Lessons Learned from International Large-Scale Assessments of Civics and Citizenship Education

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Outline of the Presentation

• History of the field and its conceptualization
• Models and frameworks in recent ILSAs
  – CIVED and ICCS09
• Lessons with special relevance for educators
  – How to view resources/prerequisites for participation
  – How social inclusion of immigrants and minorities is important to a democratic discourse
  – How to value positive and productive classrooms and school climates
  – How slowly educational reforms show results
• Lessons with special interest to researchers
  – How to strengthen international collaboration
  – How to assess contexts and present findings
THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN
• “Political socialization” research began
  – As the interdisciplinary study of young people’s political attitudes
  – Using a variety of theories and “mixed methods”
• Studies of “civic education” added knowledge and cognition
• “Civic or political engagement” now includes the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral
• Can examine in ecologically focused models
  – Macro-, exo-, micro system - Bronfenbrenner
  – Developmental niche – Super/Harkness
  – A conceptual framework for research questions
IEA Octagon Model
Each individual adolescent enacts “emergent participatory citizenship” on a daily basis within a unique developmental niche.
Accelerating Interest in Civic Engagement in the Early 1990s

• After a burst of publications in the 1970s, little interest during the 1980s
• Fall of the Berlin Wall
• Global discourses in human rights and migration
• Need for rigorous international comparisons of adolescents/young adults on civic topics
  – IEA General Assembly requested a proposal for a civic education study 1993
  – IEA Civic Education Study in two phases 1994-2001
  – IEA International Civic & Citizenship Study 2005-2010
Details of IEA Civic Education Study

- **Mid-1990s CIVED Phase 1**
  - An international consensus process achieved agreement on concepts for a test and survey.

- **1999 CIVED Phase 2**
  - Nationally representative samples of 14-year-olds were tested in 28 countries (primarily in Europe)
  - 94,000 students; nearly 2500 schools.
  - 90 minute test/survey included home literacy, classroom climate, attitude scales

- **2001 to the Present:**
  - Secondary Analysis of CIVED
  - ICCS09
Countries Testing at Age 14 in CIVED Study

- Australia, England, United States
- Belgium (French), Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland
- Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden
- Hong Kong (SAR)
- Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania
- Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia
- Chile, Colombia
Content Domains Covered In the IEA Civic Studies

• In CIVED 1999
  – Fundamentals of Democracy, Democratic Institutions and Citizenship
  – National Identity and International Relations
  – Social Cohesion and Diversity

• In ICCS 2009:
  – Civic Society and Systems
  – Civic Principles
  – Civic Participation
  – Civic Identities
ICCS (International Civics and Citizenship Study)

- Similar populations in 2009 in 38 countries (Schulz et al, 2010)
  - Did not include a first phase
  - Similar but not identical topics/questions
  - Added Latin American and Asian countries
    - regionally specific questionnaires
- My presentation focuses on CIVED
  - 10 years after changes in Eastern Europe
What Resources for Civic Participation do Adolescents in Different Countries Possess?

Selected CIVED countries
Resources for Civic Participation

- There are “resources” in addition to civic content knowledge that are important for participation
  - Skills in understanding texts and cartoons
  - A minimum level of trust in the political system
  - Orientation toward equality/non-exclusion of minorities
  - Efficacy, both personal and collective
  - Ability to respectfully discuss controversial issues with others who hold different opinions
  - Acceptance of norms about participation
Illustration of a Skills Item in CIVED Instrument

- Cartoon Interpretation Item

36. What is the message or main point of this cartoon? History textbooks ...
   A. are sometimes changed to avoid mentioning problematic events from the past.*
   B. for children must be shorter than books written for adults.
   C. are full of information that is not interesting.
   D. should be written using a computer and not a pencil.
## Twelve Countries’ Means on 3 “Resources” for Participation

International Means = 10.0, SDs = 2.0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Support Norms of Conventional Citizenship</th>
<th>Support Norms of Social-Movement Citizenship</th>
<th>Internal Political Efficacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.5-.8</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1-.4</td>
<td>Italy Portugal US</td>
<td>Italy Norway US</td>
<td>Latvia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6-.9.9</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Germany Sweden CzechR</td>
<td>Italy Germany Austral Estonia Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8-.9.1</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
European Findings on Students’ Knowledge and “Resources” in CIVED

• In CIVED Cyprus, Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland and Slovak Republic above the international mean on civic content knowledge and skills

• In ICCS only Slovenia improved on overall civic cognitive scores
  – lower scores in Bulgaria, Czech and Slovak Republics, Greece, Norway, Poland

• In CIVED most Northern European countries
  – *at or below* the international mean on “resources” of norms of citizens’ participation and sense of efficacy
  – *at or above* the international mean on political trust
Trust in Governmental Institutions in Post-Communist Countries
[CIVED and ICCS]

• In CIVED99 trust at or below international mean in all but one of the post-Communist countries
• Political parties trusted the least
• Bulgaria and Latvia each had a large group of alienated students with low trust and negative attitudes to obeying the law
• Also in ICCS09 trust at or below international mean in all but one of the post-Communist countries
Are Civic Knowledge and Skills Developmental Prerequisites for Civic/Political Engagement?

