more civic knowledge. This is especially apparent in homogeneous classrooms. Classes, in which students come from diverse socio-economic homes, tend to have relatively lower average levels of civic knowledge. Similarly, this situation applies to students' average expectations with respect to further education (Isac et al., 2011). Moreover, also the school context can induce differences in student citizenship outcomes (Maslowski, Breit, Eckensberger & Scheerens, 2009).

A positive school environment characterized by respectful student behavior and a community of teachers committed to collaborative practices and the reconciliation of possible conflicts and confrontations, is conducive to civic competences. Civic competences are also stimulated by a close relation between the school and the student's home environment, and a strong sense of belonging of both students and teachers (see Maslowski et al., 2009; Scheerens, 2011). Furthermore, a democratic classroom climate is regarded as one of the most powerful documented contributor not only to students' civic knowledge but also to participatory attitudes and intended behaviors (e.g. Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Isac et al., 2011; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010). Positive learning outcomes are fostered by a stimulating classroom climate characterized by inclusive and mutually respectful teacher-student and student-student relationships and an environment in which dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged.

Third, the opportunities offered by schools in the formal, non-formal and informal curricula to learn about and practice democracy are considered to be of particular importance for citizenship outcomes. Previous findings (e.g. Niemi & Junn, 1998, Quintelier, 2010) have revealed a positive impact in terms of the time allocated to citizenship instruction. Clear regulations for organizing citizenship education are therefore likely to lead to higher outcomes – at least in the case of civic knowledge. Also opportunities for participation in extracurricular activities organized by the schools as well as possibilities to function in their democratic structures particularly enhance students' civic attitudes and intended political behavior (see Sherrod et al., 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2010)

Country and educational system level

Student development of citizenship is dependent on the socio-political context⁵ (Sherrod, Torney-Purta and Flanagan, 2010). Previous findings have tended to show that a country's social and economic development level as well as its level of democracy are positively related to students' civic knowledge and participatory attitudes. Specifically, higher levels of knowledge tend to be achieved in more developed countries (Schulz et al., 2011), while lower levels of development and democratic tradition might function as motivators of higher participatory attitudes (Hoskins, Barber, Van Nijlen, Villalba, 2011). Furthermore, the differences among countries in citizenship outcomes⁶ could be explained by the different characteristics of their citizenship education policies (e.g. the level of priority given to citizenship education in the national curriculum, curricular guidelines for implementing citizenship education, support provided to teachers and school leaders in terms of the provision of initial and in-service teacher training for civic and citizenship education, assessment of students and schools in relation to civic and citizenship education).

⁵ To control for the basic variations of the economic, democratic and educational contexts (see also Dogan, 2004; Hoskins, Barber, van Nijlen & Villalba, 2011; Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley & van de Gaer, 2011), we considered several indicators at the country level: Human Development Index, Human Development Index adjusted for inequality, Democracy Index, expenditure on education (secondary), and GDP per capita. We decided, however, to only include the Human Development Index in the analysis, because it highly correlates with all the other measures ($r \geq .74$) and especially with the Democracy Index ($r = .78$).

⁶ While acknowledging the importance of educational system characteristics, we decided not to use the information from the ICCS national context questionnaire (one expert's opinion) on the characteristics of the educational policy with respect to the civic and citizenship education. In additional analyses we have included the effects of such factors (e.g. priority given to citizenship education in the national curriculum; curricular guidelines for implementing citizenship education; support provided to teachers and school leaders in terms of the provision of initial and in-service teacher training for civic and citizenship education; assessment of students and schools in relation to civic and citizenship education) in the model specified in the current paper. These preliminary analyses showed that their effects were either not statistically significant (see also Hooghe & Quintelier, 2011) or confounded with indicators of development. In fact, results reported here showed the level of development to explain most of the variance at the country level. Nevertheless, a more adequate measurement of these factors would likely yield more relevant knowledge concerning this research topic.

The current study

In the current study we focused on four interrelated types of citizenship outcomes: cognitive outcomes in terms of *civic knowledge*, non-cognitive outcomes in terms of the attitudes toward the norms of conventional citizenship (from here on called *conventional citizenship*), attitudes toward norms of social movement citizenship (from here on called *social-movement-related citizenship*), and intentions with respect to future adult participation in political and social activities (from here on called *intended participation*). Following the leads provided by the literature reviewed, we explored the impact of schooling on these four categories of cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, guided by the following expectations: (1) the impact of schooling is stronger on cognitive outcomes of citizenship than on non-cognitive outcomes; (2) in principle schools should be able to foster all outcomes related to citizenship simultaneously although, alternatively, there might be a trade-off between cognitive and non-cognitive competences; (3) the indicators of the quality of instruction and opportunities to learn at school level are positively associated with all outcomes; (4) non-cognitive outcomes related to citizenship might show a stronger relationship with the indicators of opportunities for participation in school settings and individual background characteristics.

Method

Sample

This study is based on a secondary analysis of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 data set, which includes data on Grade 8 (14-year-olds) students' citizenship competences from 38 countries. The sampling procedure employed by IEA was a two-stage stratified cluster design (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito, 2010). First approximately 150 schools in each country were sampled using a probability proportional to size. Second, from each selected school only one intact class was sampled. Of this class all students were selected to participate in the study.

Additionally, the teacher survey population contained all the teachers who taught regular school subjects to the students of the target grade (Schulz et al., 2010).

For this study we selected 31 of the 38 countries participating in ICCS. The selection was based on criteria such as the availability of information (including information from the teacher survey), the reliability of the variables of interest and the availability of sufficiently large student and school sample sizes. This selection resulted in data available of 4,078 schools and 102,396 students. For further information on the sample characteristics the reader is referred to Appendix 1.

Measurements and variables

From the ICCS data set, which included information gathered via student, teacher, school, and national context questionnaires, we selected data that covered the factors and variables as depicted in Figure 3-1. Appendix 2 presents an overview of the selected scales or items and their reliability. The table is organized according to the three levels of the model: student, school, and educational system. For more information about the construction and psychometric properties of the scales, the reader is referred to the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008), the international report (Schulz et al., 2010), and the technical report (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011). Furthermore, Appendix 3 contains the descriptive statistics of all variables in this study.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed by means of multivariate multilevel regression analysis using MLwiN software (Rasbash, Steele, Browne, and Goldstein, 2009). This approach enabled us to estimate a regression model for the three correlated dependent variables simultaneously at the student, school and educational system levels. Moreover, this type of analysis offered the opportunity to compute correlation coefficients among the outcome variables at the three different levels (Snijders & Bosker 2011; Luyten & Sammons, 2010). This method allowed us to test the assumption of consistent effects of the schools and educational systems.

First, an empty model of the levels specified was simultaneously estimated for all four outcome variables. Second, in subsequent steps different sets of explanatory variables were added at the different levels (student, school and educational system), starting with the student level. In the final step, working backwards from the full model, we estimated a parsimonious model. Using both t -tests and the likelihood ratio test we exclusively retained significant predictors at $p < .01$ for each outcome variable (cf. Snijders & Bosker, 2011). The non-significant predictors were removed from the model stepwise, starting with the ones with the highest p value.

Results

Size of School and System Effects

To indicate differences between and within the educational systems as regards the four outcomes, Table 3-1 reports the variance components at the school and educational system levels for both the empty and the first and second model (controlled for student background characteristics). With respect to the educational system level, the proportion of variance to be explained shows that there are large differences between the educational systems for civic knowledge (20% - Table 3-1, Model 0). These differences persist and even slightly increase after controlling for student background characteristics (23% - Table 3-1, Model 2). As regards the three non-cognitive outcomes the differences between the educational systems are slightly smaller (ranging from 6% to 12%) (Table 3-1, Model 0), while they decrease sharply (3% to 6%) once the student background characteristics are accounted for (Table 3-1, Model 2).

The proportion of variance to be explained at the school level reveals similar patterns. On the one hand, the results show that schools differ more regarding civic knowledge, which is still true after controlling for student intake (23% to 15% - Table 3-1, Model 0 to 2). On the other hand, for the non-cognitive outcomes the results indicate that there are hardly any systematic differences between schools within countries regarding students' conventional citizenship (2% to 3%), social-movement-related

citizenship (2% to 3%) and intended participation (2% to 3%). Furthermore, after taking student characteristics into account, the differences for civic knowledge between countries (23%) are larger than those between schools (15%).

Table 3-1 Variance to be explained

Model		M0	M1	M2
Civic knowledge	Educational system level	20%	21%	23%
	School level	23%	17%	15%
	Student level	58%	54%	50%
Conventional citizenship	Educational system level	12%	12%	6%
	School level	3%	3%	2%
	Student level	84%	83%	69%
Social movement related citizenship	Educational system level	10%	10%	3%
	School level	3%	2%	2%
	Student level	88%	87%	81%
Intended participation	Educational system level	6%	6%	5%
	School level	3%	3%	2%
	Student level	90%	89%	70%

M0 = Empty model

M1 = Model controlled for socio-cultural and psychological student background variables: Age, Gender, Immigrant status, Socio-economic status

M2 = Model controlled for socio-cultural and psychological student background variables: Age, Gender, Immigrant status, Socio-economic status, Expected further education, Interest in political & social issues, Citizenship self-efficacy

For all outcomes, even after taking the student characteristics into account, most of the unexplained variance remains at the student level. This finding is apparent for civic knowledge (58% to 50%) but especially for the non-cognitive outcomes (84% to 69% for conventional citizenship, 88% to 81% for social-movement-related citizenship and 90% to 70% for intended participation).

Consistency of School and System Effects across Outcomes

Table 3-2 shows the correlation coefficients between the four dependent variables at the student, school, and educational system levels for the empty and the second model. These coefficients were obtained based on the estimates of the variance and covariance components (see Snijders & Bosker, 2011). The coefficients show whether the effects of schools and educational systems are consistent across students' civic knowledge, conventional citizenship, social-movement-related citizenship and intended participation. A positive correlation indicates complementarity of the outcomes, whereas a negative correlation reveals a trade-off (Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007).

Model 0 in Table 3-2 reports the uncontrolled correlation coefficients for the empty model. Model 1 and 2 show the correlation coefficients controlled for different sets of student background characteristics. Comparing the correlation coefficients from the three models enabled us to observe changes in the estimates. The general trend observed in Table 3-2 is that once we had controlled for the different sets of student variables, the coefficients decreased slightly.

Table 3-2 Correlation coefficients

	Civic knowledge & Conventional citizenship			Civic knowledge & Social movement related citizenship			Civic knowledge & Intended participation		
	M 0	M 1	M 2	M 0	M 1	M 2	M 0	M 1	M 2
Country level	-0.62	-0.64	-0.58	-0.67	-0.69	-0.65	-0.76	-0.77	-0.45
School level	-0.19	-0.22	-0.24	0.20	0.14	0.16	0.20	0.07	0.16
Student level	-0.01	-0.02	-0.06	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.08
	Conventional citizenship & Social movement related citizenship			Conventional citizenship & Intended participation			Social movement related citizenship & Intended participation		
	M 0	M 1	M 2	M 0	M 1	M 2	M 0	M 1	M 2
Country level	0.77	0.78	0.67	0.39	0.39	-0.11	0.57	0.57	0.25
School level	0.53	0.54	0.41	0.36	0.39	0.00	0.26	0.26	0.06
Student level	0.44	0.44	0.38	0.23	0.23	0.08	0.26	0.26	0.16

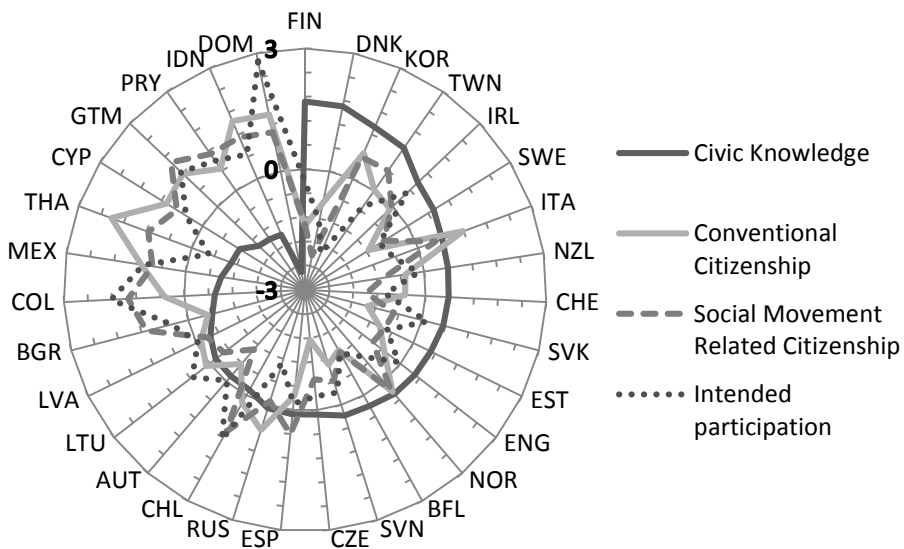
M 0 = Empty model

M 1 = Model controlled for socio-cultural student background variables: Age, Gender, Immigrant status, Socio-economic status

M 2 = Model controlled for socio-cultural and psychological student background variables: Age, Gender, Immigrant status, Socio-economic status, Expected further education, Interest in political & social issues, Citizenship self-efficacy

At the educational system level, the results indicate moderately to highly negative correlations for civic knowledge with respect to all three non-cognitive outcomes. The negative relationship is the strongest for social-movement-related citizenship ($r = -.65$) and conventional citizenship ($r = -.58$), but also substantial for intended participation ($r = -.45$). On the other hand, most of the non-cognitive outcomes correlate positively with each other at the educational system level. Social-movement-related citizenship shows a strong positive correlation with conventional citizenship ($r = .67$) and a small positive association with intended participation ($r = .25$). Yet, conventional citizenship correlates negatively with intended participation ($r = -.11$).

Figure 3-2 Country averages on all outcome variables



Note. All variables are standardized (z-scores)

Interpreting these results at the country level can be done by exploring the general levels of knowledge and attitudes in the 31 countries investigated in this study. Figure 3-2 illustrates the average value for each of the four outcomes. We can see that in general high levels of civic knowledge relate to lower levels of the non-cognitive outcomes. Overall, above average levels of civic knowledge are found in the European countries and three of the Austral-Asian countries (Korea, Taiwan and New Zealand). Below

average levels are observed in most Latin American countries as well as in Thailand and Indonesia. Among the above average achievers in terms of civic knowledge, some of the countries (Italy, Norway, Korea and Ireland) also score above average on conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. Other countries' outcomes (Spain, Russian Federation, Chile, Austria, Lithuania and Latvia) show around average values.

At the *school level*⁷, the results show small positive associations between civic knowledge and social-movement-related citizenship ($r = .16$), and between civic knowledge and intended participation in political and social activities ($r = .16$). These results indicate that schools where students achieve on average high levels of civic knowledge also tend to be those where students are on average more focused on social-movement-related citizenship and more inclined to participate in political and social activities. However, in schools with high average levels of knowledge the students do not necessarily show support for conventional forms of citizenship ($r = -.24$). Still, schools with high average levels of conventional citizenship also tend to show high averages of social-movement-related citizenship ($r = .41$). But when taking all student characteristics into account, the associations between school average conventional citizenship and intended participation ($r = .00$) and between social-movement-related citizenship and intended participation ($r = .06$) completely disappear.

At the *student level* the associations between civic knowledge and all three non-cognitive outcomes are weakly negative to positive ($r = -.06$, $r = .12$, $r = .08$) and the relations among conventional citizenship, social-movement-related citizenship and intended participation are moderately to weakly positive ($r = .38$, $r = .23$, $r = .16$).

Moreover, at none of the levels the correlation coefficients alter substantially after controlling for all student characteristics (socio-cultural and psychological student

⁷ In interpreting these results one must keep in mind that the reported parameters are correlations between the average school results across the countries. In fact, when conducting a more in-depth country-specific analysis we could observe that in a limited number of countries schools deviated slightly from the overall pattern (e.g. in some countries the correlations between civic knowledge and conventional citizenship were small but positive).

background variables and student opportunities to learn and practice democracy outside school) and for the indicators of school composition, school context and country level of development⁸.

Factors Related to Citizenship Outcomes

Variance explained

Table 3-3 presents the results of the parsimonious multivariate multilevel model which only includes the significant variables at the student, school and system levels. The results indicate that this model explains 36% of the variation in civic knowledge. For the non-cognitive outcomes less variation is explained: 24% for conventional citizenship, 13% for social-movement-related citizenship and 25% for intended participation. Notably, for all non-cognitive outcomes, the largest proportion of explained variance is attributed to student characteristics (on average 92% of the total variance explained) while in the case of civic knowledge student characteristics account for about half of the explained variance.

Most of the unexplained variance is associated with the student level, which especially applies to the non-cognitive outcomes (49% for civic knowledge, 69% for conventional citizenship, 81% for social-movement-related citizenship and 70% for intended participation).

Furthermore, the coefficients in the parsimonious model indicate that, overall, civic knowledge is best predicted by the various factors depicted in Figure 3-1. For conventional and social-movement-related citizenship as well as intended participation, statistically significant effects were mainly detected for individual student characteristics.

⁸ When including the country level of development the correlations decreased by .20 on average.

Student Characteristics

Table 3-3 summarizes the significant associations between student characteristics and students' civic competences. With regard to the students' socio-cultural background, the findings indicate that older students tend to have less knowledge of civics and attach less importance to norms of social-movement-related citizenship. Girls possess more civic knowledge and perceive social-movement-related citizenship as more important than boys do. The civic knowledge level of immigrant students tends to be lower, while this group is also less inclined to participate in political and social activities. These students are, however, more supportive of conventional citizenship norms. Students with a high socio-economic background tend to possess more civic knowledge and are more focused on future participation in political and social activities, but they tend to show less support for the norms of conventional citizenship.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that the higher the educational goals of the students, the higher their levels of civic knowledge, social-movement-related citizenship and intended future participation. In addition, students who are more interested in political and social issues also show greater support for norms of conventional and social-movement-related citizenship and generally expect to become politically and socially active in later life. Moreover, in each of the domains the students who exhibit more citizenship self-efficacy also develop more civic competences.

