IEA Research for Education 12

A Series of In-depth Analyses Based on Data of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

Ernesto Treviño · Diego Carrasco · Ellen Claes · Kerry J. Kennedy *Editors*

Good Citizenship for the Next Generation

A Global Perspective Using IEA ICCS 2016 Data

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IEA Research for Education

A Series of In-depth Analyses Based on Data
of the International Association for the Evaluation
of Educational Achievement (IEA)

Volume 12

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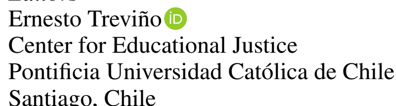
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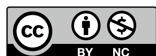

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Foreword

IEA's mission is to enhance knowledge about education systems worldwide and to provide high-quality data that will support education reform and lead to better teaching and learning in schools. In pursuit of this aim, it conducts, and reports on, major studies of student achievement in literacy, mathematics, science, citizenship, and digital literacy. These studies, most notably TIMSS, PIRLS, ICILS, and ICCS, are well established and have set the benchmark for international comparative studies in education.

The studies have generated vast datasets encompassing student achievement, disaggregated in a variety of ways, along with a wealth of contextual information which contains considerable explanatory power. The numerous reports that have emerged from them are a valuable contribution to the corpus of educational research.

Valuable though these detailed reports are, IEA's goal of supporting education reform needs something more: a deep understanding of education systems and the many factors that bear on student learning advances through in-depth analysis of the global datasets. IEA has long championed such analysis and facilitates scholars and policymakers in conducting secondary analysis of our datasets. So, we provide software such as the International Database Analyzer to encourage the analysis of our datasets, support numerous publications including a peer-reviewed journal—*Large-scale Assessment in Education*—dedicated to the science of large-scale assessment and publishing articles that draw on large-scale assessment databases. We also organize a biennial international research conference to nurture exchanges between researchers working with IEA data (https://www.iea.nl/our-conference).

The **IEA Research for Education** series represents a further effort by IEA to capitalize on our unique datasets, so as to provide powerful information for policymakers and researchers. Each report focuses on a specific topic and is produced by a dedicated team of leading scholars on the theme in question. Teams are selected on the basis of an open call for tenders; there are two such calls a year. Tenders are subject to a thorough review process, as are the reports produced. (Full details are available on the IEA website.)

This volume focuses on citizenship and, specifically, on what it means to be a good citizen around the world in 2021. It is clear that traditional notions of citizenship, mostly developed in cultural, economic, and historical settings with limited contemporary relevance, will no longer serve.

The authors are well aware that many people do not live in stable, liberal democracies, which are themselves fraying, and that civic engagement is necessarily shaped by powerful new forces—social media, climate change and environmental degradation, global health challenges, growing populism, and so on. Any meaningful contribution to the debates around global citizenship must take account of these new realities.

The authors have drawn on data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 to do precisely that. Starting from a high-level critique of the literature on citizenship, they interrogate ICCS data to uncover the prevailing patterns within teenagers' citizenship profiles. Five distinct profiles emerge from this, which provide a powerful tool for understanding the political, economic, and cultural factors that are associated with variations in young people's attitudes and behavior in the citizenship domain. It also permits a school-level analysis to identify the relationships between the characteristics of schools and students' citizenship profiles, revealing, for instance, which school practices are associated with a participatory orientation on the part of students.

Some of the most provocative elements of the book derive from the country-level analyses. Successive chapters delve into issues of specific interest in different parts of the world, for instance, tolerance for authoritarian regimes in Latin America, attitudes toward immigrants in Europe, and protest cultures in Asia. These present illuminating and challenging findings. Given too that they are grounded on robust data and careful analyses, they provide a salutary corrective to the many evidence-free assertions in widespread circulation.

In summary, the volume makes a significant contribution to the literature on global citizenship from a school perspective. It moves discourse on, theoretically and methodologically, and is replete with pointers for how schools can improve their offer in respect of citizenship education.

An upcoming publication in this series will provide an in-depth examination of TIMSS participation in the Dinaric region (including Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia) over time, the approaches of involved countries to implementing TIMSS 2019 at the primary level, and the wider educational contexts of the various systems, including demographic and cultural factors.

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Preface: A Timely Book to Examine How Democracy Lives in the Minds of the Young

While schools' role in preparing students for civic participation is the cornerstone of the creation of the public school, in practice, attention to this goal has varied over time and across countries. As democracy is always a work in progress, it entails a continuous reinvention process to expand the definition of membership, rights, and responsibilities. Likewise, the question of how schools are preparing students for civic participation should also be periodically revisited to assess whether the young are up to the task of making democracy live in their actions as ordinary citizens.

It is of course not just the self-renewing quality of democracy that calls for such examination of how the young are prepared to sustain it, but also its fragility that requires a critical and frequent review of the state of democracy in the minds and the hearts of the citizens. It is arguably in the apathy of citizens that democracy dies first, when ordinary people no longer care about whether freedoms and rights exist for all, when they become bystanders to the gradual or rapid process through which such freedoms are lost, or when they partake in breaking the norms that form the restraints that set us free.

Schools are a special place in which to examine the health of a democracy; it is there that democracy is reinvented, rejuvenated, recreated, or left to die. In the words of the preeminent scholar of education and democracy, John Dewey (1916):

> "It is no accident that all democracies have put a high estimate upon education; that schooling has been their first care and enduring charge. Only through education can equality of opportunity be anything more than a phrase. Accidental inequalities of birth, wealth, and learning are always tending to restrict the opportunities of some as compared with those of others. Only free and continued education can counteract those forces which are always at work to restore, in however changed a form, feudal oligarchy. Democracy has to be born anew every generation, and education is its midwife."

The time for such examination of the state of democracy in the minds of the young around the world could not be better, for democracy is wounded and at risk. The last few years have seen the most severe global democratic setback since the rise of fascism in the 1930s (Inglehart 2018). This setback includes the rise of populism, authoritarianism, and xenophobic movements in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (Inglehart 2018). Inglehart's analysis of the global

democratic decline attributes it to a reaction against immigration and increasing racial equality, and declining job security. "If the developed world continues on its current course, democracy could wither away. If there is nothing inevitable about democratic decline, there is also nothing inevitable about democratic resurgence" (Inglehart 2018, p. 20).

A recent Freedom House survey on the state of democracy around the world concludes that democracy faces its most serious crisis in decades as its core tenets—free and fair elections, rights of minorities, freedom of the press, and the rule of law—are under attack around the world. In 2017, 71 countries suffered declines in political rights and civil liberties, while only 35 experienced gains. This makes 2017 the 12th consecutive year in decline in global freedom. The report indicates that the United States retreated from its traditional role as a champion and exemplar of democracy as political rights and civil liberties decline in the United States (Freedom House 2018).

Similar decline in democratic values is documented in comparative surveys of political attitudes such as the World Values Survey, a series of polls surveying adults on political views and cultural values: "After 1980...support for authoritarian parties surged. By 2015, they were drawing an average of more than 12% of the vote across [the 32 western democracies that contained at least one such party]. In Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, authoritarian parties became the largest or second largest political bloc. In Hungary and Poland, they won control of government. Since then, they have grown even stronger in some countries. In the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the Republican candidate Donald Trump campaigned on a platform of xenophobia and sympathy toward authoritarianism" (Inglehart 2018, pp. 22–24).

In this book, Ernesto Treviño, Diego Carrasco, Ellen Claes, Kerry Kennedy, and their collaborators examine the civic knowledge and skills of secondary school students around the world. In particular, the book explores how these students conceive of democratic civic engagement and examines how their views of what it means to participate relate to their experiences in school, to the country they are in, and to other family and background characteristics.

The book offers a well-crafted example of the value of comparative analysis, combining cross-national analyses with regional analyses addressing questions of specific interest in three different regional contexts.

Relying on original and methodologically sophisticated analyses of data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) of 2016 conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), the book demonstrates the expectations that the youth have for their future civic engagement: those who both participate in democratic processes, such as voting in elections and participating in political campaigns and engaging in political parties, as well as participating in peaceful demonstrations or actively in campaigns for the environment or human rights and in community and grassroots initiatives (the authors term this form of civic engagement *comprehensive*); those who expect to participate predominantly in one of those two ways but not the other (*socially engaged* or *duty-based*); those who engage moderately in either (*monitorial*); and those who don't plan to participate (*anomic*).

The study shows cross-national variations in the percentage of students who fall into each of these groups, with the first three forms including most of the students in all countries, and with European countries exhibiting the greater percentage of students reflecting a comprehensive view of civic engagement. Various chapters reveal fascinating patterns of relationships between these forms of expected civic engagement and characteristics of students or of their educational opportunities. Of note is the consistent predictive value of civic knowledge, opportunities to be in classrooms that promote open discussions and collegial relations between students and teachers with comprehensive, socially engaged, and duty-based forms of civic engagement. Equally interesting is the strong relationship between embracing a comprehensive view of civic participation and interest in politics. Socioeconomic segregation is shown to relate to various preferences for civic engagement, with schools concentrating on students of higher socioeconomic background including more students who reflect a socially engaged or duty-based approach but not a comprehensive approach to engagement. Bridging educational inequalities requires efforts to provide learning opportunities for all students. Students need to participate in schools that promote civic knowledge and experience open discussion in their classrooms while receiving explicit education for democracy. Leveling the playing field at school, for students who have different opportunities at home, is necessary. The school effects discovered in the book suggest that schools often serve as engines to reproduce social inequalities. On the contrary, in democratic societies, the schools' role is to serve as equalizers of opportunities.

Surprising findings are the relatively high levels of support for authoritarian practices and high tolerance for corruption among students in Latin America, and the limited support for equal rights for women and immigrants in Europe; such support is higher among students who embrace a comprehensive approach to expected civic engagement. Of note also is the absence of differences between immigrant and non-immigrant youth in Europe in terms of their civic knowledge and dispositions to participate.

The book contributes a careful review of research on "good citizenship", identifying variations in definitions across disciplines and the dominance of the literature reflecting research conducted in affluent countries in the English-speaking world. This review is used to support the typology of forms of civic engagement, which is used throughout the book, as well as to introduce key themes which are subsequently examined in the various chapters.

The chapters focusing on Asia reveal the important strengths and limitations of school-based civic education. Underscoring the importance of explicitly examining the understanding of democracy—a significant gap in much research focusing on civic engagement—the authors reveal that while civic education in school predicts understanding of rights and opportunities, it is engagement in discussions about politics outside of schools that best predicts the capacity of students to identify threats to democracy.

The book is a timely and significant contribution to the scholarship on civic education. It both reassures and gives cause for concern, it shows that democracy is alive in the minds of the young around the world, and that schools do matter when

they intentionally set out to prepare them to engage civically. It also shows that while there are youth everywhere who embrace comprehensive views of civic participation, who understand the importance of participating in political processes and engaging with political processes, as well as the importance of social participation to advance human rights or environmental issues, there is still a long way to go to normalize such comprehensive democratic engagement. Do young people understand the risks to democracy of not knowing the basic tenets of democracy, of not engaging with political institutions?

Perhaps as important for the future of democracy as the questions this book asks and helps answer, with the value of careful scrutiny of empirical evidence, is the question of whether educators, policymakers, and the public appreciate the likely consequences when education for democracy fails to thrive in schools and in the minds of the young, as the world experiences a major democratic setback…

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About the Editors

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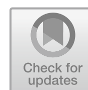
Dr. Diego Carrasco is a Researcher at the Centro de Medición MIDE UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. He investigates the methodological problems of measurement and inferential issues concerning national and international large-scale assessments, focusing on learning environments and citizenship education. Dr. Carrasco is co-chair (2019–2020) of the Comparative and International Education Society's Large-scale Cross-national Studies in Education special interest group. He helped establish the methodology for the fourth Comparative and Explanatory Study of UNESCO's Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education. He is currently a co-investigator for the "Chilean school system and the development of civic outcomes" project, researching the relationship between school environment and student endorsement of democratic attitudes, values, and beliefs.

Dr. Ellen Claes is an Associate Professor at the faculty of Social Sciences of the KU Leuven (Belgium). She has worked at the Centre for Political Science since 2005 and has been responsible for the Masters program in Social Science Education since 2013. Dr. Claes is interested in the relationships between school characteristics, citizenship education, and students' democratic attitudes. Her research focuses on open classroom climate and the opportunities this offers to counter ethnic prejudice and increase social and political trust. She also studies the effects of different teaching styles on students' political knowledge, interest, participation, and trust.

Kerry J. Kennedy is Professor Emeritus, Advisor (Academic Development), and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Governance and Citizenship at The Education University of Hong Kong. He is also a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Johannesburg. He is the Editor of Routledge's Schools and Schooling in Asia series, the Asia Europe Education Dialogue series, the Perspectives on Education in Africa series and Springer's Civic and Citizenship Education in the 21st Century series. He is also co-editor of Springer's Governance and Citizenship in Asia series. His most recent publication is Civic and citizenship education in volatile times: Preparing students for citizenship in the 21st century, published by Springer.

Good Citizenship and Youth: Understanding Global, Contextual, and Conceptual Tensions



Ernesto Treviño and Diego Carrasco

Abstract The current political times offer a complex global context to understand youth political attitudes and dispositions. This chapter describes both the international environment and the conceptual framework that justifies the need to better understand citizenship among youth in different countries of Asia, Europe, and Latin America. Traditional perspectives used to define citizenship fall short to the challenges of what is needed from a citizen in the 21st century, which has already brought the display of protests towards institutions, dissatisfaction with liberal democracies, the rise of authoritarianism and populism, concern about the climate crisis, and an increase of immigration. So, how can we understand and describe citizenship today? What is expected of the ideal citizen? The present book has three objectives. First, it aims to study good citizenship from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective. It finds that there are five configurations, presenting more complex interpretations that show how youth endorse different citizenship norms into distinct profiles that are internationally comparable. Second, across the different chapters, the book describes and discusses how these different configurations are distributed between countries and schools, and what is similar and what is distinctive between these profiles when compared against a range of citizenship outcomes. Third, the book focuses on specific challenges facing countries in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and provides locally informed research questions and interpretations of findings. We use IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 data to explore these objectives. We briefly describe the content of each chapter in the following sections and the methodological approach used in each chapter.

Keywords Citizenship · Youth · Global citizenship · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

Recent developments have brought into question some of the long-held assumptions regarding the role of citizens and notions of democracy. The fall of communist regimes, the rise of post-industrialization, and the technological developments that allowed the expansion of social media have radically changed notions of good citizenship, how people participate in politics, and the ways in which the political system responds to these changes in society.

The argument that liberal democracy and capitalism have become the dominant paradigms for the future political organization of societies (Fukuyama 1992b) has been called into question by reality. The promises of liberal democracies to increase well-being and opportunities have not always been achieved and, in recent years, authoritarian and populist politicians have been elected in different democracies. In this context, young people seem less and less interested in participating in elections and party politics (Wattenberg 2002).

The spread of social media, once thought of as a tool for enhancing citizen participation, has shown to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, social media has facilitated the connection and organization of social and political movements. On the other hand, it has facilitated message manipulation and misinformation, which has become a real threat in terms of biasing public opinion with misleading information on topics subject to political debate. In the same regard, global challenges have brought new complexities when thinking about citizenship. The climate crisis, which has become a source of global unrest for younger generations, is a challenge to which economic and political systems have not yet responded. An increase in migration between countries has been used by some politicians to establish intolerant and xenophobic political discourses. Finally, along with these challenges, some authors have advanced essentialist interpretations suggesting that some cultures are less democratic than Western societies (Booth and Seligson 1984; Fukuyama 1992a; Lagos 2003; Seligson and Booth 1993). This stance promotes simplistic interpretations of citizenship that ignore historical, political, economic, and societal features that can provide a more nuanced understanding of citizenship around the world. This global scenario calls for a better understanding of citizenship and the urgent need for implementation of evidence-based policy measures for the citizenship development of current generations of students in order to better prepare them for the unprecedented local and global challenges they will face.

The purpose of this book is twofold. First, it aims to study good citizenship from a theoretical and empirical perspective, advancing more complex interpretations that show how different citizenship attributes may have counterintuitive interactions with different profiles of citizenship of young people. Second, the book focuses on specific challenges facing countries from Asia, Europe, and Latin America, providing locally-driven research questions and interpretations of findings. Through this approach, the authors seek to inform the reader about essential citizenship issues in different parts of the world. At the same time, the book draws attention to the scientific community of often ignored relations between citizenship norms and other civic outcomes. The

dominant notions of citizenship—mainly from United States scholars—have implicitly imposed theoretical definitions, defined the focus, and generated interpretations of results that may not take into account the specific historical, economic, cultural, and political characteristics of different contexts.

The authors used data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 to answer their research questions and perform empirical analyses. In the following sections, we briefly provide an overview of the book and summary of each chapter and its key ideas.

2 Understanding Citizenship From a Multidimensional Perspective

Citizenship is a polysemic term and a multidimensional concept. First, citizenship is polysemic because it does not carry a single unified meaning. Its meaning varies due to the contextual characteristics of societies, in particular their value systems. What are the requirements to be a citizen, especially to be a good citizen? Different political systems are organized in different forms, including via elite-driven forms, like liberal democracy, communitarian forms, or welfare state systems, among others. These forms of organization must be consistent with the prevalent value system of the societies in which they are enacted, which are dynamic and the result of historical processes (Conover et al. 1991; Denters et al. 2007). When the organizational form of a political system shows a mismatch with the values of the people, the system may face tensions with its citizens (Lipset 1959; van Deth 2017). Therefore, in different countries and regions, definitions of good citizenship vary regarding the expectations of how citizens should contribute to society.

Second, citizenship is a multidimensional concept because we require different attributes and constructs to cover all its aspects. These aspects include critical dimensions of citizenship like civic knowledge, political participation, beliefs about democracy, understanding of democracy, and attitudes towards different population groups, among others (Schulz et al. 2016; Stokke 2017; van Deth 2007). However, these attributes of citizenship are not consistently correlated (Isac et al. 2014). For example, some attributes of citizenship might be especially convenient for democratic systems, such as a positive inclination towards electoral participation. However, high political participation may also present negative attitudes towards the equal rights of minorities among some groups. Therefore, simplistic definitions that assume that certain dimensions of citizenship are beneficial for democracy under all circumstances may be misleading. The present gap is relevant for both the understanding of citizenship as a research topic, and the proposal of policy measures for citizenship development.

The study of the multifaceted nature of the definitions of citizenship may benefit from an in-depth theoretical understanding, sophisticated methodologies, and contextual interpretations that can illuminate specific situations in different countries. The

chapters of this book aim to combine these three elements to research citizenship. The book includes a systematic review of the literature that provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of good citizenship. It uses a person-centered approach to develop theoretically informed citizenship profiles of the students that participated in ICCS 2016, based on their responses to different citizenship norms. Finally, based on these profiles, the book offers two types of analysis. First, it studies the general trends of citizenship and their relationship with school variables in the participating countries. Second, it offers specific research questions and answers related to pressing issues in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, dwelling on citizenship norms endorsement profiles from students, different dimensions of citizenship, and relevant contextual variables from each region.

3 Substantive Overview

The book consists of 12 chapters, including this introduction. Chapters 2–5 provide a general overview of good citizenship and establish the basis for more in-depth analyses in the rest of the book. Chapter 2, through a systematic literature review, answers the question: "What is a good citizen?" In doing so, it analyzes 120 academic articles that deal with the concept of good citizenship in the period from 1950 to 2019. The chapter shows that the concept of good citizenship has been an essential part of the discussion in many academic fields, including political science, education, sociology, anthropology, evolution, and history, among others. Within these disciplines, the concept of good citizenship is broadly defined, incorporating notions from multiple fields. Moreover, most of the work of this literature has been produced in Western countries with comparatively high-income levels. Despite this feature of the literature, there is no single notion of good citizenship, and, on the contrary, the idea of what a good citizen is seems to be a mutating concept related to both new global challenges and local contextual characteristics. Finally, the chapter concludes that the literature has produced empirical evidence, based on the existing norms of good citizenship, which focus on a citizen's ideal attributes.

Chapter 3 is the empirical backbone of the book, which provides the primary variable of discussion of the book. This section uses a multigroup latent class to produce comparable realizations of citizenship norms profiles, across the 24 participating countries from ICCS 2016. Following the literature on this matter, the profiles are developed using 12 items of citizenship norms selected from ICCS 2016. These items cover a wide range of citizenship norms, including "always obeying the law," "voting in every national election," "promoting human rights," and "engaging in political discussions." The chapter presents a structurally homogenous model that allows the classification of students in interpretable and comparable groups of citizenship norms profiles across countries. The selected model used to represent the different forms of endorsement to citizenship norms consists of five different classes. These are comprehensive, duty-based, socially-engaged, monitorial, and anomic profiles. The first profile encompasses students who endorse all citizenship norms. In contrast, the

anomic profile consists of students who do not highly endorse any of the presented citizenship norms. Duty-based students highly endorse formal participation in politics. However, these students disregard participation in protests, demonstrations, and participation in the local community. Conversely, socially-engaged students highly endorse active participation in protests, demonstrations, and participation in the local community, but disregard participation in elections and party politics. Finally, the monitorial profile endorses the relevance of voting and participating in protests and the promotion of human rights, yet to a lesser degree than the previous group. These profiles are used in the other chapters either as an outcome or predictor variable to study specific issues of good citizenship around the globe.

Chapter 4 presents a general comparative analysis of good citizenship in the 21st century to address the question of how countries' characteristics relate to the distribution of profiles across countries. In order to understand notions of good citizenship, this chapter uses a comparative policy approach to uncover the relations between the citizenship norms profiles and political, economic, and cultural attributes of countries and regions included in ICCS 2016. This section argues that, although civic norms profiles are a set of common patterns across countries, there are also large differences in the distribution of these profiles among countries. General results include the low proportion of students endorsing citizenship norms with an anomic profile and a higher proportion of comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles. Complementary, national income and the use of social media for political and social issues are the two variables that most consistently explain differences in notions of good citizenship across countries.

Chapter 5 uses a school effectiveness approach to analyze students' citizenship configurations in the sample of countries included in ICCS 2016. This chapter uses a multinomial multilevel model to analyze the relationship between students' citizenship norms profiles and the characteristics of their schools. The results show that schools with higher opportunities for civic learning seem to promote a comprehensive profile of citizenship norms endorsement, in comparison to other profiles of citizenship norms. Likewise, schools with higher levels of open classroom discussion are positively related to students displaying a comprehensive profile, in contrast to anomic and monitorial profiles. These findings suggest that school practices from civic education are critical variables in developing more participatory citizenship profiles. In terms of civic background, it is clear that being interested in political and social issues and discussing these topics outside the school increase the odds of the comprehensive profile. A similar result was found regarding students' engagement with social media for political purposes. Across schools, students who post and read political and social issues in social media environments are more likely to present a comprehensive profile of citizenship norms endorsement, in contrast to other profiles. Finally, in terms of socioeconomic variables, schools with higher socioeconomic status students are more likely to have socially-engaged or duty-based profile students instead of comprehensive profile students.

Chapter 6 investigates the political culture and citizenship norms in the five Latin American countries that participated in ICCS 2016. It stresses that the history of the region is plagued by political unrest, civil war, human rights abuses, and military

dictatorships, which have interrupted the development of democracies. Over the last decades, several attempts have been made to consolidate representative regimes in the region, especially in post-dictatorship periods, but scholars have questioned the quality of these democracies (e.g., Haynes 2003; O'Donell 1994). The chapter aims to answer the question: To what extent do democratic ideals coexist with authoritarian ideas? To this end, the study uses regression models, with robust standard errors, and different predictors to explain students' support for authoritarian government practices. The results indicate that, in Latin America, there is a significant level of support for authoritarian ideas among students, which is consistent with previous research focused on the adult population. Additionally, students from the duty-based and comprehensive profiles show higher levels of support for authoritarian practices. In contrast, students with monitorial and anomic profiles are less likely to support these types of practices. Finally, civic knowledge protects young people from authoritarian ideas and moderates the effect of different citizenship norms endorsement.

Chapter 7 examines tolerance of corruption among students in Latin America. Specifically, this chapter investigates the relationship of tolerance of corruption with citizenship attributes (e.g., authoritarian beliefs, civic knowledge, and endorsement of citizenship norms), levels of open classroom discussion that students experience in the school, and parental education (as a student background variable). Governments in this region have promoted reforms to increase transparency in governmental practices, assuming that citizens can identify, condemn, and denounce corrupt acts. Such efforts may be futile if citizens hold high levels of tolerance for corruption. This chapter studies which students are at higher risk of tolerance of corruption and addresses how schools may promote the endorsement of anti-corruption norms. Civic knowledge and authoritarianism are the main predictors of tolerance of corruption, accounting for 49% of the variance at the population level. In a multilevel model, open classroom discussion is a negative predictor of tolerance of corruption. However, when civic knowledge is included, open classroom discussion diminishes its effects, thus displaying indirect effects. Citizenship norms are related to tolerance of corruption in complex ways: anomic students are less tolerant of corruption than their classmates. In contrast, monitorial students have higher levels of tolerance to corruption. Finally, schools with a concentration of duty-based students are more tolerant of corruption than the rest of the schools.

Chapter 8 focuses on citizenship norms among native and immigrant students from a European perspective. It first considers the unprecedented diversity in student populations in Europe resulting from the recent rapid influx of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Additionally, it considers European education policy frameworks, which stress that citizenship education needs to promote common attitudes and values in the student population while respecting cultural diversity. Based on these two elements, the chapter focuses on understanding attitudinal differences between immigrant and European-born students in nine European countries participating in ICCS 2016. While holding constant other background characteristics, immigrant students are less likely to be socially engaged and endorse more comprehensive norms in four out of the nine European countries and regions participating in the study; this includes Denmark, Sweden, Malta, and Belgium (Flemish). For

all other groups, immigrant students were less likely to be duty-based in countries such as Sweden and Belgium (Flemish) than the comprehensive profiles. In Malta, in particular, immigrant students were less likely to present a monitorial profile than a comprehensive profile. Overall, the authors found that native-born and immigrant students tend to endorse similar configurations of norms in most European countries. When differences in citizenship norms adherence exist, the most common finding indicates that immigrant students are more likely to hold comprehensive citizenship norms (e.g., Denmark, Sweden, Malta, Belgium). The authors conclude that further research is needed to understand students' motivations to endorse different citizenship norms among European countries.

Chapter 9 studies European citizenship norms and tolerance in adolescence. The chapter considers both the sudden influx of immigrants and the provisions in the Treaty on European Union regarding "respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities" (Article 2) as part of the challenge to understand citizenship. Specifically, it investigates how existing norms-based citizenship profiles relate to the concept of political tolerance, analyzing the relationship between the profiles and the support of students for equal rights of others (immigrants and women) in society. The study reveals two clear patterns. First, students in the comprehensive profile deal well with the ambivalence present in the definition of tolerance, especially regarding equal rights for immigrants. This group scores high on all the indicators of good citizenship. It seems to be able to disagree with others, and hence also to work with immigrant groups towards higher social cohesion in Europe. Second, the other citizenship norms profiles seem to have issues giving equal rights to other groups. The duty-based, monitorial, anomic, and even the socially-engaged students, show significantly lower support for equal rights for immigrants, in comparison to the comprehensive students. This latter result can imply a very narrow interpretation of the rights of non-Europeans in Europe.

Chapter 10 studies the predictors of democratic and traditional values in Hong Kong SAR (hereafter Hong Kong, for ease of reading), the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea), and Chinese Taipei. This chapter uses structural equation modeling to analyze Asian students' understanding of democracy, distinguishing between threats to democracy and rights in democracies, while challenging essentialist assumptions proposing that Asian cultures may be inclined to organize themselves around "soft authoritarian regimes" (Fukuyama 1992a; Tu 1996). Furthermore, by focusing on understandings of democracy, the chapter challenges several of the definitions of citizenship posed by Western scholars, which focus mainly on participation. Results show that Asian students have a reasonably sound grasp of threats to democracy. Similarly, students also present a fair understanding of the rights and opportunities democracy provides. Altogether, these results reflect on the fact that, in all of these societies, democracy, local tradition, and authoritarianism have all been present as part of their social and political history. Concerning the citizenship norms, the study finds that only for the case of Chinese Taipei, duty-based students scored lower than the comprehensive group on Threats to Democracy, and engaged students scored lower on Rights and Opportunities. School-based civic learning programs

and political discussion outside schools emerged as the most robust variables to enhance students' understanding of democracy in terms of rights. However, these same variables are not necessarily related to understanding threats to democracy.

Finally, Chap. 11 analyzes protest cultures as preferred forms of future civic engagement for Asian students. Hong Kong, Korea, and Chinese Taipei have been recent sites of both legal and illegal protests, many of which have involved young people. The study explores the extent to which illegal protest is considered as a form of future civic engagement by students using a person-centered approach that yielded five latent classes: Radicals, Radical Activists, Conservatives, Pragmatic Activists, and Reluctant Participators. These profiles were compared to conventional citizenship norms to understand Asian students' citizenship values and their proposed civic actions. The chapter observes that the Pragmatic Activists, the Radicals, and the Radical Activists all considered participating in protests as a form of civic engagement. These groups are not only willing to take part in illegal forms of protest, but also legal forms, including electoral participation. Thus, it seems that these groups are more politically engaged than other profiles.

4 Methodological Overview of Empirical Chapters

The empirical analyses presented in Chaps. 3–11 use different methodological perspectives, described below (see Table 1). Before describing the methods of each chapter, it is important to stress that the empirical analyses carried out in Chaps. 4–10 use the citizenship norms profiles produced in Chap. 3 either as an outcome or as an independent variable.

Chapter 3 uses a structurally homogeneous latent class model to generate citizenship norms profiles across countries. The realizations of this fitted model are then used in the rest of the book as manifest variables. Chapter 4 presents a series of descriptive analyses at the country level in which profiles of good citizenship are treated as outcome variables and related to different social, economic, and institutional characteristics of the countries. Chapter 5, following a school effectiveness approach, uses a multilevel multinomial logistic model specifying citizenship norms profiles as outcomes, while students and school attributes are included as covariates. Chapter 6 studies the relationship between the citizenship profiles and characteristics of the Latin American political culture collected through the Latin American module in the ICCS survey. It fits a series of regression models in which the citizenship norms profiles were included as covariates to predict students' support of authoritarian government practices, along with other students' attributes, including civic knowledge and socio-demographic factors. Chapter 7 fits a series of multilevel models to study the tolerance of corruption among students in Latin America, using the citizenship profiles as predictors. Chapter 8 studies citizenship norms among native and immigrant students from a European perspective, it fits multigroup multinomial logistic models in which citizenship norms profiles were specified as outcomes. Chapter 9 studies the relationship between citizenship norms and attitudes towards

Table 1 Summary of inferential models proposed in each chapter

Chapter	Title	Model	Citizenship norms profiles
3	Profiles of good citizenship	Mixture models	Latent variables
4	A comparative approach to notions of good citizenship	Descriptive analysis	Outcomes
5	A school effectiveness approach to good citizenship	Multilevel multinomial logistic regression	Outcomes
6	Latin american political culture and citizenship norms	Regression analysis	Predictor
7	Tolerance of corruption among students in Latin America	Multilevel models	Predictor
8	Citizenship norms among native and immigrant students from a european perspective	Multiple group multinomial logistic regression models	Outcomes
9	Citizenship norms and tolerance in european adolescents	Multiple group multinomial logistic regression models	Outcomes
10	Predictors of asian adolescents' understanding of democracy	Confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling	Predictors
11	Asian students' preferred forms of future civic engagement: beyond conventional participation	Latent profile analysis and multinomial/logistic regression models	Alternative measure of student political participation preferences

equity for women and immigrant groups. It fits multigroup multinomial logistic regression models in which attitudes towards these groups are predictors of the citizenship norms profiles. Chapter 10 uses structural equation models to test how the understanding of democracy is explained by the profiles of good citizenship and other variables. Finally, Chap. 11 uses a latent profile analysis and generates three profiles to classify Asian students according to their preferred forms of civic engagement. A multigroup mean comparison was used to enhance confidence in the selected solution, comparing students' attitudes towards civic learning, civic values, civic participation experiences, student-teacher relation, and other variables of interest. Finally, multinomial logistic regression analysis is used in this chapter to study the relative weight of predictor variables on the profiles for civic engagement.

All estimates present in this book include the survey design of the ICCS 2016 study. Students' responses in this study are obtained via a stratified two-stage probability sampling design, where schools are selected systematically with probability proportional to size within each stratum. Within each school, an intact classroom is

randomly selected, and all its students respond to the different instruments included in the ICCS 2016 study (for more details, see Schulz et al. 2018). Because students' responses from the same schools and classrooms are not independent observations, this can lead to underestimating standard errors of estimates of fitted statistical models (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2012; Snijders and Bosker 2012). To avoid Type I error inflation due to its design, fitted models in the present book used corrections for variance estimations. Population average models (McNeish 2014) used in Chaps. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11 rely on Taylor Series Linearization (Asparouhov and Muthén 2010; Stapleton 2008) to get correct standards errors. In all these chapters, survey weights were equally weighted, so all countries contributed equally to the point estimates (Gonzalez 2012). Additionally, multilevel models included in Chaps. 5 and 7 rely on the pseudo maximum likelihood method. In these chapters, survey weights were rescaled, so all countries contributed equally. Moreover, within each country, survey weights were scaled for multilevel models to the effective sample size (Stapleton 2013). In summary, the presented estimates take advantage of the ICCS 2016 study design to provide inferences to their respective sampling frame of reference.

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What Is a "Good Citizen"? a Systematic Literature Review

Cristóbal Villalobos, María Jesús Morel, and Ernesto Treviño

Abstract The concept of "good citizenship" has long been part of discussions in various academic fields. Good citizenship involves multiple components, including values, norms, ethical ideals, behaviors, and expectations of participation. This chapter seeks to discuss the idea of good citizenship by surveying the academic literature on the subject. To map the scientific discussion on the notion of good citizenship, a systematic review of 120 academic articles published between 1950 and 2019 is carried out. The review of the literature shows that good citizenship is broadly defined, incorporating notions from multiple fields, although these are mainly produced in Western countries with comparatively higher income levels. Additionally, although there is no single definition of good citizenship, the academic literature focuses on three components: the normative, active, and personal dimensions. This systematic review informs the estimation of citizenship profiles of Chap. 3 using the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Good citizenship · Systematic review · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

The concept of "good citizenship" is part of a long-standing discussion in various academic fields, such as political science, education, sociology, anthropology, evolution, and history, among others. In addition, good citizenship involves various components, including values, norms, ethical ideals, behaviors, and expectations of participation. Finally, the idea of good citizenship is related to diverse contemporary issues, such as patterns of political participation, the meaning of democracy and human rights, the notion of civic culture, equal rights, and the role of technology in the digital era (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009; Dalton 2008; Hung 2012; Noula 2019).

In this regard, the notion of good citizenship can be considered as a concept with three basic characteristics: multidisciplinary, multidimensional, and polysemic. Therefore, the definition of good citizenship is a topic of constant debate and academic discussion. This chapter seeks to discuss the idea of good citizenship, with the aim of contributing to the understanding of this phenomenon and its social, political, and educational implications. In this way, this chapter aims to map the academic discussion and literature regarding the notion of good citizenship, presenting the key debates about the limits and possibilities of this concept in the framework of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016.

In order to organize this complex debate, we start from the premise that any notion of good citizenship is composed of the interaction of two definitions. On the one hand, it involves a certain notion of membership, that is, of belonging to a community. As Stokke (2017) shows, the definition of who is (and who is not) a citizen is, in itself, a subject of debate, since the definition of citizenship implies political, social, cultural, and legal components. On the other hand, the definition of good citizenship always implies a conceptual position regarding how citizens are expected to act and what they are expected to believe (the "public good" component). In this sense, the debate focuses on the types of behaviors that should be promoted and their ethical-political basis, which is highly dynamic depending on the cultural and historical context (Park and Shin 2006). Finally, in order to answer the question about the meaning of good citizenship, it is necessary to first decide who qualifies as a citizen, and how they are expected to behave.

Considering these objectives, the chapter is structured into five sections, including this introduction. The second section describes the systematic review methodology used to select the literature and analyze the discussion regarding the concept of good citizenship. The third and fourth sections describe the results of the analysis, mapping the main trends and characteristics of the academic discussion on good citizenship and exploring its different meanings. Finally, the fifth section presents the conclusions, focusing on the conceptual challenges and methodological limitations to be considered in future research.

2 Methodology

2.1 The Systematic Review

We conducted a systematic review to map the academic discussion on good citizenship. This review seeks to identify, evaluate, and analyze the publications in relevant fields of study, in order to determine what has already been written on this topic, what works and what does not, and where new studies are needed (Petticrew and Roberts 2006). Through the definition of eligibility criteria, the systematic review is an explicit and reproducible methodology that allows for both an evaluation of the validity of the results of the selected studies (Higgins and Green 2011) and the objective valuation of evidence by summarizing and systematically describing the characteristics and results of scientific research (Egger 1997). In this regard, the systematic review, unlike other forms of literature review, allows for recognizing "gray" spaces in the literature, describing trends in academic research, and analyzing conceptual and methodological aspects of studies.

2.2 Procedure

The systematic review was conducted using five academic databases, including the main journals in the fields of education, social science, and the humanities. These databases are: (i) Journal Storage, JSTOR (https://www.jstor.org); (ii) Educational Resource Information Center, ERIC (https://eric.ed.gov); (iii) Springerlink (https://link.springer.com); (iv) WorldWideScience (https://worldwidescience.org); and (v) Taylor & Francis Group (https://www.tandfonline.com). For each search engine, the keywords used were: "good citizen" and "good citizenship." Additionally, each search engine was tested with other related concepts, such as "citizenship norms," "citizenship identities," or "citizen norms." The results showed that articles containing these latter concepts represented no more than 10% of new articles. For this reason, we decided to concentrate on the two keywords described above.

Considering the importance of these key concepts, the search was limited to those articles that contain these terms in the title, abstract, and/or full text. Of the five search engines, only two had the full-text option in the advanced search and only one allowed searching by keywords, then all results were filtered manually. The search was conducted from May to July 2019, obtaining 693 academic articles.

The search was restricted to those academic articles written in English and published between 1950 and 2019, as a way to study contemporary conceptualizations of good citizenship. We discarded letters to the editor, responses to articles, and book reviews. As a result, we obtained 693 articles to which, based on a full-text review, we applied an additional criterion, excluding those articles about other subjects or from other disciplines. Included in the first search exclusively for having the word "citizenship" in the abstract, there is a wide range of articles including

studies on biology, entomology, and film studies. Similarly, with this search strategy we retrieved articles on a related topic but not specifically about citizenship (e.g., leadership, public participation, social values, and immigration), articles on the concept of corporate or organizational citizenship, and articles on social studies in the school curriculum and its contribution to the education of citizens.

After applying the abovementioned selection criteria, we analyzed the abstracts of the articles to verify that they were related to the general objective of the study. As a result, all articles were selected that sought (directly or indirectly) to answer the question, "what is a good citizen?" Specifically, this involved incorporating studies that: (i) study or analyze citizen norms in conceptual, historical, political, educational, or social terms; (ii) generate models or analytic frameworks that define variables or dimensions that should make up the concept of a good citizen; (iii) explore factors on how good citizenship occurs, studying the educational, institutional, and cultural factors that would explain this phenomenon; (iv) relate the expectations (or definitions) of a good citizen with other dimensions or aspects of the political or social behavior of the subjects. The research team, which was comprised of two reviewers, held a weekly discussion (six sessions in total) during which the selection criteria were discussed and refined. This analysis resulted in the selection of a total of 120 articles (see list in Appendix A).

2.3 Analytical Strategy

The data collected in a systematic review may allow for a wide variety of studies, but the analysis depends on the purpose and nature of the data. Given that the review included quantitative and qualitative studies, as well as both theoretical and demonstrative essays, such heterogeneous literature does not allow for statistical analysis. As a result, the recommended methodology is to carry out a narrative synthesis and an analysis that focuses on relationships between different characteristics and the identification of gaps (Grant and Booth 2009; Petticrew and Roberts 2006).

The narrative synthesis is a process that allows for extracting and grouping the characteristics and results of each article included in the review (Popay et al. 2006), and can be divided into three steps: (i) categorization of articles; (ii) analysis of the findings within each category; and (iii) synthesis of the findings in the selected studies (Petticrew and Roberts 2006). The first step towards the narrative synthesis consisted of reading, coding, and tabulating the selected documents in order to describe their main characteristics. A set of categories was designed to classify documents according to four dimensions: general characteristics, purpose, methodology, and results.

To analyze these categories, we transformed data into a common numeric rubric and organized it for thematic analysis, using the techniques proposed by Popay et al. (2006). The first category was used to summarize the quantity and characteristics of the published studies, while the thematic analysis focused on systematically identifying the main, recurrent, and/or most important concepts of good citizenship.

3 The Concept of Good Citizenship in Academia

Despite being a topic of interest for several decades, academic production on good citizenship tends to be concentrated in the second decade of the 21st century. Since 2009, there has been an explosive increase in the number of scientific papers published on this topic (Fig. 1). Although an important part of this growth may be due to the global pressures of academic capitalism to publish in academic journals (Slaughter and Rhoades 2009), it could also be the case that academic communities have cultivated a growing interest in studying this issue.

Although few in number, the earliest articles published represent a landmark for the discussion. Thus, for example, the text of Almond and Verba (1963), which analyzes through interviews the perceptions of individuals in communities in five countries (United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and Mexico) and highlights their different participation profiles, has been repeatedly cited in the discussion with 263 references (as of August 2019), according to Google Scholar. Another classic text is Ichilov and Nave (1981), which aims at understanding the different dimensions of citizenship by surveying young Israelis. To this end, it generates the following five criteria, which have been widely used in academic discussions: (i) citizenship orientation (affective, cognitive, or evaluative); (ii) nature of citizenship (passive or active); (iii) object of citizenship (political or non-political); (iv) source

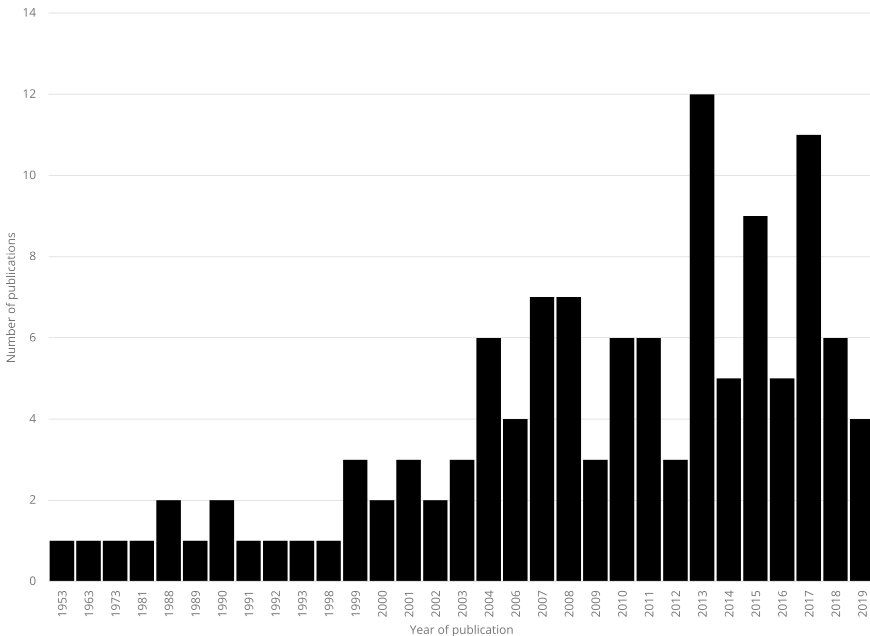

Fig. 1 Academic papers by year of publication

of demand (mandatory or voluntary); and (v) type of guidance (support principles or behavior).

The selected articles are geographically concentrated in two aspects: by institutional affiliation and by the location of their studies. Considering the institutional affiliation of the authors, 32.77% of the articles were produced in the United States, a figure that rises to more than 60% when the countries of Western Europe and Australia are included. This bias is maintained, although to a lesser extent, when analyzing the countries where the studies were carried out. Moreover, more than 50% of the studies were carried out in the United States, England, and the democracies of Western Europe. Africa (4.24%) and Latin America (2.54%) were the regions least represented in the studies. These characteristics, which tend to be representative of global academic production in the social sciences (Connell 2007), may encourage certain notions of good citizenship that are anchored in Anglo-Saxon traditions, such as the liberal conception of citizenship studied by Peled (1992), or more recently, the conception of active citizenship (Ke and Starkey 2014), both of which have had an important influence on academic discussion about good citizenship.

Finally, the third characteristic of academic production is related to the multiple research fields and diverse purposes of the studies that deal with the concept of good citizenship. Research on good citizenship is published in multiple disciplines. Of the articles included in the review, 82.29% are concentrated in three disciplines: education, political science, and sociology. However, there are also articles associated with journals of history, philosophy, anthropology, and law. Additionally, we identified six main objectives from the articles reviewed (Table 1). The most common objectives are related to bottom-up research, which seeks to gather information on how diverse populations understand good citizenship, and top-down research, which seeks to conceptualize and/or define the idea of good citizens based on conceptual, historical, or political analysis. In addition, there are a wide variety of studies that

Table 1 Distribution of papers by main objective

Main objective	Number	Percent (%)
To study citizen norms in conceptual, historical, political, educational, or social terms	26	21.67
To generate models or analytical proposals on what variables should make up the concept of good citizenship	12	10.00
To explore factors on how good citizenship occurs, investigating the educational, institutional, and cultural factors	18	15.00
To associate good citizenship with other dimensions or aspects of political or social behavior	9	7.50
To study the perceptions of the population regarding the concept of good citizenship	26	21.67
To study education programs or policies that promote citizenship	27	22.50
Other	2	1.67
Total	120	100

seek to explain good citizenship, as well as studies that use the idea of a good citizen to explain other behaviors, skills, or knowledge. In other words, in addition to being multidisciplinary, research on good citizenship has multiple purposes.

In sum, although the academic discussion on good citizenship has been mainly developed during the last two decades in the most industrialized Western countries, the academic research is a field of ongoing and open debate.

4 Understanding the Meaning of "Good Citizenship"

As an academic field with a lively ongoing discussion, the notion of good citizenship is associated with different sets of ideas or concepts. Some keywords were repeated at least three times in the articles reviewed (Table 2). Only those articles that used a keyword format were included. The most frequent concepts are related to education, norms, social studies, political participation, and democracy.

Table 2 Frequency of keywords

Keyword	Number of times appeared as keyword	Frequency (%)
Citizenship	25	7.35
Citizenship education	15	4.41
Good citizen	9	2.65
Good citizenship	9	2.65
Social studies	8	2.35
Citizenship norms	7	2.06
Civic education	7	2.06
Democracy	5	1.47
Active citizenship	4	1.18
Engaged citizenship	4	1.18
Citizens	3	0.88
Duty-based citizenship	3	0.88
Civic engagement	3	0.88
Political participation	3	0.88
Education	3	0.88

This indicates that, first, studies tend to associate good citizenship with civic norms and citizen learning, highlighting the formative nature of the concept. Second, studies that associate good citizenship with other dimensions of citizenship (such as knowledge or civic attitudes) or contemporary global problems (such as migration) are comparatively scarcer.

Another way to approach the concept of good citizenship is by analyzing the definitions proposed by the authors in the articles studied. Most of the articles propose characteristics or aspects of good citizenship (in 43.8% of the cases) that, instead of creating new definitions, are often based on existing political, non-political, liberal, or philosophical concepts. In this regard, many papers define good citizenship based on specific behaviors. In contrast, other authors (18.6%) refer to citizenship rules when it comes to voting or participating in politics, thereby seeking to relate the concept of the good citizen with a specific civic attitude—participation in elections. Finally, a large group of studies define good citizenship in terms of the values, virtues, or qualities of a good citizen (22.6%). Within the group of studies that propose new definitions, it is possible to identify two main categories: studies that propose types of citizenship, such as Dalton (2008), distinguishing between "duty" and "engaged" citizenship, and works, such as Westheimer and Kahne (2004), which differentiate between "personal responsible citizenship," "justice-oriented citizenship," and "participatory citizenship."

Finally, the meaning of good citizenship can be analyzed by studying the variables used in the studies. Among the quantitative studies included in the review, only 28.3% use international surveys such as ICCS, the Center for Democracy and Civil Society (CDACS), the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), the United Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID) Survey, and the European Social Survey (ESS). Each of these surveys contained a slightly different definition of good citizenship and the variables used to measure the concept (Table 3).

In general, the indicators used to measure citizenship in the different surveys share certain similarities. Variables associated with rules (such as obeying the law or paying taxes) are present in all surveys. Additionally, variables related to participation also have an important presence, especially (although not only) related to voting in national elections. To a lesser extent, surveys include variables related to solidarity (supporting people who are worse off than yourself) as well as attitudes related to critical thinking and civic culture (knowing the history of the country, thinking critically).

