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Review

Review of the effects of citizenship education

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ABSTRACT

Based on the assumption that schools can play a significant role in the citizenship development of students, in most contemporary modern societies schools are obligated to provide citizenship education. However, the effectiveness of different forms of citizenship education is still unclear. From the empirical literature on citizenship over the period of 2003–2009 28 articles were selected on effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship. Our review showed the political domain of citizenship to be emphasized more than the social domain. An open and democratic classroom climate in which discussion and dialogue takes place appears to effectively promote the development of citizenship among secondary school students. Moreover, a formal curriculum that includes citizenship projects and courses also appears to be an effective type of citizenship education. The effects of citizenship education are discussed in relation to the quality of the studies reviewed.

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1. Introduction

The development of citizenship of young people and the role of education in this are current subjects of research as well as a lively societal discussion. The concept of citizenship in contemporary modern societies is primarily linked to the notion of democracy (Thayer-Bacon, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Democracy is interpreted as “a mode of associated living” (Dewey, 1966). Citizens are expected to be engaged in different contexts with different degrees of heterogeneity (e.g., the school, home, playground, community). “Good citizenship” requires people to behave socially but also be willing and able to reflect upon political and social issues and contribute critically to society (Westheimer, 2008). Generally speaking, citizenship is learned during the course of life through participation in different social practices (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009). For young people, school is not only one of those practices, it is also an institution that explicitly aims at facilitating and optimizing the development of citizenship. Over the past two decades in almost all European countries (Euridyce, 2005) but also in Australia, Canada, and the US, compulsory citizenship education has been introduced into the school curriculum.

Imperative to the introduction of citizenship goals into the school curriculum is the assumption that the school can really contribute to the development of citizenship. However, the question remains whether this assumption can be established through empirical evidence. Which effects are reported of citizenship education on the development of students’ citizenship competences and behavior? Despite the increasing number of studies on citizenship education, a systematic review of the literature on this topic has yet to be published. Before presenting the methodology and outcomes of the current review we will elaborate upon the various conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education to frame the scientific discourse of the studies that are central to our review.

1.1. The concept of citizenship

In their review of contemporary discourses on citizenship, Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) have convincingly argued that in Western democracies multiple sets of meanings of citizenship occur in relation to varying discourses: from civic republican and liberal discourses to critical discourses (e.g., feminist, queer). Accordingly, citizenship is considered an essentially contested concept (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Nevertheless, Enslin (2000, cited in Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006)) provides a generalized definition by stating that citizenship in a democracy (a) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and (e) entails acquisition of an understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance and the use of this knowledge. Depending upon the particular discourse, thus, the concept of citizenship is given specific form and content.

The form and content of the concept of citizenship particularly varies with respect to the question about the extent to which norms that are at issue for a democratic manner of living must be adopted by individual citizens. Westheimer and Kahne (2004), for example, distinguish the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the social-justice citizen. The personally responsible citizen is one who acts responsibly in the community, helps those in need, works, and pays taxes. The participatory citizen is one who is actively involved in community organizations, helps organize community efforts to care for those in need, and knows how government agencies work. The social-justice citizen is one who critically assesses social, political, and economic structures, knows about social movements, detects and addresses domains of injustice, and tries to be fair and promote equal opportunities. Westheimer and Kahne actually plea for a conceptualization of citizenship that goes beyond “being nice”, “consideration of others”, “helping of others”, “caring for each other”, and so forth (cf. Leenders & Veugelers, 2006). In a democratic and multiform society, citizens must be prepared to make their own critical contributions (Wardekker, 2001). “Good citizenship” thus implies that citizens are willing and able to critically evaluate different perspectives, explore strategies for change, and reflect upon issues of justice, equality/inequality, and democratic engagement (Westheimer, 2008). A capacity to function in a socially accepted and responsible manner within a community is nevertheless, according to Westheimer, also part of “good citizenship”.

Beyond the conceptualization of citizenship largely in terms of a democratic political orientation, recent thinking has emphasized the notion of a “civil society” (Alexander, 2006) and the connections between citizens in terms of values and shared cultural meanings. As opposed to a classical political interpretation of citizenship with a focus on the state and the market economy, a conceptualization of citizenship in terms of civil society emphasizes social cohesion, the coexistence of citizens, and the personal development of individuals, norms, and values (cf. Oser & Veugelers, 2008). This *social* domain of citizenship is particularly important for the discourse on the citizenship of young people and their citizenship education. In a classical political interpretation of citizenship, youngsters are primarily seen as future citizens. As a consequence, citizenship

education is understood as the preparation of students to participate in society as adult citizens by enhancing, for example, their civic knowledge as required for political participation and voting and by fostering a democratic attitude (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Associating citizenship with the civil society provides more space for understanding young people's actual citizenship practices.

Social practices constitute the everyday lives of young people in which they interact with others (family, leisure time, work, and school) (Biesta, 2007). Situating citizenship in social practices means that one can discern the 'social tasks' that students need to fulfill in their everyday life as part of being a citizen (ten Dam & Volman, 2007; cf. Rychen & Salganik, 2003). ten Dam, Geijssel, Reumerman, and Ledoux (2011) make a distinction between the social tasks of acting democratically, acting on a social responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences to jointly represent the citizenship of young citizens. Adequate fulfillment of these social tasks is considered to be exemplary of student's everyday citizenship in a democratic and multicultural society.

With regard to citizenship, a distinction can be made between the citizenship behavior and the components of competences on which this behavior is build. Those components of competences can be formulated in terms of knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection (Rychen & Salganik, 2003). Knowledge entails insight into the functioning of a democratic society and can thus include knowledge of the government, civil rights, and different cultures (e.g., Hicks, 2001; Kerr, 1999). Attitudes pertain primarily to respect for each other, tolerance of different views, responsibility, involvement in society, and appreciation of differences between people (e.g., Cogan & Morris, 2001; Grant, 1996). Among the skills to be mastered are those needed to communicate effectively and consider different perspectives (e.g., Battistoni, 1997; Beane, 2002). Reflection is mostly approached in terms of critical thinking in particular about the reciprocal relations between society and individual (e.g., Billing & Waterman, 2003; ten Dam & Volman, 2007).

1.2. The concept of citizenship education

Via participation in everyday situations, young people can develop a picture of themselves as citizens (i.e., identity development; cf. Haste, 2004). Ideally, the school is a place for young people to accumulate democratic experiences and reflect upon these in addition to experiences acquired elsewhere (Daniels, 2001). Such reflection can contribute to the identity development of young people and thereby enhance the quality of their participation in society. Citizenship education should thus primarily be aimed at the enhancement of reflection by stimulating the critical capacities of young people (Lawy & Biesta, 2006).

In the literature the concept of citizenship education overlaps with related concepts such as moral education, character education and/or civic education (see for a discussion Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). The moral education tradition, in particular, emphasizes 'values' and 'values development', while citizenship education focuses on participation in society. Both traditions, however, are linked, as developing citizenship presupposes developing one's identity which is by definition a value-loaded endeavour.

