2nd International Conference on Lifelong Education and Leadership for All

Social and Civic Benefits of Higher Education*

Carlos Sousa Reis
Aux. Prof., Coimbra University, CEIS 20
Email: csreis@uc.pt

Marta Oliveira
Coimbra University
Email: marta5875@yahoo.com.br

Maria das Dores Formosinho
Cath. Prof., Coimbra University, CEIS 20
Email: mformosinhosanches@gmail.com

António Castro Fonseca
Cath. Prof., Coimbra University
Email: acfonseca@fpce.uc.pt

Abstract

The main objective of this study is to explore the impact that the successful completion of a course will have in the early years of adulthood in Portugal, in particular, in the civic and political participation, as well as in the respect for social values and norms, among others issues. A longitudinal methodology was applied in order to follow up students from the first years of primary school until the last years of the twenties, coinciding with the period of the Bologna Process. The sample was composed of 893 subjects, 445 of the 2nd grade and 448 of the 4th grade. Subsequently, the participants were divided into two groups (those who have completed a degree and those who did not) that were compared on several measures relating to the areas in question. Data were collected using a battery of instruments, including structured interviews and several instruments in order to evaluate: civic participation, community involvement, social development and adherence to norms and social values. We found significant differences with advantage to those that have concluded courses in the following aspects: community involvement and the importance given to community involvment. These scores include the level and the importance given to civic participation. The results confirm the existence of an effect, as reported in other countries, from higher education in the civic and political involvement of young adults, which is felt several years after finishing studies. An inference that can be drawn is that we should put more emphasis on education (formal or informal) directed to promote a school environment conducive to the development of skills, values, attitudes and behaviors that contribute to increasing the civic and political participation of students.

Keywords: Higher Education; Civic Engagement; Social Benefits; Life Satisfaction; Meaning of Life; Family.

1.Introduction

During the last three decades, the Portuguese school system underwent major changes, several of them in higher education. In particular, we should stress the increasing of students and fees, as well as the appearance of new courses, in both the public and the private sectors. Moreover, one of the most striking consequences is the massive flood of new graduates and the worsening of their difficulties in finding a first job. Such frustrating situation could be due to the excess of higher education graduates, in parallel with the shortage of vocational and professional graduates[1], as well as a plain effect of the economic crisis. Whatever the case, it is more and more recognized young adults' transversal detachment from political and civic life. A recent study (Lobo, Ferreira and Rowland 2015) has shown that, although young people born in the 1980s and 1990s are the most qualified ever, 57% did not show any interest in politics. According to the same study, while the national rate of unemployment was in May 2015 of 13.7%, unemployment rate of Portuguese between 15 and 24 years remains "exceptionally high", reaching 35% along with Greece (51.2%), Italy (42.6%) and Spain (50.7%). Such condition risks becoming structural whereas more than 50% of unemployed young adults between 25-34 years is already in this situation for more than a year. Although higher qualifications continue to offer some protection against marginalization from the labor market. While unemployment among those aged between 15 to 24 years, with primary education, was of 55.5%, among those with high education was of only 31.7%; and while among the ones aged 25 to 34 years old with primary education was of 31%, those with higher education registered only 14%.

It seems to exist a curvilinear pattern in the relationship between political attitudes and behavior and age. Younger (15 to 24 years old) and older (more than 34 years old) are those with less positive attitudes (except for satisfaction with democracy) and less participation in politics. Such pattern suggests that we are facing life cycle trends: when becoming young adults the tendency will be to exercise a more active, close to the national average citizenship, which is the case for those aged between 25 and 34. Furthermore, it is to be noticed that the exercise

---

[1] Chancellor Angela Merkel has recently stated that the supposed excess of higher education graduates in Portugal inhibits employment and economy development.

of citizenship among young people in Portugal is associated with cognitive resources (level of education), socioeconomic (income) and political (party identification). Thus, detachment from political and citizenship could be seen as a young people's reaction that tends to pay with the same coin to a society that seems to have forgot them.