Regarding the opportunities to learn about and experience citizenship outside school, the interest of parents in political and social issues appears to be of importance for the competences acquired by the students. Those raised by parents who are interested in politics have on average more knowledge of citizenship, while their attitude and behavioral intentions toward citizenship are also more positive. Furthermore, students' civic knowledge and their intentions to participate in society as an adult are stimulated by regular discussions with their friends and parents. Moreover, students who frequently use media to inform themselves about civic issues also tend to have more knowledge in this area. They are also more supportive of the norms of conventional citizenship and expect to be engaged in political and social activities in later life. With respect to student

participation in the community the effects observed are less consistent across the four civic outcomes. Students who actively take part in their local community show more support for social-movement-related citizenship norms and have higher expectations as regards future participation but possess less civic knowledge.

In terms of the strength of the relationships observed at the student level the findings reveal that civic knowledge is mainly explained by background student variables, such as gender, immigrant status, SES and expectations as regards further education. Students' attitudes and expected behavior, on the other hand, are mostly determined by their sense of citizenship self-efficacy and their interest in political and social issues. The size of all other associations is rather small.

School Characteristics

Regarding *student composition* at school, Table 3-3 tells us that school average socioeconomic status is positively related to civic knowledge and students' future intended participation in political and social activities. At the same time, the results indicate a weak negative association between average socio-economic status and students' conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. With respect to conventional citizenship this finding adds to the weak negative effect of socio-economic status at the individual student level. Furthermore, in classrooms where students on average have higher expectations for their further education, higher levels of civic knowledge are acquired. These students also tend to convey some more support for social-movement-related citizenship.

With regard to the *school context*, students from schools in urban areas have on average less intention to participate in political and social activities later in life. Moreover, a weak negative effect on students' civic knowledge is found for social tension in the community. In general, however, the school context appears not to have a great impact on students' civic competences.

Similarly, none of the factors reflecting the *quality of the school learning environment* (e.g. positive student behavior, teacher participation, positive relationship with parents,

teacher and student's sense of belonging to the school) are related to any of the four competences. In contrast, some aspects of a *democratic classroom climate* (e.g. inclusive and mutually respectful teacher-student and student-student relationships and an environment in which dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged) do appear to be related to students' civic knowledge and their conventional and social-movement-related citizenship although in some cases none or unexpected relationships (in terms of direction) are detected. More specifically, the quality of teacher-student interactions is negatively associated with knowledge and positively related to conventional and social-movement-related citizenship – although these effects are rather weak. Better student-student interactions affect the knowledge acquired of civics, but have no impact on students' civic attitudes or intended participation. Relatively the strongest influence on civic knowledge is exerted by an open classroom climate which stimulates the expression of opinions and open discussion. An open climate which fosters discussion, however, has no or hardly any effect on students' attitudes toward citizenship and their intentions to participate actively in society as an adult.

Most indicators reflecting *the opportunity to learn about and practice democracy at school* (e.g. regulations for coordinating and organizing education for citizenship) are not related to any of the outcomes. Student participation in extracurricular activities organized by the school in cooperation with the community, however, is positively related to social-movement-related citizenship. Moreover, when students have more opportunities to practice democracy at school they are more inclined to engage in future political and social activities. Both effects, however, are relatively small in magnitude.

Table 3-3 Results of multivariate multilevel analysis to explain variation in Civic knowledge, Conventional citizenship, Social movement related citizenship & Intended participation in political and social activities

	Civic knowledge			Conventional citizenship			Social movement related citizenship			Intended participation		
	<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>		
Fixed effects	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	P	Par.	SE	P
Constant	-0.079	0.045		-0.020	0.038		-0.068	0.039		0.012	0.036	
<i>Student Characteristics</i>												
Age	-0.038	0.003	***		NSS		-0.016	0.003	***		NSS	
Gender (girl =1)	0.159	0.005	***		NSS		0.076	0.005	***		NSS	
Immigrant status (Immigrant background =1)	-0.266	0.010	***	0.036	0.011	**		NSS		-0.086	0.012	***
SES (GC)	0.126	0.003	***	-0.020	0.003	***		NSS		0.018	0.003	***
Expected further education (GC)	0.205	0.003	***		NSS		0.041	0.003	***	0.017	0.003	***
Interest in political & social issues		NSS		0.272	0.003	***	0.162	0.003	***	0.127	0.003	***
Citizenship self-efficacy	0.026	0.002	***	0.154	0.003	***	0.139	0.003	***	0.360	0.003	***
<i>Opportunities to learn and discuss democracy outside school</i>												
Parental interest in political & social issues	0.012	0.002	***	0.109	0.003	***	0.026	0.003	***	0.013	0.003	***
Exposure to political & social issues information	0.068	0.003	***	0.021	0.003	***		NSS		0.024	0.003	***
Discussion of political & social issues outside school	0.040	0.003	***		NSS			NSS		0.026	0.003	***
Student participation in the community	-0.106	0.003	***		NSS		0.027	0.003	***	0.094	0.003	***

Note. All coefficients are standardized; *** p < .001; ** p < .01; NSS = not statistically significant; GC = group centered

(continued)

Table 3-3. (Continued).

	Civic knowledge			Conventional citizenship			Social movement related citizenship			Intended participation		
	<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>		
	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	p
Fixed effects												
School/Classroom Characteristics												
<i>School composition</i>												
School average SES	0.143	0.007	***	-0.033	0.004	***	-0.022	0.005	***	0.011	0.004	**
School average expected further education	0.043	0.008	***		NSS		0.020	0.005	***		NSS	
<i>School context</i>												
Private school status (private =1)		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
<i>School location:</i>												
Urbanicity		NSS			NSS			NSS		-0.012	0.004	**
Social tensions in the community	-0.028	0.006	***		NSS			NSS			NSS	

Note. All coefficients are standardized; *** p < .001; **p < .01; NSS = not statistically significant; GC = group centered

(continued)

Table 3-3. (Continued).

Fixed effects	Civic knowledge			Conventional citizenship			Social movement citizenship			Intended participation		
	<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>			<i>Parsimonious model</i>		
	Par.	SE	p	Par.	SE	P	Par.	SE	P	Par.	SE	P
<i>Quality factors</i>												
<i>(1) Democratic learning environment</i>												
Student behavior at school												
Teachers' participation		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
School's relationship with parents		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Values in favor of learning:		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Teachers sense of belonging to school		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Students sense of belonging to school		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
<i>(2) Democratic classroom climate</i>												
Teacher - student interaction	-0.027	0.008	**	0.060	0.004	***	0.039	0.005	***			NSS
Student - student interaction	0.038	0.007	***		NSS			NSS			NSS	
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion	0.142	0.008	***		NSS		0.036	0.005	***		NSS	
<i>Opportunity to learn about and practice democracy at school</i>												
Attention paid to citizenship in the formal curriculum:												
Coordinator for citizenship education (yes = 1)		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Separate subject (yes = 1)		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Integrated (social sciences subjects) (yes = 1)		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Gross curricular (yes = 1)		NSS			NSS			NSS			NSS	
Opportunities for students to participate in extracurricular activities		NSS		0.017	0.005	**		NSS			NSS	
Opportunities for students to practice democracy at school		NSS			NSS			NSS		0.012	0.004	**
<i>Country characteristics</i>												
Human Development Index	0.382	0.043	***	-0.116	0.037	**	-0.117	0.040	**		NSS	

Note: All coefficients are standardized; *** p < .001; ** p < .01; NSS = not statistically significant; GC = group centered

(continued)

Table 3-3. (Continued).

	Civic knowledge		Conventional citizenship		Social movement citizenship		Intended participation	
	<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>	
	Par.	SE	Par.	SE	Par.	SE	Par.	SE
Random effects								
<i>Country/Educational system level – Variance</i>								
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Conventional citizenship)	0.062	0.016	0.045	0.011	0.047	0.012	0.039	0.010
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	-0.022	0.010						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	-0.019	0.010						
Covariance (Conventional citizenship. Social movement citizenship)	0.023	0.009						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Intended participation)	-0.018	0.010						
Covariance (Intended participation. Conventional citizenship)	-0.013	0.008						
Covariance (Intended participation. Social movement citizenship)	0.003	0.008						
<i>School level - Variance</i>								
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Conventional citizenship)	0.095	0.003	0.015	0.001	0.018	0.001	0.016	0.001
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	-0.009	0.001						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	0.005	0.001						
Covariance (Conventional citizenship. Social movement citizenship)	0.006	0.001						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Intended participation)	0.007	0.001						
Covariance (Intended participation. Conventional citizenship)	-0.001	0.001						
Covariance (Intended participation. Social movement citizenship)	0.001	0.001						

(continued)

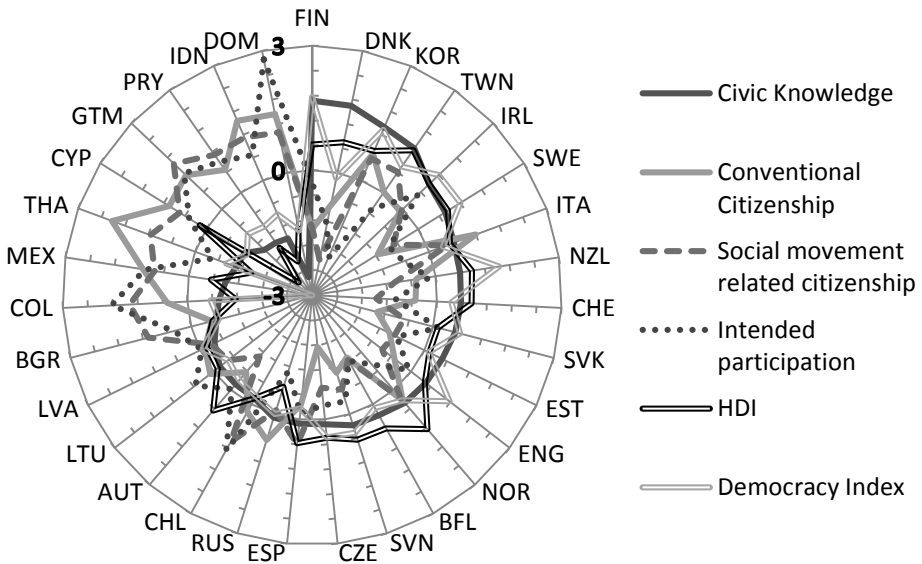
Table 3-3. (Continued).

	Civic knowledge		Conventional citizenship		Social movement citizenship		Intended participation	
	<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>		<i>Parsimonious model</i>	
	Par.	SE	Par.	SE	Par.	SE	Par.	SE
Random effects								
<i>Student level— Variance</i>								
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Conventional citizenship)	0.490	0.002	0.689	0.003	0.809	0.004	0.696	0.003
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	-0.036	0.002						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Social movement citizenship)	0.079	0.002						
Covariance (Conventional citizenship. Social movement citizenship)	0.280	0.003						
Covariance (Civic knowledge. Intended participation)	0.052	0.002						
Covariance (Intended participation. Conventional citizenship)	0.053	0.002						
Covariance (Intended participation. Social movement citizenship)	0.119	0.002						
Deviance difference (compared to empty model)		62047		***				
Total variance explained		36%		24%		13%		25%

Country characteristics

A country’s level of human development is positively related to civic knowledge and negatively associated with students’ conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. Therefore, students in highly developed countries tend to have on average more civic knowledge while their attitude toward citizenship is more negative. The Human Development Index (see United Nations Development Programme, 2011) embodies a country’s social and economic development standards but to some extent also designates its level of democracy, as it is closely related to the Democracy Index ($r = .78$). Therefore, the results also suggest that in countries where the level of democracy is high (in terms of the electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation and political culture) students tend to achieve higher levels of civic knowledge whereas their attitude toward citizenship is more negative (see Figure 3-3).

Figure 3-3 Country averages on all outcome variables & HDI & Democracy Index



Note. All variables are standardized (z-scores)

Conclusion and Discussion

The impact of schooling on cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes of citizenship

In line with our expectations, the results indicate that the differences between schools with respect to the non-cognitive civic outcomes are rather small in comparison to those as regards the cognitive outcomes. Specifically, our findings show that there are larger differences between and within educational systems for civic knowledge than for attitudes toward conventional and social-movement-related citizenship and intention to participate in social and political activities. Furthermore, while for all outcomes most of the unexplained variance rests at the student level, this result applied the most obviously to the non-cognitive outcomes. It could therefore be concluded that schools particularly influence students' civic knowledge and skills whereas the potential impact on their attitudes and intended behaviors is rather limited. Furthermore, considering the large differences between students, it is likely that individual student characteristics and influences outside the school play a more influential role than the school with regard to these types of citizenship outcomes.

Consistency of School and System Effects

The evidence from previous studies for the consistency in achieving both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes of citizenship is mixed. And although our findings contribute some new elements to this discussion, further research is required to reach more substantive conclusions.

On the one hand, our findings indicate that students in educational systems which promote the achievement of higher levels of civic knowledge (e.g. in most European countries) show less support for norms of conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. In addition, the students are less inclined to participate in political and social activities in later life. Conversely, in educational systems which produce lower average levels of civic knowledge (e.g. in most Latin American and some Asian countries)

students have appeared to be more supportive of both conventional and social-movement-related citizenship as well as civic participation as adults. Although previous international studies have reported similar patterns they did not show to what extent this situation is dependent on the national policies in citizenship education (e.g. Torney-Purta, 2002). It is thus likely that students' citizenship attitudes and intended participation in social and political activities are influenced by as yet unmeasured elements of the socio-political context of the country. These would then need to be further analyzed in future studies.

On the other hand, the results seem to simultaneously indicate consistency and a trade-off between the cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes of citizenship at the school level. For example, we found that schools which put more emphasis on the development of civic knowledge and skills are also able to foster higher levels of support for social-movement-related citizenship norms and intended political and social participation. This result does, however, not necessarily apply to conventional citizenship norms. Although the correlations were small and might be merely statistical artifacts, the current analyses provide hints toward the possibility of the coexistence of multiple mechanisms simultaneously at work, which suggests the need for further research.

Factors Related to Civic Outcomes

One of the main goals of this study was to identify school-related determinants of civic competences while taking other elements into account such as student characteristics and out-of-school factors. It became apparent that citizenship learning strongly depends on the students' background, motivation, and the opportunities they have to learn, discuss, and practice democracy outside school. Although the effect of most characteristics was in line with our expectations, some differences could be observed among the civic competences. More specifically, civic knowledge seemed to be heavily influenced by students' gender, immigrant status, SES and educational aspirations whereas it was less impacted by their motivations (interest in political and social issues and citizenship self-efficacy) and opportunities to learn about democracy outside school. In contrast, both the students' support for conventional and social-movement-related

citizenship and their participatory intentions were mostly determined by their interest in political and social issues and in particular their sense of citizenship self-efficacy (see also Ainley & Schulz, 2011).

Taking into account all student characteristics, the *school-related* effects on students' civic outcomes were rather limited, especially with regard to the non-cognitive outcomes (see also Ainley & Schulz, 2011; Quintelier, 2010). Classroom climate appeared to be the most relevant school determinant of their civic knowledge, attitudes, and intended behaviors, whereas other factors (e.g. related to elements of the learning environment and the opportunities to learn citizenship) showed very weak associations or even failed to show any significant impact. A climate in which dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues is encouraged appeared to enhance the civic knowledge acquired by students and to some extent also their support for social-movement-related citizenship. The same holds true concerning other features of the classroom climate such as inclusive and mutually respectful teacher-student relationships which positively relates to endorsement of conventional and social movement related citizenship, and positive student-student relationships which proved to be of importance for civic knowledge. Still, creating opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities at school contributed to students' support for conventional citizenship, while providing opportunities to practice democracy at school strengthened their intentions to participate in civic activities later in life.

Furthermore, the results showed that characteristics of the socio-political context of the country had an influence on the students' level of knowledge and their attitudes toward both conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. The socio-political context explained most of the differences between countries with respect to the civic knowledge. In line with previous studies higher levels of knowledge tended to be achieved in more developed countries while lower levels of development could very well function as motivators for higher participatory attitudes (e.g. Hoskins et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2011).

To conclude, schools only seemed to have a minor influence on the civic related competences of students. Particularly, the effects of schooling on the attitudes toward citizenship and the intended political and social participation as adults are marginal. Nonetheless, a few school characteristics, mainly related to the classroom climate, did have an impact on students' civic knowledge. Furthermore, civic competences appear to be strongly influenced by individual student characteristics (e.g. motivations) and to some extent by other out-of-school influences (e.g. family, peers, community and media).

The Contribution of the Study, Limitations and Avenues to Further Research

This study has contributed to the body of literature of civic and citizenship education and particularly to the strand of research which investigates the impact of schooling on student citizenship outcomes. The theoretically grounded expectations and the methodology applied allowed us to carry out a rather comprehensive analysis of the topic which led us to the aforementioned conclusions. At the same time, the study faced a number of constraints resulting from the characteristics of the dataset and the research methods used, which may serve as leads for further investigation.

First, the ICCS dataset enabled us to conduct the analysis across several countries, make use of three level multilevel modeling, and employ multivariate multilevel techniques. Among other advantages, this richness offered the possibility to estimate the variance in the civic outcomes, which could be attributed solely to the schools and the educational systems. Furthermore, it allowed us to investigate whether these schools and educational systems were equally effective across the outcomes. In this study we have been able to show that especially as regards the non-cognitive outcomes the differences between schools are rather small. However, based on the current analysis our research has not been conclusive regarding whether or not schools are consistently effective across the cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes. Therefore, based on country-specific analyses future research may further examine the consistency of school effects across the citizenship outcomes as well as that between the citizenship outcomes and more traditional types of results (such as mathematics and reading literacy).

Second, by taking a theoretical perspective inspired by the educational effectiveness research, we were able to integrate the multiple findings from the research citizenship and explore the role of schools while taking a rich scenario of contextual characteristics into account. This perspective further enabled us to explore whether educational effectiveness factors could be applied to the topic of citizenship. Although we found that only few of the school factors showed significant effects on the citizenship outcomes, mainly on civic knowledge, the impact of these factors could be further investigated by looking at their effects within the individual countries. Such research could indicate whether some factors are unique to specific countries and whether the size of the effect depends on the country context. Moreover, factors related to the quality of teaching – which we were unable to measure in the current study – could be examined within contexts in which citizenship education is approached as a separate subject in the curriculum.