Analysis of CIVED data from 6 countries
Exploratory Research Questions

• Using advanced modeling, can we estimate the extent to which civic knowledge or skills are prerequisite for an intension toward civic engagement?

• What profiles of student orientations exist and with what frequency?
The Analysis of CIVED

• Used civic knowledge items and skills in interpreting political communication (38 items).

• Also used 12 items of support for norms of adult participation and intent to participate as an adult (e.g. vote, get information before voting, act in community)

• Used Cognitive Diagnostic Modeling which generates profiles
  – Of Knowledge, Skills, and Participatory Intent
### Six Countries’ CDM Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profiles</th>
<th>Knowledge</th>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.40</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patterns of Civic Knowledge, Skills and Expected/Value Placed on Citizen Action
Results of Exploration of Profiles

• Most students fell into profiles possessing all three (Knowledge/Skills/Action) or profiles possessing none of the three
• Nearly 20% had Action without the “cognitive prerequisites” of Knowledge and Skills
• Small proportions in other profiles
Summary

• Knowledge/skills are valuable but not always necessary to acquire orientations toward participation
• Should not limit civic education programs to enhancing civic knowledge
• Further analysis/research needed on progressions and prerequisites in this area
How are Attitudes Integrated within Individuals?

Analysis of CIVED Data from 10 Countries
Research Questions

• RQ1: Are there groups of adolescents with distinctive patterns of attitudes?
• RQ2: How do distributions of cluster membership differ by country?
• RQ3: How do individual characteristics, beliefs and school context relate to cluster membership?
Person-Centered Analysis of CIVED Data

• Describing how attitudes are integrated within individual adolescents

• Analysis to accomplish this
  – Cluster analyses using 12 attitudinal variables from IEA CIVED survey data
  – 2 step Cluster Analysis with 12 attitudes scales
  – Described cluster with “mottos”
  – 30,000 14-year-olds from 10 countries
    • Western European: Australia, England, Finland, Sweden, U.S.
    • Eastern European: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia
Next Figure: Cluster Patterns for 5 Countries Sharing the Western Europe Tradition

Based on the following scales (Mean 10, SD 2):
- Support for Ethic/Minority Rights
- Support for Immigrant Rights
- Support for Women’s Rights
- Cynicism
- Internal Political Efficacy
- Protectionist Attitudes (Nationalism)
- Positive Attitudes to Nation (Patriotism)
- Trust in Government Institutions
- Trust in the Media
- Norms of Conventional Citizen Participation
- Norms of Social Movement Participation
Next Figure: Cluster Patterns for 5 Eastern European Countries

Based on the following scales (Mean 10, SD 2):
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Parallel Cluster Group 1

• Social Justice Cluster
  – Support for minority and immigrant rights
  – Low support for norms of conventional or protest action
  – Motto: “I believe in rights for all but do not feel obligated to do much about it.”
Parallel Cluster Group 2

• Conventionally Political Cluster
  – High trust in government institutions;
  – High political self efficacy;
  – Believe in norms of conventional and social oriented citizen action;
  – Protectionist and patriotic in Eastern Europe
  – Also support social justice in Western Europe
  – **Motto:** “I believe in my country and will support the status quo with expected political and civic activities.”
Parallel Cluster Groups 3 and 4

- Indifferent Cluster
  - All attitudes very close to the mean
  - Will do the minimum expected

- Disaffected Cluster
  - More negative than Indifferent but not extreme

- Motto for both clusters:
  - “I have better ways to spend my time than thinking about politics, but I won’t do anything rash.”
Parallel Cluster Group 5

- Alienated Cluster (Anti-Social Justice)
  - Uniformly negative attitudes about rights for minorities and immigrants
  - Trust 1 ½ SDs below the international mean
  - Motto: I’m angry about the immigrants and minority groups in my country, and I don’t trust the government. I have the right to do what I want.”
Distributions of Cluster Groups in Western Europe
A Focus on the Alienated Cluster

- About 7% across countries are Alienated and hold negative inter-group attitudes
- 25% of these Alienated youth think it is “not important to obey the law”
  - 1% for Conventional; 6% for Disaffected
- Potentially for illegal protest (block traffic):
  - Alienated cluster members expect to protest
  - Social Justice cluster members do not expect to protest
Individual and Proximal Characteristics of Alienated Students