Once faced with this new situation, a recurring question arises: "Is it still worth taking a degree?" Judging for the above-mentioned research data, in what respects to Portugal the answer seems to be positive. However, such question has been stated in many industrialized nations and has been the subject of numerous theoretical debates as well as empirical researches. For several of these works, probably the most of them, the analysis has been restricted to the material or economic benefits of higher education. In such case, a consistent result appears: graduates receive higher salaries, have higher professional status and enjoy better living conditions in the medium and long term. Besides, for many young adults, from the most disadvantaged classes, a college degree would represent the guarantee of entering a middle-class lifestyle. No wonder then that the price paid for studies is generally considered, by many families, as an excellent economic investment, regarding their youngsters' future.

However, aside these benefits there are others, of non-economic nature, more rarely mentioned in the literature and political discourse. In this category are included components as diverse as the acquisition of new knowledge, civic participation, openness to others and their values, a healthier lifestyle (physical and mental), greater satisfaction with life, a progressive reduction of sex differences (in several areas) and, in general, a further development not only on a personal but also on a social ground [2]. Such benefits are documented by international studies supported on data from several countries (OECD 2010), while other refer to national conjunctures or regional situations, by comparing, for instance, institutions of various levels of education or different courses and diplomas within the same institution.

It is commonly accepted, within the official rhetoric, that higher education should not only prepare students for the exercise of a profession in a particular area –although an increasingly strong pressure aimed to narrow it to the globalized global markets is being felted–, but also to develop them in order to become citizens in a full sense. This means that higher education should also prepare young people for an effective compromise with democratic life. In fact, the sense of accomplishment and the meaning of life are not just associated with the profession one undertakes but also with many other aspects that refer to a broader sense of life. Individual consciousness as being a citizen with a genuine interest in the common good and public affairs is a core source of meaning. Besides, it is by undertaking a social role that individuals can express their voice, address common problems, set goals and experience a sense of collective efficacy, while they achieve results sought in common [3].

Despite the above discussed social and civic benefits, the idea that higher education is the new engine of social development is far from being widely accepted both in the realm of Academia and Politics. Some researchers complain about higher education saying that its benefits have not always been well demonstrated (especially non-economic ones), while, on the other hand, some politicians argue that higher education does not always justify the enormous effort that requires from society. Moreover, it is known that not all higher education produces the same benefits, which may vary depending on the institution, the course or the social class of origin. Hence, not always the successful completion of a course may represent the best option for some young people. The "bad news" in this regard, is that the higher education system does not seem to be particularly well organized to face such challenge.

---

[2] Indeed, knowledge, experiences and ideals of the new graduates end up affecting, in many ways, the society in which they operate. Such positive influence can take place through several ways: direct transmission of knowledge from teacher to student; exposure to a more open and diverse environment; access to new sources of information; more frequent participation in discussions in academia, resulting in a more reflective and critical attitude.

[3] Although, it is not clear that higher education is currently well oriented to accept the inclusion of these topics in curricula and has adequately respond to this new challenge.

Most specifically, within the academic debate, several limitations of methodological nature have been identified. In this regard, are noteworthy the difficulties of establishing a causal link between getting a degree and the improvements for individual life or social functioning. Particularly, it has not always been possible to control the effects coming from specific variables (e.g., social class). A recent review on the benefits of higher education, made by Brennan, Durazzi and Tanguy (2013), summarizes this issue by stating that it is well known that higher education has a considerable social, cultural and economic impact, while there is no sufficient knowledge on how this impact is exercised, on who it is exercised, when it is exercised and through which conveyors does such influence materializes[4]. The lack of information in this regard is particularly evident in Portugal. We could, for example, ask if young college graduates have a faster access to better jobs (higher wages), as well as a real social upward. Or is such mobility just for some, depending on social origin?

Using data from an ongoing longitudinal study, in which several hundred students were followed, since the first years of primary school until the last years of their twenties, our work aims to explore the impact that the successful completion of a higher education course could have in the early years of adulthood; most particularly, regarding civic engagement and political participation, respect for social values and norms, or even life satisfaction. In order to study these issues, we have divided the participants into two groups (those who have completed a degree and those who did not get one) and compared them on several measures relating to the areas in question.

