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Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies:

Practice, Policy, and Research Across Countries and Regions

Editors:

Barbara **Malak-Minkiewicz**
Judith **Torney-Purta**

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The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), with headquarters in Amsterdam, is an independent, international cooperative of national research institutions and governmental research agencies. It conducts large-scale comparative studies of educational achievement and other aspects of education, with the aim of gaining in-depth understanding of the effects of policies and practices within and across systems of education.

Foreword

IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) is a unique international large-scale assessment study. It is the only international study that researches students' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors in this domain. As for all IEA studies, rich background data is collected from the assessed students, and the teachers and school principals of their schools. This enables analysis of differences not only between countries but also within each participating education system. ICCS, which is based on IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) from 1999 and 2000, was conducted in 2009 and 2016 with the latest results reported in 2017. However, the first IEA engagement in this field goes back even further to IEA's Six Subject Survey conducted 1970–1971 and assessing, among other subjects, civic and citizenship education.

ICCS is also unique among IEA studies as it draws heavily on regional modules. Unlike, for example, mathematics and science instruction, different regions have very different perspectives and place varying emphasis on civic and citizenship education. The regional modules address these differences. In Europe, for instance, knowledge about and attitudes towards the European Union and its different bodies are a common theme and an important topic for citizens in this region. Countries from the different regions participating in ICCS worked together and developed regional modules, which carry relevance to them. ICCS encompasses regional modules and regional reports summarizing the findings for the regions: Europe, Latin America, and Asia. As for all IEA studies, the data collected is made public and researchers from various domains use this rich data source to conduct their research. This has led to interesting findings and many publications based on ICCS data. Given this rich data and the possibility to analyze it from different perspectives, many more publications can be expected.

With this long tradition and its uniqueness of being the only international study in this field, it is not surprising that ICCS has influenced policies and sparked discussions in the area of civics and citizenship among educational researchers, policymakers, and practitioners in many countries. Consequently, it is very timely to have a publication that summarizes the different aspects of ICCS as well as its influence and impact on research, practices, and policies. This publication shows different countries' perspectives as well as those from researchers engaged in the different aspects of the study.

IEA is grateful for the willingness of two outstanding researchers in the field of civic and citizenship education research who have accepted the invitation to put together a publication on the influences of ICCS on practice, policy, and research. IEA honorary members Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz and Judith Torney-Purta have a long-lasting engagement in IEA's civic and citizenship education studies and are extremely knowledgeable in the field. Their connectedness in the field enabled them to approach an excellent set of scholars to contribute to this publication. Editing a volume of this magnitude is a labor intense undertaking and I want to thank both of them for all their hard work and engagement in this project.

I also want to thank the authors of the individual chapters, which give very different perspectives on ICCS and, in doing so, contribute to quite a holistic view of the study. Their knowledge is in high demand and it is an honor for IEA to have their contributions to this comprehensive publication.

I would like to acknowledge the exceptional work of the IEA publications officers, Gillian Wilson and Gina Lamprell, for the tireless support they provided to the editors and authors to make this publication a reality. My thanks also go to Ralph Carstens at IEA, previous project director for ICCS 2016, for developing the book's concept with the editors then providing support and advice throughout the book's drafting and production.

Contents

Part 2: Regional Perspectives and the Discussion of Selected Issues

Civic and Citizenship Education Studies of IEA: Influences on Practice, Policy, and Research

Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz and Judith Torney-Purta

Abstract This book identifies how IEA's studies of civic and citizenship education have contributed to national and international educational discourse, research, policymaking, and practice. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in 2009 and in 2016 was linked to the Civic Education Study (CIVED 1999, 2000). These remain the only large-scale international studies dedicated to formal and informal civic and citizenship education in school. This introduction describes the studies' background and introduces fifteen chapters discussing how individual European, Latin American, and North America countries prepare young people for citizenship in this important area. Nine chapters summarize regional results or reflect on the studies' broader contributions.

Purpose of the Volume and an Overview of the Contexts Surrounding Civic and Citizenship Education

The purpose of this volume is to place civic education into context and describe the ways that IEA studies in this field have had an influence at national and international levels. The large majority of research on educational achievement and its correlates, such as IEA studies, aim to provide information to those involved in educational development and improvement. This includes policymakers who are designing educational goals and curricula, practitioners who are implementing them, and researchers who are conducting investigations on issues of special interest for those involved in civic and citizenship education. Several factors make these research endeavors more or less successful, including the perspectives of those who monitor, interpret, and suggest the applications of results. The receptiveness of audiences is also important.

Many who follow international large-scale assessments in science, mathematics, and reading observe attempts to use national test results to improve schooling. Usually these efforts get substantial attention from educational stakeholders and among some member of the public as well as journalists. There are always concerns about negative consequences for the country's future labor market if students' achievement in basic school subjects is seen as poor. This often creates pressure for changes in education.

Data-based findings in civic education are less readily understood and sometimes understood inaccurately by the public. Because of this, the process of influence is somewhat different than in other subject areas. In many situations researchers become part of this process by assisting in the interpretation of findings and placing them in the context of educational goals. This is especially true when attitudes and civic participation as well as civic knowledge are a focus.

Civic and citizenship education is different from other school subjects in a number of aspects. First, approaches to teaching and beliefs about the meaning of results in this field depend in part on underlying beliefs about education within a given country or community. These beliefs may be resistant to change even when outcomes do not meet expectations. The field of civic education is also conceptualized somewhat differently than other IEA subject areas. In addition to cognitive test results, affective-behavioral measures are seen as important outcomes in themselves and not only through their relation to achievement test results.

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It is also the case that civic education takes place both outside and inside the school. Civic knowledge, attitudes, and behavior need to be discussed in the context of the country's culture (and history). Sometimes it is difficult to get consensus about which of these three elements is most important. Partly as a result of this complexity, IEA's civic education studies are not well known even among educators. Their influence is less obvious and needs to be traced using methods that are similar to other subject areas and also by other methods. This complexity is especially true for international studies where questions are designed based on frameworks including abstract concepts that may have different connotations in different countries (e.g., political participation, community involvement, etc.). The social and political context is of greater importance than it is in other subject areas.

As a part of the international dissemination of results from IEA civic education studies, researchers conduct detailed analyses relevant to the needs and interests of audiences of educators within a given country. They present these data analyses at professional conferences and in professional publications (often in education but also in fields such as policy studies or psychology). Such events and publications provide opportunities to go into greater depth than is feasible in international or national summary reports. In particular these publications and presentations can deal more adequately with outcomes such as measures of attitudes or intended civic participation (going beyond reports of country rankings based on students' correct answers in a test).

Aggregated national average scores cannot take into account what may be large gaps in attitudes or participation associated with students' social background. Furthermore, civic education curricula can become out of date and have been characterized in the past for practices such as rote memorization of excerpts from national documents detached from the realities of social and political life. In other subject areas it is easier to draw a line between test results and recommended changes in curriculum. In civic education the wide range of routes toward influence cannot be examined thoroughly with information from the summary reports of IEA studies; it is nevertheless important to explore them.

Another feature of the civic education area is its interdisciplinary nature. Those who have guided IEA's civic education studies are drawn from the field of education but also from psychology, political science, and sociology.

This situation is reflected in our invitations to two groups of authors whose work we have grouped into separate sections. One group consisted of representatives from countries who participated in the IEA civic and citizenship education studies. Their chapters discuss the impacts of those studies on various aspects of policy, practice, and research in their countries. We also invited a group of scholars who are linked to broad research networks including some outside of the field of education. The purpose was to expand the outlook on the studies' influence by considering the importance of regional issues in this field and the role of social outcomes of education (not merely cognitive test scores) from the perspective of several disciplines.

A Brief Review of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

The first IEA civic and citizenship education study, the IEA Civic Education Project (testing in 1971), was part of the Six Subject Survey, in which the following subjects were examined: reading comprehension, science, literature, French as a foreign language, English as a foreign language, and civic education. A set of questionnaires, covering factual knowledge, civic attitudes, perception and understanding of political process, as well as background information, was administered to more than 30,000 10-year-olds, 14-year-olds, and pre-university students across countries. Teacher and school questionnaires were also used to collect information about the learning contexts. The results were published in Torney et al. (1975). The study confirmed that the school had a somewhat unclear role as an agent of political socialization, a topic of debate at that time.

The results of this first IEA study showed that students were relatively poorly informed about many aspects of citizenship, as well as demonstrating some basic misconceptions about democracy, their own governments, and politics more broadly. A very powerful predictor of high civic knowledge and of positive civic attitudes (for example, toward ethnic group diversity) was a scale measuring students' view of the climate of their classroom as encouraging them to express their own opinions. In this first study there was evidence that the characteristics of schools operated as part of an interdependent system in their influence upon the outcomes of civic knowledge, anti-authoritarian attitudes, and expected participation.

Civic education as a subject for international testing then disappeared from IEA researchers' agenda for more than 20 years. The impulse for a new cycle of civic education studies came from the changes in political and social life experienced by nations in the early 1990s, especially the collapse of communism in Central-Eastern Europe and the appearance of "new democracies." At the same time, declines were observed in citizens' participation in many "old democracies." This called for reexamination of the role of school in preparing young people for democratic citizenship and renewed directions for enhancing schools' contributions.

The next IEA civic and citizenship education study, the Civic Education Study (CIVED), was conducted in two distinct phases. Phase 1 (1994–1998) with 24 countries participating focused on elaborating the ways in which young people are prepared for their roles as citizens in democracies and societies aspiring to democracy. Extensive case study materials were requested from countries: document analysis (textbooks, curricula), interviews and discussions with experts (policymakers, practitioners, representatives of social sciences), and focus groups of students and teachers. Twenty-four national case studies based on this material and written by national research coordinators appeared in an edited book covering Phase 1 (Torney-Purta et al. 1999).

After extensive review of the case studies to identify common issues, there was discussion among international project leaders. It was decided to give special attention to three content domains: the meaning of democracy and its institutions; the meaning of national identity; and, issues of social cohesion and social diversity. The group to be tested and surveyed was 14-year-old students; it was also possible for a country to test an older group at a later time.

The test and survey development for Phase 2 of IEA's CIVED began in 1994. It was important to obtain extensive input from country representatives in order to create a broad based framework that would be accepted as legitimate by a range of audiences (policymakers, those who educate teachers, teachers themselves, and parents). It was decided that a variety of experiences in school, in the home, in local communities, and in the broader society should be included in the investigation. In addition, a new set of factors was taken under consideration: a global youth culture with common aspirations for freedom and a better world, and with shared consumer tastes.