5 Discussion and Conclusions

The concept of good citizenship can be considered an umbrella term, which includes ethical, political, sociological, and educational aspects and discussions about who qualifies as a citizen and how they should act. The systematic review has shown

Table 3 Dimensions and variables of good citizenship in international surveys

Survey	Dimension	Variables
Citizenship, involvement, democracy (CID) survey 2000–2001	Patterns of good citizenship	(i) Form own opinion; (ii) Be self-critical; (iii) Obey laws; (iv) Not evade taxes; (v) Think of others; (vi) Show solidarity
European social survey 2002	Good citizen	(i) Active in politics; (ii) Active in voluntary associations; (iii) Forming independent opinions; (iv) Obeying laws and regulations; (v) Supporting people worse off than yourself; (vi) Voting in elections
International social survey program 2004	Citizenship norms: Civil, political, and social responsibilities	(i) Never try to evade taxes; (ii) Always obey laws; (iii) Always vote in elections; (iv) Active in social and political associations; (v) Keep a watch on the actions of government; (vi) Try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions; (vii) Choose products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons; (viii) Help people in your country who are worse off than yourself; (ix) Help people in the world who are worse off than yourself
International civic and citizenship education study (ICCS) 2009	Good citizenship behaviors	(i) Voting in every national election; (ii) Joining a political party; (iii) Learning about the country's history; (iv) Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV, or on the internet; (v) Showing respect for government representatives; (vi) Engaging in political discussions; (vii) Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust; (viii) Participating in activities to benefit people in the local community; (ix) Taking part in activities promoting human rights; (x) Taking part in activities to protect the environment; (xi) Working hard; (xii) Always obeying the law

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Survey	Dimension	Variables
ICCS 2009 asian regional module	Student perceptions of good citizenship	(i) A person who obeys the law is a good citizen; (ii) A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen; (iii) One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person; (iv) Having good morality is more important than having good knowledge for one to be a good citizen; (v) Self-cultivation is an important process of becoming a good citizen; (vi) For one to become a good citizen one must have a high quality of spirituality; (vii) Even if a person behaves properly they cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality

that good citizenship is broadly defined, although these notions are mainly valued in Western countries with comparatively higher income levels.

For this reason, the definition of good citizenship used is, in large part, highly dependent on the research objective of the academic endeavor. In our case, the analysis is based on ICCS 2016, which defines good citizenship in relation to notions such as conventional citizenship, social movement citizenship, and personal responsibility citizenship (Köhler et al. 2018). The variables included in ICCS 2016 are related to the three main dimensions of good citizenship: normative, active, and personal. These three components of good citizenship have been essential in the academic discussion in the last seven decades, constituting the central corpus of the concept, although this definition does not incorporate current discussions on good citizenship, which focus, for example, on the notion of global citizenship (Altikulaç 2016) or the idea of digital citizenship (Bennett et al. 2009). These latter concepts are part of the ongoing debate on good citizenship, although it seems that more work is needed to better understand how these notions of citizenship are related to the ways in which individuals or groups in society relate to power and exercise it to shape the public sphere.

This systematic review has mapped the academic discussion to date on good citizenship. However, despite its usefulness, this review has a number of limitations. Firstly, it summarizes and analyzes the academic discussion, ignoring the gap between the scientific debate on good citizenship and the social discussion related to this subject. Secondly, it focuses on English-language literature, which may result

in a bias towards publications produced in Western countries. In spite of these limitations, the review allows us to study the process of defining the concept of good citizenship, and to identify the main debates related to this notion, which is the central focus of this book.

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Appendix A

The following list of publications is the reviewed references for the systematic review conducted in this chapter.

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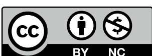

Profiles of Good Citizenship

David Torres Irribarra and Diego Carrasco

Abstract Latent class analysis has been used in previous research to compare the configuration of citizenship norms endorsement among students in different countries. This study fits a different model specification, a homogenous model, in order to produce interpretable and comparable unobserved profiles of citizenship norms in different countries. This analysis was conducted using data from IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, which includes responses from students in 24 countries in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The five-class citizenship norms profiles results and the trade-offs in model specifications are discussed in this chapter. The five-class solution presented here is comparable to previous studies assessing citizenship concepts in various settings.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Duty-based citizenship · Engaged citizenship · Latent class analysis · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

1 Introduction

Large-scale international studies like the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, coordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), collect responses from participants in different countries, and generate composite indicators using these responses. The availability of responses from participants across countries is advantageous for making comparisons between different contexts. However, a key problem for large-scale studies is to guarantee comparability across generated indicators. For comparisons across countries to be meaningful, the indicators used to capture the variability of an attribute of interest must present invariant properties. That is, studies assuming

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measurement equivalence between countries need to provide evidence of this equivalence. When comparisons across countries are the goal, it is necessary to provide evidence of the extent to which a certain indicator is comparable between the different groups. Once equivalence is supported by evidence, then claims regarding the difference (or similarities) between countries, or relationships between covariates (or lack thereof) are interpretable. Without equivalence, differences between countries may be due to unobserved sources of variance other than the attribute being studied, including translation differences in indicators (Byrne and Watkins 2003) and cultural differences involved in the response process (Nagengast and Marsh 2013), among other possible sources.

International large-scale studies rely on complex sample survey designs to support population inferences. This entails the presence of sampling weights and stratification factors, which are additional study design components that should not be ignored. Based on the framework presented in Chap. 2, we propose to address the issue of invariance, while including the sampling design in the computation of our estimates. We investigate whether the endorsement patterns for different normative citizenry indicators are comparable between countries. In particular, we assess whether a comparable model fits the data reasonably well, in contrast with other alternative models. To this end, we use a typological latent class analysis (Hagenaars and McCutcheon 2002; Lazarsfeld and Henry 1968).

A latent class analysis is pertinent for this task as it identifies unobserved groups of respondents, with each group characterized by a specific pattern of response probabilities. Previous findings have found diverse configurations of endorsement of citizenship norms (Hooghe et al. 2016; Reichert 2017), and latent groups that resemble Dalton's distinction (Dalton 2008) between duty-based and engaged citizenship. Based on the work of Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Oser and Hooghe 2013) in modeling citizenship norms, and the literature of latent class models for multiple groups (Eid et al. 2003; Finch 2015; Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015; Masyn 2017) we discuss the trade-offs between model fit and the possibility of invariant interpretations based on the analysis of a latent class structure by contrasting solutions under structural homogeneity across countries versus a partially homogeneous solution.

2 Conceptual Background

2.1 Endorsement of Citizenship Norms by Different Citizens

Citizenship norms express what is required from citizens in a given nation. According to previous research, the behavior expected from citizens to be considered "good citizens" includes a varied set of duties, such as obeying the law, voting in elections, and helping others (Mcbeth et al. 2010). However, the pattern of adherence to these sets of norms varies in form, and different citizenship profiles have been developed

to fit this pluralism of civic norms. Several authors have studied how adherence to citizenship norms depends on the object of the norm (Dalton 2008), the participation required (Westheimer and Kahne 2004a, b), and the core norms expressed by each profile (Denters et al. 2007). Dalton (2008) divides norms between those that express allegiance to the state, such as obeying the law, and those that express allegiance to the proximal group, such as the support of others, leading to the distinction between duty-based citizenship and engaged citizenship. Westheimer and Kahne (2004a, b), on the other hand, differentiate between levels of involvement, including those who carry out their duties (personally responsible), those who organize actions in the community (participatory citizens), and those who critically assess society (justice-oriented citizens). Denters et al. (2007) differentiate among citizenship models based on core norms: a traditional elitist model (law abiding), a liberal model (deliberation), and a communitarian model (solidarity). In general, it is difficult to model citizenship norms adherence as a single unidimensional construct, as the participant responses often display response patterns that cannot be limited to a single distribution.

To account for the complexity of adherence to citizenship norms, other authors have relied on latent class analysis (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Reichert 2016a, b, 2017). This approach, unlike principal component analysis and factor analysis used in previous research (e.g., Dalton 2008; Denters et al. 2007), allows us to distinguish a set of unobserved groups from a set of observed measures (Masyn 2013). As such, instead of distinguishing dimensions that describe the proclivity of participants to give a higher category response, it identifies the most likely patterns of responses by participants. In this regard, participants are classified as high or low in more than one dimension simultaneously, thus expressing a typology of norms endorsement. With this approach, Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016) have consistently identified five patterns: all-around, duty-based, engaged, mainstream, and subject, using data from IEA's 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) and 2009 ICCS, including more than 21 countries. Reichert (2017) found four similar groups, excluding the mainstream group, using data from Australian youth (ages 19–24 years). These later approaches echo the distinction identified by Dalton (2008) between duty-based and engaged citizenship, while also identifying other configurations of citizenship norms endorsement.

2.2 *The Present Study*

We followed the approach of Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016), and fit a series of latent class models to students' answers on the citizenship norm survey included in ICCS 2016. These items resemble injunctive norms (Cialdini et al. 1991). Each item represents something considered desirable, sanctioned, or expected. In other words, the items describe what people ought to do in contrast to descriptive norms (what people tend to do) (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004). As such, students' responses do not imply engaging in each action. However, social norms predict the likelihood of students to vote, participate in

protests, and obey the law (Gerber and Rogers 2009; Köbis et al. 2015; Rees and Bamberg 2014; Wenzel 2005). Thus, from a normative perspective, identifying how students adhere to different citizenship norms is relevant to understand how endorsement of different norms is configured within the student population, and how these profiles of adherence vary in different contexts.

Unlike previous research, which has relied on partially homogenous model specifications (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016) to compare citizenship norms adherence between countries, we use a structurally homogenous model. Partially homogenous models include interactions between indicators and country membership, thus allowing item intercepts to vary freely between countries. This model specification is akin to a differential item functioning model (Masyn 2017), where the pattern of response probabilities are allowed to vary across countries, and in that way making them inconsistent with a unified interpretation of the latent group across all countries. As such, partially homogenous models consist of multigroup descriptive models, where only the structure of the latent model is preserved between the compared countries (Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015), while the response pattern of each latent class is not preserved. In contrast, structurally homogenous models imply the same response pattern for each latent class, and only the rates of the latent classes may vary between countries. This allows us to interpret a specific latent class based on the same response pattern in different countries.

3 Method

Data Sources. We used students' responses from IEA's ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). This study obtained responses from a representative sample of grade 8 students (average 14 years), using a two-stage probabilistic design with schools as the primary sampling unit, selecting a classroom of students in each school (Schulz et al. 2018b). In 2016, 24 countries participated in the study from Europe (Belgium (Flemish), Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Sweden, North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany)), Latin America (Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru), and Asia (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea).

Variables. The indicators selected in the analysis are those used by Hooghe and colleagues in previous studies (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). In ICCS 2016, students had to evaluate the importance of different behaviours in terms of being a good adult citizen, using a four-point Likert-type scale, with the response options of "very important," "quite important," "not very important," and "not important at all." These indicators, presented in Question 23, are listed in Table 1.

Although the original survey format included the four previously described options, in this study we worked with a binary recoding of the response data. We re-categorized responses as either *important* (including "very important" and "quite important") or *not important* (including "not very important" and "not important at all"). This recoding scheme presents two advantages. It guarantees comparability

Table 1 Indicators included in the analysis

Items	Item text
Obey	Always obeying the law
Envir	Taking part in activities to protect the environment
Rights	Taking part in activities promoting human rights
Vote	Voting in every national election
Work	Working hard
Local	Participating in activities to benefit people in the < local community>
History	Learning about the country's history
Respect	Showing respect for government representatives
News	Following political issues through the newspaper, radio, TV, or internet
Protest	Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust
Discuss	Engaging in political discussions
Party	Joining a political party

Source ICCS 2016 student questionnaire (Köhler et al. 2018)

with previous research on the same items (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016), and also diminishes cells sparseness (Eid et al. 2003), when there are many indicators and groups.

3.1 Analysis

Our analysis focused on the use of a (structurally) homogeneous model to analyze profiles of good citizenship across countries in order to prioritize the interpretability of international comparisons (Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015). A homogeneous model assumes that it is possible to identify a set of qualitatively distinct classes in the population being studied, each with a characteristic response pattern, *which is stable across all countries* (i.e., the probability of agreeing to each item within each class remains invariant across countries), while allowing the proportion of people that belong to each class to be country specific (i.e., the probability of observing each class can vary from country to country). In other words, while the model assumes that each class has the same response pattern in each country—thus ensuring comparable interpretations across them—the prevalence of each class can vary from one country to another.

In order to identify the most appropriate model, we relied on a two-step strategy, with a first stage of exploratory analysis focused on the identification of the number of classes, and a second validation stage focused on the replication of the results using the selected model. Accordingly, the full dataset was divided into two randomly selected groups within the primary sampling unit (i.e., the schools).

The selection of the number of latent classes was conducted in the exploratory stage by examining the empirical results from models that considered between 1 and 10 latent classes. However, the interpretation of the results was not solely empirical, as it was also informed by the existing results in the literature by Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016).

In accordance with previous studies, we use multiple criteria to determine the final number of classes, including the meaningful interpretation of patterns, as well as statistical indices, such as Akaike information criterion (AIC) and Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the percentage change in the likelihood ratio chi-square statistic, and the level of classification error.

Once the number of classes was selected, we examined the stability of the solution by replicating the same analysis on the validation sample, and, based on these results, we proceeded to examine the response patterns within each class and their similarity to the classes previously reported in the literature (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016).

We then contrasted the selected solution under the homogeneous measurement model with the more flexible solution offered by a partially homogenous model specification in order to illustrate the costs in terms of interpretability that are associated to the adoption of a model that allows the variation of the patterns of response probabilities within each country and conclude illustrating the characteristics of the classification of individuals across countries.

All estimates were produced using Latent Gold 4.5 software (Vermunt and Magidson 2013), including scaled survey weights (up to a 1000), so each country contributed equally to the estimates (Gonzalez 2012). For standard error estimation, we use Taylor Series Linearization specifying schools as primary sampling unit, and jackzones as their pseudo strata (Asparouhov and Muthén 2010; Stapleton 2013).

4 Results

4.1 Model Selection

We conducted analysis for models considering from 1 latent class to 10 latent classes. We inspected the summary of fit statistics for all these models (see Table 2), to select the most appropriate and interpretable model. The information criteria pointed to models with a larger number of classes than the theoretical expectation of a five-class solution, with the BIC pointing towards a nine-class solution, and the AIC pointing towards the solution with 10 classes. However, when examining the percentage change in the L^2 values (likelihood ratio chi-square statistic), it is possible to see that the fit improvement is marginal, varying only around 6% (0.52–0.46) between the models with six and ten classes, while at the same time increasing by about 5% the classification error rate (0.27–0.22). As a result, we focused more closely on the

Table 2 Summary of fit results for the exploratory latent class models

Classes	BIC	AIC	Param.	L^2	% change L^2	Class. Err.
1	141606	141517	12	37882	–	0.00
2	130423	130068	48	26361	0.30	0.09
3	128057	127436	84	23656	0.38	0.15
4	127011	126124	120	22272	0.41	0.18
5	126388	125235	156	21312	0.44	0.20
6	125846	124426	192	20431	0.46	0.22
7	125469	123784	228	19716	0.48	0.21
8	125146	123194	264	19055	0.50	0.23
9	125009	122791	300	18580	0.51	0.25
10	125037	122553	336	18269	0.52	0.27

Notes BIC = Bayesian information criteria; AIC = Akaike's information criterion; Param. = Number of parameters estimated in the model; L^2 = Likelihood ratio chi-square statistic; % change L^2 = Percentage of change of L^2 between k–1 and k class model; Class. Err. = Classification error. Fit indexes obtained with the exploratory sample

solutions between four and six classes, where we could still observe a larger reduction in the percentage change in the likelihood ratio chi-square statistic, while at the same time maintaining a comparable rate of classification errors (between 0.18 and 0.22 for the four-class and six-class solutions, respectively).

Among these three models, the four and five-class solutions presented classes with markedly different patterns of response probabilities, while the additional pattern added in the six-class model differs mostly in terms of a single indicator related to the history of the country. We inspected the response profile of the five-class model to compare it to previous studies (Fig. 1). The response profile expresses the expected response on each item for each latent class. The expected response were indeed consistent, though not identical, with the classes previously described by Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). In light of these trade-offs, and considering both the theoretical and statistical criteria, we decided to adopt the five-class solution as the basis for the remaining analysis.

4.2 Stability of the Five-Class Solution

In order to confirm the stability of the chosen solution, we fit the five-class model using the validation sample and produced its profile plot (Fig. 2). The results from the exploratory and validation samples are very similar. Their expected probability of responses, presented in the profile plots (Figs. 1 and 2), display an average difference of 0.02 and maximum difference of 0.06. The difference in prevalence of each class between these two samples is also very low, ranging between 0.01 and 0.02 in the

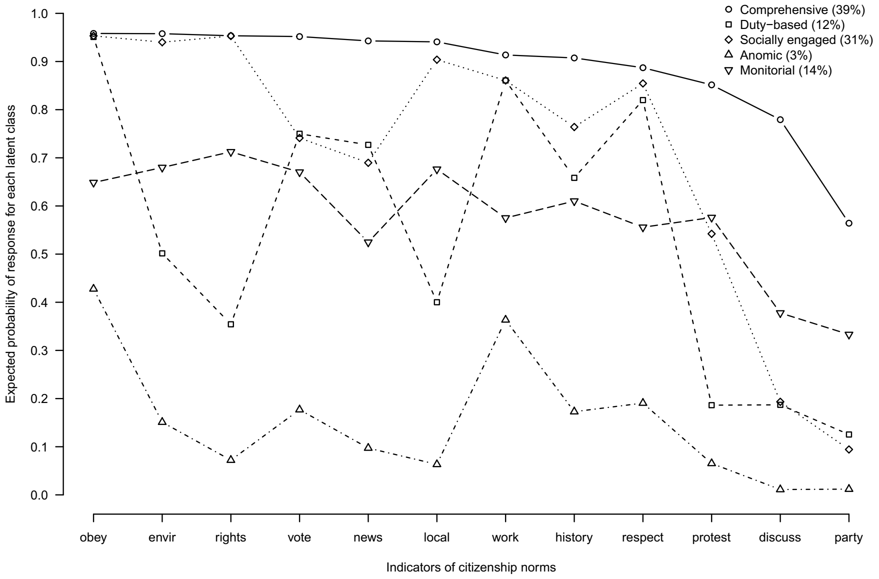

Fig. 1 Patterns of response probabilities for the five-class solution in the exploratory sample

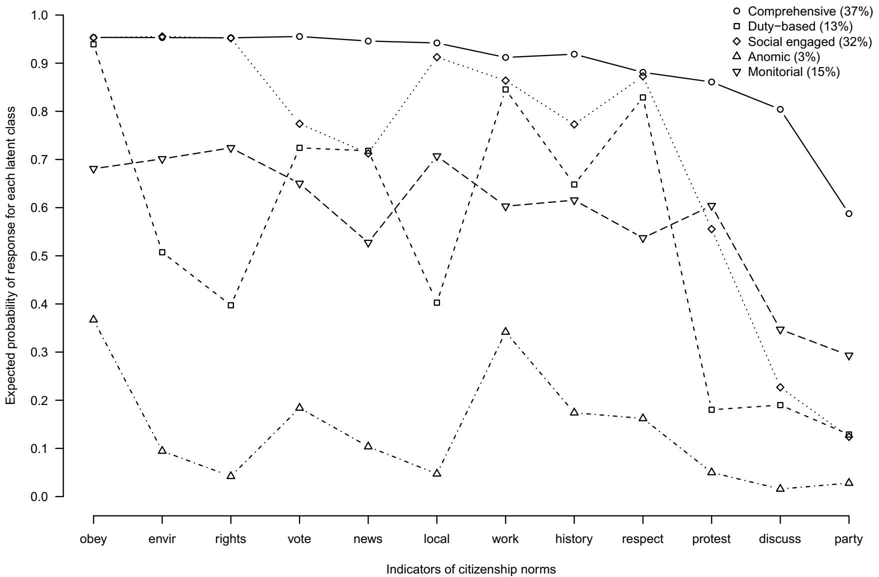

Fig. 2 Patterns of response probabilities for the five-class solution in the validation sample

expected latent classes. These later results largely resemble the results obtained by Hooghe and Oser (2015) using data from ICCS 2009 (see Table 3).

4.3 Response Patterns

To interpret the latent class solution, we interpret the expected probability of response to each item, conditional to the latent class, which are summarized in the profile plot presented in Fig. 1. We paid special attention to two features of the obtained results; the typical response to indicators from a class, and responses that express class separation, that is response patterns that distinguish groups of respondents (Masyn 2013). To assign names to the generated classes by the selected model we used two criteria. The first criterion is that the latent class names should describe, and not contradict, a feature of the expected response pattern, or its class rate. Thus, if a latent class is named "majority," then its rates should be higher than the rates of the rest of the latent classes. The second criterion is to choose names from previous literature, as long as they do not fit the first criteria. This later criterion is used to aid theory development, in order to formulate expectations regarding the relations of these different latent classes for further research.

The first pattern presents a consistently higher probability of answering "important" to all the items, thus expressing that all civic norms are important to this class of students. This class matches the "all-around" class reported by Hooghe and Oser (2015). In this study, we have labeled this class as a "comprehensive" understanding of citizenship, as it exhibits probabilities above 0.78 for all items, with the exception of joining a political party. It is worth noting that this item is consistently the least likely to be considered important across all the different classes. "Comprehensive" seems a better term because this class of students valued different forms of civic engagement, including manifest forms of participation such as voting, extra parliamentary actions, peaceful protest, and social involvement, for example by helping in the local community (Ekman and Amnå 2012).

Table 3 Summary of prevalence of the five classes across the different samples

Class	Label used by Hooghe and Oser (2015)	Proportion in exploratory sample	Proportion in validation sample	Proportions in Hooghe and Oser (2015)
Comprehensive	All-around	0.39	0.37	0.35
Duty-based	Duty-based	0.12	0.13	0.15
Socially engaged	Engaged	0.31	0.32	0.30
Monitorial	Mainstream	0.14	0.15	0.13
Anomic	Subject	0.03	0.03	0.06

Notes Hooghe and Oser (2015) obtained prevalence of five classes using ICCS 2009 data. The exploratory and validation sample prevalence results were obtained using ICCS 2016 data

The most contrasting pattern is the class with lowest probability of answering "important" across all items. This pattern matches the "subject" class presented by Hooghe and Oser (2015). We have labeled this group as "anomic," because it expresses the lowest endorsement of all citizenship norms included, in comparison to the rest of the classes. It comes from the idea of *anomie*, from the Latin "lack of norms" or normless (Schlueter et al. 2007), "a condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individuals" (Macionis 2018, p. 132). This class of students seems to represent this definition in the most descriptive sense, as a loss of internalized social norms (Srole 1956). Approximately, less than a fifth of the students of this class considered all the citizenship norms included in this study to be important, with the exception of two items: obeying the law and working hard. About four out of ten students from this group consider hard work and obeying the law as desirable attributes for a good citizen. However, this rate of endorsement is too low to be considered typical of this group, as >0.7 or <0.3 of probability of response are more sensible thresholds for typifying a class (Masyn 2013).

The remaining three response patterns lie between these two extremes. The least variable of these three patterns, consistently presents probabilities between 0.52 and 0.71 for all items except the indicator associated with political discussions and joining a political party (with probabilities of 0.38 and 0.33, respectively). This pattern is similar to the "mainstream" class reported by Hooghe and Oser (2015). We have disregarded the mainstream term because this concept may suggest that this class is the largest group between all classes. However, this response pattern accounts for 14–15% of students, thus remaining outside of the most typical class within the full typology. Instead, we have labelled this group as "monitorial" (Hooghe and Dejaeghere 2007), because its response pattern is a mix of valuing non-conventional forms of political participation, while disregarding engaging in political parties (0.33). However, it expresses some political interest by valuing participation in elections (0.67), and values non-institutionalized forms of political participation (Amnå and Ekman 2014), such as peaceful protests against unjust laws (0.58), participating in activities to benefit the local community (0.68), promoting human rights (0.71), and protecting the environment (0.68).

The remaining patterns are characterized for greater variability in the probability of considering certain aspects as important features of citizenship. The fourth pattern shows very high probabilities of considering as important those elements related to the protection of the environment, the protection of human rights, participation in activities that benefit the local community, as well as highly valuing obedience to the law and respect for government representatives (all with probabilities between 0.85 and 0.95). These high probabilities contrast with a lower probability of considering as important participation in political discussions and joining a political party (0.19 and 0.09, respectively). This pattern is similar to the "engaged" class reported by Hooghe and Oser (2015). We have labeled this pattern "socially engaged" instead, in order to emphasize its profile of valuing aspects that involve others.

The fifth and final pattern is the most variable among all the patterns, with high probability of considering as important the items associated with obeying the law, working hard, respecting government authorities (0.95, 0.86, and 0.82, respectively),

and voting in every election (0.75). Simultaneously, this class presents lower probabilities of considering important items related to participation in non-institutionalized forms of political participation. This includes activities to protect the environment, activities to benefit people in the local community, and activities to protect human rights (0.50, 0.40, and 0.35, respectively). Likewise, this class presents a very low probability of considering as important items associated with participating in peaceful protests, political discussion, and joining a political party (0.19, 0.19, and 0.13, respectively). This pattern is consistent with the "duty-based" class reported by Hooghe and Oser (2015), and we have decided to maintain the same name in this study.

4.4 A Homogeneous Versus Country Specific Model

Even though the five recovered classes are consistent with the results presented by Hooghe and colleagues (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016), there is a significant difference between the models used in these previous studies and those used in the present chapter. Hooghe and colleagues adopted a "partially homogeneous model" (Kankaraš et al. 2011; Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015), which effectively allows for country specific variations in the patterns of response probabilities. This model is conceptually akin to allowing for differential item functioning for all items in all countries (Masyn 2017). Although such an approach offers a better statistical fit than the structurally homogeneous models, this comes at the price of a considerably more complex model (156 versus 432 parameters) without a significant improvement in the classification error rates, with a non-substantial difference of 0.006 of classification error difference between these two approaches (Table 4).

Moreover, the main cost of adopting a country-specific model is the interpretation of the response profile across countries. In this model specification, the structure of the expected response is so flexible that it allows the response pattern for each class to diverge significantly from the most likely pattern across countries. We illustrate this variability by producing a profile plot for a country-specific model (Fig. 3). In this profile plot, we overlaid the average pattern across the countries, in contrast to the expected response pattern for one class in each country.

Table 4 Summary of results for homogeneous versus country specific models

Classes	Model structure	BIC	AIC	Par.	L^2	Class. Err.
5	Homogeneous	126388	125235	156	21312	0.204
5	Country specific	124610	121416	432	16940	0.198

Notes BIC = Bayesian information criteria; AIC = Akaike's information criterion; Par. = Number of parameters estimated in the model; L^2 = Likelihood ratio chi-square statistic; Class. Err. = Classification error. Fit indexes obtained with the exploratory sample

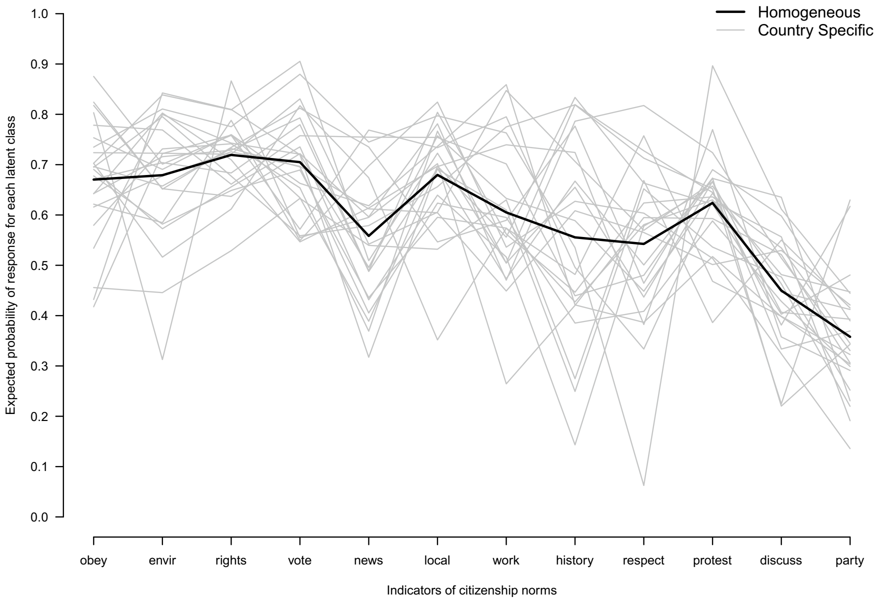

Fig. 3 Response probability patterns for the “monitorial” class within the country specific latent class model. *Notes* Estimates obtained from ICCS 2016, using the exploratory sample

In the country specific model, the expected responses for the monitorial class (or “mainstream” in the terminology of Hooghe) vary significantly. In contrast, in the homogeneous model the expected responses for each class show a single pattern of response across countries. It is clear that while the class labels rely on the overall pattern, the country specific probabilities can diverge significantly from this trend; this variation complicates comparisons across countries that are nominally part of the same class.

4.5 Latent Class Realizations

In order to classify cases into the expected latent classes, we fit the chosen model of five latent classes over the 12 citizenship norm indicator responses of ICCS 2016. To this end, we specified the chosen model in MPLUS v8.4 (Muthén and Muthén 2017) and in Latent Gold 4.5 (Vermunt and Magidson 2013). As before, we included scaled survey weights (up to 1000) for each country and used Taylor Series Linearization to estimate standard errors. Fitting the same model in two different software programs presents certain advantages. It provides evidence of the stability of the results regardless of how algorithms from different software are implemented. It also provides different outputs useful for further use to implement different modes of inferences

Table 5 Summary of prevalence of the five class realizations of the population, using different software

Class	Latent Gold	Mplus
Comprehensive	0.39 [0.38, 0.39]	0.39 [0.38, 0.39]
Duty-based	0.12 [0.12, 0.13]	0.12 [0.12, 0.13]
Socially engaged	0.33 [0.33, 0.34]	33 [0.33, 0.34]
Monitorial	0.12 [0.12, 0.13]	0.12 [0.12, 0.13]
Anomic	0.03 [0.03, 0.03]	0.04 [0.03, 0.04]

Notes Prevalence are population estimates, accompanied by their 95% confidence interval in brackets [·]

based on the generated results (Nylund-Gibson and Choi 2018; Nylund-Gibson et al. 2019).

The latent class realizations from both software programs are substantially equivalent. We estimate the prevalence at the population level of the latent class realizations, including the study survey design. The results produce a single difference of 0.01 for the anomic class. The prevalence of the rest of the latent groups produces the same results regardless of the software used to generate the realizations (Table 5). We also inspected the response profile generated by the results of both software programs and found them to be substantially equivalent, displaying a mean difference of 0.01 and a maximum difference of 0.03 (results not shown).

Fit indexes between the two software programs vary, due to how a structurally homogeneous model is fitted in each program. Latent Gold uses a logistic parametrization and includes all the countries as a nominal variable, as essentially different dummy codes conditioning the latent variable of five classes (see Kankaraš et al. 2011). In contrast, Mplus includes groups as known classes, which conditions the latent variable of five classes (e.g., Geiser et al. 2006). As a consequence, Latent Gold has 156 degrees of freedom for this model, while MPLUS uses 179 degrees of freedom, because it requires 23 more parameters, or one for each country "mean" of these known classes, while leaving one country out for reference.

The present book uses Mplus as the software of preference in most of the chapters, so we keep the latent class realizations generated by this later software for further analysis.

4.6 Classification Across Countries

We have discussed the overall results associated with the five-class model using a structurally homogeneous approach, however, it is also important to evaluate the quality of the classification of individual respondents based on this model. Ideally, the model should be able to classify each respondent, with high probability, in one of the classes in the model, and at the very least the assigned class should have a

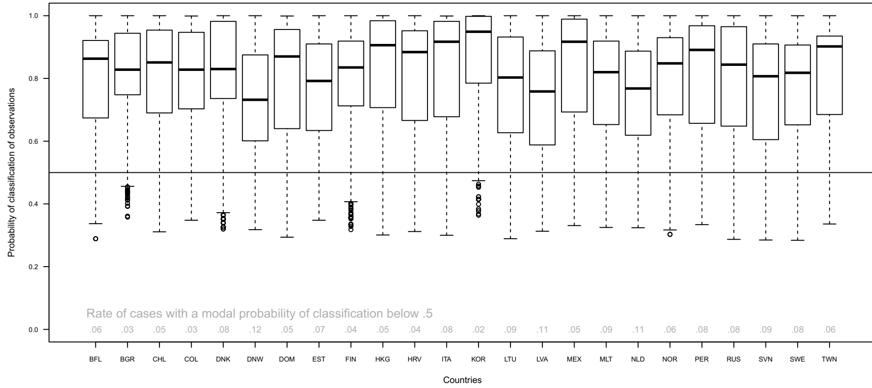

Fig. 4 Distribution of modal classification probabilities for the different countries. *Notes* BFL = Belgium (Flemish), BGR = Bulgaria, CHL = Chile, COL = Colombia, DNK = Denmark, DNW = North Rhine-Westphalia, DOM = Dominican Republic, EST = Estonia, FIN = Finland, HKG = Hong Kong, HRV = Croatia, ITA = Italy, KOR = Korea, LTU = Lithuania, LVA = Latvia, MEX = Mexico, MLT = Malta, NLD = The Netherlands, NOR = Norway, PER = Peru, RUS = Russian Federation, SVN = Slovenia, SWE = Sweden, TWN = Chinese Taipei

probability above 0.5, as otherwise it is more likely that the respondent belongs “outside” the selected class. In order to examine how the five classes model is classifying individual respondents for each of the countries, we produced boxplots representing the distributions of the modal classification probabilities for respondents in each of the 24 countries (Fig. 4).

Although there is variability across the distributions of the 24 countries, the median classification probability of all countries was above 0.73. On average, countries have 7% of their respondents classified with a probability of less than 0.5, varying from a minimum of just 2% in the case of Korea to the only six countries or regions with 9% or more: Sweden (9%), Malta (9%), Lithuania (9%), Latvia (11%), the Netherlands (11%), and North Rhine-Westphalia (12%). Overall, these model classification levels are sufficiently high to support inference at the country level.

5 Conclusions

Overall, these results support the use of latent class analysis as a modeling alternative that captures the complexity and variability in patterns of response to these items in different countries. The differences between the latent classes, which exhibit unordered, qualitatively distinct response patterns, indicate that these variations are unlikely to be well described by a single unidimensional structure.

We have made the case that it is valuable to analyze and interpret these five patterns in a consistent manner across countries through the use of a homogeneous model, even though better fitting alternatives are available if country specific variation is

allowed. The improvement in fit from so-called “partially homogeneous” models allows for the country specific response probability patterns to significantly vary from the overall average pattern that is being interpreted as representative of a given class. We contend that in the face of a trade-off between the meaningful comparison between countries and the improvement of statistical fit, it is worth accepting the shortcomings of a more parsimonious, more constrained, latent class model in order to justify a consistent interpretation of the classes across countries.

Regarding the specific patterns of response probabilities, it is worth noting that the two most prevalent classes are the comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles of good citizenship. These two patterns ascribe the highest levels of importance overall to all the elements considered in the survey, with the notable exception of the low importance that students in the socially-engaged profile give to engaging in political discussions and joining a political party. The high prevalence of participants that tend to assign importance to most of the practices considered in the survey should be considered jointly with the fact that the only class that presents a pattern with consistently low importance given to all these practices, the anomic profile, is not only the smallest class relative to the others, but also a very small class in the absolute sense.

Although our current study is not able to fully evaluate Dalton’s predictions regarding the increment of alternative ways of participation and civic engagement at the expense of the reduction in numbers of people who avoid participation, the results of this study are consistent with this prediction: there are fewer students with duty-based profiles than socially-engaged profiles.

In this regard, we believe particular attention should be paid to the high proportion of participants classified as being in the socially-engaged profile, as this pattern has not been widely studied in the literature. The pattern of highly valuing the promotion of human rights, the protection of the environment, and engagement with local issues and activities is significant, while at the same time a very low perceived importance regarding engagement in traditional political parties is consistent with the original diagnosis proposed by Dalton (2008), and points to a significant proportion of youth and adolescents searching for non-traditional, sometimes grass-roots approaches to dealing with social and global challenges.

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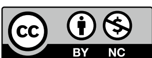

A Comparative Approach to Notions of Good Citizenship

Cristóbal Villalobos, María Jesús Morel, and Ernesto Treviño

Abstract This chapter seeks to understand the relationship between profiles of good citizenship and sociodemographic, economic, political, and cultural country variables, seeking to deepen the understanding of good citizenship in the participating countries of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016. Using a comparative policy approach, the chapter explores three groups of factors that may relate to contextual differences in notions of good citizenship: (i) political (forms of democracy, legal system, levels of corruption, and authoritarianism); (ii) economic (growth and economic inequality); and (iii) cultural (values and norms, levels of tolerance, role of the internet). The results show that, although there are common patterns among all or most countries (low proportion of anomic profiles, high proportion of comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles), there are also important differences in the distribution of these profiles across countries, depending on the geographic location and type of government regime. National income and use of social media are the two most significant variables to explain differences in notions of good citizenship between countries.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Comparative · Country income · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

"Good citizenship" is a multidimensional concept, which includes a series of values, actions and norms (see Chap. 2). In this regard, the idea of the "good citizen" refers to the sense of belonging of a group of people, and how they believe they should behave within their community. Since the idea of good citizenship is linked to a particular community—generally a nation or state—its definitions vary in relation to the place of belonging (Adler and Moi 2011; Eder 2017; Goering 2013; Hooghe et al. 2016). This implies that the idea of good citizenship depends on the historical and geographic context.

This chapter analyzes the concept of good citizenship, seeking to understand differences in notions of the good citizen that exist in the participating countries of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, coordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). In this regard, we use what Bray et al. (2014) define as the comparative policy approach, which argues that the differences between countries are related to the way in which people develop their values, norms, and perceptions about the world. We start from the assumption that at least some of the differences in what young people regard as good citizenship are related to the country where they live and have been socialized.

Our central hypothesis is that country differences in notions of good citizenship can be mainly explained by three types of factors: (i) political (forms of democracy, legal system, levels of corruption and authoritarianism); (ii) economic (growth and economic inequality); and (iii) cultural (values and norms, role of internet, levels of tolerance). In this regard, we propose that recent global phenomena such as growth in inequalities, financial delocalization, technologization of society, climate change, fragility of democracy, and increased religious or political intolerance have produced changes in the idea of good citizenship, although these changes vary in intensity and magnitude in different countries.

To meet these objectives, the chapter is organized into four sections. The first summarizes the conceptual framework, focusing on describing the academic literature that analyzes how different factors may affect the notions of good citizenship, with a special focus on youth. The second section describes methodological elements of the chapter, including the variables, data, and analytical techniques used. The third section describes the research results, showing the distribution of good citizenship profiles among countries and regions. Finally, the last section discusses the main conclusions.

2 Conceptual Framework: A Situated Perspective of Good Citizenship

Today's world is characterized by important changes in structures and perceptions of social and civic issues. In this sense, phenomena such as the increase in economic inequalities and the rise of top incomes (Atkinson and Piketty 2010), the relevance of climate change and the threat to human survival (Klein 2017), the fragility of democracy, the growth of populism and the increase of political, religious, and cultural intolerance (Hobsbawm 2013) have generated key transformations in the configuration of social issues.

Within this global context, the idea of citizenship and the characteristics of a good citizen have undergone important transformations. On the one hand, the increase in risks associated with climate change has created tensions in the discussion of citizenship at the national level, introducing the focus to global citizenship and responsible consumption (Atkinson 2012; Woolf 2010). Secondly, the evidence of growing social inequalities has drawn attention to processes such as global migration and gender inequalities, highlighting the need to expand the notion of good citizenship to incorporate aspects related to solidarity and social fraternity (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009; Fernández and Kriegbaum 2017). Finally, the increase in political and religious intolerance between and within countries has brought into question the role of citizenship in social cohesion, showing how active citizenship can be important for the defense of human rights, democracy, and social tolerance (Altikulaç 2016; Kennelly 2011), while playing, for example, a central role in post-conflict contexts (Russell and Quaynor 2017).

Despite their universal importance, these phenomena are developing with different intensities and magnitudes around the world. For this reason, the idea of the good citizen is always a situated concept. Based on a review of the academic literature, we identify three groups of factors that may influence the notion of good citizenship: economic, cultural, and political.

In the economic field, both growth and economic inequality are indicated as factors that could influence notions of good citizenship. In the case of economic growth, the post-materialist theory developed by Inglehart (1971) has suggested that people in the fastest growing societies change their priorities, starting from an emphasis on general, impersonal, and political objectives (such as "maintain the order of a nation," "protect freedom of expression," or "fight for price control") to values more related to individual and personal desires, focused on self-interest and individual self-realization (Inglehart 1979). In this regard, it should be expected that in these societies the idea of the good citizen would be less related to rights and duties, emphasizing other aspects such as solidarity or personal involvement with the social and political events of the country. In the case of economic inequalities, some authors have shown that one of the social consequences is the loss of a sense of belonging to what Anderson (1983) called "imagined communities." In this sense, inequalities create a fragmentation of citizenship, causing many people to feel distant from others, losing trust in a country or nation (Tesei 2014; Yamamura 2008). As a

result, it is possible to predict that in societies with high levels of inequalities people have a more anomic and/or indifferent perspective of good citizenship.

In relation to cultural variables, three topics have emerged in the last two decades. First, a large body of literature has studied how values, ethical traditions, and world-views may influence the idea of good citizenship. The most interesting debate is that of "Asian values" and their relationship to citizenship. In a nutshell, different authors have proposed that East Asian countries have a notion of good citizenship strongly linked to duty-based values, due to the importance of Confucianism and Taoism, both of which emphasize the idea of virtue in governance, as well as Buddhism, which emphasizes the notion of good behavior. This contrasts with liberal and communitarian norms more prevalent in Western societies (Chang 2016; Dalton and Ong 2005; Kuang and Kennedy 2014). Secondly, it has been indicated that polarization, understood as the increase of religious, social, gender, or immigrant divisions within a country, is an important factor for understanding the configuration of citizenship, as it may undermine the basic cohesion of a nation (Esteban et al. 2012; Esteban and Ray 2011). Faced with these phenomena, citizens could engage in processes of social anomie, a detachment from a shared notion of citizenship. Finally, research has proposed that new technologies—especially the internet—could be playing a role in the configuration of good citizenship. Regarding this point, two different theories have been proposed, representing the cyber-optimistic and cyber-pessimistic visions (Soriano 2013). While some researchers have shown how technologies can be an incentive to develop greater control and criticism of governments, encouraging a more active conception of citizenship (Castells 2015), others have shown that excessive use of technologies weakens personal networks, which could lead to a decrease in the daily discussion of social and political problems and a loss of the importance of citizenship (Morozov 2011). In this way, technology could provoke contradictory processes regarding concepts of good citizenship.

Finally, there are political factors that may affect notions of citizenship. First, the type of government (liberal democracies, deliberative democracies, autocracies, etc.) can permeate the concept of the good citizen, due to the greater or lesser distance between the State and citizens (Mayne and Geißel 2018). In this regard, it is possible to hypothesize, for example, that in autocracies the focus of good citizenship would be more on duties and compliance with the law, while deliberative democracies would generate a notion of citizenship that is based mainly on active participation. On the other hand, there is also a possible relationship between certain state practices (such as corruption levels, the magnitude of a country's clientelist relationships between politicians and the population or the effectiveness of the government) and the idea of good citizenship (see Chap. 6). In this case, countries that have governments with lower levels of corruption and clientelism, as well as with greater levels of effectiveness, are expected to be associated with more comprehensive visions of citizenship, which are not necessarily limited to the fulfillment of duties.

3 Method

3.1 Dependent Variable

The outcome variables are the profiles of good citizenship. Using data from IEA's ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018), we selected a set of 12 items for students to evaluate regarding the importance of different behaviors for being a good adult citizen, using a four-point Likert-type scale. With this information, five profiles are generated, using a latent class analysis approach (for the specific description of the dataset and method, see Chap. 3). The five profiles are: (i) *duty-based,* with an idea of *good citizenship* associated especially with social norms; (ii) *socially engaged*, with an understanding of good citizenship related to environmental and local issues; (iii) *comprehensive*, with a holistic conception of good citizenship; (iv) *monitorial*, with an understanding of good citizenship as a passive exercise; and (v) *anomic*, with low levels of adherence to all indicators.

3.2 Independent Variables

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relationship between profiles of good citizenship and sociodemographic, economic, political, and cultural country variables. To achieve this purpose we use data from ICCS 2016, specifically three scales from the student questionnaire: (i) student endorsement of gender equality (GENEQL), an index that assesses whether students agree with an affirmation related to equal political rights between men and women (example: "Men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in government") and receive equal treatment (example: "Men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs"); (ii) student endorsement for equal rights for immigrants (IMMRGHT), which evaluates student disposition to support the idea that people of other ethnicities or races should have the same political opportunities, be treated with respect, and have the same rights; and (iii) student engagement with social media (SOCMED), an index that measures the influence of the use of the internet to inform, share, and comment on political or social issues. In all cases, we use the average score for each country, using the sample weights.[1]

In addition to ICCS 2016 data, we use data from other sources to analyze the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the countries. Using World Bank Data,[2] we obtained information about the Gini coefficient, a measure of income inequality that fluctuates between 0 and 1, where 0 corresponds to perfect equality (all have the same income) and where 1 corresponds to perfect inequality (one person

[1] Higher values indicating more positive attitudes toward equal rights for women, immigrants, and higher frequencies of engagement.

[2] https://data.worldbank.org.

has all income and the others have none).[3] From the Maddison Project Database,[4] we obtained the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita measure, which is one of the most used international measures of a country's economic growth, and reflects the monetary value of all finished goods and services made within a country in 2016. Finally, we use the V-Dem dataset V9 (Coppedge et al. 2019) for variables related to political factors. Specifically, we use two variables from this dataset: (i) regimes of the World (v2x_regime), which classifies each regime, considering the competitiveness of access to power and liberal principles in: (a) liberal democracy; (b) electoral democracy; and (c) autocracy; and, (ii) the neopatrimonial rule index (v2x_neopat), an index that summarizes the institutional "quality" of democracy, including factors like vote buying, executive respect of the constitution, high and low court independence, autonomy of the electoral management body, executive embezzlement and theft, executive bribes and corrupt exchanges, and legislative and judicial corruption. The index is formed by taking the reversed scale (higher scores = more neopatrimonialism) for a Bayesian factor analysis model of the indicators.

3.3 Analytical Strategy

We employed descriptive statistics to account for the distribution of *good citizenship* profiles between countries, showing the main similarities and differences in a comparative perspective. The estimates are survey design descriptive estimates. As such, these are the expected proportions of civic norm profiles between participating countries. Since the objective of this chapter is to understand the differences in notions of good citizenship in the 24 participating countries of ICCS 2016, using a comparative analysis seems appropriate in order to explain either commonality or diversity (Manzon 2014). Although the purpose of quantitative studies is deduction, theory or hypothesis testing, and verification (Fairbrother 2014), the approach of this chapter is not confirmatory but rather, it is a first approximation of what might explain the notions of good citizenship of the students participating in the study.

Experts in this method of analysis recommend special care when comparing regional blocs, countries, cultures, or other geographical/local groups, being aware of the plural identities within the regions and avoiding falling into stereotypes (Bray et al. 2014). It is also important to establish comparability parameters between the units of analysis, in this case, the participating countries of the ICCS 2016, which is difficult to ensure in these types of studies (Bray et al. 2014), so we have added more information about each unit along with the complementary data previously described.

[3] Only four countries had a value for the year 2016, so the value of the year closest to 2016 was used. Of the 24 countries in the sample, only Hong Kong did not have a Gini coefficient.

[4] https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/historicaldevelopment/maddison.

4 Results

As expected, the distribution of the different profiles varies among the 24 countries (see Fig. 1). In the case of the comprehensive profile, the variation is considerable, since there are countries (such as Korea or Italy) where more than 70% of students are in this profile, while in Belgium (Flemish), the Netherlands, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Estonia no more than 20% of students are in the comprehensive profile. In the case of the socially-engaged profile, the variation is smaller, since in an important number of countries about 30% of students are classified in this profile. However, the case of Korea is striking, with almost no students classified as socially engaged. There are also important differences regarding the duty-based notion of good citizenship, with a low percentage of students in countries such as Mexico and Colombia in this profile (0.7% and 0.8%, respectively), while in the case of Denmark nearly half of

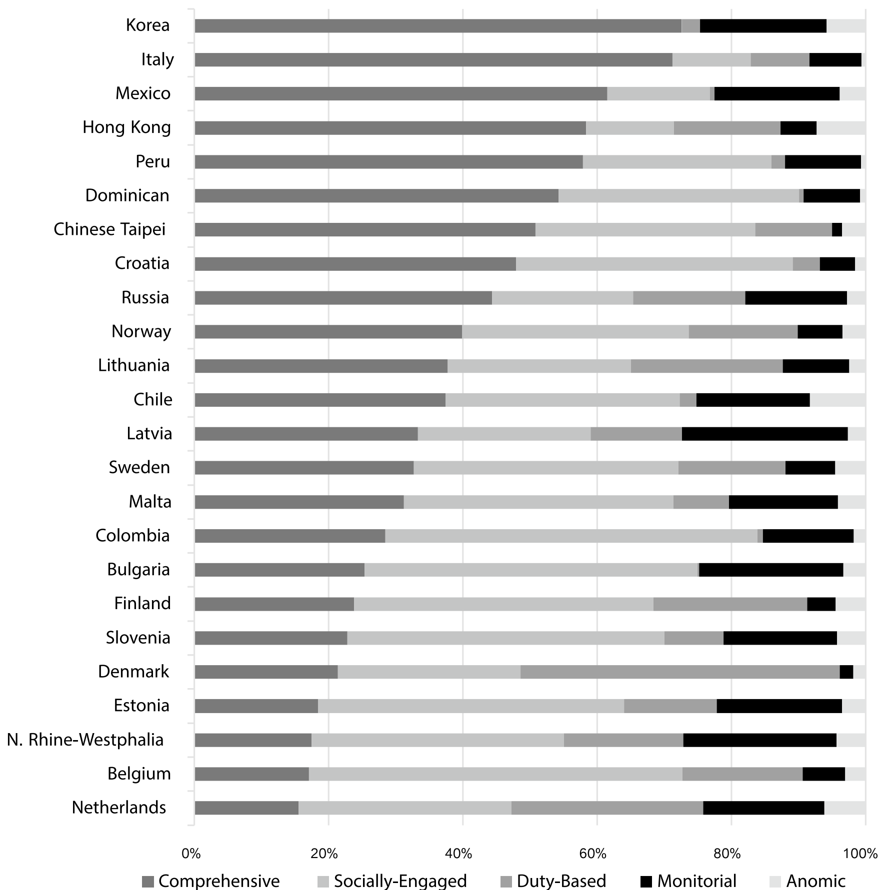

Fig. 1 Profile distribution by country

the student population (47.6%) is in this category. In terms of the monitorial profile, in most countries about 15% of the sample tends to be classified in this profile, although in countries such as Latvia (24.7%), Bulgaria (21.5%), or the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (22.9%) this percentage is higher, while Chinese Taipei shows the lowest percentage (1.5%). Finally, the anomic profile distribution is very similar among countries, although Chile stands out with 8.3% of students grouped in this profile.