The study of the above-mentioned issue is of great importance and, in a way, timeliness, as higher education institutions, especially university, are responsible for promoting common welfare and not only to provide the means to improve economic well-being. The former objective seems to need to be highlighted today, once that since the emergence of the current crisis the focus has been almost exclusively on the economic dimension of well-being and education. Now, it is precisely in times of crisis like this, that civic participation and the promotion of social welfare become fundamental.

It should also be noted that our study has the advantage of using longitudinal data, which will allow us to more easily test any causal links. When organizations such as the OECD warn about a crisis of civic participation and many countries are plunged into an economic and social crisis it is imperative we make efforts leading to a better understanding of how we can improve civic participation through education.

The developmental period of transition to adulthood is considered critical for several reasons: it is when personal identity is formed and the exploration of ideological commitment begins (Damon 2001; Hart 2005) and it is when certain crucial options, including those related to education, are made (Arnett 2000). As the theories of lifespan stress, it is when young people assume adult roles –like wedding, parenting and home buying– that political commitment patterns take shape (Kinder 2006). No wonder then, that assuming these roles propitiates rooting and commitment with community affairs (Finlay, Wray-Lake and Flanagan 2010). Young adulthood appears to be the ideal stage to build an ethic of civic engagement and the development of long-term civic commitments, providing, in particular, the basis for political ideologies that crystallize around the third decade of life (Jennings 1989).

However, a problem emerges from the fact that institutions are in principle developed by adults and to serve their own agenda, which means they were never designed to encourage and welcome civic participation of young people (Furlong 2009). A phenomenon which is aggravated by the fact that –at least in the case of the United States of America– an ambiguous duplicity of strong skepticism and commitment to participation in political life is simultaneously developed. "Politics" are then regarded as a coopted field of powerful sectarian interests, disconnected from the concern with the common interest. It has been found that, in turn, skepticism generates an attitude of repulsion for the same field, which then generates taboos and a certain disdain for the conflictive framework that challenges activism regarding issues of inequality. Although the referred repulsion appears also as a productive factor of civic and positive commitment, since denial can act as a protective mechanism of democratic ideals that are commonly supported against the ambiguities and contradictions of political practices (Bennett, Klein, Savell, Cordner and Baiocchi 2013). One could say it is the case of a kind of degenerative disinterest about politics that would motivate an active involvement in politics based on repulsion itself,

---

[4] Not to forget here that such phenomenon occurs within increasingly diverse higher education systems.

supported by the mindset grounded on the assumption that "demonizing politicians" would make citizens "angels". In such case, the distinction, more or less unconscious, between politicians and citizens would serve the purpose of creating both identities, while allowing a kind of citizenship "Do it yourself!" Meaning, that faith in democratic ideals remains along with the rejection of politics, shielded by establishing a border between the "we" citizens and the "you" politicians.

According to Levinson (2010), there is –in the specific case of the USA– a marked division between classes in relation to civic involvement: individuals who obtain a low school education and have lower income are usually the ones who are less likely to vote, volunteer and take on other civic commitments. But it is very significant, in particular, the positive association between civic engagement and education, which was identified as the most well-documented discovery concerning the political behavior of Americans (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry 1996). The higher tendency to vote from those who have obtained a higher education degree and better professional qualifications was demonstrated by Bynner (2005), for the case of Britain, while better schooling of parents also appeared associated with the likelihood of higher participation of young people, aged between 17 and 19, in electoral acts for 16 countries, including some European (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt and Nikilova 2002). As for the U.S.A., Zaff, Youniss and Gibson (2009) found that young people without higher education exhibit lower ratios of civic participation, including participation in electoral acts, volunteering and the so-called boycotts of certain political stances.

Traditionally, social life inclusion of young people has been conveyed by favoring contexts, among which stand out employment and higher education. The three to five or more years of tertiary studies provide many civic engagement opportunities, as well as the acquisition of political knowledge and citizenship skills within and outside the academic context. Peer group intimacy, participation in academic organizations, workshops attendance and collaborative study organizations, for instance, have positive effects on raising an involvement orientation and community engagement (Pascarella and Terenzini 2005).