Data collected in Phase 1 of CIVED contributed to the design of instruments for Phase 2. The student instrument was composed of a test of students' knowledge about fundamental democratic principles and processes, a survey of concepts about democracy and citizenship, attitudes, and a civic related activities questionnaire. The instrument was administered in 1999 to representative samples of approximately 90,000 14-year-olds from 28 countries. To obtain information about the context for civic education, a student background questionnaire as well as questionnaires from teachers and school principals were collected. The results can be found in Torney-Purta et al. (2001). In 2000 a study of upper-secondary students was conducted in 16 countries collecting data using similar instruments from over 50,000 upper-secondary students aged 16.6 years to 19.4 years (Amadeo et al. 2002).

The results of CIVED helped formulate generalizations about the role of schools in preparing young people for their roles as citizens. There is a rich array of educational experiences that can be considered important. In the results overall, for example, significant predictors of the

likelihood of voting were civic knowledge, emphasis that schools put on the importance of voting as a learning objective, and open climate for classroom discussion (similar to the results from the 1971 study). Slightly different constellations of school factors proved important for the outcomes of civic education in different countries. The CIVED study also confirmed that schooling is positioned within a set of systems, which influence the experience of students. The educational background of the home was important. In summary, country differences in student outcomes (knowledge, skills in understanding political communication, civic engagement, attitudes of trust and tolerance) confirmed the complexity of the phenomenon of civic education, its determinants, and its anchoring in the history and culture of each country.

CIVED strengthened the empirical foundations of civic education, as well as playing an important role in participating countries. The study contributed to a broad debate on the education of future citizens. Among other insights, the value of an open classroom climate for discussion first noted in the 1970s civic study was confirmed in the study of 1999 (and in subsequent studies).

An important additional contribution to the field was that a group of researchers from multiple disciplines gained experience in survey methods and research during the project. Starting in the early 2000s many of these researchers began to use the CIVED data (and later the ICCS data) to publish articles reporting secondary analysis; the articles that have been published in English currently number about one hundred. A sense of community among civic education researchers as well as social science researchers has been developing.

A few years later some of the researchers from 1999 were joined by new researchers in proposing a new study. The IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) was initiated, with data collected in 2009 and 2016, and the next cycle planned for 2022. The design of the ICCS cycles is the same as in the case of CIVED, with a student test as well as background and attitudes questionnaires (for the population of 14-year-olds) and with questionnaires for teachers and school principals.

The context for ICCS 2009 was marked by the growing impact of globalization and external threats to civic societies and their freedoms, such as international terrorism. Also, the lack of interest and involvement of younger generations in public and political life was an issue in many countries. These factors were reflected in the 2009 study's conceptual framework, which was designed to provide information to help countries relate the education of future citizens to changes in the world. In addition to the core part of the test and survey, three regional modules covering Asia (Fraillon et al. 2012), Europe (Kerr et al. 2010), and Latin America (Schulz et al. 2011) were introduced to address issues of special interest. Among these were students' perceptions of social cohesion and citizens' movements in Europe, of solutions for political conflicts in Latin America, and of roles and responsibilities of public officials in Asia. A prominent aspect of the ICCS study was envisioning citizen participation as a pillar of democratic societies: starting from the school itself and extending through local communities to the broader environment. Thirty-eight educational systems participated in ICCS with more than 140,000 students. The international results of ICCS 2009 were reported in Schulz et al. (2010) and in Ainley et al. (2013).

The ICCS 2009 results showed considerable variation in civic knowledge among and within countries including substantial differences between high and low achievers. Socioeconomic factors certainly play an important role. Among the underlying factors are those important in all testing, such as poorer ability to read the test questions among students who attend schools in less privileged socioeconomic areas. Even taking these factors into account, however, there are also experiences of democracy at school that clearly help students to learn and become involved.

In most countries the development of civic knowledge is a vital aim of civic and citizenship education. The results of the study raised concern in several participating countries about the number of "low achievers" in this area. Also of concern were students who are relatively skeptical

about democratic freedoms and equal rights. What also worried many policymakers was the lack of experience and low level of interest in active citizenship participation. This last outcome also drew attention from international organizations (such as the European Union and the Council of Europe), and some projects to improve this situation were initiated. Several chapter authors describe these efforts in their countries.

The next IEA ICCS study was conducted in 2016 with 24 countries and approximately 94,000 students. Many countries joined this study to observe trends from the 2009 assessment. In addition, broader test development took place in some topic areas because of emerging situations, such as the need for students to understand economic matters in times of financial crisis. In addition to the international portion this study included regional modules of questions developed specifically for the European region (Losito et al. 2018) and for the Latin American region (Schulz et al. 2018).

ICCS 2016 showed improvement of civic knowledge in about half of the countries that participated. This could be assessed because of anchoring items repeated across administrations. It is not possible to directly compare country rankings across studies because different countries participated in 2009 and 2016. Also, ICCS 2016 results showed an overall increase of support for gender equality and equal opportunities for ethnic and racial groups. Correlations between attitudes and other measures were similar.

Within countries higher levels of civic knowledge were positively associated with students' endorsement of equal opportunities (by gender and by immigrant status). The study confirmed that school can play a role in helping students become participating citizens, showing links between civic knowledge and civic engagement at school with expectations to vote and other forms of expected engagement in the future.

Variations in civic knowledge within and across countries were observed. Looking at the overall results internationally there was still considerable need for improvement in ways of organizing and teaching civic and citizenship content in specific national contexts and time periods. There were also some positive changes over time. Students' engagement or confidence in the value of participating in civic activities was stronger in 2016 than in 2009. There were no consistent associations between this type of civic engagement and civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2018).

The planned administration of the next ICCS will also address new developments and challenges related to the civic and citizenship area, such as growing migration, the prevalence of new social media as a mode for young people's engagement with civic issues, the increased importance of global awareness as part of citizenship, and the necessity of learning about sustainable development. It is likely that countries will again be interested in students' understanding of the financial system. Other global factors are likely to influence education of future citizens (such as the coronavirus pandemic).

The Influence of the Civic and Citizenship Studies Across Countries

There are three aspects of the ICCS testing program that can assist in formulating policy and encouraging productive practices. First, is monitoring of achievement in comparison to other countries and across time. Second, is the possibility of analyzing the usefulness of specific practices from other countries and adapting some of them to improve preparation for citizenship in one's own country. Third, is defining new topics for civic and citizenship education in a changing world. In all three areas additional research on specific issues can help in planning national reforms and also support the development of research on civic and citizenship on the national and international levels.

Looking across CIVED, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016, almost 50 educational systems participated in one, two, or all three of the studies. Fifteen of them agreed to contribute chapters to this

volume. Chapters with a regional focus on Asia, Europe, and Latin America provide additional breadth. Eleven of these 15 countries participated in CIVED and almost all of them in at least one of the ICCS projects.

The chapters in Part 1 of the book show that the countries' expectations went beyond seeking simple diagnosis of issues related to the place of their students in the international rankings of civic knowledge. The common characteristic shared among the countries' authoring teams in the current volume was interest in issues of civic and citizenship education related to political and social changes taking place during this period. These included transitions from non-democratic to democratic systems (in former totalitarian or authoritarian regimes), severe economic problems, and changes in the social composition of the population (flow of immigrants and sometimes clashes between cultures within a country). Some countries experienced problems with educational reforms (redefining fundamentals of education and its organization, massive changes in curricula, reforms of teacher education). The leaders of educational systems in these countries would find it valuable to be able to analyze strong and weak points of students' civic knowledge or understanding and also the structure of their attitudes and factors influencing them. The results of the study contributed to understanding rapidly changing political cultures and to guiding curricular or teacher training reforms. When planning educational improvements, it seemed useful to scrutinize school and classroom processes and compare them to other countries. In some cases, these were countries with similar recent histories and cultural characteristics but with higher student achievement.

As to concrete issues, in accord with IEA policy each participating country was assessed a portion of international costs. Regional institutions such as the European Union and the Council of Europe as well as the Organization of American States (OAS) provided some resources, suggested some inclusions to the ongoing project, and aided in dissemination. A large number of individual social scientists, educators, and researchers have seen the potential in a study of civic education and supported these collaborative initiatives at various points since planning for the studies began.

The broad perspective on civic and citizenship education provided by the international study may be complemented or modified by future studies, depending on the identification of pressing issues and the specific interests of individual countries or regions. Authors of several chapters in Part 2 of the book were invited to present examples from Europe, Latin America, and Asia. This section also includes chapters by scholars who contributed to the development of methodologies as well as networks of researchers interested in civic and citizenship education issues. The contributions in this part of the book include not only suggestions for specific approaches to be taken by those seeking to improve civic education in individual countries but also the development of theory and future studies in this area.

Structure of the Volume and its Chapters

The volume consists of two parts. *Part 1: Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Studies on Education in Participating Countries* includes 15 chapters presenting perceptions of national experts on civic education who were deeply involved in coordinating and writing about the effect of CIVED and/or the ICCS studies. There are three groups of countries: long-standing democracies in Europe (Belgium Flanders, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway) and the United States; post-communist European democracies (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia); and four Latin American democracies (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, and Mexico). These countries all responded to an invitation sent by IEA to the countries that participated in any of the three studies (CIVED, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016).

Each chapter author was asked to include the following sections: (i) introduction presenting the country's participation and author's role in the study; (ii) description of civic and citizenship education and specifics of the results to provide background; (iii) an assessment of the studies'

role in stimulating discussion about the civic preparation of young people as well as the studies' influence in the areas of educational policy, practice, and research, including building a community of educators and researchers; (iv) summary and conclusions indicating issues of central importance and/or special concerns that might be addressed by future studies (internationally, regionally, or in a small group of nations).

The central section of each chapter is built around topics such as the role of the IEA's civic and citizenship education studies in discourse about education as well as in more specific impact on curriculum (for example, in which courses or cross curricular), pedagogy, teacher preparation/professional development, researchers' interest in the topic, or perceptions of civic and citizenship education in the society. Materials authors used in preparation of the chapters consisted of a broad range of sources including relevant documents (e.g., curricular guidelines or summary articles/reports) and reflections by the leaders of the study and national experts on civic and citizenship education. Several also employed short interviews with persons involved in making policy (such as educational administrators), in practice (such as teachers of civic and citizenship or those who prepare them), in research (such as educational or social science researchers), and in influencing public opinion (such as journalists specialized in educational issues). The construction of this section differs substantially across the country chapters. It depends on the areas in which the influence of IEA civic and citizenship education studies could be identified and characterized and also on the particular perspective of the author or authors.