Despite these differences, there are also common patterns that are important to highlight. First, in almost all countries (except the Netherlands and Denmark) more than 50% of students tend to develop comprehensive or socially-engaged notions of good citizenship. These two profiles emphasize holistic visions of the idea of good citizenship (see Chap. 2), which are not limited to the fulfillment of duties, while incorporating aspects related to respect for the environment and human rights (in the case of socially-engaged students), as well as a provision for active participation (in the case of comprehensive students). This finding is very important because it confirms that a high percentage of young people can be regarded as involved citizens. Secondly, in most countries (again, with the exception of Denmark) the more "classic" profile of good citizenship, based primarily on respect for norms (duty-based profile), does not describe the majority of young people, which is in line with the conclusions of Dalton (2008), who pointed out the generational change in patterns of understanding of good citizenship in recent decades. Finally, all countries have a low proportion of anomic students, in no case exceeding 10%, which seems to show that an important part of the population develops a disposition from an early age to actively participate in the civic arena instead of being disinterested in political and social issues.

After observing the distribution of profiles in each country, we proceeded to analyze the grouping of countries by geographical area and type of regime. In the first case, the countries were grouped into three groups: Europe (N = 16), Latin America (N = 5), and Asia (N = 3). It is possible to observe (see Fig. 2) that Asia concentrates the highest percentage of comprehensive students (60.6%) compared to other profiles, which is in line with the discussion of "Asian values." In Latin America nearly half of students are in this profile with 47.9%, but the percentage of socially-engaged students closely follows with 33.9%. The high percentage of comprehensive students in Asia implies that, in this region, active forms of participation are considered ethical ways of being a good citizen, understanding participation as a moral duty and not only as an action to solve problems (Chang 2016). In Latin America, the duty-based profile concentrates the lowest percentage of students (1.3%), which could be related to historical aspects, such as the less legalistic culture and an oral tradition. The socially-engaged profile predominates in Europe, which may be in line with theories that in more developed, post-industrial and post-materialistic societies—once basic needs are fulfilled—citizens engage with issues beyond the norms and are more linked to self-interest and individualization processes.

When we look at the distribution of profiles by type of regime we find three classifications: autocracy (N = 2), which refers to those political regimes without multiparty elections; electoral democracy (N = 9) de facto free and fair multiparty

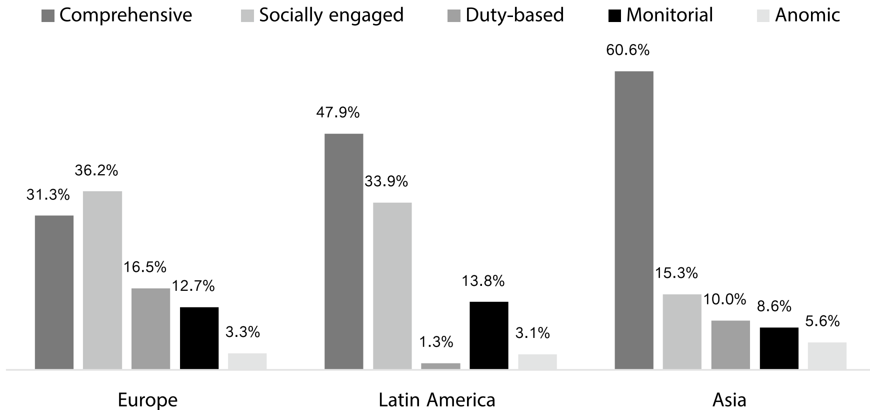

Fig. 2 Profile distribution by geographical area. *Notes* Europe = Belgium (Flemish), Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, North Rhine-Westphalia, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Slovenia, Sweden. Latin America = Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru. Asia = Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Korea

elections, but access to certain civil liberties is more restricted; and liberal democracy (N = 13) free and fair multiparty elections and guaranteed access to civil liberties. This latter type of regime mainly groups European countries. The percentage distribution by type of regime (see Fig. 3) of the five profiles of good citizenship behaves in a similar way as when the participating countries are grouped by geographical area.

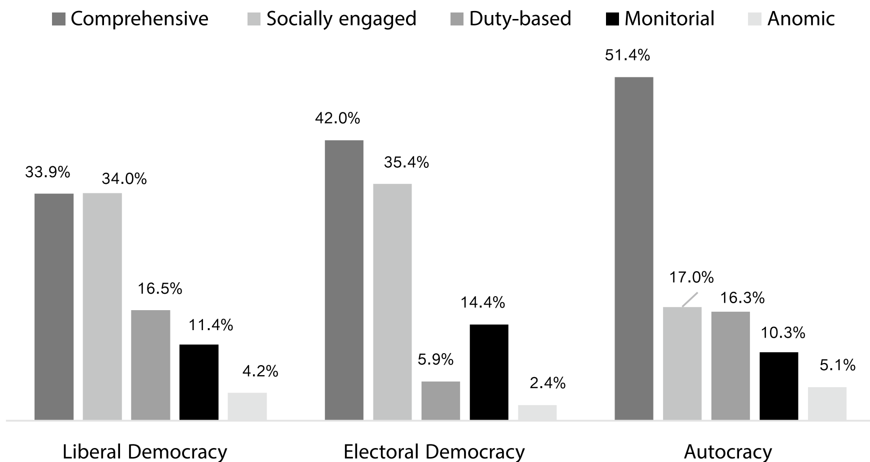

Fig. 3 Distribution of profiles by regime. *Notes* Liberal Democracy = Belgium (Flemish), Chile, Chinese Taipei, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, North Rhine-Westphalia, Italy, Korea, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Sweden. Electoral Democracy = Bulgaria, Colombia, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, Peru. Autocracy = Hong Kong, Russia

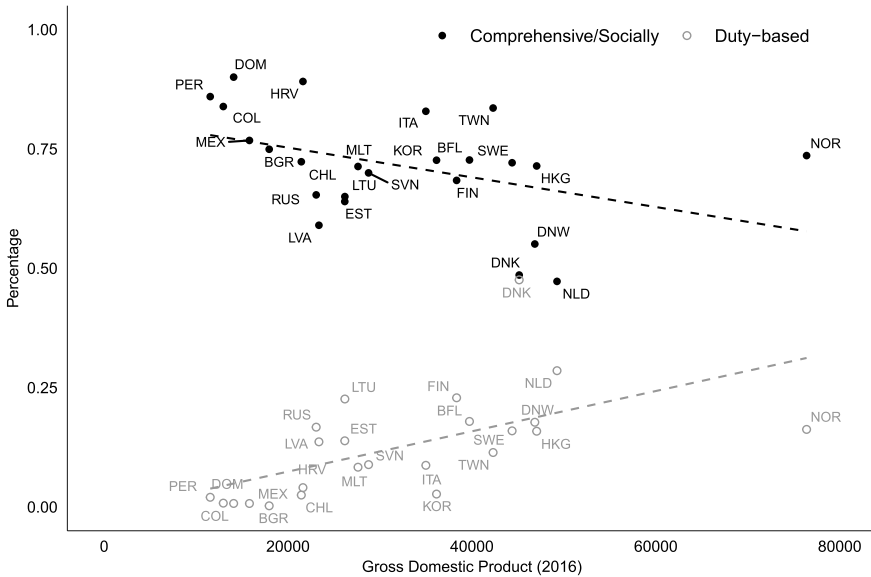

Fig. 4 Relationship between comprehensive/socially engaged and duty-based profiles and Gross Domestic Product in 2016. *Notes* LVA = Latvia, DNW = North Rhine-Westphalia, BGR = Bulgaria, KOR = Korea, MEX = Mexico, EST = Estonia, NLD = The Netherlands, CHL = Chile, SVN = Slovenia, MLT = Malta, RUS = Russia, COL = Colombia, PER = Peru, LTU = Lithuania, DOM = Dominican Republic, ITA = Italy, SWE = Sweden, NOR = Norway, BFL = Belgium (Flemish), HKG = Hong Kong, HRV = Croatia, FIN = Finland, DNK = Denmark, TWN = Chinese Taipei

Now we turn to analyzing the relationship between the citizenship profiles and the economic, political, and cultural variables. As GDP[5] per capita increases, the percentage of comprehensive and socially-engaged students (jointly) decreases, while the percentage of duty-based students increases (see Fig. 4). The only case where these percentages intersect is in Denmark, where combining the comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles (48.6%) is equivalent to the duty-based percentage (47.6%). These results do not necessarily go in the direction proposed by Inglehart (1979) about post-materialism, since the duty-based perspective increases with economic growth. However, it is important to note that such a relationship is influenced by the higher percentages of duty-based students in Northern Europe and Scandinavian countries, which also have higher levels of GDP per capita (see, for example, Norway).

When comparing countries according to their percentage of more holistic profiles (comprehensive and socially engaged) and the level of inequality, Fig. 5 shows that countries with the highest Gini index values have higher percentages of those students who are committed to participate either as comprehensive or socially-engaged citizens. This same analysis with the monitorial and anomic profiles shows that there is

[5] For the analysis of this variable, and for those that come next that are not from ICCS 2016, the North Rhine-Westphalia region is not included, since there are no values at the state level.

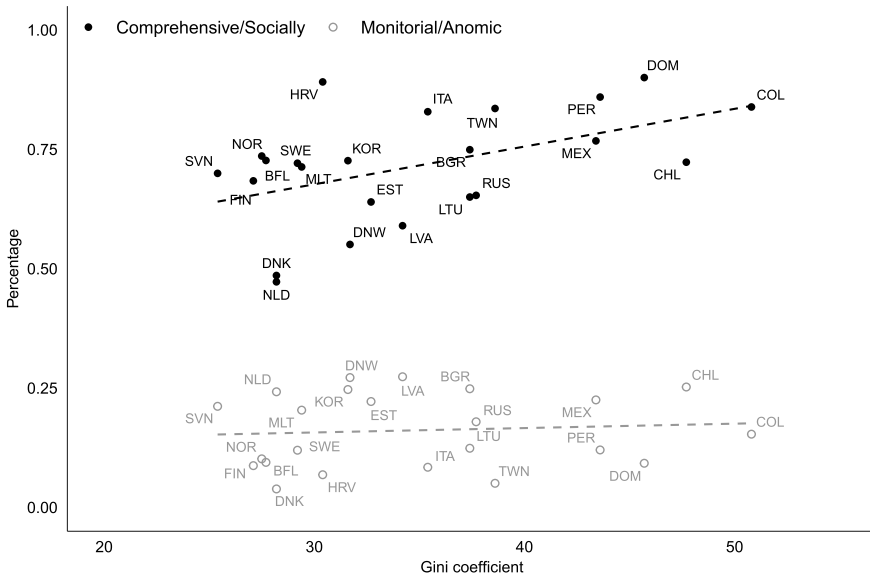

Fig. 5 Relationship between comprehensive/socially engaged and monitorial/anomic profiles and Gini coefficient. *Notes* LVA = Latvia, DNW = North Rhine-Westphalia, BGR = Bulgaria, KOR = Korea, MEX = Mexico, EST = Estonia, NLD = The Netherlands, CHL = Chile, SVN = Slovenia, MLT = Malta, RUS = Russia, COL = Colombia, PER = Peru, LTU = Lithuania, DOM = Dominican Republic, ITA = Italy, SWE = Sweden, NOR = Norway, BFL = Belgium (Flemish), HKG = Hong Kong, HRV = Croatia, FIN = Finland, DNK = Denmark, TWN = Chinese Taipei

not a clear pattern, since countries with a high percentage of these profiles such as Latvia (27.4%) have a Gini index value equal to or less than the average of the 23 countries.

Regarding the cultural variables that are proxy of cultural distance, relating the different profiles with the values of students' endorsement of gender equality and equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, separately, gives differing results. On the one hand, there is a negative relationship between support for equality of rights of both females and ethnic groups, and the percentage of monitorial and anomic students. On the other hand, the higher the level of support for gender and ethnic equality, the higher the percentage of students in the comprehensive profile.[6] This makes sense within the conceptual framework where this type of polarization is related to greater social anomy.

The use of social media for social and political issues among youth is a variable that influences the perception of good citizenship of young people (see Fig. 6). In this regard, those countries where students declared greater use of the internet to search for information, or to share or comment on social or political issues, also show high percentages of students in the comprehensive profile. According to Castells' positive vision, where technology "reconnects" citizens instead of moving them

[6] Results available upon request to authors.

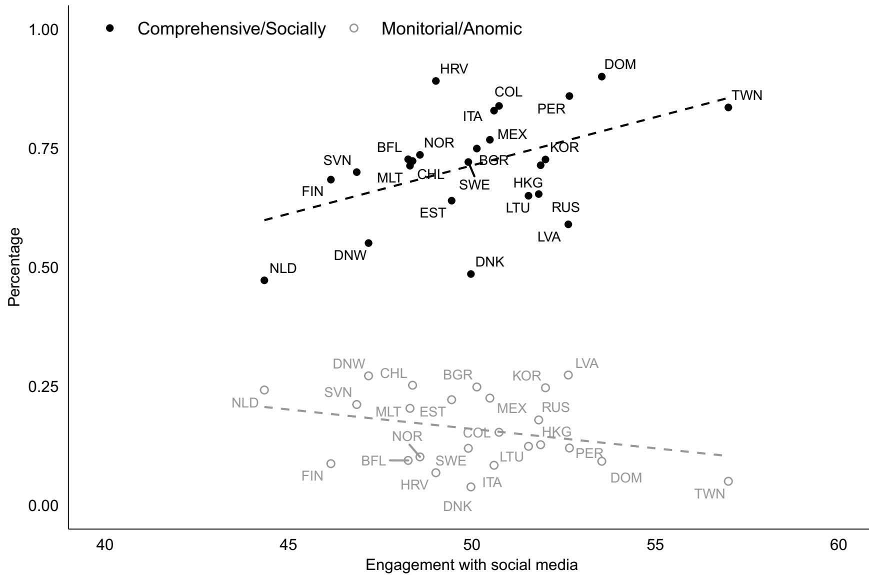

Fig. 6 Relationship between comprehensive and monitorial/anomic profiles and students' engagement with social media. *Notes* LVA = Latvia, DNW = North Rhine-Westphalia, BGR = Bulgaria, KOR = Korea, MEX = Mexico, EST = Estonia, NLD = The Netherlands, CHL = Chile, SVN = Slovenia, MLT = Malta, RUS = Russia, COL = Colombia, PER = Peru, LTU = Lithuania, DOM = Dominican Republic, ITA = Italy, SWE = Sweden, NOR = Norway, BFL = Belgium (Flemish), HKG = Hong Kong, HRV = Croatia, FIN = Finland, DNK = Denmark, TWN = Chinese Taipei

away, participation through social media and the internet favors an active type of citizenship that entails a personal expressive and self-actualizing kind of political affiliation (Bennett et al. 2009). However, and beyond the scope of this book, it is important to mention that recent scandals regarding the manipulation of social media to influence elections pose a challenge regarding the critical use of social media by citizens.

Finally, the political dimension is studied from the premise that a "bad government" may influence young people's vision of citizenship. In this way, the neopatrimonialism index, which combines variables related to clientelist political relationships, strong and unconstrained presidential power, and the use of public resources for political legitimation, was used to measure negative aspects of governments. Due to the high correlation of the indices that integrate the neopatrimonialism index, the distribution of the good citizenship profiles behaves in a similar way when measuring profiles by the level of presidentialism, clientelism, and corruption of the countries.[7] The main result (see Fig. 7) is that the higher the neopatrimonialism in the country, the higher the percentage of comprehensive students. As few countries have a high neopatrimonialism score, it cannot be indicated that a better government necessarily implies more widespread presence of comprehensive students.

[7] Results available upon request to authors.

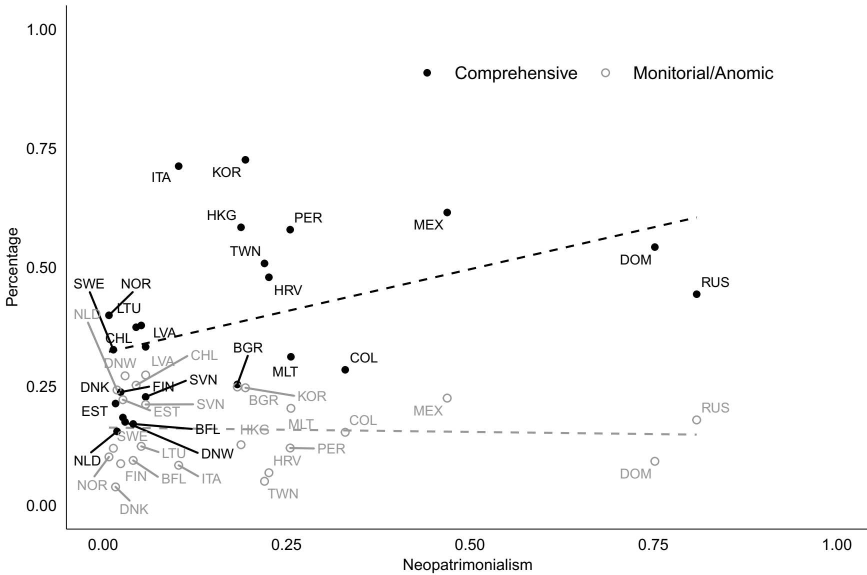

Fig. 7 Relationship between comprehensive and monitorial/anomic profiles and neopatrimonialism index. *Notes* LVA = Latvia, DNW = North Rhine-Westphalia, BGR = Bulgaria, KOR = Korea, MEX = Mexico, EST = Estonia, NLD = The Netherlands, CHL = Chile, SVN = Slovenia, MLT = Malta, RUS = Russia, COL = Colombia, PER = Peru, LTU = Lithuania, DOM = Dominican Republic, ITA = Italy, SWE = Sweden, NOR = Norway, BFL = Belgium (Flemish), HKG = Hong Kong, HRV = Croatia, FIN = Finland, DNK = Denmark, TWN = Chinese Taipei

5 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to analyze in comparative terms the distribution of profiles of good citizenship among the 24 countries of ICCS 2016. The results show that, although there are common patterns among all or most countries (low proportion in the anomic profile, high proportion in the comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles), there are also relevant differences in the distribution of students across countries, depending on the geographic location and type of government regime. Additionally, the results show that the three groups of factors analyzed (economic, political, and cultural) are related to the distribution of good citizenship profiles. This allows us to conclude that, in comparative terms, the idea of good citizenship does not only depend on a single group of variables, but it is a construct determined by a complex array of variables pertaining to different fields.

Two variables analyzed are especially relevant. On the one hand, the relationship between income and good citizenship profiles creates some doubt regarding the growth of post-materialist values in the richest countries, although the most holistic profiles are found in European countries with high national income, such as Norway. On the other hand, the relationship between social and political use of social media (especially the internet) and profiles of good citizenship confirms the transformative

potential of these technological tools in contemporary society. Although these are relevant topics for political science and sociology, these discussions are missing in the educational field, so these results can be understood as an invitation to deepen them.

Although potentially illuminating, an analysis of the results should also consider the limitations of the study. The comparative method tends to be correlational, so it is not possible to establish causation processes or multiple correlations. Additionally, the number of countries participating in ICCS 2016 is limited, without including entire geographical regions, such as Africa or the Middle East. Finally, the selected method seeks to deepen the analysis between countries, without entering into the variability of the profiles that exist in different schools or within schools.

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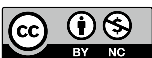

A School Effectiveness Approach to Good Citizenship

Ernesto Treviño, Diego Carrasco, Natalia López Hornickel, and Carmen Gloria Zúñiga

Abstract Schools are traditionally considered agents of political socialization. However, the school's capacity to promote citizenry among students is often considered limited, in comparison to the expected influence of the socioeconomic background of students' families. Using data from IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), this chapter inquires if schools' differences are related to students' citizenship norms endorsement, focusing on the relationship between civic learning opportunities and open classroom discussion of schools on promoting citizenship norms endorsement among students. To this end, a multilevel multinomial base category logit model is used, including students' and schools' characteristics specifying citizenship norms profiles as the dependent variable. Citizenship norms profiles is a nominal variable, that summarize the way students endorse 12 different citizenship norms, across countries. Results suggest that schools explain a non-ignorable portion of the variance of students' citizenship norms endorsement. Additionally, civic learning opportunities and open classroom discussion are school practices that promote a comprehensive endorsement of citizenship norms, above students' socioeconomic background, and students' civic background across countries. Implications for civic education are discussed.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Duty-based citizenship · Engaged citizenship · School practices · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

Schools are at the crux of the political socialization process. Specifically, this process refers to the way in which political norms and desirable behaviors for a political system are transmitted between generations (Sigel 1965). The role of the school is to provide learning opportunities that implement civic formation for all students because political norms are not equally distributed across all adults. In consequence, the intergenerational transmission hypothesis posits that existing political inequities among adults are inherited from parents to children (Schlozman et al. 2012). Previous research on citizenship norms is consistent with this expectation: citizenship norms endorsement is conditioned by the educational attainment of adults (Coffé and van der Lippe 2010; Denters et al. 2007; Reichert 2017). As such, without any intermediate action, there is no guarantee that political norms and desirable behaviors will be transmitted from families to their offspring without fault. In this scenario, schools have a compensatory role in enhancing the lack of political socialization occurring at home (Hoskins et al. 2017). However, there is a gap in the citizenship norms literature regarding the capacity of schools to influence citizenship norms endorsement, and if any, what schools' practices drive this influence.

The importance of schools in promoting citizenship skills and knowledge in order to create more cohesive societies is a common notion in education policy debates (Heyneman 2000; Jansen et al. 2006). However, available evidence shows that schools have a limited capacity to enhance citizenship skills and attitudes among students (Bickmore 2001; Weinberg and Flinders 2018; Westheimer and Kahne 2004b).

The present chapter assesses two questions: if school membership is related to citizenship norms endorsement, and if civic education school practices are related to students' citizenship endorsement. To this end, we use a manifest nominal variable that summarizes how grade 8 students endorse different citizenships norms. Citizenship norms endorsement is not easily represented by a single continuum and alternatively can be represented as types or configurations (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). The present chapter makes use of this later typology, where a set of 12 different citizenship norms are summarized into five different response patterns, including: comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic. These different types represent the most likely way that students would endorse different citizenship norms (see Chap. 3). In essence in the present chapter, we inquire if school promotes citizenship norms endorsement by comparing which citizenship norms types are more likely, conditional to school membership, and conditional to different schools' practices and attributes.

2 Literature Review

To what extent different institutions foster citizenship development is an open question. Family background characteristics influence different positive aspects of citizenship (Treviño et al. 2018, 2019). School factors, such as student participation in schools and open classroom discussion, have been linked to students' expected participation in the political system (Isac et al. 2014; Treviño et al. 2019) and to the endorsement of egalitarian attitudes towards minority groups (Carrasco and Torres Irribarra 2018; Treviño et al. 2018).

The socioeconomic status (SES) of students' families is an important predictor of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Castillo et al. 2014; Hooghe and Dassonneville 2013; Isac et al. 2014; Schulz et al. 2010; Thapa et al. 2013). Student SES may have both direct and indirect effects. The first, refers to differences among students due to the socioeconomic background of the families where the students grew up. The second, refers to the differing learning opportunities students are exposed to at their schools (Collado et al. 2014; Isac et al. 2014). Consequently, we expect that students' SES is associated to the citizenship norms endorsement of the students.

Student characteristics relevant to understand students' citizenship norms are not limited to their family socioeconomic background. There are additional aspects of the civic background of students we need to consider before school comparisons can be made. Civic background includes student characteristics such as political interest, opportunities for political discussion outside their schools, and engagement with political news media. These different factors are thought to be heavily influenced by the family environment (Patterson et al. 2019; Treviño et al. 2019), and are related to different forms of citizenship participation (Campbell 2008; Treviño et al. 2019). These characteristics are unequally distributed among students and families, a phenomenon which translates into political participation inequalities later in life (Schlozman et al. 2012; Verba et al. 1995, 2003). Thus, given the previous literature we assume that these different civic background characteristics may condition what citizenship norms students endorse the most.

As we mentioned earlier, schools with a higher SES composition tend to present better civic outcomes in comparison to other schools, including civic knowledge and other non-cognitive outcomes (Collado et al. 2014; Isac et al. 2014). However, the literature of school effectiveness suggests these differences are explained by other attributes of the school environment that includes features of school processes (e.g., Liu et al. 2015). Within the civic education literature, there are known teaching strategies that influence both students' attitudinal and participation outcomes (Dassonneville et al. 2012; Quintelier 2010; Reimers et al. 2014). For example, open classroom discussion is related to voting intention (Campbell 2008), civic knowledge (Persson 2015), endorsement of egalitarian values (Caro and Schulz 2012; Carrasco and Torres Irribarra 2018), students' political efficacy (Martens and Gainous 2013), and civic competences in general (Isac et al. 2014; Knowles et al. 2018). Additionally, formal civic learning oportunities at school are also related to different citizenship outcomes, including intended political participation (Reichert and Print 2018),

actual political participation (Quintelier 2010), and commitment to civic participation (Kahne and Sporte 2008). We hypothesize that the exposure to civic learning oportunities at school should have a significant relationship with the students' citizenship norms endorsement.

Besides school practices, characteristics of the school climate are expected to have positive relationships with different student citizenship outcomes (Sampermans et al. 2018). A participatory and democratic environment in the school is related to attitudes and dispositions of youth towards democracy and civic engagement (Biesta et al. 2009; Wilkenfeld 2009), as well as expected voting and civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2010; Thapa et al. 2013). In summary, participatory schools, and schools with better interpersonal relationships between students and teachers, are expected to provide more nurturing environments for citizenship development. As a consequence, we expect these school features to be associated to students' citizenship norms endorsement.

The available evidence shows that different student and school characteristics are related to different citizenship outcomes. In the present study we inquire how these different factors are related to students' citizenship norms endorsement. In particular we are interested in the relationship between different school attributes and what citizenship norms students endorse the most, independent of the students' attributes. It is expected that different schools may shape different citizens (Kahne et al. 2013; Westheimer and Kahne 2004a, b). Are schools promoting more duty-based students? These students are obedient to the law and respect authorities, and willing to vote, but less interested in politics. Are schools promoting socially-engaged students? This group of students defend civil rights, participate in the local community, are willing to vote but are less inclined to engage with political parties or discuss politics. Or are schools promoting more comprehensive students? Those who are willing to defend human rights and protest against unjust laws, while simultaneously engaging in political discussion and voting in national elections. These are relevant questions for civic education, because the endorsement of citizenship norms puts pressure on people to guide their behavior (Legros and Cislaghi 2019). Especially when these are injunctive citizenship norms, which express what is expected and what is sanctioned (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004). Citizenship norms studied here are different norms relevant to support democratic procedures including compliance to the law, voting in elections, and social engagement with the community (van Deth 2017).

Finally, this chapter uses the citizenship norms endorsement profiles presented in Chap. 3 as an outcome variable. This is a nominal variable that expresses what citizenship norms students endorse the most, generated with a mixture model, producing different equivalent latent classes across countries. In the present chapter we use the latent realizations of the model as manifest variables. This nominal variable consists of five different profiles: comprehensive, anomic, monitorial, socially engaged, and duty-based. These groups are described in the next section.

3 Method

Data. We use secondary data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a), conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This study uses a two-stage sampling design, where random schools are selected at the country level using a probabilistic stratified design. From these schools, a classroom is selected, and all students answered different instruments, conforming to a representative sample of grade 8 students for each participating country. In the present chapter, we include data from 24 countries and regions, accounting for a total of 93,246 students and 3750 schools. On average, 3885 students and 156 schools per country participate in the study (Schulz et al. 2018b). All our selected variables present less than 5% missing (mean = 2%, standard deviation = 1%).

Dependent variable. The endorsement of citizenship norms is a nominal variable that represents how students endorse 12 different citizenship norms. These were generated using a homogenous multigroup latent class model (Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015; Masyn 2017), producing different equivalent latent classes across countries (see Chap. 3). These are five values, distinguishing the most likely response pattern to the selected citizenship norms. Students can be (a) comprehensive, (b) socially engaged, (c) duty-based, (d) monitorial, and (e) anomic regarding their citizenship norms endorsement.

Students of the “comprehensive” profile are students who express that all civic norms are important to them. “Anomic” students disregard all selected citizenship norms simultaneously, showing the least endorsement in comparison to the rest of the profiles. “Monitorial” students tend to value non-conventional forms of political participation, while disregarding to join political parties and engaging in political discussions. “Socially engaged” students show high endorsement for citizenship norms for the protection of the environment and the promotion of human rights, and value the participation in activities that benefit the local community, as well as the obedience of the law and respect for government representatives. However, socially-engaged students are less likely to consider participation in political discussions and joining a political party important. Finally, “duty-based” are students who considered obedience of the law, working hard, and voting in every election important, while disregarding the importance of participating in peaceful protests, engaging in political discussions, as well as joining a political party and participating in activities for the community. In summary these profiles express how students endorse citizenship norms (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016).

Independent variables. In the present study we include a series of student and school characteristics reported by the students. In the following tables we describe the variables included in the model, comprising student background characteristics and measures of the student’s experience at their school (see Tables 1 and 2). This later group of measures includes variables that represent school processes related to civic learning and students’ overall school experience (see Table 2). Although all

Table 1 Student characteristics explaining citizenship norms endorsement profiles

Variable	Variable name (type) and description
ses_{ij}	Student socioeconomic status (continuous). This is a standardized variable, with a mean of 0, and standard deviation of 1 for each country. Higher values indicate higher socioeconomic status of students' families
sex_{ij}	Student sex (dummy). This variable is retrieved from the self-report of students' sexual identity. Students respond if they were either girl or boy. Their responses were dummy coded, assigning a 1 for girls, and a 0 for boys
imm_{ij}	Immigrant status (dummy). Students respond in what country their parents were born. Students' responses were assigned a 1 if both parents were born abroad or if students and parents were born in a different country from the study. Students were classified as non-immigrant, receiving a 0, if only one of their parents was born in the surveyed country
int_{ij}	Student interest in political and social issues (dummy). Students self-report their interest in political and social issues using an ordinal response from very interested, quite interested, not very interested and not interested at all. We dummy coded these responses into 1 for "very interested" and "quite interested," and 0 for "not very interested and not interested at all" to aid interpretation
pol_{ij}	Student discussion of political and social issues outside school (IRT). Students respond to four ordinal items on how frequently they talk to their parents and friends, about political and social issues, and to what is happening in other countries. Higher scores indicate more frequent political discussion
soc_{ij}	Student political social media use (IRT). Students respond to three ordinal items on how frequently they use the internet to find information about political and social issues, and post or comment political and social issues on the internet. Higher scores indicate more frequent social media use with a political content
par_{ij}	Student participation (IRT). Students respond to six items to express how frequently they have participated in political activities within their school. These include voting for a class representative, discuss in a student assembly, and become a candidate. Higher scores indicate a higher level of student participation on these activities

Notes IRT refers to item response theory weighted least estimates scores. These are continuous measures with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10 points, for equally weighted countries (Schulz et al. 2018b)
Source ICCS 2016 user guide (Köhler et al. 2018)

these variables are collected at the student level, we use the students' aggregated scores at the school level to represent different school factors in the fitted model.

Specified model. We fit a baseline category logit model with random intercepts for schools (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2012). In this model we choose the comprehensive profile as the reference category. The student level model can be represented by the following equation (see Eq. 1).

$$ln\left\{\frac{\Pr\left(cn_{ij}=s|x_{ij},x_{.j},r_{0j}\right)}{\Pr\left(cn_{ij}=r|x_{ij},x_{.j},r_{0j}\right)}\right\}=\pi_{0j}^{[s]}+\pi_{1j}^{[s]}\left(ses_{ij}-\overline{ses}_{.jk}\right)+\pi_{2j}^{[s]}\left(sex_{ij}-\overline{sex}_{.jk}\right)$$
$$+\pi_{3j}^{[s]}\left(imm_{ij}-\overline{imm}_{.jk}\right)+\pi_{4j}^{[s]}\left(int_{ij}-\overline{int}_{.jk}\right)$$

Table 2 Student responses that express their experience at school

Variable	Variable name (type) and description
opd_{ij}	Open classroom discussions (IRT). Students respond to six ordinal items referring to how open for discussion their classroom is. These responses are used to generate IRT scores. Higher scores indicate a more open classroom for discussion, where teachers encourage students to express their opinions, make up their minds, and discuss issues with others with different opinions
cln_{ij}	Civic learning (IRT). Students respond to seven ordinal items regarding to what extent they have learnt about different civic topics. These include, for example, learning about how to vote in local and national elections, how laws are introduced in their country, and how citizens' rights are protected. Higher scores indicate higher exposure to these different opportunities to learn
rel_{ij}	Teacher-student relations at school (IRT). Students respond to five ordinal items referring to teacher-student relations. Higher scores indicate more positive teacher-student relations, where teachers treat students fairly, are interested in students' well-being, and students get along well with most teachers
srl_{ij}	Student interpersonal relations (IRT). Students respond to three ordinal items referring to student-to-student relations. Higher scores indicate more positive interpersonal relationships between students, where more students treat each other with respect and get along, and where students feel safe

Notes IRT refers to item response theory weighted least estimates scores. These are continuous measures with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10 points, for equally weighted countries (Schulz et al. 2018b)
Source ICCS 2016 user guide (Köhler et al. 2018)

$$
\begin{aligned}
&+ \pi_{5j}^{[s]}\left(pol_{ij} - \overline{pol}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{6j}^{[s]}\left(soc_{ij} - \overline{soc}_{.jk}\right) \\
&+ \pi_{7j}^{[s]}\left(opd_{ij} - \overline{opd}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{8j}^{[s]}\left(cln_{ij} - \overline{cln}_{.jk}\right) \\
&+ \pi_{9j}^{[s]}\left(par_{ij} - \overline{par}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{10j}^{[s]}\left(rel_{ij} - \overline{rel}_{.jk}\right) \\
&+ \pi_{11j}^{[s]}\left(srl_{ij} - \overline{srl}_{.jk}\right) \qquad (1)
\end{aligned}
$$

In this notation cn_{ij} represents the citizenship norms profiles, the "r" represents the comprehensive profile, and "s" represents the rest of the citizenship profiles. We conditioned the outcome on student variables (x_{ij}), and aggregated variables as school means ($x_{.j}$). We use subscripts $\ldots_{ij}$ for zvariables referring to students' values nested in $\ldots_{j}$ schools. Because we are fitting a model where the variance is divided in three parts, we use the subscripts $\ldots_{jk}$ to refer to schools within countries. In this model, the intercept term $\pi_{0j}^{[s]}$ also depends on the term r_{0j} (see Eq. 2). This is a normally distributed random variable of mean 0, and variance τ_{00}^2. This latent variable is used to structure the school random intercepts and is obtained by specifying a common factor model over the school category random intercepts. This specification alleviates model estimation (Asparouhov and Muthén 2008; Vermunt 2003).

All continuous variables were first standardized and left with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Thus, a unit expresses a standard deviation of an attribute

over the pooled mean between countries. Then, all selected variables were school centered, after centering all values at the grand mean of each country. With this centering approach we separate the variance of the dependent variable in three parts: the within school variance, the between school variance, and the country variance (Brincks et al. 2017; Rights et al. 2019). At the student level, the fitted model produces the average change in log odds ratio between the target category "s," and the reference category "r," across all schools. At the school level, the model produces estimates that express the specific change in log odds in the school intercepts for each comparison between the target category and the reference category (McNeish et al. 2017).

In the school level equation (see Eq. 2), we include aggregated scores of all variables as school means centered at the country mean. These variables do not contain any country variance (Brincks et al. 2017). Thus, to account for country differences 23 dummy coded variables were introduced in the model, leaving Lithuania as the reference category for the model intercepts ($\beta_{00}^{[s]}$). This country presents a proportion of students with a comprehensive citizenship norm profile similar to the average of proportion across all countries.

$$\begin{aligned}\pi_{0j}^{[s]} = \beta_{00}^{[s]} &+ \beta_{01}^{[s]}\left(\overline{ses}_{jk} - \overline{ses}_{...}\right) + \beta_{02}^{[s]}\left(\overline{sex}_{jk} - \overline{sex}_{...}\right) + \beta_{03}^{[s]}\left(\overline{imm}_{jk} - \overline{imm}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{04}^{[s]}\left(\overline{int}_{jk} - \overline{int}_{...}\right) + \beta_{05}^{[s]}\left(\overline{pol}_{jk} - \overline{pol}_{...}\right) + \beta_{06}^{[s]}\left(\overline{soc}_{jk} - \overline{soc}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{07}^{[s]}\left(\overline{opd}_{jk} - \overline{opd}_{...}\right) + \beta_{08}^{[s]}\left(\overline{cln}_{jk} - \overline{cln}_{...}\right) + \beta_{09}^{[s]}\left(\overline{par}_{jk} - \overline{par}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{10}^{[s]}\left(\overline{rel}_{jk} - \overline{rel}_{...}\right) + \beta_{11}^{[s]}\left(\overline{srl}_{jk} - \overline{srl}_{...}\right) + \delta_{1-23}^{[s]}D_k + r_{0j} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

To study student factors and their associations at the school level, we also calculate "contextual effects." These are differences between schools, not accounted for by students composition (Castellano et al. 2014), and represent the additional gains or losses to the outcome under study, conditional to the school levels of a factor. With the present model, we obtain these estimates as the subtraction of the between school estimates by its student level estimates (Willms 2010). For example, to get the contextual effect of SES we calculate $\beta_{01}^{[s]}$- $\pi_{1j}^{[s]}$. We assess the contextual effect for SES, political interest, political discussion outside the school, political media use, student participation in the school, and teacher and students' interpersonal relations.

In the present study, students give responses regarding their school experience (see Table 2). This includes measures of open classroom discussion, civic learning at school, teacher-student relationships, and students' interpersonal relationships. We interpret the first two measures as reflective measures of the school environment (Stapleton et al. 2016). This implies that student responses from the same school are informative as a whole, because students from the same school referred to the same target. In this scenario, students act as informants of their own learning environment, and for these variables we are interested in their school level estimates ($\beta_{07}^{[s]}$, $\beta_{08}^{[s]}$) (Lüdtke et al. 2009). The within estimates of these variables are out of the scope of interest, because these represent the level 1 climate residuals, or "informant differences" and not construct expected differences (Marsh et al. 2012). In contrast, teacher-student relations and students' interpersonal relationships can be interpreted

as the personal experience of students, and also as the collective experience of the students from the same school. As such, within and between estimates are of interest for our research questions.

All estimations were carried out using Mplus 8.4 (Muthén and Muthén 2017). To assess overall model fit we recur to an adjusted likelihood ratio test (adj. LRT), that accompany the MLR estimator in MPLUS (Masyn 2014). This index assesses if the reduction in deviance is statistically significant. Additionally, we use the proportional change in variance (PCV) as a relative measure of accounted variance between models (Merlo et al. 2006). To assess school variability, in the odds ratio scale, we used the median odds ratio (MOR) (Merlo et al. 2006). This is a measure of how much the odds between the base category and a target category may change for similar observations, with different school membership. It varies from one to more than one. If MOR = 1, then schools are unlikely to explain student's citizenship norms profiles. If MOR > 1, then schools' environments are related to how students endorse citizenship norms.

Survey weights were partitioned into student and school levels, and scaled to the effective samples while including pseudo strata in model estimation (Stapleton 2013). This procedure scales survey weights to one, at the student and school levels among all countries, thus allowing all countries to equally contribute to the estimates.

Results from the fitted model are described in terms of odds. This is the ratio between the probability of each profile in comparison to the "comprehensive" profile, conditional to one unit increase of any covariate. The results present overall model fit, and school variability, and then continues by presenting student and school level estimates, presenting model terms, odd ratios, and p-values (see Table 3 for student variables and Table 4 for school variables).

3.1 Results

Model fit and school variance. We compare the null model without predictors, with the model with all the proposed covariates using an adjusted likelihood ratio test (adj. LRT). The addition of the selected variables included in the model increases model fit, in contrast to the fully null model (adj. LRT (180) = 30,099.19 $p < 0.01$). The school level variance for the fully null model ($\tau_{00}^2 = 0.66$, SE = 0.06, $p < 0.001$), diminishes when country fixed effects are introduced in the model ($\tau_{00}^2 = 0.21$, SE = 0.04, $p < 0.001$). This last estimate consists of the school level variability not accounted for by country differences. The median odds ratio (MOR) of this model (MOR = 1.55, CI95 [1.43, 1.66]), indicates that citizenship norms endorsement changes 1.5 times due to school membership. The school-level variance diminishes when the selected variables are introduced in the model ($\tau_{00}^2 = 0.12$, SE = 0.02, $p < 0.001$). The proportional change in variance from the country fixed effect model, in contrast to the model with all proposed variables is considerable (PCV = 43%), where more than 40% of the variance left is accounted by the selected school covariates.

Table 3 Student level multinomial logit estimates explaining the odds of the citizenship norms profiles over the comprehensive profile

Param.	Covariates	Socially-engaged			Duty-based		
		E	OR	p<	E	OR	p<
$\pi_{1j}^{[s]}$	SES	0.06	1.06	*	−0.01	0.99	
$\pi_{2j}^{[s]}$	Female	0.22	1.24	***	−0.09	0.91	
$\pi_{3j}^{[s]}$	Immigrant	−0.08	0.93		−0.04	0.96	
$\pi_{4j}^{[s]}$	Political interest	−0.50	0.61	***	−0.50	0.60	***
$\pi_{5j}^{[s]}$	Political discussion	−0.05	0.95		−0.07	0.94	
$\pi_{6j}^{[s]}$	Political social media use	−0.18	0.84	***	−0.13	0.87	**
$\pi_{7j}^{[s]}$	Open classroom discussion	−0.09	0.91	**	−0.17	0.84	***
$\pi_{8j}^{[s]}$	Civic learning	−0.14	0.87	***	−0.27	0.76	***
$\pi_{9j}^{[s]}$	Students participation	−0.06	0.94	*	−0.16	0.85	**
$\pi_{10j}^{[s]}$	Teacher-student relations	−0.11	0.90	**	−0.23	0.80	***
$\pi_{11j}^{[s]}$	Student interpersonal relations	−0.10	0.90	***	−0.05	0.95	
Param.	Covariates	Monitorial			Anomic		
		E	OR	p<	E	OR	p<
$\pi_{1j}^{[s]}$	SES	−0.04	0.96		−0.09	0.91	
$\pi_{2j}^{[s]}$	Female	−0.19	0.83	*	−0.54	0.58	***
$\pi_{3j}^{[s]}$	Immigrant	0.04	1.04		0.04	1.04	
$\pi_{4j}^{[s]}$	Political interest	−0.54	0.58	***	−0.69	0.50	**
$\pi_{5j}^{[s]}$	Political discussion	−0.05	0.95		−0.37	0.69	***
$\pi_{6j}^{[s]}$	Political social media use	−0.03	0.97		−0.35	0.71	***
$\pi_{7j}^{[s]}$	Open classroom discussion	−0.20	0.82	***	−0.21	0.81	**
$\pi_{8j}^{[s]}$	Civic learning	−0.39	0.68	***	−0.67	0.51	***
$\pi_{9j}^{[s]}$	Students participation	−0.08	0.93	*	−0.26	0.77	**
$\pi_{10j}^{[s]}$	Teacher-student relations	−0.35	0.71	***	−0.70	0.50	***
$\pi_{11j}^{[s]}$	Student interpersonal relations	−0.17	0.84	***	−0.06	0.95	

Notes Param. = Equation parameters; E = Estimated multinomial logits for the odds ratio between the target category and the reference category (comprehensive), OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

Table 4 School characteristics retrieved from students' responses explaining citizenship norms endorsement profiles

Param.	Covariates	Socially engaged			Duty-based		
		E	OR	p<	E	OR	p<
$\beta_{01}^{[s]}$	School SES	0.30	1.35	***	0.30	1.36	***
$\beta_{02}^{[s]}$	School proportion of females	0.41	1.50	*	0.18	1.19	
$\beta_{03}^{[s]}$	School proportion of immigrants	−0.16	0.85		0.55	1.72	
$\beta_{04}^{[s]}$	Political interest	−1.17	0.31	***	−0.18	0.84	
$\beta_{05}^{[s]}$	Political discussion	0.28	1.32		0.07	1.07	
$\beta_{06}^{[s]}$	Political social media use	−0.38	0.69	*	−0.84	0.43	**
$\beta_{07}^{[s]}$	Open classroom discussion	−0.15	0.86		−0.08	0.92	
$\beta_{08}^{[s]}$	Civic learning	−0.24	0.79	*	−0.66	0.52	***
$\beta_{09}^{[s]}$	Student participation	0.03	1.03		0.01	1.01	
$\beta_{10}^{[s]}$	Teacher-student relations	0.08	1.09		−0.11	0.90	
$\beta_{11}^{[s]}$	Student interpersonal relations	−0.30	0.74	*	−0.16	0.85	
$\beta_{00}^{[s]}$	Intercept	−0.24	0.79	**	−0.44	0.65	***
Param.	Covariates	Monitorial			Anomic		
		E	OR	p<	E	OR	p<
$\beta_{01}^{[s]}$	School SES	−0.08	0.93		−0.13	0.88	
$\beta_{02}^{[s]}$	School proportion of females	0.07	1.07		−0.78	0.46	*
$\beta_{03}^{[s]}$	School proportion of immigrants	0.73	2.08	*	1.08	2.95	*
$\beta_{04}^{[s]}$	Political interest	−0.94	0.39	*	−1.08	0.34	
$\beta_{05}^{[s]}$	Political discussion	0.30	1.35		−0.13	0.88	
$\beta_{06}^{[s]}$	Political social media use	0.00	1.00		−0.13	0.88	
$\beta_{07}^{[s]}$	Open classroom discussion	−0.56	0.57	***	−0.69	0.50	**
$\beta_{08}^{[s]}$	Civic learning	−0.71	0.49	***	−1.13	0.32	***
$\beta_{09}^{[s]}$	Student participation	0.26	1.29		−0.28	0.76	
$\beta_{10}^{[s]}$	Teacher-student relations	−0.20	0.82		−0.27	0.76	
$\beta_{11}^{[s]}$	Student interpersonal relations	−0.40	0.67	**	−0.57	0.57	*
$\beta_{00}^{[s]}$	Intercept	−1.31	0.27	***	−3.51	0.03	***

Notes Param. = Equation parameters; E = Estimated multinomial logits for the odds ratio between the target category and the reference category (comprehensive), OR = Estimates expressed as odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

Student characteristics. Student characteristics can be divided into sociodemographic and civic background variables (Table 1). Among the first, gender presents the largest odds. Across schools, female students are less likely to endorse citizenship norms in an anomic way (OR $= -0.58$, $p < 0.001$), and to display a monitorial profile (OR = 0.83, $p < 0.05$), in contrast to the base category. Complementarily, female students are more likely to endorse citizenship norms with a socially-engaged profile than a comprehensive profile (OR = 1.24, $p < 0.001$). We observed a small relationship between students' SES and the endorsement of the socially-engaged profile (OR = 1.06, $p < 0.05$), and having an immigrant background is not related to any of the presented profiles.

In terms of students' civic background, the factor with the largest association to the endorsement of citizenship profiles is political interest. Across schools, students with high political interest are less likely to endorse any of the citizenship norms profiles in comparison to the comprehensive profile. If we reverse the estimated odds, this means that students with political interest are two times more likely to present a comprehensive profile instead of an anomic profile (OR = 0.50, $p < 0.01$, 1/OR = 2.00), 1.72 times more likely to present comprehensive instead of the monitorial (OR = 0.58, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.72), 1.67 times more likely to be comprehensive instead of duty-based (OR = 0.60, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.67), and 1.64 times more likely to be comprehensive instead of socially engaged (OR = 0.61, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.64). Complementary, students who engage more in political discussions outside their school present 1.43 chances to endorse citizenship norms in a comprehensive way instead of presenting an anomic profile (OR = 0.69, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.43). In general, students who use more frequently social media to read and post about political and social issues present lower chances to present an anomic profile (OR = 0.71, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.41), or socially engaged (OR = 0.84, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR−1 = 1.19), or duty-based (OR = 0.87, $p < 0.01$, 1/OR = 1.15) in contrast to the comprehensive profile. Thus, in general, the comprehensive profile is associated with a higher political interest than the rest of the student citizenship norms profiles.