In a review by Schuitema, ten Dam, and Veugelers (2008), a broad conceptualization of education embracing the different domains of citizenship was found to be advocated by many authors – albeit from different perspectives on learning. The main focus of citizenship education is found to be enhancement of engagement with democratic society and active participation in that society. Engagement and participation pertain to not only the political domain of citizenship but also increasingly to the social domain, and can include a "willingness to volunteer", "confidence in the ability to make a difference in the social environment", and/or "willingness to protest against injustice" (cf. Haste, 2004; Torney-Purta, 2004). Various authors explicitly link citizenship of students to the pluralistic and multicultural features of modern societies. For example, Banks (2004) argues that it is important for students to understand that multiple perspectives exist on moral and social issues and that their own viewpoint is thus only one of many possible viewpoints. A capacity to deal with diversity and possible interpersonal conflict is then conceived as one of the goals of citizenship education.

Of the studies reviewed by Schuitema et al. (2008) over the period 1995–2003, a relatively small number included empirical data: 15 out of 76. Twelve of these empirical studies concerned the *effects* of citizenship education, either in terms of student learning experiences or learning results. With regard to the learning results effect studies show that most programs use a problem-based approach to instruction with room for dialogue and interaction between students (e.g., Covell & Howe, 2001; McQuaide, Leinhardt, & Stainton, 1999; Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001). The effects found are related in particular to the attitudes of students, for example decreasing racist attitudes (Schultz et al., 2001), more positive attitudes towards refugees and homeless people (Day, 2002), more willingness to take responsibility (McQuaide et al., 1999), and more support for rights of others in the curriculum classes (Covell & Howe, 2001). Although some of the programs explicitly aimed at affecting students' ability for moral reasoning, these effects are virtually absent. The review authors concluded that the theoretical discourse on moral education calls for more rigorous empirical research in which the various objectives (attitudes, skills, knowledge, and reflection) are systematically studied.

The review of Schuitema et al. represents the state of the art in citizenship education, up to 2003. Actually since the change of centuries citizenship education has developed rapidly. Legislation in almost all European countries, the US, Canada, and Australia has obliged schools to establish policy in this domain and consequently citizenship has been explicitly introduced in the curriculum. As might be expected, studies into the effects of citizenship education have followed and increased in number since 2003. A review of those effect studies is of interest to gain initial understanding of the relevance of citizenship education for the citizenship of students. We therefore will study the empirical literature on the effects of

citizenship education on citizenship of students. We specify situated citizenship of young people aged 13–16 years (i.e., the early years of secondary education) as the citizenship competences and the citizenship behavior regarding the social tasks that they need to fulfill in daily practice. The research question is: “What are the effects of citizenship education on students’ citizenship?”

2. Method

2.1. Databases and search terms

The studies in this review cover the period of 2003–2009. The year 2003 was considered as a cut point since this was the year in which the first effect studies about citizenship education were published, after the obligation of citizenship education in different countries. A systematic literature review is performed including two steps of searching relevant articles.

The first step concerned the search of eight commonly used literature databases using the following search terms or combinations of terms: ‘citizenship or civi*’ as well as ‘citizenship or civi*education’ combined with ‘education’, ‘competence’, ‘knowledge’, ‘skills’, ‘attitudes’, ‘reflection’, ‘democra*’, and ‘youth development’, with * used as a joker.

We restricted ourselves to terminology of citizenship as this is evidently used in the theoretical discourse and can therefore be assumed to have its empirical representation. The following databases were examined at the time:

- Eric (Educational Resources Information Center),
- PsycINFO,
- Catalogue of the University of Amsterdam,
- PiCARTA,
- Web of Science,
- Academic search premier, and
- Scopus (abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature),
- ScienceDirect.

In the second step, the reference lists from the selected articles (cf. next paragraph) were inspected for relevant studies (i.e., the snowball method).

2.2. Selection procedure, criteria, and outcomes

We evaluated the search results of the literature using the following selection criteria:

- Article had to be published between 2003 and 2009,
- Article had to be based on empirical research,
- Article had to be published in a peer-reviewed journal (i.e., to have an assertion of quality),
- Study had to include students between the age of 13 and 16 years (i.e., in early secondary education), and,
- Study had to focus on citizenship or citizenship education.

Both the abstracts and the full texts were evaluated with regard to the aforementioned criteria. This search produced a total of 90 journal articles to fit our criteria.

Table 1
Types of citizenship education.

Type of citizenship education	Description	Examples
Curriculum in school (CIS)	Activities that were part of an educational method or program and carried out in the classroom setting	– Formal high school course work – Critical thinking course
Curriculum out of school (CoS)	Activities that were an obliged part of the curriculum, but undertaken outside the school	– Organized government visits – Required services
Pedagogical climate (PG)	All teacher practices aimed at influencing the organization of the classroom and the atmosphere in the classroom	– Teacher support – Classroom civic learning opportunities – Discussion and dialogue in the classroom – Democratic ethos of the teacher
Extra curricular activities (EA)	All additional student activities supervised by the school to develop the citizenship competences of students	– Student participation in voluntary service activities, – Participation in school clubs – Participation in school sport teams

These 90 articles were then analyzed in order to determine whether the research concerned empirical data on the effects of citizenship education. To do this, descriptive characteristics of the studies were coded, such as the type of problem and research questions addressed, the purpose of each study, the research design, and the types of results presented (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's κ of 0.84, with a 95% confidence interval of $0.78 \leq \kappa \leq 0.90$). Only those articles were selected that describe effect of citizenship education, resulting in a selection of 22 journal articles.

This procedure was also used for the results of the second step from our search procedure (snowball method based on the reference lists of the selected journal articles). This step produced six additional journal articles to be included in the review. Thus, in the end, a total of 28 articles concerning the effects of citizenship education on secondary education students were included in the review.

2.3. Analyses

In order to examine the quality of the research methods reported in the 28 effect studies, we categorized the research designs as cross-sectional, longitudinal, quasi-experimental with control group, quasi-experimental without control group, review, or qualitative exploratory. The reliability of the classification of the research designs was found to be satisfactory with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's κ of 1.0.

We then distinguished between the characteristics of citizenship education and citizenship competences.

2.3.1. Citizenship education

We classified the diverse curricular practices pertaining to citizenship education as studied in the selected 28 articles. Through inductive construction out of the literature we assembled the interventions evaluated in the reviewed literature (Wilson, 2009) into four types of citizenship education: curriculum in school (CiS), curriculum out of school (CoS), pedagogical climate (PG), and extracurricular activities (EA) (see Table 1). This classification is similar to the practices used in different Western countries found by Hahn (1998). The reliability of the classification procedure for the types of citizenship education addressed in the relevant effect studies was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's κ of 0.94, with a 95% confidence interval of $0.83 \leq \kappa \leq 1.00$).

2.3.2. Social tasks, citizenship competences and behavior

Based on our conceptualization of citizenship as situated in social practices, students' citizenship was classified in two different ways: (1) in terms of social tasks as representatives of young people's citizenship practices, and (2) in terms of competences and behavior to adequately fulfill these tasks. For classifying students' citizenship in terms of the social tasks that were under study in the articles, the following categories were used: *acting democratically (AD)*, *acting in a social responsible manner (AS)*, *dealing with conflicts (DC)*, and *dealing with differences (DD)*. The last three social tasks refer predominantly to the social domain of citizenship. *Acting democratically*, however, can pertain to government and political institutions (e.g., voting, discussion of politics, political participation) but also social interactions with other citizens (e.g., interaction in the neighborhood, interaction in the classroom). For this reason and to trace the possibly differential effects of citizenship education, we distinguished between *acting democratically in a political manner (ADp)* and *acting democratically in a social manner (ADs)*. The reliability of the classification of the social tasks into five categories was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's κ of 0.90, with a 95% confidence interval of $0.79 \leq \kappa \leq 1.00$).