It is also known that the exposure –provided by the attendance of higher education– to different points of view have an influence over individuals that can reach the fifty-year period, as Alwin, Cohen and Newcomb (1991) have shown, regarding the U.S.A., as well as Frazer and Emler (1997), to the case of the United Kingdom. Still, if it is often in class, or within universities' halls, that young people discuss civic, ethical and political issues, which require facing the responsibility about social problems, this does not mean that communitarian and social experiences do not hail the richest moments of involvement. The issue here is that often are first contexts, especially school ones, those more strongly prone to open a greater predisposition to the latter. Largely, because it is higher academic qualifications that, in general, provide higher rates of employment and higher wages among young adults. In Graphic 1 we present the evolution of the relationship between education levels and the average monthly wage, in the case of Portugal. For all cases, to a higher qualification corresponds a higher income and the biggest gap is found among those who have a degree when compared to the other qualification levels: in average it is close to the double.
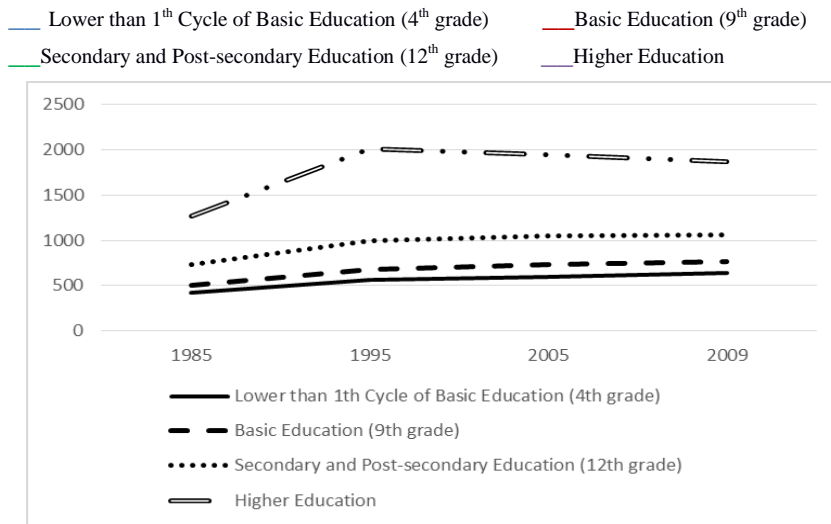
Graphic 1. Average monthly wages in relation to school level - 1985-2009 (Source: Observatório das Desigualdades)

Although the importance of civic, political and community involvement opportunities provided by primary and secondary school education has been recognized (Finlay, Wray-Lake and Flanagan 2010), we have to put its discussion aside for the moment. The same has to be said regarding the inductive power (to adult civic engagement) fostered by various social organizations and local and regional associations, clubs and youth organizations, political parties, sports groups, among others (McFarland and Thomas 2006; Flanagan 2004). An important civic engagement factor is also the governmental and municipal programs, specifically those targeted to young people (Finlay, Wray-Lake and Flanagan, 2010).

Taking into account the data that an ongoing longitudinal research has provided us, we should now focus on our main objective: to study the possible impact that the successful completion of a higher education degree may have in the early years of adulthood, particularly, to professional performance, civic and political participation, respect for social values and norms, as well as to life satisfaction. Although having an apparent disparity, it seems to us that these factors can be taken as components of a common framework. We rely on the ecological developmental model of Zaff, Hart, Flanagan, Youniss and Levine (2010), who have surpassed previous reductionist approaches by taking in consideration both the intra-individual factors (demographic, socio-psychological, values and motivations, knowledge, trust, belonging, personality, genetics) as well as the contextual ones (ethnicity, immigration, sociopolitical influences, family, promotion programs). So being, we understand civic involvement as being a multidimensional construct (integrating cognitive, affective and behavioural realms) that includes civic behaviours, skills, and engagement, as well as the ability to exercise one's own rights, the concern with the public affairs and common fate and the identification with other citizens' problems. As fundamental facets of civic participation, we highlight the following: voting; assuming tasks in electoral processes; assuming social and political activism; volunteering for community service; actively seeking information on socio-political issues; actively participating in social networks; and developing attitudes and values of altruism, tolerance, trust and common good appreciation.