In general, across schools, students who participate more in political activities at school are more likely to present a comprehensive citizenship norms endorsement. Students who are more participative present larger odds of being comprehensive instead of anomic (OR = 0.77, $p < 0.01$, 1/OR = 1.30), comprehensive instead of duty-based (OR = 0.85, $p < 0.01$, 1/OR = 1.18), comprehensive instead of monitorial (OR = 0.93, $p < 0.05$, 1/OR = 1.08), and comprehensive instead of socially engaged (OR = 0.94, $p < 0.05$, 1/OR = 1.06). As such, it seems that participation at school seems to prevent students from presenting citizenship norms profiles concentrated mainly on some norms.

Students' personal experiences at school are also related to their citizenship norms endorsement. Across schools, students who report more positive teacher-student relations are less likely to endorse the anomic profile (OR = 0.50, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 2.00), the monitorial profile (OR = 0.71, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.41), the duty-based profile (OR = 0.80, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.25), and the socially-engaged profile (OR = 0.90, $p < 0.01$, 1/OR = 1.11) in contrast to the comprehensive profile. Similarly, across schools, students who report more positive interpersonal relations with their

peers at schools are less likely to present a monitorial profile (OR = 0.84, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.19) and a socially-engaged profile (OR = 0.90, $p < 0.001$, 1/OR = 1.11), both in contrast to the comprehensive profile. Thus, in general, attending a school where students have more positive relations with teachers and their peers is positively associated with a comprehensive endorsement of citizenship norms.

School level results. Table 2 includes the school level results. First, we review school composition variables. Higher school SES presents a positive association to endorsing socially-engaged citizenship norms (OR = 1.35, $p < 0.001$), and duty-based citizenship norms (OR = 1.36, $p < 0.001$), in contrast to presenting a comprehensive profile. We assess if these associations are independent of students' SES levels, and indeed they are. School SES present contextual effects ($\beta_{01}^{[1]} - \pi_{1j}^{[1]} =$ 0.24, OR = 1.27, $p < 0.01$) for the socially-engaged profile, and for the duty-based profile ($\beta_{01}^{[2]} - \pi_{1j}^{[2]} = 0.32$, OR = 1.37, $p < 0.01$). This means that students attending schools with a school SES of 1 standard deviation above each country mean, are 1.37 times more likely to endorse duty-based norms and 1.27 times more likely to endorse socially-engaged norms, in comparison to comprehensive citizenship norms. Consistently to student individual level effects, schools with a higher proportion of females are expected to present a higher proportion of students endorsing socially-engaged citizenship norms (OR = 1.50, $p < 0.05$), instead of the comprehensive profile. Similarly, schools with a higher proportion of females are less likely to endorse citizenship norms via an anomic profile (OR = 0.46, $p < 0.05$). However, these two latter effects are not independent of the students' gender across schools (i.e., level 1 student gender coefficient). Finally, schools with a higher proportion of immigrant students are positively associated to students endorsing monitorial citizenship norms (OR = 2.08, $p < 0.05$) and anomic citizenship norms (OR = 2.95, p < .0.05), instead of the comprehensive profile. Yet, these effects are not larger than the student level estimates, and do not consist of contextual effects.

Higher levels of political interest, higher political discussion outside the school, and higher political social media use at school are associated with students' citizenship norms endorsement. Schools with higher levels of students' political interest present lower odds of students presenting socially-engaged citizenship norms (OR = 0.31, $p < 0.001$), instead of the comprehensive profile. This effect is larger than the student level estimates ($\beta_{04}^{[1]} - \pi_{4j}^{[1]} = -0.67$, OR = 0.51, $p < 0.05$), thus independent of students' political interest, schools with a higher average of student political interest seem to make students almost two times more likely to endorse citizenship norms via a comprehensive profile, instead of a socially-engaged profile (1/OR = 1.96, $p < 0.05$). Similarly, students in schools with a higher level of political interest between students have lower chances of endorsing citizenship norms via a monitorial profile (OR = 0.39, $p < 0.05$). However, this association does not conform to a contextual effect. Additionally, political discussion among students outside of schools does not present associations for citizenship norms endorsement in a simple way. Independent of the individual student levels of political discussion outside school, schools with a higher mean of students discussing political issues outside the school are positively related to students endorsing monitorial norms ($\beta_{05}^{[3]} - \pi_{5j}^{[3]} = 0.35$, OR = 1.42, $p < 0.05$). Finally, schools with higher average levels of students' political use

of social media are negatively associated to socially-engaged norms (OR = 0.69, p < 0.05), and duty-based norms (OR = 0.43, p < 0.05), in contrast to a comprehensive citizenship norms endorsement. This latter association is a contextual effect ($\beta_{05}^{[2]} - \pi_{5j}^{[2]} = -0.70$, OR = 0.49, p < 0.05). Thus, students in schools with high levels of political social media use among students are two times more likely to present a comprehensive citizenship norms profile instead of duty-based profile (1/OR = 2.04, p < 0.05).

Regarding the school experience variables, schools with more positive interpersonal relations between students have higher chances to present students with comprehensive citizenship profiles instead of anomic (OR = 0.57 p < 0.05, 1/OR = 1.75), monitorial (OR = 0.67, p < 0.01, 1/OR = 1.49), and instead of socially-engaged profiles (OR = 0.74, p < 0.05, 1/OR = 1.35). Additionally, schools with higher levels of student participation have lower chances to present monitorial profiles instead of comprehensive profiles, regardless of the students' levels of participation ($\beta_{09}^{[3]} - \pi_{9j}^{[3]} = 0.33$, OR = 1.40, p < 0.05).

Schools with higher civic learning (that is schools with more opportunities to learn how to vote in local and national elections, how laws are introduced in their country, and learn about citizens' rights) have higher chances of students endorsing citizenship norms via a comprehensive profile instead of any other citizenship norms profile. Students with a higher exposure to civic learning opportunities present 3.13 times more chances to endorse citizenship norms via a comprehensive profile instead of an anomic profile (OR = 0.32, p < 0.001, 1/OR = 3.13), 2.04 times more instead of presenting a monitorial profile (OR = 0.49, p < 0.01, 1/OR = 2.04), 1.92 times more likely instead of a duty-based profile (OR = 0.52, p < 0.001, 1/OR = 1.92), and 1.27 times more chances of students presenting a comprehensive profile instead of a socially-engaged profile (OR = 0.79, p < 0.05, 1/OR = 1.27). Additionally, schools with higher levels of open classroom discussion present lower chances to have students from the monitorial (OR = 0.57, p < 0.001, 1/OR = 1.75) and anomic profiles (OR = 0.50, p < 0.01, 1/OR = 2.00). Students in schools with one standard deviation more of open classroom discussion are two times more likely to present a comprehensive citizenship norms profile, instead of an anomic profile and 1.75 more chances of having a comprehensive profile versus a monitorial profile.

3.2 Conclusions

In the present chapter, we inquire if school membership is associated with students' citizenship norms endorsement. Our results are positive, students from different schools present different citizenship norms profiles. Using meta-analytic formulas, we can express the median odds ratio in terms of effect size (Borenstein et al. 2009). A median odds ratio of 1.55 is equivalent to an effect size of r = 0.12. The second inquiry concerned if observed school practices, in particular civic learning at schools and open classroom discussion, are related to citizenship norms endorsement. These

two school processes promote the endorsement of citizenship norms in a comprehensive way, instead of other partial endorsement of citizenship norms. The sizes of these associations are greater than for students' sociodemographic background, students' civic background, and other school attributes. Additionally, if there is Level 2 endogeneity of schools' composition via student SES, the present estimates can be regarded as lower bound effects, because mixed models present downward bias for the estimates of school practices (Castellano et al. 2014). In summary, students in schools that provide more opportunities to learn and discuss political and social issues in their classroom guided by their teacher are more likely to endorse all included citizenship norms. These norms refer to voting in national elections, discussing politics, working hard, obeying the law, respecting authorities, protesting against unjust laws, promoting human rights, and participating in the local community for the benefit of others.

In the study we also observed different contextual effects. These are expected changes in odds regardless of students' characteristics. Schools with higher means of SES are more likely to present students with partial endorsement of the selected citizenship norms. Higher SES schools presented higher odds for socially-engaged and duty-based norms, instead of the comprehensive norms. We assume these differences are the product of non-observed school attributes (Alwin 1976), because these are the expected odds of endorsing a set of citizenship norms regardless of students' SES. However, contextual effects could be driven by other mechanisms such as school segregation and peer effects (Collado et al. 2014; Isac et al. 2014). A pure school segregation effect means that students are so different between schools in terms of SES, that all students from the same school are almost equivalent regarding SES. In this scenario, all differences between students in the population will be absorbed as a between school effect in a multilevel model. Peer effects imply there is no school environment attribute which can explain why schools with more affluent intake present larger estimates than the within school estimates. Thus, it is the exposure to more affluent students that would drive the estimated effect. These two later explanations seem unlikely, while the unmeasured factor assumption implies that schools with a higher SES intake, across all countries, may not promote all citizenship norms equally by an unknown mechanism. This finding requires further research to provide a sensible explanation.

Additionally, we observed three other contextual effects independent of students' characteristics. Schools with students with higher political interest present higher chances of endorsing comprehensive citizenship norms, instead of socially-engaged norms. Students in schools with students who use more social media to find and share political content are less likely endorse duty-based norms, in contrast to endorsing all citizenship norms. Thus, more politicized school environments seems to prevent student endorsement of two of the profiles that express more political apathy (Dahl et al. 2018). A divergent result with this pattern is that schools with students who discuss political issues with friends and family are positively associated with monitorial citizenship endorsement versus its comprehensive counterpart. Higher political discussion among peers in the school may promote a more critical view of the political system and may lead to greater monitorial norms endorsement (Amnå and Ekman

2014; Hooghe and Dejaeghere 2007). These associations are independent of students own political interest, political social media use, and political discussion outside the school.

The specific experience of students within schools, in terms of their interpersonal relationships with teachers is a positive factor for the endorsement of citizenship norms in a comprehensive way. These results are consistent with previous literature that highlights the relevance of the interpersonal climate in schools as a fundamental factor for citizenship development (Claes et al. 2017; Sampermans et al. 2018).

Finally, confronted with the question of what kind of citizens are promoting our schools, the citizenship norms literature has distinguished between citizens who follow the rule of law, pay taxes, and are willing to vote, in contrast to citizens more involved with the community. This is the contrast between the "duty-based" and the distinctively "engaged" citizenship (Dalton 2008; Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). The "duty-based" citizen obeys the law and endorses the formal channels of participation, such as participating in national elections. While the "engaged" citizen disregards the formal channels of political participation, but highly endorses the importance of protecting human rights and involvement with the local community (Hooghe et al. 2016). Neither of these two profiles alone seem enough to support a well-functioning democracy. Schools that provided higher civic learning opportunities, more frequent open classroom discussion, and more participatory environments promote a more comprehensive citizenship endorsement. These are students who simultaneously endorse compliance to the law, participation in national elections, valuing political interest, and protest against unjust laws. These are students who might be convinced that they can influence the government to defend the rights of others (Crick 2007) from authoritarian measures from governments, even in the most consolidated democracies of the world.

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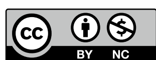
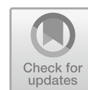


Latin American Political Culture and Citizenship Norms



Daniel Miranda, Catalina Miranda, and Loreto Muñoz

Abstract Latin American countries have a history of democracies interrupted by political unrest, civil war, human rights abuses, and military dictatorships. In the region, there have been several attempts to establish representative governments throughout the last decade, especially in post-dictatorship periods. However, scholars have questioned the quality of these achieved regimes, especially regarding their democratic quality. To what extent do democratic ideals coexist with authoritarian ideas? This chapter explores the extent to which support for authoritarian government practices is associated with different types of citizenship norms and evaluates the role of civic knowledge. Using a series of regression models with clustered errors, and data from Latin American countries in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, both the role of citizenship norms and civic knowledge in explaining students' support for authoritarian practices were analyzed. The results indicate that, in Latin America, there exists a significant level of support for authoritarian ideas in younger age groups, which is consistent with previous research focused on the adult population. Additionally, results indicate that those students classified in duty-based and comprehensive citizenship profiles show higher levels of support for authoritarian practices. In contrast, students with monitorial and anomic profiles are less likely to support these types of practices. Finally, civic knowledge protects young people from authoritarian ideas and moderates the effect of different conceptions of citizenship norms. Results highlight the relevance of education for democratic citizenship, which could help on the legitimacy of the democratic system.

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1 Introduction

Democracy as a system of government operates under a series of principles that must be supported by its citizens. According to Sartori (1999), as a political regime, democracy is an ideal that must be promoted and believed by citizens. In this sense, an important challenge is for members of society to support and legitimize those central principles so that the political system works, and those ideas that erode its foundations have minimum expression. The issue of the legitimacy of democracy rests on the support of citizens who sustain a belief system consistent with the existing political institutions or, more specifically, citizens who adhere to a value system allowing the peaceful "play" of power (Lipset 1959). That is to say, there is a political culture consistent with democratic institutions.

Among the most severe threats to the democratic ideal is the existence of attitudes that validate authoritarian leaders or governments (Altemeyer 2008; Dewey 1989). These kinds of threats are particularly evident in Latin America, with its long history of democracies interrupted by political unrest, civil war, human rights abuses, and military dictatorships. Today, several countries in the region are experiencing democratic crises, such as Venezuela, which has endured turbulent years of authoritarian crisis, Brazil with the election of a president who openly justifies the military dictatorships of the 1970s, and Peru with the dissolution of parliament in October 2019.

In contrast, there have been several attempts to consolidate representative regimes throughout the region, especially in post-dictatorship periods. However, these attempts seem rather incomplete, because consolidating a democracy does not finish with establishing the election of political leaders, it also requires guaranteeing civil liberties as well (Haynes 2003; O'Donell 1994). The democratization efforts have brought democratic ideas to the forefront as a priority for various governments in the region, which implies that Latin American citizens have changing views of what it means to be a good citizen, and these conceptions of citizenship could play a role in shaping beliefs about the role of authoritarian practices.

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), recognizes the different characteristics of Latin American countries, conducting specific surveys that evaluate students' attitudes and perceptions (Schulz et al. 2010, 2018a, 2016), including their endorsement of authoritarian government practices. Given this unique opportunity, this chapter explores the following questions: To what extent do democratic ideals coexist with authoritarian ideas? Can a particular pattern be identified in the younger generations? This chapter examines the extent to which support for authoritarian government practices is associated with different types of citizenship norms and evaluates the role of civic knowledge.

2 Theoretical Framework

The legitimacy of democracy rests on the support of citizens and a system of beliefs consistent with existing political institutions (Lipset 1959). This assumption implies that society must be able to "generate and maintain" beliefs consistent with this form of government and reject those beliefs deemed to be inconsistent. Along these lines, support for authoritarian practices or the justification of a dictatorship could threaten the legitimacy of democracy.

Latin American democracies tend to undermine the system of values that allows the peaceful play of power (Lipset 1959). This stigma is reflected in that a non-ignorable portion of the population adheres to some form of authoritarianism. The 2015 Human Development Report in Chile shows that, although authoritarianism endorsement has declined, a significant proportion of Chileans (19% in 1999 and 15% in 2013) consider that "in some circumstances, an authoritarian government is preferable to a democratic one" and that "people like you do not care whether the government is democratic or authoritarian" (31% in 1999 and 14% in 2013) (PNUD 2015). Moreover, support for authoritarian governments is even more substantial in other Latin American countries.

Authoritarian political culture could be understood as patterns of behavior (Almond and Verba 1989) of leaders or governments that are at odds with democratic principles, such as closing the parliament or censoring the media when facing a conflict. The idea of authoritarian political culture is related to the old concept of authoritarianism initially understood as personality (Adorno et al. 1950) and later as a collection of social attitudes that support legitimate authorities (Altemeyer 1996, 2008). A widely contested idea is that those authoritarian beliefs are an essential part of the political culture in Latin America (Booth and Seligson 1984; Lagos 2003; Seligson and Booth 1993). This chapter aims to contribute to this discussion by analyzing the literature related to citizenship norms.

The hope of the renewal of politics and democracy lies in the new generations. To contribute to this debate, ICCS 2009 and 2016 asked the same question about authoritarian/democratic beliefs to a similar sample of grade 8 students. Considering the statement that "dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits," the percentage of young people who would support a dictatorship decreased by 8% between 2009 and 2016. Additionally, the Latin American report indicates that those students with higher levels of civic knowledge are less likely to support authoritarian practices (Schulz et al. 2018a). This result is a good starting point for analyzing authoritarian political culture as seen by young students in Latin America.

The existence of citizenship norms is relevant because they shape attitudes and behaviors (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2013; Coffé and van der Lippe 2010; Heijden 2014; Jennings 2015). The study of views or concepts of citizenship assumes a certain consistency between norms and the attitudes/behavior of citizens (Almond and Verba 1989). In the words of Professor van Deth, "those who support the idea that citizens have a duty to cast a vote will be much more likely to participate in an election than other people" (2007, p. 2). In this vein, the extent to which support

for citizenship norms correlates with authoritarian ideas appears to be a legitimate question, considering that this is still an unexplored link.

Given the absence of evidence that links citizenship norms with authoritarian beliefs, making connections with different types of participation could be useful to test some exploratory hypotheses. First, people with duty-based or higher normative profiles, characterized by belief in traditional duties (such as voting), are less likely to participate in contentious political activities and are more willing to participate in traditional activities (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2013; Dalton 2015). Thus, since these types of norms are related to conventional attitudes, students with higher normative support could be expected to endorse more authoritarian ideas. Nevertheless, involvement in conventional activities does not imply authoritarian ideas. In the same vein, yet with different arguments, we could expect that antidemocratic ideas may coexist with democratic conceptions of citizenship, which could imply high support for authoritarian practices in profiles oriented to democracy (Stevens et al. 2006). However, the opposite scenario is uncertain. Do people that do not endorse citizenship norms subscribe to authoritarian ideas? In this chapter, we aim to contribute to political culture research in Latin America by shedding more light on the potential associations between citizenship norms and authoritarian beliefs in five Latin America countries participating in ICCS 2016.

3 Data and Methods

3.1 Data and Variables

The data analyzed is obtained from IEA's ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). The ICCS study was undertaken with a sample of more than 90,000 grade 8 students from 24 countries (Schulz et al. 2018a). The analysis considers the five Latin American countries that participated in ICCS 2016: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru.

The dependent variable of this study is an item response theory (IRT) generated score; over 11 items are related to authoritarian government practices (Table 1). These scores are weighted least estimates (WLE) of the IRT fitted model and express the varying degrees of students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices. It presents an international mean of 50 points, and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted countries (Schulz et al. 2018b).

The first variable contains the most likely latent classes for each student according to their conception of citizenship norms. Five profiles were generated (see Chap. 3): comprehensive students who show higher support for all evaluated citizenship norms; duty-based students who support mainly traditional norms; socially-engaged students who mainly support norms oriented to helping the community; monitorial students who show mid-lower support for all norms; and, finally, anomic students who express very low support for all citizenship norms.

Table 1 Dependent variable: Support for authoritarian government practices scale and its items

Item	Response scale
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the government and its leaders? LS3G01A: It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody	• Strongly agree • Agree • Disagree • Strongly disagree
LS3G01B: People in government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens	
LS3G01C: People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes	
LS3G01D: People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies	
LS3G01E: The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president	
LS3G01F: It is fair that the government does not comply with the law when it thinks it is not necessary	
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about governments and their power? LS3G02A: Concentration of power in one person guarantees order	
LS3G02B: The government should close communication media that are critical	
LS3G02C: If the president does not agree with <Congress> , he/she should <dissolve> it	
LS3G02D: Dictatorships are justified when they bring order and safety (*)	
LS3G02E: Dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits (*)	
L_AUTGOV: Students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices	Mean = 50/SD = 10

Notes (*) = Excluded items in the scale L_AUTGOV, SD = Standard deviation
Source ICCS 2016 user guide (Köhler et al. 2018)

Civic knowledge scores are IRT generated scores, using the responses to the 79 items from the ICCS test. This variable has an international average of 500 points and a standard deviation of 100. We included two sets of variables for students' socioeconomic background: educational level and cultural capital. Family educational level is represented in five standardized levels (Schneider 2008), while cultural capital is measured by the number of books in each household. Finally, the student's gender is included as a control variable (Table 2).

Table 2 Independent variables

Item	Response
Latent class of conceptions of citizenship norms	Comprehensive Duty-based Socially engaged Monitorial Anomic
Civic knowledge scale IRT plausible values [one plausible value: (PV1CIV)]	
Control variables	
Family education What is the highest level of education completed by your male or female guardian?	5. Complete college or postgraduate 4. Technical complete 3. Secondary complete 2. Grade 8 complete 1. Not finished grade 8
Home literacy (number of books at home) Approximately, how many books are at your home?	1. 0–10 2. 11–100 3. 101–200 4. More than 200 books
Student gender	1. Girls 0. Boys

Source ICCS 2016 user guide (Köhler et al. 2018)

3.2 Methods

The analysis was carried out using OLS (ordinal least square) linear regressions with clustered errors estimation and considering the total weight in all models across the five Latin American countries. Given that the ICCS 2016 sample nests students within schools, the estimation of standard errors considers that the observations within schools are non-independent. Two models were used to study the association of variables to students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices. Model 1 uses a dummy variable that grouped students according to their citizenship normative profiles: comprehensive (as the reference group), duty-based, socially engaged, monitorial, and anomic. Additionally, civic knowledge was entered as a predictor (only one plausible value), along with control variables (gender, parents' education, and number of books at home). Model 2 added four interaction terms to assess the role of civic knowledge in moderating the observed differences in support for authoritarian practices among conceptions of citizenship. Finally, to simplify the interpretation of the results, we estimated the predicted values of support for authoritarian practices for different levels of civic knowledge. All analysis was performed in Stata 14 (Statacorp 2016).

4 Results

The following section is organized into two parts. The first describes the results of the 11 authoritarian government practices included in ICCS 2016. In the second, we describe the role of students' citizenship profiles and civic knowledge to explain their support for authoritarian practices.

4.1 Support for Authoritarian Government Practices: Descriptive Patterns

On average, 0.41 of students support authoritarian practices (agree/strongly agree). Chilean students show the lowest level of support (0.32), while the Dominican Republic has the highest (0.52). These initial results are a good representation of the support for authoritarian ideas in Latin America. Overall, at least one third of students in the region support authoritarian practices (Table 3).

Considering the set of 11 authoritarian practices evaluated, the two statements "It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody" and "People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies" received the lowest support (0.22 on average). In Colombia and Chile, 0.12–0.13 and 0.14–0.15 of students, respectively, support these statements compared to over 0.20 of students in Peru, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. Meanwhile, on average, between 0.45 and 0.57 of students in the region support the statements: "People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes," "The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president," and "Concentration of power in one person guarantees order," with students from Chile and Colombia showing the lowest support, and students in Mexico, Peru, and the Dominican Republic giving the highest support.

It is important to highlight that the percentage of support for statements directly related to dictatorships is particularly high. For example, the statements "Dictatorships are justified when they bring order and safety" and "Dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits," received support of 0.69 and 0.67 of students, on average, respectively. Even in the case of Chile, the country where students generally show the lowest level of support for authoritarian practices, support for these statements is above 50%. It is important to mention that these statements have characteristics of double-barreled questions (Gehlbach 2015), which makes the responses difficult to interpret. Do students support dictatorships and/or their economic benefits? Do students support dictatorships and/or the order and security they are expected to bring? As such, responses to these statements need to be interpreted with caution.

Table 3 Distribution of "agree/strongly agree" with authoritarian government practices

	Chile	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Mexico	Peru	All countries
It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody	0.14	0.13	0.31	0.26	0.20	0.22
People in government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens	0.23	0.22	0.37	0.30	0.31	0.28
People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes	0.35	0.46	0.64	0.53	0.52	0.51
People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies	0.15	0.12	0.29	0.25	0.18	0.22
The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president	0.38	0.50	0.69	0.41	0.56	0.45
It is fair that the government does not comply with the law when it thinks it is not necessary	0.21	0.21	0.38	0.29	0.28	0.27
Concentration of power in one person guarantees order	0.44	0.54	0.74	0.56	0.63	0.57
The government should close communication media that are critical	0.22	0.20	0.36	0.32	0.29	0.29
If the president does not agree with <Congress> he/she should <dissolve> it	0.35	0.31	0.49	0.39	0.43	0.38
Dictatorships are justified when they bring order and safety	0.57	0.73	0.73	0.67	0.77	0.69
Dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits	0.52	0.68	0.70	0.66	0.72	0.67
Country average	0.32	0.37	0.52	0.42	0.45	0.41

Note Population estimates for proportion of responses for categories "agree" and "strongly agree"

4.2 *Modeling Support for Authoritarian Practices: Concepts of Citizenship and Civic Knowledge*

The first model indicates that students with duty-based and comprehensive citizenship profiles show similar levels of support for authoritarian government practices, except for Chile, where duty-based students show a slightly higher level of support ($\beta_{Chile} = 1.70$, $p < 0.05$). Socially-engaged students show slightly lower levels of support for authoritarian practices than comprehensive students (between $\beta_{Peru} = -0.75$, $p < 0{,}001$ and $\beta_{Peru} = -1.37$, $p < 0.001$). Monitorial students show slightly lower levels of support for authoritarian practices than comprehensive students in only two countries: $\beta_{Chile} = -2.20$ ($p < 0.001$) and $\beta_{Mexico} = -1.27$ ($p < 0.001$). Moreover, except for the Dominican Republic, anomic students show the lowest levels of support for authoritarian practices compared to comprehensive students (between $\beta_{Colombia} = -3.76$, $p < 0.001$, and $\beta_{Mexico} = -7.50$, $p < 0.001$). Figure 1 clearly shows these differences. Additionally, civic knowledge has a negative effect on support for authoritarian government practices, which implies that students with higher knowledge about civic rules, institutions, and the rule of law show lower support for authoritarian ideas (see Table 4).

The second model indicates that for students with the lowest levels of civic knowledge (terms that represent zero-knowledge), the differences between citizenship profiles are higher than in Model 1. For example, anomic students show lower levels of support for authoritarian practices than comprehensive students (between $\beta_{Colombia} = -18.89$, $p < 0.001$ and $\beta_{Dominican} = -32.17$, $p < 0.001$). These are huge differences, representing more than two or three standard deviations. Interaction terms indicate that these differences are reduced as students increase their civic knowledge (see Table 4).

Overall, students with lower civic knowledge show higher support for authoritarian ideas. Moreover, civic knowledge interacts with citizenship profiles. Students with an anomic profile of citizenship show the lowest predicted levels of support for authoritarian practices in Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru, while students with comprehensive citizenship profiles show the highest predicted value. The Dominican Republic is the exemption for this pattern. This country presents the lowest rate of anomic students, and this result can alter the estimations. In contrast, students with higher levels of civic knowledge show lower support for authoritarian practices independent of citizenship profile. As a result, considering higher levels of civic knowledge, different ways of conceiving norms of adult citizenship are inconsequential (see Fig. 1).

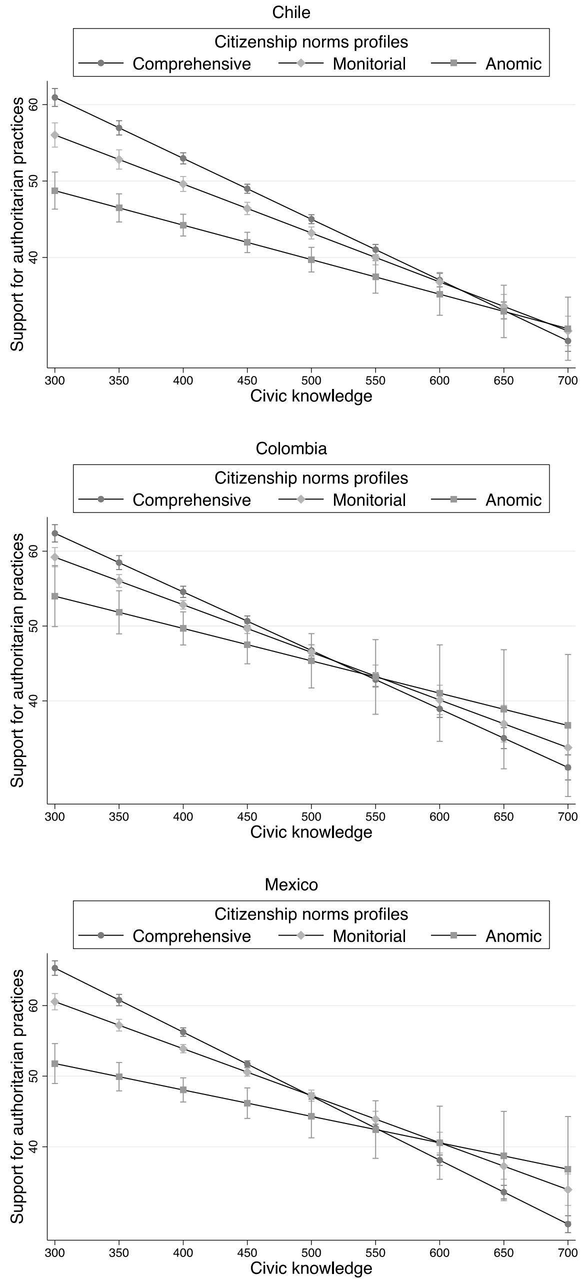
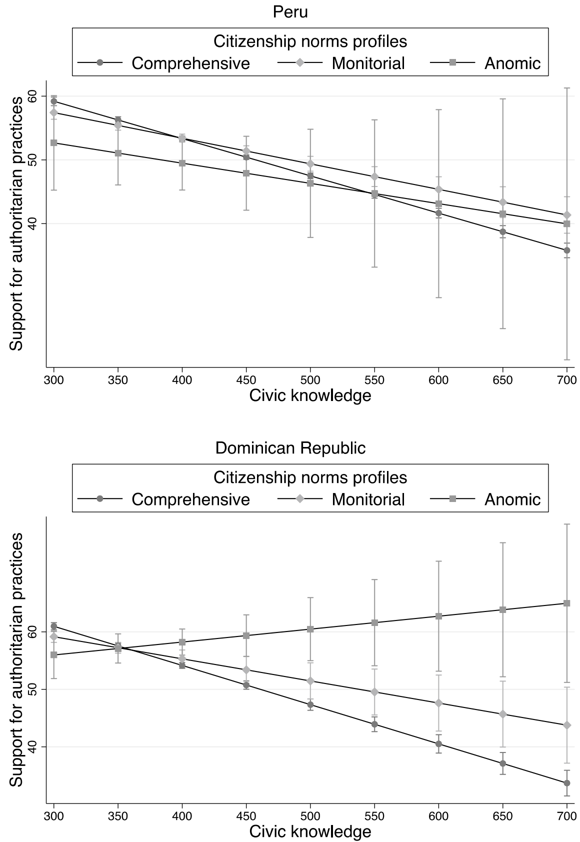


Fig. 1 Predicted conditional levels of support for authoritarian practices. *Notes* Predicted levels of support for authoritarian practices, conditional to citizenship profiles, based on fitted Model 2 including interaction terms

Fig. 1 (continued)



5 Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter shows that students from five Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2016 express worrying levels of support for authoritarian government practices. This pattern of results illustrates the difficulties facing the democratization of the region given its political culture. In particular, the younger generation's authoritarian beliefs represent an important obstacle.

In the best scenario, we highlight that most students reject authoritarianism, by expressing disagreement with the 11 authoritarian government practices presented. Those authoritarian government practices with the lowest support include making decisions without consulting; considering dissidents as enemies; dispensing with the law; enforcing their authority; and closing critical communications media. All of these practices receive between 22 and 29% of support, on average, among students. In Chile and Colombia, we observed the least support for these practices, with between 13 and 14% of students supporting at least one of these ideas, while students in Mexico and the Dominican Republic express the highest support (38% in the

Table 4 Regression model: Support for authoritarian government practices

	Chile		Colombia		Mexico		Peru		Dominican republic	
Variables	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2
Comprehensive (ref)										
Duty-based	1.70*	−5.94	0.02	−17.42**	−0.39	−19.09***	−0.52	−10.36***	−0.83	−5.82
	(0.99)	(4.10)	(1.23)	(7.73)	(1.64)	(6.51)	(0.79)	(3.11)	(1.15)	(3.60)
Socially engaged	−1.05***	−8.03***	0.44	−4.94***	−1.37***	−3.35	−0.75***	−3.79***	−1.02***	−6.09***
	(0.38)	(2.12)	(0.41)	(1.76)	(0.42)	(2.67)	(0.24)	(1.40)	(0.31)	(1.92)
Monitorial	−2.20***	−9.58***	−0.68	−7.56***	−1.27***	−12.00***	0.04	−7.28***	−0.42	−10.72***
	(0.46)	(2.38)	(0.53)	(2.58)	(0.30)	(2.05)	(0.37)	(1.96)	(0.50)	(2.95)
Anomic	−7.48***	−22.53***	−3.76***	−18.89***	−7.50***	−29.51***	−4.17*	−14.55	−0.12	−32.17***ara>
	(0.79)	(3.76)	(1.20)	(6.91)	(0.89)	(4.86)	(2.11)	(13.73)	(1.50)	(8.42)
Civic knowledge (1PV)	−0.07***	−0.08***	−0.07***	−0.08***	−0.08***	−0.09***	−0.05***	−0.06***	−0.06***	−0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Duty-based x CKnow		0.02**		0.04**		0.04***		0.02***		0.01
		(0.01)		(0.02)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
Socially engaged x CKnow		0.01***		0.01***		0.00		0.01**		0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.01)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Monitorial x CKnow		0.02***		0.01**		0.02***		0.02***		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.01)		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.01)
Anomic x CKnow		0.03***		0.04**		0.05***		0.03		0.09***
		(0.01)		(0.02)		(0.01)		(0.03)		(0.02)
Girl	−0.30	−0.24	−0.99***	−1.00***	−1.35***	−1.34***	−1.83***	−1.74***	−0.70**	−0.68**

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

	Chile		Colombia		Mexico		Peru		Dominican republic	
Variables	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Parents' education	−0.46***	−0.45***	−0.00	−0.01	−0.22*	−0.21*	0.31***	0.30***	−0.10	−0.11
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Books at home	−0.53***	−0.55***	−0.60***	−0.60***	−0.52***	−0.50***	−0.16	−0.15	−0.38**	−0.35**
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Intercept	81.94***	86.85***	82.91***	87.02***	90.90***	94.13***	75.21***	77.07***	79.77***	82.32***
	(0.95)	(1.41)	(0.88)	(1.41)	(1.06)	(1.27)	(0.77)	(0.94)	(0.92)	(1.21)
Observations	4,909	4,909	5,466	5,466	5,346	5,346	5,020	5,020	3,697	3,697
R-squared	0.31	0.32	0.34	0.34	0.37	0.38	0.33	0.33	0.29	0.30

Notes For each country, regression estimates are followed by their standard errors in parenthesis. These are presented in two columns. M1 is Model 1, without interaction terms. M2 is Model 2 including interaction terms. CKnow = Civic knowledge. *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

Dominican Republic). In the worst case, students support several of these authoritarian practices (between 38 and 69%, on average), such as the possibility that governments and/or leaders could: dissolve parliament, avoid recognizing mistakes, overvalue the president's opinion, and justify dictatorships if it brings order, safety, and economic benefits. These results are similar to those for the adult population, which indicates consistent patterns. It seems that democratic and anti-democratic ideas are transmitted from one generation to another. These processes, not only in the transmission of democratic but also anti-democratic ideas, should be investigated further as part of an open and interesting debate.

The role played by citizenship profiles shows very interesting patterns. In general, different citizenship profiles imply different levels of support for authoritarian practices. Students with duty-based and comprehensive profiles show higher levels of support for authoritarian practices, while monitorial and anomic students are less likely to support authoritarian practices. This pattern of results is particularly marked when we considered the role of civic knowledge. The first step indicates that those with higher levels of knowledge are less likely to support authoritarian practices. In addition, civic knowledge moderates the differences in levels of authoritarian support among citizenship profiles. For instance, students with lower levels of civic knowledge show higher levels of support for authoritarian practices (above the international average) and show differences among citizenship profiles. Anomic and monitorial students show lower levels of support than duty-based and comprehensive students, but only among students with lower levels of civic knowledge. Those who reject the traditional norms of citizenship embrace, to a lesser extent, the authoritarian culture. In contrast, students with higher levels of civic knowledge show lower support for authoritarian ideas, and there are no differences between citizenship profiles.

These results highlight the role that education plays in citizenship. The acquisition of content and relevant information about the political system is important for the legitimacy of democracies and diminishes support for government practices that erode this very system. Civic knowledge protects young people from authoritarian ideas and moderates the effect of citizenship profiles. When students have information and knowledge, it only matters what they know, and less what they believe about citizenship norms. Nevertheless, when students do not have information and knowledge about the civic system, what students believe about citizenship, or in this case what they do not believe, is relevant. In a setting of poor information and knowledge, it seems that students' sense of duty is combined with authoritarianism. As Altemeyer (2003) indicates, supporters of authoritarianism adhere tightly to social conventions, and this seems particularly to be the case when students have low levels of civic knowledge. This idea is consistent with previous evidence about the authoritarian personality, which indicate that less informed/educated people (or in this case, people with less civic knowledge) tend to support authoritarian regimes or practices (Schulz et al. 2018c, 2011).

Considering one possible future scenario, in 15 years these young people will be formal citizens and those with little information about civic life may be more willing to support an authoritarian government, especially those with a normative conception of citizenship. Only those who better understand democracy would be less willing to

support anti-democratic leaders. Any similarity between this scenario and the reality in some countries today is not the responsibility of the authors.

This chapter sheds light on how different conceptions of citizenship norms are linked with the delegitimization of democracy, as represented by support for authoritarian government practices. In addition, we focus on the role of acquisition of knowledge in protecting democracy from its threats: knowledge works as a vaccine against anti-democratic ideas. We need further research to better understand the different normative citizenship profiles in Latin American countries, especially in terms of how their flexibility/rigidity interacts with varying levels of civic knowledge.

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Tolerance of Corruption Among Students in Latin America

Diego Carrasco and Andrés Pavón Mediano

Abstract Anti-corruption reforms introduced in Latin America in the last decade require active citizenry. In particular, efforts to strengthen transparency laws assume citizens are able to identify, condemn, and denounce corrupt acts. Thus, tolerance of corruption among citizens is problematic for these institutions. Using data from IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, this chapter analyzes which students are at higher risk of tolerating corruption and address how schools may promote the endorsement of anticorruption norms. A series of multilevel models were used to predict tolerance of corruption. The main findings suggest that civic knowledge and endorsement of authoritarianism are the main predictors of tolerance of corruption among students, accounting for 49% of the variance at the population level. In multilevel models, open classroom discussion is negatively related to tolerance of corruption. However, once civic knowledge is entered into the model, the relationship seems to be indirect. This chapter discusses how promoting open classroom discussion and civic knowledge in schools may prevent tolerance of corruption.

Keywords Citizenship · Corruption · Authoritarianism · Education · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

1 Introduction

There is a consensus that civic education is one of the pillars of the anti-corruption agenda. Indeed, the three-pronged approach to fighting corruption consists of enforcement, prevention, and education (Marquette 2007). In this framework, education raises awareness about corruption, by disseminating information, promoting

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social norms, and teaching skills and abilities to counter corruption (Keen 2000). What explains students' social norms of corruption? Addressing this problem has implications for educational and anti-corruption policy since identifying which students are at higher risk of tolerance to corruption is critical to designing educational interventions tailored to those in greatest need (Pop 2012). To this end, this chapter aims to answer the following two questions: "What are the predictors of students' tolerance of corruption?" and "How can schools promote support for anti-corruption norms?" These questions aim to measure the risk of students' acceptance of corrupt acts and to assess the indirect role of open classroom discussion on how willing they are to tolerate corruption.

Using data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), including student responses from Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru, we fit a series of multilevel models. With the results of these models, we analyze the association of parents' education, open classroom discussion, the student's civic knowledge, authoritarian beliefs, and the endorsement of citizenship norms as predictors of students' tolerance of corruption. Results show that civic knowledge, and particularly endorsement of authoritarianism, is the main predictor of students' acceptance of corrupt acts, accounting for 49% of the variance at the population level. Moreover, students in schools with higher levels of open classroom discussion present lower levels of tolerance of corruption. These results are consistent with the role of open classroom discussion as a factor that protects against the endorsement of authoritarianism (Hahn and Tocci 1990), and promotes civic knowledge (Isac et al. 2011; Lin 2014). These findings have broad implications for two anti-corruption policies that have become popular in recent decades in Latin America: transparency laws and civic education (Rehren 2008; Rose-Ackerman and Palifka 2016). In the following sections, we review the literature, present our results, and discuss the relationship between current anti-corruption efforts and students' expected role.

2 Conceptual Background

Tolerance of corruption is the willingness of people to consider corrupt acts as normal and not worthy of punishment (Pop 2012). In this chapter, we inquiry students' tolerance of corruption as the endorsement of injunctive norms or, in other terms, if different acts of corruption are deemed acceptable or not (Köbis et al. 2015). Thus, tolerance of corruption helps to identify a moral limit: it distinguishes what is condemned from what is allowed. Nonetheless, these social norms are expected to vary between different contexts, as certain corrupt acts may be more frequent in some countries than others (Guo and Tu 2017), and also within certain populations (Lavena 2013; Zakaria 2018).

Who is at higher risk of tolerance of corruption? The literature highlights different predictors. Students from families with lower levels of education are at higher risk

of endorsing tolerance of corruption. As the intergenerational hypothesis asserts, children inherit the political inequalities of adults (Schlozman et al. 2012). Thus, it should be expected that educational gaps in the tolerance of corruption by adults would be replicated in students. These gaps are present among adults, where tolerance of corruption is higher among those with a lower level of education (Lavena 2013; Zakaria 2018).

Moreover, we expect students with lower civic knowledge to present higher levels of tolerance of corruption (Schulz 2018a; Schulz et al. 2011)—we call this the "sophistication hypothesis." For instance, highly politically sophisticated students can identify why countries have laws that restrict media ownership to ensure a diversity of views. In contrast, students who fail to understand why media ownership needs to be regulated are less politically sophisticated (Schulz et al. 2013). The condemnation of corrupt acts by public officials requires citizens that comprehend political institutions (Lavena 2013) and understand the consequences of corrupts acts (Wang and Bernardo 2017). Hence, we assume that students with higher political sophistication are more prepared to understand the consequences of corruption and more equipped to reject corrupt acts by public officials.

The endorsement of authoritarianism is another predictor of tolerance of corruption (Carrasco et al. 2020). Authoritarianism is a tendency to support strong authorities (Altemeyer 1981), favoring uncritical obedience and respect for such authorities (Duckitt et al. 2010). This factor is a general predictor of different political behaviors (Krosnick 2005), including prejudice (Sibley and Duckitt 2008), social conformity (Feldman 2003), and support for authoritarian governments (Stevens et al. 2006). Different studies have linked corruption and authoritarianism. Survey studies have found that people with a high endorsement of authoritarianism present higher corruption intention (Tan et al. 2015), and more tolerance of corruption (Wang and Bernardo 2017). Complementary, experimental studies have shown that more authoritarian people are more permissive of unethical behavior by authorities (Bocchiaro and Zimbardo 2017; Son Hing et al. 2007). Thus, we expect a higher tolerance of corruption from more authoritarian students, under the assumption that corrupt acts are a particular example of unethical behaviors (Moore 2008; Nwabuzor 2005). Previous research, using data from ICCS 2009, has found this relation among grade 8 students from six Latin American countries (Carrasco et al. 2020), where higher endorsement of authoritarianism is associated with higher tolerance of corruption. Thus, in the present study, we expect students with high endorsement of authoritarianism to present higher tolerance of corruption. We interpreted citizens' rejection of corruption by public officials as a form of pro-social disobedience, which requires citizens who think critically about their authorities (Pozzi et al. 2014). Hence, students with low endorsement of authoritarianism should be less tolerant of corruption. We call this the "ideological belief hypothesis" (Carrasco et al. 2020).

Finally, the endorsement of general citizenship norms should be consistent with tolerance of corruption. People are willing to reject corrupt acts in the name of overarching principles such as the "public good" and "fairness" (Jackson 2018), as if they have internalized a moral compass, regardless of what others do (Köbis et al. 2018). Thus, internalized common principles can orient why corruption should be rejected.

Similarly, the internalization of social norms regarding the law is expected to guide people's behaviors. Therefore, if different corrupt acts are unlawful, then adherence to the rule of law should be negatively associated with tolerance of corruption. Students with law-abiding profiles—including engaged, duty-based, and comprehensive—express the highest agreement for obeying the law as a distinctive feature of good citizenship, in contrast to anomic and monitorial students. Hence, we expect students with law-abiding profiles to condemn acts of corruption. Factor analytic studies on citizenship norms have found that obeying the law clusters together with other ethical behaviors, such as paying taxes, in comparison to other citizenship norms (Denters et al. 2007; van Deth 2007). These results are consistent with the expected correlation between tolerance of corruption and obeying the law. However, these law-abiding profiles also present the highest respect for government representatives, which may prevent them from being critical of authorities and impede their rejection of corrupt acts (Bocchiaro and Zimbardo 2017; Son Hing et al. 2007). As a result, the endorsement of general citizenship norms does not provide a clear hypothesis regarding its relationship to tolerance of corruption. Hence, we have chosen to study the relationship between the endorsement of citizenship norms and tolerance of corruption in conjunction with the previously proposed factors.

How can schools prevent tolerance of corruption? Schools may prevent tolerance of corruption by providing learning opportunities that mitigate the effects of the previously identified risk factors: less educated family environments, less civic knowledge, and higher endorsement of authoritarianism.

Open classroom discussion in schools is a practice that may help to mitigate these risk factors. This occurs in school environments where teachers guide discussions between students related to political and social issues (Carrasco and Torres Irribarra 2018). It is not merely the exposure to discussions in the classroom that is important, but also learning environments in which students can discuss with their peers and teachers, express their opinions, and make up their own minds (Ehman 1969). In other words, it is a school practice that encourages students to ask questions and seek answers in a meaningful context, helping to ensure that facts and controversies are understood and remembered (Harris 1996).

Schools that promote open classroom discussion of political and social issues are expected to mitigate the effect of growing up in less-educated families (Hoskins et al. 2017). Families with less-educated parents are less likely to have open discussions (Bernstein 2003), and parents from these families are less likely to debate political topics (Campbell 2008). Therefore, students from less-educated families who attend schools that promote open classroom discussion of political and social issues would benefit from this practice.

The level of political sophistication of students is expected to vary systematically depending on their socioeconomic background. According to the intergenerational transmission hypothesis, if no intervening educational process occurs, the political sophistication of a student can be predicted based solely on his/her family background. However, school effectiveness models related to civic knowledge show that although the socioeconomic background of the students can explain a large portion of the variance, a significant part of the variance among schools is accounted for by

levels of open classroom discussion (Isac et al. 2011; Lin 2014). Hence, schools may help to promote civic knowledge acquisition of the students over and above their socioeconomic background.

Authoritarianism endorsement also shows intergenerational effects, as it is passed on from parents to children, directly or indirectly, via the need for closure (Dhont et al. 2013). Need for closure is an individual tendency associated with the endorsement of authoritarianism, which consists of individuals who seek firm answers to their questions. People with a high need for closure preferred any firm answer to confusion and ambiguity (Kruglanski 2004). School practices designed to lessen the need for closure can theoretically reduce other political attitudes explained by the endorsement of authoritarianism (Van Hiel et al. 2004). Open classroom discussion fits this purpose. It encourages students to express their opinions and discuss different points of view (Ehman 1969), as well as encouraging them to embrace political conflict (Campbell 2008), thereby counteracting the need for closure. Previous research is consistent with this expectation: students exposed to higher levels of open classroom discussion are more knowledgeable and less likely to support authoritarian practices (Hahn and Tocci 1990).

The next section presents the method and strategy to test these expectations and hypotheses based on ICCS 2016, using data from students in five Latin American countries.

3 Method

The present study uses data from IEA's ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018b), including representative samples of grade 8 students from Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru. We retrieved responses and scores from the student questionnaire and the students' test data. ICCS 2016 includes data from classrooms in at least 150 schools in each participating country, including more than 5000 students on average. We describe the dependent and independent variables below.

Dependent variable. Tolerance of corruption is measured through an item response theory (IRT) score generated scale, based on responses of students to six statements expressing acceptance of corrupt practices in government that ranged from *strongly disagree* to *disagree*, *agree*, or *strongly agree*. An example statement is: "Good candidates grant personal benefits to voters in return for their votes." This score has an expected international mean of 50, with a standard deviation of 10 points, and fulfills measurement invariance between countries (Schulz et al. 2018c).

Independent variables. As predictors for the study, we included parents' education, open classroom discussion, and students' civic knowledge, endorsement of authoritarianism, and citizenships norms. The latter is a nominal variable, which classified students using their responses to 12 items regarding different citizenship norms, such as voting, discussing politics, participating in protests, and being law-abiding citizens. These different profiles are described in Chap. 3. In the following section, we briefly describe our selected variables (see Table 1).