The components of students' citizenship competences were classified in terms of knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection. The category of behavior was used to classify the actual citizenship activities of students that were studied. The reliability of the classification of the students' citizenship competences and behavior was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's κ of 0.90, with a 95% confidence interval of $0.80 \leq \kappa \leq 1.00$).

2.3.3. Effects of independent on dependent variables

The effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship were examined by calculating frequencies of reported effects (in terms of either social tasks or competences/behavior) per type of citizen education. When mean scores and standard deviations or *t*-values, correlations or *R*-squares were provided, the effect sizes were calculated using the Cohen's *f* or Cohen's *d*. We qualified the calculated effect sizes as small ($f \leq 0.10$ or $d \leq 0.20$), moderate ($f \geq 0.10$ – ≤ 0.50 or $d \geq 0.20$ – ≤ 0.80) or large ($f \geq 0.50$ or $d \geq 0.80$) (Cohen, 1988).

3. Results

In this section, first the overall results are presented by means of tables and figures, followed by a discussion of the results for each type of citizenship education separately. The results on the relative impact of the different types of citizenship education on citizenship in terms of social tasks and in terms of both the citizenship competences and behavior of the students are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

In some of the articles, the authors report more than one category of citizenship education or students' citizenship. Thus, the total of frequencies can be higher than 28.

Table 2

Effects of the types of citizenship education on the citizenship of students in terms of social tasks.

	Acting democratically (political)			Acting democratically (social)			Acting in a socially responsible manner			Dealing with differences			Dealing with conflicts			Total
	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	
Curriculum in school	42	5	24	3		2										76
Curriculum out of school	6	1	10			2	3	3	4							29
Pedagogical climate	47	1	37	6		5				1	2	2				101
Extracurricular activities	16		7	6		1	8		5	1						44
Total	111	7	78	15		10	11	3	9	2	2	2				250
	196			25			23			6			0			

We were able to calculate effect sizes in terms of Cohen's *f* or *d* for 80 out of the 250 effects reported for curricular practices pertaining to citizenship education (for an overview of the calculated effect sizes, see Table 4). In Fig. 1, the effects sizes according to the different types of citizenship education are summarized.

Additionally, the more detailed results are included in Appendix A, showing that significantly more effects were studied in the area of *acting democratically (political)* than in the other areas ($\chi^2(4) = 542.12$; $p < .001$), and *attitudes* were examined most in the empirical literature ($\chi^2(4) = 168.52$; $p < .001$) as opposed to knowledge, skills, reflection, and citizenship behavior. In general, we found significantly more positive effects (139% or 55.6% of the effects) and non-effects (99% or 39.6% of the effects) than negative effects (12% or only 4.8% of the effects; $\chi^2(2) = 101.20$; $p < .001$).

In the next sections, the results will be discussed in more detail.

3.1. Effects of the pedagogical climate

The effects of teacher and classroom practices pertaining to pedagogical climate were most frequently investigated using a cross-sectional research design (71%). In more recent research, however, relatively more longitudinal designs were applied (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Kioussis & McDevitt, 2008; McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006). Quasi-experimental research designs were not used. The size of the effects of pedagogical climate varied from small (Kahne & Sporte, 2008) to large (Papanastasiou & Koutselini, 2003) with most of the effects tending to be small (around 0.10 in terms of Cohen's *f*). The largest effects were mostly reported in cross-sectional studies (see Fig. 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of the social tasks students need to fulfill in daily life, the results show that effects of pedagogical climate on students' citizenship classified in the domain of *acting democratically (political)* were most frequently reported (85 effects) with effect sizes that ranged from small (Maiello, Oser, & Biedermann, 2003) to large (Papanastasiou & Koutselini, 2003) (see Table 4). The effects of pedagogical climate on students' *acting democratically (social)* (11 effects) and *dealing with differences* (5 effects) were reported much less frequently (see Table 2), with effect sizes (Cohen's *f*) that again varied from small (Kahne & Sporte, 2008) to large (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008) (see Table 4). The influence of pedagogical climate on students' citizenship in the context of the social tasks *acting in a socially responsible manner* and *dealing with conflicts* has not yet been investigated (see Table 2).

Exemplary of effects classified in the domain of *acting democratically (political)* are those found in the questionnaire studies conducted by McDevitt and Kioussis (2006), McDevitt and Kioussis (2007), where students reported how often they discuss politics with friends or parents, listen to conversations about politics, attend to campaign news or politics, and how important they consider such societal issues as the state's economy or the expansion of gambling. In their study of the influences of school climate ($N = 1427$; 13 schools, 12–14 years of age, 56.8% Jewish, 43.2% Arab, 53.9% female), Khoury-Kassabri and Ben-Arieh (2008) found positive effects of the pedagogical climate (student–teacher relationships, student participation in decision-making, and room to voice critical remarks) on students' understanding of rights and their attitudes towards personal rights, interpersonal rights, and public rights which were classified as *acting democratically (political)* for purposes of the present review. Similarly, an additional positive effect was found for these three school-climate variables on students' ability to understand violations of rights (classified as *acting democratically (social)*). In studying the Norwegian IEA data ($N = 3200$;

Table 3

Effects of the types of citizenship education on the citizenship of students in terms of competences and behavior.

	Knowledge			Attitudes			Skills			Reflection			Behavior			Total
	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	+	–	0	
Curriculum in school	9	2	6	19	3	13	9	1	2	3	6	3				76
Curriculum out of school	2		1	3	2	10			1		4	2	4			29
Pedagogical climate	9		10	27	3	19	3	2	2	4	13		9			101
Extracurricular activities	4		1	16		11	1				10		1			44
Total	24	2	18	65	8	53	13	4	4	7	33	2	17			250
	44			126			17			11			52			

150 schools, 14 years of age), Fjeldstad and Mikkelsen (2003) found positive effects of a perceived open classroom climate on students' civic knowledge and trust in the government – classified as *acting democratically (political)* for this review. They also found positive effects on students' support for women's rights – classified as *acting democratically (social)*. The three effects reported here were small effects, as indicated by a Cohen's f of .20, .23, and .23, respectively (see also Table 4).

The only study to examine the influence of pedagogical climate on citizenship in the context of the social task of *dealing with differences* was that of Gniewosz and Noack (2008) who studied the influence of classroom climate on students' attitudes towards immigrants ($N = 1309$; 36 schools, 72 classes, 12.3–15.5 years of age, 57.8% higher school track students, 1% foreign students). Both positive and negative effects were found. The one positive effect involved perceived fairness in the classroom. Perception of the classroom as an open climate for discussion and positive perceptions of the school environment showed no effects on students' ability to deal with differences. And perceived intolerance in the classroom and perceived achievement pressure negatively affected students' dealing with differences.