Part 2: Regional Perspectives and the Discussion of Selected Issues consists of the work of scholars involved in the IEA CIVED and ICCS studies in several ways: as leaders of the overall study, as members of its advisory bodies, and/or as researchers working on secondary analysis of the data from these international studies. These nine chapters are linked to various aspects of civic and citizenship education found in the IEA studies. They were written from the perspectives of political science and psychology as well as educational research and are intended to broaden the scope of the volume. Specifically, leaders of ICCS describe the development of successive cycles of studies and prospects for further development of the project. Other authors discuss different facets of secondary analysis and their role in building a community of practice and a community of researchers in civic and citizenship education (including the involvement of early career scholars in secondary analysis). There is a consideration of regional issues, building networks of researchers, and a consideration of how adding the moral education dimension could result in an expanded definition of the area. Broader reflections on the study from a long-term perspective in the regions of Latin America, Europe, and Asia are included.

Major Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Studies in Participating Countries

Students' results in the 15 countries with chapters in this volume represent a wide range of achievement in understanding civic and citizenship issues. They also represent a variety of attitudes towards political and social institutions, various levels of recognition of the rights of immigrants, and different levels of willingness to participate actively as a citizen. They reported differing experiences in their schools and communities, and characteristics of students' outcomes and their correlates. There were also differences in the position or status of civic and citizenship education within the educational system and how decisions were made about the choice of topics (especially the extent to which decisions were made in a central agency or closer to the school level with teacher involvement).

Countries were in general agreement that monitoring at the national level serves as a reliable source of information for policymaking, research, and planning reforms. The hope was that that educators would become more aware of and consider effective modes of learning for citizenship. However, there was considerable variation in the extent to which researchers in

different countries have become interested in using the data from the study for monitoring or devising new studies to follow up its findings.

Even after examining this extensive material, it is not possible to identify a single approach that seemed useful across countries in motivating the strengthening of civic education. At least one country instituted national testing in this area and one country constructed an "empowerment index" which could be tracked. Some reported that communications from researchers were effective in motivating change. Several countries supported the establishment of research programs/centers, which facilitated cooperation on a regional and cross-regional basis. This included visiting scholars and the building of a sense of community among researchers, especially early career scholars.

Participation in CIVED/ICCS served as an opportunity in several countries to increase public interest in this area. The focus was sometimes local, sometimes national, and sometimes international. Such attention resulted in media discussions aimed at a broad public but also in more specialized seminars and conferences involving both educational practitioners and researchers (and sometimes individuals with policy responsibilities). This facilitated professional interest and often led to presentations and publications. In a number of countries reports were prepared for different audiences increasing concrete information about this area of education, stressing the role of school and sometimes describing new programs, courses, or approaches. The researchers helped policymakers and the public to understand the potential consequences of different curricula and programs. In a few cases it is possible to trace influence on the national discourse that appeared to transform the state-centered subject into broader society-centered and age-relevant concepts of citizenship and its teaching.

In several countries there were parliamentary debates or recognizable moves toward evidence-based policymaking in civic education (and moves away from focusing civic education on rituals or slogans). In one of the countries results from the study had a breakthrough effect outside formal education by contributing to lowering the voting age to 16 in municipal elections. In some countries, the study prompted attention to local civic problems where students could contribute to a solution (for example, bullying or environmental issues). Policy benchmarks were debated by parliament in one country. In several countries at least a few steps forward in civic-related education were made under very challenging conditions, to give just one example, during civil conflict in Colombia.

Releases of the countries' results often stimulated public discussion on issues of the quality of civic and citizenship education among educators especially in cases where students' achievement level was seen as inadequate. The need for changes in curriculum, re-organization of school instruction, more motivating teaching strategies, and enhanced resources were considered in the context of CIVED/ICCS results.

A number of countries paid considerable attention to the test design framework itself, which highlighted important content domains and subdomains to be measured (as well as contextual factors). Some countries used these international content specifications as a model for their own national (or local) curricular frameworks. Some newer democracies found that the assessment framework had special value in the eyes of the public and of educators because it had been developed by international experts. Being able to learn about perspectives that covered several countries stimulated reflection about trends existing across nations rather than only in one's own country. This review of other curricular frameworks sometimes stimulated reflection about how to address particular issues in the political past of one's own country—for example, hyper-nationalism and militarism.

There were some rather impressive results. Experts who had been involved in the civic studies were invited to join government advisory bodies and often served as consultants to organizations

of practitioners (teachers' organizations, NGOs operating in the field, or teacher training institutions). In several countries advice on preparing textbooks and materials based on the studies' findings was sought from the study team. In at least one country a study leader became an author of textbooks related to civic education. In one region a substantial cross-national community of collaborating researchers (primarily early career scholars) has been created.

Some countries have given attention to test and survey results pointing to specific facets of schooling that could contribute to the improvement of student achievement. Among these were classroom climate for open discussion, diversifying of teaching and assessment methods, more opportunities for cooperation between students and local municipalities in contributing to local problem solutions, and cooperation among teachers themselves (within and across subject areas). These sometimes resulted in explicit recommendations for improving pedagogy that took into account the country's current context. In a few countries this was reflected in renaming a subject when a new focus was being established (sometimes in consultation with ICCS leaders).

Participation in the CIVED/ICCS program of studies also contributed to increasing the status of related subjects in the eyes of the public and of educational and governmental officials. There was sometimes enhanced receptiveness to the needs of particular groups of students such as minorities, immigrants, or students from families of low socioeconomic status. Consideration of the results also helped lead to enhanced appreciation of the differences between urban and rural schools and between different school tracks in approaches to educating future citizens.

Preparation of teachers of civic and citizenship, their education, and in-service training was an important area that was highlighted. Several of the chapters (from older as well as newer democracies) suggested that teachers lacked a sense of confidence or an understanding about where they might obtain support to improve their instruction. This was sometimes related to perceptions of the subject area's previous lack of status. Reforms in the preparation of educators were proposed in a number of countries. Results of the study were presented to teachers' groups at special seminars and conferences. This took place especially in countries where students' achievement was not deemed satisfactory. However, even where there were no serious concerns about low achievement, teachers were an important audience for the results and sometimes identified new avenues for improving the process of civic education.

Participation in the CIVED/ICCS studies contributed to the construction and implementation of in-service teacher courses (on the national and regional levels) as well as pre-service courses of study. The in-service courses covered a wide range of approaches and were meant to attract long-serving as well as newer teachers. An aim was often to overcome teachers' concerns about teaching this subject in times of rapid transition or polarization within their countries.

CIVED/ICCS had an impact on defining issues for research study and encouraging researchers to renew attention to this subject area in nearly all the countries that submitted chapters. Providing data for re-analysis (secondary analysis) as well as the ready availability of validated instruments for independent use were both important. This often attracted early-career researchers to the field. University based centers of this nature have been established in a few countries. To give just one example, the chapter on the Latin American region provides a detailed description.

In poorly performing countries there was motivation to investigate specific aspects of teaching and learning in order to find better approaches. In many countries, however, it was necessary to consider teachers' understandable concerns about new requirements. In countries where results of the study were strong, they had the potential to raise public appreciation of national (or small scale international) research studies aimed at strengthening connections between policy and practice in the field. Comprehensive research reviews that synthesize CIVED and ICCS findings are discussed in some chapters in Part 2. Researchers were often especially concerned by gaps associated with students' socioeconomic status or (in some countries) with anti-immigrant sentiment. It is a bit surprising that only a few countries have focused much attention on

implementing programs building on the research findings replicated over several decades about the importance of open classroom climate in promoting positive civic outcomes. In summary, however, the studies have contributed substantially to the strengthening of the community of practice in the field of civic and citizenship education research.

Every country chapter's author acknowledged issues remaining with the civic education area and concerns about the depth of students' understanding or their willingness to take action. But there were positive signs. Efforts aimed toward more evidence-based policies and positive efforts toward new modes of evaluation (including portfolio assessments) were mentioned in few recently established democracies. Chapters from long established and well performing systems sometimes expressed concern about reform measures that appeared successful in short trials but that had been interrupted by education policymakers' focus turning to concerns about subjects such as mathematics or science.

There are several aspects of the civic education studies and their findings that are particularly valuable to different audiences: to those who make policy (at multiple levels), to practicing educators, and to those who prepare them. First is that the study monitors achievement in one's own country across time and in comparison to other countries. Nearly all the chapters described how the civic knowledge scores (whether low or high) shaped elements of public and professional discourse. In some cases, high scores within a select group might be interpreted by journalists, the public, or policymakers as meaning that existing civic education was successful and needed little further attention or funding. Some authors made the assumption that increasing knowledge would be a promising way to lead to increasing participation or engagement; a few also saw engagement as a motivation to acquire knowledge. Some authors in countries with a high average score expressed concern because the distribution of that knowledge favored students from better educated homes.

Many chapters identified common problems and sometimes potential solutions that could be explored by policymakers, practitioners, or researchers. The process of developing the study in a collaborative way, and reflecting on an international picture, provided opportunities to create a sense of connection among researchers even when they were working on related topics independently. Among these common issues are movements described in several country chapters toward defining civic education as a cross-curricular competency or as a series of transversal themes in the curriculum. However, concern is sometimes expressed that this would result in the topic receiving inadequate emphasis. This diffusion approach may be successful primarily when the country has the resources and support from teachers to design innovative programs and can provide training to a wide range of educators. The chapters suggest that small local or national reforms can sometime contribute to the wider recognition of needs for research evidence and also to highlighting the need for practitioner guidance on both the national and international levels.

An important issue is the value of analyzing the usefulness of specific practices that might be adopted from other countries. Since the social, political, and educational contexts are important, incorporating novel practices to improve young people's capacity for citizenship is complex. Countries where this seems to have been successful were often those where organizations such as the European Union, the Council of Europe, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), or the OAS had prepared publications about models (or in other ways had brought attention to promising program elements originating in different countries including their challenges as well as their successes).

A need was also identified to better recognize the pressures and needs experienced by teachers (and to find ways to address them). Teachers may feel they have had some preparation in civic education but lack confidence about meeting everyday challenges in teaching some topics. This appears to be an issue in countries with authoritarian or dictatorships in their recent pasts.

Some chapters referred to teachers' feeling not only underprepared to teach in this area but sometimes overwhelmed. Even authors from long standing Western European democracies expressed some dissatisfaction with teacher preparation (and uncertainty about what direction to take in improving it). That said, there were a few chapters that pointed to moderate success using approaches in early stages of development. A few chapters recognized teachers' lack of preparation and proposed some solutions tailored to their needs.

As the world situation changes those designing the studies are setting new benchmarks for civic and citizenship education and suggesting ways to take action (some of them originating abroad). CIVED assessed support for immigrants' rights and support for gender equality measured with psychometrically strong attitudinal scales. A number of chapters mention results from the former, and a few countries discuss the latter. Over the three studies and more than 15 years country representatives have expressed concern about students' lack of support for immigrants' rights. This has also been the topic of a number of articles of secondary data analysis and is discussed in the chapter on the European region and some others. Several countries explicitly mention the existence of smaller gender gaps in achievement in the recent studies.