Relying on the longitudinal ongoing research, we have ground to consider some intra-individual factors, namely Knowledge and, as socio-psychological variables, Satisfaction With Life and Meaning of Life. As to the contextual factors, we can refer to social class (measured by parents' academic level) and family.
Social class was measured considering the employment of the last six months.
Higher education was measured considering the subject's declared having at least 15 years of schooling.
Involvement in civic activities (global score) a questionnaire of community involvement below desegregated.
Life Satisfaction was measured by a 5 item scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griggins 1985)
Meaning of Life was measured by a 10 item scale (MLQ; Steger et al. 2006)
Thus, the central problem of this study can be formulated as follows: "Is there a relationship between the completion of a higher education degree (in Portugal) and the level of civic participation of young adults?" To this general question we can introduce the referred mediator factor in order to deduce a set of null hypotheses:

H_{0a}: There is no relationship between having completed higher education and the involvement in civic activities (global score);

H_{0b}: There is no relationship between having completed higher education, when controlled for gender, and the involvement in civic participation (global score);

H$_{0c}$: There is no relationship between having completed higher education, when controlled Life Satisfaction, and the involvement in civic participation (global score);

H$_{0d}$: There is no relationship between having completed higher education, when controlled for Meaning of Life, and the involvement in civic participation (global score);

H$_{0e}$: There is no relationship between having completed higher education, when controlled for Family (marital and housing condition), and the involvement in civic participation (global score);

H$_{0f}$: There is no relationship between having completed higher education, when controlled for Social Class, and the involvement in civic participation (global score).

2.Methodology

Sampling. The initial data collection was done through a two stages cluster sampling. In the first stage, Primary Schools (which in Portugal cover grades 1 to 4) were selected with proportional probability regarding the number of enrolled students, aging from 5 to 12. In the second stage, classes were randomly chosen, considering all the eligible students enclosed. The process has produced a large sample of students recruited from public schools in Coimbra. The 2nd and 4th grades (cohorts) were followed from infancy until their late twenties. Overall the sample consist of 893 subjects: 445 (46% where girls) of the 2nd grade and 448 (47,9% where girls) of the 4th grade.

Instruments. The reader must keep in mind that our study is embedded in a broader ongoing longitudinal research (Fonseca, Rebelo and Damião 2006; Taborda-Simões, Fonseca and Lopes 2011). Thus, for collecting data we relied on the Community Involvement Index (CII). CII is made up of eighteen items on a four-point scale (from 0=Never to 3=Frequently). Regarding family we used a nominal scale of 5 options: never married; married; widow; divorced; other situations. Complementary we used a nominal scale referring to housing conditions: leaving alone or with parents/friends. As to social class we used the SOC2010[5]

As to the variable of having a higher education degree we considered those who declared having completed a superior course.

Plan and procedures. For the overwhelming majority, research carried out in this area presents the limitation of being of simple cross-cutting nature. Such methodology does not allow to determine in which direction will the influence goes, if there is a strong correlation between the completion of a higher education and civic participation, nor whether this correlation in adulthood may best be explained by some other childhood or teenage variable that precedes it, thus producing information that could support both the understanding of success in higher education as the involvement in various forms of civic participation in the community and in common good management. One way around these difficulties, or gaps, points to the use of longitudinal studies, including prospective longitudinal studies, such as the one presented here. We have already mentioned that several standardized instruments and semi-structured interviews were used. Table 1 presents the moment when the instruments applied to the two cohorts, between 1993 and 2013.

Table 1. Collection of longitudinal research data

2nd Cohort	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
	1993	1997	2000	2003/4	2011/3
4th Cohort	T1		T2		T3
	1993		2001		2012/3

The procedure adopted for the first assessment, in 1992-1993, was described in detail by Simões, Ferreira, Fonseca and Rebelo (1995) and essentially it involved the following steps: request of necessary authorizations from parents and schools' principals; researchers' visits to selected classes for applying the data collection instruments. Although subject to minor adjustments, the procedure has remained the same in subsequent assessments (Fonseca, Rebelo and Damião 2006; Taborda-Simões, Fonseca and Lopes 2011) and those carried out until 2013.