When classifying the effects in terms of students' citizenship competences and behavior, the results show that in most cases, the citizenship *attitudes* of the students were focused upon (49 effects, 58.5%; see Table 3). The effects were mainly small to moderate (see Fjeldstad & Mikkelsen, 2003; Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Maiello et al., 2003) with a few large effects in terms of Cohen's f (Flanagan et al., 2007; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008). The influence of pedagogical climate on citizenship *behavior* (22 effects), *knowledge* (19 effects), *reflection* (6 effects), and *skills* (5 effects) was less studied (see Table 3) and showed – when studied – effect sizes that varied from small to large. It should also be noticed that the pedagogical climate type of citizenship education showed a relatively large amount of zero-effects on knowledge, attitudes, and behavior (see Table 4). A few illustrative studies will be discussed in more detail below.

Finkel and Ernst (2005) ($N = 600$; 15–23 years of age, 79.5% black, 56.8% female), reported positive effects of elements of pedagogical climate (as part of two educational settings: the “Democracy for all” program and formal civic instruction) on *attitudes* such as political tolerance, institutional trust, or approval of legal behavior and on the civic *skills* of students, such as their self-assessment of how they communicate ideas with others. The effective elements of the pedagogical climate were, according to the authors, participatory teaching methods and teacher quality. Participation in group work during class projects and classroom discussions did not affect students' attitudes or skills.

In a different study, McDevitt and Kiouisis (2006) ($N = 491$ (student–parent dyads); 150 high schools) reported some positive effects of discussion of political issues, participation in classroom debate, and media literacy on citizenship *knowledge*, *attitudes*, *reflection*, and *behavior* of students. In a later study, however, Kiouisis and McDevitt (2008) ($N = 491$ (student–parent dyads); 150 high schools, 11th and 12th graders, 57% female, 1% native American, 3% Asian, 7% African American, 64% Anglo, 50% parents with graduation from college) did not find an effect of interactive civic curricula resulting from use of the “Kids Voting Program” lesson plans by teachers (which we classified as pedagogical climate in this review) on students' *reflection*. The ability to explain their political ideologies did not increase.

Finally, on the basis of their review of the literature, ten Dam and Volman (2004) conclude that a pedagogical climate, in which group discussions and cooperative learning takes place, can promote critical thinking on the part of students (i.e., *reflection*) with regard to their citizenship ($N = 55$ reviewed studies about critical thinking as perspective of citizenship education of students).

In sum, teacher practices in the domain of pedagogical climate, thus creating a classroom atmosphere in which discussion, dialogue, and a concern for others are highly valued, are shown to be the most frequently investigated type of citizenship education with small to large effect sizes. Effects of pedagogical climate were most frequently examined in the area of students' attitudes concerning the political sphere of acting democratically. The larger effects were mostly found in cross-sectional studies and the few small effects in longitudinal studies. The effects of pedagogical climate have not yet been investigated in quasi-experimental research but the reasonable large sample sizes make this type of citizenship education consistent despite of the multitude of cross sectional research designs. In addition to this summary it should be noted that the pedagogical climate stands out in the relatively large amount of ‘no effects’ on knowledge as compared to the other types of citizenship education.

3.2. Effects of the curriculum in school

Effects of curriculum activities that were classified in this review as curriculum in school are frequently reported (76 effects, 30.4%; see Tables 2 and 3) and were mostly studied using a cross-sectional research design (42.9%; see Appendix A). However, in recent years, the use of quasi-experimental research designs has increased (Feldman, 2007; McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009). The study of Feldman, Pasek, Romer, and Hall Jamieson (2007), for example, compared two semesters of the “Students Voices program”. Remarkably, there are no longitudinal studies of the effects of the curriculum in school (see Fig. 1). While the size of the reported effects for this type of citizenship education varies from small (McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2007) to large (Lopez, Levine, Dautrich, & Yalov, 2009), the effects are generally large. The effects are mostly found in quasi-experimental research; the large effect also in cross-sectional research (see Fig. 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, the most effects of in school curricular activities are reported in the domain of *acting democratically (political)* (71, 93.4%) with generally large effect sizes. Only a few effects are reported in the domain of *acting democratically (social)* (5 effects) with no effect-size information available (ten Dam & Volman, 2004; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009). None of the studies reported effects of the curriculum in school type of education on the other three social tasks (see also Table 2).

Table 4
Overview of calculated effect sizes (Cohen's *f* or *d*) with the direction (+/–).

Author	Type of citizenship education			
	CiS	CoS	PG	EA
Fjeldstad and Mikkelsen (2003)			<i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .20 (+) (ADp/K)	
Flanagan et al. (2007)			<i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .40 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .42 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .54 (+) (ADp/A)	
Gniewosz and Noack (2008)			<i>f</i> = .54 (–) (DD/A)	
Ichilov (2007)			<i>f</i> = .34 (+) (ADp/K)	
Iyamu and Obiunu (2005)				<i>d</i> = .31 (+) (ADp/A)
Kahne and Spote (2008)			<i>f</i> = .41 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .06 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .10 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADs/A)	
Kiousis and McDevitt (2008)			<i>f</i> = .24 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/B)	
Lopez et al. (2009)	<i>d</i> = 2.06 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 1.14 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.05 (+) (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 2.50 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.03 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.47 (+) (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 1.70 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .96 (–) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 0 (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 3.20 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.58 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .78 (+) (ADp/K)			
Maiello et al. (2003)			<i>f</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/S) <i>f</i> = .25 (+) (ADp/K) <i>f</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/K)	
McDevitt and Kiousis (2007)	<i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .20 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .22 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/K) <i>f</i> = .0 (ADp/R)			
McFarland and Thomas (2006)				<i>f</i> = .33 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADp/B)
McLellan and Youniss (2003)		<i>f</i> = .31 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .40 (–) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .44 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .56 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .0 (AS/B)		
Metz et al. (2003)				<i>d</i> = .61 (+) (AS/S) <i>d</i> = .40 (+) (ADp/A)
Metz and Youniss (2005)	<i>d</i> = .19 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .11 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .26 (+) (AS/A) <i>d</i> = .33 (+) (ADp/A)			<i>d</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .31 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .17 (+) (AS/A) <i>d</i> = .34 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .26 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .20 (+) (AS/A) <i>d</i> = .17 (+) (ADp/A)
Papanastasiou and Koutselini (2003)			<i>d</i> = 1.89 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.18 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.9 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.91 (+) (ADp/B)	
Schmidt et al. (2007)				<i>d</i> = .21 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .15 (+) (ADp/K)

(continued on next page)

Table 4 (continued)

Author	Type of citizenship education			
	CiS	CoS	PG	EA
Yang and Chung (2009)	$d = 1.75 (+)$ (ADp/S)			
	$d = 1.23 (+)$ (ADp/S)			
	$d = 1.95 (+)$ (ADp/S)			
	$d = 2.94 (+)$ (ADp/S)			
	$d = 1.37 (+)$ (ADp/S)			
	$d = 1.44 (+)$ (ADp/A)			
	$d = 1.65 (+)$ (ADp/A)			
	$d = 2.09 (+)$ (ADp/A)			
	$d = 2.18 (+)$ (ADp/A)			
	$d = .73 (+)$ (ADp/A)			

Note: CiS = curriculum in school, CoS = curriculum out of school, PG = pedagogical climate, EA = extracurricular activities, ADp = acting democratically (political), ADs = acting democratically (social), AS = acting in a socially responsible manner, DD = dealing with differences, DC = dealing with conflicts, K = knowledge, A = attitudes, S = skills, R = reflection, B = behavior. Cohen's $f = \sqrt{r^2/(1 - r^2)}$, Cohen's $f = \sqrt{[R^2/(1 - R^2)]}$, Cohen's $d = [2t/\sqrt{df}]$, Cohen's $d = (m_1 - m_2)/\sqrt{[(\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2)/2]}$. Cohen's f : $\leq .10$ small, $.30$ reasonable, and $\geq .50$ large; Cohen's d : $\leq .20$ small, $.50$ reasonable, and $\geq .80$ large.