The chapters identify long-standing problems that authors believe have been given inadequate attention. These are often regional in scope. Some post-Communist countries and those who experienced dictatorships in their recent pasts are still reporting negative situations originating in those eras (sometimes of particular concern in certain regions of their countries).

Influence of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies on Research at the International and Regional Levels

The need for effective civic education research is widely recognized. Research projects on specific issues often provide further insights, examine national reforms, encourage research on civic and citizenship education that more closely links the national level with the international level, and provide frameworks and data that encourage the involvement of a new generation of researchers who are familiar with innovative tools of measurement and analysis. It is clear that the collections of data from nationally representative samples beginning in 1999 have not only been utilized by individuals with deep connections to the project, but this has also inspired a wider group of scholars in the next generation. This can be found in the chapters in Part 2, especially those addressing early career scholars' experience using CIVED and ICCS data. Other chapters there focused on issues for in depth discussion in the future and additional research in particular regions.

The clearest example of impact extending across national borders is the way in which organizations in Europe (including but not limited to the European Union) and in Latin America (including but not limited to OAS) have publicized the findings and built on the momentum of interest generated by the IEA civic studies. The research provides many suggestions and new perspectives that can be promoted as the basis for evidence-based policy. Prior to the availability of IEA civics data, these organizations were often limited to basing decisions about programs on small scale research from non-representative samples. The topic of the rights of different groups is of interest in many countries. Several researchers have analyzed the data about support for immigrants' rights, but less attention has been paid to gender equality.

Growing interest in secondary analysis of the CIVED/ICCS data initiated mostly by researchers linked to the IEA studies has resulted in the development of a "community of researchers." Early career scholars joined this community by participating in conferences and publishing papers based on the CIVED/ICCS data in scientific or professional journals. The chapters written by early career scholars in this book also include references to scale development and other initiatives. By disseminating validated measures as well as results IEA studies have had impact on approaches to studying processes of developing social attitudes.

Professional organizations with a focus outside as well as inside education have paid renewed attention to this area. More than five years ago the European Consortium for Political Research, a professional association largely of political science researchers, organized a special interest group focused on citizenship and education under the leadership of one of the national leaders from the IEA civic education projects. A similar interest group on civic engagement has more recently been established independently in the American Political Science Association. Within the Comparative and International Education Society two relevant special interest groups, including one in which IEA researchers play prominent leadership roles, have been established. Papers with a focus on civic education also are presented at IEA's International Research Conference, held approximately every two years since 2004. The studies have also stimulated interdisciplinary cooperation and suggested numerous ideas for complementary studies (some using mixed methods). All of this provides material for discussion about the development and improvement of future cycles of the studies.

Modules of questions addressing issues of importance in a particular region have contributed to the emergence of networks of researchers across several countries in those geographical areas. The recognition by regional organizations (such as the European Union, ORELAC-UNESCO,[1] or the OAS) of the value of these data and subsequent support for related programs has been considerable. In addition, multi-institution research projects based on ICCS data have been supported by national governments and/or intergovernmental organizations as well as some universities and private foundations.

Conclusions

IEA's civic and citizenship education studies have provided benefits for the participating educational systems in several ways. First, they have been responsible for collecting and widely disseminating information about the characteristics of young citizens on dimensions such as their knowledge about and understanding of political and social characteristics of their own countries and the world around them, their opinions about various aspects of being a citizen in increasingly diverse societies, and their tendencies to behave actively in this sphere or to remain passive and detached. This is an important result of each study cycle because it helps monitor differing patterns in the quality of civic and citizenship education in changing world and national contexts. The reports of results have in most cases taken a positive approach by noting strengths in particular countries (and internationally) and then focusing on ways to address weaknesses. However, the fact that the civic and political situation is constantly changing presents a challenge.

There are advantages to collecting nationally representative data in this subject area that can actually assist countries in their planning and practice. Analysis and discussion can encourage better understanding by various audiences of what is happening in the classroom and school. What actually helps teachers to teach and students to learn? Are certain practices such as a transversal or cross curricular approach likely to be more successful than having a specific civic education subject? Is helping students to learn to confront local problems first and only later to consider national or international ones appropriate? Or is that no longer true in this increasingly globalized world? What are more (and less) successful ways to introduce improvements, especially those that require additional preparation for educators? A relatively new and urgent issue is how the digital environment influences in-school teaching. Is access to these tools of communication exacerbating what we know to be a gap between more and less affluent young people in their opportunity to acquire the resources for effective civic engagement?

The majority of the authors of country chapters mentioned organizations such as the European Union, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, or the OAS. Particular chapters highlighted these

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1 ORELAC-UNESCO = UNESCO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean.

organizations' contributions to the teaching of topics such as human rights and environmental sustainability. An issue for the future is to consider effective ways of further utilizing these groups' resources and extensive networks to derive and then disseminate recommendations tailored to specific settings.

Practitioners in schools, civic leaders, parents, and nongovernment organizations have benefited from the opportunity to place their own situation and problems into a wider context. Researchers in a range of academic disciplines are receiving substantial material for reflection, for secondary analysis, and to aid in the formulation of new studies in the field. IEA studies are playing a distinct role in helping countries to educate their future citizens. They also provide information of value to international and cross-national organizations and other bodies that develop policies concerned with political and social development. We also cannot forget associations of educators who are charged with carrying out these policies.

In summary, IEA's studies of civic and citizenship education began in the mid-1990s and conducted testing in 1999 at a time when civic education was in flux—prescribed by many as a way to involve younger generations in solving broader problems in a newly configured world, criticized by some as an ineffective way to build democracy. Over the ensuing 25 years the studies have developed models for designing research around rich conceptual frameworks and using strong instruments that measure not only knowledge but also attitudes and participation. Arguably, the studies' greatest success has been moving countries toward evidence-based policies in this area and making informed civic action at the local, national, and global level appear as a realistic possibility for students in a world where they are caught in health crises and involved in conflict situations that are beyond their control.

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PART 1:

Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Studies on Education in Participating Countries

CHAPTER 1:

Students' and Teachers' Results in the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in Flanders (Belgium): Implications for Cross-Curricular Approaches to Civic Education

Ellen Claes and Linde Stals

Abstract Belgium (Flanders) participated in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and 2016. During that period of seven years, the Flemish educational approach to civic and citizenship education evolved, and research into the impact of civic and citizenship education at school played a role in guiding reforms. In this chapter, we give a short overview of the development of civic and citizenship education in Flanders. Furthermore, we discuss research that has monitored and guided this process. In this discussion, we mainly focus on students' attitudes toward immigrants and on teachers' beliefs about needs in civic and citizenship-related teaching.

Introduction

Encouraging citizens, particularly young people, to actively participate in the social, political, and civil life has been seen as one of the major means to address issues like the lack of equity, solidarity, and social cohesion in societies (Sandel 1996). Democratic citizenship education, therefore, has become an essential part of school curricula in Western European countries over the last decade. In Europe, citizenship education in secondary schools is organized via three main approaches: as a stand-alone subject, as part of another subject or learning area, or as a cross-curricular dimension (Ranguelov et al. 2012). In Belgium (Flanders), it falls within the latter approach and has officially been a cross-curricular achievement for schools since 1997.

The cross-curricular approach in Flanders in the late 1990s and early 2000s meant that attainment goals regarding civic and citizenship education were formulated for secondary schools and teachers. The goals focused on making schools and all teachers in these schools accountable for the domain of civic and citizenship education. However, the goals were not formulated in a way that they could be measured at the individual level. School administrators and teachers only had to present evidence that they attempted to reach them in young people. A large number of goals, and the emphasis on knowledge rather than on civic skills and attitudes (combined with the non-obligatory process), led to results with little substance or influence.

In 2010 the goals were revised based on a study by the team of Mark Elchardus (Elchardus et al. 2008). Approximately 1000 teachers, 60 principals, 6000 students, and many other stakeholders were surveyed. The cross-curricular approach was positively evaluated. Teachers, stakeholders, and principals alike thought that cross-curricular work would become even more relevant in the future. Specifically, civic and citizenship education was considered necessary, together with learning of social skills. Citizenship education was also considered more important than, for example, health education, education for sustainability, musical training, and education about technology and ICT. Regardless of this agreement on the importance of civic education, the report also indicated that students reported that in their perception, little time was spent on civic and citizenship education at school. The researchers stated the implicit character of civic and citizenship education could be an explanation. Although indirect forms of citizenship education like an open classroom and school climate are relevant, effective civic education must also have a base in the teaching of content.

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Other research at that time and in the next few years such as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 (De Groof et al. 2010) and the Belgian Political Panel Study (Hooghe et al. 2011) showed that Flanders scored poorly in comparison to other European communities and countries, especially on attitudes towards immigrants and active citizenship. Hence, from 2010 onwards, citizenship education goals were revised, taking into account these foci that were notably missing in citizenship education. Four themes were distinguished: active citizenship, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the functioning of democracy, and an international and European dimension (Dienst voor Onderwijsontwikkeling 1997; De Coninck et al. 2002). The theme of active citizenship concerned information about conventional ways of participating and respecting rules and agreements for peaceful coexistence, but also unconventional participation in organizations to work on democratic social capital. The second theme, human rights and fundamental freedoms, focused on a dynamic interpretation of human rights and freedoms within the school context. Furthermore, concerning the third theme, a minimal understanding of the characteristics and functioning of democracy was included as a fundamental condition for active citizenship. In this theme, the rule of law, the separation of powers, the (Belgian) state structure, and political decision-making were key elements. In addition to this factual knowledge, basic insights into the procedures and mechanisms of democracy and other institutions, such as the media, were taken into consideration. Finally, the cross-curricular final objectives also paid attention to the European Union (EU) and Europe, reflecting the European/international dimension. It was decided in the goals that it was a task of schools to engage students to pay attention to the global dimension of society. According to article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989, this includes "The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin" (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 1989). This dimension also has a specific European significance for member states of the EU.

ICCS in Flanders

As mentioned in the previous section, research on civic and citizenship education can play a crucial role in guiding curriculum development. It is in this context that ICCS, in which Flanders participated in 2009 and 2016, was important. The study provides the most extensive international data collection of civic and citizenship competences with the student at its center, but also includes important information about other socialization agents, such as parents and other organizations outside the school important for young people (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Furthermore, by including contextual data (i.e., questionnaires for country experts, principals, and teachers) using ICCS, one can examine the role of schools and teachers in promoting citizenship and democratic attitudes among young people. In ICCS 2009, a total of 38 countries participated; in 2016, a total of 24 countries participated. In Flanders, the study of 2009 was conducted by a partnership between the Departments of Sociology of the Free University of Brussels (VUB) and the University of Antwerp. A total of 151 Flemish schools participated, and data were collected from 2968 pupils from the second year of the first grade of secondary education, 1630 teachers, and 151 board members. In 2016, ICCS Flanders was conducted by the Centre for Political Science at KU Leuven. In this study, a total of 162 Flemish schools, 2931 pupils, 2021 teachers, and 149 board members participated. In the ICCS 2016, a total of 24 countries participated, namely: Belgium (Flanders), Bulgaria, Chile, Taiwan, Colombia, Croatia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia), Hong Kong, Italy, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Russia, Slovenia, and Sweden. As an internationally recognized research organization, IEA imposes strict conditions of participation to ensure the high quality of the collected data.