---

[5] The SOC2010 corresponds to the Standard Occupational Classification and applies to measure social class.

3.Findings

Descriptive analysis. 725 participants answered the question about having a degree in higher education.
Table 2 presents the distribution by sex and the overall rate of higher education completion, where it stands out the greater percentage of Women.

Table 2: Having a degree by sex

	Men	Women	Total
n	97	166	263
%	36.9	63.1	100

In relation to the sample, it stands out the lower percentage of those that have completed higher education: 263 (36.3%). The Portuguese 2011 Census (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2012), reported an enrollment rate in higher education of 32.2% , i.e. 4.1 percentage points lower than that of our sample. However, according to a statement from the European Union (2012), in 2011, Portugal had a higher education completion rate for those individuals between 30 and 34 years, of only 26.1%, which is far below the European average (at 27 member states) that at the date reached 34.6% , a value similar to our sample.

Inferential analysis. Regarding the general hypothesis (H_{0a}), according to the results of Table 3, we found support to reject it and accept the alternative hypothesis: completing a course of higher education has a positive impact on the likelihood of involvement in civic activities.

Table 3: Relation between having a degree and the global scores of involvement in civic activities

Global score of Civic Involvement				
Without degree		*With degree*		
m	dp	m	dp	p
14,365	(6,828)	17,875	(6,662)	***

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; n.s. no significance

Besides, when we consider the significant aspects stated in Table 4, it becomes evident that results confirm significant differences between having a higher education degree and the several components of civic involvement, which we can consider community centered.

Tabela 4: Impact of higher education on Civic Involvement components

	Groups of participants		
	Without degree	With degree	p
Attend a Union meeting;	.1886	.2252	ns
Express opinions;	.1909	.3435	***
Raise consumer awareness of their rights;	.6000	.7328	*
Participation in neighborhood associations;	.5227	.5687	ns
Give money to institutional collection;	.8727	.9084	ns
Regular sport activity;	1.3841	1.6565	***
Interacting within the community;	1.7568	1.8779	ns
Save money for books;	.9182	1.5649	***
Visiting museums and presentations;	.7023	1.3397	***
Reading before sleep;	.7045	1.3969	***
Participating in birth celebration;	1.2615	1.2644	ns
Participating in wedding celebration;	1.3547	1.5287	**
Attend death service;	1.0690	1.2519	**
Reading religious documents;	.3250	.3550	ns
Praying or speak with religious man;	.4087	.4504	ns
Visiting ill or alone people;	1.1367	1.0268	ns
Participation in recollection for charity;	.6795	.8473	**
Participation in volunteering activities.	.2938	.5231	***

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; n.s.- no significance

Subsequent analysis revealed that, when controlling it for **Social Class**, the main effect remains unchanged for the total score of civic engagement, but for some of its items the differences were no longer significant, namely "Attend a Union meeting", "Express opinions", "Raise consumer awareness of their rights", "Praying or speak with religious man", "Visiting ill or alone people" and "Participation in recollection for charity.
Controlling the **Meaning of Life** as well as **Satisfaction With Life**, the main effect remains unchanged for the total score of civic engagement and for each one of its items which differ significantly for having or not having a higher education.

We found no differences between gender regarding to civic involvement between those who have or not higher education.

We found no differences in status (between married and unmarried) regarding to civic involvement between those who have or not higher education, nor in housing conditions (leaving in own house or not).

4.Discussion

The results showed that individuals with a higher education degree report greater civic involvement and give greater importance to civic involvement. It would be interesting to verify whether this pattern of results among the subjects of the two groups is maintained a few years later, when reaching the intermediate stage of adulthood.

However, a question arises about the way such influence is produced. Although this was not the purpose of our study, several hypotheses may be advanced, whereas a positive influence can be exercised through different conveyors: direct transmission of knowledge from teacher to student; exposure to a more open and diverse environment; access to new sources of information; increasing autonomy due to distance from parents during higher education; specific programs and experiences in the community; the opportunity to run by more broader life experiences; more frequent participation in debates; and, hence, the development of a more reflective and critical consciousness.