Third, because of the correlational nature of our study we could not draw any causal inferences with respect to the effectiveness of school on the citizenship outcomes. Furthermore, since we were only able to look at uni-directional associations between the hypothesized predictors and the outcome variables, we might have failed to detect reciprocal relationships. This restriction might have resulted in an under-estimation of the real influence of the schools. For instance, it could be argued that factors which were identified as out-of-school influences (e.g. using the media to inform oneself, talking about politics with parents) or individual perceptions (e.g. citizenship self-efficacy) might to some extent be influenced by the schools. These issues could be addressed by longitudinal studies and research which deals with the interplay among different socialization agents.

Fourth, our conclusion about the larger effects of schools and educational systems on cognitive citizenship outcomes might not be the result of less emphasis given in the curriculum on cultivating positive participatory attitudes and behaviors. Instead these effects may be due to issues related to the way the non-cognitive outcomes were measured. Indeed, the measurement of non-cognitive outcomes was based on reports of the students themselves concerning their attitudes and their anticipated behavior at a

relatively early age in their development (see also Schulz, 2005). The same applies to the finding that in some countries with a low level of civic knowledge, students showed higher levels of support for citizenship norms and reported higher levels of intended participation, which could have been the result of the prevailing views in these countries about what is socially acceptable. Further studies may therefore seek to develop improved attitudinal measures.

Fifth, because we were limited to the use of quantitative information gathered in ICCS we are unable to further explore the unexpected effects of some factors. For example, we saw that student voluntary participation in the community showed a negative relationship with civic knowledge. Although possible explanations could be thought of as regards this issue (e.g. interference with time for learning, differences among the specific contents of the activities), studies combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches might shed further light on these types of findings.

Despite these limitations, this study contributed to the current knowledge base of educational effectiveness by testing its recent theory on the domain of civics and citizenship education. In general, the findings showed that this theory is applicable to this domain as well, but also indicated the need for some modification and extension.

Appendix 3-1 Sample characteristics

Country	N Students	N Schools	Country	N Students	N Schools
1 Austria	1677	67	17 Latvia	2350	128
2 Bulgaria	3084	148	18 Lithuania	3811	193
3 Chile	4939	163	19 Mexico	5149	157
4 Chinese Taipei	4867	143	20 New Zealand	2529	93
5 Colombia	5503	183	21 Norway	1185	51
6 Cyprus	2629	59	22 Paraguay	2583	119
7 Czech Republic	4216	129	23 Russian Federation	4171	205
8 Denmark	2330	97	24 Slovak Republic	2907	136
9 Dominican Republic	2413	85	25 Slovenia	2912	156
10 Estonia	2361	120	26 Spain	3181	145
11 Finland	3166	172	27 Sweden	2880	142
12 Guatemala	3087	109	28 Switzerland	2243	119
13 Indonesia	4808	138	29 Thailand	5145	144
14 Ireland	2887	126	30 England	2392	103
15 Italy	3262	168	31 Belgium (Flemish)	2623	133
16 Korea. Republic of	5106	147	Average	3303	132

Note. Due to the limited data availability of some of the variables and other necessary data cleaning procedures, the numbers reported here are slightly different from those published in the ICCS report (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<p>Civic knowledge Civic knowledge was assessed using a 79 item test which covered four content domains: civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities. One-quarter of the test items concerned factual knowledge of civics and citizenship and the remaining three-quarter civic reasoning and analyzing. The scale reflects "progression from being able to deal with concrete, familiar, and mechanistic elements of civics and citizenship through to understanding the wider policy climate and institutional processes that determine the shape of civic communities" (Schulz et al. 2011, 16). Higher scores on the scale reflect higher levels of civic knowledge.</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.84$
<p>Conventional citizenship The student perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship were measured using six items. Students were required to rate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "very important" to "not important at all") the importance of each of the following behaviors associated with being a good adult citizen: a) Voting in every national election, b) Joining a political party, c) Learning about the country's history, d) Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet, e) Showing respect for government representatives, f) Engaging in political discussions. The corresponding scale was re-coded by the IEA experts so that higher values on this scale would denote stronger degrees of importance ascribed to the conventional citizenship behavior (Schulz et al. 2011, 174).</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.69$
<p>Social-movement-related citizenship The student perceptions of the importance of social-movement-related citizenship were measured using four items. Students were required to rate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "very important" to "not important at all") the importance of each of the following behaviors associated with being a good adult citizen: a) Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust, b) Participating in activities to benefit people in the local community, c) Taking part in activities promoting human rights, d) Taking part in activities to protect the environment. Higher values on this scale correspond to a greater perceived importance of social-movement-related citizenship (Schulz et al. 2011, 174).</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.71$

Notes: Given that the ICCS study followed a matrix-sampling design via which individual students only responded to a set of items obtained from the main pool of items, five plausible values for each student's proficiency level were estimated and provided. For our analysis, only the first plausible value was used. For all continuous variables, higher scores represent higher levels of that variable. For the analysis, all continuous variables were standardized (z scores).

(continued)

Appendix 3-2. (Continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<p>Intended participation in political and social activities The students' expectations to actively participate in political and social activities were measured using six items. The students were required to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "I would certainly do this" to "I would certainly not do this") their intentions to take part in the following forms of legal political and social activities: a) Writing a letter to a newspaper, b) Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion, c) Contacting an elected representative, d) Taking part in a peaceful march or rally, e) Collecting signatures for a petition, f) Choosing not to buy certain products. Higher values on this scale reflect a greater likelihood of participation (Schulz et al. 2011, 186).</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.78$
<i>Explanatory variables - Student Characteristics</i>	
<p>Age The difference between the year and month of the testing and the year and month of a student's birth.</p>	Continuous
<p>Gender Indicator taking the value 1 if the student is a girl.</p>	Dichotomous
<p>Immigrant status Indicator taking the value 1 if the student has an immigrant background.</p>	Dichotomous
<p>SES The students' socioeconomic background was measured by an index derived from the following three indices: highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents in approximate years of education according to the ISCED classification, and the approximate number of books at home.</p>	Continuous/Index $\alpha = 0.60$

(continued)

Appendix 3-2. (Continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<i>Psychological background variables:</i>	
Expected further education	
The expectations of further education were measured by an item asking the student to indicate which level of education he or she expected to achieve according to the ISCED classification: 0 = no completion of ISCED 2, 1 = completion of ISCED 2 (lower secondary), 2 = completion of ISCED 3 (upper secondary), 3 = completion of ISCED 4 (non-tertiary post-secondary) or ISCED 5B (vocational tertiary), 4 = completion of ISCED 5A (theoretically oriented tertiary) or ISCED 6 (post graduate).	Continuous
Interest in political & social issues	
The students were required to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "very interested" to "not interested at all") their interest in issues such as: a) Political issues within your <local community>, b) Political issues in your country, c) Social issues in your country, d) Politics in other countries, e) International politics.	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.85$
Citizenship self-efficacy	
The students were asked to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from "very well" to "not at all") their confidence in their ability to perform the following activities: a) Discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries, b) Argue a point of view about a controversial political or social issue, c) Stand as a candidate in a <school election>, d) Organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school, e) Follow a television debate about a controversial issue, f) Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue, g) Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue.	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.81$
<i>Opportunities to learn and practice citizenship outside school:</i>	
Parental interest in political & social issues	
The students were asked to indicate their parents' level of interest in social and political issues on a 4-point scale (ranging from "very interested" to "not interested at all"). An index of the highest level of parental interest in political and social issues was created by computing the maximum value of both parents.	Continuous/Index

(continued)

Appendix 3-2. (Continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<p>Exposure to political & social issues information Index derived from three items: a) Watching the news, b) Reading a newspaper and c) Using the internet to inform yourself about political and social issues, which students rated on a 4-point scale (ranging from "never or hardly ever" to "daily or almost daily").</p> <p>Discussion of political & social issues outside school The reported students' participation in discussions with friends and parents about political or social issues and events in a national and international context (four items) was measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "never or hardly ever" to "daily or almost daily".</p> <p>Student participation in the community The reported students' civic participation in the wider community (seven items; e.g. youth, Human Rights, environmental organizations) was rated on a 3-point scale ("within the last twelve months", "more than a year ago" or "never").</p>	<p>Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.54$</p> <p>Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.71$</p> <p>Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.70$</p>
<i>Explanatory variables - School/Classroom Characteristics</i>	
<i>School composition:</i>	
School average SES Aggregated (average) measure of socio-economic status based on students' responses. School average expected further education Aggregated (average) measure of expected further education based on students' responses.	<p>Continuous</p> <p>Continuous</p>
<i>School context:</i>	
Private school status Indicator based on school principal's reports taking the value 1 if the school is private.	Dichotomous
Urbanicity School principal's reports concerning the size of the community in which this school is located according to the following classification: a) A village, hamlet or rural area (fewer than 3,000 people), b) A small town (3,000 to about 15,000 people), c) A town (15,000 to about 100,000 people), d) A city (100,000 to about 1,000,000 people), e) A large city (over 1,000,000 people)	Continuous
Social tensions in the community Principal's perceptions of social tension in the community (e.g. immigration, unemployment, poverty, ethnic conflicts) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "to a large extent" to "not at all". Larger scores indicate increased levels of social tension.	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.87$

(continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<i>Democratic learning environment:</i>	
Student behavior at school	
Principals' perceptions regarding the number of students who displayed particular behavior (e.g. respect for rules, good behavior during breaks) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "all or nearly all" to "none or hardly any".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.84$
Teachers' participation	
Principals' perceptions regarding the number of teachers who were involved in certain activities in their schools (e.g. working collaboratively, supporting discipline throughout the school, focused on resolving conflict situations among students, if necessary) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "all or nearly all" to "none or hardly any".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.86$
School's relationship with parents	
Index based on the principals' opinion on the number of parents who participated in three activities (namely: Taking part actively in the school parent association, Supporting school projects within the local community, Attending parent-teacher meetings) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "all or nearly all" to "none or hardly any".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.56$
<i>Values in favor of learning:</i>	
Teachers sense of belonging to school	
Principals' perceptions of teachers' sense of belonging to the school (e.g. the extent to which they have a positive attitude toward the school, work with enthusiasm, take pride in the school, feel part of the school community) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "to a large extent" to "not at all".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.83$
Students' sense of belonging to school	
Principals' perceptions of students' sense of belonging to the school (e.g. the extent to which they enjoy being at school, work with enthusiasm, take pride in the school, feel part of the school community) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "to a large extent" to "not at all".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.80$
<i>Democratic classroom climate:</i>	
Teacher - student interaction	
Aggregated (average) measure based on students' level of agreement with statements concerning the quality of the student-teacher relations at school (e.g. fair treatment by teachers, interest in students' well-being, positive interactions with most teachers) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree".	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.76$

(continued)

Appendix 3-2. (Continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<p>Student – student interaction Aggregated (average) measure based on teachers' responses concerning how many of their students interacted with the class and other students (e.g. students respect their classmates even if they are different, are well integrated in the class, have a good relationship with the other students) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "all or nearly all" to "none or hardly any".</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.87$
<p>Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion Aggregated (average) measure based on students' responses concerning the degree to which teachers encouraged students to express their opinions, encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions, present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class etc. measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "never" to "often".</p>	Continuous/Scale $\alpha = 0.74$
<p><i>Opportunity to learn about and practice democracy at school:</i></p>	
<p>Coordinator of citizenship education Principals' report on whether there were specific responsibilities in the area of civic and citizenship education assigned to individual teachers (e.g. head of department, civic and citizenship education coordinator) (yes =1).</p>	Dichotomous
<p>Separate subject Principals' report on whether civic and citizenship education was taught as a separate subject by the teachers of civic- and citizenship-related subjects (yes =1).</p>	Dichotomous
<p>Integrated (social sciences subjects) Principals' report on whether civic and citizenship education was taught by teachers of subjects related to human and social sciences (e.g. history, geography, law, economics) (yes =1).</p>	Dichotomous
<p>Cross curricular Principals' report on whether civic and citizenship education was integrated into all subjects taught at school (yes =1).</p>	Dichotomous

(continued)

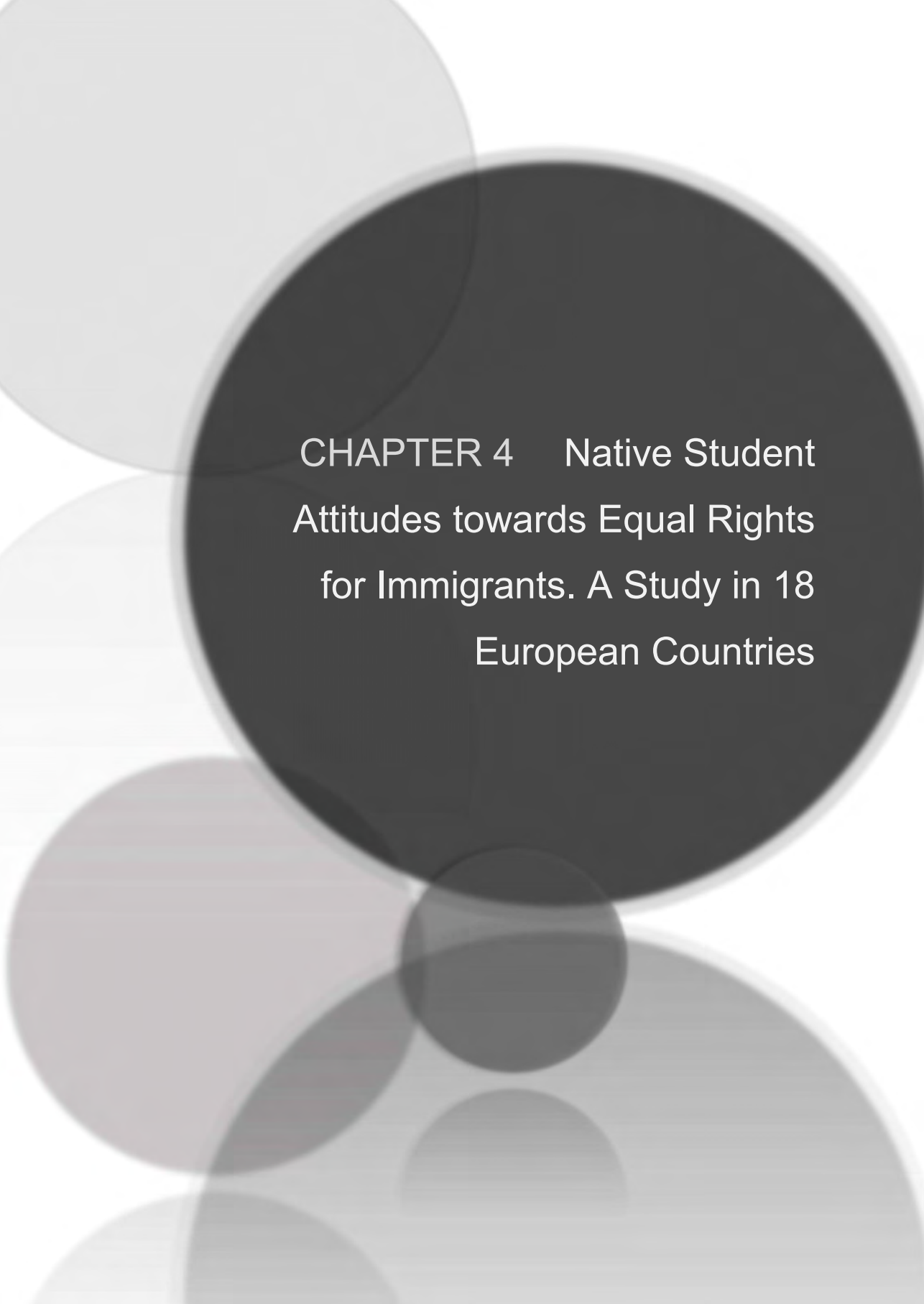
Appendix 3-2. (Continued)

Variables	Type & Reliability
<p>Opportunities for students to participate in extracurricular activities Aggregated (average) measure based on teachers' responses indicating whether their classes had during the past year taken part in activities that could be carried out by the school in cooperation with external groups/organizations (such as human rights projects, campaigns to raise people's awareness about certain issues etc.)</p>	<p>Continuous /Scale</p> <p>$\alpha = 0.68$</p>
<p>Opportunities for students to practice democracy at school Aggregated (average) measure based on students' responses concerning their participation ("within the last twelve months", "more than a year ago" or "never") in several activities at school (e.g. active participation in a debate, voting for a class representative or school parliament, taking part in decision-making about how the school is run).</p>	<p>Continuous /Scale</p> <p>$\alpha = 0.66$</p>
<p>Characteristics of the educational system</p>	
<p><i>Country level of development and democracy:</i></p> <p>Human Development Index Composite measure of both social and economic human development which combines indicators of health, educational attainment and living standards (see Human Development Report, 2011).</p>	<p>Continuous</p>
<p>Democracy Index Composite measure which combines 60 indicators of the electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of the government; political participation and political culture (see Democracy Index, 2011).</p>	

Appendix 3-3 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Civic knowledge - 1ST PV	102396	-3.70	3.97	0.00	1.00	Urbanicity	102396	-1.61	1.60	0.00	1.00
Conventional citizenship	102396	-3.57	3.19	0.00	1.00	Social tensions in the community	102396	-2.89	3.26	0.00	1.00
Social movement related citizenship	101917	-3.55	1.81	0.00	1.00	Student behavior at school	102396	-3.70	1.41	0.00	1.00
Intended participation in political and social activities	99793	-3.15	2.93	0.00	1.00	Teachers' participation	102396	-3.55	2.43	0.00	1.00
Age	102396	-3.66	4.00	0.00	1.00	School's relationship with parents	102396	-2.95	2.26	0.00	1.00
Gender (girl =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA	Teachers sense of belonging to school	102396	-3.75	0.88	0.00	1.00
Immigrant status (immigrant background =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA	Students sense of belonging to school	102396	-2.95	1.28	0.00	1.00
SES	102396	-4.00	3.99	0.00	1.00	Teacher - student interaction	102396	-3.85	3.85	0.00	1.00
Expected further education	102396	-3.18	0.81	0.00	1.00	Student - student interaction	102396	-3.86	2.77	0.00	1.00
Interest in political & social issues	102396	-2.45	2.38	0.00	1.00	Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion	102396	-3.83	3.49	0.00	1.00
Citizenship self-efficacy	102396	-3.59	3.01	0.00	1.00	Coordinator for citizenship education (yes =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA
Parental interest in political & social issues	102396	-2.45	1.43	0.00	1.00	Separate subject (yes =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA
Exposure to political & social issues information	102396	-1.83	2.14	0.00	1.00	Integrated (social sciences subjects) (yes =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA
Discussion of political & social issues outside school	102396	-1.75	3.29	0.00	1.00	Cross curricular (yes =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA
Student participation in the community	102396	-1.13	3.59	0.00	1.00	Opportunities for students to participate in extracurricular activities	102396	-2.30	3.22	0.00	1.00
School average SES	102396	-3.70	3.75	0.00	1.00	Opportunities for students to practice democracy at school	102396	-3.97	3.53	0.00	1.00
School average expected further education	102396	-3.86	1.75	0.00	1.00	Human Development Index	102396	-2.43	1.35	0.00	1.00
School denomination (private =1)	102396	0.00	1.00	NA	NA						

Note. All continuous variables are standardized (z-scores); NA = not available.