Between 2009 and 2016, the Flemish education system took various initiatives to strengthen the role of citizenship education within the curriculum. As already mentioned, this came in part as a response to Flanders scoring below the European and international average concerning several indicators of social responsibility and citizenship in ICCS 2009 (De Groof et al. 2010). More specifically, the results showed that although Flemish students were situated around the European and international average with regard to knowledge about citizenship, institutional trust, and gender equality, Flemish pupils were, amongst others, less interested in fundamental democratic rights and future political engagement. Perhaps the most significant result of the 2009 study was related to the way Flemish adolescents deal with ethnic and cultural diversity. ICCS, therefore, measured students' level of tolerance towards immigrants and ethnic minorities. The results showed that in 2009 Flanders had the worst score in Europe regarding tolerance towards immigrants and took on the fourth-to-last position regarding tolerance towards ethnic minorities.

In what follows, we will compare the findings of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 with regard to attitudes towards immigrants in more detail, and examine whether the initiatives taken to upgrade Flanders' international position have proved to be fruitful. A total of 18 countries participated in both the 2009 and 2016 surveys, making them our basis of comparison to assess whether the developments in Flanders deviate from those in other education systems. We therefore only use the scales that were included in both surveys to substantiate our reasoning. The participating countries were Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Slovenia, Taiwan, Flanders, and Sweden. We refer to the international report of 2009 (Schulz et al. 2010) and 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018) for more general information on the international state of affairs.

Adolescents' Tolerance Toward Immigrants in Flanders

As societies are more and more evolving into multicultural environments due to globalization processes, the concept of citizenship has been given a broader meaning. It no longer just refers to the role of the citizen in the nation-state. Within this notion of global citizenship, migration flows bring us into contact with people, practices, and experiences from across the borders (Brodie 2004; O'Sullivan and Pashby 2007; Reid et al. 2010; Schattle 2012; Torres 2002). Issues such as human rights, tolerance, and respect for cultural differences have therefore taken a more central position in the debate on citizenship education (Sampermans et al. 2017). Without tolerance, not all groups in society would be able to defend their interests in the same way. As tolerance decreases, intergroup conflict would become more likely, thus heightening its importance as a fundamental democratic attitude (Hahn 1998; Isac et al. 2019).

In the ICCS survey of 2009 and 2016, one measure of tolerance used five items reflecting attitudes towards rights for immigrants. Students were asked to "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree," with five statements. As the scale was part of the regional survey for Europe in 2016, we will only compare the results of the 12 European countries that participated in both studies and met the sampling requirements. These were Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Slovenia, Flanders, and Sweden. Table 1 shows that in 2009 the average of Flanders lied below the European average in four items. For example, 49% of Flemish Belgian students agreed that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their language, while in Europe, more than 70% agreed with this statement. Also, when it comes to the continuation of their practices and lifestyle, only 61% agreed with granting this right to immigrants, compared to 77% in Europe. However, in 2016, there is a significant increase in the percentage of students agreeing with both statements, when at the same time the opposite trend can be observed in Europe.

Nonetheless, Flemish students still scored below the European average in 2016. As these statements primarily concern the cultural aspects of immigrants, it appears that cultural diversity poses a challenge to Flemish students. Besides, when in 2009 Flanders scored significantly lower than the European average in granting immigrants the opportunity to vote in elections, the tables are turned in 2016. Furthermore, when it comes to equality of fundamental democratic rights, Flanders scored equally well as the European average in 2009 and even better in 2016. More specifically, in 2009, 92% of Flemish students agreed with granting the right to education to immigrant children, while in 2016, this percentage increased to 94%. Additionally, with regard to the general statement that immigrants should have the same rights as everyone else in the country, Flanders achieved the same score as the European average, both in 2009 and in 2016.

Table 1: Percentage of students that agree or strongly agree with the statements measuring attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants.

Item	Flanders		Europe	
	2009	2016	2009	2016
Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language.	49% ▼	58% ▼	71%	68%
Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have.	92%	94% ▲	91%	93%
Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in an election.	73% ▼	77% ▲	78%	75%
Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle.	61% ▼	66% ▼	77%	73%
Immigrants should have the same rights as everyone else in the country.	85%	88%	85%	88%

Notes: The significant results are indicated with ▲ (= significantly higher than the average score) or ▼ (= significantly lower than the average score), $p < .05$.

Looking at the overall results of 2009, Flanders shared the last place with the Netherlands and the United Kingdom as worst of all participating countries in adolescents' willingness to grant specific rights to immigrants, especially the rights to maintain language and cultural practices. However, in 2016, Flanders improved its position moving from the last to the fifth-to-last place (nevertheless still scoring significantly lower than the European average). Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, and Finland also scored lower. Higher scores were achieved by Lithuania, Slovenia, Croatia, Norway, and Sweden. Nonetheless, this positive trend in Flanders shows that substantial progress has been made concerning tolerance towards cultural diversity. It is also apparent that, in line with the curriculum reform of 2010, not only did Flemish students' tolerance levels improve between 2009 and 2016, but overall political knowledge levels did also. Moreover, this increase was slightly stronger than the average international growth, and hence, Flemish students (still) score significantly higher than the international average and somewhat higher than the European average on political knowledge. Hence, most Flemish youngsters can assess political processes and explain their function in society. However, the apparent political knowledge gap between students from general secondary education and vocational secondary education remains a challenge for educational policymakers.

In sum, although results concerning tolerance towards immigrants and democratic knowledge improved, the curriculum reform in 2010 did not reach the ambition of making Flemish students excel in these domains. Also, regarding parameters looking into active citizenship, Flemish students are still quite passive compared to European and especially Latin-American peers.

Current Civic and Citizenship Education Policy and Practice

In Flanders, policy reform is a lengthy process, and it is difficult to track the effects of any specific study. Looking into the future, however, the results from 2009 and 2016 will be useful in looking at the impact of current and planned reforms.

In particular, following an overall educational reform process, in September 2019, citizenship education in secondary school became an obligation targeted at obtaining specific results on the part of the school, its teachers, and its students. This obligation is set out in transversal final attainment goals for all educational programs (general as well as vocational). These goals focus on knowledge, skills, and attitudes and apply to students enrolled in the first grade of secondary education. The final objectives of other grades will be developed, and come into force in 2021 and 2023. Contrary to the cross-curricular attainment goals, the transversal ones are minimum goals each student must reach when finishing a grade or high school. So, different than the cross-curricular approach in 2010, the transversal approach asks for an obligatory assessment of the goals related to civic education and peacefully living together on a student and school level, where before only the school had to prove it made an effort of reaching these goals in students. Schools can still choose, however, if they will aim to achieve these goals in a separate civic and citizenship education course, and/or through a cross-curricular approach, or even integrated into other classes (e.g., history, languages).

Several Flemish organizations have also started developing tools to meet the challenges regarding citizenship education and help Flemish teachers with this responsibility. One activity is the Citizenship Booster, produced by the GO! Education network in Flanders. This online questionnaire comprises a series of simple statements to help schools elicit insight into the citizenship-based values, attitudes, and behaviors of their students, to use this information to understand the effectiveness of school-level citizenship education approaches (for example, the policy towards bullying). Based on the results, schools can reflect on and change how they implement teaching and support learning for citizenship education. Moreover, they can opt to strengthen their focus on specific aspects, for example, democracy at school, global citizenship, or sustainability. The booster, therefore, provides school-based information to support teachers and schools in planning activities to achieve cross-curricular objectives. The project was launched in September 2016, and by the end of April 2017 11,000 students in 85 schools had used it. This shows that schools and teachers not only recognize that they require guidance on this subject, but are also willing to do the work, and take responsibility for their students' development into democratic citizens. Another project is the Citizenship Compass (Katholiek Onderwijs Vlaanderen n.d.) from the Catholic education network in Flanders, which was launched in September 2020. This tool also starts from a student survey, measuring students' socio-emotional abilities, "inner compass" (e.g., identity and values system), and their social responsibility and commitment to sustainable living. Although both tools are similar, the Citizenship Compass also provides an interactive feedback view, in which schools can be benchmarked against similar schools or the Flemish average.

Teachers of Civic and Citizenship Education

Looking into the impact of educational reforms, it is clear that reform is in vain when there is no support of the teachers in schools to implement the change. Furthermore, according to the maximalist citizenship education view (Hargreaves 2008), teachers and the school are critical players in the provision of democratic values and hence especially important for citizenship education implementation. Therefore, increased emphasis has been placed on teacher-effectiveness and the provision of appropriate teacher training and guidance on pedagogies about civic and citizenship education. To assess the current state and evolution of these elements in Flanders, the ICCS studies are also valuable databases.

For example, ICCS 2016 asks teachers what they consider the most important aims of civic and citizenship education at school. The results (see Sampermans et al. 2017) show that more than 60% of Flemish teachers consider promoting students' critical and independent thinking as the most crucial objective. When it comes to conflict resolution skills and the ability to defend one's own opinion, the Flemish average is also significantly higher than the international average. Concerning the development of effective strategies to reduce racism, 16% of Flemish teachers consider this in the top three. Compared to the 2009 results (see De Groof et al. 2010), which show that only 11% believed this is an important aim, this indicates that Flemish teachers emphasize the importance of tolerance of diversity more. However, there is still some growth potential to join countries like Sweden and Italy, which place a higher emphasis here. Another striking result is the significantly smaller percentage of Flemish teachers acknowledging the importance of knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities, compared to the international average. The objectives concerning the encouragement of political participation and engagement score the lowest in Flanders. This is also in line with the results of the students' survey, in which students indicated receiving very few opportunities to participate in school.

In addition, as in Flanders, teachers of Flemish, history, geography, and religion are thought of as the ideal teachers to stimulate civic and intercultural educational competencies, this group of teachers was asked how well they felt prepared to teach 12 civic and citizenship-related topics and skills. In Flanders, more than half of the teachers indicate not feeling confident to teach about the EU, which is significantly higher than the European average. Also, almost two third of Flemish teachers lack confidence in teaching about the constitution and political systems, when internationally this is only 22%. On the positive side, Flemish teachers feel better prepared than their international colleagues in touching upon responsible internet use and helping students acquire critical and independent thinking skills. Internationally, we see that teacher confidence is relatively high in all 12 topics, especially in gender equality and citizens' rights and responsibilities. Issues such as the global community, international organizations, and responsible internet use generate the least teacher confidence.