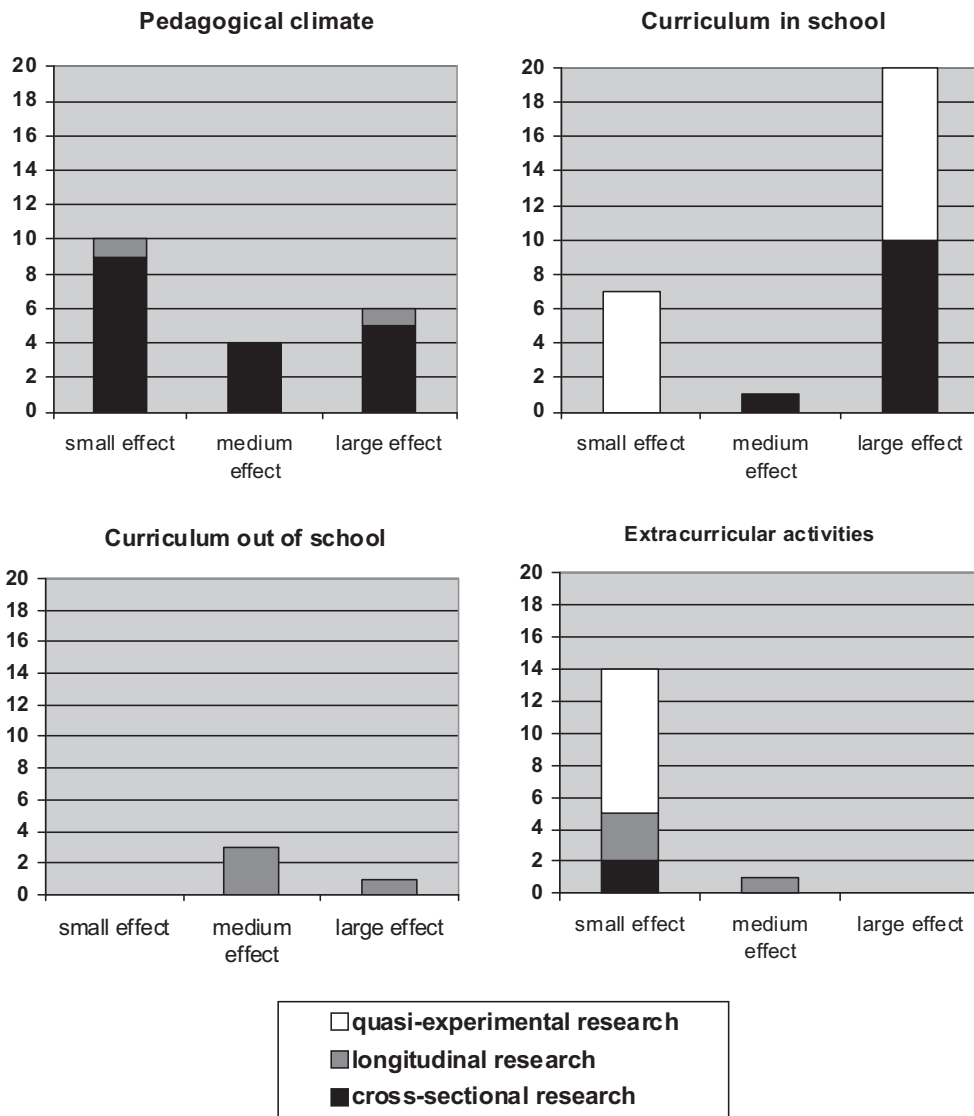


Fig. 1. Number of effects according to effect size (Cohen's f or d) and research design, by type of citizenship education Note: small effects: $f \leq 0.10$ or $d \leq 0.20$, moderate effects: $f \geq 0.10 - < 0.50$ or $d \geq 0.20 - < 0.80$, and large effects: $f \geq 0.50$ or $d \geq 0.80$ (Cohen, 1988).

According to Lopez et al. (2009) (large national sample $N = 100,000$; 254 schools; high school students), taking classes on the First Amendment, discussion of the role of the media in society, discussion of how to deal with journalism, and discussion of the use of news media – which were all classified as curriculum in school for purposes of the present review – positively affected student attitudes towards freedom of expression, their news consumption, and their knowledge of the First Amendment – which were all classified as *acting democratically (political)* in the present review. Relatively large effect sizes are reported (Cohen's d varying from 0.78 to 3.20 see also Table 4). Simply taking a journalism class, however, did not affect students' citizenship knowledge and negatively affected their attitudes towards freedom of expression with a large effect size, as indicated by a Cohen's d of 0.96 (Lopez et al., 2009). Torney-Purta et al. (2007) reported only one effect of the use of official materials by teachers in secondary education, such as materials from state or local authorities for the planning of civics lessons – classified as curriculum in school – on the expectation of students to be informed when they vote in the future (*acting democratically (political)*) after re-analyzing IEA data from the United States ($N = 2811$; 124 schools, 14 years of age, 84.4% Non-Latino, 13.5% Latino). The effect of curriculum in school did not influence students' civic knowledge (classified as *acting democratically (political)*), or students' attitudes towards immigrant rights (classified as *acting democratically (social)*).

When classifying the effects in terms of competences and behavior, most effects concern *attitudes* (35 effects) and these involve large effect sizes. Lower numbers of effects of in school curricular activities are reported for *knowledge* (17 effects), *behavior* (9 effects), *skills* (10 effects), and *reflection* (5 effects) but also with mostly large effects. The studies described below provide a better picture of the reported effects.

Feldman et al. (2007), McDevitt and Kioussis (2007), and Yang and Chung (2009) all reported effects of curriculum in school on the citizenship competences and behavior of students (Appendix A). Yang and Chung (2009) ($N = 68$; 13–15 years of age, 50% female, 50% male) found positive effects for participation in a critical thinking course on students' self-reported *knowledge* of civics, *attitudes* towards divergent views (the 5-point Likert scales addressed truth seeking, open-mindedness, analyticity, systematicity, and inquisitiveness), critical thinking and communication *skills*, and on such *behavior* as sharing thoughts via discussion. Feldman et al. (2007) ($N = 731$; 14 Philadelphia high schools) reported positive effects of the one-year "Student Voices Program" (classified as curriculum in school) on students' *knowledge* of civics and their *attitudes* towards political efficacy, being informed, and political discussion. However, either negative effects or no effects of the "Student Voices Program" on *knowledge* and *attitudes* were found when the students participated for only one semester.