CHAPTER 4 Native Student
Attitudes towards Equal Rights
for Immigrants. A Study in 18
European Countries

Abstract

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

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

This chapter is based on the research article published in the special issue “Comparative Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education”:

Isac, M.M., Maslowski, R., & van der Werf, M.P.C. (2012). Native Student Attitudes towards Equal Rights for Immigrants. A Study in 18 European Countries. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 11, 7-22, <http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1189>

Introduction

The disengagement of youth from politics as well as increasing levels of social and ethnic tensions have suggested that support for civic society and democratic political institutions is under pressure. To address the decline of engagement and participation among citizens, many countries introduced programs for civic education or intensified already existing educational programs in this field (Birzea, 2003). Schools are required to prepare students for becoming ‘active and responsible citizens’ (Eurydice, 2005). An important aspect of civic and citizenship education concerns the attitude of students towards other social and cultural groups in society. Given the increased number of immigrants in most European societies and the negative views of the native population on immigrants’ impact in most European societies (cf. Semyonov, Rajiman, Gorodzeisky, 2008), one of the current aims of education for citizenship in Europe is to promote tolerance towards people from other cultures such as immigrants (Eurydice, 2005). Putnam (2000) refers in this respect to a distinction between ‘bridging social capital’ in which bonds are formed across diverse social groups, and ‘bonding social capital’ that only establishes relationships within relatively homogenous groups. According to Putnam, bonding may have a positive effect for those within a particular group, but it is regarded as having a negative effect for society as a whole. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, implies intercultural or interethnic relationships, which may raise mutual understanding – thereby establishing a foundation for social cohesion (see also Mascherini, Vidoni, Manca, 2010).

Schools may impact student’s attitudes towards immigrants, as well as other democratic attitudes, along different lines. First, there is a documented belief that schools can help students to develop positive attitudes towards immigrants’ rights through the formal and informal experiences they provide. Accordingly, schools can promote students’ support for the rights of immigrants by enabling them with the required levels of civic knowledge for understanding and respecting different others (Galston, 2001; Elchardus, Roggemans, Op de Beeck, 2009; Popkin, Dimock, 2000). Schools may foster these attitudes by creating an open academic climate in which students are encouraged to be actively engaged (Barber, Torney-Purta, Fenelly, 2010; Kokkonen, Esaïsson,

Gilljam, 2010; Scheerens, 2009; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, Barber 2008). An open classroom climate can stimulate students to discuss issues of equal rights and tolerance, and can help students understanding the importance and advantages of democratic values and practices (Perliger, Canetti-Nisim, Pedahzur, 2006). Thus, it may have a positive effect on the assimilation of these values by students.

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

In contrast, based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, educational researchers often assume that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms can contribute to higher levels of tolerance and support for immigrants' rights (e.g. Hyland, 2006; Janmaat, 2012; Kokkonen et al. 2010; van Geel, Vedder, 2010). Allport (1954) argued that direct contact between members of different ethnic groups will result in positive intergroup experiences, which will eventually generalize to the entire out-group. These positive attitudes will develop, according to Allport, in case of an equal status of the groups in the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom. Half a century of research later, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted an extensive meta-analysis, which revealed a weak positive effect on intergroup attitudes across different outcomes, national settings and out-groups. They also found that positive attitudes towards the specific out-group generalized to the entire out-group. Even though a result of the meta-analysis was that the optimal contact conditions specified by Allport were not essential but rather facilitated positive effects, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner and Christ (2011) emphasize the special importance of cross-

group friendship in promoting positive contact effects and note that friendships are likely to invoke many of the optimal conditions specified by Allport.

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

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

Next to that, Steinberg and Morris (2001) note that the way students come to like and interact with peers can be influenced by schools only to a certain extent. The ways in which they relate with their peers can be dependent on other factors which might be difficult to influence and not necessarily under the control of schools such as personality characteristics and preferences (Stark 2011) and the influence of family, community and other peers outside the school (Steinberg, Morris, 2001). Peer influence, next to the type of interpersonal relationships between students from different groups (Pettigrew et al., 2011; Stark, 2011) might explain why contact between students from different cultural groups does not consistently result in demoting prejudice. Moreover, educational programs and practices which are implemented in mixed classrooms are often designed at a national level. The overall effect of immigrant share in the classroom across schools within specific educational contexts might, therefore, be dependent on a unique configuration of national conditions (Janmaat, 2012). National educational policies and their implementation as well as other country contextual characteristics can have an impact on the quality of interpersonal relationships between native and immigrant students. Therefore, we could not only expect differences in the impact of immigrant share on students' support for immigrant rights between schools and classrooms within national settings but also differences between educational systems.

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

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

Method

Sample

For this study data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) were used. This study, which was carried out in 2009, measures Grade 8 (14-year-olds) students' citizenship competences from 38 countries. The sampling procedure employed by IEA was a two-stage stratified cluster design (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, Losito, 2010). First, in each country approximately 150 schools were sampled using a probability proportional to size. Second, only one intact class was randomly sampled from each selected school. All students attending the sampled class were selected to participate in the study.

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

Table 4-1 Sample characteristics

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

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

The number of schools and students used for this study across these 18 countries was 2503 schools and 49350 students. The number of schools and students participating in each country are reported in Table 4-1. These final numbers of schools and students were obtained after data cleaning which implied deleting the missing information on the dependent variable as well as the categorical variable indicating whether the student is native or a first or second generation immigrant. Moreover, since our study is concerned

with the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants, we excluded the number of students with an immigration background.

Variables

From the ICCS dataset, information is selected that covers student, country and classroom variables. Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Table 4-2. For more extensive information about the construction and psychometric properties of the scales, the reader is referred to the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, Kerr, 2008), the International ICCS Report (Schulz et al. 2010) and the ICCS Technical Report (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, 2011). Information on country characteristics are derived from country comparisons conducted by the World Bank, the US Department of State (CIA World Factbook), and the British Council.

Table 4-2 Descriptive statistics for all variables

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

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

Student's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants are measured using five items. Students were required to indicate on a 4-point scale (ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”) their level of agreement with the following statements: a) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language, b) immigrant

children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have, c) immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections, d) immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle and e) immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has. The corresponding scale (country reliabilities Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .74 to .89 among the selected countries) was re-coded by the IEA experts so that students with higher scores on this scale were those who agreed that immigrants should have equal rights.

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

Control variables - student level:

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

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

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

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

Control variables – country level:

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

GDP per capita in US dollars is an indicator of how prosperous a country feels to each of its citizens. The source of information for this indicator was the CIA World Factbook of the US Department of State. The scores was re-coded (z-scores) and the values on this variable range from -.96 to 1.87 with a mean of -.07 (SD = .61).

Information on the policies on immigration in each country is captured by the *migrant integration policy index (MIPEX) 2010*, an indicator developed by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group. MIPEX measures policies that promote integration in European societies. In each country, independent scholars and practitioners in migration law, education and anti-discrimination provided information on each of the 148 policy indicators MIPEX in seven policy areas (Labor Market Mobility, Family Reunion,

Education, Political Participation, Long-term Residence, Access to Nationality and Anti-discrimination) based on the country's publicly available documents as of May 2010. The overall indicator takes values between 0 and 100 (0 = critically unfavorable; 1-20 = unfavorable; 21-40 = slightly unfavorable; 41-59 = halfway favorable; 60-79 = slightly favorable, and 80-100 = favorable). In the countries included in our analysis, values on the overall indicator range from 35 to 83 (Mean = 55.19; SD=12.24).

Control variables – classroom level:

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

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

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

Data Analysis Strategy

As indicated previously, the ICCS sampling procedure consisted of sampling one intact class from each of the selected schools and selecting all students attending the sampled class to participate in the study. Therefore, the data has a three-level structure with students being nested in schools/classrooms and schools/classrooms being nested in educational systems. Taking this into account, we applied multilevel regression analysis

(Snijders and Bosker, 2011) using the MLwiN software (Rasbash, Steele, Browne, Goldstein, 2009). Guided by the research questions, we followed a forward stepwise model specification procedure.

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

Results

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

Table 4-3 presents the steps taken in the multilevel analysis to estimate the effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants across and within countries.

Table 4-3 Results of multilevel analysis: The relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants

	Model 0 - Empty		Model 1 - Control variables		Model 2 - Effect of immigrant share		Model 3 - Random immigrant	
	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.	Par.	SE.
Fixed Part								
Constant	48.258	0.448	47.039	0.500	46.991	0.506	47.014	0.522
<i>Student characteristics</i>								
Civic knowledge			0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***	0.021	0.002***
Gender(girl=1)			2.693	0.232***	2.685	0.232***	2.688	0.232***
Expected further education(GMC)			0.185	0.056**	0.193	0.055***	0.192	0.056**
SES (GMC)			0.369	0.086***	0.349	0.085***	0.354	0.084***
<i>Country characteristics</i>								
% of immigrants in the country			0.055	0.113	0.015	0.117	0.016	0.116
GDP per capita			-0.308	1.357	-0.500	1.374	-0.566	1.373
Migrant integration policy			-0.032	0.052	-0.032	0.052	-0.033	0.053
<i>Classroom characteristics</i>								
Classroom average SES			-0.537	0.297	-0.209	0.381	-0.117	0.347
Classroom average expected further education			0.824	0.400*	0.603	0.422	0.362	0.376
Open climate for expressing opinions and open discussion			0.099	0.041*	0.096	0.037*	0.102	0.035**
Immigrant share					4.869	1.216***	4.502	1.567**
Random effects								
Country level	3.527		0.921	0.760	3.736	0.748	3.982	0.785
a) intercept							-0.385	2.275
b) intercept - slope covariance							34.515	18.327
c) slope immigrant share							3.968	0.526
School level	5.762		0.720	0.587	4.300	0.597	3.968	0.526
Student level	91.169		3.788	3.356	85.301	3.359	85.284	3.362
Deviance	364847.309		361377.900		361286.663		361224.3	
Deviance difference			3469.393***		91.253 ***		62.404***	
Variance explained			(10 df)		(1df)		(2df)	
			≈ 7%		≈ 1%			

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

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

In Table 4-3, Model 1 the estimated effects of the control variables are summarized. Adding control variables to the model significantly increases model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(10) = 3469.393; p \leq .001$). In line with previous findings, the analysis reveals that students' civic knowledge, gender, level of expected further education and socioeconomic status are important determinants of their attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Together, these student characteristics explain approximately 7% of the variation in their attitudes. Native students with more civic knowledge, higher expectations for their further education, and from families with higher socioeconomic status have a significantly more positive attitude towards the rights of immigrants in their country. Moreover, girls are more inclined than boys to grant immigrants the same rights as native citizens.

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

Model 2 shows the relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. Adding the effect of

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

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

A clear illustration of the differences between countries in the effect of immigrant share is provided by Figure 4-1. As can be observed from this Figure, the size of the effects overall is small, but countries differ regarding the strength and the direction of the relationship. In Italy, Cyprus, and Spain negative effects are found for immigrant share in the classroom, although these are close to zero in Cyprus and Spain. This latter

applies also to Greece and Ireland, although the relationship between immigrant share and students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants on average is positive. In Slovenia and England the effect is clearly positive, but slightly below average, whereas it is on average in Luxembourg and Austria, and slightly above average in Belgium (Flanders), The Netherlands, and Norway. The effect is clearly above average in Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, and much higher than average in Lithuania and Estonia.

Figure 4-1 Effect of immigrant share by country

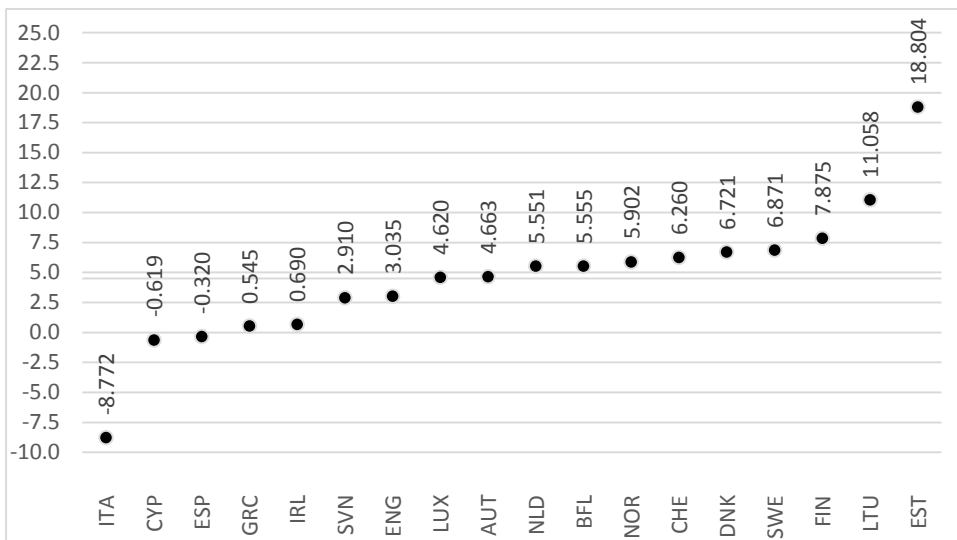


Table 4-4 Results of multilevel analysis: The curvilinear relationship between immigrant share in the classroom and native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants

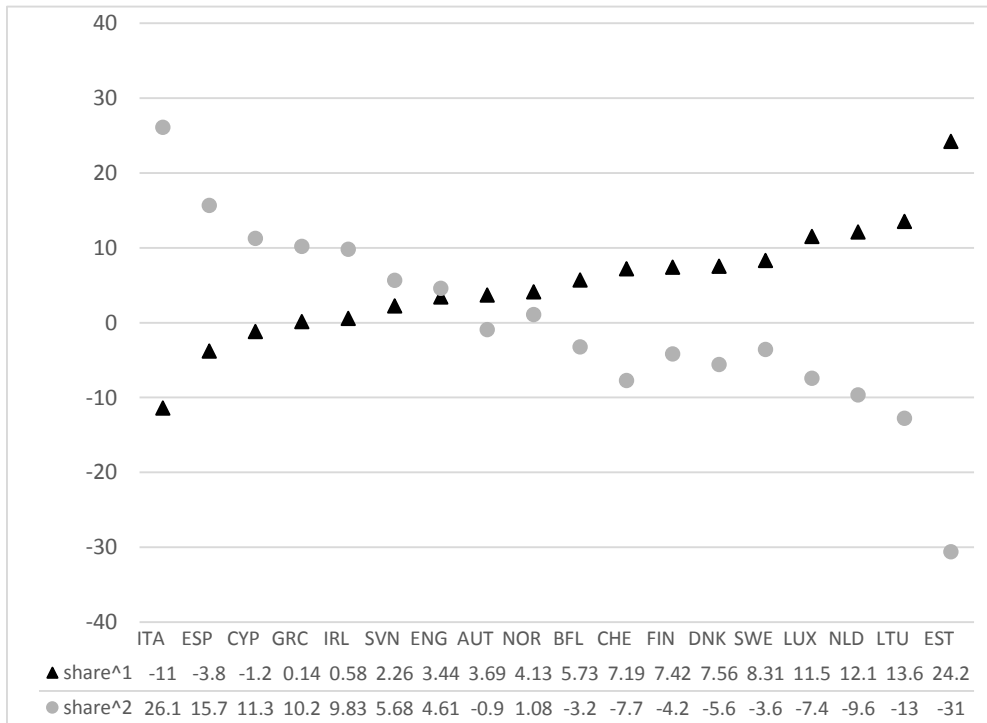
	Model 2 – Linear & quadratic effects of immigrant share		Model 3 - Radom slope immigrant share^1		Model 4 - Radom slope immigrant share^2	
	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.	Par.	S.E.
Fixed Part						
Constant	46.980	0.465	47.027	0.479	46.957	0.464
Immigrant share^1	4.681	0.787***	4.786	1.618**	5.457	2.098**
Immigrant share^2	0.627	2.002	-1.024	2.187	-0.259	3.534
Random Part						
Country						
a) intercept	3.737	1.269	3.976	1.357	3.718	1.277
b) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^1) covariance			-0.403	3.019	-0.143	4.095
c) slope Immigrant share^1			34.883	13.386	67.445	26.276
d) intercept – slope (Immigrant share^2) covariance					2.183	6.889
e) Immigrant share^1 - Immigrant share^2 covariance					-106.801	43.302
f) slope Immigrant share^2					162.375	73.871
School level intercept	4.299	0.255	3.967	0.245	3.945	0.245
Student level intercept	85.301	0.557	85.284	0.556	85.287	0.556
Deviance	361286.57		361224		361210.49	
Deviance difference	91.350(2df)**		62.525(2df)**		13.556(2df)**	
	*		*			

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

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

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

Figure 4-2 Linear and quadratic effects of immigrant share by country



The overall pattern in Figure 4-2 suggests that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share which does not change dramatically in direction or size with relatively higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom. However, some countries differ significantly from this overall pattern. One extreme is Italy, in which immigrant share in the classroom is negatively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a positive predictor at higher share levels. In Estonia an opposite trend seems to be apparent in which immigrant share in the classroom is positively related to native student attitudes towards immigrants at lower share levels while it becomes a negative predictor at higher share levels.

Conclusion and Discussion

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

Our findings indicate that, even though there is some variation in native student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants both across countries and across classrooms within countries, the largest differences are to be found between students. Hence, these results suggest that the determinants of native student attitudes are mainly student-related, while classroom and country characteristics are likely to have only modest effects. Variations in the attitudes of native students towards equal rights for immigrants were found to be related to individual and classroom characteristics, but we could not establish the extent to which the variation across countries can be attributed to country characteristics. Regarding individual determinants, our findings indicated that the more students know about the wider policy climate, institutional processes and so on, the more positive their attitudes towards immigrant rights. Moreover, positive attitudes are more likely to be held by girls, by students with higher socioeconomic status, and by students with high expectations for their further education. These findings are in line with the literature on citizenship education as well as with other studies on young adult attitudes

towards immigrants (Barber. et al. 2010; Galston 2001; Elchardus et al. 2009; Popkin, Dimock 2000; Janmaat 2012; van Geel, Vedder 2010).