Other studies have painted quite a different picture, with several indicating that teachers believe they have not received adequate training to teach citizenship education. They either do not feel confident to explain it or feel insecure about choosing the right teaching approaches (Barr et al. 2015; Chin and Barber 2010; Willemse et al. 2015). To analyze if training in citizenship education meets the trainees' demand, ICCS 2016 asks teachers if they have attended any courses addressing the same 12 topics and skills. The results show that in all areas, Flemish teachers attend less training than the international average. This is especially problematic for issues concerning human rights, gender equality, voting and elections, citizens' rights and responsibilities, the constitution and political systems, and emigration and immigration, where consistently more than 60% of teachers indicate not having attended any pre- or in-service training. In 2009, the same findings were recorded; this means that seven years later, little has changed in teacher training to provide teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills to teach core topics of citizenship education.

However, it is also important that we, besides improving civic and citizenship teacher education programs, also adhere to what Flemish teachers currently need to promote civic and citizenship education in their school. According to the ICCS 2016 results, almost 40% of teachers say they want to have more pre-service training in civic and citizenship education, which is significantly higher than the international average (26%) and need more instructional time, which aligns with the international trend. Moreover, almost one-third of Flemish teachers asks for more cooperation between teachers in different subject areas, thus recognizing that cooperative efforts are of particular importance. Lastly, the international results show that better materials and textbooks, more opportunities for projects related to civic and citizenship education, and more instructional time are needed the most to improve civic and citizenship education in schools.

In summary, in Flanders, teachers place relatively little emphasis on knowledge about institutions and rights, and the participative element of democracy. However, this is what is expected of students if they are to become active critical citizens, and is a clear objective within the current cross-curricular curriculum. The results concerning the promotion of cultural diversity by teachers have improved compared to 2009. As the results of ICCS 2016 show that students also enhanced their tolerance towards immigrants, teachers' perception of citizenship education objectives can explain the progress in this domain.

Conclusion

Modern citizenship education should create engaging and interactive learning environments to help students become active and socially responsible citizens. In Flanders, several civic and citizenship education initiatives have already been introduced in recent years. The ICCS results show some other possibilities for future educational policies.

First, as Flemish students' tolerance towards immigrants showed a significant improvement between 2009 and 2016, and Flemish teachers have also started highlighting strategies to reduce racism and xenophobia as important aims of civic and citizenship education more, both are moving in the right direction with regard to (cultural) tolerance. However, there is still a long way to go if Flanders wants to occupy a leading position. Future citizenship education in Flanders could, therefore, include more initiatives promoting cultural diversity, starting with greater emphasis on the importance of diversity in languages, customs, and lifestyle.

Second, attention to the active participatory aspect of citizenship education in school remains very limited in Flemish schools. Teachers consider political participation and engagement less important as objectives of citizenship education, which aligns with students' perception of participation opportunities at school. According to Sampermans et al. (2017), this may partly explain why Flemish young people estimate their future voting behavior as low. Initiatives promoting participation at school can thus contribute to greater future societal involvement. Furthermore, although significantly less Flemish teachers than the international average consider the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities an important aim, Flemish students, and especially students in general secondary education, still belong to the international top regarding political knowledge. Closing the knowledge gap between general and vocational secondary education, however, remains a point of attention in Flanders.

Thirdly, since Flemish teachers not only show significantly less confidence than the international average in teaching civic and citizenship education-related subjects but also indicate having attended significantly fewer training programs, Flanders should attach greater importance to giving teachers the training they need and want. The necessary growth potential lies within pre-service teacher programs. Moreover, guidance and support materials, such as the Citizenship Compass and the Citizenship Booster, have the potential to help schools and teachers determine both the core civic and citizenship education content to include in their teaching and which learning activities to use, while also embedding new curriculum reforms within the schools' institutional contexts. Although in Flanders each school has pedagogical freedom, and schools don't receive mandatory guidance materials to support the implementation of citizenship education, these tools have been very popular since their first launch. Making these materials and other related information freely available to schools should, therefore, remain a priority in Flanders' educational policies. Additionally, teacher cooperation is another area where improvement is necessary, and which should be structurally facilitated. Lastly, as Flemish teachers are significantly more confident in teaching critical and independent thinking skills than the international average, and also assess this skill as one of the most important objectives of civic and citizenship education, Flanders should aspire to keep this position.

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CHAPTER 2:

Bulgarian Civic and Citizenship Education in Transition

Svetla Petrova

Abstract In 2016, a new Pre-School and School Education Act was adopted in Bulgaria. This led to considerable change in the school system and in the concept of secondary education. The goal is a complete reform of the school system, school life, teaching content (in all school subjects), and teachers' training. This involves a new educational paradigm and has a profound impact on all aspects of education—promoting the intellectual, emotional, social, moral, and physical development of every child. Civic competence has recently become a focus of education policy. The current concept of civic and citizenship education reflects experts' agreement that the social mission of civic education is to harmonize the relationship between the individual and the state and to promote the successful integration of young people into society. Although significant changes in education have been made in recent years there are problematic areas related to the quality and efficiency of civic education in Bulgaria, which are still debated.

Educational Context for Civic and Citizenship Education

Educational System in Bulgaria

The Bulgarian educational system has its foundation in the Constitution (1991), which declares that education is a fundamental right for all citizens regardless of gender, social background, ethnic origin, or religion. This fundamental democratic principle of free access to education is confirmed in all normative documents regulating the functioning of the educational system. Schooling is compulsory up to the age of 16. (In 2016, mandatory pre-school education for children at five years of age was introduced). School education can be acquired at state, municipal, or private schools. With the exception of private schools, all education is free of charge. All grade 1 to grade 7 students, in all schools, receive free textbooks.

Schools in the country are primary schools (grade 1–4, ISCED[1] 1); basic schools (grade 1–7, ISCED 1/2); high schools (grade 8–12, ISCED 3); united schools (grade 1– 10, ISCED 1/2/3), and secondary schools (grade 1–12, ISCED 1/2/3). Primary education includes two stages: elementary (grade 1 to 4) and gymnasium (grade 5 to 7) schooling. During ISCED 1 and 2 students are not divided into tracks, with the exception of relatively small numbers of students in some high schools, usually those with interest in mathematics and science. The first stage, grade 8–10, is compulsory. The second stage, grade 11–12, is elective and provides access to the universities. Depending on the instruction, school education is general, of special profile, and vocational. Students' admission to ISCED 1 and ISCED 2 depends on parental preferences (with the exceptions described above). Enrolment at ISCED 3 takes place according to the students' results in the external national assessment at the end of grade 7. The high schools can be profiled (in fields such as mathematics, science, foreign language) or vocational. There are also schools specialized in sports, arts, culture, and for the needs of religious denominations.

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1   ISCED = International Standard Classification of Education.

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Education administration is organized at four levels: national, regional, municipal, and school. The Ministry of Education and Science (MES) is the central public authority responsible for the kindergarten, school, and university levels. The Regional Departments of Education (RDE) are territorial units of the MES for the management and control of the education system at regional level. There are 28 units, corresponding to the territorial and administrative structure of the country. The school is a legal entity. The autonomy of the schools—both managerial and financial—was considerably extended during recent years. Each school's autonomy includes school management and particular aspects of instructional organization. Instruction in the schools is implemented according to the state educational standards and curriculum framework in every school subject (Ordinance № 5/30 November 2015).

New for the education system is the introduction of innovative schools—schools which achieve a higher quality of education through introducing new teaching methods or innovative elements in the development of teaching content, curricula, and syllabi. Recently Personality Development Support Centers have also been created to support the inclusion, instruction, and upbringing of children, as well as to cultivate their interests and capabilities. These are for students with special educational needs and for those with outstanding talents.

Brief History of Civic and Citizenship Education in Bulgaria

The modern Bulgarian state (the Third Bulgarian Kingdom) was re-established after liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. Bulgaria became a constitutional monarchy with a democratic governmental system, free market economy, and a multiparty political system. The Tarnovo Constitution was adopted in 1879. With several amendments, the Constitution remained the fundamental law of Bulgaria until the end of 1947. Bourgeois-liberal in character, the constitution was considered advanced for its time. It granted a wide range of individual liberties; it required all Bulgarians to obey the law, pay taxes, send their sons to the army for a two-year period, and educate their male and female children at the primary level. According to the Constitution, education is "the basis for the progress of the people" and primary education is mandatory and free of charge. Nevertheless, the lack of democratic traditions, especially in the beginning of the period, and the strong influence of the monarch, distorted the political system. For this reason, some historians define the political system in this period as "quasi-pluralism" (Balkansky et al. 1999).

In that period, the fundamentals of the educational system were established. The state and the central government had full responsibility for the administration and financial support of education. In the end of the 19th century, six-year mandatory education was introduced, as well as mandatory pre-school education. The teachers became civil servants and standardized criteria for their preparation were implemented.

In the end of 19th century, for the first time, the school subject civics was introduced. The subject was mandatory for students at the end of primary education (grade 7). Thus, the State aimed to provide every student who graduated from primary school with the knowledge and skills necessary to act as a competent citizen of the country. The main content areas of civic education during that period were democracy and what it means to be governed by a parliament; the constitution; citizens' rights, freedoms, and responsibilities; and, relationships between the individual, society, and state institutions. In 1894, the first textbook in civics was published.

The establishment of the totalitarian communist regime after 1944 changed the political orientation of the Bulgarian state and the educational paradigm. Civic-related subjects were taught according to the principles of communist ideology. A new school subject was introduced, scientific communism, which represented the main ideas in Marxist doctrine and Leninism (Zahariev et al. 2001).

In 1989, the Communist party resigned and the country started a process of political and socioeconomic reforms with a fundamental aim—restoration of the democracy. Major transformations were implemented, such as re-establishment of democratic institutions and structural reform in economy, culture, and education. De-ideologization was announced as one of the major goals in education. However, this has not been an easy transition since economic crisis, unemployment, increased crime rates, and corruption have accompanied the changes.

The National Education Act, adopted in 1991, regulated the process of de-idelogization in Bulgarian education during that period including civic and citizenship education. In 2000, the national educational standards for school content were implemented. According to these standards, civic and citizenship education was considered a part of the cultural and educational field "social science and citizenship education," and was taught through subjects like history, geography, and philosophy. In grade 11, a separate integrated subject, called the world and the individual, was introduced.