Table 1 Independent variables from ICCS 2016

Variable	Independent variables (type)	Description
edu_{ij}	Parents' education (dummy)	Students report the highest educational degree completed by their parents. We dummy coded their responses, indicating 1 for students with at least one parent with tertiary studies (ISCED 6, 7, or 8) and 0 for the rest
opd_{ij}	Open classroom discussion (continuous)	Open classroom discussion is a Likert-type scale, where students report how frequent open discussion occurs in the classroom based on six items. Higher scores indicate reports of more frequent open discussion in the classroom
civ_{ij}	Civic knowledge (continuous)	Five plausible values stand for student civic knowledge scores. These scores are generated with an IRT model and scaled to a mean of 500 for equally weighted countries and a standard deviation of 100 points
aut_{ij}	Authoritarianism (continuous)	Authoritarianism is a Likert-type scale, which synthesizes responses of students to nine affirmations. Higher scores express higher students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices
$cn1_{ij} - cn5_{ij}$	Citizenship norms (dummy)	Citizenship norms profiles are latent class realizations. Is nominal variable including comprehensive, socially-engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic profiles. These variables were dummy coded, generating five different dummy variables. For the fitted models, we used the comprehensive profile as the reference category

Source All variables were retrieved from ICCS 2016 public data files, with the exception of citizenship norms, described in Chap. 3. Full details of items and scale are available from the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz et al. 2018c) and user guide (Köhler et al. 2018)

Open classroom discussion and the endorsement of authoritarianism are IRT generated scores, with an expected mean of 50 for equally weighted countries and a standard deviation of 10 points. Civic knowledge is also an IRT generated score, scaled to have a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100 points (Schulz et al. 2018c). We divided this latter variable by 10 so all covariates in the study have unstandardized coefficients of similar size, where 1 point is 1/10 of the international standard deviation. We provide population estimates and descriptive values of the selected variables in their original scale, including number of students and number of schools per country in the present study (see Table 2).

Table 2 Population estimates and description of variables included in the study

	Chile		Colombia		Dominican Republic		Mexico		Peru	
Variables	E	(SE)	E	(SE)	E	(SE)	E	(SE)	E	(SE)
Tolerance of corruption (cor_{ij})[a]	47.53	(0.26)	49.13	(0.24)	55.67	(0.28)	50.08	(0.27)	51.34	(0.26)
Parents with tertiary education (edu_{ij})	0.24	(0.01)	0.29	(0.01)	0.24	(0.01)	0.25	(0.01)	0.27	(0.01)
Open classroom discussion (opd_{ij})	52.26	(0.32)	49.28	(0.32)	48.24	(0.39)	51.06	(0.23)	53.03	(0.26)
Civic knowledge (civ_{ij})	482.45	(3.11)	482.11	(3.39)	381.36	(3.04)	467.04	(2.54)	437.71	(3.54)
Authoritarianism (aut_{ij})	45.09	(0.31)	48.16	(0.34)	54.84	(0.26)	49.26	(0.31)	50.85	(0.24)
Citizenship norms										
Engaged ($cn1_{ij}$)	0.35	(0.01)	0.55	(0.01)	0.36	(0.01)	0.15	(0.01)	0.28	(0.01)
Duty-based ($cn2_{ij}$)	0.02	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)	0.02	(0.00)
Monitorial ($cn3_{ij}$)	0.17	(0.01)	0.14	(0.01)	0.08	(0.01)	0.19	(0.01)	0.11	(0.01)
Anomic ($cn4_{ij}$)	0.08	(0.01)	0.02	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)	0.04	(0.00)	0.01	(0.00)
Comprehensive ($cn5_{ij}$)	0.37	(0.01)	0.28	(0.01)	0.54	(0.01)	0.61	(0.01)	0.58	(0.01)
Number of students	5081		5609		3937		5526		5166	
Number of schools	178		150		141		213		206	

Notes E = Population estimates, (SE) = Standard errors. Citizenship norms are presented as proportion of students per country. [a] Tolerance of corruption is the dependent variable, and the rest are independent variables in the present study. Number of students and number of schools are nominal counts

Analytical strategy. To identify the main predictors of tolerance of corruption between students, we fitted average population models for each predictor (McNeish et al. 2017). These estimates represent the expected relations between our selected variables, if we could randomly sample students out of the population of students. We use Taylor Series Linearization for variance estimation (Stapleton 2013), and scaled survey weights so each country contributes equally to the model estimates (Gonzalez 2012). With the results of these models we aim to answer the question: What are the predictors of students' tolerance of corruption? To guarantee comparability between models, we fitted a saturated model and constrained all parameters to zero for the rest of the non-target covariates. With this strategy, we fitted six nested models and retrieved the explained variance for each factor.

To answer the question of how schools can promote support for anti-corruption norms, we fitted a series of multilevel models following the same strategy and produced six nested models. With this nesting strategy we can compare models using a likelihood ratio test (LRT) to answer our research question (Snijders and Bosker 2012). Survey weights were partitioned and scaled to the effective sample size, and pseudo strata were included in the model estimation of these multilevel models (Stapleton 2013). Civic knowledge scores were included as imputed values to account for their measurement error in all fitted models (Rutkowski et al. 2010).

All covariates were centered on the cluster mean to estimate the relative differences of students within schools (Enders and Tofighi 2007). We also included school means centered to the grand mean of each covariate to assess their associations to school relative differences. We fitted a null model to describe the variability between schools (Model 0); a country fixed effects to estimate how much variance is explained by country differences (Model 1); an educational gap model (Model 2), where we included parents' education to test the intergenerational hypothesis. Model 3 includes open classroom scores to assess the contribution of classroom discussion while controlling for the student composition of schools (parents' education). In order to test the sophistication hypothesis, students' civic knowledge was included in Model 4. The interplay between the endorsement of authoritarianism and tolerance of corruption is studied in Model 5. Finally, to what extent general citizenship norms are associated with tolerance of corruption is studied in Model 6. Equation 1 expresses the within school model, and Eq. 2 specifies the between school model:

$$\begin{aligned} cor_{ij} = \pi_{0j} &+ \pi_{5j}\left(edu_{ij} - \overline{edu}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{6j}\left(opd_{ij} - \overline{opd}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{7j}\left(civ_{ij} - \overline{civ}_{.jk}\right) \\ &+ \pi_{8j}\left(aut_{ij} - \overline{aut}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{9j}\left(cn1_{ij} - \overline{cn1}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{10j}\left(cn2_{ij} - \overline{cn2}_{.jk}\right) \\ &+ \pi_{11j}\left(cn3_{ij} - \overline{cn3}_{.jk}\right) + \pi_{12j}\left(cn4_{ij} - \overline{cn4}_{.jk}\right) + \varepsilon_{ij} \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \pi_{0j} = \beta_{00} &+ \beta_{01}CHL + \beta_{02}COL + \beta_{03}DOM + \beta_{04}PER + \beta_{05}\left(\overline{edu}_{.jk} - \overline{edu}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{06}\left(\overline{opd}_{.jk} - \overline{opd}_{...}\right) + \beta_{07}\left(\overline{civ}_{.jk} - \overline{civ}_{...}\right) + \beta_{08}\left(\overline{aut}_{.jk} - \overline{aut}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{09}\left(\overline{cn1}_{.jk} - \overline{cn1}_{...}\right) + \beta_{10}\left(\overline{cn2}_{.jk} - \overline{cn2}_{...}\right) + \beta_{11}\left(\overline{cn3}_{.jk} - \overline{cn3}_{...}\right) \\ &+ \beta_{12}\left(\overline{cn4}_{.jk} - \overline{cn4}_{...}\right) + r_{0j} \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

4 Results

Main predictors. We fit a single population model with each covariate to retrieve the accounted variance for each predictor alone. Country differences account for 7% ($R^2 = 0.07$), parents' education (tertiary degree) explains 1% ($R^2 = 0.01$), students' reports of open classroom discussion account for 3% ($R^2 = 0.03$), students' civic knowledge explains 16% ($R^2 = 0.16$), and students' endorsement of authoritarianism accounts for 48% ($R^2 = 0.48$), while citizenship norms account for 1% ($R^2 = 0.01$). Altogether, these covariates account for 49% of tolerance of corruption among students. The main predictors are civic knowledge, which is negatively related to tolerance of corruption ($r = -0.40$), and the endorsement of authoritarianism, which is a positive predictor ($r = 0.69$). We present these overall relations with scatter plots for these two covariates (see Fig. 1).

Multilevel estimates. Tolerance of corruption presents a significant portion of variance between schools of 14% (ICC = 0.14, SE = 0.01). We compared the saturated model (Model 6), with the null model with no predictors. We find that the specified model fits the data well (LRT (20) = 15,389.27, $p < 0.01$). At level 1, the model accounts for 44% of the variance, while at level 2, the model accounts for 94% of the variance. To describe the results, we used the coefficient terms presented in Eqs. 1 and 2 to refer to the unstandardized estimates, including their standard errors (SE), p-values (p), and standardized coefficients (β). We present the unstandardized and standardized estimates in parenthesis of the fitted models (see Tables 3, 4, and 5).

Country differences account for a small portion of the variance in the population models, thus, we include countries as fixed effects between schools. In Model 1, countries account for 16% of the variance between schools. However, when we

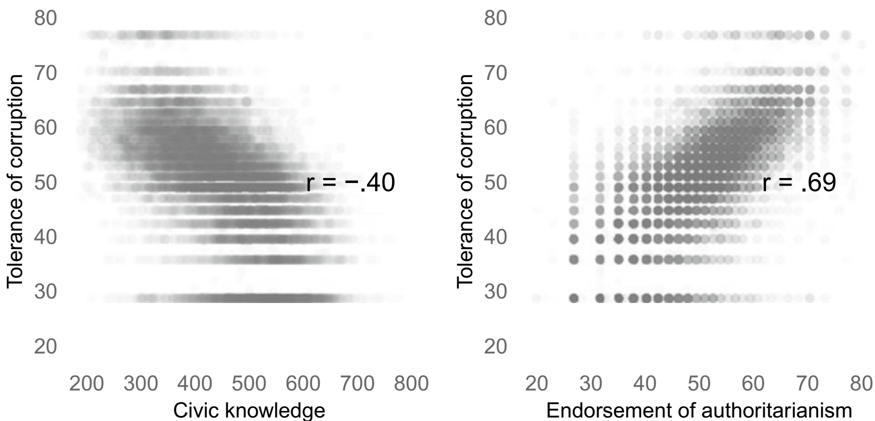

Fig. 1 Scatter plot for tolerance and corruption and its main predictors, civic knowledge and students' endorsement of authoritarianism *Notes* Correlations derived from the fitted models between Tolerance of corruption with Civic knowledge and Endorsement of authoritarianism, for the equally weighted countries

include all covariates in Model 6, country fixed effects are close to zero, except for Peru ($\beta_{04} = -0.63$, SE = 0.27, $p < 0.05$, $\beta = -0.09$), which presents a lower level of tolerance of corruption compared to Mexico. Thus, most of the country's differences are explained by the selected factors (see Table 3).

In Model 2, we distinguish between students from families with at least one parent with a tertiary educational degree and the rest of their peers. In this model, we observed a small difference between students at level 1 ($\pi_{5j} = -0.83$, SE = 0.29, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.03$). This overall difference is much larger between schools ($\beta_{05} = -8.97$, SE = 0.29, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.61$). As such, there is a large difference between schools not accounted for by students' composition, when no other covariates are considered ($\beta_{05} - \pi_{5j} = -8.14$, SE = 0.92, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.57$). Nevertheless, in Model 6, all these effects are near zero (see Tables 4 and 5).

In Model 3, we include open classroom discussion. This factor is a reflective measure of a school classroom practice obtained using students' responses (Stapleton et al. 2016). As such, only the between school component is a factor of interest (Lüdtke et al. 2009). We observed a negative relation to this school practice ($\beta_{06} = -0.30$, SE = 0.04, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = -0.33$). Thus, schools with higher levels of open classroom discussion present lower levels of tolerance of corruption, independent of the education level of students' parents.

In Model 4, civic knowledge of students is entered into the model. This factor presents a large negative relation ($\pi_{7j} = -0.58$, SE = 0.29, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.55$) at level 1. Between schools, this factor does not present a substantive relation ($\beta_{07} = -0.01$, SE = 0.04, $p = 0.74$, $\beta = -0.05$). Thus, this factor is a variable that explains differences among students in their tolerance of corruption, without presenting any contextual effect. Once this factor is included in the model, the previous effect of classroom discussion is diminished ($\beta_{06} = -0.02$, SE = 0.04, $p = 0.70$, $\beta = -0.04$), pointing to a plausible indirect effect (Fritz and MacKinnon 2008). We assess the difference between parameter β_{06} from Model 3 (the overall effect c) and β_{06} from Model 4 (the adjusted effect c') with a likelihood ratio test. This test supports that this difference is substantial ($\beta_{06\ \text{model 3}} - \beta_{06\ \text{model 4}} = -0.28$, LRT (2) = 6320.35, $p < 0.01$).

In the next step (Model 5), we entered authoritarianism endorsement scores. This factor is a positive predictor of tolerance of corruption. At level 1, higher levels of authoritarianism endorsement is associated with higher levels of tolerance of corruption ($\pi_{8j} = 0.48$, SE = 0.01, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.52$); at the school level, similar unstandardized effect sizes are observed ($\beta_{08} = -0.54$, SE = 0.03, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.98$). We assess its contextual effects, yet this difference is rather small ($\beta_{08} - \pi_{8j} = 0.05$, SE = 0.03, $p = 0.09$). The effect of civic knowledge, at level 1, is partially accounted for by authoritarianism endorsement, with its coefficient reduced by half ($\pi_{7j} = -0.24$, SE = 0.29, $p < 0.01$, $\beta = -0.24$).

In the saturated model (Model 6), we included the dummy coded variable of citizenship norms profiles. We have left the comprehensive configuration as the reference group. At level 1, the anomic students present lower levels of tolerance of corruption, than the comprehensive students ($\pi_{12j} = -1.29$, SE = 0.40, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = -0.02$); in contrast, students in the monitorial profile are expected to present

Table 3 Multilevel model estimates predicting tolerance of corruption among students, including intercepts, country fixed effects, and variances

		Fitted models											
Parameter	Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
β_{00}	Intercept (Mexico)	50.56	***	50.11	***	50.59	***	51.23	***	50.59	***	50.73	***
		14.17	***	13.99	***	14.06	***	35.53	***	18.29	***	18.34	***
β_{01}	Chile	− 2.32	***	− 2.35	***	− 1.98	***	− 1.63	***	− 0.10		− 0.36	
		(−0.18)		(−0.18)		(−0.15)		(−0.32)		(−0.01)		(−0.04)	
β_{02}	Colombia	− 1.11		− 0.41		− 1.05	*	− 0.15		− 0.10		− 0.32	
		(−0.12)		(−0.04)		(−0.11)		(−0.04)		(−0.01)		(−0.04)	
β_{03}	Dominican Republic	4.45	***	4.87	***	4.12	***	0.18		0.25		0.13	
		(0.28)		(0.30)		(0.26)		(0.03)		(0.02)		(0.01)	
β_{04}	Peru	1.32	**	1.71	***	2.02	***	− 0.84	*	− 0.41		− 0.63	*
		(0.14)		(0.19)		(0.22)		(−0.23)		(−0.06)		(−0.09)	
ε_{ij}	Residual variance	81.52	***	81.43	***	80.34	***	62.84	***	45.61	***	45.50	***
r_{ij}	School variance	10.70	***	6.08	***	5.01	***	1.74	***	0.50	***	0.48	***

Notes Unstandardized estimates are presented, and standardized estimates are included in parenthesis. *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

Table 4 Within school estimates for variables predicting tolerance of corruption among students

		Fitted models									
Parameter	Variable	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
π_{5j}	Parents with tertiary education (edu_{ij})	– 0.83	**	– 0.80	**	– 0.09		– 0.02		– 0.04	
		(–0.03)		(–0.03)		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)	
π_{6j}	Open classroom discussion (opd_{ij})			– 0.11	***	– 0.02		– 0.02	*	– 0.02	*
				(–0.11)		(–0.02)		(–0.02)		(–0.02)	
π_{7j}	Civic knowledge (civ_{ij})					– 0.58	***	– 0.24	***	– 0.25	***
						(–0.55)		(–0.24)		(–0.25)	
π_{8j}	Authoritarianism (aut_{ij})							0.48	***	0.48	***
								(0.52)		(0.52)	
π_{9j}	Engaged ($cn1_{ij}$)									– 0.10	
										(0.00)	
π_{10j}	Duty-based ($cn2_{ij}$)									0.56	
										(0.01)	
π_{11j}	Monitorial ($cn3_{ij}$)									0.42	*
										(0.02)	
π_{12j}	Anomic ($cn4_{ij}$)									– 1.29	**
										(–0.02)	

Notes Unstandardized estimates are presented, and standardized estimates are included in parenthesis. Model 1 is not included in this table because it is empty for these variables. *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

Table 5 Between school estimates for variables predicting tolerance of corruption among students

		Fitted models									
Parameter	Variable	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
β_{05}	Parents with tertiary education ($edu_{.j}$)	− 8.97	***	− 7.84	***	− 0.72		0.72		0.74	
		(−0.61)		(−0.53)		(−0.12)		(0.06)		(0.06)	
β_{06}	Open classroom discussion ($opd_{.j}$)			− 0.30	***	− 0.02		− 0.02		− 0.01	
				(−0.33)		(−0.04)		(−0.03)		(−0.02)	
β_{07}	Civic knowledge ($civ_{.j}$)					− 0.01		0.00		− 0.01	
						(−0.05)		(−0.01)		(−0.02)	
β_{08}	Authoritarianism ($aut_{.j}$)							0.54	***	0.54	***
								(0.98)		(0.98)	
β_{09}	Engaged ($cn1_{.j}$)									0.75	
										(0.05)	
β_{10}	Duty-based ($cn2_{.j}$)									8.58	**
										(0.11)	
β_{11}	Monitorial ($cn3_{.j}$)									0.50	
										(0.02)	
β_{12}	Anomic ($cn4_{.j}$)									0.05	
										(0.00)	

Notes Unstandardized estimates are presented, and standardized estimates are included in parenthesis. Model 1 is not included in this table because it is empty for these variables. *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

higher tolerance of corruption ($\pi_{11j} = 0.42$, SE = 0.40, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = 0.02$). At the school level, we observed that if a school is only attended by duty-based students, then higher tolerance of corruption would be expected from its members ($\beta_{10} = 8.58$, SE = 2.97, $p < 0.001$, $\beta = -0.11$). This latter effect is larger than its within effect, and thus conforms to a contextual effect (β_{10}-π_{10j} = 8.03, SE = 3.10, $p < 0.05$), as such, schools with a higher proportion of duty-based students are expected to present higher tolerance of corruption, regardless of students own citizenship norms endorsement.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Identifying those students at higher risk of tolerance of corruption is critical in order to concentrate anti-corruption interventions on those students who need them most (Pop 2012). The results from this study provide a highly predictive model in this regard, showing that the main predictors of tolerance of corruption are the students' levels of civic knowledge and authoritarianism endorsement. Although we found positive evidence for the intergenerational hypothesis, the effect of parents' education on students' tolerance of corruption is rather small and is entirely accounted for by the students' current levels of civic knowledge. However, it presents contextual effects: for example, schools with a higher composition of students from educated families are more likely to have lower tolerance of corruption. In contrast, the sophistication hypothesis suggests a larger effect, where civic knowledge explains a substantial portion of students' tolerance of corruption.

Moreover, our findings support the ideological beliefs hypothesis—where authoritarianism endorsement is expected to explain the acceptance of corrupts acts. We found that this latter predictor is the most important, accounting for three times the variance as civic knowledge. General citizenship norms account for a small portion of the variance. Monitorial students tend to endorse a higher tolerance of corruption than their peers. Contrary to our expectations, the anomic group seems to be more critical and express less tolerance of corruption than their classmates. Finally, a higher concentration of duty-based students in schools is positively associated with higher tolerance of corruption, regardless of students own citizenship norms endorsement.

Open classroom discussion is a school practice that enhances political knowledge among students (Isac et al. 2014; Persson 2015). It occurs in classrooms where students can debate social and political issues, guided by their teacher, and express their opinions (Carrasco and Torres Irribarra 2018). Additionally, this school practice does not interact with a student's socioeconomic status when predicting civic knowledge (Lin 2014), producing similar gains among all students. Since open classroom discussion encourages students to articulate knowledge via questions and answers, facilitating the understanding of controversies (Harris 1996), it also operates as a protecting factor against authoritarianism endorsement (Hahn and Tocci 1990). Therefore, indirectly, open classroom discussion may prevent corruption acceptance among students (Carrasco et al. 2020).

Identifying civic knowledge and authoritarianism endorsement as primary risk factors of students' tolerance of corruption has broad implications for the interplay of educational and anti-corruption policies. Besides improving civic education, in the last 20 years a pivotal anti-corruption reform has been undertaken in Latin America, involving the implementation of transparency policies that protect the right of citizens to access information held by governments and request the publication of information on areas under the risk of corruption (Mendel 2009; OECD 2014). These two anti-corruption policies are interlinked. Indeed, institutional reforms do not operate in a vacuum, and the role of citizens in anti-corruption policies requires particular dispositions, especially in societies where power is distributed unequally and where hierarchy is accepted (Husted 1999; Rose-Ackerman and Palifka 2016). Transparency policies assume citizens are involved in the scrutiny of authorities, which in turn triggers a process that holds bureaucrats accountable and, consequently, deters corruption. However, this assumption may be weakened by tolerance of corruption, its association with authoritarian beliefs, and the educational interventions in place. Indeed, civic education has been considered the means by which citizens learn what corruption acts are, their consequences, and how to reject them (Jeaffreson 1989; Marquette 2007).

Nonetheless, if anti-corruption policies require active citizens, civic education curricula should also be aligned with this expectation. Currently, the curricula of Latin American countries do not prioritize competence and skills to interact with the state (Bascopé et al. 2015), neglecting the teaching of threats to democracy such as corruption, nepotism, and media control (Torney-Purta 2004). However, if students are expected to participate as control agents to prevent corruption in the future, then better learning opportunities should be provided for all.

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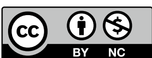

Citizenship Norms Among Native and Immigrant Students from a European Perspective

Maria Magdalena Isac, Ellen Claes, and Andrés Sandoval-Hernández

Abstract The unprecedented diversity in student populations in Europe resulting from the recent rapid influx of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers is an important challenge to implementing inclusive citizenship education across Europe. Current European policy frameworks in education stress that citizenship education needs to promote common attitudes and values in the entire student population while respecting cultural diversity. Nevertheless, existing research on citizenship education tends to give only a fragmented picture. More research is needed to systematically address potential attitudinal differences between groups of students defined by migration background. To this end, this chapter analyzes potential differences in citizenship norms between 36,197 grade 8 immigrant and native-born students across nine European countries participating in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016. More specifically, using multiple group multinomial logistic regression analyses, it investigates the relationship between immigration status and citizenship norms in the nine European countries, while taking into account other individual level characteristics, such as gender, socioeconomic status, and civic knowledge. The study reveals that in most of the countries native-born and immigrant students tend to endorse similar configurations of citizenship norms. When differences in adherence exist (in four out of the nine European countries), the most solid finding indicates that immigrant students are more likely to hold comprehensive citizenship norms when compared to their native-born peers. The findings contribute toward identifying potential differences in citizenship norms among native-born and

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immigrant students in several European countries. The results may be used to inform future studies and initiatives aimed at identifying and understanding the motivations behind endorsing different configurations of citizenship norms among different groups of students.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Immigrant students · European students · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

1 Introduction

The recent rapid influx of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers has led to unprecedented diversity in student populations in Europe (European Commission 2018; OECD 2019; Scholten 2015). To address this challenge, education policy frameworks and initiatives in European countries aim to promote common attitudes and values by means of inclusive citizenship education programs that consider differences in student populations defined by migration background (Council of the European Union 2016, 2017; European Council 2015; European Education and Training Expert Panel 2019). Of particular importance is understanding how young people relate to different forms of political and civic engagement (citizenship norms) and whether these norms are predictive of their future participatory citizenry. Extant research findings show that young people have different views on citizenship as they are developing their identity in adolescence (Banks 2011, 2017; Berry and Sam 2014; Hooghe et al. 2016; Reichert 2017; Sherrod et al. 2010). Nevertheless, more research is needed to understand potential attitudinal differences between groups of students defined by migration background living in diverse European countries.

2 Literature Review

In the European context, the body of comparative analysis based on data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) civic and citizenship education studies has grown considerably. For example, a recent summary of research (Knowles et al. 2018) identified over 100 published articles reporting secondary analysis of the Civic Education Study (CIVED) 1999 and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 data. A large proportion of these publications are international comparative analyses that focus on defining and comparing citizenship competences such as civic knowledge and critical understanding, skills for active participation, and common attitudes and values in European youth. Among these, studies focused on citizenship norms have illustrated cross-country differences in students' attitudes, as well as the importance of student background and school variables related to such outcomes. For example, some studies show differences according to immigration status, with students from

an immigrant background more likely to endorse conventional citizenship behaviors compared to their native-born peers (Isac et al. 2014). Yet, this research involved average country comparisons and variable-centered analyses. Only recent work on citizenship norms has demonstrated the value of person-centered approaches for the study of citizenship norms among youth (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Oser and Hooghe 2013). This line of inquiry has provided substantial input for the theoretical and analytical approaches presented in this book (see Chaps. 1, 2, and 3), and is also informative for the work presented in this chapter.

This research (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Oser and Hooghe 2013) was largely guided by theory related to civic duty norms (Dalton 2008), and was applied to data from CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009. It aimed to ascertain whether distinct groups of young people, expressing either "engaged" or "duty-based" citizenship norms, can be found in a range of democracies, and identified individual and country-level determinants of these different citizenship norms. A number of important findings emerged from these studies, while opening avenues for further research.

First, confirming Dalton's distinction, the results indicate that a large proportion of young people in various countries express either "engaged" (highly endorsing the protection of human rights and community involvement, while downplaying the importance of traditional duty-based political participation) or "duty-based" (displaying the opposite normative emphases) citizenship norms. Yet, it became apparent that these two groups represent only about half of the student population in each country, and that the other half tends to adhere to other citizenship norms. Current work further confirmed this distinction with International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 data by identifying five types of citizenship norms (comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic) that are roughly equivalent to the groups identified by Hooghe and colleagues (see Chap. 3). Based on previous research and current findings (see Chap. 3), the comprehensive group seems to be prevalent in a large number of countries. Further research is necessary to understand these additional types of citizenship norms and their determinants.

Second, the studies (see Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Oser and Hooghe 2013) confirm theoretical expectations (Dalton 2008) regarding the overall emergence of engaged citizenship norms and the decline in duty-based citizenship over time and across countries. In this vein, Ingelhart and Welzel (2005) show that engaged citizenship norms are not prevalent only in advanced societies and established democracies (e.g., Nordic European countries) but that their emergence is more of a global phenomenon. Focusing on younger age groups and the geographical distribution of citizenship norms in the literature it is moreover apparent that the rise of engaged citizenry appears to be a phenomenon in more recent democracies (e.g., Central and Eastern Europe). In contrast, higher shares of young people in established democracies (Northern Europe) tend to be more supportive of duty-based norms, hinting at the possibility that issues such as human rights or protecting the environment (commonly associated with engaged citizenship norms) are more

salient in contexts in which they are challenged. This issue certainly deserves further attention.

Third, this research (see Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Oser and Hooghe 2013) shows the importance of individual background characteristics as determinants of citizenship norms. More specifically, results indicate that in most countries, engaged citizenship norms are more likely to be found among girls and students of higher socioeconomic status, while duty-based norms are more prevalent among male adolescents. Nevertheless, with few exceptions (Oser and Hooghe 2013), other relevant background characteristics, such as political sophistication (civic knowledge) or immigration status, were not the object of investigation. Regarding the latter (the main focus in this chapter), only one study (Oser and Hooghe 2013) looked at the potential impact of immigration status on different profiles of citizenship norms in Nordic European countries. This study shows that native-born students are more likely to hold both engaged and duty-based norms in comparison to students with an immigrant background. Moreover, it indicated that students from an immigrant background tend to be concentrated in the comprehensive or "all-around" profile, showing that this group of students tend to rate highly all aspects of good citizenship due to a tendency to give socially desirable answers. This finding regarding immigrant students also emerged in recent research conducted in Australia (Reichert 2017).

In this chapter, we try to build upon extant research and shed more light on potential differences in citizenship norms between immigrant and native-born students in nine European countries participating in ICCS 2016. To this end, we investigate the relationship between immigration status and citizenship norms in each country, while taking into account other important individual level factors such as gender, socioeconomic status, and civic knowledge.

3 Method

This section briefly explains the data, variables, and methods used for the analysis presented in this chapter.

The data used for the analyses were from ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). We used the data for nine out of the 14 European countries that participated in the European Module of ICCS 2016 (Losito et al. 2018; Schulz et al. 2016, 2018a, b). The following (groups of) countries were included: (a) Central and Eastern European (N = 2): Estonia, Slovenia; (b) Nordic European (N = 3): Denmark, Norway, Sweden; (c) Southern European (N = 2): Italy, Malta; and (d) Western European (N = 2): Belgium (Flemish), the Netherlands. In each country, the sample of students is representative of the population of grade 8 students. In order to ensure reliable results, we selected only countries where the number of immigrant students was higher than N = 200. The analysis was applied to 36,197 students clustered in nine countries. Sample sizes for all students varied from 2773 to 7848 students across countries while for

the subsample of students with an immigration background, the range was between 229 and 692 students (see Appendix B, Table 3).

The students' profiles of "good citizenship" are the outcome variable of this chapter. Here, we investigated the student background variables (with a focus on immigration status) that increase the odds of students endorsing citizenship norms in a particular way. Following the results of the latent class homogenous model across countries (Kankaraš and Vermunt 2015), we used the most likely latent group for each student as a manifest variable. The generated model identifies the probability of agreeing to each citizenship norm item in a common way across countries, while allowing the probability of membership to each pattern of response to be specific for each country. Thus, with this approach, we can carry out comparisons between countries and determine whether students of different backgrounds endorse citizenship norms in a different manner. In particular, if immigrant students are more likely to be (a) comprehensive, (b) socially-engaged, (c) duty-based, (d) monitorial, or (e) anomic citizens. These different groups of students consist of distinct patterns in which students endorse citizenship norms across countries. For the description of the outcome variable, we refer to Chap. 3. As background factors of students, we include student gender, socioeconomic status, civic knowledge, and immigrant background (see Table 1).

Table 1 Explanatory variables from ICCS 2016

Explanatory variables	Type	Description
Student gender	Dummy	Female = 1, male = 0
Socioeconomic status	Continuous Standardized within countries	National index of socioeconomic background
Civic knowledge	Continuous Standardized within countries	Student scores on the civic knowledge test. Five plausible values
Immigrant status	Dummy	Students with immigrant background (first and second generation = 1, native-born = 0)

Source ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz et al. 2018b)

For the estimation of the relationship between student background variables that predict the odds of being classified into one of the five citizenship profiles, we used a multinomial logistic model. The outcome variable in this model is a nominal variable indicating the student's classification in one of the five profiles of "good citizenship": socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, anomic, and comprehensive as the reference category. In order to ensure model convergence and stability of results, for this analysis we maintain the profiles produced in Chap. 3 (i.e., probabilities for cluster membership are not allowed to vary as a function of the explanatory variables). The explanatory variable that predicts the odds of being in a specific profile is immigrant status. We controlled for students' gender, socioeconomic status, and civic knowledge. We used a multiple group model in order to obtain estimates for each of the

nine units, including eight European countries and the Flemish region of Belgium. The general model for each country can be expressed as follows (see Eq. 1):

$$\ln\left[\frac{\Pr(y_{ij} = k - 1|X_{ij})}{\Pr(y_{ij} = k|X_{ij})}\right] = \beta_{0.k-1} + \beta_{1.k-1}sex_{ij} + \beta_{2.k-1}ses_{ij} + \beta_{3.k-1}civ_{ij} + \beta_{4.k-1}imm_{ij} \quad (1)$$

All estimates produced in this chapter take into account the sampling design of ICCS 2016. Taylor Series Linearization (Stapleton 2013) was used for sampling variance estimation, including school clustering and stratification of observations. This method yields similar results to the Jackknife variance estimation with large samples (Stapleton 2008). Countries were equally weighted with survey weights scaled up to 500 cases (Gonzalez 2012). Moreover, the civic knowledge five plausible values were treated as imputation data (Rutkowski et al. 2010). Data preparation was carried out using the IEA IDB Analyzer (IEA 2017) and IBM SPSS (IBM Corp. 2015). All analyses were performed in Mplus 8.2 (Muthén and Muthén 2017).

4 Results

We carried out an analysis of the distribution of the five different profiles across the nine European countries included in this analysis for all the students in the sample and for the subsample of students with and without an immigrant background (see Appendix B, Table 4). We can observe that the majority of students in these countries (between 60 and 90% of the sample) can be described as comprehensive and socially engaged with the highest scores in Italy (over 80%). With the exception of Denmark (above 40%) and, to a lesser extent the Netherlands (above 25%), considerably fewer young people can be described as dutiful citizens in the nine European countries. Moreover, the same analysis applied to the subsample of native-born students shows highly similar results to the ones observed in the entire population. Furthermore, when looking at the subsample of immigrant students in the nine European countries, the results suggest that in the majority of countries, students with an immigrant background tend to follow the patterns observed in the general population and tend to be concentrated in the comprehensive (mostly) and socially-engaged groups. Therefore, the choice of using the comprehensive group as a reference category seems adequate in this context.

In a subsequent step we estimated a multiple group multinomial model which predicts the probability of being classified in one of the four profiles in contrast with the comprehensive profile, with a focus on the differences between native-born and immigrant students over and above the other covariates (gender, socioeconomic status, and civic knowledge) by country (see Table 2 and Appendix B, Table 5).

The following section provides an explanation of the results for each of the profiles included in the table, with a focus on the relationship between immigration status and group membership over and above the other covariates (see Table 2).

Table 2 Multinomial estimates for immigrant status and citizenship norms endorsement

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Central & Eastern												
Estonia	−0.03	0.97		0.25	1.29		0.17	1.18		0.36	1.43	
Slovenia	−0.20	0.82		0.14	1.15		0.04	1.04		−0.08	0.93	
Nordic												
Denmark	−0.45	0.64	**	−0.25	0.78		−0.52	0.60		−0.79	0.45	
Norway	0.18	1.20	+	−0.08	0.92		−0.05	0.95		−0.11	0.89	
Sweden	−0.36	0.70	**	−0.82	0.44	***	−0.38	0.68	+	−0.77	0.46	+
Southern												
Italy	0.24	1.27		0.10	1.10		0.20	1.23		−0.63	0.53	
Malta	−0.41	0.66	**	−0.28	0.76		−0.47	0.62	**	−0.12	0.89	
Western												
Belgium (Flemish)	−0.73	0.48	***	−0.64	0.53	**	−0.41	0.66		−0.65	0.52	
The Netherlands	−0.19	0.83		0.04	1.04		0.29	1.33		0.02	1.02	

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = estimated coefficients, OR = odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Comparing socially-engaged and comprehensive young citizens, no significant differences are found between native-born and immigrant students in Estonia, Slovenia, Norway, Italy, and the Netherlands. However, those who are native-born are more likely to be socially engaged in countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Malta, and Belgium (Flemish).

Comparing duty-based and comprehensive young citizens, it appears that native-born students are more likely to hold to dutiful citizenship norms only in Sweden, and Belgium (Flemish). The differences between these two groups are not statistically significant in the other countries.

In addition, a comparison between comprehensive and monitorial young citizens shows that the latter are more likely to be native-born in Malta. No statistically significant differences are recorded in the rest of the European countries.

Finally, looking at the comparison between anomic and comprehensive young citizens no statistically significant differences are found.

A synthetic perspective on the results, with a focus on the comparison between immigrant and native-born students, reveals the following patterns:

(a) Holding constant the other background characteristics, immigrant students are less likely to be socially engaged (as compared to comprehensive students) in Denmark, Sweden, Malta, and Belgium (Flemish), with odds of 36%, 30%, 34%, and 52% respectively[1];
(b) For all other groups, immigrant students were less likely to be duty-based, in countries such as Sweden, and Belgium (Flemish) with odds of 56% and 47% when comparing membership in the comprehensive and duty-based groups. In Malta, immigrant students were less likely to be monitorial with the odds decreasing by 38% when comparing membership in the comprehensive and monitorial groups.

Regarding the control student background variables, and the likelihood of students being classified in one of the four profiles (as compared to the comprehensive group), the findings show the overall following patterns (see Appendix B): (a) in the majority of countries, male students are more likely to be classified in the monitorial and anomic groups while female students are more likely to be socially engaged in some countries (e.g., Slovenia, the Netherlands); (b) in the majority of countries, membership in the socially-engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and (to a lesser extent) anomic groups tends to be more likely for students of a lower socioeconomic background; (c) in the majority of countries (especially in the Nordic countries) socially-engaged students tend to have higher levels of civic knowledge, while students in the monitorial and anomic groups tend to have lower levels of civic knowledge.

5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that students in the nine different European countries participating in ICCS 2016 express different configurations of citizenship norms that can be categorized into five profiles: comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic. In most of these European countries, the majority of students can be described as comprehensive and socially engaged, and to a lesser extent as duty-based, monitorial, and anomic. This holds true also for students from an immigrant background that tend to be concentrated in the comprehensive and socially-engaged groups in most countries.

The main aim of this chapter is to investigate the relationship between immigration status and citizenship norms in different European countries, while taking into account other important individual level characteristics, such as gender, socioeconomic status, and civic knowledge. In this respect, two main patterns emerge from the analysis. First, immigrant students are less likely to be socially engaged and hold more comprehensive norms in four out of the nine European countries (Denmark,

[1] The formula (odds-1) *100 was applied to data to obtain the percentages reported in this section (see Table 2).

Sweden, Malta, and Belgium (Flemish)). Second, in two countries (Sweden and Belgium (Flemish)) students from an immigrant background are less likely to express duty-based norms while in Malta they are less likely to classify as monitorial.

These findings are aligned with insights from previous research (Oser and Hooghe 2013; Reichert 2017) that show that immigrant students tend to be supportive of all citizenship norms, and, therefore, be classified mostly in the comprehensive group. One may only speculate about the potential explanations of this pattern, especially since it seems to apply to European national contexts that are rather diverse regarding several aspects (e.g., democratic tradition, immigration patterns, integration policies, and attitudes towards immigration in the general population). In previous work, Oser and Hooghe (2013) concluded that immigrant students may be more prone to social desirability and may tend to give the "right" answer that all of the citizenship norms are important. Nevertheless, this is only an assumption that cannot be verified in the current research but should be the object of further investigation.

To conclude, this chapter sheds some light on potential differences in citizenship norms among native-born and immigrant students. Overall, we find that in most of the countries, native-born and immigrant students tend to endorse similar configurations of norms. When differences in adherence exist, the most solid finding indicates that immigrant students are more likely to hold comprehensive citizenship norms. Further research is certainly needed in order to understand the motivations behind endorsing different configurations of citizenship norms among different groups of students in European countries. Possibly, comprehensive citizenship norms are more salient to students out of a desire to be compliant or behave in a socially desirable way. Yet, given the large proportions of native-born and immigrant students supporting these norms in many countries, this explanation is most likely not the only one. Both quantitative and qualitative research could shed more light on the current findings. More specifically, future quantitative studies could look more closely at the characteristics of immigrant students endorsing each set of citizenship norms while qualitative research (e.g., cognitive interviews) could further investigate the motivations behind endorsing the questionnaire items that were used to measure the different profiles of citizenship norms and potential differences in interpretation related to student immigration background. To that end, we must acknowledge a number of limitations encountered by the current research and we caution the reader to keep them in mind when interpreting our findings. First, we must acknowledge that the immigrant students in the nine countries are a heterogeneous group and are likely to differ regarding their background, their beliefs system, and the ways they are willing and able to relate to political and social life in each country. Due to the lack of detailed information regarding student immigration background in ICCS, we were unable to pick up these potential differences in this study, but they should be acknowledged as a constraint of the current work and tackled in further research. Second, a related and very important issue is the size of the immigrant student groups captured by

ICCS 2016. For the analyses reported here, the samples sizes for the subsample of immigrant students in each country were rather low (ranging from 229 students in the Netherlands to 692 students in Norway). This limitation may have affected the results, potentially underestimating the relationships to be detected and explored. This is particularly true regarding the group of anomic immigrant students that was extremely low for the current research. Although we acknowledge the logistic and financial burden associated with such an initiative, an oversampling of immigrant students in future ICCS studies could provide further and rich analytical opportunities that would shed further light on the characteristics of this group including a better understanding of their citizenship norms and their determinants.

Appendix B

Further information about the analysis reported in this chapter regarding: the sample sizes by country and immigration status (Table 3), the distribution of citizenship norms profiles by country and immigration status (Table 4), and the multinomial estimates for all explanatory variables (gender, socioeconomic status, civic knowledge, and immigration status) and citizenship norms endorsement for each country and geographic region (Tables 5, 6, 7, 8).

Table 3 Sample sizes by country and immigration status

	All students	Native-born	Immigrants
	N	N	N
Denmark	7848	7354	494
Estonia	2841	2587	254
Italy	3435	3098	337
Malta	3670	3404	266
The Netherlands	2773	2544	229
Norway	6129	5437	692
Slovenia	2831	2437	394
Sweden	3191	2620	571
Belgium (Flemish)	2917	2512	405

Note N sample size

Table 4 Distribution of profiles by country and immigration status

	All students			Native-born			Immigration status		
Profile	N	E (%)	SE	N	E (%)	SE	N	E (%)	SE
Denmark									
Socially engaged	1621	27.2	0.84	1458	27.78	0.92	121	22.59	1.59
Duty-based	2808	47.56	0.91	2506	47.7	0.95	228	46.85	2.61
Monitorial	135	2.03	0.21	114	1.91	0.21	14	2.86	0.87
Anomic	110	1.84	0.24	95	1.8	0.23	10	1.73	0.68
Comprehensive	1312	21.37	0.76	1144	20.81	0.81	121	25.97	2.63
Estonia									
Socially engaged	1293	45.54	1.01	1179	46.43	1.03	102	38.9	3.11
Duty-based	394	13.85	0.67	353	13.62	0.73	37	16.97	3.11
Monitorial	537	18.64	0.87	469	18.17	0.92	57	22.36	2.99
Anomic	107	3.53	0.43	86	3.26	0.38	18	5.87	1.78
Comprehensive	510	18.43	1.09	460	18.53	1.16	40	15.91	2.37
Italy									
Socially engaged	403	11.66	0.58	327	11.25	0.59	49	14.08	1.71
Duty-based	301	8.71	0.51	242	8.22	0.57	33	10.42	2.01
Monitorial	263	7.76	0.54	207	7.21	0.55	36	10.71	1.76
Anomic	22	0.64	0.16	18	0.62	0.16	2		
Comprehensive	2446	71.22	0.9	2102	72.7	0.95	217	64.17	2.57
Malta									
Socially engaged	1479	40.12	0.69	1341	41.45	0.73	92	34.33	2.68
Duty-based	304	8.32	0.48	270	8.4	0.52	21	8.03	1.9
Monitorial	588	16.23	0.71	496	15.57	0.75	34	13	2.27
Anomic	149	4.14	0.31	123	3.89	0.36	12	4.49	1.46
Comprehensive	1150	31.19	0.74	994	30.69	0.81	107	40.15	3.9
The Netherlands									
Socially engaged	901	31.73	0.96	839	32.49	0.98	55	23.39	3.03
Duty-based	818	28.54	1.16	748	28.78	1.24	66	27.7	2.83
Monitorial	476	18.03	0.97	413	17.1	0.9	55	26.9	4.48
Anomic	169	6.19	0.6	151	6.12	0.64	16	6.51	1.79
Comprehensive	409	15.51	1.05	368	15.52	1.09	37	15.51	2.59

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

	All students			Native-born			Immigration status		
Profile	N	E (%)	SE	N	E (%)	SE	N	E (%)	SE
Norway									
Socially engaged	2075	33.7	0.76	1781	33.85	0.79	240	34.86	1.97
Duty-based	1010	16.24	0.65	888	16.5	0.62	87	13.24	1.65
Monitorial	416	6.68	0.31	337	6.28	0.32	56	7.91	1.14
Anomic	217	3.48	0.29	174	3.26	0.3	30	4.46	0.77
Comprehensive	2411	39.9	0.71	2053	40.1	0.81	279	39.53	1.94
Slovenia									
Socially engaged	1316	47.2	1.06	1154	48.87	1.12	146	38.2	2.55
Duty-based	255	8.86	0.59	208	8.55	0.63	44	10.69	1.97
Monitorial	486	16.88	0.8	386	15.89	0.89	90	21.87	2.31
Anomic	123	4.29	0.43	100	4.08	0.41	21	5.57	1.46
Comprehensive	651	22.77	1.04	549	22.61	0.99	93	23.67	2.51
Sweden									
Socially engaged	1282	39.42	0.82	999	40.24	1.04	219	37.15	2.15
Duty-based	505	15.93	0.73	410	16.79	0.82	62	11.05	1.41
Monitorial	249	7.41	0.63	174	6.79	0.68	53	8.96	1.45
Anomic	134	4.57	0.58	94	4.46	0.77	31	4.9	1.17
Comprehensive	1021	32.67	0.96	759	31.72	1.03	206	37.95	2.3
Belgium (Flemish)									
Socially engaged	1627	55.59	1.16	1404	58.24	1.27	181	42.48	2.42
Duty-based	534	17.91	0.86	454	18.18	0.88	66	16.52	1.94
Monitorial	186	6.37	0.59	144	5.95	0.59	37	8.59	1.81
Anomic	88	3.06	0.4	68	2.89	0.42	16	3.25	0.96
Comprehensive	482	17.08	0.98	358	14.74	0.78	105	29.16	3.23

Notes N = Sample size, E (%) = Estimated coefficients in percentages, SE = Standard error. To provide a measure of accuracy for all reported coefficients, the coefficient of variation (CV) was calculated for each of them. The CV tests the precision of the estimates and is computed by dividing the estimate by its standard error and multiplying the resulting ratio by 100. A CV = 0.0 or < 16.5% is considered acceptable. A CV >16% and < 33.3% should be interpreted with caution due to high sampling variability associated with the estimates. A CV > 33.3% should not be interpreted. Therefore, when estimates are unreliable, they are not reported. When they should be interpreted with caution, table cells with such cases are shaded in grey

Table 5 Multinomial estimates for all explanatory variables and citizenship norms endorsement for Central and Eastern countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR	
Central & Eastern																
Estonia																
Females	0.04	0.12	1.04		0.12	0.14	1.13		−0.19	0.15	0.83		−0.92	0.31	0.40	**
SES	−0.20	0.07	0.82	**	−0.11	0.07	0.90		−0.24	0.07	0.79	**	−0.26	0.12	0.77	**
Civ. know.	0.04	0.07	1.04		−0.29	0.09	0.75	**	−0.40	0.10	0.67	***	−0.86	0.16	0.42	***
Immigrant	−0.03	0.18	0.97		0.25	0.28	1.29		0.17	0.24	1.18		0.36	0.35	1.43	
Slovenia																
Females	0.34	0.12	1.41	**	0.05	0.19	1.05		−0.28	0.15	0.76	+	−0.26	0.23	0.77	
SES	−0.07	0.07	0.93		−0.09	0.09	0.92		0.01	0.07	1.01		0.03	0.12	1.03	
Civ. know.	0.28	0.07	1.32	***	0.03	0.10	1.03		−0.51	0.09	0.60	***	−0.79	0.15	0.46	***
Immigrant	−0.20	0.13	0.82		0.14	0.24	1.15		0.04	0.20	1.04		−0.08	0.33	0.93	

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. SES = Socioeconomic status, Civ. know. = Civic knowledge, E = Estimated coefficients, SE = Standard errors, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 6 Multinomial estimates for all explanatory variables and citizenship norms endorsement for Nordic countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR	
Nordic																
Denmark																
Females	0.15	0.11	1.16		−0.05	0.09	0.96		−0.50	0.23	0.61	**	−1.24	0.25	0.29	***
SES	−0.20	0.05	0.82	***	−0.18	0.05	0.84	***	−0.42	0.11	0.66	***	−0.19	0.13	0.83	
Civ. know.	0.25	0.06	1.28	***	0.23	0.05	1.26	***	−0.45	0.13	0.64	***	−0.51	0.15	0.60	**
Immigrant	−0.45	0.17	0.64	**	−0.25	0.17	0.78		−0.52	0.35	0.60		−0.79	0.50	0.45	
Norway																
Females	−0.10	0.08	0.91		−0.30	0.08	0.75	***	−0.60	0.13	0.55	***	−1.11	0.20	0.33	***
SES	−0.12	0.03	0.88	***	−0.06	0.05	0.94		−0.15	0.05	0.87	**	−0.15	0.07	0.86	**
Civ. know.	0.35	0.05	1.41	***	0.23	0.06	1.26	***	−0.38	0.07	0.68	***	−0.58	0.10	0.56	***
Immigrant	0.18	0.11	1.20	+	−0.08	0.16	0.92		−0.05	0.19	0.95		−0.11	0.22	0.89	
Sweden																
Females	−0.07	0.10	0.94		−0.22	0.11	0.80	**	−0.67	0.18	0.51	***	−0.25	0.45	0.78	
SES	−0.27	0.05	0.76	***	−0.29	0.08	0.75	***	−0.37	0.10	0.69	***	−0.38	0.11	0.69	**
Civ. know.	0.17	0.06	1.19	**	−0.02	0.09	0.98		−0.36	0.10	0.70	***	−0.60	0.16	0.55	***
Immigrant	−0.36	0.11	0.70	**	−0.82	0.20	0.44	***	−0.38	0.23	0.68	+	−0.77	0.40	0.46	+

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. SES = Socioeconomic status, Civ. know. = Civic knowledge, E = Estimated coefficients, SE = Standard errors, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 7 Multinomial estimates for all explanatory variables and citizenship norms endorsement for Southern countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR	
Southern																
Italy																
Females	0.01	0.12	1.01		0.03	0.13	1.03		−0.68	0.14	0.51	***	0.41	0.47	1.51	
SES	−0.11	0.07	0.89	+	−0.04	0.08	0.96		0.01	0.08	1.01		−0.11	0.20	0.89	
Civ. know.	0.04	0.07	1.05		−0.35	0.09	0.70	***	−0.62	0.08	0.54	***	−1.24	0.23	0.29	***
Immigrant	0.24	0.15	1.27		0.10	0.23	1.10		0.20	0.21	1.23		−0.63	0.83	0.53	
Malta																
Females	0.09	0.11	1.10		0.25	0.15	1.28	+	−0.26	0.14	0.77	+	−0.11	0.24	0.90	
SES	−0.06	0.06	0.94		−0.15	0.07	0.86	**	−0.17	0.06	0.84	**	−0.22	0.11	0.80	**
Civ. know.	0.30	0.05	1.35	***	−0.29	0.08	0.75	***	−0.63	0.08	0.53	***	−0.88	0.11	0.42	***
Immigrant	−0.41	0.17	0.66	**	−0.28	0.23	0.76		−0.47	0.20	0.62	**	−0.12	0.35	0.89	

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. SES = Socioeconomic status, Civ. know. = Civic knowledge, E = Estimated coefficients, SE = Standard errors, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 8 Multinomial estimates for all explanatory variables and citizenship norms endorsement for Western countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR		E	SE	OR	
Western																
Belgium (Flemish)																
Females	0.05	0.12	1.05		−0.16	0.14	0.85		−0.99	0.24	0.37	***	−0.70	0.29	0.50	**
SES	−0.06	0.06	0.94		−0.12	0.08	0.89		−0.08	0.11	0.92		−0.11	0.16	0.89	
Civ. know.	0.46	0.08	1.59	***	0.29	0.09	1.34	**	−0.30	0.12	0.74	**	−0.18	0.15	0.84	
Immigrant	−0.73	0.14	0.48	***	−0.64	0.19	0.53	**	−0.41	0.29	0.66		−0.65	0.42	0.52	
The Netherlands																
Females	0.41	0.13	1.51	**	0.32	0.13	1.38	**	−0.16	0.13	0.85		−0.53	0.21	0.59	**
SES	−0.12	0.07	0.88	+	−0.17	0.07	0.84	**	−0.29	0.07	0.75	***	−0.24	0.12	0.79	+
Civ. know.	0.57	0.08	1.77	***	0.45	0.09	1.58	***	−0.11	0.10	0.90		−0.25	0.14	0.78	+
Immigrant	−0.19	0.25	0.83		0.04	0.23	1.04		0.29	0.29	1.33		0.02	0.38	1.02	

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. SES = Socioeconomic status, Civ. know. = Civic knowledge, E = Estimated coefficients, SE = Standard errors, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

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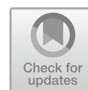
Citizenship Norms and Tolerance in European Adolescents



Andrés Sandoval-Hernández, Ellen Claes, Nicola Savvides, and Maria Magdalena Isac

Abstract Within Europe, numerous political, economic, social, and cultural changes brought about by globalization and Europeanization have challenged and transformed young people's sense of citizenship and identity. An important aspect of good citizenship is attitudes of tolerance and support for the equal rights of others. Yet, in recent times, there has been a rise in the levels of intolerant and xenophobic attitudes, due, in part, to negative perceptions over increasing flows of migration, immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers. In this chapter, multiple group multinomial logistic regression models are estimated to determine how different profiles of citizenship norms (i.e., comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic) relate to European adolescents' political tolerance, i.e., their attitudes towards equal rights of others (immigrants and women). Data from IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, including 51,040 grade 8 students (aged 14) across 14 European countries was used. The study reveals two clear patterns. First, students classified within the comprehensive citizenship profile deal well with the ambivalence present in the definition of tolerance, especially regarding equal rights for immigrants. Second, students within the other citizenship

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profiles (socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic) show significantly lower support for equal rights for immigrants than the students classified as comprehensive. The findings contribute toward understanding the mechanisms underpinning citizenship norms profiles and their relationship to attitudes toward others. The results may be used to inform targeted intervention policies for the promotion of tolerance in Europe.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Tolerance · Egalitarianism · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) · Multiple group multinomial logistic regression

1 Introduction

Within Europe, numerous political, economic, social, and cultural changes brought about by globalization and Europeanization have challenged and transformed young people's sense of citizenship and identity. An important aspect of good citizenship is attitudes of tolerance towards others (Almond and Verba 1963; Sherrod and Lauckhardt 2009), which includes positive attitudes towards the equal rights of others (Green et al. 2006). Yet, in recent times, we have witnessed rising levels of intolerant and xenophobic attitudes, due, in part, to negative perceptions over increasing flows of migration, immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers (Green et al. 2006).