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

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

Moreover, our study indicated that, at least in some countries, the relationship between immigrant share and student's attitudes towards immigrants is not necessarily linear. In most countries an increase of immigrant students in the classroom seems to maintain a small positive effect, although the presence of relatively large shares of

immigrant students tends to reduce the size of this effect. However, more complex patterns emerge for countries like Italy and Estonia. Our findings suggest that in these two countries the relationship between immigrant share and student attitudes is clearly curvilinear. These results could indicate that the inclusion of immigrant students could create a critical mass igniting different dynamics in the way students interact and form their attitudes.

Although in Italy there is a negative linear effect of immigrant share in the classroom on native student attitudes towards immigrants' rights, the quadratic effect of the variable is strong and positive, indicating that the linear negative effect tends to wipe out at larger shares of immigrants in the classroom, and in this sense the Italian example shows further support for the contact hypothesis. In contrast, the case of Estonia shows the opposite with strong positive effects rapidly decreasing at higher numbers of immigrants in the classroom.

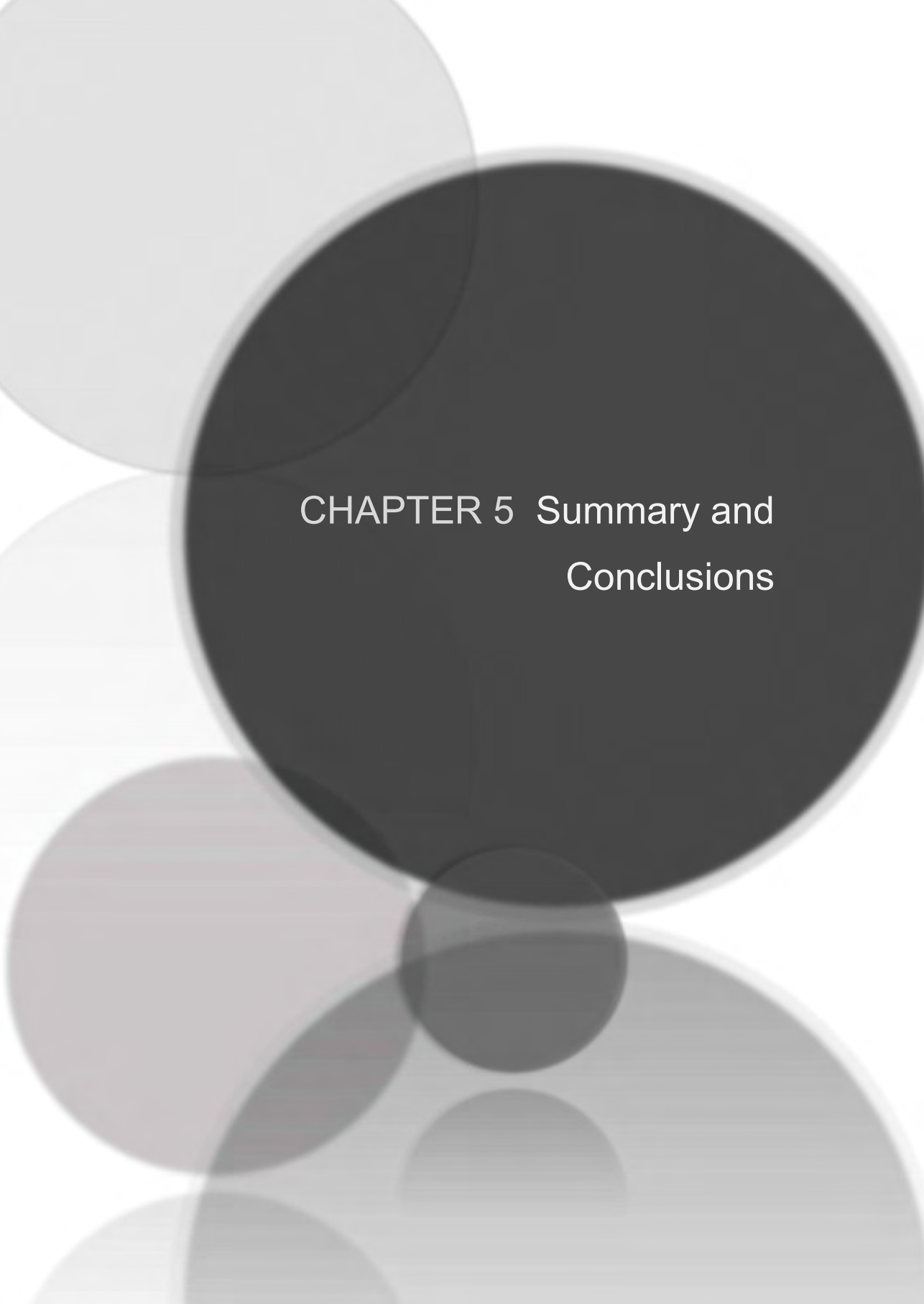
These findings could be the result of an effect of large numbers of immigrant peers that might either result in more contact and more understanding, or in feelings of alienation. However, an alternative explanation might be that schools with relatively high number of immigrant students might differ from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

Moreover, the cross-sectional nature of our study does not allow for strong causal inference. We assumed that native students in classrooms with high proportions of immigrant students would hold positive attitudes towards immigrants' rights, but the

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

To conclude, aside from providing overall support for the contact hypothesis across the 18 European countries participating in ICCS 2009, our analysis indicates a number of promising research strands to be followed when investigating native student attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants. First and foremost, the determinants of student attitudes are mainly student-related, and future studies should further explore the relationship between student attitudes and student individual characteristics. Still, some school characteristics do appear to make a difference. Specifically, while most aggregated classroom characteristics capturing school composition – such as average socioeconomic status – tend to be statistically insignificant, the immigrant share in the classroom

consistently shows a relationship with student attitudes, and this dimension should therefore receive further attention. Last but not least, this study also suggests the need of looking at contextual factors outside school such as the community, the family, and the peers, or at the extent to which educational systems are prepared to deal with immigrant students. Although the availability of comparable data for all the dimensions of interest limits the number of countries that can be compared, it would be extremely interesting to extend the analysis to other continents. At the same time, the already mentioned importance of community, family, peer factors and the nature of interpersonal relationships established between students also points to the need of more in-depth analyses at national or infra-national level.



CHAPTER 5 Summary and
Conclusions

This dissertation has examined the effect of schools on students' civic and citizenship competences. Apart from particular student and educational system characteristics, also classroom and school traits explain the differences observed in students' civic and citizenship outcomes. The results of the studies in this dissertation contend the view that students' civic and citizenship competences are influenced by a multitude of factors. We believe that the elements that influence students' civic and citizenship competences concern student, school and classroom characteristics as well as aspects of the educational systems in the various countries where research has been conducted.

In this research, the multilevel structure of factors that were expected to affect students' civic and citizenship competences was empirically tested. We identified student, school, classroom, and educational system characteristics using the Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness, as developed by Creemers (1994), and further elaborated by Creemers and Kyriakides (2008). The components of the educational effectiveness model were operationalized based on data from two international large scale assessments of civic and citizenship education (the 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) and the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)). This approach enabled the exploration of the potential influence of the above-mentioned factors on students' civic and citizenship outcomes.

Chapter 5 is structured as follows. The first section summarizes the main findings of the three empirical studies conducted for this dissertation. In the second section, we draw conclusions regarding the three research questions on which our research was based. The third section discusses our study's strengths and limitations as well as possible avenues for further research.

Summary of the findings

Three empirical studies were conducted for this dissertation, each with a slightly different focus. The first study emphasized students' cognitive civic and citizenship

outcomes: their civic knowledge and skills. Using the educational effectiveness framework of Creemers (1994), we tested which characteristics of the students, schools and national contexts could explain our student sample's civic knowledge and skills. In the second study several objectives were addressed. First, we validated our findings of the first study of the students' civic knowledge and skills. Next, acknowledging the fact that the outcomes of civic and citizenship education go beyond cognitive skills, we looked at several conceptually interconnected cognitive and non-cognitive civic results. We further improved the coverage of the theoretical framework by testing whether the influence of schools, educational systems, and other factors in the students' environment differed depending on the type of outcome. The third study dealt with another important outcome of civic and citizenship education programs, namely students' attitudes toward immigrants. Building on related literature, we paid particular attention to the school characteristic 'share of immigrant students in the classroom'. Apart from looking at cross-national patterns, we extended this study by analyzing differential country-dependent relationships. In what follows we describe the main findings of each study.

In Chapter 2, we focused our analysis on one of the most important goals of civic and citizenship education programs, namely the enhancement of students' civic knowledge and skills (Galston, 2001, 2004; Kirlin, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002). Drawing on existing literature, we argued that student cognitive civic outcomes can be explained by factors situated at the student, classroom, and national educational system levels. Therefore, we explored whether students' civic learning could be analyzed using an educational effectiveness framework (Creemers, 1994). We wanted to know whether the civic learning of students could be conceptualized as resulting from 1) the quality level of education, 2) the learning time provided, and 3) the opportunity to learn within and beyond school settings.

First, we proposed that students' civic knowledge and skills are influenced by social background, aptitude, motivation, and access to relevant political information in the home environment. Second, we identified the levels of learning quality and the students' opportunities to learn citizenship at school (e.g. students' average perceptions of the degree to which dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues

were encouraged in the classroom, and their overall confidence in participating in school life). Finally, we argued that also characteristics of educational policies (e.g. explicit attention paid to citizenship education in the curriculum, training and support systems provided to teachers) are of importance in promoting the quality of civic learning.

Making use of the CIVED 1999 data, which cover 28 national systems, we presented the results of a three-level multilevel regression analysis in which students' civic knowledge was predicted by a set of variables located at the student, classroom/school and educational system levels. We found that the effects on students' civic knowledge were indeed multilevel. About 27% of the variance in the students' civic knowledge scores was explained by student, school and educational system characteristics.

Next, we tested whether the main factors identified as being related to the educational quality and opportunities to learn at the student, classroom, and educational systems levels were associated with student achievement in civics. Our findings showed that school characteristics, for example a classroom climate that stimulates open discussion, indeed seem to have an impact on the level of students' civic knowledge. We also established that the composition of schools/classrooms in terms of socio-economic status and educational aspirations is a highly important factor as well.

Moreover, particularly in the European context for which separate analyses were conducted, we found a connection between some of the educational policies in the field of civic and citizenship education (e.g. the quality of civic in-service teacher training) and students' civic competences. Finally, consistent with the educational effectiveness literature, one of the conclusions of this study has been that the greatest differences in student civic knowledge can be attributed to student characteristics. More specifically, our results showed that student characteristics such as gender, number of books at home, years of expected further education, speaking the language of school tests at home, and exposure to TV news, explicitly promote students' competences in civics.

In Chapter 3, we used our findings from Chapter 2 to validate the evidence of the connection between school education and civic knowledge and skills. In this second

study, we had the opportunity to improve the coverage of our theoretical framework by including additional individual and school characteristics. Furthermore, we extended our conceptualization of civic and citizenship education learning outcomes by also including non-cognitive components, specifically addressing the issue of differential effectiveness as regards different types of outcomes.

Using the ICCS 2009 data of 31 national systems, we performed a multivariate multilevel regression analysis to examine the concurrent relationship between student, school, and educational system characteristics and several student civic and citizenship outcomes. We focused our investigation on four interrelated types of civic and citizenship outcomes: a) cognitive outcomes in terms of civic knowledge and skills; and b) non-cognitive outcomes in terms of students' attitudes toward the norms of conventional versus social-movement-citizenship, and students' intentions with respect to future participation in political and social activities.

First, our analyses sought to determine the extent to which the variation in student cognitive and non-cognitive civic outcomes could be attributed to school and educational system characteristics. After controlling for student characteristics in all measures, we found larger differences between and within schools' educational systems in civic knowledge than in the attitudes toward conventional and social-movement-related citizenship and in the intentions to participate in social and political activities. The potential impact of schooling, therefore, is stronger on cognitive outcomes of citizenship than on non-cognitive outcomes.

Second, by estimating the correlation coefficients among the four outcome variables at the student, school and educational system levels, we examined whether schools and national educational systems are consistent in their effects on these outcome components. Our findings pointed to a potential trade-off between cognitive and non-cognitive civic outcomes at the educational system level and a consistency and a trade-off (depending on the outcome measure) at the school level. At both the school and the student levels, the strength of the correlations was low while both positive and negative relationships were observed. At the school level, the associations were too weak to

support the assumption that schools that achieve well on one outcome measure also tend to do well on the other. Conversely, the findings tended to suggest the possibility that different school factors may be linked to different school outcomes and that curricular approaches fostering all of these outcomes are difficult to develop. At the student level, a similar pattern emerged, suggesting that civic and citizenship competences may be only loosely related to each other and therefore potentially difficult to develop simultaneously.

The third, most comprehensive part of our analysis concentrated on factors related to the cognitive and non-cognitive citizenship outcomes at all levels (student, school, and educational system) with a particular emphasis on school characteristics. Overall, our models explained 36% of the variation in civic knowledge, 24% in conventional citizenship, 13% in social-movement-related citizenship and 25% in intended participation.

Having controlled for student characteristics, we found that the correlations of the students' civic outcomes with school-related factors were rather limited in number, especially when looking at the non-cognitive outcomes. Only the school factor components 'stimulating a democratic classroom climate in which free dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged' and 'nurturing positive interpersonal relationships' appeared to be relevantly related to students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and intended behaviors. Other factors (e.g. those related to elements of the learning environment and the opportunities to learn citizenship) showed only very weak associations or did not have any. Therefore, one of the main conclusions of this study has been that school characteristics predominantly relate to students' civic knowledge and skills, whereas their potential impact on students' attitudes and intended behaviors is rather limited.

Furthermore, our results also showed that civic and citizenship competences, particularly the non-cognitive measures addressed in this research, appeared to be strongly influenced by individual student characteristics (e.g. motivations) and to some extent by other out-of-school influences (e.g. family, peers, community and media). Additionally, we found that characteristics of the national sociopolitical context also

played a role in explaining the variations in civic outcomes. Our findings underscore the view that individual student characteristics and influences outside the school may play a more influential role on students' civic competences than the school, particularly with regard to non-cognitive citizenship outcomes.

On the basis of our previous findings, Chapter 4 focused on another important aspect of civic and citizenship competences, namely student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. As indicated by the educational research literature on this topic, we explicitly incorporated insights from the intergroup contact theory into our framework (Allport, 1954). This approach allowed us to address not only the importance of school/classroom climate characteristics but also elements of classroom composition, such as the proportion of immigrant students in the classroom/school.

Based on related literature, we examined two alternative assumptions. More specifically, we acknowledged (see Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) that mixing native and immigrant students in schools and classrooms could contribute to higher levels of support for immigrants' rights, particularly among native students. However, we also took contrasting views into account (e.g. Kokkonen et al. 2010; Van Geel, Vedder, 2010), which argue on the grounds of ethnic competition theory that these expected positive effects may be reversed when the immigrant group approaches the numerical majority.

For obtaining a subsample of native students, we again used the ICCS 2009 data of 18 national systems, and performed a three-level multilevel analysis. Our final model explained about 7% of the variance in students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. We found that the variation in this particular non-cognitive civic outcome could mainly be attributed to student-related characteristics. However, after controlling for student, classroom and contextual country characteristics, we observed that the importance of an open classroom climate was again underscored as an important prerequisite for creating the right conditions for the development of positive attitudes toward immigrants. Moreover, our results showed that across countries the share of immigrant students in a classroom was positively related to native students' attitudes toward immigrants. Although the size of this correlation was rather small, these findings

support the assumed positive effect of opportunities for contact between native and immigrant students in classroom settings.

However, a further exploration revealed a more complex picture. Countries do differ in their relationships between immigrant share and native students' attitudes toward immigrants, both in direction and size. Extreme cases have been countries such as Italy and Estonia. More specifically, in Italy, the immigrant share in the classroom was negatively related to native student attitudes toward immigrants at lower share levels while it became a positive predictor at higher share levels. Conversely, in Estonia, an opposite trend seemed to be apparent. Nevertheless, the overall pattern suggested that in most countries there is a small positive effect of immigrant share. This association did not change dramatically in direction or size at the higher immigrant share levels, providing some support for Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis.

Conclusions

The three empirical studies conducted for this dissertation had the objective to answer three main research questions⁹: a) To what degree do schools differ in terms of their students' cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes? Do these differences depend on the type (cognitive vs non-cognitive) of outcome? ; b) Which school factors can explain the differences in students' civic and citizenship outcomes? Do these factors vary depending on the outcome? ; c) Which student and educational system characteristics are related to the outcomes of civic and citizenship education? Do these characteristics differ depending on the outcome? This section will address these questions.

⁹ See also Chapter 1.

Differences among schools in the civic and citizenship outcomes

One of the aims of our studies was to explore the magnitude of school effects on students' cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes. In the field of civic and citizenship education, the scale of the school effects is particularly important. This is because schools are generally considered to have a substantial impact on students' civic competences, while the empirical research into this issue has been scarce – certainly compared to other learning domains, such as mathematics and reading.

As regards students' civic knowledge and skills, the studies in this dissertation have revealed differences among schools. More specifically, in ICCS 2009, school level factors accounted for about 23 per cent of the gross variance in students' civic knowledge. In CIVED 1999, about 25 per cent was accounted for by school characteristics. These figures are in alignment with those generally reported in educational effectiveness studies in the fields of mathematics and reading (see Bosker & Witziers, 1996; Stockford, 2009). Moreover, they confirm previous findings based on CIVED and ICCS data (Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2011), and strengthen the belief that schools have an influence on the cognitive civic outcomes acquired by students. As regards non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes, the school factors accounted for a considerably smaller amount of variance. Average differences among schools with respect to issues such as students' attitudes toward the norms of conventional and social-movement-citizenship, their intentions regarding future participation in political and social activities and their attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants were all small to very small, ranging from 3 to 6 per cent (see Chapter 3 and 4). These findings concerning attitudes and values reflect those of other educational effectiveness research (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008; Gray, 2004; Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Thomas, 2001; Van der Wal, 2004; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007). These studies also indicate that schools have a larger influence on students' cognitive than on their non-cognitive civic competences.