In sum, citizenship education that we typified as curriculum in school, such as the use of a special method or program during class, appeared to be examined much less frequently than pedagogical climate, but the limited results revealed large effect sizes. This type of education like pedagogical climate is investigated most often for its effects on the citizenship *attitudes* of students in the domain of the social task of *acting democratically (political)*. The larger effects of the curriculum in school type of citizenship education were reported in cross-sectional and quasi-experimental studies with a control group. The latter allowing for causal inferences in addition to the large effects, lead to the conclusion so far that the research on the effects of curriculum in school has been more rigorous than research on the effects of pedagogical climate.

3.3. Effects of the curriculum out of school

Curricular activities pertaining to citizenship education typified as curriculum out of school are predominantly aimed at fostering citizenship by compelling students to actively participate in obligatory activities outside the school such as field trips or service learning. Only 29 effects were reported for this type of citizenship education (11.6%; see Tables 2 and 3) with again mostly a cross-sectional research design being used (42.9%), for example the study of Finkel and Ernst (2005) in which government visits were studied. But more recent also longitudinal studies are carried out (28.6%). Only one study used a quasi-experimental design with a control group (see Appendix A). The effect sizes for curriculum out of school vary from small to large (see Fig. 1). The large and medium effects appeared to be mostly found in the longitudinal studies; the smaller effects in the quasi-experimental study (Metz & Youniss, 2005; see Fig. 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, most of the effects of *curriculum out of school* were reported for students' citizenship classified in the domains of, on the one hand, *acting democratically (political)* (17 effects, 58.6%) with small to moderate effect sizes (Metz & Youniss, 2005) and on the other hand, *acting in a socially responsible manner* (10 effects, 34.5%) with small to large effect sizes (McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Remarkably, the studies showed more negative effects or no effect than positive effects. The studies considered in greater detail below reflect the range of effects found.

After government visits as part of their civic education like the "Democracy for all" program or as part of normal civics instruction (classified as *curriculum out of school*), Finkel and Ernst (2005) found no changes in student attitudes towards civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills, or approval of legal behavior (all classified as *acting democratically (political)*). However, they did find positive effects on students' civic knowledge. A few positive effects of out of school curricular activities are also described by McLellan and Youniss (2003) ($N = 783$; 2 high schools, 52% female, 60% had mothers with college or higher degrees, 20% African American, Hispanic or Asian, 81% Catholic) and Metz and Youniss (2005) ($N = 486$; 11th grade students, 1 school in a middle- to upper-middle class community, 78% white, 22% African American, Asian or Latino, 50% Catholic, 25% Protestant, 10% no affiliation) (Appendix A). Both general service learning structured by the school and service learning in which students had direct contact with the 'needy' recipients of a service positively affected their intended future conventional involvement (classified as *acting in a socially responsible manner*; McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005). The effect sizes were small to moderate. Most studies did not find any positive effects of the out of school curricular activities, however. Henderson, Brown, Panser, and Ellis-Hale (2007) ($N = 1768$; 12th–13th grade students, 62.3% female, 87% born in Canada, 73.7%

with a father which had at least some secondary education), did not find any effects of mandatory service as part of the school curriculum on students' attitudes towards volunteering (classified as *acting in a socially responsible manner*). Other studies (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Warburton & Smith, 2003) reported negative effects of different forms of service learning (obligatory, school-structured, and the "Work for the dole program") on the volunteer activities of students and their attitudes towards the community (also classified as *acting in a socially responsible manner*).

When classifying the effects in terms of students' citizenship competences and behavior, the most effects of the curriculum out of school were reported for *attitudes* (15 effects, 51.7%) and *behavior* (10 effects, 34.5%; see Table 3) with reasonable effect sizes (see Table 4). Only three effects were reported for students' *knowledge* and just one effect for their *skills*. *Reflection* was not investigated in regard to this type of citizenship education. Henderson et al. (2007) found positive effects of mandatory service learning (classified as *curriculum out of school*) on the citizenship *behavior* of students when measured as the frequency of their use of media to follow the news, but no effects on their *attitudes* towards volunteering, politics and public or private institutions. Metz and Youniss (2005) reported positive effects of obligatory service learning not only on the *attitudes* of students with small effect sizes, but on their *citizenship behavior* as well (small effect sizes). Students discussed politics with parents and friends more often, read more about politics in newspapers and magazines, or watched the news on television.

In short, the results reported about the effects of curriculum out of school are somewhat more diverse and difficult to grasp than those of the pedagogical climate and curriculum in school types of education. In addition to attitudes also behavioral effects come up; not only with regard to the social tasks of acting democratically (political) but also acting in a socially responsible manner. Sample sizes used for this research are reasonably large; the sizes of the effects nevertheless tend to be much smaller and sometimes the effects turned out to be negative.

3.4. Effects of extracurricular activities

Extracurricular activities – activities organized by schools, in which students can participate voluntarily, aimed at fostering the active participation of students beyond the school in society – were investigated somewhat more than the out of school curricular activities (44 effects, 17.6%; Tables 2 and 3). The effects of the extracurricular activities were mostly investigated in longitudinal research (40%). An example is the study of Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) in which performance of unpaid community service work by students was examined. More recently also quasi-experimental research is carried out (20%). The effect sizes were generally small (see Fig. 1) and reported mostly in the quasi-experimental studies; the few moderate effects were reported in longitudinal studies. Extracurricular activities was the only type of citizenship education to show no negative effects (see Tables 2 and 3).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, most of the relevant studies again reported effects of extracurricular activities on students' citizenship classified in the domain of *acting democratically (political)* (23 effects, 52.3%) and *acting in a socially responsible manner* (13 effects, 29.5%) with effect sizes (Cohen's *d*) from small (Metz & Youniss, 2005) to large (Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; see Table 4). Only seven effects (15.9%) of extracurricular activities were reported in the domain of *acting democratically (social)* and only one effect (2.3%) in the domain of *dealing with differences*. A clear example of studying the effects of citizenship education on *acting democratically (social)* is the study by Iyamu and Obiunu (2005) ($N = 100$; Nigerian youth). Students between 11 and 16 years of age participated in a four-week vacation program and were then asked about the extent to which they agree with a number of statements concerned moral values, civic responsibility, tolerance, and getting along with others. The study of Lee, Olszewski-Kubilius, Donahue, and Weimholt (2008), for example, examined students who participated in a service-learning program. They reported not only clearly positive effects on their sense of responsibility, desire to help, and self-confidence, but also greater respect and understanding of different viewpoints.

In several longitudinal studies, positive effects for extracurricular activities have been reported on students' citizenship classified in the domain of *acting in a socially responsible manner*. These extracurricular activities were general volunteer social service (Hart et al., 2007 ($N = 12144$; 10th grade); McLellan & Youniss, 2003) or service learning that gives students direct contact with the 'needy' recipients of a service (Metz et al., 2003; $N = 428$; 1 public high school in a middle-class community, 78% white, 22% Asian, Hispanic or African American). Particularly with regard to students' expectations that they will participate in social service in the future, positive effects of these extracurricular activities were reported; no effects were found for adult voting nor future volunteering in social service, however (Hart et al., 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005; Metz et al., 2003). The effects sizes varied from small to moderate (Table 4).