Recent Changes in the Educational System that have Influenced Civic and Citizenship Education in Bulgaria

Today civic and citizenship education has become a focus in education. It is a part of the reform effort in school education accomplished through the Pre-School and School Education Act in 2016. The Act outlines the major changes in the philosophy and goals of education in Bulgaria and defines school education as competence-oriented. Civic competences are one of the key competences that pupils should develop in the process of general education. The law defines 12 main objectives of pre-school and school education, at least seven of which are directly linked to civic and citizenship education:

- Acquiring the competences necessary for successful personal and professional realization and active civic participation in modern communities;
- Acquiring the competences for sustainable development;
- Acquiring the competences for understanding and implementation of democratic principles, human rights and freedoms, and active and responsible citizenship participation;
- Development of tolerance and respect for the ethnic, national, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of every citizen;
- Development of tolerance and respect for rights of the child, students, and people with disabilities;
- Acquiring the competences for understanding global processes and their interrelations; and
- Acquiring the competences for understanding and implementation of the principles, rules, responsibilities, and rights resulting from participation in the European Union.

The Pre-School and School Education Act outlines the social and citizenship competences as one of the main groups of competences which students have to develop during general education. In general, the aim is to enhance the activity and involvement of young people in political and social processes.

The concept of civic and citizenship education is also presented in the National Child Strategy (2008–2018) and is discussed in the context of the challenges and risks for child development. The fourth operational objective of the Strategy is to promote children's participation in the development and implementation of policies related to their rights and responsibilities. Acquiring clear understanding of the development of tolerance, adaptivity, and emotional intelligence is important.

Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education in Bulgaria and their Main Findings

International Studies on Civic and Citizenship Education in which Bulgaria Participates

Bulgaria continues to participate in the international assessment surveys of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), including CIVED, ICCS, PIRLS, and TIMSS,[2] and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), including PISA and TALIS.[3] The national findings of these projects provide detailed information about the quality of education in several key areas: reading, mathematics, science, and civic and citizenship education.

Bulgarian students participated in the three civic education studies that IEA organized after the radical political and social changes that took place in the 1980s and 1990s. Bulgarian students took part in IEA's CIVED in 1999 together with about 90,000 14-year-old students in 28 countries. After almost 10 years, Bulgarian grade 8 students and their teachers participated in the new civic education study ICCS 2009, and later in ICCS 2016. This allowed, on the one hand, measuring of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of students in civic and citizenship education at the time and, on the other, identifying changes that have occurred in the preparation of pupils over a relatively long period.

In 1999, with a mean knowledge score of 98 points, Bulgarian grade 8 students were in the group of countries with a mean result that did not differ significantly from the average score for CIVED of 100 points (Torney-Purta et al. 1999). In 2009, the mean result of Bulgarian students was 466 points, which was significantly lower than the ICCS 2009 international mean of 500 points (Schulz et al. 2010; Petrova 2010, pp. 229–241). Bulgaria was among the 11 countries that achieved a lower average score in 2009 in comparison with 1999, and the decrease was the largest in Bulgaria. Subsequently in ICCS 2016 the result of Bulgarian pupils increased compared to the survey in 2009. Nevertheless, the mean result for Bulgarian students of 485 points was again lower than the survey average of 517 points (Schulz et al. 2018; Petrova 2018). The findings in 2009 and 2016 showed that girls in Bulgaria had a higher score than boys. For example, in 2009, their score was higher by 26 points, and in 2016 the difference was 37 points. Indeed, in almost all countries, the girls outperformed boys. The largest gender differences were identified in Malta and Bulgaria.

The findings showed that the social and cultural background of students has a strong impact on their achievements in civic and citizenship education. The students with higher social and cultural status had higher mean scores than the students with lower social status. The difference between the results of students in the two extreme categories according to the educational status of their parents was the largest in Bulgaria compared to the other countries in the study. The findings and interpretations based on various studies, including PISA (OECD 2016), have suggested that the inequality in results on the civic education test in Bulgaria are likely a result of the extent of economic and social inequality in the country. To put it another way, the social and family status of the students is a strong predictor of the students' achievements in civic and citizenship education. The family's influence is also visible in other results. The students whose parents are more interested in political and social issues are more likely to expect to engage with civic activities in the future.

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2   CIVED = Civic Education Study; ICCS = International Civic and Citizenship Education Study; PIRLS = Progress in International Reading Literacy Study; TIMSS = Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study.

3   PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment; TALIS = Teaching and Learning International Survey.

The results from ICCS 2016 showed that the civic knowledge and skills of students varies considerably within as well as between countries. The biggest difference between the highest and lowest results of the students in ICCS 2016 (the amount of variance) was measured in Bulgaria. For example, the difference between the five percent of students with the lowest scores and five percent of students with the highest scores was 349 points. It was 275 points for ICCS 2016 internationally. Although most of the students in Bulgaria possess basic knowledge in civics, the percentage of those who achieved high results in the survey was very small while there were many low achievers. This suggests that efforts should be focused on motivation and support for lower achievers and ensuring their effective inclusion in the learning process.

The results of ICCS 2016 confirmed ICCS 2009 conclusions showing somewhat inconsistent links between high test scores and the motivation of the students to participate in civic activities. For example, top performing students in Bulgaria are more likely to vote in elections in the future, but they do not plan to engage in active political life as adults. This is also true in many other participating countries.

Compared to other participants in the survey, Bulgarian students are more likely to participate in social campaigns and express their position and opinion on significant public or political issues. In addition, significantly more students tend to be involved in legal and illegal forms of protest than in other countries. Bulgaria has a relatively high average scale score for anticipated participation in illegal protest activities—54 points (50 points on average for ICCS). Students who expected to participate in illegal protest activities tended to have lower levels of civic knowledge.

However, almost half of students in Bulgaria do express strong support for democratic beliefs. For example, they agree that people should have equal rights regardless of their gender or ethnic origin. This attitude is much more pronounced among students with higher test scores and among girls. On the other hand, compared to other countries in ICCS 2016 there are significant differences between perceptions of pupils in Bulgaria and their peers about the equality and equal rights of ethnic groups. The index score of Bulgarian students is one of the lowest in the survey—49 points (53 points on average for ICCS). Bulgarian students across the studies have moderate levels of support for women's rights compared to other countries in ICCS and report relatively closed (rather than open) classroom climates for discussion.

Students report gaining their information about political and public issues primarily from television and their parents. They usually do not read newspapers. The use of social media as an environment for civic activities and the exchange of information on civic issues is still very limited. The comparison of students' engagement with social media and their socio-cultural status indicates very weak association. The difference between social media engagement of students by parental education is not statistically significant.

Students in the schools where conditions encourage civic activities among students, where students are involved in the development of school policy, and where the students participate in school life, are more motivated to participate in civic initiatives out of school. The main areas of students' activities in the schools are sports and cultural events. On the other hand, the number of Bulgarian students who participate in activities related to student self-government is relatively small.

The data showed that Bulgarian pupils are more actively involved in civic initiatives outside school than at school. Compared to 2009, more students in 2016 report being involved in discussions on political and social issues; their confidence in participating in various civic initiatives has also increased. Positive change was also observed in pupils' attitudes towards participation in civic initiatives in the future. The share of students participating in volunteer activities rose substantially in ICCS 2016 compared to ICCS 2009. The ICCS 2016 data showed that the students who participate in various civic initiatives at schools have more positive attitudes and are more likely

to participate in civic activities in the future. That means that the school has a potential not only to teach civic knowledge and develop skills but also to create positive attitude toward active civic behavior among young people.

National Studies on Civic and Citizenship Education

Along with the international studies of civic and citizenship education, several national surveys have been conducted in Bulgaria among young people, mainly supported by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The results of these studies to a great extent confirmed the findings from ICCS.

In 2005, the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation implemented a national survey on young people's civic participation—*Young People and Civil Society in Bulgaria*. The main objective was to investigate young people's attitudes towards civic participation, different mechanisms of participation, and attitude to NGOs. The surveyed group included young people aged 16–30. The methods were questionnaires, focus groups, interviews with members of youth political organizations, content analyses of articles, and interviews with youth leaders. The survey results identified several groups among young people according to their attitudes to civic and citizenship education related issues and active civic participation. The respondents (especially the youngest group) believed that participation in political parties and civic organizations were not important. More than half of 16 and 17-year-olds declared that they are not interested in social and political life. The youngest group was least likely to be included in the discussion about socio-political events in the family, with friends, or at school/work. The 16 to 17-year-olds demonstrated the least willingness to participate in activities such as volunteering or circulating petitions. The survey found a contradictory understanding of the state's role in social life as a guarantee of social equality, on the one hand, and citizen autonomy and the role of the civic society in policy development, on the other. The opinion that the state should ensure a basic income to everyone and guarantee social equality was dominant. In terms of the effective ways for influencing the government's decisions, nearly 43% of the respondents answer that there is no way to influence governmental decisions; 37% consider strikes and protests as the most effective ways to influence the government; and 14% of respondents preferred a dialogue with the government such as meetings and negotiations (Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation 2005).

In 2014, the Bulgarian Youth Study was carried out as a part of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's research project on youth in the Balkan countries (Kovacheva and Kabaivanov 2016; Kovacheva and Mitev 2014). The methodology of the study combined standard interviews with respondents aged 14–27 and in-depth interviews with young males and females in different social circumstances. The research instrument covered the attitudes and experiences of young Bulgarians in a wide range of life domains: family, school, work, leisure, and politics. The survey collected these data on the values and behaviors of young people in Bulgaria in order to understand their life choices. The data allowed for the drawing of profiles of the young people in terms of civic attitudes, values, and civic participation. The group of young people who were involved in informal voluntary activities tend to be in their teens or early twenties, in stable jobs, with a strong trust in European institutions and the media, a high interest in international politics, and a firm belief that being active in civic activities is a modern way of expressing their opinion.

The membership in non-profit organizations as a form of civil engagement is very low among young people in Bulgaria, according to the survey data (some 15% of the respondents were members of an organization). Those active in formal youth or other NGOs share high trust in political parties in Bulgaria and the country's parliament, as well as in European institutions. Trust in political parties, the government, and the European institutions have a positive relation to the involvement in elections and voluntary activities.

Youth who participate in elections are more likely to live in rural areas and trust local authorities more than the central government. They trust local politicians and parties more.

The survey results suggest a lack of representation of youth in politics, which is seen as a remote domain, reserved mainly for politicians.

Current Debates in Civic and Citizenship Education

Civic and citizenship education became a matter of public interest and debate during the development and adoption of the Pre-school and School Education Act (2016). A key point in the discussions was what type of civic and citizenship education should be implemented in the Bulgarian schools. During recent years, discussions about the aims, content, and methodology of civic education are taking place at all levels: teachers, education experts, university professors, trade unions, and the NGO sector.