In conclusion, our studies support the view that schools indeed make a difference as far as cognitive civic outcomes are concerned. However, with regard to non-cognitive

civic outcomes like attitudes, behavioral intentions, values and beliefs, our findings have shown that schools hardly make a difference. For the non-cognitive outcomes, our studies particularly point at the importance of student factors in explaining the differences in students' civic and citizenship competences.

Explanatory school characteristics

Given the estimated 'school differences' in students' civic and citizenship outcomes, the second aim of our investigation was to determine which school-related characteristics could explain these differences. To establish the relationship of these characteristics with the various cognitive and non-cognitive civic outcomes, they were further analyzed. In broad lines, these characteristics included elements of school composition and context, the quality of the civic education provided by the school (as indicated by components of the learning environment and the classroom climate), as well as opportunities to learn and practice citizenship at school. In line with previous studies into civic education (Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), our main finding was that stimulating a democratic classroom climate in which free dialogue and critical debate on controversial political and social issues are encouraged appeared to have a positive effect on most civic competences (see Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Although this positive relationship was the most prominent for civic knowledge, a small positive correlation was also found between student attitudes toward social-movement-related citizenship and their attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants.

Next, we further examined the importance of school composition. Particularly, the average socio-economic status in schools was related to most civic outcomes. Our analysis of CIVED and ICCS pointed at a positive relationship between school composition and students' civic knowledge and to a smaller extent to an association between school composition and students' intentions to participate in future political and social activities. In contrast, a higher average socio-economic status in school was

negatively related to students' attitudes toward conventional and social-movement-related citizenship. With regard to students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, our third study illustrated the relative relevance of the share of immigrant students in a classroom for fostering positive attitudes.

With only a few exceptions, the school factors we examined generally proved to be only modestly or not at all related to the various civic outcomes, and particularly not to the non-cognitive civic competences of our students. Several school factors known to explain differences among schools in, for example, mathematics and reading (e.g. elements of the school learning environment) were insignificant with regard to the civic outcomes of the students in our sample. Similarly, most indicators concerning the opportunity to learn about and practice democracy at school (e.g., regulations for coordinating and organizing the education of citizenship) were not found to be related to any of the cognitive or non-cognitive outcomes. However, those school characteristics that did play a role (e.g. democratic classroom climate) were the same that also consistently promote the cognitive outcomes in mathematics and reading.

Explanatory individual and educational system characteristics

In this dissertation we addressed the need to acknowledge the multilevel nature of the elements which influence the different outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs. To this end, we used conceptual and empirical research methods. We also gained an insight into the impact of other relevant factors at the different (individual, national context/educational system) levels of education on our outcomes.

Overall, it became apparent that citizenship learning strongly depends on students' background, motivation, and the opportunities they have to learn, discuss, and practice democracy outside the school. A main finding of our studies was that particular sets of student factors were associated with particular types of outcomes. For example, our results based on the CIVED and ICCS data indicated that the degree of civic knowledge tends to be strongly influenced by students' background (e.g. immigrant status, socio-

economic status and educational aspirations). The findings consistently showed inequalities among native students, students of high socio-economic status or high educational aspirations, and other groups. The first two achieved on average higher levels of civic knowledge and skills.

On the other hand, students' cognitive civic outcomes were less impacted by their interests and beliefs (e.g. interest in political and social issues and citizenship self-efficacy). In line with previous analyses (Ainley & Schulz, 2011), the students' interests and beliefs were most strongly related to non-cognitive outcomes, such as support for conventional or social-movement-related citizenship and their participatory intentions. Individual differences in native students' attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants were also mainly explained by their background characteristics, such as gender, socio-economic status, educational aspirations and to some extent their levels of civic knowledge.

Additionally, our studies indicated that the sociopolitical context¹⁰ (e.g. levels of social, economic and democratic development) and the educational system (e.g. teacher training policies)¹¹ may also play a role in explaining students' civic outcomes, particularly the average levels of civic knowledge and skills in the various countries. However, as all of our analyses showed, the characteristics of these two items were difficult to measure due to either low construct validity or multicollinearity¹².

¹⁰ See Chapter 3.

¹¹ See Chapter 2.

¹² See further details in Chapter 3, Footnote 6.

Limitations of our research and avenues for future studies

This study has aimed to estimate school effects on different types of cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes. As regards students' civic knowledge, relatively large differences among schools were reported. These same schools, however, hardly differed in the attitudes and behavioral intentions of their students. As noted earlier in this chapter, these findings are much in line with results of similar cross-sectional educational effectiveness studies. Yet, these studies as well as our research share a limitation. In estimating the school effects, we were unable to control for prior measures of the outcome variables in our analyses. We took steps to increase the reliability of our results by including several student, school and country-level control variables. However, this approach may have led to an overestimation of the size of school differences and the correlations between our explanatory variables and the outcomes.

Furthermore, almost all of our explanatory factors and non-cognitive civic outcomes were self-reported measures. However, a common problem of this type of data is their relatively lower reliability and validity. Overall, their measurement quality and comparability are clearly less precise than those of cognitive tests. The use of these measures may have led to attenuated correlations and therefore to an underestimation of the strength of the relationship between our explanatory and outcome variables. It also may have led to an underestimation of the size of the school differences in the case of the attitudinal measures. This issue could to some extent explain the small differences among schools with regard to students' attitudes. However, although this problem could challenge the precision of our findings, it is not likely that it affected our conclusion that the impact of schools on attitudes and behavioral intentions is considerably less than on civic knowledge and skills.

In addition, in our operationalization of factors at the classroom, school, and educational system levels, and to a lesser degree at the student level, we were somewhat limited by the CIVED and ICCS data. This particularly applied to the first study based on the CIVED-data. Yet, especially the conceptual framework of ICCS 2009 is

remarkably unique and rich. The measures it uses to describe the characteristics of students, schools and learning outcomes reflect to a large extent the common goals and processes of civic and citizenship education programs all around the world. We have therefore nevertheless been able to ensure a high level of coverage in the theoretical framework. An additional important asset was the use of representative samples and high participation rates. Moreover, using both CIVED and ICCS datasets provided us with the opportunity to replicate at least some of the findings - as in the case of civic knowledge and skills.

Another limitation of our cross-sectional studies was that we could not determine the direction of the effects. Observed relationships may be reciprocal, or move in the opposite direction. For example, our conclusion that a democratic classroom climate affects the levels of students' civic knowledge, may also to some extent be explained by the fact that students with more civic knowledge are more prepared and confident to participate in discussions about civic topics. Moreover, not all effects on students' outcomes are likely to be direct. Some school characteristics may be indirectly related to certain student traits or school characteristics that have a direct impact on students' civic and citizenship competences. For example, it could be argued that out-of-school influences (e.g. using the media to inform oneself, talking about politics with parents) or individual perceptions (e.g. citizenship self-efficacy) are to some extent influenced by the schools. In a similar vein, school factors may be related to other aspects of civic and citizenship education (e.g. other elements of formal classroom teaching), which in turn influence student outcomes. However, we were unable to test these relationships, in part also due to the absence of the classroom/teacher level in the datasets.


Our current findings provide some interesting leads to be further tested in future studies. To overcome the shortcomings discussed above, stronger designs, such as longitudinal studies coupled with qualitative findings, would be required. As these approaches enable testing for indirect effects (e.g. via structural equation modeling), they may be more suitable than the prior methods to capture the civic learning gains of students. These designs could more accurately estimate the variance among schools as

regards students' civic and citizenship outcomes and better depict the dynamic nature of learning. They are, however, practically more difficult to implement on a large worldwide cross-national scale, and thus more appropriate for smaller research settings.

A further interesting topic to investigate in future research would be the relationship between cognitive and non-cognitive civic and citizenship outcomes at both the school and the educational system level. We found a negative correlation at the country level consisting of higher levels of civic knowledge in combination with lower levels of non-cognitive outcomes. This finding may indicate a trade-off between the cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes at the country level. It may lead one to conclude that educational policies which prioritize cognitive outcomes in civics are less effective in the development of non-cognitive civic outcomes, like civic values and students' social participation. Van de Gaer, Grisay, Schulz & Gebhard (2012) as well as May, Boe & Boruch (2002), however, argue that this pattern could also reflect national or cultural differences in response styles. Students from some countries may, for instance, be inclined to respond differently to certain items due to social desirability or reserve. Another explanation could be that students respond in line with the group standard. For example, higher educational standards may lead to more reserved or critical evaluations as regards self-reported attitudes and expected behavior. Going into these issues when assessing the validity and comparability of the different instrument formats for the analysis of constructs, could be worthwhile. Especially in the context of cross-cultural construct comparability it would be useful to establish whether the different aggregated aspects of schooling and learning are indeed perceived and measured reliably and in similar ways across countries (see also Weziak-Bialowolska & Isac, 2013).

Using cross-country multilevel modeling as our data analysis strategy for all of our studies, the findings presented in this dissertation have been meant to depict an international pattern of the potential determinants of civic and citizenship outcomes. In other words, we have aimed to pinpoint those factors that are relevant and "common" across various educational system contexts. The results gained are informative and may serve as a stimulus and starting point for reflection and dialogue among educators and policy makers. However, also within countries differences are likely to exist; some

variable factors may be relevant only in one specific context while other elements are nationally and universally relevant. We made this observation in Chapter 3 and illustrated it in depth in Chapter 4, which shows that the sign and strength of the associations between some explanatory and outcome variables differ across countries. Also the results of Schulz et al. (2011) have indicated that as regards students' civic knowledge the size of the school differences as well as the explanatory power of the different sets of student and school-level predictors may differ depending on the context. Therefore, the precise nature of these factors (the way in which different countries have conceptualized and implemented them), as well as the reasons why their influence differs among particular contexts could be a logical topic for future research. Especially for research aimed at exploring particular national contexts or similar/different patterns in (small) groups of countries, this focus would be relevant. In conducting these studies the knowledge and results obtained in this dissertation could serve as a valuable basis.



Samenvatting en Conclusies -
Dutch Summary and Conclusions

In deze dissertatie is onderzocht in hoeverre scholen van invloed zijn op de burgerschapscompetenties die leerlingen verwerven. Uit de studies komt naar voren dat de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen worden beïnvloed door een veelheid aan factoren op verschillende niveaus, die betrekking hebben op zowel student-, school- en klaskenmerken als op de aard van de onderwijssystemen in de landen waar het onderzoek is gedaan.

In dit onderzoek is de multilevel structuur van kenmerken van leerlingen, scholen en klassen, en onderwijssystemen in relatie tot burgerschapscompetenties empirisch getoetst. Voor het in kaart brengen van de verschillende kenmerken is gebruik gemaakt van het door Creemers (1994) ontwikkelde ‘Comprehensive Model of Educational Effectiveness’, dat verder uitgebreid is door Creemers en Kyriakides (2008). De componenten van dit model zijn geoperationaliseerd aan de hand van twee grootschalige internationale onderzoeken naar burgerschapsonderwijs (de *Civic Education Study* uit 1999 (CIVED) en de *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study* uit 2009 (ICCS)). Deze aanpak maakte het mogelijk om de invloed van bovengenoemde factoren op de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen te onderzoeken.

Hieronder worden allereerst de belangrijkste bevindingen samengevat van de drie empirische studies die zijn uitgevoerd voor deze dissertatie. De tweede paragraaf beschrijft de conclusies voor de drie overkoepelende onderzoeksvragen die leidend waren voor het onderzoek. In de derde paragraaf wordt ingegaan op de sterke en minder sterke punten van de studies, en worden enkele aanbevelingen gedaan voor toekomstig onderzoek.

Samenvatting van de resultaten

Er zijn voor deze dissertatie drie empirische studies uitgevoerd, elk met een verschillende focus. In de eerste studie lag de nadruk op de cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen, te weten hun burgerschapskennis en -

vaardigheden. Uitgaande van het onderwijseffectiviteits-model van Creemers (1994) is getoetst welke kenmerken van leerlingen, scholen en de nationale context van invloed zijn op de kennis en vaardigheden van leerlingen. De tweede studie was enerzijds gericht op validering van de resultaten uit de eerste studie, en anderzijds op een uitbreiding van. Ervan uitgaande dat de effecten van burgerschapsonderwijs verder gaan dan het aanleren van cognitieve vaardigheden, was deze studie gericht op verschillende cognitieve en niet-cognitieve burgerschapsuitkomsten. Op basis van een verbeterd theoretische kader is getoetst of de invloed van scholen, onderwijssystemen en andere factoren in de omgeving van leerlingen verschilt voor verschillende typen leeruitkomsten. In de derde studie stond de invloed van de school op de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van immigranten centraal. Voortbouwend op eerder onderzoek richtte de studie zich specifiek op het kenmerk 'aandeel immigranten in de klas', waarbij zowel cross-nationale patronen als ook land-specifieke relaties zijn geanalyseerd. Hieronder zijn de belangrijkste resultaten van elke studie beschreven.

In hoofdstuk 2 lag de nadruk in de analyses op een van de belangrijkste doelstellingen van het burgerschapsonderwijs, namelijk het vergroten van de kennis en vaardigheden van leerlingen op dit gebied (Galston, 2001, 2004; Kirlin, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002). Op basis van bestaande literatuur was de verwachting dat cognitieve burgerschapsuitkomsten worden verklaard door factoren op leerling- en klasniveau, en op het niveau van het nationale onderwijssysteem. Als uitgangspunt voor de analyse is gebruik gemaakt van het onderwijseffectiviteits-model van Creemers (1994). De veronderstelling was dat de mate waarin leerlingen burgerschapskennis en -vaardigheden verwerven beïnvloed wordt door: 1) de kwaliteit van het onderwijs, 2) de tijd die aan leren wordt besteed, en 3) de gelegenheid die leerlingen krijgen om te leren binnen en buiten de school.

De verwachting was dat de burgerschapskennis en -vaardigheden van leerlingen wordt beïnvloed door hun sociale achtergrond, aanleg, motivatie, en toegang tot relevante politieke informatie en documentatie in de thuisomgeving. In de tweede plaats verwachtten we dat de kwaliteit van het onderwijs en de gelegenheid die leerlingen krijgen om burgerschapscompetenties op school te leren (bijvoorbeeld de mate waarin dialoog

en kritische discussie over controversiële politieke en sociale kwesties in de klas wordt aangemoedigd) van invloed zullen zijn op de kennis en vaardigheden die leerlingen zich eigen maken. Daarnaast was de verwachting dat ook kenmerken van het onderwijsbeleid (zoals expliciete aandacht voor burgerschapsonderwijs in het curriculum, en het aanbod van cursussen en ondersteuning voor leraren) van belang zijn voor het bevorderen van de leerresultaten op dit gebied.

Gebruik makend van gegevens van 28 nationale onderwijssystemen uit CIVED 1999, is een drie-niveau multilevel regressieanalyse uitgevoerd waarin de burgerschapskennis van de leerlingen voorspeld werd door diverse variabelen op het niveau van de leerling, de klas/school en het onderwijssysteem. De resultaten wezen uit dat de effecten op de burgerschapskennis van de leerlingen zich inderdaad op de verschillende niveaus voordeden. Ongeveer 27% van de variantie in de scores van de leerlingen op burgerschapskennis werd verklaard door kenmerken van de leerlingen, de school en het onderwijssysteem.

Vervolgens is getoetst of de belangrijkste factoren op leerling-, klas/school en systeemniveau die te maken hadden met de kwaliteit van het onderwijs en de gelegenheid tot leren samenhangen met de burgerschapskennis van de leerlingen. Uit de resultaten bleek dat schoolkenmerken zoals een klasklimaat dat open discussies stimuleert, inderdaad een effect had op de burgerschapskennis van de leerlingen. Tevens is gevonden dat de samenstelling van scholen/klassen in termen van socio-economische status en onderwijsaspiraties een zeer belangrijke factor was.

Daarnaast bleek - specifiek in de Europese context, waarvoor aparte analyses zijn uitgevoerd - een duidelijke relatie tussen vormen van onderwijsbeleid op het gebied van burgerschapseducatie (bv. de kwaliteit van interne burgerschapscursussen voor leraren) en de burgerschapskennis van de leerlingen. Tenslotte, in overeenstemming met bestaande literatuur over onderwijseffectiviteit, wees deze studie uit dat de grootste verschillen in burgerschapskennis tussen leerlingen worden verklaard door de kenmerken van de leerlingen zelf. Meer specifiek, de resultaten lieten zien dat leerlingkenmerken, zoals geslacht, aantal boeken thuis, verwachte aantal jaren vervolgonderwijs, het thuis

spreken van de taal van de toetsen en examens, en toegang tot televisie (nieuwsberichten), de burgerschapskennis van leerlingen voorspellen.

In hoofdstuk 3 zijn de bevindingen uit hoofdstuk 2 gebruikt voor het valideren van de relatie tussen burgerschapsonderwijs op school en de burgerschapskennis en –vaardigheden van leerlingen. In deze tweede studie is het getoetste model verbreed door toevoeging van enkele leerling- en schoolkenmerken. Daarnaast zijn de mogelijke leeruitkomsten van burgerschapsonderwijs uitgebreid door tevens een aantal niet-cognitieve uitkomsten in de analyses te betrekken.

Met behulp van gegevens van 31 nationale onderwijssystemen uit ICCS 2009 is een multivariate multilevel regressieanalyse uitgevoerd om de relatie tussen leerling-, school- en systeemkenmerken en vier onderling samenhangende burgerschapsuitkomsten te onderzoeken: a) burgerschapskennis; b) de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van conventioneel burgerschap; c) de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van sociaal bewogen burgerschap, en d) hun intenties tot toekomstige deelname aan politieke en maatschappelijke activiteiten.

De eerste stap in de analyses was het bepalen van de mate waarin de verschillen tussen leerlingen in cognitieve en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten konden worden toegeschreven aan kenmerken van de school en het onderwijssysteem. Na controle voor leerlingkenmerken, bleken de verschillen tussen en binnen onderwijssystemen groter te zijn voor burgerschapskennis dan voor de houding van leerlingen ten aanzien van conventioneel en sociaal bewogen burgerschap en hun intentie om in de toekomst deel te nemen aan politieke en maatschappelijke activiteiten. Het potentiële effect van onderwijs is dus groter op cognitieve dan op niet-cognitieve burgerschapsuitkomsten.