According to Heater (1999), the feeling of citizenship points to the fact that how a person behaves in the political sphere is related to the ideas they have about "being a citizen." This feeling can, according to Heater, be a result of the person's identification with specific levels of political organization and, in a second vein, with their idea of civic virtue regarding the concept of a "good citizen." It is "citizenship" in the latter sense that we are interested in. Five profiles of citizenship norms (i.e., comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic) were developed by Torres Irribarra and Carrasco (see Chap. 3) using latent class analysis on the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 data. Drawing on their work, in the present chapter we used multiple group multinomial logistic regression models to investigate how these different profiles relate to European adolescents' political tolerance, i.e., their attitudes towards equal rights for others (immigrants and women). We used the ICCS 2016 data from 51,040 grade 8 students (aged 14) across 14 European countries.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, in the second section we provide a brief overview of the study's conceptual background, noting in particular the link between citizenship and tolerance. In section three, we describe the study's method in terms of the variables, the data used, and how the data was analysed. We present the results of the analysis in section four, showing interesting patterns regarding the association between different citizenship norms profiles and young people's level of tolerance (i.e., support for the equal rights of others). We end

with discussion of the study's key conclusions in section five, noting theoretical and policy implications.

2 Conceptual Background

Within Europe, globalization and Europeanization have resulted in increasingly multicultural and ethnically diverse societies and challenged the concept of citizenship. National borders are increasingly blurred (Brodie 2004; O'Sullivan and Pashby 2008; Reid et al. 2010; Schattle 2012; Torres 2002) and citizenship has taken on new meanings beyond the nation state to include European and global dimensions. This, in turn, has challenged how young Europeans see themselves as citizens, particularly in terms of how they feel about their identities and their ideas about their roles and behaviors at the local, national, European, and global levels.

In addition to how they see themselves, how young Europeans see "others" is also being challenged. Europe has witnessed a large rise in the number of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and Africa attempting to enter the European Union. European surveys have highlighted increasingly negative public attitudes and insecurity over this perceived immigration "crisis," partly due to the rise in populist, far-right parties displaying anti-immigration rhetoric (Mylonas 2012). This public anxiety has resulted in the "othering" of minorities, a rise in racist attacks, and urban unrest that has been attributed to the cultural difference and deviancy of young migrants (Schierup and Ålund 2011, p. 56). It has also contributed to anti-European integration sentiment that, among other issues, resulted in Brexit.

The societal changes outlined have been perceived of as posing a challenge to existing value systems, making it difficult to accept new citizens, thereby complicating their integration process (Freitag and Rapp 2015). In terms of the inclusion of newcomers, some countries have chosen to implement restrictive citizenship legislation, while others have taken a more liberal approach (Midtbøen 2015). In addition, there has been a focus on citizenship initiatives that promote integration, social cohesion, and values such as tolerance and respect for cultural diversity, inclusion, equal rights, and human rights (Sampermans et al. 2017). However, efforts towards promoting these at the national level have varied considerably. For example, in England, the focus has been on learning about Fundamental British Values (FBVs) in an effort to prevent radicalization and extremism following the rise in terrorist attacks. This initiative has been criticized for potentially alienating and radicalizing students who do not see themselves as truly British (Bolloten and Richardson 2015).

It is clear that an important aspect of good citizenship is the attitude of tolerance towards others (Almond and Verba 1963; Sherrod and Lauckhardt 2009). Tolerance is a multidimensional concept, which includes a wide range of attitudes towards different groups that may take various forms (Green et al. 2006; Isac et al. 2018). For example, political tolerance refers to giving different groups in society democratic and political rights, whereas social tolerance is related to contact with "others" (e.g., inter-ethnic friendships) (Isac et al. 2018). According to Gibson (2007), tolerance can

be defined as: "the willingness to put up with disagreeable ideas and groups in order to peacefully coexist." Without tolerance, not all groups in society would be able to defend their interests in the same way, which in turn could challenge the existence of a true democracy. Moreover, without tolerance, inter-group conflict would become practically inevitable, thus heightening even more the importance of tolerance as a fundamental democratic attitude (Hanh 1998). By definition, tolerance contains an internal paradox of allowing the ideas or interests one disagrees with, dislikes, or abhors, while also giving equal rights to people or groups regardless of whether you agree with their opinion or behaviour (Sullivan and Transue 1999; Sullivan et al. 1981; Vogt 1997). For example, as a citizen you can disagree with an idea because of political, religious, cultural, or social beliefs. However, you still allow people to express this idea and endorse their fundamental equal rights.

In light of this background and given the importance of tolerance for good citizenship and well-functioning democracies (Council of Europe 2010), we operationalize tolerance in terms of positive attitudes towards the equal rights of (a) women and (b) immigrants. In the next section, we explain the methods used to determine how different profiles of citizenship norms amongst European adolescents relate to attitudes towards these two groups.

3 Method

This section describes the methods and data used for the analysis presented in this chapter. Because of our focus on Europe, we used only the data from the 14 European countries that participated in ICCS 2016 (Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Malta, Belgium (Flemish), the Netherlands) (Schulz et al. 2018a). The sample is representative of the population of grade 8 students (average age 14) in each country and included a total of 51,040 students.

We used multiple group multinomial logistic regression models to determine how different profiles of citizenship norms relate to European adolescents' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and women. The dependent variable was the student profiles of "good citizenship" developed in Chap. 3. Using latent class analysis, Torres Irribara and Carrasco (the present volume) used ICCS 2016 data to look at how students endorse particular citizenship norms (see Chap. 3 for a full list of the different norms) classifying them into five types of citizenship norms profile: (a) comprehensive, (b) socially engaged, (c) duty-based, (d) monitorial, and (e) anomic.

Students classed within the comprehensive citizenship profile (who were in fact the largest group) are those who value different forms of civic engagement (Ekman and Amnå 2012) including manifest forms of participation, such as voting, extra parliamentary actions such as peaceful protests, and social involvement such as helping in the local community. Students classed as socially engaged consider it important to protect the environment, protect human rights, and participate in activities that benefit the local community. They also highly value obedience to the law

and respect for government representatives although they consider it less important to participate in political discussions or join a political party. Those who fall within the duty-based profile find it important to obey the law, work hard, and respect government authorities. However, they score lower on other characteristics such as participation in non-institutionalized forms of political participation such as activities to protect the environment, protect human rights, and benefit people in the local community. They also consider it less important to join a political party, participate in political discussions, and engage in peaceful protests. The monitorial group represent a mix of valuing non-conventional forms of political participation, while disregarding engaging in political parties. They value participation in elections as well as non-institutionalized forms of political participation, such as peaceful protest against unjust laws, participation in activities that benefit the local community, promotion of human rights, and protection of the environment. The anomic group expressed the lowest endorsement to all the citizenship norms, i.e., they consistently had the lowest probability of answering "important" across all the items. The most valued items for the anomic group are obeying the law and working hard, although the rate of endorsement is too low to be considered typical of this group.

The main independent variables were students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and women. These variables correspond to scales created by replicating the procedure used by Isac et al. (2019). We created these scales instead of using those included in the ICCS 2016 dataset, because the modifications proposed by Isac et al. ensure cross-cultural comparability of the resulting scores across the 14 countries included in the analysis. We used three indicators to construct the scale of attitudes towards equal rights for women. An example of such an indicator includes equality of opportunity in the labour market. We used four indicators to construct the scale of attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants, an example of which is equality of opportunity for political participation (see Table 1 for the full list of indicators).

The fit indices of the scalar model largely comply with the model fit evaluation criteria (see Brown 2014; Wang and Wang 2012), both in terms of overall fit indices (RMSEA = 0.043; CFI = 0.985; TLI = 0.987), as well as relative fit indices (Metric vs Configural; ΔRMSEA = 0.010; ΔCFI = 0.005). The full procedures and results of the Multi Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MG-CFA) models used to create and test the invariance of the two scales, can be consulted in Isac et al. (2019).

Apart from attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and women, other independent variables used in the analysis were student gender, home literacy resources, civic knowledge, and immigrant status (see Table 2 for the main characteristics of these variables). These variables were included as covariates in the analysis since they have been shown to be important predictors of the independent variable in previous studies (see, for example, Hooghe et al. 2015, 2016).

We report the odds (i.e., the relative probabilities) of belonging to each of the profiles with reference to each of the independent variables. In the present model, we use the largest group, i.e., the comprehensive citizen, as the reference category. The fitted model assesses the change in odds, for one unit of every covariate included in the model. In particular, we are interested in how students endorse citizenship norms, conditional to their attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and for women. For

Table 1 Indicators in the analysis of attitudes towards women and immigrants

Item code	Item text
Attitudes towards equal rights for women	
IS3G24C*	Women should stay out of politics
IS3G24D*	When there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women
IS3G24F*	Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women
Attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants	
ES3G04B	Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have
ES3G04C	Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections
ES3G04D	Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle
ES3G04E	Immigrants should have the same rights that everyone else in the country has

Notes * Item reverse coded so that lower values reflect negative attitudes
Response categories: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Agree; 4 = Strongly agree
Source ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz et al. 2018b)

example, the model tells us if the odds of being socially engaged are higher than being comprehensive, when students present higher levels of support for equal rights for women. No constraints between countries were added, so the relationship between the variables of interest are freely estimated.

All estimates include the complex sample design of ICCS 2016. Taylor Series Linearization was used for variance estimation, including school stratification and schools as the primary sampling unit (Stapleton 2013). Survey weights were scaled as up to 500 observations to ensure the equal contribution of each country to the results (Gonzalez 2012). Civic knowledge plausible values were included as imputed data, to account for its measurement error in all calculations (Rutkowski et al. 2010). Data preparation was carried out using the IEA IDB Analyzer (IEA 2017) and IBM SPSS (IBM 2015). All analyses were performed in Mplus 8.2 (Muthén and Muthén 2017). The full information maximum likelihood (FIML) method was implemented to handle missing data. Only 297 cases with missing data on all variables were not included in the analysis.

4 Results

The main focus of the present chapter is the relationship between students' attitudes towards equal rights for women and for immigrants, and their associations with students' citizenship norms endorsement. We present the estimates for the associations of these two variables for each country, while controlling for students' gender,

Table 2 Independent variables

Variable name	Type	Description
Attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants	Continuous Standardized within countries	Student attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants. Own computations based on Multi Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis across 14 European countries. Mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1
Attitudes towards equal rights for women	Continuous Standardized within countries	Student attitudes toward equal rights for women. Own computations based on Multi Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis across 14 European countries. Mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1
Student gender	Dummy	Female = 1, male = 0
Socioeconomic status of the students	Continuous Standardized within countries	National index of socioeconomic background derived from the following three indices: highest occupational status of parents (S_HISEI), highest educational level of parents (S_HISCED), and the number of books at home (S_HOMLIT). This index was then standardized within countries to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1
Civic knowledge	Continuous Standardized within countries	Student scores on the civic knowledge test. Five plausible values. Mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100

Source ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz et al. 2018b)

SES, civic knowledge, and immigrant status (see Tables 3, 4, and 5). Because of space constraints, in these three results tables we present the logits and odds for students' attitudes towards equal rights for women and for immigrants' only. The coefficients of the other predictors included in the model are available as an appendix (see Appendix C).

The analyses of the data show some interesting general patterns regarding attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and women. First, in the case of support for equal rights for women, the strongest associations between this variable and the different citizenship profiles were found in Sweden and the Netherlands. In both countries, the odds of being socially engaged were higher than the odds of being comprehensive. In Sweden this was 37%, and in the Netherlands 36%.

Table 3 Results of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Central and Eastern countries

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Bulgaria												
Equal rights for women	0.24	1.27	***	0.28	1.33		0.23	1.26	**	0.38	1.46	**
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.20	0.82	***	−0.27	0.76		−0.49	0.61	***	−0.73	0.48	***
Croatia												
Equal rights for women	0.06	1.07		−0.16	0.85		−0.31	0.73	**	−0.07	0.94	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.12	0.89	**	−0.42	0.66	***	−0.35	0.70	**	−0.68	0.51	***
Estonia												
Equal rights for women	0.08	1.08		0.00	1.00		−0.05	0.95		0.07	1.07	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.13	0.88	+	−0.17	0.85	+	−0.33	0.72	***	−0.24	0.79	+
Latvia												
Equal rights for women	0.03	1.03		−0.15	0.86	+	−0.03	0.97		−0.03	0.98	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.15	0.86	**	−0.27	0.76	***	−0.22	0.80	**	−0.59	0.56	***
Lithuania												
Equal rights for women	0.13	1.14	**	0.05	1.06		0.03	1.03		0.08	1.08	
Equal rights for immigrants	0.02	1.02		−0.14	0.87	**	−0.34	0.71	***	−0.50	0.60	**
Slovenia												
Equal rights for women	0.05	1.05		−0.11	0.90		−0.13	0.88		0.01	1.01	

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.15	0.86	**	−0.48	0.62	***	−0.38	0.68	***	−0.56	0.57	***

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coeffcients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

We now describe the results for each of the profiles with a focus on the relationship between students' attitudes towards equal rights for women over and above the other covariates i.e., student gender, socioeconomic status, civic knowledge, and immigrant status (see Tables 3, 4, and 5).

The odds of students being classified as socially engaged (as compared to comprehensive) were significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women increased in half of the countries included in the analysis (i.e., Bulgaria, Lithuania, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Malta, and the Netherlands). This association was not statistically significant in the rest of the countries (Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, Denmark, Italy, and Belgium (Flemish)).

In terms of the comparison with comprehensive students, the odds of students being classified as duty-based were significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women increased in the Netherlands. Conversely, in Latvia, the odds of students being classified as duty-based were significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women decreased. In the rest of the countries, this relationship was not statistically significant.

Using the comprehensive students as a reference group, the odds of students being monitorial were significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women decreased in Croatia, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Belgium (Flemish). On the contrary, in Bulgaria, students have higher odds of being monitorial when their support for equal rights for women is higher than that of comprehensive students. In the rest of the countries, this association is not statistically significant.

The odds of students being classified as anomic rather than comprehensive are significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women increased in Bulgaria. In Belgium (Flemish), by contrast, the odds of students being classified as anomic (as compared to comprehensive students) were significantly higher as their support for equal rights for women decreased. In the rest of the countries, this relationship was not statistically significant.

Table 4 Results of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Nordic and Southern countries

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Denmark												
Equal rights for women	0.06	1.06		−0.04	0.96		−0.24	0.79	+	−0.15	0.86	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.17	0.84	**	−0.29	0.75	***	−0.17	0.85		−0.39	0.68	**
Finland												
Equal rights for women	0.24	1.27	**	0.07	1.08		−0.11	0.90		0.20	1.23	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.34	0.71	***	−0.59	0.56	***	−0.62	0.54	***	−1.08	0.34	***
Norway												
Equal rights for women	0.17	1.18	***	0.05	1.05		−0.19	0.83	**	−0.07	0.93	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.22	0.80	***	−0.42	0.66	***	−0.35	0.71	***	−0.85	0.43	***
Sweden												
Equal rights for women	0.31	1.37	***	0.05	1.05		−0.12	0.89		0.17	1.19	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.27	0.76	***	−0.46	0.63	***	−0.47	0.62	***	−0.82	0.44	***
Italy												
Equal rights for women	−0.05	0.95		−0.11	0.90		−0.26	0.77	**	−0.20	0.82	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.22	0.81	**	−0.55	0.58	***	−0.54	0.58	***	−1.28	0.28	***
Malta												
Equal rights for women	0.19	1.21	**	0.06	1.06		−0.11	0.90		0.00	1.00	

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.20	0.82	***	−0.42	0.65	***	−0.49	0.61	***	−0.64	0.53	***

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coeffcients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = p < 0.001, ** = p < 0.01, * = p < 0.05, + = p < 0.10

Table 5 Results of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Western countries

	C1: Socially engaged			C2: Duty-based			C3: Monitorial			C4: Anomic		
	E	OR		E	OR		E	OR		E	OR	
Belgium (Flemish)												
Equal rights for women	0.09	1.09		−0.07	0.94		−0.36	0.70	**	−0.34	0.71	**
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.27	0.77	***	−0.62	0.54	***	−0.62	0.54	***	−0.78	0.46	***
The Netherlands												
Equal rights for women	0.31	1.36	***	0.26	1.30	**	0.07	1.07		0.36	1.43	**
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.23	0.80	**	−0.43	0.65	***	−0.48	0.62	***	−1.00	0.37	***

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coeffcients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = p < 0.001, ** = p < 0.01, * = p < 0.05, + = p < 0.10

Second, in the case of support for equal rights for immigrants, the strongest and more consistent associations were found with the odds of belonging to the anomic class in Finland, Italy, and the Netherlands (66%, 73%, and 64%, respectively).

Another interesting pattern is that, when compared to comprehensive students, lower support for equal rights for immigrants is associated with higher odds of belonging to almost all the other classes in the vast majority of countries. The only exceptions are: socially-engaged students in Lithuania, duty-based students in Bulgaria, and monitorial students in Denmark, where support for equal rights for immigrants does not establish a statistically significant association.

There is also a pattern indicating that the probability of belonging to the monitorial and anomic groups has a stronger (i.e., negative) association with the support for equal rights for immigrants. Support for equal rights for women, tends to establish a weaker pattern regarding the odds of belonging to the classes included in the analysis. Using comprehensive students as the reference group, it increases the odds of students being socially engaged in seven countries, decreases the odds of being monitorial in five countries, and makes a significant difference in belonging to the other two groups (duty-based and anomic) in two countries. However, for the last two groups, the direction of the association is mixed (positive in one country and negative in the other).

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Considering how young people perceive themselves interacting with democracy from a politically normative point of view—in Heater's terminology, their "feeling" of what citizenship should/should not be like—this chapter uses the five citizenship norms profiles that are present amongst European young people (see Chap. 3). Most grade 8 students in Europe were categorized within the comprehensive citizenship profile, while socially-engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic groups were also identified. In studying the relationship of these citizenship norms with the tolerance concept that was operationalized by levels of support for equal rights for women and immigrants, two clear patterns emerged.

First, regarding the support for equal rights for women, we established that by using comprehensive students as the reference group, the odds of students being socially engaged increase in seven countries, the odds of being monitorial decrease in five countries, and makes a significant difference in belonging to the other two groups (duty-based and anomic) in two countries. However, for the last two groups, the direction of the association is mixed (positive in one country and negative in the other). We can hence conclude that the relationship between the five citizenship norms profiles and the first operationalization of tolerance (i.e., support for equal rights for women) is not consistent in Europe. However, the hypothesis that especially the socially engaged are the most open to equal rights for women seems to hold for at least seven countries.

Second, looking into equal rights for immigrants, it is clear that the comprehensive group deals well with the ambivalence present in the definition of tolerance. This group scores high on all the indicators of good citizenship and seems to be able to agree to disagree with others, and hence also to work with immigrant groups towards higher social cohesion in Europe. The other groups do not seem to accept the paradox of giving equal rights to people or groups regardless of whether you agree with their

opinion or behaviour. The duty-based, monitorial, anomic, and even the socially-engaged groups, show significantly lower support for equal rights for immigrants than the students classified as comprehensive. This relationship was expected for groups such as the duty-based students, while their political activities are mostly related to democracy's social order. This can imply a very narrow interpretation of rights of non-Europeans in Europe. Also, for the monitorial and anomic groups, this outcome comes as no surprise, as these two types of citizens seem to be more focused on the local, personal level (Westheimer and Kahne 2007) rather than opening themselves to a larger, globalized, more diverse world. As for students in the socially-engaged group, who theoretically are described as being concerned about social needs, human rights, and the environment (Dalton 2008; Barber and Ross 2018), we expected more young people to be part of this group (Dejaeghere and Hooghe 2009; Hooghe and Oser 2015; Reichert 2016) and we also hypothesized a higher inclination to support equal rights for immigrants. However, it seems that this group is also more focused on their local (maybe more homogenous) community, rights, and the environment, and that they seem to "hunker down" (Putnam 2007), making them engaged in their own group, but not inclined to be open to more equal rights for immigrants than the comprehensive group.

The results of the study have both theoretical and policy implications. In terms of the theoretical implications, the results develop understanding of the mechanisms underpinning the relationship between young European adolescents' feelings about citizenship and their attitudes towards others (specifically immigrants and women). It is worth highlighting that our results indicate there is no single citizenship profile that endorses all the democratic values analyzed in this chapter. Rather, the endorsement of different democratic values is dependent on students' individual views regarding how a good citizen is defined. In terms of policy implications, given the current European political climate characterized by increasingly negative perceptions of immigrants, our results suggest the need to develop targeted policy interventions for the promotion of tolerance and equal rights for others amongst young Europeans.

Appendix C

See Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Table 6 Estimates of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Central and Eastern countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Bulgaria																
Student gender	0.125		0.114	1.133	−30.753	***	0.000	0.000	−0.270	**	0.128	0.763	−0.876	**	0.275	0.416
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.048		0.072	0.953	0.373		0.435	1.452	−0.026		0.091	0.974	0.139		0.166	1.149
Civic knowledge	0.309	***	0.075	1.362	0.055		0.489	1.057	−0.547	***	0.093	0.579	−0.996	***	0.174	0.369
Immigrant status	21.693	***	2.301		−0.398	***	0.012	0.672	20.963	***	2.295		22.490	***	1.890	
Equal rights for women	0.235	***	0.062	1.265	0.283		0.267	1.328	0.232	**	0.084	1.261	0.375	**	0.145	1.455
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.198	***	0.047	0.820	−0.272		0.203	0.762	−0.489	***	0.066	0.613	−0.733	***	0.145	0.481
Croatia																
Student gender	0.241	**	0.099	1.272	−0.014		0.212	0.986	−0.459	+	0.237	0.632	−1.248	**	0.498	0.287
Socioeconomic status of the students	0.008		0.051	1.008	0.176		0.122	1.192	0.015		0.120	1.015	0.160		0.193	1.174
Civic knowledge	−0.051		0.061	0.950	−0.403	**	0.128	0.668	−0.335	**	0.143	0.715	−0.927	***	0.202	0.396
Immigrant status	−0.398	**	0.137	0.672	0.060		0.355	1.062	−0.165		0.325	0.848	−0.577		0.664	0.561

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Equal rights for women	0.063		0.057	1.065	−0.162		0.113	0.850	−0.310	**	0.130	0.733	−0.065		0.248	0.937
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.115	**	0.046	0.891	−0.415	***	0.114	0.660	−0.354	**	0.116	0.702	−0.676	***	0.172	0.509
Estonia																
Student gender	0.030		0.121	1.031	0.146		0.144	1.158	−0.129		0.138	0.879	−0.911	**	0.326	0.402
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.195	**	0.073	0.823	−0.108		0.071	0.897	−0.241	**	0.074	0.785	−0.260	**	0.124	0.771
Civic knowledge	0.039		0.080	1.040	−0.236	**	0.103	0.790	−0.280	**	0.113	0.756	−0.821	***	0.175	0.440
Immigrant status	−0.015		0.181	0.985	0.247		0.284	1.280	0.156		0.244	1.169	0.371		0.337	1.450
Equal rights for women	0.076		0.077	1.079	−0.002		0.086	0.998	−0.047		0.109	0.954	0.070		0.167	1.073
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.131	+	0.072	0.878	−0.168	+	0.090	0.845	−0.327	***	0.073	0.721	−0.237	+	0.140	0.789
Latvia																
Student gender	0.056		0.126	1.058	0.118		0.141	1.125	−0.362	**	0.123	0.696	−0.240		0.300	0.787
Socioeconomic status of the students	0.077		0.052	1.080	0.062		0.072	1.064	−0.034		0.062	0.966	0.012		0.126	1.012

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Civic knowledge	0.263	***	0.072	1.301	0.019		0.081	1.019	−0.168	**	0.065	0.845	−0.669	***	0.155	0.512
Immigrant status	0.266		0.223	1.304	0.241		0.288	1.272	0.824	***	0.220	2.280	0.721		0.452	2.057
Equal rights for women	0.026		0.069	1.026	−0.149	+	0.089	0.861	−0.029		0.064	0.972	−0.025		0.169	0.975
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.148	**	0.063	0.863	−0.270	***	0.066	0.764	−0.221	**	0.069	0.801	−0.590	***	0.140	0.555
Lithuania																
Student gender	0.078		0.119	1.081	0.061		0.106	1.063	−0.488	**	0.144	0.614	−0.271		0.296	0.763
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.038		0.055	0.963	−0.054		0.060	0.947	−0.133		0.096	0.875	−0.066		0.139	0.936
Civic knowledge	0.268	***	0.071	1.307	0.089		0.072	1.093	−0.150		0.111	0.861	−0.606	**	0.208	0.546
Immigrant status	1.157	***	0.308	3.182	0.961	**	0.383	2.616	0.899	**	0.407	2.458	1.960	**	0.653	7.097
Equal rights for women	0.131	**	0.063	1.140	0.054		0.060	1.055	0.032		0.105	1.032	0.075		0.229	1.078
Equal rights for immigrants	0.016		0.056	1.016	−0.143	**	0.064	0.867	−0.342	***	0.091	0.710	−0.504	**	0.154	0.604
Slovenia																

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Student gender	0.350	**	0.121	1.419	0.231		0.202	1.260	−0.109		0.159	0.897	−0.123		0.232	0.884
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.071		0.065	0.932	−0.089		0.088	0.914	0.008		0.073	1.008	0.029		0.121	1.029
Civic knowledge	0.284	***	0.069	1.328	0.143		0.102	1.154	−0.400	***	0.098	0.671	−0.709	***	0.156	0.492
Immigrant status	−0.162		0.131	0.851	0.278		0.241	1.321	0.152		0.206	1.164	0.067		0.337	1.070
Equal rights for women	0.052		0.061	1.054	−0.106		0.102	0.899	−0.133		0.084	0.876	0.011		0.121	1.011
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.152	**	0.056	0.859	−0.477	***	0.085	0.621	−0.380	***	0.080	0.684	−0.555	***	0.121	0.574

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coeffcients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 7 Estimates of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Nordic countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Denmark																
Student gender	0.152		0.109	1.164	0.032		0.091	1.032	−0.314		0.246	0.730	−1.038	***	0.258	0.354
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.186	***	0.049	0.830	−0.145	**	0.049	0.865	−0.382	**	0.113	0.682	−0.147		0.137	0.863
Civic knowledge	0.271	***	0.061	1.311	0.333	***	0.055	1.395	−0.296	**	0.141	0.743	−0.326	+	0.173	0.722
Immigrant status	−0.341	**	0.170	0.711	−0.049		0.159	0.952	−0.374		0.374	0.688	−0.485		0.498	0.616
Equal rights for women	0.062		0.070	1.064	−0.037		0.053	0.963	−0.241	+	0.124	0.786	−0.152		0.162	0.859
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.169	**	0.061	0.844	−0.291	***	0.057	0.748	−0.168		0.144	0.846	−0.389	**	0.155	0.678
Finland																
Student gender	0.278	**	0.107	1.320	0.031		0.122	1.032	−0.764	**	0.229	0.466	−0.273		0.230	0.761
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.105	+	0.056	0.901	−0.085		0.064	0.918	0.150		0.104	1.162	−0.310	**	0.128	0.734
Civic knowledge	0.169	**	0.068	1.185	0.120		0.075	1.128	−0.231	+	0.129	0.793	−0.374	**	0.128	0.688
Immigrant status	−0.497	+	0.291	0.608	0.111		0.321	1.118	0.312		0.511	1.366	−1.348	+	0.791	0.260
Equal rights for women	0.241	**	0.074	1.272	0.074		0.080	1.077	−0.111		0.128	0.895	0.204		0.161	1.227
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.338	***	0.071	0.713	−0.588	***	0.090	0.555	−0.617	***	0.115	0.540	−1.081	***	0.168	0.339
Norway																
Student gender	−0.142	+	0.079	0.868	−0.243	**	0.085	0.784	−0.422	**	0.141	0.656	−0.862	***	0.203	0.423
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.114	**	0.034	0.892	−0.037		0.057	0.964	−0.124	**	0.056	0.884	−0.117		0.074	0.889

(continued)

Table 7 (continued)

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Civic knowledge	0.334	***	0.051	1.397	0.307	***	0.065	1.359	−0.217	**	0.076	0.805	−0.329	**	0.117	0.720
Immigrant status	0.321	**	0.112	1.379	0.195		0.157	1.216	0.178		0.182	1.195	0.466	**	0.227	1.593
Equal rights for women	0.165	***	0.047	1.179	0.047		0.066	1.048	−0.187	**	0.065	0.829	−0.074		0.102	0.929
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.221	***	0.040	0.802	−0.415	***	0.052	0.661	−0.345	***	0.069	0.708	−0.845	***	0.092	0.429
Sweden																
Student gender	−0.156		0.108	0.855	−0.138		0.113	0.871	−0.483	**	0.176	0.617	−0.143		0.379	0.867
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.258	***	0.050	0.772	−0.264	***	0.072	0.768	−0.347	***	0.095	0.707	−0.346	**	0.130	0.708
Civic knowledge	0.128	+	0.066	1.136	0.113		0.099	1.119	−0.137		0.115	0.872	−0.388	+	0.235	0.678
Immigrant status	−0.197		0.128	0.821	−0.527	**	0.201	0.590	−0.077		0.229	0.926	−0.208		0.437	0.812
Equal rights for women	0.314	***	0.084	1.369	0.052		0.085	1.053	−0.121		0.094	0.886	0.172		0.229	1.188
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.271	***	0.069	0.762	−0.464	***	0.074	0.629	−0.471	***	0.086	0.624	−0.816	***	0.104	0.442

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coefficients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 8 Estimates of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Southern countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Italy																
Student gender	0.078		0.120	1.081	0.215		0.137	1.240	−0.415	**	0.155	0.660	0.798		0.581	2.220
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.101		0.069	0.904	−0.025		0.079	0.975	0.021		0.087	1.022	−0.181		0.195	0.834
Civic knowledge	0.114		0.076	1.120	−0.175	+	0.094	0.839	−0.369	***	0.093	0.692	−0.817	***	0.225	0.442
Immigrant status	0.374	**	0.153	1.454	0.438	+	0.235	1.549	0.514	**	0.226	1.671	0.095		0.868	1.100
Equal rights for women	−0.050		0.068	0.951	−0.106		0.088	0.899	−0.261	**	0.107	0.770	−0.197		0.316	0.822
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.216	**	0.063	0.806	−0.553	***	0.073	0.575	−0.541	***	0.086	0.582	−1.282	***	0.231	0.278
Malta																
Student gender	0.015		0.115	1.015	0.292	+	0.159	1.339	−0.118		0.143	0.889	0.015		0.252	1.015
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.053		0.056	0.948	−0.121	+	0.070	0.886	−0.143	**	0.066	0.867	−0.196	+	0.115	0.822
Civic knowledge	0.246	***	0.055	1.279	−0.259	**	0.092	0.772	−0.512	***	0.099	0.599	−0.788	***	0.121	0.455
Immigrant status	−0.348	**	0.170	0.706	−0.121		0.228	0.886	−0.301		0.211	0.740	0.072		0.355	1.074
Equal rights for women	0.189	**	0.061	1.208	0.058		0.093	1.060	−0.105		0.091	0.900	0.001		0.145	1.001
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.201	***	0.044	0.818	−0.424	***	0.079	0.654	−0.489	***	0.062	0.613	−0.644	***	0.124	0.525

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coefficients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

Table 9 Estimates of the multiple group multinomial logistic regression model: Western countries

	C1: Socially engaged				C2: Duty-based				C3: Monitorial				C4: Anomic			
	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR	E		SE	OR
Belgium (Flemish)																
Student gender	0.045		0.121	1.046	−0.023		0.141	0.977	−0.718	**	0.245	0.488	−0.393		0.292	0.675
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.075		0.063	0.927	−0.134	+	0.079	0.875	−0.098		0.113	0.907	−0.134		0.157	0.875
Civic knowledge	0.489	***	0.077	1.630	0.462	***	0.098	1.587	0.011		0.126	1.011	0.158		0.166	1.171
Immigrant status	−0.609	***	0.159	0.544	−0.344	+	0.208	0.709	−0.177		0.309	0.837	−0.333		0.426	0.717
Equal rights for women	0.089		0.070	1.093	−0.067		0.090	0.935	−0.363	**	0.110	0.695	−0.340	**	0.150	0.712
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.265	***	0.065	0.768	−0.624	***	0.084	0.536	−0.615	***	0.087	0.540	−0.779	***	0.138	0.459
The Netherlands																
Student gender	0.238	+	0.137	1.268	0.209		0.131	1.232	−0.144		0.145	0.866	−0.576	**	0.233	0.562
Socioeconomic status of the students	−0.122	+	0.066	0.885	−0.137	**	0.067	0.872	−0.243	**	0.075	0.785	−0.162		0.120	0.850
Civic knowledge	0.506	***	0.090	1.658	0.461	***	0.101	1.585	−0.025		0.100	0.975	−0.130		0.172	0.878
Immigrant status	−0.072		0.258	0.930	0.313		0.226	1.367	0.585	**	0.290	1.795	0.651	+	0.381	1.918
Equal rights for women	0.311	***	0.083	1.364	0.259	**	0.082	1.296	0.070		0.084	1.073	0.359	**	0.112	1.432
Equal rights for immigrants	−0.225	**	0.072	0.798	−0.428	***	0.074	0.652	−0.480	***	0.089	0.619	−1.004	***	0.117	0.366

Notes C5: Comprehensive is the reference category. E = Estimated coefficients, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$, + = $p < 0.10$

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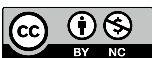

Predictors of Asian Adolescents' Democratic Understanding

Kerry J. Kennedy and Xiaxoue Kuang

Abstract Research on students' attitudes to democracy has largely focused on democratic processes such as participation and engagement. In these times when democracy is under threat, understanding its principles seems equally important. This is particularly true in Asian contexts where the concept of Asia's "soft authoritarianism" has been used, and where there is a continued influence of Confucian values in the region. These conflicting cultural and political values are often held in balance by the region's young people. Yet little is known about what predicts young people's understanding of democracy and consequently how such understanding is best facilitated. The present chapter assesses Asian student's understanding of democracy, using measures present in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016. In particular, we focus on students from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea. Structural equation modeling was used to assess how much each of the selected predictors contributes to explaining students' understanding of democracy. Results pose challenges for schools. On the one hand, school based civic learning combined with political discussion outside of schools were the strongest predictors of students' understanding of rights and opportunities connected with democracy. Yet more research is needed to assist students' greater understanding of different aspects of democracy, particularly the threat posed by anti-democratic behavior. This study has shown that preparing young Asian students for the future will require them to have a broader understanding of democracy in order to meet the challenges ahead.

Keywords Citizenship norms · Duty-based citizenship · Engaged citizenship · Latent class analysis · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

There is little doubt that democracy is under stress (Carothers and O'Donohue 2019; Foa and Mounk 2016) and, consequently, that civic and citizenship education needs to undergo a strategic reorientation (Kennedy 2019). In terms of civic education research, there has been significant focus on young people's civic involvement, including different forms of political participation and political engagement. Comparatively, however, there has been less interest in how youth understand democracy, how such understanding develops, and how it could be enhanced.

Part of the reason for this is the assumption that "active citizenship" should be the aim of civic education. This is certainly a worthwhile goal adopted by supranational bodies such as the European Union (European Economic and Social Committee 2015) and advocated by many civic educators. Such an approach is very much a reflection of a "steady state" in global, regional, national, and local affairs where democracy and its values remain mostly unquestioned. In this context, the purpose is to urge all citizens, but young people in particular, to exercise their rights in the interests of creating fair and just societies. Nevertheless, the rise of populism has shown that citizens can be "active" in multiple ways, including being socially destructive and deliberately undermining democratic institutions (Kennedy 2019). Being "active," therefore, is no longer enough: any call for action must be based on a clear understanding of what democracy is and unequivocal support for democratic principles.

In this chapter, we assess Asian student's understanding of democracy, using measures present in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Schulz et al. 2018a). In particular, we focus on students from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea. Using the presented measures from ICCS 2016 as dependent variables, we explore different forms of learning opportunities as predictors in order to identify significant associations that may help to explain how democratic understanding is best supported. Finally, we assess the implications of the study for theory, policy, and practice in civic and citizenship education.

2 Understanding Democracy—The Missing Element in Research on Civic and Citizenship Education

Within the literature of civic and citizenship education, in the past two decades, there have been three broad focuses of research: civic engagement, civic values, and civic knowledge. The emphases of past research, however, have been somewhat skewed. Civic engagement has undoubtedly received more attention than the other two areas (Kennedy 2019). Moreover, across all areas, previous literature has emphasized a "civic deficit," especially in relation to young people.

A major report in Australia in the 1990s, for example, provided the basis for a revival of civic education, arguing that young people needed to know more about the political system (Civic Education Group 1994). A similar argument was present in McCabe and Kennedy (2014), concerning a lack of civic knowledge by students in the United States. While in England this phenomenon was referred to as the "democratic deficit" (Kerr 2003, p. 3). The perception that there is a gap in young people's civic knowledge and that more knowledge automatically produced better citizens was widespread. This assumption had a consequence since policymakers saw a key role for civic education as a tool to introduce such knowledge to students.

Nevertheless, not all researchers saw the civic deficit in this light. Perez-Diaz (2004), for example, saw the civic deficit as more related to civic engagement and a lack of understanding of the civic duties required of democratic citizens, especially in the European context. This view also found expression in the United States (Galston 2004; Westheimer and Kahne 2004; Esser and de Vreese 2007). In Australia, where voting is compulsory, the Australian Electoral Commission registered concern about declining youth participation that, on average, was much lower than that of the general population (Print et al. 2004). Subsequent international studies across different societies showed that adolescents showed little appetite for conventional political participation, such as joining a political party or running for office. In contrast, what these studies did show was that youth were eager for social participation (e.g., volunteering, supporting environmental issues) (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schulz et al. 2010, 2018a). Thus, the original discourse of "civic deficit" turned into a "deficit of civic participation," and much effort was put into improving youth participation in politics and civic life.

Other researchers, however, were more focused on what might be called a "values deficit" (Kennedy 2019) and how values were reflected in different forms of civic knowledge. Under this light, civic knowledge is more than civic literacy, the knowledge of the underlying political structures that characterize democratic societies. It has been conceptualized as a more sophisticated form of knowledge. For example, Osler and Starkey (2006) argued for an expanded view of civic knowledge taking into account the social, economic, and cultural aspects of citizenship. Also, they advocated for a broader conception of global citizenship to meet the needs of an increasingly globalized society. This broader conception had direct implications for the kind of civic knowledge that should form part of civic education and, in particular, knowledge and understandings that reflected a more diverse society underpinned by a diverse set of values. Osler and Starkey's (2006) view won some support, especially from academics, but encountered a contrary response from the British government.

The British government's initiative supported what it is called Fundamental British Values in the school curriculum (Department of Education 2014). This represented a narrowing of civic literacy highlighting how "deficit" is defined from ideological perspectives concerning the nature of civic knowledge. In general, the civic knowledge debate consists of conflicting views about the nature of civic knowledge, and what students should know. Often this debate is based on a particular conception of the ideal citizen. These ideal citizens are either the cosmopolitan citizen of Osler and

Starkey (2006) or the obedient or responsible citizens firmly supporting the nation state.

In these multiple discourses concerning "civic deficits," there is a singular lack of attention to students' explicit understanding of democracy itself. This gap is also present for the most part with the IEA civic and citizenship education studies (Schulz et al. 2010, 2018a), although Torney-Purta et al. (2001) seems to have been an exception. There has certainly been an assumption in the IEA studies that civic knowledge, civic participation, and civic values are all part of a broader democratic enterprise. The specific nature of that enterprise, however, rarely seems to be addressed, especially in later studies. It might be that the civic knowledge scale used in these studies can provide some insight into this issue, but since, for the most part, the test items that make up the scale are confidential, little is known about them. As mentioned earlier, the exception was the attempt made by Torney-Purta et al. (2001), asking students to define what is "good" and "bad" for democracy using a set of 25 different items. In Torney-Purta et al. (2001), these different items were not scaled, and only descriptive statistics were produced for each participating society. Some further insight, however, was provided into these items by a subsequent secondary analysis (Husfeldt and Nikolova 2003).

These researchers explained that in the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), there was a specific interest in students' understanding of democracy as a distinct construct from areas such as national identity and social cohesion. This set of items on democracy was not repeated in ICCS 2009 (Schulz et al. 2010), yet, it reappeared in ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). The international report of ICCS 2016 does not include an explanation as to why the emphasis on democracy was reinstated in 2016. We speculate, however, that the threats to democracy that appeared in the second decade of the 21st century (Foa and Mounk 2016; Kennedy 2019) may have influenced the decision to make democracy a renewed focus for the assessment of citizenship knowledge and understanding.

In their study, Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003) presented "civic knowledge and skills" and "understanding democracy" as two different constructs. They explained that the 25 different items presented in the Torney-Purta et al. (2001) study, conducted in 1999, were developed to measure students' understanding of different forms of democratic models. These included the generic rule of law, the liberalism model, the pluralism model, the participatory model, the communitarian model, the social welfare model, and the elitism model. This set of items presented different situations that threaten or strengthen democracy. Students had to judge if these different situations were "good" or "bad" for democracy. Students' responses for the 1999 study did not conform to the expected structure of each democratic model. Thus, Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003) used exploratory and confirmatory techniques in secondary data analysis and proposed a three-factor structure. The proposed factors were Rights and Opportunities, Limited Government, and Threats to Democracy. Yet no attention was paid to explaining students understanding of democracy. The present chapter aims to bridge this gap.

The three proposed factors presented a good fit to the data both for lower secondary and upper secondary students' samples, present in the 1999 study (Husfeldt and Nikolova 2003). The items from Rights and Opportunities and Threats to Democracy were included in ICCS 2016. However, they were not scaled, and descriptive statistics were reported (Schulz et al. 2018a, p. 110). In the present chapter, following the work of Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003), we specified a two-factor latent structure to the reinstated items of understanding democracy. By using the Threats to Democracy and Rights of Opportunities item responses, we analyzed the influences on the understanding of democracy that students present. We selected different factors based on political socialization theory (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, pp. 20–22). The latter model assumed that participation was the outcome variable. Our model (see Fig. 1), on the other hand, made understanding of democracy the dependent variable, associated with students' demonstrated civic knowledge, their citizenship norms endorsement, their civic engagement, both in an out of school, and their social experiences at school. Using these different factors, we sought to identify the most relevant factors that present a significant relationship with the students' understanding of democracy.

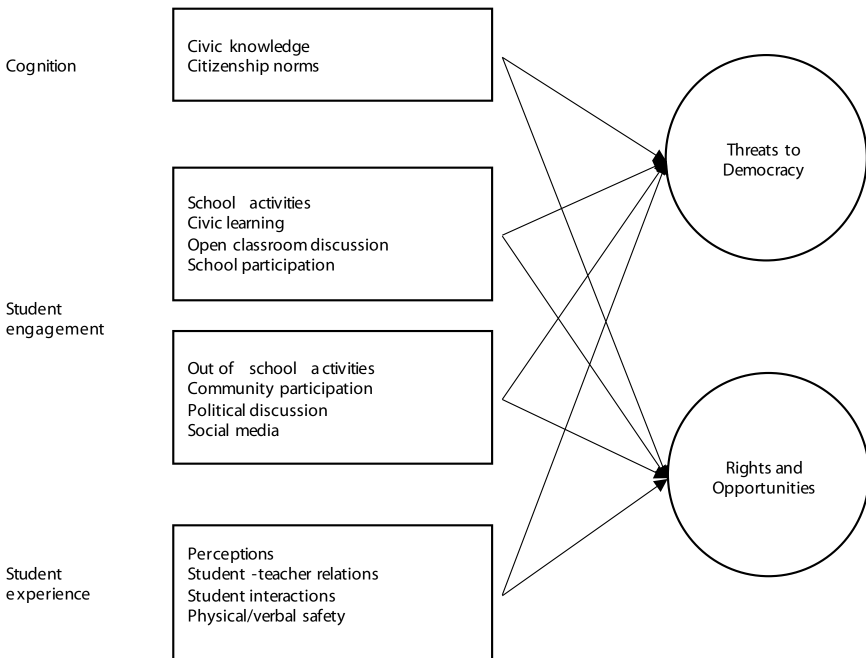

Fig. 1 Identifying predictors of student understanding of democracy: a proposed model

3 Method

Data. The present chapter made use of secondary data from ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). This international study includes measures of students' civic knowledge, civic attitudes, values, participation experiences, and intentions. Twenty-four societies took part, and among them, there were three societies from Asia: Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea. The data from these societies were used in the current study. The nominal sample includes 9207 students: 2653 Hong Kong students, 51.7% boys (N = 1371); 2601 Korea students, 54.4% boys (N = 1414); 3953 Chinese Taipei students, 51.6% boys (N = 2040) (Schulz et al. 2018b, p. 47).