Turning to the competences and behavior classification of effects of *extracurricular activities*, most effects are reported in the *attitudes* domain of citizenship competences (27 effects, 61.4%), but these were generally small effects. Less frequent and even smaller effects were reported for *behavior* (11 effects), *knowledge* (5 effects), and *skills* (1 effect). *Reflection* was not investigated.

McFarland and Thomas (2006) investigated the effects of participation in different *extracurricular activities* such as drama clubs, student councils, and academic clubs (First dataset: NELS $N = 10,827$; 1476 schools, 14–26 years of age; second dataset: Add Health $N = 14,738$; 7th–12th graders). Their study, in which they made use of two large longitudinal datasets, revealed positive effects on the citizenship *behavior* of students when measured as the extent to which the students are – as adults – registered to vote, involved in a political campaign, and/or are member of a political organization. When measured as participation in music groups, journalism clubs, or sports teams, however, no effects of the *extracurricular activities* were found for *behavior*.

In a different study, Lee et al. (2008) described positive effects of a voluntary program for extracurricular service learning ($N = 100$; 10th–12th graders, 60% female, 45% East cost, 30% Midwest, 20% West cost, 5% other regions of US, 45% white, 10% black, 25% Asian American, 10% Latino). The *attitudes* of the students towards civic engagement, different perspectives, and their civic awareness were positively influenced and also their leadership *skills* with which they could positively contribute to society through, for example, problem solving and teamwork.

In short, the results reveal that – despite of the small effects sizes – extracurricular activities appears to contribute particularly to students' citizenship attitudes regarding the social tasks of acting democratically (political) and acting socially responsible in particular. Further, this type of citizenship education is the only type reported in all distinguished research designs (cross sectional research, longitudinal research, and quasi-experimental research) and sample sizes used for this research are reasonable to large.

4. Discussion and conclusion

Based on the assumption that schools can play a significant role in the citizenship development of students, in most contemporary modern societies schools are obligated to provide citizenship education. However, the effectiveness of different forms of citizenship education is still unclear. In order to answer our research question concerning the effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship between 13 and 16 years of age, we specified the situated citizenship of young people as the citizenship competences and the citizenship behavior regarding the social tasks that they need to fulfill in daily practice. We selected the empirical literature on citizenship over the period of 2003–2009 and filtered 28 articles to review effects of citizenship education. The types of citizenship education as described in the articles were systematically classified and we examined the effects per type of education on students' citizenship in two different ways: (1) effects on students' citizenship in terms of the social tasks that they need to fulfill in their daily live as citizens; and (2) effects on students' citizenship in terms of their underlying competences and behavior. An overall summary of the results might be that attention in the effect studies was particularly paid to political attitudes, with in most cases a cross-sectional research design. Further, a pedagogical climate in the classroom was the most studied and an apparently quite effective type of citizenship education, and citizenship education by means of curriculum in school appeared to be the most effective. Our review shows a different picture for citizenship education typified as either curriculum out of school or extracurricular activities because these types of citizenship education appeared to be less studied and the size of the effects were relatively small; with a relatively large amount of 'no effects' – as well as negative effects in the case of curriculum out of school. Nevertheless, most effects were reported on students' attitudes and behavior with regard to *acting democratically (political)* and *acting in a socially responsible manner* as areas to be affected by out of school curricular or extracurricular activities. In the following sections, we will discuss the results more rigorously focusing upon the research designs, the conceptualization, the schooling of citizenship and implications for research and schooling, taking into account the limitations of this study.

4.1. Limitations of the study

The study presented here was limited in size and scope. Although there were many studies focusing on either citizenship education or citizenship outcomes, only a few were on both. And of these, we could only present effect sizes of some of them as some authors did not provide sufficient information. In addition, concepts that were theoretically linked to citizenship education, such as multicultural education or social skills training were not included in our search if these were not linked to citizenship in the studies that were reviewed. This might have limited our scope and could have resulted in a bias in some domains. For example, research about citizenship outcomes regarding the social task of dealing with conflicts could be underrepresented in this study. With these limitations in mind we will now discuss our findings more deeply from the perspective of the research designs, the conceptualization and the schooling of citizenship.

4.2. Research design

Research designs were evaluated to assess the quality of the research methods of the effect studies. Cross-sectional research designs were employed in slightly more than half of the studies included in our review. However, longitudinal study appears to be on the rise. Observational studies are certainly suitable for both the exploration of unknown and/or unintended effects and a systematic examination of specific issues or processes. Experimental and quasi-experimental studies are considered the "golden standard" for establishing effects of a certain intervention (cf., Petticrew & Roberts, 2006; Vandenbroucke, 2004; Vandenbroucke, 2008), and thus might be plead for to establish the effects of well-developed and well-documented curricular practices in the area of citizenship education. In our review, some studies investigated the intended and predicted effects of a given curriculum on students' citizenship (e.g., Feldman et al., 2007; McDevitt & Kioussis, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009); others investigated learning outcomes for a – sometimes already existing – citizenship curriculum in a more open and exploratory manner (e.g., Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Lopez et al., 2009; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). Taking the applied research designs into account, we thus interpret these results as only indicating "what might work" rather than as evidence.

Moreover, the effect sizes found in the longitudinal, experimental, and quasi-experimental studies did not show consistent patterns. The quasi-experimental studies with a control group showed the relatively largest effect sizes, followed by the longitudinal studies, and then the quasi-experimental studies without a control group. The reviewed studies also differed

with regard to the information provided on student characteristics and the characteristics of the (school) environment. This makes it difficult to understand citizenship education in relation to differences between students and school contexts.

4.3. Reflecting the broad conceptualization of citizenship

In this review we found the rather small amount of 28 articles between 2003 and 2009 to fit our criteria, thus to concern effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship. This may question the search terms of our review: were they well chosen? Should we, for example, have included alternate terminology such as multicultural education, political socialization or moral education in order to look after more potential evidence for citizenship education? We then would have treated citizenship as a container concept, however, which in our opinion is better to avoid. So the question is: what does the existing empirical literature on effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship tells us about the conceptualization of citizenship as the denominator?

On the basis of our review, we can conclude that the research does not yet reflect a broad conceptualization of citizenship education encompassing a social-oriented domain of citizenship. Researchers still focus mostly on the political domain of citizenship. The elements of citizenship belonging to the social domain are only studied in so far as they pertain to learning outside the school. This actually might be understood as rather obvious from the argument of authenticity in education. But then again, authentic out of school experiences are known to have only additional value to meaningful learning if accompanied by in-school reflections (Volman & ten Dam, 2007). Furthermore, the effects of citizenship education continue to be studied largely in terms of students' attitudes and behavior only. Empirical studies of the reflection component of citizenship competences are nearly nonexistent. This is striking because reflection is necessary to adequately participate in a democratic and pluriform society but also to think critically and to introduce change when necessary.