Although curricular and non-curricular factors are considered by several studies, probably none of them can provide a full long run explanation. The effect seems to be exercised cumulatively throughout the successive stages of development. But the reference to some processes (or factors) recurs in the literature, as for instance: being exposed to different perspectives and ways of thinking; the existence of curricula or courses with content related to civic participation; the participation in discussions crossing different or even opposing views; a climate in the classroom where students' opinion is considered and respected, etc. So being, if higher education contributes, by itself, to reinforcing or strengthening civic participation, could it be justified, the request of some researchers and managers, to introduce specific courses of civic participation in higher education curricula? Besides, could it be that some subjects are more prone than others to influence young people civic participation?

In conclusion, our results point to the existence of a relation, as reported by many authors in a broad range of countries, between higher education and young adults civic and political engagement. Such effect is still felted several years after finishing studies. Hence, it seems reasonable to propose that it should be taken in due account for higher education institutional assessment, which does not always occurs. Furthermore, a general recommendation can be withdrawn: we need to put greater emphasis on education (formal and informal) as well as in the promotion of a school environment conducive to the development of skills, values, attitudes and behaviours that may contribute to increasing young adults' civic participation. Particularly, we should look for the better ways of articulating such participation with the feeling of life satisfaction and a better understanding of the meaning of life among young adults.

5.References

Alwin, D.F., Cohen, R.L. and Newcomb, T.M. (1991). *Political attitudes over the lifespan: The Bennington women after fifty years*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press

Amadeo, J., Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Husfeldt, V. and Nikilova, R. (2002). *Civic knowledge and engagement: An IEA study of upper secondary students in sixteen countries*. Amsterdam: IEA. Retrieved from http:www.terpconnect.umd.edu/~iea

Arnett, J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development of civic identity in urban youth. *Applied Development Science*, 7, 156-154.

Bennett, A.B., Klein, P.T., Savell, S., Cordner, A. and Baiocchi, G. (2013). Disavowing politics: Civic engagement in an era of political skepticism. *American Journal of Sociology 119*(2), 518-548. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/674006

Bynner, J. (2005). Rethinking the youth phase of the life course: The case of emerging adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies, 8,* 367-384. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676260500431628

Comissão Europeia (2012). Press release: *Apesar dos progressos verificados na redução do abandono escolar precoce e no aumento de licenciados na Europa, é necessário continuar os esforços.* Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-577_pt.htm?locale=en

Damon, W. (2001). To not fade away: Restoring civil identity among the young. In D. Ravitch and J Viteritti (Eds.), *Making good citizens: Education and civil society* (Chapter 5). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Diener, E. Emmons, R. A. Larsen, R.J. and Griffins, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71-75. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13

European Commission (2005). Special EUROBAROMETER 225: Social values, science & technology. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf .

Feng, D. (2016). Promoting moral values through entertainment: a social semiotic analysis of the Spring Festival Gala on China Central Television. *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies*, *30*(1), 87-101. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2016.1164387

Finlay, A.K., Wray-Lake, L. & Flanagan, C. (2010). Civic engagement during the transition to adulthood: Development opportunities and social policies at a critical juncture. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Constance (Eds.), *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth* (pp. 277-305). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch11

Flanagan, C. (2004). Volunteerism, leadership, political socialization and civic engagement. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp 721-745). (2nd ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780471726746.ch23

Flanagan, C. (2009). Young people's civic engagement and political development. In A. Furlong (Ed.), *Handbook of youth and young adulthood: New perspectives and agendas* (pp. 293-300). London: Routledge.

Fonseca, A. C., Simões, A., Rebelo, J. A. and Ferreira, J. A. (1995). A relação entre comportamentos anti-sociais e problemas de hiperactividade no ensino básico: Dados de um estudo empírico. *Revista Portuguesa de Pedagogia*, *XXIX*(3), 107-118.

Frazer, E and Emler, N. (1997). Participation and citizenship: A new agenda for youth politics research? In J. Bynner, L. Chisholm & A. Furlong (Eds.), *Youth, citizenship and social change in a European context,* (pp. 171-195). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Furlong, A. (2009). Civic engagement and disengagement. In A. Furlong (Ed.) *Handbook of youth and young adulthood: New perspectives and agendas,* (pp. 291-300). London: Routledge.