3.1 Variables

Dependent variables. Students were asked to judge nine situations related to democracy, indicating whether these were "good" or "bad" for democracy, using a three-option response scale of "Good for Democracy," "Neither good nor bad for democracy," and "Bad for democracy." Following Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003), we specified a two-factor structure. The Threats for Democracy factor includes the items "Political leaders give government jobs to their family members;" "One company or the government owns all newspapers in a country;" "The police have the right to hold people suspected of threatening national security in jail without trial;" "The government influences decisions by courts of justice." We scored the responses to these items as "Good for democracy" = 1, "Neither good nor bad for democracy" = 2, and "Bad for democracy" = 3. The remaining items represent the factor of Rights and Opportunities. This factor includes the following items: "People are allowed to publicly criticize the government;" "All adult citizens have the right to elect their political leaders;" "People are able to protest if they think a law is unfair;" "Differences in income between poor and rich people are small;" "All <ethnic/racial> groups in the country have the same rights." They were scaled: "Good for democracy" = 3, "Neither good nor bad for democracy" = 2, and "Bad for democracy" = 1.

Independent variables. As independent variables we include demographics factors, civic knowledge and citizenship norms profiles, measures of student of civic engagement, measures of civic learning opportunities at school, and measures of the school experience. These different variables are described in the following sections.

Demographic variables. We included the sex of the students, and coded boys as 0, and girls as 1. The national index of students' socioeconomic background (NISB) was included. This measure has a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for each included country. NISB is derived from three indices: the highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents, and the number of books at home.

Civic knowledge is a continuous measure represented by five different plausible values generated from an item response theory model. These scores have a mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100 for the international pooled sample. The overall reliability of the scale was 0.84 (Schulz et al. 2018b, p. 133).

Citizenship norms. Five citizenship norms profiles summarize how students endorsed 12 different citizenship norms. This is a nominal variable, generated as latent class realization of a mixture model comparing all countries included in ICCS 2016 (see Chap. 3). This nominal variable classified students as *socially engaged* if they mostly endorsed norms relative to the participation in the community, the protection of the environment, and the promotion of human rights. In contrast, *duty-based* students mostly endorsed norms relative to following the rule of law, working hard, and voting in national elections. Students were classified as *monitorial* if they disregarded joining political parties and engaging in political discussion, while simultaneously endorsing the participation in protest against unjust laws. *Anomic* students disregard all presented citizenship norms. Finally, students in the *comprehensive* profile, were likely to deem all citizenship norms as important. In the present study, four dummy variables were created, with the comprehensive group used as a reference group for analysis.

Civic learning asked students to what extent they have learned about seven topics at school, this includes for example how laws are introduced in their country, and how citizens' rights are protected. Students' response categories were "to a large extent," "to a moderate extent," "to a small extent," and "not at all." The Cronbach alpha for this scale in the international sample is 0.98. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea, it is 0.76, 0.81, and 0.80 respectively.

Open classroom discussion items asked students how frequently ("never," "rarely," "sometimes," "often") different situations happened during regular lessons when discussing of political and social issues. These items ask if teachers encourage students to make up their minds and express their opinions during this discussion. The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.89. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea it is 0.84, 0.87, and 0.90 respectively.

School participation items asked students if they had participated in seven different civic-related activities at school either "within the last twelve months," "more than a year ago," or "never." This includes voting for school representatives, participating in school assemblies, and participating as a candidate. The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.76. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea, it is 0.72, 0.75, and 0.82 respectively.

Community participation asked whether students had participated in 10 different organizations, clubs, or groups in the wider community either "within the last 12 months," "more than a year ago," or "never." The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.89. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea, it is 0.84, 0.87, and 0.90 respectively.

Political discussion required students to indicate their level of involvement in a series of activities outside of school using the response categories "never or hardly ever," "monthly (at least once a month)," "weekly (at least once a week)," and "daily

or almost daily." The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.78. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea it is 0.76, 0.81, and 0.80 respectively.

Social media items asked students how often they were involved in three kinds of activities. This includes using the internet to find information, post, or comment political and social issues on the internet. The response categories were "Never or hardly ever," "Monthly (at least once a month)," "Weekly (at least once a week)," and "Daily or almost daily." The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.69. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea it is 0.64, 0.78, and 0.70 respectively.

Student-teacher relations contained five items assessing the degree to which students agreed or disagreed with statements about relationships in their school. Students' response options ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.89. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea, it is 0.89, 0.89, and 0.89 respectively.

Student interactions were measured by three items asking students to rate their level of agreement with the statements about students' interpersonal relations at their school (ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"). The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.85. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea it is 0.83, 0.85, and 0.86 respectively.

Physical/verbal safety was measured by six items, which asked students how often they experienced different abusive situations at their school during the last three months (ranging from "not at all," "once," "2 to 4 times," "5 times or more"). A higher score reflects lesser chances of physical and verbal abuse at school. The Cronbach alpha for this scale for the international sample is 0.75. For Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea it is 0.72, 0.78, and 0.68 respectively.

A summary of descriptive statistics of both dependent and independent variables can be seen in Table 1.

3.2 Analytic Techniques

The data were analyzed using Mplus 8.0. Confirmatory factor analysis was used on the ICCS 2016 data to test the factor structure of the understanding democracy items originally proposed by Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003). Structural equation modeling was used to assess how much each of the selected predictors contributes to explaining students' understanding of democracy. All selected factors were included as latent variables with their original items, with the exception of students' gender, students' socioeconomic background, citizenship norms profiles, and civic knowledge which were included as imputed data. Estimates are quasi pseudo maximum likelihood estimates (Asparouhov 2005) using the WLSMV estimator and "TYPE = COMPLEX" option in Mplus software, while including the study complex sample design, specifying schools as cluster, jackzones as stratification factors, and students' total weights as survey weights. In the present chapter, standardized estimates are reported. Model fit indexes were used to assess the adequacy of the specified model to the data. These

Table 1 Descriptive statistics for independent and dependent variables (unweighted estimates)

Variables	Total	Total		Chinese Taipei		Hong Kong		Korea	
	N	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Threats to Democracy	9057	2.31	(0.55)	2.45	(0.51)	2.22	(0.55)	2.17	(0.55)
Rights and Opportunities	9057	2.52	(0.40)	2.47	(0.40)	2.57	(0.41)	2.55	(0.37)
[a]Civic knowledge	9207	554.82	(98.90)	583.05	(88.98)	519.86	(104.14)	547.59	(94.96)
[b]Socially engaged	1653	0.18	(0.39)	0.33	(0.47)	0.13	(0.34)	0.00	(0.03)
[b]Duty-based	932	0.10	(0.30)	0.11	(0.32)	0.16	(0.37)	0.03	(0.16)
[b]Monitorial	683	0.07	(0.26)	0.01	(0.12)	0.05	(0.22)	0.19	(0.39)
[b]Anomic	474	0.05	(0.22)	0.04	(0.19)	0.07	(0.25)	0.06	(0.23)
[b]Comprehensive	5392	0.59	(0.49)	0.51	(0.50)	0.58	(0.49)	0.73	(0.45)
Civic learning	9207	2.83	(0.69)	3.12	(0.59)	2.65	(0.67)	2.57	(0.70)
Open classroom discussion	9130	2.80	(0.77)	2.99	(0.65)	3.04	(0.67)	2.27	(0.78)
School participation	9142	1.77	(0.55)	1.76	(0.51)	1.64	(0.51)	1.92	(0.59)
Community participation	9135	1.16	(0.30)	1.12	(0.24)	1.17	(0.31)	1.22	(0.35)
Political discussion	9152	2.12	(0.64)	2.16	(0.61)	2.21	(0.68)	1.97	(0.63)
Social media	9145	1.83	(0.74)	2.01	(0.74)	1.71	(0.75)	1.68	(0.67)
Student teacher relationship	9129	3.20	(0.57)	3.32	(0.55)	3.07	(0.58)	3.15	(0.54)
Student interactions	9127	3.14	(0.64)	3.26	(0.60)	3.04	(0.66)	3.06	(0.62)
Physical/verbal safety	9071	1.40	(0.52)	1.32	(0.45)	1.62	(0.63)	1.31	(0.42)

Notes N = nominal sample, M = means of mean score, (SD) = standard deviation
[a]These are combined means and standard deviation of the civic knowledge imputed plausible values
[b]The following are means and standard deviations of each dummy variables representing the citizenship norms profiles

fit indexes included the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler 1990), the Tucker Lewis index (TLI; Tucker and Lewis 1973), and the root of mean square error approximation (RMSEA). Values of CFI and TLI of 0.90 are interpreted as reasonable fit, and values over 0.95 as good model fit (Bentler 1990; Hu and Bentler 1999). RMSEA values of less than 0.08 suggest adequate fit (Bentler 1990; Hu and Bentler 1999; Joreskog and Sorborn 1993). We have included the unweighted descriptive statistics (see Table 1) of all included latent factors present in the structural model as mean scores of their respective items, to diagnose their differing variances. Civic knowledge scores were

included as imputed values in the fitted model (Rutkowski et al. 2010), and re-scaled by dividing the original score by 100, so the unstandardized results present similar variances to the rest of the variables. This last procedure assures avoiding ill scaled matrixes in structural equational models (Kline 2016, p. 81).

4 Results

Measurement model. The results of the confirmatory factor analysis for the understanding democracy items supported a two-factor structure. For Chinese Taipei, CFI was 0.95, TLI was 0.94, and RMSEA was 0.07; for Hong Kong CFI was 0.98, TLI was 0.97, RMSEA was 0.09; and for Korea, CFI was 0.96, TLI was 0.94, RMSEA was 0.08. Following Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003) Factor 1 was named "Threats to Democracy" and Factor 2 was named "Rights and Opportunities."

Structural equation model (SEM) results. The specified models present an acceptable fit to the data for Chinese Taipei (CFI = 0.94, TLI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.02); and good fit for Hong Kong (CFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.02) and Korea (CFI = 0.97, TLI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.02). The selected factors account for substantial portion of the variance. For Chinese Taipei R^2 is of 0.50 and 0.51 for Threats and Rights; for Hong Kong R^2 is of 0.31 for Threats and 0.36 for Rights; while in Korea obtained R^2 is of 0.41 for Threats, and 0.38 for Rights.

To inspect the relative associations of the selected variables we used standardized estimates (see Table 2). Holding all selected variables constant, demographic variables presented low estimates across regions and studied factors, with absolute estimates sizes ranging from 0.01 to 0.14. In the present study, girls scored lower on the two factors than boys in Chinese Taipei (Threats $\beta = -0.04$, $p < 0.01$; Rights $\beta = -0.14$, $p < 0.001$). In Hong Kong, girls scored lower than boys on identifying threats to democracy ($\beta = -0.08$, $p < 0.01$); while in Korea, girls scored lower than boys on Rights and Opportunities ($\beta = -0.07$, $p < 0.001$). Students' socioeconomic background was positively related to Threats to Democracy and Right and Opportunities in the three societies, with estimates ranging from 0.05 to 0.12 except for Threats to Democracy in Korea which was not significant.

Students' civic knowledge was the highest predictor of all included variables. Its estimates were positively related to Threats to Democracy and Rights and Opportunities in the three societies, with estimates ranging from 0.52 to 0.69 across countries and understanding democracy domains. Citizenship norms profiles add additional explanatory power only among the Chinese Taipei students. In this society, relative to the comprehensive students, socially-engaged ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.001$), duty-based ($\beta = 0.05$, $p < 0.01$), and anomic ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.01$) students scored higher on Threats to Democracy. Conversely, socially-engaged ($\beta = -0.09$, $p < 0.001$), duty-based students ($\beta = -0.09$, $p < 0.001$), monitorial ($\beta = -0.04$, $p < 0.01$), and anomic ($\beta = -0.12$, $p < 0.001$) students scored lower on Rights and Opportunities, in comparison to the comprehensive students.

Table 2 Predictors of Asian students' understanding of democracy

	Chinese Taipei				Hong Kong				Korea			
	Threats		Rights		Threats		Rights		Threats		Rights	
Variables	β		β		β		β		β		β	
Gender	−0.04	**	−0.14	***	−0.08	**	−0.02		−0.01		−0.07	***
NISB	0.05	**	0.07	**	0.06	*	0.06	*	−0.03		0.12	***
Civic knowledge	0.69	***	0.65	***	0.52	***	0.55	***	0.61	***	0.56	***
Socially engaged versus Comprehensive	0.06	***	−0.09	***	−0.03		−0.05		0.00		0.03	
Duty−based versus Comprehensive	0.05	**	−0.09	***	−0.02		0.06		−0.01		0.02	
Monitorial versus Comprehensive	−0.01		−0.04	**	0.04		0.02		0.02		0.00	
Anomic versus Comprehensive	0.06	**	−0.12	***	0.01		−0.07		−0.03		−0.01	
Civic learning	0.01		0.06	*	−0.04		0.11	**	−0.04		0.08	*
Open classroom discussion	−0.02		0.03		0.06	*	0.08	*	−0.07	**	−0.04	
School participation	−0.04	*	−0.03		−0.04		0.05		0.04		0.05	
Community participation	−0.05		0.02		0.03		−0.01		−0.09	**	0.00	
Political discussion	0.07	**	0.00		0.12	**	0.01		0.15	**	0.00	
Social media	−0.10	***	−0.02		−0.12	**	0.01		−0.10	*	−0.01	
Student teacher relationship	0.04		0.04		−0.10	*	0.12	**	0.03		0.09	
Student interactions	−0.10	**	0.06		−0.05		−0.07		−0.15	**	0.00	
Physical/verbal safety	0.00		0.06	*	−0.02		−0.05		−0.08	**	0.01	

Notes β = Standardized estimates. *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

The different school activities included in the study yielded small absolute estimates, ranging from 0.01 to 0.11 across the studied societies and understanding democracy domains. Civic learning was positively related to Rights and Opportunities in the three societies (Chinese Taipei $\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.05$; Hong Kong, $\beta = 0.11$, $p < 0.01$; Korea $\beta = 0.08$, $p < 0.05$). Meanwhile, open classroom discussion was positively related to Threats to Democracy ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.05$) and Rights and Opportunities ($\beta = 0.08$, $p < 0.05$) in Hong Kong, but negatively associated to Threats to Democracy in Korea ($\beta = -0.07$, $p < 0.01$). Students' school participation presents a small negative association to Threats to Democracy among Chinese Taipei students ($\beta = -0.04$, $p < 0.05$).

Among the included out of school activities of students, we observed small absolute estimates, ranging from 0.00 to 0.15. Community participation was negatively associated to Threats to Democracy in Korea ($\beta = -0.09$, $p < 0.01$). While political discussion was positively related to Threats to Democracy only (Chinese Taipei $\beta = 0.07$, $p < 0.01$; Hong Kong $\beta = 0.12$, $p < 0.01$; Korea $\beta = 0.15$, $p < 0.01$) with non-observable effects on Rights and Opportunities. Conversely, political social media use among students is negatively associated to Threats to Democracy (Chinese Taipei $\beta = -0.10$, $p < 0.001$; Hong Kong $\beta = -0.12$, $p < 0.01$; Korea $\beta = -0.10$, $p < 0.05$).

Finally, the different factors included here to study the relationship between understanding of democracy and students' school experience, presented similar absolute sizes to the school activities factors, ranging from 0.00 to 0.15. Student-teacher relations negatively predicts Threats to Democracy ($\beta = -0.10$, $p < 0.05$) and is positively related to Rights and Opportunities ($\beta = 0.12$, $p < 0.01$) in Hong Kong. However, no other relations were observed among the rest of the societies for this factor. Student interaction was negatively related to Threats to Democracy in Chinese Taipei ($\beta = -0.10$, $p < 0.01$) and Korea ($\beta = -0.15$, $p < 0.01$). Students who report less frequent experience of physical/verbal abuse at school was positively related to Rights and Opportunities in Chinese Taipei ($\beta = 0.06$, $p < 0.05$) while negatively related to Threats to Democracy in Korea ($\beta = -0.08$, $p < 0.01$). Conversely, students who experienced more physical/verbal abuse at school would report lower scores on Rights and Opportunities in Chinese Taipei and higher score on Threats to Democracy in Korea.

5 Discussion

In this study, we used structural equation modeling (SEM) to explore the predictors related to Asian students' understanding of democracy. The context for the study was the repeated claims by scholars (Fukuyama 1992; Tu 1996) that within Asia, there are competing ideological perspectives including local traditions such as Confucianism that, in some respects, run contrary to democratic values and understandings. Additional research has shown that Asian adolescents are subject to multiple political influences. However, they appear to manage and balance them as part of growing up in the region (see Kennedy 2021 for a review). For this reason, it seems crucial to

understand how young people's understanding of democracy can be developed and enhanced. The result of this study has provided some possible directions that have implications for both theory and practice.

In what follows, we shall focus on groups of variables that the study showed had differential effects on students' understanding of democracy. These included demographics, civic knowledge, citizenship norms, and multiple learning opportunities available to students. The influence of these different factors was explored concerning the different domains of "Threats to Democracy and "Rights and Opportunities."

It was mentioned earlier that apart from IEA's CIVED (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), successive IEA large-scale civic and citizenship assessments have not distinguished understanding of democracy from civic knowledge. In the current study, we have drawn on items that were first used in Torney-Purta et al. (2001) as part of the Democracy domain, some of which were subsequently present in ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a). The results showed that these items reflected two factors, Threats to Democracy and Rights and Opportunities, just as they had done in the previous secondary analysis of the original items (Husfeldt and Nikolova 2003). Nevertheless, there was a significant difference in the results of the present study.

Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003) found that while the resulting factors fit well for the upper secondary students, the fit of the models was less convincing for the lower secondary student responses. Thus, they reported results for upper secondary students. In the current study, however, the samples used from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea were for lower secondary students around 15 years old. The model fit in each of these societies ranged from acceptable for Chinese Taipei to good for Hong Kong and Korea. The obtained results in the present study suggest that for these Asian lower secondary students, unlike the Husfeldt and Nikolova (2003) samples, conceptions of democracy were reasonably well developed. There was a distinction, however, in their endorsement of the respective scales. They endorsed Rights and Opportunities more strongly than Threats to Democracy (see Table 1), suggesting greater confidence in understanding the former compared to the latter.

This result could reflect the fact that in all of these societies, democracy, local tradition, and authoritarianism have all been present as part of their social and political history. Thus, past historical experience may serve students to further their understanding of what strengthens or weakens democratic systems. It may be, therefore, that such experiences sharpen democratic understanding rather than blunt it. We present this idea as a tentative conclusion that requires further investigation.

Since the development of citizenship norms are an essential part of the current research project present in this book, these were included as independent variables in the fitted model. The results may seem disappointing since there were no observable effects with the exception of Chinese Taipei. Among Chinese Taipei students, engaged, duty-based, and anomic citizens scored lower than the comprehensive group on Threats to Democracy, and all citizenship norms profiles scored lower than the comprehensive profile on Rights and Opportunities. How is it possible to explain these results?

The citizenship norms and the groups they have generated reflect mainly the actions and character of different types of "good citizen." They range from the duty-based citizen who is committed to upholding the status quo to socially-engaged citizens who are active in a broad range of public affairs to anomic citizens who deem no citizenship norm as important for adult citizenship. While monitorial citizens disregard political discussion, yet value the participation in protest against unjust laws. Finally, in the comprehensive profile, students endorse all citizenship norms, including conventional and non-conventional forms of civic participation. In these different forms of citizenship endorsement, there is no assumption in these norms that "good citizens" know anything about democracy, even though it is assumed that they are all participants in a democratic society. If this is an accurate depiction, it raises some important issues.

There is a conceptual distinction between participating in a democratic society and understanding the principles of a democratic society. This difference is irrespective of the nature of the participation and involvement itself. As discussed earlier, this focus on participation has been one of the main areas of research in the field of civics and citizenship education in the past two decades, and enhancing democratic participation is often seen as a policy priority. This study has shown that Asian students know about democracy, both the threats to it and the opportunities it provides, and they participate in different ways. An interesting question is whether there is a relationship between participating and knowing?

If students are aware of threats to democracy will this encourage them to participate in more active ways and if they know about the rights and opportunities democracy provides will they be more active in defending democracy? That is, is participation fueled by knowledge or is it an outcome of other processes of political socialization? The present study cannot answer this question, but it is an important question. Participation cannot be an end in itself since we see quite recently that participation in anti-democratic groups is on the rise (Kennedy 2019). More work is needed to develop the links between participating in democratic processes and knowing about democracy. In particular, does knowing more about democracy enhance democratic participation?

A final comment on the issue of both participating in and knowing about democracy is whether any conception of the "good citizen" needs to be expanded to include a knowledge component? In one sense, this is the exact role of much civic education in various countries: to support students in becoming more knowledgeable. However, it is probably the most criticized aspect of civic education since teacher-driven knowledge-based lessons are bound to deter most students from becoming engaged. In the following sections, we shall suggest some strategies, based on the results of this study, which might help to overcome the problem of lack of student engagement while at the same time enhancing knowledge and understanding.

In terms of the relationship of demographic variables with Asian students' understanding of democracy, the results were mixed. Not surprisingly, socioeconomic status exerted a positive effect in all societies, except for a small non-significant effect on Korean students' understanding of Threats to Democracy. These estimates were not large, but they were significant. These relations most likely reflect the

associations of family cultural and social capital that, on the one hand, encourage learning, discussion, and a commitment to the status quo where parents benefit from the existing democratic system. On the other hand, where the benefits of democracy are not experienced, primarily through benefits and rewards form the economic system, then families are likely to pass on these negative perceptions. The present gap is a significant result about which teachers should be aware. What students bring to school with them in terms of values and understanding needs requires consideration in any civic education program.

The gender effects were noticeable. In general, holding all factors constant, boys seem to have a better understanding of democracy. In Chinese Taipei, this is true for both Threats to Democracy and Rights and Opportunities. In Hong Kong boys score higher on Threats to Democracy and in Korea on Rights and Opportunities. It is difficult to account for the differences across societies. These results are surprising, as adolescent males have previously also been found to be on the margins of civic learning in selected Asian societies (Kuang and Kennedy 2018). Thus, the present findings require further research. Considerable attention is needed to these issues and civic education programs need to be tailored accordingly. Civic education programs are not often thought of as being gendered, but engaging equally female and male students is essential, not just for their own sake but for the sake of society. For a variety of reasons, civic disengagement may well start in schools, but it should not be thought of as natural. Both males and females need to be knowledgeable about all aspects of democracy.

As shown below, there were multiple measures of student learning in the study, and the resulting associations suggested how the understanding of democracy might be enhanced. Nevertheless, not all forms of learning were equally effective, and some were effective in one place, but not another, and others were not effective at all. We need to understand both what works in promoting democratic understanding and what does not.

The civic knowledge (CK) scale used in ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a) was a significant and robust predictor of understanding democracy in the three societies. While CK was designed "to measure a single trait labeled civic knowledge" (Schulz et al. 2018a, p. 10), the present results suggest that at least part of that trait is related to the understanding of democracy. The assessment framework for ICCS 2016 did not refer explicitly to democratic understanding (unlike IEA's CIVED study in 1999 where one of the assessment domains was Democracy). Two of the domains, however, Civic Society and Systems and Civic Principles, that between them cover over 70% of the items in the cognitive test from which CK is constructed (Schulz et al. 2018b, p. 19), certainly can test student understanding democracy. Based on a description of these domains (p. 4), however, it seems they are loaded towards rights and opportunities provided by democracy but may not test any understanding about threats to democracy. The ability of students to identify factors that strengthen and weaken democracy is an essential issue for future ICCS studies because, given the times in which we live in, students need to be aware of threats that are manifesting themselves worldwide.

Civic learning in school (CLS) was a positive and significant predictor of Rights and Opportunities in the three societies, suggesting that school-based civic education programs are equipping students with some understanding of democracy. However, the association of CLS and Threats to Democracy was not significant in any of the societies. These previous results suggest that just as CK was not assessing student understanding of Threats to Democracy, so too CLS may not be preparing students to understand the threats facing democracy. We considered the present results as evidence of a new "civic deficit:" a lack of teaching students' about the threats of democracy in modern democracies. It is no longer enough to know the strengths of democracy: there must also be a better understanding of the threats confronting democracy and how these can be resisted (Foa and Mounk 2016; Kennedy 2019).

When it comes to classroom learning processes, again, the results are mixed. Open classroom discussion (OCC) exerted non-significant effects across each of the societies, except for Rights and Opportunities in Hong Kong (a positive association) and Threats to Democracy in Hong Kong (positive association) and Korea (where the association was negative). These patterns of results suggest that OCC may not be the best way to promote understanding of democracy, where the learning is of a particular type. This result seems to contradict other research (Kuang et al. 2018), where OCC was shown to be a powerful classroom process for engaging students. However, being engaged in learning is not the same thing as learning specific content, so for the present purposes, OCC does not seem to help in understanding different aspects of democracy.

On the other hand, political discussion (PD), which focused on discussion outside of school, is positively and significantly related to Threats to Democracy in the three societies. These results suggest that such informal interactions play an important role in political socialization when it comes to understanding democracy. Nevertheless, this was not the case with Rights and Opportunities where there were no significant associations in any society, suggesting that informal political discussion may not have encompassed this perspective.

The result for Threats to Democracy and students' traditional media use has implications for classrooms. The news media cover different examples of threats to democracy. Take, for example, news articles about Brexit, Donald Trump, right wing ascendency in Europe, and of course China's long-standing authoritarianism. These different articles in all likelihood would dwell on different threats to democracy and it may be these that are picked up in political discussion outside the classroom. Yet such informal learning processes need to be reinforced by more deliberate classroom strategies in civic education. For example, students can be asked to initiate the discussion with their parents and friends on issues related to democracy and then teachers can arrange for ongoing classroom discussions to share their results. Integrating formal and informal learning is a crucial way to make the most of the multiple learning opportunities available to students (Calvo de Mora and Kennedy 2020).

Social media (SM) items were especially included in ICCS 2016 since it is now such a common form of engagement for young people. Yet in the present study, such involvement was not a significant predictor of understanding democracy, except for

negative associations on Threats to Democracy for Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korean students. Although SM has been hailed as the new form of youth civic engagement (Kahne et al. 2016), such involvement does not guarantee that young people will have a better understanding of democracy. Indeed if the results are any indication, the effects of SM are adverse since students appear to have underestimated threats to democracy.

The links between SM, civic engagement, and understanding democracy need to be further investigated. The democratic promise of SM does not seem to have eventuated, and in many cases, the results of SM engagement turn out to be negative (Kennedy 2019). However, there is little doubting the attraction of SM in the digital age for both younger and older citizens. Since this study shows that in general, SM does not seem to support students' understanding of democracy, the question is, what does it support? As in the case of participation (to be discussed below), simple engagement in SM is not a cognitively oriented activity, but it does have effects, particularly on young people. More needs to be known about those effects. What do students learn (since, on the whole, they are not learning about democracy from SM), and how can this learning be used positively to enhance not just engagement of democratic processes but the understanding of democracy itself. These are key questions for a future research agenda.

When it comes to student participation, both in schools and the community, there is very little pay off in terms of contributing to a deeper understanding of democracy. For school participation (SP), there were no significant associations across the three societies and for community participation (CP), only a small negative but significant association for students from Chinese Taipei on Threats to Democracy. In one sense, this should not be surprising since participation is an experiential learning strategy that has outcomes other than cognitive outcomes. Some studies, however, have shown an association between SP and CK (Kennedy et al. 2014). CK may be a single trait, as argued by Schulz et al. (2018b, p. 10), but it contains multiple domains that probably account for the association with SP. When it comes to what might be regarded as "harder" content such as understanding democracy, the association is washed out.

The results regarding different forms of participation by students are consistent with results reported earlier for the citizenship norms (see Table 2). These are participation-based norms and, like SP and CP, thus showed few associations with understanding democracy.

Focusing only on providing opportunities to participate is not a substitute for ensuring young people gain access to specific forms of democratic knowledge. Participation and understanding of democracy are distinct and uncorrelated dimensions, and this pattern is an important finding for civic education policymakers and teachers.

Students' social school experiences (student-teacher relations, student interactions, and physical/verbal safety) are adapted from social learning theory that focuses on the development of individuals' prosocial behavior (Grusec and Davidov 2015). The assumption is that young people can learn from the modeling of such behaviors. In the present study, however, the results showed an inconsistent pattern of associations across the three societies. Hong Kong was the exception where student-teacher relationships (REL) showed a positive association with an understanding of

Rights and Opportunities and a negative association with Threats to Democracy. The remainder of the results showed no significant associations.

Modeling behavior provides an important opportunity for teachers (as well as peers and parents) to demonstrate expected positive behaviors for young people. What is clear from these results, however, is that such modeling has a limited impact on cognitive understandings, except in the case of Hong Kong and, to some extent Korea. It is difficult to explain why modeling appears to be effective in these places compared to others. What this suggests, however, is that more needs to be known about social learning and how it might be used more deliberately. As with participation experiences, social learning experiences do not have cognitive understanding as a major outcome. It may be that in the future, however, more needs to be known about social learning and especially ways in which it might interfere with student learning as well as enhance it.

6 Conclusion

Civic learning and political discussion outside the school emerged as the main predictors of understanding of democracy. Civic learning presents standardized coefficients ranging from 0.06 to 0.10, presenting itself as an enhancing factor of students' understanding of rights across the three societies. Students' engagement in political discussion presented similar estimates, ranging from 0.07 to 0.15 across the three societies, as an enhancing factor of students' understanding of threats to democracy. These two factors together can be promoted by schools to enhance students' understanding of democracy.

Nevertheless, some adjustments need to be made. The results of this study suggest that these learning processes may focus more on the rights and opportunities provided by democracy, with possibly less emphasis on the threats to democracy. What is more, other learning opportunities, both within and outside classrooms, seem to offer little support for learning about or understanding democracy. Therefore, if Asian students are to be fully knowledgeable about democracy, opportunities might need to be found to help students understand possible threats to democracy. The ability to understand what weakens and strengthens democracy is a crucial agenda for the future amidst a challenging global environment that often poses threats to democratic development.

While Asian students, as represented in this study, demonstrated a good understanding of democracy, it seems that many learning opportunities that could supplement this understanding are missed in schools. Keeping in mind that Asian students are confronted with multiple ideological influences on their civic learning, it is crucial to take as many opportunities as possible to reinforce democratic understanding. Schools continue to play an important role in developing and supporting this understanding relying on formal school-based civic education programs. Formal learning experiences, however, are not enough and can be supplemented by informal learning opportunities such as social learning, learning from participation, and constructive learning from social media engagement. The successful combination of formal civic

learning opportunities and informal civic learning opportunities may require further research. Learning for democratic understanding is an essential goal for the future. This study offered insights on both the nature of that understanding and possible practices that enhance Asian students' understanding. It remains an essential and ongoing agenda both for the students and the societies they represent.

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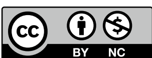

Asian Students' Preferred Forms of Future Civic Engagement: Beyond Conventional Participation

Kerry J. Kennedy and Xiaoxue Kuang

Abstract The citizenship norms discussed in this book reflect students' attitudes towards social movements and conventional citizenship. These foci have been a mainstream interest of political scientists and researchers concerned with civic engagement. Yet such an approach has tended to exclude norms that are more radical than conventional/social movement approaches, but still within the broad expectations of democratic citizenship. The exclusion of more radical forms of civic engagement as part of democratic citizenship is particularly problematic when it comes to Asian youth. Since 2014, Korea, Chinese Taipei, and Hong Kong have been sites of both legal and illegal protests, and many of these have involved young people. Thus, using data from IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, the focus of this chapter is the identification of Asian students' intentions for civic engagement, broadly conceived to include different forms of protest. Using mixture models, profiles were developed of the different ways young people see themselves being civically engaged in the future. These profiles were assessed against the conventional civic norms referred to earlier in order to better understand Asian students' citizenship values and their proposed civic actions. Conclusions related to policy, theory, and practice are drawn, helping us to understand expanded notions of civic engagement in Asian contexts.

Keywords Civic engagement · Radical participation · Civic values · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

Different conceptions of citizenship involve different kinds of expected behavior from citizens. Liberal conceptions are minimalist in nature, based on the assumption that citizens should be free from restraints, meaning that nothing much beyond voting is expected. Republican conceptions, on the other hand, expect much greater participation by citizens as a means of ensuring personal freedoms and liberty. Communitarians also advocate for citizen participation in the civic life of the nation. Their focus is on ensuring the health and well-being of the community, which is seen to be more important than the concerns of individuals. Civic engagement is a common value in each of these conceptions, but its extent, purposes, and outcomes differ depending on the theoretical lens used to understand the role of citizens in a democratic society.

Despite the different emphases in these theories, each includes a role for civil disobedience and dissent (Rawls 1999; Vatter 2005; Pickett 2008). There are debates about whether freedoms allowed for individual dissent are adequate compared to the regime supporting processes embedded in each of the theories. Sparks (1997) argued, for example, that not enough attention has been paid in democratic theory to what she called "dissident citizenship." Writing from a critical feminist perspective, she articulated in specific terms the oppositional politics of dissent, which she saw as:

> …the practices of marginalized citizens who publicly contest prevailing arrangements of power by means of oppositional democratic practices that augment or replace institutionalized channels of democratic opposition when those channels are inadequate or unavailable. Instead of voting, lobbying, or petitioning, dissident citizens constitute alternative public spaces through practices such as marches, protests, and picket lines; sit-ins, slow-downs, and cleanups; speeches, strikes, and street theatre (p. 75).

Despite the acknowledged role of dissent in democratic theory, there has been little attention paid to dissent or protest as part of citizenship education. Social movement literature, on the other hand, places dissent at its core (Laschever 2017; Savyasaachi and Kumar 2014). Since many young people may end up participating in such movements, it seems vital to understand how dissent figures in their thinking about future civic engagement. It is particularly important in Asian contexts where protest activities and dissent from the status quo have been features of recent political activity in Chinese Taipei's Sunflower Movement (Yang and Kang 2017), Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement (Kwong 2018) and Korea's Candlelight Revolution (Kim 2018). Hong Kong's recently developed pro-independence movement (Ng and Kennedy 2019) suggests that unconventional forms of civic engagement may have a continuing role in the region's political development.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore the ways in which young people in Hong Kong, Chinese Taipei, and Korea view their future civic engagement, and the extent to which they are willing to consider legal and illegal forms of protest activity. First, a brief review of the literature will map current understandings of unconventional forms of civic engagement. An empirical study will then be

discussed involving these three societies. Finally, following a summary of the results, the implications for understanding Asian students' civic engagement intentions for the future will be discussed.

2 Literature Review

While "active" citizenship has been an important theme guiding much of citizenship education policy and practice over the past three decades, the focus has been on conventional civic engagement. This focus was highlighted in two studies that have played an important role in seeking to articulate the nature of active citizenship. Hoskins and Mascherini (2009), using data from the European Values Survey, developed indicators of active citizenship to measure progress by European countries in making active citizenship a priority. They used four item domains, one of which was Protest and Social Change. The protest items included "participating in a lawful demonstration, signing a petition, boycotting products and deliberately buying certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (ethical consumption)" (p. 465). In addition, there were items related to social participation, such as volunteering, community engagement, etc. There were not, however, items connected to illegal forms of protest with the implication that such civic engagement was not seen in European contexts to be an aspect of "active citizenship."

In a second study, Hoskins et al. (2011) developed another set of indicators, this time using data from the Civic Education Study (CIVED) conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). In this study, the domains did not include any reference to protest activities of any kind. Moreover, "actions that were deemed against the law, (such as blocking traffic) … were not included in our final list, due to a lack of consensus within Europe as to whether they were reflective of civic competence" (p. 93). As Hoskins et al. (2011) point out, such activities could be understood as challenging the social cohesion that was seen to be an important aspect of the European Union's approach to developing a conception of European citizenship.

Despite the reluctance of the indicator studies to include items related to illegal protest, successive large-scale assessments of civic and citizenship education have continued to include items that require students to indicate whether they would consider engagement in illegal protest as a form of future civic engagement (Schulz et al. 2010, 2018a). Following the approach of Torney-Purta et al. (2001), these studies included three items related to blocking traffic, occupying buildings, and writing graffiti. These items were scaled in all three studies as Illegal Protest and have been analyzed as part of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) international reports, national reports, and subsequent secondary analyses. The picture that emerges from all three is naturally quite similar, even though researchers have focused on different aspects of the results.

In ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a), there was little difference in the scale scores of students who indicated they would participate in legal protest and those who indicated they would participate in illegal protest activities. There were, however, large differences in gender (boys more likely to list illegal protest as a future civic activity) and those with lower levels of civic knowledge were more likely to indicate their intentions to participate in illegal activities (p. 98). In a secondary analysis of ICCS 2009 data (Schulz et al. 2010), the overall results suggested that, “in all countries, the average student did not intend to get involved in any of these forms of protest” (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 140). Otherwise, similar results were found regarding gender (boys rather than girls) and civic knowledge (lower rather than higher). Additionally, however, it was found that students with higher scores on “citizenship efficacy” were more likely to engage in illegal protest activities, while those with lower scores on “trust in institutions” were more likely to indicate they would be involved in illegal protest activities.

Compared to other forms of civic engagement, the intention to engage in illegal activities always ranks relatively lower than other forms of engagement. This was shown graphically in a recent study of youth in six European countries by Hoskins and Janmaat (2019). The preference for future civic engagement in these countries was: voting, legal protest, formal participation, and illegal protest, with mean scores ranging from just above 7 (for voting) to just below 3 (for illegal protest). There is little doubt that preferences for future civic engagement are with more formal political structures. One issue that is of interest here, both practically and theoretically, is how many young people will end up opting for illegal forms of civic engagement. It is an important question given Hoskins and Janmaat’s (2019) findings that showed different levels of support for illegal engagement across countries.

Chow and Kennedy (2014), drawing on ICCS 2009 data from the participating Asian societies (Shultz et al. 2010), used cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984) to identify groups that shared similar characteristics in terms of future civic participation. Using this person-centered analytic approach, they discovered that 29% of the sample would use illegal protest as a form of future civic engagement, ranging from 23.1% in Hong Kong to 39.2% in Korea. This did not mean that these individuals would not also participate in other ways, such as voting and legal protest, but it meant that they were willing to endorse illegal protest. Similar to the earlier studies discussed above, these supporters of illegal protest were characterized by gender (boys rather than girls) and level of civic knowledge (low rather than high).

Using latent class analysis, Kuang (2016) found a similar distribution of young people in Latin America and Europe to that of the Asian sample studied by Chow and Kennedy (2014). This suggests that intention to participate in illegal protest is a considered option across cultures and societies at least among a minority of students. This finding was supported by a recent study of 15-year-olds in China. While most Chinese adolescents showed that they were regime supporting in terms of their intended political trust and participation, 10% nevertheless indicated that they would consider engaging in illegal protest (Wang 2019). This is a surprising result given China’s authoritarian political system, yet it indicates that resistance is a disposition that some young people across political systems appear to value. Hoskins

and Janmaat (2019) have raised two questions about those students who indicate they prefer illegal forms of civic engagement: "Are such students more engaged in general… or are they a specific group dismayed by the accepted, mainstream and turning to alternative ways to express their voice"? (p. 110). To this we would add: What is associated with students' adoption of illegal protest as a form of civic engagement and what are the implications for policy, theory, and practice? We shall attempt to address these questions in the remainder of the chapter.

3 Method

3.1 Participants

The data used in this study were retrieved from ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a), which measured students' civic knowledge, attitudes, values, participation experiences, and intentions. It included three societies from Asia: Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea. The sample included 9207 students: 2653 from Hong Kong (51.7% male, N = 1371); 2,601 from Korea (54.4% boys, N = 1414); and 3953 Chinese Taipei students (51.6% boys, N = 2040) (Schulz et al. 2018b, p. 47).

3.2 Measures

Future civic engagement scales for latent classes identification. Students' expected participation in future legal protest (LEGACT) was measured by six items which asked students to express their opinions related to legal activities: "I would certainly do this-1," "I would probably do this-2," "I would probably not do this-3," and "I would certainly not do this-4." The activities include, for example, "Writing a letter to a newspaper" and "Taking part in a peaceful march or rally." The items were recoded, thus higher values reflect greater likelihood of participation in related activities.

Students' expected participation in future illegal protest (ILLACT), which asked students to express their opinions on three activities: spray-painting protest slogans on walls, blocking traffic, and occupying public buildings. Student responses are: "I would certainly do this-1," "I would probably do this-2," "I would probably not do this-3," and "I would certainly not do this-4." The items are recoded, thus higher values reflect greater likelihood of participation in related activities.

Students' expected adult electoral participation (ELECPART), measured by three items, asked students to state what they thought they would do as adults: vote in local elections, vote in national elections, and get information about candidates before voting in an election. Student responses are: "I would certainly do this-1," "I would probably do this-2," "I would probably not do this-3," and "I would certainly not

do this-4." The items are recoded, thus higher values reflect greater likelihood of participation in related activities.

Students' expected adult participation in political activities (POLPART), measured by five items, asked students to state what they thought they would do as adults: help a candidate or party during an election campaign, join a political party, join a trade union, stand as a candidate in local elections, or join an organization for a political or social cause. Student responses are: "I would certainly do this-1," "I would probably do this-2," "I would probably not do this-3," and "I would certainly not do this-4." The items were recoded, thus higher values reflect greater likelihood of participation in related activities.

Using item response theory, these scales are transformed into weighted likelihood estimates with an average of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

3.3 Other Measures

Socioeconomic background (SES) and gender are directly related to different forms of future participation (Kuang and Kennedy 2020). Students' civic learning experiences, participation experiences, and other relevant civic values were identified as important variables in ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018b, pp. 151–176) and used as predictors in previous studies (Chow and Kennedy 2014; Kuang and Kennedy 2020). The current study, therefore, included these variables in the analyses.

Socio demographics. Gender: Boys were coded as 0; Girls were coded as 1. National index of students' socioeconomic background (NISB) had a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

Participation experiences and attitudes. Discussion of political and social issues outside of school (POLDISC); Civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM); Perceptions of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC); Students' engagement with social media for political use (SOCMED); Students' perceptions of the value of participation at school (VALPARTS); Students' willingness to participate in school activities (SCACT).

Civic beliefs and values. Students' citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF); Students' attitudes towards gender equality (GENEQL); Students' attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (ETHRGHT); Students' positive attitudes toward their country of residence (CNTATT); Students' perceptions of the importance of personal responsibility for citizenship (CITRESP); Students' trust in civic institutions (INTRUST).

Citizenship norms. Students' citizenship norms endorsement were explored using item response theory (IRT) scores and using its latent class counterpart, citizenship norms profiles, develop in the present book (see Chap. 3). The IRT scores are: Student perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON) and Student perceptions of the importance of social movement related citizenship (CITSOC). The citizenship norms profiles consist of a nominal variable including

comprehensive (students who present higher support for all citizenship norms), duty-based (students who support mainly traditional norms), socially-engaged (students who mainly support norms oriented to provide help in the community), monitorial (students who show mid-lower support for all norms), and anomic (students who express very low support for all citizenship norms).

School learning, experiences, and relations. Students' experiences of physical and verbal abuse at school (S_ABUSE); Students' perceptions of student-teacher relations at school (STUTREL); Students' civic learning at school (CIVLRN); Civic knowledge (CK) was transformed into a metric with a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100. The overall reliability of CK was 0.84 (Schulz et al. 2018b, p. 133).

For more detailed information on these measures see Schulz et al. (2018b).

3.4 Analytic Techniques

Latent profile analysis (LPA) (Masyn 2013) was used on four future civic engagement scales to identify classes. As a model-based technique, it classified individuals and groups according to their probabilities. To get corrected standard errors for the stratified two-stage probability sample design of ICCS 2016, Taylor Series Linearization was used, where stratification indicators, primary sampling units, and student weights are used to get design based standard errors (Asparouhov and Muthén 2010). Students' survey weights were scaled, so each country contributed equally to the estimations (Gonzalez 2012).

To determine the optimal number of classes in the analyzed observations, LPA offers a principled way of evaluating the optimal number of groups using selection criteria, for example, the Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test (LMRT) (Lo et al. 2001); Akaike information criteria (AIC) (Akaike 1973, 1974); Bayesian information criterion (BIC) (Schwarz 1978); sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criteria (sBIC) (Hix-Small et al. 2004; Schwarz 1978); and entropy value (Hix-Small et al. 2004). For LMRT, a significant p value suggested that the k cluster model improves the fit over the model with k-1 clusters. The smaller the value of AIC, BIC, or sBIC, the better was the model. Relative entropy was an indication of clear delineation of clusters, the closer that this value was to 1, the better of classification (Celeux and Soromenho 1996). Jung and Wickrama (2008) suggested values above 0.70 indicate acceptable classification accuracy.

In order to enhance confidence in the three-class solution, the study further tested the association between each class using a range of civic variables not used in developing that solution (for example, civic learning, civic values, civic participation experiences, student-teacher relations, among other measures). Beckstead (2002) pointed out the purpose was to "aid in substantive interpretation of the clustering solution and to provide validating support for the distinctiveness of the… clusters" (p. 316). This approach provided a measure of external validity for the chosen cluster solution.

The expected means of the civic variables were estimated using Taylor Series Linearization (TSL) for equally weighted countries, and the 95% confidence intervals (CI95) were retrieved for each latent profile realization for Hong Kong, Chinese Taipei, and Korea. These intervals were used to infer if there were real differences between classes in relation to the selected civic variables. If these intervals do not overlap, it indicated that there are mean differences between the classes, above the sampling error (Lumley 2010). This approach is more demanding than a t-test and other similar tests for mean comparison. As such, it works as a more robust option for mean difference tests (Goldstein and Healy 1995).

Multinomial/logistic regression (MLR) analysis is useful in predicting a categorical response variable using continuous and/or categorical explanatory variables. Generalized from binary logistic regression, the MLR model is appropriate for more than two levels of categories, which can be used to differentiate groups based on certain factors (Tansey et al. 1996). The MLR model can be used to determine the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained by the explanatory variables, to rank the relative importance of independents variables, to assess interaction effects, and to understand the relative importance of covariate control variables, and allows for comparison of more than one contrast simultaneously (El-Habil 2012). In the present study MLR was used to predict students' future preferences of political participation profiles.

4 Results

LPA Classification. The AIC, BIC, sBIC, and LMRT fit indexes suggest models with more classes (see Table 1). As the number of classes increased, the BIC and sBIC decreased, although the improvement between the 6-class and 7-class models was small. A significant LMRT indicated that, in each case, adding a class improved the fit. For 2–6 class models, p-values were statistically significant, which indicated that the fit improved as classes were added. The LMRT for 7-class model was not statistically significant, which means the 7-class solution was no better than the six-class solution. Regarding classification utility, relative entropy values were different for different latent class solutions. Combining those indices, the study selected the three-class solution with a simpler structure and the highest relative entropy values (0.97). The three-class solution expected means is used in the following section, to describe the selected class solution (see Fig. 1).

Class descriptions. Class 1: The "Moderates" were made up of 2872 Asian students (31.2%). Moderates had relatively high values on illegal and legal protest and political participation, with their lowest score being electoral participation. It seems that for Moderates, the first option would be protest, either legal or illegal. But, unlike "Radicals" (see below), their endorsement of other forms of political participation is more moderate.

Class 2: The "Rationals" were made up of 4910 Asian students (53.9%). Rationals had higher values for electoral participation and approached average scores for

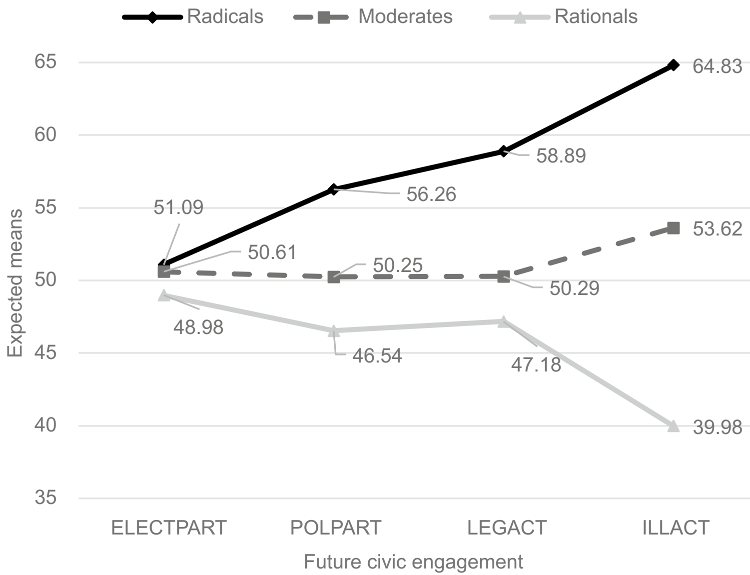

Fig. 1 Mean values of three classes on future civic engagement. *Notes* ELECTPART = Students' expected adult electoral participation, POLPART = Students' expected adult participation in political activities, LEGACT = Students' expected participation in future legal protest, ILLACT = Students' expected participation in future illegal protest

Table 1 Fit indexes for 2–7 latent class solution

	AIC	BIC	sBIC	E_k	LMRT, p <
2	265435.94	265528.47	265487.16	0.85	4083.72, p < 0.001
3	260739.84	260867.96	260810.76	0.97	4605.09, p < 0.01
4	257011.10	257174.82	257101.73	0.94	3658.49, p < 0.01
5	254073.26	254272.56	254183.59	0.95	2884.57, p < 0.01
6	249727.99	249962.88	249858.01	0.97	3576.32, p < 0.001
7	249296.55	249567.03	249446.27	0.94	431.96, p = 0.25

Notes AIC = Akaike's information criterion, BIC = Bayesian information criteria, sBIC = sample adjusted Bayesian information criteria, Ek = Relative entropy, LMRT = Lo–Mendell–Rubin test

political participation and legal protest, with their lowest score on illegal protest. They are civically engaged, but their preference is for legal forms of engagement, especially electoral participation. Nevertheless, in general their endorsement of all forms of civic engagement is lower than both the Moderates and Radicals.