In de tweede stap zijn de correlatie-coëfficiënten geschat tussen de vier uitkomstvariabelen op leerling-, school- en systeemniveau, waardoor de consistentie van de effecten van scholen en onderwijssystemen vastgesteld kon worden. Uit de resultaten bleek dat er sprake was van een mogelijke uitruil tussen cognitieve en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten op het niveau van het onderwijssysteem, en van zowel consistentie als van

uitruil (afhankelijk van de uitkomstmaat) op schoolniveau. Zowel op school- als op leerling-niveau was de sterkte van de correlaties gering, waarbij sprake was van positieve en negatieve relaties. Op schoolniveau waren de relaties te zwak om aan te nemen dat scholen die op een uitkomstmaat goede resultaten bij hun leerlingen boeken dit ook andere uitkomstmaten doen. Het tegendeel lijkt eerder het geval. De kenmerken die met de verschillende burgerschapscompetenties samenhangen verschillen voor elk van de competenties. Het is derhalve moeilijk om onderwijsprogramma's te ontwikkelen die al deze uitkomsten tegelijkertijd bevorderen. Op leerling-niveau was er een soortgelijk patroon, dat erop wijst dat de verschillende burgerschapscompetenties geen sterk verband met elkaar hebben, waardoor het lastig zal zijn om deze allen tegelijk te ontwikkelen.

Het derde, meest omvangrijke onderdeel van de analyse richtte zich op de het vaststellen van de factoren die gerelateerd zijn aan de cognitieve en non-cognitieve uitkomsten op alle niveaus (leerling, school en onderwijssysteem), waarbij de nadruk in bijzonder lag op schoolkenmerken. Overall verklaarden de modellen 36% van de variatie in burgerschapskennis, 24% van de variatie in conventioneel burgerschap, 13% van de variatie in sociaal bewogen burgerschap en 25% van de variatie in beoogde deelname aan activiteiten.

Na controle voor het effect van leerlingkenmerken bleek dat het aantal schoolgerelateerde correlaties beperkt was, met name voor de niet-cognitieve uitkomsten. Alleen de schoolfactoren 'het stimuleren van een democratisch klasklimaat waarin vrije dialoog en kritische discussies over controversiële politieke en maatschappelijke kwesties worden aangemoedigd' en 'het stimuleren van positieve interpersoonlijke relaties' bleken samen te hangen met de kennis, de houding en het voorgenomen gedrag van leerlingen. Andere factoren (bv. gerelateerd aan onderdelen van de leeromgeving en de gelegenheid tot het leren van burgerschap) vertoonden slechts een zeer zwakke of in het geheel geen verband met de verschillende burgerschapscompetenties. Een van de belangrijkste conclusies van deze studie is dan ook dat schoolkenmerken wel tot op zekere hoogte bepalend zijn voor de burgerschapskennis en vaardigheden van leerlingen, maar dat hun potentiële invloed op de houding en het voorgenomen gedrag beperkt is.

Verder toonden onze resultaten aan dat burgerschapscompetenties, vooral de niet-cognitieve, sterk beïnvloed worden door individuele leerlingkenmerken (zoals motivatie) en tot op zekere hoogte door andere factoren buiten de school (zoals de familie, medeleerlingen, de samenleving en de media). Daarnaast bleek dat kenmerken van de nationale sociaal-politieke context ook een rol speelden in het verklaren van de verschillen in burgerschapsuitkomsten. Onze bevindingen ondersteunen de opvatting dat individuele kenmerken van leerlingen en invloeden van buiten de school waarschijnlijk een grotere invloed hebben op de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen dan de school, vooral met betrekking tot niet-cognitieve uitkomsten.

Op basis van de eerdere bevindingen, richtte hoofdstuk 4 zich op een ander belangrijk aspect van burgerschap, namelijk de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van gelijke rechten voor immigranten. Voortbouwend op de onderzoeksliteratuur over dit onderwerp, is in het theoretisch kader van deze studie gebruik van inzichten uit de intergroup-contact-theorie van Allport (1954). Aan de hand hiervan is in de studie de rol van het school- en het klasklimaat nader onderzocht, en is nagegaan in hoeverre de samenstelling van de klas, zoals het aandeel immigrantenleerlingen in de klas/school, van invloed is op de houding van autochtone leerlingen tegenover immigranten.

Op basis van verwante literatuur zijn twee alternatieve veronderstellingen getoetst. In het bijzonder verwachtten we dat een combinatie van autochtone en immigrantenleerlingen in scholen en klassen zou bijdragen aan meer steun voor gelijke rechten van immigranten, vooral onder autochtone leerlingen (zie Pettigrew en Tropp, 2006). Uitgaande van de etnische-competitie-theorie was de contrasterende hypothese dat het effect negatief zal zijn als de immigrantengroep in de meerderheid is (zie bv. Kokkonen et al., 2010; Van Geel, Vedder, 2010).

De analyses hebben plaatsgevonden aan de hand van gegevens van autochtone leerlingen uit een subgroep van 18 landen die aan ICCS 2009 deelnamen. De gegevens zijn geanalyseerd met een multilevel-analyse op drie niveaus. Het definitieve model verklaarde ongeveer 7% van de verschillen in houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van gelijke rechten voor immigranten. De verschillen in de houding van leerlingen waren

voornamelijk toe te schrijven aan leerling-gerelateerde kenmerken. Na controle voor kenmerken op leerling-, klas- en landniveau bleek echter dat een open klasklimaat het ontwikkelen van een positieve houding ten opzichte van immigranten lijkt te bevorderen. Daarnaast lieten de resultaten zien dat over landen heen het aandeel van immigrantenleerlingen in een klas positief samenhangt met de houding van de leerlingen ten opzichte van deze immigranten. Hoewel deze correlatie niet hoog was, bevestigen de resultaten het verwachte positieve effect van gelegenheid tot contact tussen autochtone en immigrantenleerlingen in de klas.

Een nadere analyse liet echter een complexer beeld zien. De relatie tussen het aandeel immigranten en de houding van autochtone leerlingen ten opzichte van deze groep verschilt tussen landen, zowel in richting als ten aanzien van de sterkte van het verband. Extreme voorbeelden zijn landen zoals Italië en Estland. Zo bleek in Italië een gering aantal immigranten in de klas negatief gerelateerd te zijn aan de houding van autochtone leerlingen ten opzichte van deze groep, terwijl een hoog aantal immigranten juist met een positieve houding samenhangt. In Estland bleek een in vergelijking tot Italië omgekeerde relatie te bestaan. Ondanks deze verschillen tussen enkele landen, was het algemene patroon dat het effect van het aandeel immigranten in een klas op de houdingen van leerlingen positief is. Dit effect veranderde niet drastisch qua richting of omvang naarmate het aantal immigranten groter werd, hetgeen Allport's (1954) contact hypothese op hoofdlijnen bevestigt.

Conclusies

De empirische studies die voor deze dissertatie zijn uitgevoerd hadden tot doel om drie hoofdvragen te beantwoorden¹³: a) In welke mate verschillen scholen met betrekking tot de cognitieve en niet-cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van hun leerlingen? Hangen deze verschillen af van het type (cognitieve of niet-cognitieve) uitkomst?, b) Welke schoolfactoren verklaren de verschillen in de

¹³ Zie ook hoofdstuk 1.

burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen? Verschillen deze schoolfactoren afhankelijk van het type uitkomst?, c) Welke kenmerken van de leerlingen en de onderwijssystemen hangen samen met de burgerschapsuitkomsten? Verschillen deze kenmerken afhankelijk van het type uitkomst? In de volgende paragraaf worden deze vragen beantwoord.

Verschillen tussen scholen in burgerschapsuitkomsten

Een van de doelstellingen van de studies was te onderzoeken hoe groot het schooleffect op de cognitieve en niet-cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen is. Over het algemeen wordt aangenomen dat scholen een substantiële invloed hebben op de burgerschapscompetenties van hun leerlingen, terwijl er maar weinig empirisch onderzoek is gedaan naar dit onderwerp – vooral vergeleken met andere leervakken, zoals wiskunde en lezen.

De studies in deze dissertatie laten zien dat scholen verschillen met betrekking tot de burgerschapskennis en -vaardigheden van hun leerlingen. Schoolfactoren in ICCS 2009 zijn verantwoordelijk voor 23% van de bruto-variantie in burgerschapskennis van leerlingen. In CIVED 1999 was dit 25%. Deze percentages komen overeen met die doorgaans in onderwijs-effectiviteitsstudies worden gerapporteerd voor wiskunde en lezen (zie Bosker & Witziers, 1996; Stockford, 2009). Ze komen overeen met eerdere bevindingen uit CIVED en ICCS (Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2011) en ondersteunen de opvatting dat scholen invloed hebben op de cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen. Wat betreft de niet-cognitieve burgerschapsuitkomsten bleken de schoolfactoren er aanzienlijk minder toe te doen. De gemiddelde verschillen tussen scholen met betrekking tot de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van conventioneel en sociaal bewogen burgerschap, hun intenties om in de toekomst aan politieke en maatschappelijk activiteiten deel te nemen, en hun houding ten opzichte van gelijke rechten voor immigranten, waren zonder uitzondering klein tot zeer klein, variërend van 3 tot 6 procent (zie hoofdstukken 3 en 4). Deze resultaten ten aanzien van houdingen en waarden van leerlingen komen overeen met die van andere onderwijs-effectiviteitsstudies

(Creemers & Kyriakides, 2008; Gray, 2004; Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Thomas, 2001; Van der Wal, 2004; Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007). Ook die studies laten zien dat scholen een grotere invloed hebben op de cognitieve dan op de niet-cognitieve competenties van hun leerlingen.

Geconcludeerd kan worden dat scholen een verschil kunnen maken waar het de cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen betreft. Waar het echter om niet-cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties gaat, zoals houdingen, voorgenomen gedrag, en waarden en overtuigingen, tonen onze resultaten aan dat scholen hierop nauwelijks invloed hebben. Voor de niet-cognitieve uitkomsten laat het onderzoek zien dat vooral leerlingfactoren verschillen tussen leerlingen in burgerschapscompetenties verklaren.

Verklarende schoolkenmerken

Een tweede doelstelling van het onderzoek was om te bepalen welke schoolkenmerken de gevonden verschillen in burgerschapscompetenties konden verklaren. Om de precieze relaties van deze kenmerken met de verschillende cognitieve en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten in kaart te brengen, zijn er aanvullende analyses uitgevoerd. Globaal omvatten deze kenmerken elementen van schoolsamenstelling en context, de kwaliteit van het burgerschapsonderwijs op de school (uitgedrukt in elementen van de leeromgeving en het klasklimaat), en gelegenheid tot leren en praktiseren van burgerschap op school. In overeenstemming met eerdere studies naar burgerschapseducatie (Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), was de belangrijkste bevinding dat het stimuleren van een democratisch klasklimaat waarin een vrije dialoog en de mogelijkheid om kritisch te discussiëren over controversiële politieke en maatschappelijke kwesties wordt aangemoedigd, een positief effect heeft op de meeste burgerschapscompetenties (zie Campbell, 2008; Homana et al., 2006; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Schulz, 2002; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Hoewel deze positieve relatie het meest duidelijk was voor burgerschapskennis, was er ook een klein positief verband met de houding van leerlingen ten opzichte van

sociaal bewogen burgerschap en met de houding ten opzichte van gelijke rechten voor immigranten.

Voorts deden wij nader onderzoek naar het belang van schoolsamenstelling. De gemiddelde sociale status van de leerlingen op de scholen was gerelateerd aan de meeste burgerschapsuitkomsten. De analyses van de CIVED- en ICCS-gegevens lieten een positieve relatie zien tussen schoolsamenstelling en burgerschapskennis, en in geringere mate tussen schoolsamenstelling en de intentie van leerlingen om in de toekomst deel te nemen aan politieke en maatschappelijke activiteiten. Daarentegen was een hogere gemiddelde socio-economische status van de leerlingen in de school negatief gerelateerd aan de houding van de leerlingen ten opzichte van conventioneel en sociaal bewogen burgerschap. Wat betreft de houding van de leerlingen met betrekking tot gelijke rechten voor immigranten, liet de derde studie het relatieve belang zien van het aantal immigrantenleerlingen in een klas voor het stimuleren van een positieve attitude onder autochtone leerlingen.

Op een paar uitzonderingen na, bleken de schoolfactoren in het algemeen slechts in geringe mate of in het geheel niet gerelateerd te zijn aan de verschillende burgerschapsuitkomsten, en in het bijzonder niet aan de niet-cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van de leerlingen. Enkele schoolfactoren (elementen gerelateerd aan de leeromgeving op school) waarvan bekend is dat zij bijvoorbeeld in wiskunde en lezen verschillen tussen scholen verklaren, waren niet van invloed op de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen. Daarnaast waren de meeste indicatoren met betrekking tot de gelegenheid om op school te leren over democratie en op democratische wijze besluiten te vormen (bv. het mogelijk maken om burgerschapseducatie te organiseren en coördineren) aan geen enkele cognitieve of niet-cognitieve uitkomst gerelateerd. Voor zover schoolkenmerken wel een rol speelden (bv. een democratisch klasklimaat) bij de bevordering van burgerschapscompetenties, komen deze overeen met factoren die ook de cognitieve uitkomsten op het gebied van wiskunde en lezen positief beïnvloeden.

Individuele verklarende kenmerken en kenmerken van het onderwijssysteem

In deze dissertatie is benadrukt dat de factoren die van invloed zijn op de verschillende uitkomsten van burgerschaps-onderwijsprogramma's zich op meerdere niveaus bevinden. Uit de studies komt naar voren dat het verwerven van burgerschapscompetenties sterk afhangt van de achtergrond en motivatie van leerlingen, en van de gelegenheid die leerlingen hebben om zich democratische beginselen eigen te maken buiten school. Een belangrijke bevinding van dit onderzoek is dat de burgerschapscompetenties die leerlingen verwerven afhankelijk is van specifieke kenmerken van leerlingen. Uit zowel CIVED- als ICCS-gegevens bleek dat de achtergrond van leerlingen, zoals het feit of zij al dan niet uit een immigrantenfamilie afkomstig zijn, hun socio-economische status, en hun aspiraties in het onderwijs, sterk samenhangt met hun kennis over burgerschap. Uit de studies komen duidelijke verschillen naar voren tussen autochtone leerlingen, leerlingen met een hoge socio-economische status of met hoge aspiraties in het onderwijs, en andere groepen. De eerste twee groepen beschikken gemiddeld over meer burgerschapskennis en –vaardigheden dan de laatste groep.

Aan de andere kant werden de cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van de leerlingen minder beïnvloed door hun interesses en overtuigingen (bv. interesse in politieke en maatschappelijke onderwerpen en 'self-efficacy'). In overeenstemming met eerdere studies (Ainley & Schulz, 2011) waren de interesses en overtuigingen van de leerlingen het sterkst gerelateerd aan niet-cognitieve uitkomsten, zoals affiniteit met conventioneel of sociaal bewogen burgerschap en intenties om later aan politiek of maatschappelijk actief te worden. Individuele verschillen in de houding van autochtone leerlingen ten opzichte van gelijke rechten voor immigranten werden ook voornamelijk verklaard door de achtergrond van deze leerlingen, zoals geslacht, socio-economische status, aspiraties in het onderwijs en tot op zekere hoogte het niveau van hun burgerschapskennis.

Voorts toonden onze studies aan dat de sociaal-politieke contex¹⁴ (bv. het sociale niveau, het economische niveau en het democratische ontwikkelingsniveau) en het onderwijssysteem (bv. beleid op het gebied van lerarenprofessionalisering)¹⁵ ook een rol lijken te spelen in de kwaliteit van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen, in het bijzonder in het gemiddelde niveau van burgerschapskennis en vaardigheden in de verschillende landen. Echter, zoals bij alle analyses het geval was, waren de kenmerken van deze elementen moeilijk te meten, ofwel door een lage construct-validiteit of door multicollineariteit¹⁶.

Beperkingen van ons onderzoek en suggesties voor vervolgstudies

Deze studie had tot doel schooleffecten op verschillende typen cognitieve en niet-cognitieve burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen in kaart te brengen. Wat betreft burgerschapskennis zijn er relatief grote verschillen tussen scholen gevonden. Tegelijkertijd verschilden deze scholen echter nauwelijks ten aanzien van de houdingen en intenties van hun leerlingen ten opzichte van burgerschap. Zoals eerder opgemerkt in deze samenvatting komen deze resultaten grotendeels overeen met die in soortgelijke cross-sectionele onderwijseffectiviteitsstudies. Deze studies, als ook ons eigen onderzoek, kennen een aantal beperkingen. Zo was het bij het schatten van de schooleffecten niet mogelijk om te corrigeren voor eerdere metingen van de uitkomstvariabelen. Om de betrouwbaarheid van de resultaten te vergroten zijn daarom verschillende controle variabelen toegevoegd, op zowel leerling-, school- en land-niveau. Deze benadering heeft mogelijk tot een overschatting van de omvang van de schoolverschillen geleid en van de correlaties tussen onze verklarende variabelen en de uitkomsten.

¹⁴ Zie hoofdstuk 3.

¹⁵ Zie hoofdstuk 2.

¹⁶ Zie voor verdere details hoofdstuk 3, noot 6.

Verder waren bijna al onze verklarende factoren en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten zelf-gerapporteerde gegevens. Een algemeen probleem bij dit soort gegevens is dat deze relatief minder betrouwbaar en valide zijn. Vaak is de meetkwaliteit en vergelijkbaarheid minder precies dan die van cognitieve toetsen. Het gebruik van deze metingen kan de gevonden verbanden hebben verzwakt waardoor de relatie tussen de verklarende en uitkomstvariabelen eigenlijk sterker is dan in het onderzoek naar voren kwam. Ook kan het hebben geleid tot een onderschatting van de omvang van de schoolverschillen in geval van de houdingen van leerlingen. Hierdoor zouden tot op zekere hoogte de kleine verschillen tussen de scholen met betrekking tot de houdingen verklaard kunnen worden. Alhoewel dit de precisie van onze resultaten in twijfel zou kunnen trekken is het niet waarschijnlijk dat hiermee onze conclusie kan worden betwist. Die luidde dat de invloed van scholen aanzienlijk kleiner is op de houding en gedragsintenties van leerlingen dan op hun burgerschapskennis en –vaardigheden.