The empirical narrowing of the construct of citizenship to the attitudes and behavior of students in mainly the political realm runs the risk of also narrowing the realm of educational practice. In the age of New Public Management, with a focus on quantitative objectives or output instead of outcome (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Marsh, 1993), schools are obliged to justify their performance within the field of citizenship. The availability of evidence showing a classical political conceptualization of citizenship to be associated with citizenship education that is effective to at least a certain extent can lead to the premature conclusion that such a conceptualization of citizenship is what citizenship education should be all about. The present literature review, however, makes it clear that it is not yet possible to draw clear-cut conclusions regarding the effects of citizenship education in the social domain as the empirical basis is still too thin.

There are some promising indications that certain aspects of the pedagogical climate and curriculum in the school may successfully promote the development of citizenship. Given small effects and ambiguous results we cannot be very specific about which activities should take place beyond the school. The empirical literature cannot as yet provide specific guidelines for schools or educational policy due to the still relatively immature status of the empirical research on citizenship education.

4.4. Schooling for citizenship?

The results of this review raise the question of the added-value of the school for citizenship education. The school is not the only place where citizenship can be learned and is learned. The characteristics of students and their home environments play an important role in the development of citizenship, which means that the contribution of education may be relatively modest. It can thus be asked if large effects of schooling on citizenship can or – for that matter – should be expected. The results of this review indicate that some characteristics of schooling for citizenship indeed have some added value for learning citizenship. Those types of citizenship education that involve the pedagogical climate and include dialogue and discussion in the classroom can promote the development of citizenship. Citizenship education that includes classroom activities carried out as part of a formal educational method or program such as civics instruction can also promote the development of citizenship. This conclusion is analogous to the theory that learning experiences, which include formal education, enable people to develop citizenship competences (e.g., civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, and reflection) and thus become and stay active citizens (cf. Hoskins, D'Hombres, & Campbell, 2008). Again we cannot be very specific about the effective elements or characteristics of the different types of citizenship education reviewed here – given yet the lack of overwhelming evidence. The results nevertheless suggest that schools can play an important role in the development of citizenship of secondary school students. Moreover, the typology of citizenship education that came out of this study needs further specification and clarification. The review results could help researchers better articulate their research focus, designs, and conclusions in the future.

4.5. Implications for research and schooling

Following the results of our review study we plea for a mixed-method approach in which the comparability of measurements is taken into greater concern in order to achieve more evidence-based citizenship education. Especially within a relatively new domain as citizenship education, gaining a picture of what works when, why, and how requires exploratory research, observational study, development work, and practical experience. More rigorous research involving randomized experiments and quasi-experimental research designs are needed to gather evidence regarding the effectiveness of carefully developed means for citizenship education; and ideally several methods are combined.

With respect to citizenship education we argue that it should focus more on the dialogue and cooperation between students during class. This not only facilitates active learning but even more important enables them to practice citizenship (learning-by-doing) and accumulate democratic experiences. Regarding the curriculum out of school and extracurricular activities such as service learning or academic school clubs, we have to be cautious. The effects found are much more mixed and sometimes even contradictory. However, in particular these kinds of educational practices have the potential to engage students in meaningful learning and problem solving while dealing with authentic problems. An important condition for realizing this learning potential seems to be whether the school is capable of stimulating young people to reflect upon the experiences acquired. Can they – learn to – discuss their actions and explore different perspectives? This implies a broad interpretation of citizenship education, which encompasses the political and social domain.

Appendix A

Overview of study characteristics for 28 reviewed articles: research design; number and typing of curricular practices pertaining to citizenship education as studied; and reported effects on students' citizenship in terms of social tasks and competences/behavior.

	Authors	Country	Research design*	Number of curricular practices	Type of citizenship education**				Students' citizenship: social tasks***					Students' citizenship: competences/behavior****							
					CiS	CoS	PG	EA	ADp	ADs	AS	DD	DC	K	A	S	R	B			
1	Campbell (2007)	US of America	CD	1			1		1							1					
2	ten Dam and Volman (2004)	International	Rev	3		2				6										6	
3	Feldman et al. (2007)	Pennsylvania	QDc	9		9			27						9	18					
4	Finkel and Ernst (2003)	Durban	CD	6	1	4	1		36						6	24		6			
5	Fjeldstad and Mikkelsen (2003)	Norway	CD	1			1		2	1					1	2					
6	Flanagan et al. (2007)	US of America	CD	1			1		2	1						3					
7	Gniewosz and Noack (2008)	Germany	LD	5			5					5				5					
8	Hart et al. (2007)	US of America	LD	3		1		2	6	3	3				3					9	
9	Henderson et al. (2007)	Canada	CD	1		1			4	1	1					5				1	
10	Ichilov (2007)	Israel	CD	1			1		1						1						
11	Iyamu and Obiunu (2005)	Nigeria	QDnc	1			1			1						1					
12	Kahne and Sporte (2008)	Illinois	CD	4			3	1		4						4					
13	Khoury-Kassabri and Ben-Arieh (2008)	Israel	CD	3			3		12	3					6	9					
14	Kiousis and McDevitt (2008)	Colorado, Arizona, Florida	LD	1			1		6							2			1	3	
15	Lee et al. (2008)	Illinois, Maryland, San Francisco	CD	1			1		2	1	1				3	1					
16	Lopez et al. (2009)	US of America	CD	4		4			12						4	4				4	
17	Maiello et al. (2003)	International	CD	1			1		4						2	1		1			
18	McDevitt and Kiousis (2006)	Colorado, Arizona, Florida	LD	3			3		24						3	3			3	15	
19	McDevitt and Kiousis (2007)	Colorado, Arizona, Florida	QDnc	1		1			8						1	1			1	5	
20	McFarland and Thomas (2006)	US of America	LD	1			1	2												2	
21	McLellan and Youniss (2003)	Washington	LD	3		2		1			6									6	
22	Metz et al. (2003)	Massachusetts	LD	3			3	6			6					12					
23	Metz and Youniss (2005)	Massachusetts	QDc	3		1		2	8	1	3				9					3	
24	Papanastasiou and Koutselini (2003)	Cyprus	CD	4			4		4											4	
25	Schmidt, Shumow, and Kackar (2007)	US of America	CD	4		1		3	8						4	4					
26	Torney-Purta et al. (2007)	US of America	CD	3		1		2	8	1					3	6					
27	Warburton and Smith (2003)	Australia	ED	3		2		1			3					3					
28	Yang and Chung (2009)	Taiwan	QDc	1		1			15	1					1	6		9			
Total (N _{curricular practices} = 75, N _{effects} = 250)				75	19	12	28	16	196	25	23	6	0	44	126	17	11	52			

*CD = cross sectional design, LD = longitudinal design, QDc = quasi-experimental design with control group, QDnc = quasi-experimental design without control group, ED = exploratory design, Rev = review study.

**CiS = curriculum in school, CoS = curriculum out of school, PG = pedagogical climate, EA = extracurricular activities.

***ADp = acting democratically (political), ADs = acting democratically (social), AS = acting in a socially responsible manner, DD = dealing with differences, DC = dealing with conflicts.

****K = knowledge, A = attitudes, S = skills, R = reflection, B = behavior.

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