Class 3: The "Radicals" were made up of 1335 Asian students (14.6%). Radicals endorsed illegal protests more strongly and well above the average for other forms of civic engagement, including legal protest. This suggest that Radicals view illegal

protest as the dominant form of such engagement although they do not neglect other forms of engagement that they endorse generally more highly than the other classes.

4.1 External Validity of Three Classes

The results of the comparisons between the selected civic variables and each of the classes indicated significant differences between classes on those variables (see Appendix D). The differences revealed substantive variation in the associations between the classes and the civic variables (see Fig. 2) and reinforced the substantive nature of the classes themselves.

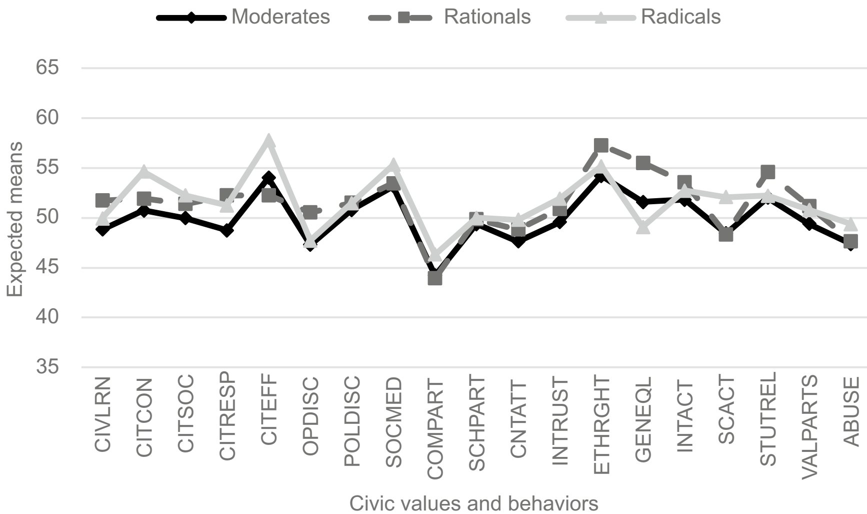

Fig. 2 Comparison of the means for civic values and behavior by class. *Notes* CIVLRN = Student reports on civic learning at school, CITCON = Students' perception of the importance of conventional citizenship, CITSOC = Students' perception of the importance of social movement related citizenship, CITRESP = Students' perception of the importance of personal responsibility for citizenship, CITEFF = Students' citizenship self-efficacy, OPDISC = Students' perception of openness in classroom discussions, POLDISC = Students' discussion of political and social issues outside school, SOCMED = Students' engagement with social media, COMPART = Students' participation in the wider community, SCHPART = Students' participation at school, CNTATT = Students' positive attitudes toward their country of residence, INTRUST = Students' trust in civic institutions, ETHRGHT = Students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, GENEQL = Students' endorsement of gender equality, INTACT = Students' perceptions of student interaction at school, SCACT = Students' willingness to participate in school activities, STUTREL = Students' perception of student-teacher relations at school, VALPARTS = Students' perception of the value of participation at school, ABUSE = Students' experiences of physical and verbal abuse at school

Rationals scored higher on civic learning, personal responsibility for citizenship, openness in classroom discussions, equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, student interaction at school, and the value of participation at school than Radicals, who in turn scored higher than the Moderates. Rationals also scored higher on student-teacher relationship than Radicals and Moderates.

Radicals scored higher on the importance of conventional citizenship and social movement related citizenship, social media engagement, attitudes toward their country of residence, trust in civic institutions, and physical and verbal abuse at school than Rationals, who in turn scored higher than the Moderates.

Rationals and Radicals scored higher on the school participation and discussion of political and social issues outside school than the Moderates. There were no significant differences between Rationals and Radicals.

Radicals scored higher on citizenship self-efficacy, community participation, and willingness to participate in school activities than the Moderates, who in turn scored higher than the Rationals.

Rationals scored higher on gender equality than the Moderates, who in turn scored higher than the Radicals. Rationals also scored higher on student-teacher relationship than radicals and moderates.

Radicals scored higher on student-teacher relations at school than the Moderates and the Radicals. There were no differences between Moderates and Radicals.

4.2 Predicting Class Membership Using Multinomial Logistic Regression (MLR)

MLR was used to predict class membership using the civic related variables referred above and the citizenship norms profiles identified in this book. Three classes were used as outcome variables, with the Rational class defined as the reference group. Three societies were used as control variables by using dummy coding, treating Korea as the reference group (see Table 2).

For students from Chinese Taipei ($\beta = -0.72$, OR = 0.48) and Hong Kong ($\beta = -1.01$, OR = 0.36), the odds of belonging to the Moderates relative to Rationals decreased by 52% and 64%, respectively.

For students who are girls ($\beta = -0.11$, OR = 0.89), who had higher SES (NISB, $\beta = -0.09$, OR = 0.91), who had higher scores on civic learning (CIVLRN, $\beta = -0.10$, OR = 0.90), and who had higher scores on school participation ($\beta = -0.06$, OR = 0.94), and civic knowledge ($\beta = -0.50$, OR = 0.60), the odds of belonging to the Moderates relative to Rationals decreased by 11%, 9%, 10%, 6%, and 40% respectively. For students who are more willing to participate in school activities (SCACT, $\beta = 0.18$, OR = 1.20), and who engaged more in social media (SOCMED, $\beta = 0.09$, OR = 1.09), the odds of belonging to the Moderates relative to Rationals increased by 20% and 9%, respectively.

Table 2 Predictors for class membership using multinomial logistic regression

	Moderates versus Rationals			Radicals versus Rationals		
Predictors	E		OR	E		OR
Chinese Taipei/Korea	−0.72	***	0.48	−0.62	***	0.54
Hong Kong/Korea	−1.01	***	0.36	−1.04	***	0.35
Socially engaged versus Comprehensive	−0.01		0.99	−0.45	***	0.64
Duty-based versus Comprehensive	0.06		1.07	−0.44	**	0.64
Monitorial versus Comprehensive	0.22		1.24	−0.28		0.76
Anomic versus Comprehensive	0.07		1.07	−0.04		0.96
Students sex (girl = 1, boy = 0) (GENDER)	−0.11	*	0.89	−0.50	***	0.61
National index of students' socioeconomic background (NISB)	−0.09	**	0.91	−0.07		0.93
Students' citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF)	0.07		1.07	0.29	***	1.34
Student reports on civic learning at school (CIVLRN)	−0.10	**	0.90	−0.01		0.99
Students' perception of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC)	−0.04		0.96	−0.08		0.92
Students' discussion of political and social issues outside school (POLDISC)	−0.02		0.98	−0.12	**	0.89
Students' participation in the wider community (COMPART)	−0.01		0.99	0.08	*	1.08
Students' participation at school (SCHPART)	−0.06	*	0.94	−0.10	*	0.90
Students' willingness to participate in school activities (SCACT)	0.18	***	1.20	0.50	***	1.65
Students' engagement with social media for political use (SOCMED)	0.09	*	1.09	0.25	***	1.28
Civic knowledge (CK)	−0.50	***	0.60	−1.13	***	0.32

Notes Rationals are reference category. E = Standardized logit estimate, OR = Odds ratio, *** = $p < 0.001$, ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$

For students from Chinese Taipei ($\beta = -0.62$, OR = 0.54) and Hong Kong ($\beta = -1.04$, OR = 0.35), the odds of belonging to the Radicals relative to Rationals decreased by 46% and 65%, respectively.

For students who belonged to the socially-engaged ($\beta = -0.45$, OR = 0.64) and duty-based ($\beta = -0.44$, OR = 0.64) groups, the odds of belonging to the Radicals relative to Rationals decreased by 36% and 36%, respectively. Other civic norms did not significantly predict future civic engagement as defined in this study. For girls (gender, $\beta = -0.50$, OR = 0.61), students who had higher scores on political discussion outside school (POLDISC, $\beta = -0.12$, OR = 0.89), school participation (SCHPART, $\beta = -0.10$, OR = 0.90), and civic knowledge ($\beta = -1.13$, OR = 0.32), the odds of belonging to the relative Radicals to Rationals decreased by 39% and 11%, 10%, and 68%, respectively.

For students who had higher scores on community participation (COMPART, $\beta = 0.08$ OR = 1.08) and who had higher scores on civic efficacy (CITEFF, $\beta = 0.29$, OR = 1.34), who are more willing to participate in school activities (SCACT, $\beta = 0.50$, OR = 1.65), and who engaged more in social media (SOCMED, $\beta = 0.25$, OR = 1.28), the odds of belonging to the Radicals relative to Rationals increased by 8%, 34%, 65%, and 28% respectively.

5 Discussion

In this study, we have used a sample of Asian students from ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a) to explore the extent to which illegal protest is considered as a form of future civic engagement by students. We opted for a person-centered analysis of the data that yielded three latent classes we called Radicals, Moderates, and Rationals. As a validity check, these classes were also differentiated by a range of civic values and behaviors. Most of these were strongly and positively associated with Rationals and Radicals but were much less strongly associated with the Moderates. Class membership was associated with a range of variables, including gender, SES, civic knowledge, and civic efficacy, and students' willingness to participate in school activities, social media, and political discussion.

As in previous studies, we have attempted to assess the importance and relevance of illegal protest as a form of civic engagement. We have shown that of the three groups identified, two consider illegal protest as a form of civic engagement while for the other it is clearly not a preferred option. This provides a more holistic picture of support for illegal protest, since such support seems to be embedded in a set of complex decisions judging the best or most effective way to secure civic goals. Thus, opting for illegal protest does not necessarily mean that other forms of civic engagement are ruled out.

Radicals, by endorsing illegal protest most strongly and electoral participation least strongly seem to indicate that they will consider all forms of civic engagement, but their preference is clear. Moderates, on the other hand, also consider illegal protest as an option for the future but not as strongly as the Radicals. The Moderates seem

more pragmatic than the Radicals accessing forms of engagement that will most help them. This suggests a somewhat nuanced approach to understanding illegal protest as a form of civic engagement. It helps to answer Hoskins and Janmaat's (2019) questions: "Are such students more engaged in general… or are they a specific group dismayed by the accepted, mainstream and turning to alternative ways to express their voice?" (p. 110).

We would argue that the Radicals are simply more engaged. This can be seen particularly by contrasting their engagement with that of the Rationals and Moderates whose strongest endorsement is for electoral participation but weaker endorsement for other forms and an outright rejection of illegal protest. Thus, the answer to the questions above is that different groups endorse illegal protest for different reasons, suggesting that illegal protest serves different purposes. For Rationals, it is not on their future agenda at all. Moderates will consider it alongside other strategies, but their support is not strong, while Radicals may consider it as their first line of engagement. Thus, illegal protest is not a strategy of last resort for Radicals. For Moderates, it is certainly an option. Yet their level of endorsement suggests that their engagement is perhaps more pragmatic than that of the Radicals. Moreover, there is evidence that previous civic experiences are associated in different ways with the proposed future actions of the different groups.

We noted earlier that girls, who had higher scores on civic knowledge, civic learning at school, and school participation, and who had higher SES, tended to be members of the Rationals. Those with lower scores on the other hand, tended to fall into the Moderates group. Also for girls, those who had higher scores on civic knowledge, political discussion, and school participation, and who had lower scores on efficacy, community participation, social media engagement, and willingness to participate in school activities, tended to be members of the Rationals. Those with the opposite scores on the other hand, tended to fall into the Radical group.

We cannot tell from this data which factors exerted the strongest relationship with students' views of their future civic engagement. But it does seem that students who are currently engaged in civic activities seem to consider the broadest range of actions for future civic engagement have the most positive view of their intentions and this includes engaging in illegal protest activities.

A common result from previous studies is that boys are more inclined to engage in illegal protest than girls (Schulz et al. 2018a; Ainley and Schulz 2011). Our results indicated that girls tended to fall into the Rationals group compared to the Moderates and Radical groups and boys tended to fall into the Radical and Moderates groups. The results were consistent with Kuang and Kennedy's (2020) study that found boys are more likely to be Radicals. It is also of interest to note that high SES students were more likely to be members of the Rationals rather than the Moderates.

The overall picture painted by the results is that civic engagement for these Asian students is bound on the one side by what might be called a "status quo" view of the world where limited engagement is valued but knowledge and values are valued more. This status quo group is the Rationals representing the majority of students (53.9%). They have high levels of civic learning, commitment to personal responsibility, and valuing of classroom open discussion and equality. These students appear to value

participation, but they do not plan to be overly engaged. At the other boundary are the Radicals representing the minority of students (14.6%). Their values are associated with participation of all kinds—both currently and in the future. Ironically, they are students who trust the government and have positive attitudes towards the nation, but they will use every tool available to be engaged and involved as a means of influencing the world around them. Then there are the Moderates representing 31.2% of the students. They will be engaged but it seems without enthusiasm. They have relatively low levels of civic learning compared to the other groups and less commitment to democratic values. This diversity of group attitudes and intentions suggests that decision making about civic engagement is by no means simple. It is not just a simple binary, such as "to vote or not to vote." Rather it is about choosing between a range of possibilities influenced by context and commitment. An issue for the future is to determine what influences these choices by young people have and how can they be assisted to make good choices that will benefit the whole of society.

Finally, how do students' intention for future civic engagement relate to the citizenship norms profiles developed in this book? For all the norms there was a negative relationship when membership of the Rationals and Radicals was considered. Yet only two of these relationships were significant—the socially-engaged and duty-based groups were more likely to be members of the Rationals than the Radicals. This result reflects two key ideas central to this chapter.

First, the socially-engaged, duty-based groups, and the Radicals will be active in different ways. That is, these different groups of students endorse different forms of civic engagement. While the first endorses the engagement in the local, and voting in national elections, the second, endorses only the participation in national elections. In contrast, the Radicals like these previous profiles, endorse participation in elections while also endorsing the participation in illegal protest as a form of future civic engagement. Thus, the chances are that members of the socially-engaged and duty-based groups are more likely to be members of the Rationals than the Radicals. Conversely, students from the comprehensive profile are more likely than students from the socially-engaged and duty-based profiles to endorse illegal forms of protest. This suggests that the Rationals have more in common with these groups than the Radicals, even though the Rationals also endorsed illegal protest as a form of future civic engagement. What the three groups have in common is a view of the future where they will be actively engaged, although not always in the same way.

Second, explaining the lack of significance related to the other civic norms may be related to the extended forms of engagement characterizing those norms compared to that of the groups in the current study. This highlights an important point concerning the nature and extent of civic engagement. We have shown in the current study that illegal protest will be considered by a minority of students and this represents one boundary. The civic norms show much more nuanced forms of civic engagement—sometimes quite passive and sometimes reflecting one form of engagement than another. All forms of civic engagement are important—from the radical to the passive. An important issue is seeing these different forms of civic engagement on a continuum and appreciating the choices young people have when it comes to their involvement in the future.

6 Conclusion

The results of this study are consistent with what has been observed recently in Asian contexts. More and more, both legal and illegal protest are being used to secure civic goals, whether it is the removal of a President as in Korea, advocating for universal suffrage as in Hong Kong, or protecting Chinese Taipei's independence. This study has contributed to a better understanding of the use of illegal protest as a possible strategy for civic engagement. It is not always considered as the least preferable form of engagement. Indeed, it appears for some students to be a preferred form of engagement to be used perhaps when other forms will not achieve desired social or political objectives.

It seems important that more work is undertaken in this area and the current focus of much civic and citizenship education on conventional forms of citizenship engagement needs to be expanded. If young people are to make decisions about engaging in illegal protest, they need to be aware of the issues involved, the possible consequences and the likely outcomes. This is particularly so when one of the main influences on current civic engagement is social media, the effects of which remain largely unknown (Kennedy 2019). Young people immersed in social media, for example, need to learn how to recognize the "echo chamber" (Quattrociocchi 2017) and "filter bubble" (Curkovic 2019) effects so they can make decisions based on a broad range of information and available options for engagement.

Engaging in illegal protest is not an insignificant matter. Young people need to understand in detail what is involved, to make informed judgments about it and to be sure that this form of engagement will help them to secure their civic objectives. This will be an important role for civic and citizenship education in the future and hopefully the study reported here will benefit the ongoing decision making needed by policymakers and schools.

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Appendix D

In Chap. 3, three latent profiles were produced using a mixture model. These latent classes were compared across different measures presented in the study. It includes a range of civic variables not used in the latent profile analysis (for example, civic learning, civic values, civic participation experiences, student-teacher relation, among other measures). Means of each variable, for each class, were estimated Taylor Series Linearization (TSL) for equally weighted countries, with their 95% confidence intervals (CI95). These confidence intervals were used to infer if there were differences between the latent class realizations, above the sampling error of the study (Table 3).

Table 3 Mean comparisons by three classes on the civic related variables

Scale	Classes	n	Mean	ll95	ul95	r2	Means order
CIVLRN	1	2856	48.85	48.38	49.31	0.012	2>3>1
CIVLRN	2	4890	51.75	51.31	52.19	0.012	
CIVLRN	3	1327	49.96	49.16	50.77	0.012	
CIVLRN	Total	9114	50.53	50.18	50.89		
CITCON	1	2865	50.74	50.31	51.17	0.013	3>2>1
CITCON	2	4901	51.94	51.60	52.27	0.013	
CITCON	3	1331	54.64	53.84	55.43	0.013	
CITCON	Total	9129	51.94	51.65	52.23		
CITSOC	1	2864	49.98	49.53	50.43	0.006	3>2>1
CITSOC	2	4900	51.39	51.05	51.72	0.006	
CITSOC	3	1331	52.25	51.67	52.83	0.006	
CITSOC	Total	9126	51.05	50.76	51.33		
CITRESP	1	2865	48.76	48.28	49.24	0.020	2>3>1
CITRESP	2	4901	52.24	51.88	52.59	0.020	
CITRESP	3	1332	51.27	50.50	52.04	0.020	
CITRESP	Total	9129	50.95	50.62	51.27		
CITEFF	1	2869	54.03	53.61	54.45	0.030	3>1>2
CITEFF	2	4886	52.29	51.88	52.69	0.030	
CITEFF	3	1333	57.78	57.18	58.38	0.030	
CITEFF	Total	9092	53.67	53.38	53.95		
OPDISC	1	2859	47.30	46.60	47.99	0.014	2>3>1
OPDISC	2	4896	50.55	50.00	51.10	0.014	
OPDISC	3	1328	47.74	46.81	48.67	0.014	
OPDISC	Total	9128	49.07	48.56	49.58		
POLDISC	1	2867	50.80	50.44	51.15	0.001	2,3>1
POLDISC	2	4902	51.52	51.19	51.86	0.001	
POLDISC	3	1331	51.47	50.83	52.12	0.001	
POLDISC	Total	9148	51.27	51.02	51.52		
SOCMED	1	2865	53.15	52.71	53.59	0.005	3>2>1
SOCMED	2	4900	53.49	53.15	53.83	0.005	
SOCMED	3	1329	55.32	54.62	56.02	0.005	
SOCMED	Total	9141	53.63	53.36	53.90		
COMPART	1	2856	44.22	43.82	44.62	0.009	3>1>2
COMPART	2	4897	43.95	43.68	44.22	0.009	
COMPART	3	1323	46.34	45.73	46.96	0.009	
COMPART	Total	9123	44.40	44.15	44.64		

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Scale	Classes	n	Mean	ll95	ul95	r2	Means order
SCHPART	1	2861	49.39	48.85	49.93	0.000	2,3>1
SCHPART	2	4899	49.86	49.47	50.26	0.000	
SCHPART	3	1329	49.99	49.20	50.78	0.000	
SCHPART	Total	9137	49.69	49.33	50.04		
CNTATT	1	2858	47.65	47.20	48.10	0.005	3>2>1
CNTATT	2	4889	48.83	48.49	49.18	0.005	
CNTATT	3	1330	49.81	49.09	50.53	0.005	
CNTATT	Total	9090	48.59	48.30	48.88		
INTRUST	1	2859	49.57	49.13	50.02	0.007	3>2>1
INTRUST	2	4897	50.92	50.57	51.27	0.007	
INTRUST	3	1331	51.93	51.24	52.61	0.007	
INTRUST	Total	9107	50.64	50.34	50.94		
ETHRGHT	1	2854	54.21	53.77	54.65	0.019	2>3>1
ETHRGHT	2	4895	57.29	56.97	57.61	0.019	
ETHRGHT	3	1331	55.17	54.48	55.87	0.019	
ETHRGHT	Total	9107	55.97	55.68	56.27		
GENEQL	1	2858	51.60	51.19	52.01	0.068	2>1>3
GENEQL	2	4899	55.53	55.21	55.85	0.068	
GENEQL	3	1331	49.10	48.49	49.71	0.068	
GENEQL	Total	9119	53.30	52.97	53.63		
INTACT	1	2858	51.83	51.34	52.32	0.006	2>3>1
INTACT	2	4895	53.57	53.18	53.96	0.006	
INTACT	3	1327	52.74	52.07	53.41	0.006	
INTACT	Total	9124	52.87	52.54	53.20		
SCACT	1	2856	48.43	48.10	48.76	0.018	3>1>2
SCACT	2	4880	48.35	48.02	48.68	0.018	
SCACT	3	1332	52.08	51.47	52.68	0.018	
SCACT	Total	9069	48.93	48.69	49.17		
STUTREL	1	2859	52.02	51.52	52.52	0.013	2>1,3
STUTREL	2	4896	54.58	54.18	54.97	0.013	
STUTREL	3	1328	52.23	51.51	52.95	0.013	
STUTREL	Total	9127	53.38	53.02	53.74		
VALPARTS	1	2840	49.40	49.01	49.79	0.006	2>3>1
VALPARTS	2	4856	51.20	50.83	51.57	0.006	
VALPARTS	3	1325	50.80	50.10	51.51	0.006	
VALPARTS	Total	9060	50.54	50.23	50.85		

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Scale	Classes	n	Mean	ll95	ul95	r2	Means order
ABUSE	1	2842	47.39	46.86	47.92	0.004	
ABUSE	2	4857	47.68	47.27	48.08	0.004	
ABUSE	3	1326	49.39	48.66	50.13	0.004	
ABUSE	Total	9067	47.86	47.50	48.22		

Notes scale = variable to which the means are reported, classes = grouping variable to estimate mean, n = nominal count of observation for each comparison, mean = expected mean for each group accounting for survey sample design, ll95 = lower limit of a 95% confidence interval, ul95 = upper limit of a 95% confidence interval, r2 = explained variance for a regression model, on the dependent variable, predicted by the latent class realizations as dummy variables, means order = ordered of the grouping variable on each explored dependent variable, CIVLRN = Student reports on civic learning at school, CITCON = Students' perception of the importance of conventional citizenship, CITSOC = Students' perception of the importance of social movement related citizenship, CITRESP = Students' perception of the importance of personal responsibility for citizenship, CITEFF = Students' citizenship self-efficacy, OPDISC = Students' perception of openness in classroom discussions, POLDISC = Students' discussion of political and social issues outside school, SOCMED = Students' engagement with social media, COMPART = Students' participation in the wider community, SCHPART = Students' participation at school, CNTATT = Students' positive attitudes toward their country of residence, INTRUST = Students' trust in civic institutions, ETHRGHT = Students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, GENEQL = Students' endorsement of gender equality, INTACT = Students' perceptions of student interaction at school, SCACT = Students' willingness to participate in school activities, STUTREL = Students' perception of student-teacher relations at school, VALPARTS = Students' perception of the value of participation at school, ABUSE = Students' experiences of physical and verbal abuse at school. 1 = Moderates, 2 = Rationals, 3 = Radicals

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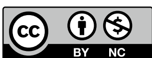

Conclusion: Citizenship Norms Endorsement Among Grade 8 Students

Ernesto Treviño, Diego Carrasco, Ellen Claes, and Kerry J. Kennedy

Abstract This chapter presents the main findings concerning citizenship norms among young adolescents using IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 data. It discusses the results and their main implications for research. Advice for policy and practice is provided. In general, the analyses show that, internationally, most young people are classified in the comprehensive, socially-engaged, or duty-based profiles, which theoretically are more aligned with democratic systems. The endorsement of certain citizenship norms does not automatically guarantee that comprehensive, socially-engaged, and duty-based young people score high on all democratic outcomes, such as support towards equality of rights for minority groups or anti-authoritarianism. Monitorial and anomic groups are overall less frequently found among young adolescents. Analytically, the use of multigroup latent class models allows us to show that citizenship norms are an international phenomenon and can be investigated regionally. Finally, we discuss the implication of the results for future research. Given current worldwide challenges, what is citizenship in an interconnected world?

Keywords Citizenship norms · Good citizenship · Citizenship education · International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)

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1 Introduction

Global and local emerging social issues exert pressure on political systems around the world. Populism, intolerance, xenophobia, social media manipulation, and global threats, such as pandemics and climate change, are phenomena that challenge political systems, and young people respond to these problems in different ways.

It is undeniable that the recent COVID-19 pandemic that spread between 2019 and 2020 has pushed the need to consider citizenship in a global context. During this recent period, humanity faced a real threat to the health and lives of the population, while challenging the economic, political, and social organization of societies. The response to the pandemic required combined efforts from the international community, national governments, and individual citizens. In summary, the pandemic clearly showed how the interconnection of our societies requires mechanisms and structures of collaboration beyond national borders to face challenges of rapid international spread. Furthermore, the pandemic's nature also required maximum cooperation from citizens in limiting several of their daily activities to maintain physical distance. The present scenario is a cross national phenomena, where people had to follow social norms, in order to contribute to the suppression of the virus and its spread. Therefore, it seems that a more profound notion of citizenship is needed to prepare societies and youth as future citizens dealing with problems that require commitment in a globalized world.

Learning that local actions can have a global effect is undoubtedly a challenge for all educational systems. This notion requires thinking about what is civil beyond the limits of a given nation's borders. Likewise, it requires understanding the connection between individual actions and their global consequences. Different global concerns such as pollution, climate change, economic inequalities, and health crises may require a new conception of citizenship. The COVID-19 pandemic, represents an example of the challenges that we face as a human collective. In less than one year, we have witnessed the unpreparedness of countries' institutions and the fragility of individual citizens for this kind of challenge. Something similar may occur with climate change, where individual actions are not enough to confront this problem, and its awareness is difficult to develop due to the short span of human life. How to face different world threats can become a requirement for citizenship education.

What is a "good citizen"? The present book explored what is good citizenship from a normative perspective (van Deth 2007). Using data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016, the book inquired into grade 8 students' views of what is a good citizen and what is expected for adult citizens. It surveyed how students respond to different citizenship norms relevant to the support of democratic systems (van Deth 2017), how these are distributed among countries, and which school factors promote support the endorsement of citizenship norms. Additionally, it contains six chapters using samples from Europe, Asia, and Latin America providing studies with a distinctive regional focus. The present chapter summarizes key findings and discusses implications, limitations, and the need for further research.

2 Main Conclusions

The contemporary idea of good citizenship includes several elements, such as personal, relational, and social aspects of individuals. In this regard, the notion of good citizenship itself is a topic of debate due to its situated character and the importance of its historical context. What is expected from citizens, and what is deemed ideal is context dependent (Denters et al. 2007).

This book has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it aims to study good citizenship theoretically and empirically. More specifically it looks into how different citizenship norms endorsement are configured, beyond a two dimensional conception. The present approach allows inquiry not only into which students adhere to conventional or social movement norms, but into which students endorse both types of citizenship norms. Second, the research focuses on specific challenges faced by countries from Asia, Europe, and Latin America. To fulfill such aims, the authors in this book used data from ICCS 2016. It is important to state that the research reported here is a joint effort to understand citizenship beyond the restrictive focus on formal political participation that has greatly influenced civic and citizenship education (Kennedy 2019). Thus, the different chapters included cover a varying list of topics including students' views on governmental authority and its limits, tolerance of corruption, support for equal rights among women and immigrants, the understanding of democracy, and students' political engagement beyond conventional forms of participation.

The present research seeks to uncover how students endorse different citizenship norms. In particular, how students adhere to different injunctive norms, of what adults citizen ought to be (see Chap. 3). Following the work of Hooghe and Oser (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Oser and Hooghe 2013) on citizenship norms, we fit a multigroup latent class model to produce five classes based on students' endorsement of different citizenship norms indicators. These profiles were labeled as comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic. Such profiles can be compared across countries, permitting the study of similarities in endorsement of youth norms across the participating contexts. Overall results show that most of the students fall into the comprehensive, socially-engaged, or duty-based profiles. In contrast, a minority of students are classified as monitorial or anomic reflecting their medium and lower endorsement to different citizenship norms respectively.

The comparability of the profiles provides an empirical basis to study how contexts shape students' distribution in these different norms configurations. General findings show there is high variability between countries regarding the rates of each citizenship norms profiles. In this way, it is clear that the distribution of profiles requires contextual explanations regarding why different countries and societies differed in their rates of citizenship norms endorsement (see Chap. 4). Furthermore, general findings show high variability of student profiles between schools (see Chap. 5). The median odds ratio of these differences is 1.5, which means students' citizenship norms configuration may change due to school membership across countries. The schools' median odds ratio is larger than all considered students' attributes, including students' sex, immigration status, and family SES. The big exemption in this regard

is students' political interest. Students more interested in politics are between 1.64 times and two times more likely to endorse citizenship norms in a comprehensive manner than the rest of the other citizenship norms profiles. The studied school attributes explored in this book account for 43% of the between-school variance. Overall, the present work contributes to a better understanding of how citizenship norms relate to countries, schools, and students' characteristics.

Due to the contextual nature of citizenship, in the present book, we posed specific research questions on topics that were relevant for countries in the different regions included. In Asia, youth seem engaged in protest to guard democracy, but their understanding of threats to democracy varies largely due to their differing levels of civic knowledge. In Latin America, civic knowledge and open classroom discussion are protective factors for tolerance of corruption and for authoritarianism endorsement. In Europe, monitorial, anomic, and socially-engaged students show lower levels of support for equal rights of immigrants than comprehensive students.

In the following section, the key findings per chapter are presented.

3 Key Findings Per Chapter

Chapter 2 surveyed the literature on youth citizenship. The authors assert that this research literature includes political participation and obeying the law as a crucial aspect of good citizenship. In contrast, there is less emphasis on citizenship norms related to solidarity, critical thinking, and the cultivation of civic culture (i.e., knowing the history of the country). Villalobos, Morel, and Treviño propose that "good citizenship" is an umbrella term, and not a unique attribute. Under "citizenship," different expectations involving ethical, political, and normative aspects co-exist, qualifying citizens and prescribing how they should act. The key findings of a systematic review of the literature suggest that there is no single dominant definition of good citizenship across disciplines and that current conceptions are produced mainly in English-speaking countries and valued in Western countries with comparatively higher income levels. Despite this lack of agreement on the definition of good citizenship, most of the empirical studies include a shared set of indicators, including normative aspects relative to follow the rule of law, participate in national elections, and more personal aspects such as working hard. In this regard, ICCS 2016 includes a varied battery of indicators, including essential concepts present in the last 70 years of academic discussion. The indicators battery covers notions such as conventional citizenship, social movement citizenship, and personal responsibility citizenship (Köhler et al. 2016). In this sense, good citizenship indicators present in ICCS 2016 are related to normative, active, and personal aspects. These definitions do not include current discussions on global (Altikulaç 2016) or digital citizenship (Bennett et al. 2009). These latter concepts are part of the ongoing debate on good citizenship. These are essential areas that need to be the subject of future international studies.

In Chap. 3 Torres Irribarra and Carrasco, revisit the work of Hooghe and Oser (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Oser and Hooghe 2013) and specified a structurally homogenous multigroup latent class model to uncover the endorsement of citizenship norms among adolescents across different countries. With the presented approach, the authors produced five distinguishable latent classes of citizenship norms endorsement, comparable between countries. These latent classes are:

(a) Comprehensive: CI95 [38%, 39%] of students fell into this label in which adolescents show a consistently higher probability of answering "Important" to all the citizenship norms indicators. This included manifest forms of participation such as voting, extra parliamentary actions, peaceful protest, and social involvement such as helping in the local community (Ekman and Amnå 2012).
(b) Anomic: CI95 [3%, 4%] of the students fell into this category with the lowest probability of answering "Important" across all items. The labeling comes from the idea of *anomie*, from the Latin "lack of norms" or normless (Schlueter et al. 2007), "a condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individuals" (Macionis 2018, p. 132). This profile expresses the lowest endorsement to all included citizenship norms. Young people within this class might be described as those with a loss of internalized social norms (Srole 1956).
(c) Monitorial: CI95 [12%, 13%] of the students fall into this profile that values a mix of conventional forms of participation such as elections and non-institutionalized forms of political participation (Amnå and Ekman 2014), such as protest, while disregarding engaging in political parties (Hooghe and Dejaeghere 2007).
(d) Socially engaged: about one third of the students were classified in this profile CI95 [33%, 34%]. They showed high probabilities of considering important elements related to the protection of the environment, the protection of human rights, participation in activities that benefit the local community, obedience to the law, and respect for government representatives, while showing lower probabilities of participating in political discussions and joining a political party.
(e) Duty-based: CI95 [12%, 13%] of the students were classified in this profile. They showed high support for obeying the law, working hard, respecting government authorities, and voting. Simultaneously, they show low levels of support for social and political participation and activities aimed at protecting the environment, benefiting people in the local community, protecting human rights, participating in peaceful protests, political discussions, and joining a political party.

There are contextual differences across countries that seem to be related to the distribution of students across the profiles. In Chap. 4, Villalobos, Morel, and Treviño find that there are common patterns across countries such as the low proportion of students in anomic profiles, and the high proportion of comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles. However, there are significant differences between geographic location and type of political regime, as well as national income and the use of social media to read and share political content. The two most salient findings show that, on the

one hand, the relationship between national income and profiles of good citizenship does not support the generalized growth of post-materialist values in the wealthiest countries. However, the most holistic profiles are found in European countries with high national income, such as Norway. On the other hand, the relationship between the political use of social media and profiles of good citizenship confirms the transformative potential of these technological tools in contemporary society. Although these are relevant topics for political science and sociology, these discussions are missing in the educational field, so these results can be understood as an invitation to include these in civic education research.

Schools can shape students' citizenship profiles through their current practices and organization. In Chap. 5, Treviño, Carrasco, López Hornickel, and Zúñiga find that school characteristics explain a non-ignorable portion of the variance of students' citizenship norms endorsement. There are two key findings in this chapter. First, schools that offer more civic learning opportunities, open classroom discussions, as well as participatory and friendly environments (Claes et al. 2017; Sampermans et al. 2018) promote a comprehensive endorsement of citizenship norms. These results stand above students' socioeconomic background and students' civic background across countries. Second, the composition of the student body in schools is a key factor for explaining the distribution of profiles. Schools with higher SES are more likely to have socially-engaged and duty-based students than those in the comprehensive profile. Additionally, schools with students with higher political interest present higher chances of endorsing comprehensive citizenship norms, instead of socially-engaged norms. Finally, students in schools with peers who use more social media to look for and share political content are less likely to endorse duty-based norms, in contrast to endorsing all citizenship norms.

From Chap. 6 onwards, the book examines specific regional contextual topics related to citizenship. Focusing in Latin America, Miranda, Miranda, and Muñoz analyze the relationship between the political culture and citizenship norms due to the long history of interrupted democracies, civil war, human rights abuses, and military dictatorships the 1990s that have suffered the region. The findings suggest significant support for authoritarian governmental practices in younger age groups in Latin America, especially among students classified in duty-based and comprehensive profiles. Such a result contrasts with monitorial and anomic profiles, which are less likely to support these governmental practices. In terms of authoritarianism endorsement, the difference among profiles is more considerable among students with lower levels of civic knowledge, in contrast to students with higher civic knowledge—those who reject the traditional norms of citizenship embrace, to a lesser extent, the authoritarian culture. Overall, students with higher levels of civic knowledge show lower support for authoritarianism. As Altemeyer (2003) indicates, authoritarianism supporters adhere tightly to social conventions, which seems to be when students have low levels of civic knowledge. This idea is consistent with previous research about the authoritarian personality indicating that less informed/educated people (or in this case people with less civic knowledge) tend to support authoritarian regimes or practices (Schulz et al. 2018).

Carrasco and Pavón Mediano analyze the tolerance of corruption among students in Latin America in Chap. 7. The 2010s decade in this region was marked by anti-corruption reforms. These reforms require an active involvement from its citizens to identify, condemn, and denounce corrupt acts. The findings suggest that civic knowledge and authoritarianism are the main predictors of tolerance of corruption among young people, accounting for 49% of the variance at the population level. Open classroom discussion is also a protective factor against tolerance to corruption (Carrasco et al. 2020). Citizenship norms profiles account for a small portion of the variance. Monitorial students tend to endorse a higher tolerance of corruption than their peers. Contrary to our expectations, the anomic group seems to be more critical and expresses less tolerance of corruption than their classmates. Finally, a higher concentration of duty-based students in schools is positively associated with higher tolerance of corruption, regardless of students' own citizenship norms endorsement. This later result conforms to a contextual effect, where students who attend schools with a higher proportion of students with a more conventional view of citizenship are at higher risks of condoning corrupt acts. The authors discuss the interlink between anti-corruption reforms and civic education, and the role of schools to promote anti-corruption norms among students.

Chapters 8 and 9 focus on European issues such as immigration and tolerance among European adolescents. In Chap. 8, Isac, Claes, and Sandoval-Hernández analyze how the citizenship norm profiles relate to students' immigration status in the nine European countries that participated in ICCS 2016. The study reveals that in most countries, native-born and immigrant youngsters tend to endorse similar configurations of citizenship norms, and both are concentrated in the comprehensive and socially-engaged profiles. Two patterns emerge from this study. First, immigrant students are less likely to be socially engaged and hold more comprehensive norms in four out of the nine European countries (Denmark, Sweden, Malta, and Belgium (Flemish)). Second, in two countries, Sweden and Belgium (Flemish), adolescents with an immigrant background are less likely to endorse duty-based norms. At the same time students in Malta are less likely to classify as monitorial. These findings are aligned with insights from previous research (Oser and Hooghe 2013; Reichert 2017), showing that immigrant students tend to be supportive of all citizenship norms and mostly in the comprehensive group.

In Chap. 9, Sandoval-Hernández, Claes, Savvides, and Isac study the relationship between citizenship norms and tolerance among European adolescents. The study, which focuses on 14 European countries, finds two clear patterns in relation to attitudes to equality of rights for immigrants. On one hand, students classified within the comprehensive citizenship profile deal well with the ambivalence present in the definition of tolerance, especially regarding equal rights for immigrants. Second, students within the other citizenship profiles (socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic) show significantly lower support for equal rights for immigrants than the students classified as comprehensive. These groups do not seem to accept the paradox of giving equal rights to people or groups regardless of whether you agree with their opinion or behavior. The authors hypothesized that monitorial and anomic groups may show lower support for immigration because these two types

of citizens seem to be more focused on the local, personal level (Westheimer and Kahne 2007) rather than opening themselves to a larger, globalized, more diverse world. This situation seems to be similar to the socially-engaged group. Theoretically they are described as being concerned about social needs, human rights and the environment (Dalton 2008; Barber and Ross 2018). These concerns focus on their local (maybe more homogenous) community, rights, and the environment, and that they seem to "hunker down" (Putnam 2007). This suggests they are engaged in their own group, but not inclined to be open to more equal rights for immigrants than the comprehensive group.

Kennedy and Kuang study the predictors of Asian adolescents' democratic understanding in Chap. 10. They point out that studying youth's understandings of democracy is as important as studying democratic processes such as participation and engagement, while the latter elements have dominated the current literature. Such a question is of importance for Asian countries with a long history of sharing Confucian values that are often seen to be the basis of conservatism that characterizes parts of the region (Fukuyama 1992). The study analyzes students' understanding of democracy in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, and Korea through a confirmatory factor analysis, which results in a two-factor structure in which one factor is related to Threats to Democracy and the other factor measures Rights and Responsibilities. Then, the study predicts the understanding of democracy using variables related to cognition, student engagement, and student experience in school. The study finds that school-based civic learning is the strongest school-based predictor of students' understanding of democracy regarding rights and opportunities. On the other hand, students' engagement in political discussion outside the school is the main predictor of students' ability to identify threats to democracy in the three countries. The authors suggests there is missed opportunity by schools, where the understanding of democracy, including both dimensions could benefit from informal learning opportunities already in place. The authors discussed that formal civic learning might not be enough to reinforce democratic understanding to students. As such, if Asian students are to be fully knowledgeable about democracy, formal and informal opportunities might need to be promoted to help students understand different aspects of democracy, including threats to and features of democracy.

In Chap. 11, Kennedy and Kuang focus on analyzing Asian students' intentions for civic engagement, broadly conceived to include different forms of protest, specifically in Hong Kong, Korea, and Chinese Taipei. Legal and illegal protests involving young people have been common in Hong Kong, Korea, and Chinese Taipei since 2014, a phenomenon spread worldwide to pressure political systems. The findings suggest that more and more, both legal and illegal protests are being used to secure civic goals, whether it is the removal of a President as in Korea, advocating for universal suffrage as in Hong Kong, or protecting Chinese Taipei's independence. On average, protests are often considered as the least preferable form of engagement. Yet for some students protests seem to be a preferred form of engagement to be used, perhaps when other forms will not achieve desired social or political objectives. More research is needed to study whether young people are aware of the possible consequences and the likelihood of protests. This scenario is worrisome

when one of the main influences on current civic engagement is social media, which remains largely unknown (Kennedy 2019). Young people immersed in social media, for example, need to learn how to recognize the "echo chamber" (Quattrociocchi 2017) and "filter bubble" (Curkovic 2019) effects so they can make decisions based on a broad range of information and available options for engagement. Engaging in illegal protest is not an insignificant matter. Young people need to understand in detail what is involved, make informed judgments about it, and be sure that this form of engagement will help them secure their civic objectives.

4 Discussion and Implications

Citizens in the 21st century require a broad range of knowledge, skills, and attitudes to respond to local and global challenges. The research findings confirm that defining and understanding citizenship based on norms can only begin to reveal the picture of citizenship globally. First, and against conventional wisdom, most adolescents in the ICCS 2016 sample can be classified into comprehensive, duty-based, and socially-engaged profiles. These multiple configurations across societies indicate that young people endorse citizenship norms in different ways entailing different duties and forms of participation. This confirms the notions established in the mainstream literature (Dalton 2008). Moreover, the citizenship norms profiles presented in this book are difficult to classify into an all-encompassing "good citizen" category. For example, socially-engaged students in Europe do not support equal rights for immigrants at the same level that comprehensive and duty-based students do. In Asia, citizenship norms profiles are not necessarily related to the understanding of democracy. In this region, students in the comprehensive profile are more willing to engage in political action, including illegal protests. In Latin America, comprehensive and duty-based profiles lean more positively towards authoritarianism endorsement, especially at lower levels of civic knowledge. School environments with a high proportion of duty-based students tend to be more tolerant of corruption, regardless of students' own citizenship norms endorsement. These different findings suggest the importance of understanding the endorsement of citizenship norms and the extent to which such endorsement could pose problems for different democratic ideals.

The research findings reported here challenge the common sense view that youth are not interested in politics. Most students are classified in the comprehensive profile that highly endorses discussion and reading about politics, while simultaneously endorsing conventional and less conventional forms of political participation. Thus, the present profile defies the either/or approach on citizenship norms (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). Indeed, some students lean towards the duty-based profile, which contrasts with those who lean towards the socially-engaged profile, disregarding the more conventional forms of political participation. Nevertheless, the comprehensive students share with the socially-engaged profile most of its endorsement on civic engagement, without the need to disregard conventional forms of civic engagement, such as participation in national elections. The current results suggest

that the contrast between de duty-based and engaged citizenship norms profiles found in the previous literature (Dalton 2008) need to be reviewed.

Presenting a comprehensive profile that may be regarded as nearer to the ideal of good citizenship, does not necessarily mean that students fare well in other dimensions of citizenship. Students in Latin America, in the comprehensive and duty-based profiles, are more likely to support authoritarian governments. Also, in this region, monitorial and anomic students show lower levels of support for authoritarian practices. Comprehensive students in Europe show higher support for equal rights of immigrants. In contrast, duty-based, anomic, and monitorial students in Europe are not supportive of equal rights for minorities. In Asia, students show high levels of understanding of democracy in terms of threats and rights, but their level of understanding is not related to the profiles based on norms. Finally, when analyzing the likelihood of Asian students to take part in protests, it seems that comprehensive students do not see protest as the only way of engaging in politics, but as one of the tools available to push for political changes. It seems that while students may have an image of the ideal good citizen, it does not imply other desirable citizenship features. The interplay between citizenship norms endorsement, attitudes, democratic beliefs, knowledge, and civic engagement is not simple and requires further study.

Citizenship norms are not endorsed in a vacuum. Different national characteristics are related to the citizenship profiles, suggesting that country features may help to shape citizenship norms. Variables such as the type of regime or the region of the country, a distal proxy of culture, may be associated with how students endorse citizenship norms. Therefore understanding cultural and political contexts is essential in modeling citizenship. Definitions of good citizenship need to be understood against the background of these contexts.

Considering how the different profiles relate to other citizenship variables is essential for the development of education and youth policies. These findings call for a broader notion of civic education beyond civic knowledge, which includes opportunities for developing better attitudes towards others. In the same vein, these findings also call for a careful balance in the school curriculum, in which civic knowledge, understanding of democracy, the critical use of social media in politics, and global citizenship issues are an integral part of the preparation of citizens for the 21st century.

School practices are shown to be important for citizenship norms endorsement across different regions. Open classroom discussion and civic learning opportunities seem to promote more complex forms of citizenship norms endorsement. These two factors also promote civic knowledge among students, which helps students understand democracy better and protect them from endorsing anti-democratic beliefs and tolerance of corruption. Thus, these school practices help to prepare students for the citizenry life.

Political regimes around the world may not respond to the needs and expectations of their societies. In such contexts, the use of protests is a tool that society and youth have at hand to exert pressure on political systems when they lack governmental transparency, experience corruption, suffer from human rights violations, and substantially depart from democratic ideals. Protests, while not always the most preferred form of civic engagement, are a political and democratic tool demanding

governments to act in specific directions. Its democratic role should be recognized, and civic and citizenship education should include it as a relevant topic.

Finally, the findings on the relationship between school variables and the student profiles suggest substantive lessons for education policy. First, it is necessary to change approaches to schooling, considering it as an essential place for both the development of future citizens and the action of pre-adult citizens. Students should be able to participate in lively classroom discussions, experience civic learning opportunities at school, and engage in school processes that represent opportunities to exercise citizenship skills. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to develop programs that allow schools to become more open to the development of different participatory processes in different instances—not only in governing student bodies. However, it is also necessary to improve research in this area to ensure that any decision is based on empirical evidence about the efficacy of different programs. Moreover, as explained below, developing robust theories and empirical evidence about how different dimensions of citizenship are interconnected is crucial to improve the design and implementation of programs aimed at students' citizenship.

At the same time there needs to be a renewed focus on nurturing civic knowledge as well as decision-making skills related to social media and political engagement. A key challenge in doing this is the use of effective pedagogies both in school (with more open classroom discussion and learning opportunities) and outside the school (promoting discussions with peers and families). Participation is an important civic skill but it needs to be informed whether it is about active participation in the community or participation through social media.

5 Limitations and Future Research

The research reported here has limitations that should be taken into account. First, the results presented here are observational and not experimental, which means they show associations between variables. As such the study design does not guarantee causal interpretations. Second, the analysis focused on specific contextual issues considered of high importance due to the current challenges faced by the different regions in the political and social arenas. As a result, it was possible to pose relevant questions for each region. Among the many relevant topics, the authors decided to study those considered more important according to their knowledge and priorities. These priorities are likely to change over time and what was found in each region, may not be generalizable to other regions.

Further research is needed to better understand how citizenship across countries and regions, interplays with the national versus the global notions of citizenship. Finally, it is important to note that the results presented here represent a picture taken at one point in time. The research community does not have abundant evidence on how young people change their disposition towards good citizenship as they grow up. Besides, the research has focused on the notions of good citizenship presented

in ICCS 2016. What is needed in the future is longitudinal research that can address the issue of development of citizenship norms over time.

Future research in this area requires further theoretical and empirical developments. First, it is necessary to produce theories, and conceptual models explaining the relationship between the different aspects of citizenship, including civic knowledge, support for authoritarianism, understanding of democracy, tolerance to corruption, and support for equal rights for minority groups, among other research topics. The research reported here has made a start on this agenda, but further work is needed.

In the same vein, it is necessary to propose more sophisticated theoretical models and research methods to test how school variables relate to citizenship outcomes. Research on citizenship and civic education involves the interest of different disciplines, including political science, law, sociology, education, psychology, and philosophy. As such, conceptual problems on citizenship topics may require researchers to move outside their discipline boundaries and undertake interdisciplinary research. The logic of hypothesizing mainly linear and direct relationships between school characteristics and citizenship outcomes may be a strategy that ignores the interplay of school and student. Additionally, our conceptual models should carefully weigh the context in which youth and schools live, how political cultures and practices impose a limit on what schools can do when the law, institutions, and societies as a whole are far from the ethical ideal of democracy.

All in all, the study of citizenship is not simple. The nuances and complexities of this topic should not be sacrificed in favor of mere parsimony. In this scenario, the craftsmanship of explaining results and ideas, are key. Researchers are exhorted to be creative to handle this complexity, and carefully express themselves to get their points across. Otherwise, simplistic models will be used to produce the wrong policy recommendations, aiming to shape student's citizenship. Increasing knowledge of citizenship through research requires a conceptual and methodological effort, the present book aimed to honor such a task.

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