• Alienated Cluster members likely to:
  – Be **male**
  – **Lack** a sense of **collective efficacy** in the school community
  – **Lack** the experience of a **respectful climate for discussion** in their classrooms
  – Spend evenings “hanging out” with peers
  – No differences by SES in Western Europe
Summary

• Intergroup attitudes are part of emergent citizenship and shaped in developmental niches
  – this is the age cohort now young adults
  – Many teachers are unprepared for anti-racism education

• Many young people believe “citizens should behave democratically” but are unwilling to engage in action
  – Perhaps they are “standby citizens”
What are the School and Classroom Correlates of Valued Outcomes Across and Within Countries?
Predictors of Civic Knowledge within CIVED Countries

- Expected years of further education (⁺ in 28 countries)
- Home literacy resource (⁺ in 27 countries)
- Open climate for classroom discussion (⁺ in 22 countries)
- Spend evenings with peers outside home (- in 24 countries)
- Frequency of watching T.V. news (⁺ in 16 countries)
- Participation in student council (⁺ in 10 countries)
Relation between Open Classroom Climate and Positive Attitudes to Immigrants/Ethnic Groups (CIVED)

Perceptions of open classroom climate for discussion vs. Positive Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Attitudes
Positive Attitudes towards Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities by High/Low Open Classroom Climate in Four Countries (CIVED)
Relation between Confidence in Participation at School and Positive Attitudes to Immigrants/Ethnic Groups (CIVED)
Positive Attitudes towards Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants by High/Low Confidence in Participation at School (CIVED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Above Avg. Climate</th>
<th>Below Avg. Climate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Are Traditional and Interactive Teaching Conflicting or Reinforcing?

CIVED Data from the United States And 3 Post-Communist countries
Comparison of Educational Groups

– Identify groups reflecting different experiences in social studies classrooms

– Open classroom climate for discussion (5 item scale)
  • Sample: “Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.”

– Traditional teaching (4 item scale)
  • Sample: “Teachers lecture and the students take notes.”
## Educational Groups Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open class climate</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>Interactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Traditional teaching**
  - Low: Neither
  - High: Lecture
Average Civic Skills Score by Educational Group in Latvia
Extent of Following the News by Educational Group in Latvia

- Neither
- Lecture
- Interactive
- Both

- Neither: 8
- Lecture: 9
- Interactive: 10
- Both: 11

- Scale from 6 to 12
Summary of Differences by Educational Group

- Interactive and lecture-based experience in civic education classroom both relate to higher scores on nearly a dozen outcomes.
- Students who have neither experience score lower on the outcomes.
- Lecture-based alone is never superior to interaction alone (or to interactive combined with traditional)
Being Realistic about the Tasks Facing Teachers

• May have difficulty establishing an open climate for classroom discussion of issues
  – Curriculum standards emphasize knowledge
  – Interactive methods are mistrusted
  – Historical contexts, conflict situations and institutional resistance have an influence

• Find it difficult to deal with alienated students or those with poor reading skills
Specific Suggestions for Enhancing the Discourse and Participatory Communities

• Explain and insist on ground rules of respect
• Promote shared goals and sense of belonging to both the school and local communities
• Equip students with cognitive tools for taking others’ perspectives
• Encourage annotating texts with points for discussion

This would require high quality professional development and moving beyond a rigid focus on testing factual learning
Overall Conclusions

• At age 14, young people are members of the political culture they share with adults
• Change in knowledge/attitudes is slow
• Enhancing students’ civic knowledge is often not sufficient to change attitudes and behavior
• Civic-related courses most effective when
  – participative and interactive
  – conceptually rich
  – respectful of diversity of opinion among different groups
What are the Lessons for Researchers?
U.S. National Academy of Science’s Recommendations for International Collaboration

- Concentrate on building both capacity among networks of researchers and the project
- Conceptualize projects in **phases**:
  - **First**: build trust and capacity; structure the research framework/measures
  - **Second**: collect and analyze data
  - **Third**: publish and disseminate
    - To all relevant audiences
    - Benefiting all participating researchers
    - Framing further analysis (by region or topic)
Examples of the Contributions of CIVED’s Phase 1

• Built trust in a group initially distrustful
• Located substantive research capacity
  – then supported and enhanced a network of researchers (that is still influential)
• Identified core understandings and beliefs
  – both similarities and differences
• Specified a range of models/content outcomes
  – not limited to knowledge
• Developed pilot measures
Broader Lessons for Future Research/Researchers

- Pay attention to what students report about their classroom and school contexts
- Address an appropriately broad view of emergent citizenship in adolescence
- Make research findings compelling for the public and for policy audiences
- Support studies relating to common research questions using different methodologies
  - Mixed methods research, especially on school climates and challenges to efficacy outside the school
  - Evaluation research cross-nationally focusing on the climate of schools and classrooms
Thanks

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