Gregório, M. H. S. (2005). *Comportamento anti-social, saída prematura do ensino regular e trabalho: Um estudo exploratório* (Unpublished master's thesis). Coimbra University, Coimbra, Portugal.

Hart, D. (2005). The development of moral identity. In G. Carlos and C. P. Edwards (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Vol 51. Moral motivation through the lifespan* (pp. 165-196). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística, I.P. (2012). *Census 2011: Resultados definitivos - Portugal*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, I.P.

Jennings, K.M. (1989). The crystallization of orientations. In M. K. Jennings and J. van Deth (Ed.), *Continuities in political action* (pp. 313-348). Berlin: DeGruyter.

Kinder, D. (2006). Politcs and the life cycle. *Science*, 312, 1905-1908. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.1127891

Kroeger, A. and Weber, C. (2014). Developing a conceptual framework for comparing social value. *Academy of Management Review,* *39*(4), 513-540. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amr.2012.0344

Le Blanc, M. (1996). *MASPAQ: Mesures de l'adaptation sociale et personnelle pour les adolescents québécois. Manuel et guide d'utilization*. 3rd ed. Montréal: École de Psychoéducation.

Levine, P.. (2007). *The future of democracy: Developing the next generation of American citizens*. Medford, MA: Tuffs University Press.

Levinson, M. (2010). The civic empowerment gap: defining the problem and locating solutions. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta and C. A. Constance (Eds.), *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth* (pp. 331-362). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch13

Lobo, M. C., Ferreira, V. S. and Rowland, J. (2015). *Emprego, mobilidade, política e lazer: Situações e astitudes dos jovens portuguesas numa perspectiva comparada*. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Loeber, R., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., van Kammen, W. B. & Farrington, D. P. (1989). Development of a new measurement of self-reported and anti-social behavior for young children: Prevalence and reliability. In M. W. Klein (Ed.), *Cross-National Research and self-reported crime and delinquency,* (pp. 203-226). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-1001-0_10

McFarland, D.A. and Thomas, R.J. (2006). Bowling young: How youth voluntary associations influence adult political participation. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 401-405. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100303

Nie, N.H., Junn, J. and Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996). *Education and democratic citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1999). How Should What Economists Call "Social Values" Be Measured? *The Journal of Ethics*, 3, 249-273. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1009829301765

Pascarella, E.T & Terenzini, P.T. (2005). *How college affects students. Volume 2: A third decade of research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Simões, A., Ferreira, J. A., Fonseca, A. C. & Rebelo, J. A. (1995). Um estudo dos distúrbios do comportamento e dificuldades de aprendizagem no ensino básico: Opções metodológicas". *Revista Portuguesa de Pedagogia*, *XXIX*(3), 55-68.

Standard Occupational Classification. (2010). SOC2010 *The current standard occupational classification for the UK*, published in 3 volumes. Accessed at http://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/classificationsandstandards/standardoccupationalclassificationsoc/soc2010/soc2010volume1structureanddescriptionsofunitgroups

Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S. and Kaler, M. (2006). The meaning in Life questionnaire: assessing the presence of and search for meaning in life. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53, 80-93. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.53.1.80

Taborda-Simões, M. C., Fonseca, A. C. and Lopes, M. C. (2011). Abandono Escolar Precoce e Comportamento Anti-Social na Adolescência: Dados de um Estudo Empírico. *Revista Portuguesa de Pedagogia*, *45*(2), 187-198. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.14195/1647-8614_45-2_9

Zaff, J. F., Hart, D., Flanagan, C. A., Youniss J. and Levine, P. (2010). "Developing civic engagement within a civic context". In *The handbook of life-span development. Vol.2: Social and emotional development,* edited by M. E. Lamb and A. M. Freund, pp. 590-630. New Jersey: John Willey & Sons. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470880166.hlsd002015

Zaff, J.F.,Youniss, J. and Gibson, C.M. (2009). *An inequitable invitation to citizenship: Non-college bound youth and civic engagement*. Washington, DC: Philanthropy for Active Civic Engagement.