Een andere beperking is dat de operationalisatie van de factoren op de niveaus van de klas, de school, het onderwijssysteem en in mindere mate van de leerlingen gebonden was aan de gegevens die in CIVED en ICCS beschikbaar waren. Dit gold in het bijzonder voor de eerste studie gebaseerd op de CIVED-gegevens. Dit neemt echter niet weg dat vooral het conceptuele kader van ICCS 2009 uitzonderlijk uniek en rijk is. De metingen die zijn gebruikt om de kenmerken van leerlingen, scholen en leeruitkomsten te beschrijven weerspiegelen in grote mate de gemeenschappelijke doelen en processen van burgerschapseducatie-programma's over de hele wereld. Hierdoor zijn wij er in geslaagd om een groot aantal elementen uit ons theoretisch model te dekken. Voorts was een ander belangrijk voordeel het gebruik van representatieve steekproeven en het grote aantal respondenten. Door de beschikbaarheid van zowel de CIVED- als de ICCS-dataset, hadden we bovendien de gelegenheid om een aantal bevindingen te repliceren – zoals voor burgerschapskennis en –vaardigheden.

Een laatste beperking als gevolg van de cross-sectionele opzet van de CIVED en ICCS studies, was dat de richting van de effecten niet kon worden bepaald. Relaties kunnen wederkerig zijn, maar zich ook in tegengestelde richting bewegen. Bijvoorbeeld, de bevinding dat een democratisch klasklimaat met het niveau van burgerschapskennis

samenhangt, zou ook tot op zekere hoogte kunnen worden verklaard door het feit dat leerlingen met meer kennis ook meer bereid en zekerder van zichzelf zijn om aan discussies over burgerschapsonderwerpen deel te nemen. Daarbij komt dat het niet waarschijnlijk is dat alle effecten op de leerling-uitkomsten direct zijn. Sommige schoolkenmerken kunnen ook indirect zijn gerelateerd aan leerling- en schoolkenmerken die van invloed zijn op de burgerschapscompetenties. Zo kan het zijn dat buitenschoolse factoren (bv. het gebruik van de media om zich te informeren over politiek, of over politieke kwesties praten met ouders) of individuele percepties (bv. 'self-efficacy') tot op zekere hoogte ook worden beïnvloed door de school. Op een zelfde manier kunnen schoolfactoren gerelateerd zijn aan andere aspecten van burgerschapseducatie (bv. andere componenten van lesgeven in de klas), die op hun beurt de leerling-uitkomsten weer beïnvloeden. Deze relaties konden echter niet getoetst worden, onder andere doordat de gegevens in de datasets niet op klas-/onderwijzer-niveau konden worden geanalyseerd.

De huidige resultaten van het onderzoek bieden enkele interessante perspectieven voor verder onderzoek. Om aan bovengenoemde beperkingen tegemoet te komen is ten eerste een ander type onderzoeksmethode nodig, zoals bijvoorbeeld kwalitatief longitudinaal onderzoek gecombineerd met statistische modellen. Doordat dit soort benaderingen het toelaat om ook indirecte effecten te testen (bv. door middel van structurele vergelijkingsmodellen) zijn deze methodes wellicht meer geschikt dan voorgaande om een licht te werpen op de leerwinst op het gebied van burgerschap. Zo zouden deze methodes de verschillen tussen scholen in hun burgerschapsuitkomsten preciezer kunnen schatten en een beter beeld kunnen geven van de dynamische aard van leren. Zij zijn echter in de praktijk wel moeilijker om op wereldwijde cross-nationale schaal te implementeren, en eigenlijk meer geschikt in een kleinere onderzoekssetting.

Een ander interessant onderwerp voor verdere studie is wellicht de relatie tussen cognitieve en niet-cognitieve burgerschapsuitkomsten op zowel het niveau van de school als het niveau van het onderwijssysteem. Op landniveau is een negatieve correlatie gevonden tussen burgerschapskennis en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten. Deze bevinding kan betekenen dat er sprake is van een uitruil tussen cognitieve en niet-cognitieve uitkomsten op dit niveau. Men zou hieruit kunnen concluderen dat onderwijsbeleid gericht op

cognitieve effecten minder effectief is voor het stimuleren van niet-cognitieve elementen, zoals de ontwikkeling van burgerschapswaarden en maatschappelijke participatie van leerlingen. Van de Gaer, Grisay, Schulz & Gebhard (2012) stellen echter, dat dit patroon ook een afspiegeling kan zijn van nationale of culturele verschillen in stijl van respons. Zo zijn leerlingen in bepaalde landen wellicht geneigd anders te antwoorden op bepaalde vragen dan die in andere landen vanwege sociale wenselijkheid op of een meer of minder terughoudende attitude. Een andere verklaring zou kunnen zijn dat leerlingen antwoorden geven die in lijn zijn met de standaard van de groep. Een hogere standaard van onderwijs, bijvoorbeeld, kan dan leiden tot een meer terughoudende of een meer kritische houding ten opzichte van de zelfgerapporteerde attitudes en gedragsverwachtingen. Het is de moeite waard om deze onderwerpen in beschouwing te nemen bij het bepalen van de validiteit en vergelijkbaarheid van de verschillende instrumenten die kunnen worden gebruikt voor het analyseren van de diverse constructen. Vooral met betrekking tot de cross-culturele vergelijkbaarheid van deze constructen zou het nuttig zijn om eerst vast te stellen of de verschillende geaggregeerde school- en leeraspecten inderdaad op dezelfde manier worden ervaren en op betrouwbare en identieke wijze in de participerende landen worden gemeten (zie ook Weziak-Bialowolska & Isac, submitted).

Met het gebruik van cross-nationaal onderzoek en meerniveau analyses schetsen de studies in deze dissertatie een internationaal patroon van potentiële factoren die de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen beïnvloeden. Met andere woorden, het onderzoek heeft die aspecten in kaart gebracht die relevant en ‘gangbaar’ zijn in de onderwijssystemen in verschillende landen. Daarmee kunnen zij dienen als stimulans en uitgangspunt voor het op gang brengen van reflectie en dialoog tussen het onderwijsveld en beleidsmakers. Tegelijkertijd dient men zich te realiseren dat er in de verschillende landen ook mogelijke verschillen tussen schooltypen of leerlingpopulaties kunnen bestaan; sommige factoren zullen slechts relevant zijn in een specifieke context terwijl andere factoren landelijk gelden of zelfs universeel zijn. In hoofdstuk 3 en meer gedetailleerd in hoofdstuk 4, hebben we laten zien dat de aard en de sterkte van de gevonden verbanden tussen landen kan verschillen. Ook de resultaten van Schulz et al.

(2011) hebben uitgewezen dat wat betreft de burgerschapskennis van leerlingen, de omvang van de schoolverschillen en de verklaringskracht van de verschillende leerling- en schoolkenmerken kunnen verschillen afhankelijk van de context. Daarom zou de precieze aard van deze factoren (de manier waarop deze worden ingevuld en geïmplementeerd in de verschillende landen) en de redenen waarom hun invloed contextafhankelijk is, een voor de hand liggend onderwerp kunnen zijn voor toekomstig onderzoek. Vooral voor studies die gericht zijn op het onderzoeken van specifieke nationale contexten of soortgelijke/verschillende patronen in (kleine) groepen landen, zou deze focus relevant zijn. Bij het uitvoeren van deze studies zouden resultaten uit de studies in deze dissertatie als een waardevolle basis kunnen dienen.

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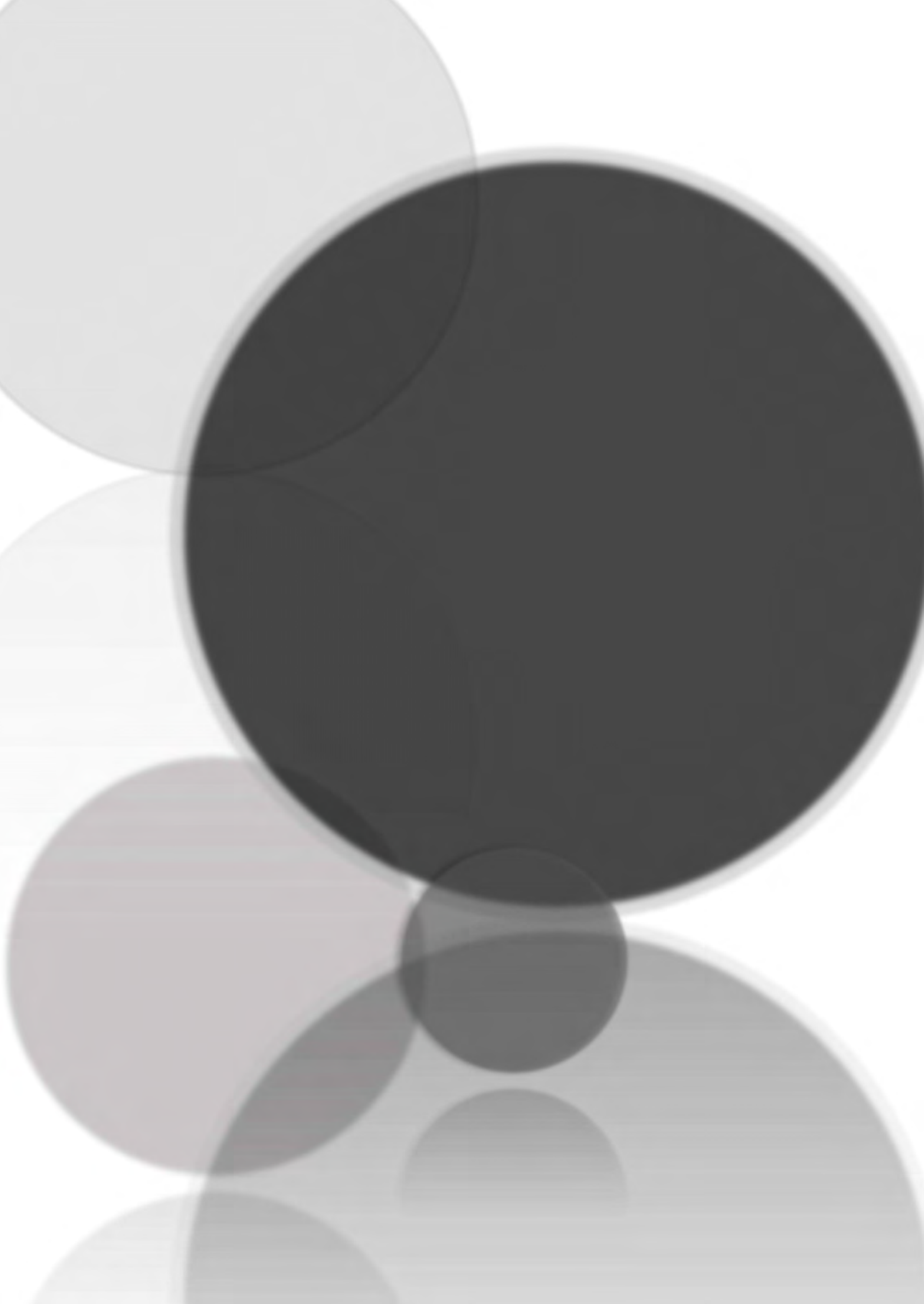
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About the author

Maria Magdalena Isac (1980, Saveni, Romania) studied Educational Sciences at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iasi, Romania. After completing her bachelor studies (2003), she earned a master degree (2005) in Policy and Management in Education from the same university. During her studies, she was involved in several voluntary research activities focused on promoting the education of high ability children and equal educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. She was also a full time teacher of Educational Sciences & Psychology and school counselor (2004-2005) at the Pedagogical High School Vasile Lupu, Iasi, Romania preparing future primary school teachers. In 2005, she started the Research Master Human Behaviour in Social Contexts at the University of Groningen specializing in research and evaluation of educational effectiveness. She also worked as a research assistant at the Groningen Institute for Educational Research. Her master's thesis focused on effective instructional strategies comparing the effectiveness of "direct instruction"- and "constructivist" - based teaching methods. After graduating in 2007, she obtained the Ubbo Emmius PhD scholarship for excellent students. Her PhD work focused on educational effectiveness for civic and citizenship education and involved three cross-cultural research projects based on data from international large-scale assessments in education (IEA, CIVED 1999 & ICCS 2009). In 2011 and 2012 she was a research consultant in the evaluation of educational effectiveness at the University of Bologna, Italy, working mainly on the topics of civic education, school autonomy and student achievement. Since 2012, she is a researcher at the European Commission - Joint Research Centre, Unit DDG.01 – Econometrics and Applied Statistics in Ispra, Italy. Her research and coordination work focuses on civic and citizenship education, cross-national construct equivalence in international large-scale assessments in education and, teacher effectiveness. Since 2012, she also oversees (on behalf of the European Commission - DG Education and Culture) the European Commission's participation in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2016).

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Acknowledgements

I would have liked to write these words some years ago when the articles collected in this book were finalized. This experience was a carousel of accomplishments and challenges. Yet, as years go by, you are “doomed” to become wiser, so this is a great opportunity to draw the line and reflect on this amazing experience. Nevertheless, there is only as much as one can remember in a certain moment on this path and the details of many experiences and names could be left behind but the knowledge and support you brought will rest a part of who I am forever.

With these words, I would like to greatly thank all that contributed to this rewording, frustrating, lonely but yet rich, sociable, fulfilling, productive and unique learning process.

First, I would like to thank my PhD advisory team, Greetje, Bert and Ralf. Greetje, you were my promotor for many years during the Research Master and also this PhD and greatly contributed to shape me into a researcher. Thank you so much for encouraging me to learn further, to do a PhD, and allowing me to plan and manage this interesting project and get it touch freely with the experts of the field. You guided me to be independent and always see the “big picture”. Your pragmatism has often helped me solve my “dilemmas” and our informal conversations, especially at the beginning of this journey (I missed them very much in the later, very busy, years), helped me adapt better to a culture (that I initially greatly admired and then came to cherish) so different than my own. Bert, although life takes us to the most unwanted places and I haven’t had the chance to consult you as much as I would have liked too, I took so much guidance from your great work of a lifetime. Thank you so much for this, it continues to guide me. And thank you so much for your trust and pride in my work and your great support in the most difficult moments. Ralf, you joined the team at a later time. I think I often frustrated you with my obsession for making sure results are replicated “once more” or “reviewing

the revised version” but, what I mostly very much carry along from our collaboration is your great care for detail and the reality of educational practice. Thank you so much for pointing out in several occasions the limitations of the data and instruments used in large-scale assessments in education. It helped me be critical of my work and led the way towards some of my current research questions.

Second, learning experiences in a university are broad, so I must acknowledge the other experiences and the people that contributed to my development as a person and as a researcher, particularly during my PhD.

In that respect, I am so grateful for being able to follow the Research Master Human Behaviour in Social Contexts at the University of Groningen that preceded my PhD experience. I thank heartedly all teachers that did their best to make me learn educational research theory and methodology and promoted my independence. The research and ethical standards you set were guidance during the production of this book as well as my later research work and I’m so grateful to have had them.

I must really thank full-heartedly the team of the Groningen Institute for Educational Research (GION) for giving me the opportunity to be involved in the research and teaching activities of the group. I learned so much and took most pleasure when I helped coordinating master students and when I participated in the research group on “Citizenship education and social integration” and occasionally contributed to the course of “Comparative Education”.

I’m grateful to all GION researchers and colleagues that made me learn, be critical about my work, and feel part of a team. I particularly want to mention my dear colleagues and friends Catalina, Ridwan, Mayra, Wondimu, Azky and Aboma. Thank you also to Truus and Jolijn for your useful tips and helping me experience some enjoyable Dutch customs. I must thank also Rita (sadly no longer with us), Sonja, Vera and Stephanie for their prompt logistic and personal support. I very much appreciated your work and help. And to Jessica and Conny, thank you for carefully proofreading or checking the content of the chapters contained in this book.

Moreover, there were always certain experts I needed to consult in great moments of wonder. One of them was Henk. You were always and consistently there for me and helped me with “small” and “big” statistical issues, but, most of all, you gave me great kindness and strength and I always relied on you, thank you. Even if from far away, my thoughts are always with you. And then, it was Roel. I always tried to be careful about your time as I kept the most pressing “big issues” of multilevel analysis and cross-cultural research in store for you, but I found your door always open and you most helpful, challenging and understanding, thank you so much for that. Furthermore, I had a great deal of input and feedback (direct and indirect) from the research community of large-scale assessments of civic and citizenship education and educational effectiveness research. On the former, I would like to thank Judith Torney-Purta and Wolfram Schultz for the strong theoretical and practical lessons, which I came to learn from their published research and eventual feedback at the conferences I attended, and also to David and Leslie Rutkowski and Andres Sandoval for their expertise and training with IEA data. On the latter, I’m really grateful to the educational effectiveness research community (so many great names!) for providing me with guidance through the great body of research work I read and the helpful feedback I received in numerous occasions.

Last but not least, there is the personal support, which in the case of a researcher is blurry, crossing work and personal borders. First, there was one person that was learning with me since my bachelors and she continued to be at my side during the Masters and PhD in the Netherlands. My dear Catalina, thank you so much for being my friend for many years and sharing this experience with me. I learned a lot from you and we had hard and good times and they were all great, invaluable, life experiences. And then, thank you my dear Ridwan. We shared so many great moments of accomplishment and frustration. Thank you for always being proud of me and just being there when I needed a friend. And, dear Mayra, if I could only be allowed to have a third paranymp. . . I thank you for your wisdom, kindness and unconditional support. To Annemieke and Roel, thank you so much for caring greatly about my wellbeing. You gave me so much support and love and I came to consider you my Dutch family. My great, numerous friends at the Prins Claus Conservatorium and particularly Alex, Joey, Renita, Sebastian

and Simona, thank you for filling my life with so much love and creativity. Words cannot express my gratitude to Dani whose trust in me and constant support was my light in the darkest moments. Grande Mago, grazie di cuore per il tuo amore, la tua pazienza, il tuo appoggio e i tuoi incoraggiamenti continui durante questo grande e impegnativo percorso. And finally, I was only able to arrive at this learning stage due to my mother's great sacrifice and value of education. Draga mama, iti multumesc din suflet pentru tot ajutorul pe care mi l-ai acordat in toti acesti ani. Nu a fost usor dar am ajuns unde mi-am dorit si iti multumesc ca ma intelegi si esti mereu mandra de mine.

Maria Magdalena Isac

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