There is agreement on two major issues: the civic competences of the students should be developed during school education, and civic and citizenship education is not a typical school subject. There are several main characteristics of civic and citizenship education, which are explicitly defined in the normative documents about school education in Bulgaria: interdisciplinary, systematic, purposeful and pragmatic, and relevant to the everyday life of the students; with a global outlook; emphasizing the importance of pluralism and diversity of views; and using discussion, debate, and dialogue as learning tools (Ordinance № 13/21 September 2016).

The current concept of civic and citizenship education in Bulgaria reflects experts' agreement that the social mission of civic education is to harmonize the relationship between the individual and the state and to promote the successful integration of young people in society. That can be achieved through a combination of civic knowledge, skills, and competencies necessary for active participation in social and civic life. It is essential for students to acquire knowledge about the state, democracy, society, law, politics, economics, culture, ethics, ethnicity, and ecology. Among the important social skills that a good citizen should possess are those necessary to perform diverse social roles in the family, groups, communities, and society; to think critically, to argue, and also to negotiate. Skills for developing projects and communicating with people from different countries and different social groups along with competencies in decision-making, teamwork, and conflict resolution are valuable.

While there is agreement about the social mission of civic and citizenship education, there is controversy about the educational policies and practices through which this mission should be accomplished. The different points of view concern the approach to civic education in the Bulgarian schools, i.e., to study civic and citizenship education as a separate subject or based on an interdisciplinary approach. The proponents of citizenship education as a separate school subject argued that such an approach would result in a more holistic and systematic curriculum. According to this view, the teaching of citizenship education as a freestanding discipline would avoid the confusion of introducing some concepts differently depending on the particular contexts of the different subjects. The proponents of this concept argue that civic and citizenship education should be accepted as an integral but independent part of the common educational process.

Another approach is teaching civic and citizenship education in an interdisciplinary way that crosses the curriculum. The proponents of this approach argued that the nature of citizenship education is interdisciplinary and therefore the cross curricular approach is most appropriate to study the subject. They argue that this approach ensures the effective linkages among the various subjects.

Currently the Bulgarian educational system adopts a vision for civic and citizenship education that is a combination between two mentioned approaches. According to Ordinance № 13/21 (2016) civic, health, ecological, and intercultural education are interrelated and form an interdisciplinary

complex aimed at development of social, civil, and intercultural competences. Civic and citizenship education is intended to be an integral component in all subjects, at all educational levels. It exists also as a separate school subject, civil education (previously, the world and the individual), in grades 11 (will be introduced from 2020–2021 school year) and 12 (will be introduced from 2021–2022 school year). It is defined not as a theoretical course but as an opportunity for the students to apply citizenship competences in practice by focusing on developing practical skills and abilities.

According to the curriculum in this area, half of school time should be allocated for practical activities and practice. In addition, civic and citizenship education is an integral part of extracurricular activities in and outside of the school. Schools are obliged to support, to build and maintain a democratic school organizational culture encouraging respect for shared understandings, traditions, and common values. Its features include such democratic practices as students' self-management, volunteering, youth leadership, informal groups, school media, and peer education. Every school is obliged to develop and implement institutional policies for supporting civic, health, environmental, and intercultural education. Each school is also expected to develop its own ethical code.

Nevertheless, many agree that civic and citizenship education in Bulgarian schools is still not as good as it should be. Discussions are taking place on the content and methods of teaching in this area. There is general agreement that Bulgarian school education is still subject oriented. Civic and citizenship education is taught theoretically, and its practical orientation is neglected. In order to turn it into an involving activity that encourages pupils' initiative, creativity, and responsibility, civic and citizenship education should be based on interaction such as debates or discussion, learning through practice or experience, inquiry, problem solving, case studies, and project development. It must also include such specific activities as school parliament and organized projects to encourage civic participation in school life and to promote democratic discussion and ethics in schools.

Consultation with teachers, educational experts, and university lecturers conducted in preparing this chapter identifies the main obstacles for the effective implementation of civic and citizenship education in schools. Some of the obstacles are rooted in the curricula. The curriculum includes a large number of topics but the teaching time is insufficient, especially considering what could be the practical orientation of civic education. This has an impact on teachers' and students' motivation to engage in discussing or suggesting ways to solve civic related issues. The teaching time for development of social skills and civic competencies through individual and teamwork is extremely limited. Education resources appropriate for teaching civic and citizenship education are also insufficient. Another obstacle according to the respondents is that many teachers do not have appropriate theoretical and methodological preparation to teach the subject.

The educational systems define as their main aim the development of the abilities of all students regardless of their family and social status. Indeed, in many countries including Bulgaria the socioeconomic background of the students has a decisive impact on their education achievements and on their education opportunities. That is why equity in education is an important condition for social justice and inclusion.

CIVED results as well as the results from two ICCS surveys enabled an in-depth exploration of civic and citizenship education in the Bulgarian schools. The national data were analyzed in the international context of the information about civic and citizenship education in other countries in the surveys. We were able to study the local as well as national contexts and the interrelation between schools and the local communities; the resources for civic and citizenship education at local level; problems related to the teachers' qualification and in-service training; the specific civic content, assessment approaches, and instruction methods. These provided motivation

for considering educational policies and even some innovations aimed to impose a culture of creativity, flexible learning models, and use of a variety of educational resources (Petrova 2010; 2012; 2018).

Teachers of Civic and Citizenship Education

Civic education in Bulgaria is taught mainly by history, geography, and philosophy teachers with relevant bachelor or master's degrees as it is introduced in the learning content of these subjects. In-service teachers' training on civic education is on an optional basis. Initial and in-service training of teachers is provided mainly in the universities in the form of qualification programs, seminars, refresher courses, etc.

In 2014, a National Strategy for Teachers Development (2014–2020) was adopted with the aim of creating conditions for attracting young people to the teaching profession. In recent national strategies and policy documents, the Ministry of Education and Science recognizes the increasing shortage of teachers due to the aging population in the profession. The National Strategy for Teachers' Development (2014–2020) outlines as a priority the recruitment, retention, and professional development of teachers less than 35 years old. Moreover, it identifies strategic measures such as mentoring programs, on-going professional development for novice teachers, and alternative models for obtaining teacher qualification. There are also measures to update the assessment of the teacher and his/her work as well as specific measures and policies for motivating, attracting, and retaining young pedagogical staff.

Under the new law, the Ministry of Education and Science develops and maintains an information register of approved teacher training programs many of which are focused on topics, teaching strategies, and approaches related to civic and citizenship education.

Summary and Conclusions

Participation of Bulgarian students in three IEA surveys of civic and citizenship education led to a growing interest in the civic education taking place in schools. It brought attention to the problems in civic and citizenship education, and they became a subject of discussions, seminars, conferences, national surveys, and publications.

The importance of civic and citizenship education stems from the fact that it is an integral part of the preparation of the young people for active participation in public life and democratic societies. Undoubtedly, civic education is not a typical learning subject. It is distinguished by its practical focus, which requires the application of interactive teaching and learning methods rather than the methods traditionally used in school. The students should be actively involved in the learning process through teamwork and project development. This approach sets very high requirements for the teachers in CCE both from content and methodological points of view.

The results of the Bulgarian grade 8 students in ICCS 2009 and 2016 put on the agenda the issue of the quality of civic and citizenship education in Bulgarian schools. As already mentioned, the average score of Bulgarian students was significantly lower than the average for ICCS. Also of concern is the great variation in the individual students' results and the strong influence of the socioeconomic status of the students on their achievements. This clarified that there is a problem and made clear the importance of examining the factors that influence the quality of civic education in school.

The overall conclusion of ICCS and other international assessments and surveys showed in the first place that the curriculum content, teaching methods, instruction, and teachers' qualification have an impact on the academic achievements of the students, and on their motivation and interest in civic and citizenship education. Thus, the need for a re-organization of school instruction, school content, teaching strategies, resources, and methods was highlighted as a key point.

As a result of the public awareness of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 findings, topics that have been a subject of increased public interest over the last decade were added to the civic and citizenship education curriculum. These include the concepts of responsible citizenship and sustainable development; envisioning the school as a public area in which pupils can participate; the potential use of social media for gaining information and developing opinions about civil events (with care about the validity of sources); and the inclusion of topics related to global citizenship (to give just a few specific examples).

Although significant changes in school education in Bulgaria have been made in recent years, there are several topics of key importance, which are still debated. There are problematic areas that are directly related to the quality and efficiency of civic education in Bulgaria. The first issue is the conceptualization of civic and citizenship education in the Bulgarian school. It is of great importance that the concept of civic and citizenship education be discussed by emphasizing social expectations about the civic competences of the students that allow them to become active participants in socio-political practices in democratic society. The second issue is subject content, teaching, and learning methods. It is necessary to analyze the topics included in the curricula in terms of their relevance and significance. It is important to implement teaching and learning methods that arise from the nature of civic and citizenship education and ensure active participation of students in the learning process. The third topic is related to the teachers' qualifications, which is a key factor in achieving high quality education. Teachers and educational experts understand how important it is to participate regularly in training programs focused on specific issues of civic and citizenship education. The fourth issue is about the development of the school as a democratic institution that encourages open discussion and students' civic initiative. The school is the institution that plays a leading role in preparing young people as autonomous and responsible citizens who are aware of their value and role in society. ICCS data shows that Bulgarian pupils are more involved in the civic initiatives outside the school than at the school. The school should be strengthened as an institution that encourages students' civic participation. For this purpose, it also should become a place for the practice of active citizenship.

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CHAPTER 3:

The Influence of International Civic and Citizenship Studies on Education in Chile

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Abstract This chapter addresses the participation of Chile in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED), International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, and ICCS 2016. Participation in these civic studies has influenced civic education in the country in different ways. First, it contributed to educational discourse by providing relevant evidence on students' knowledge and attitudes. Second, it served as an input that triggered curricular revisions and modifications in the last 20 years. Third, it shaped a research community in the field. Key to these contributions have been both the results of the studies and their assessment frameworks. These elements set a common language in educational discourse and provided evidence that serves as a foundation for further discussions.

Introduction

Chile has a long tradition assessing students' achievements. In the last two decades, together with well-established national programs of evaluation, the country participated in several international assessments of student achievement including the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) TIMSS, CIVED, and ICCS,[3] and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) PISA.[4] The decision to join an international study is centrally taken by the National Council of Education, based on a proposal presented by the Ministry of Education. Once approved, the participation of the country in each project is included in a medium-term strategy, providing stability despite possible changes of priorities across the years.

The implementation, analysis, and release of results from national and international assessments has been the responsibility of the Educational Quality Agency since 2012. This institution is mandated to conduct assessments and inform the school system and the general public about educational quality. Since its creation, the Agency has communicated information intended to appeal to and mobilize groups with diverse interests. Providing evidence for policymaking is a strategic goal and spreading the results of international assessments in the media is a regular practice. The information is targeted at school communities, policymakers, and academics.

Chile joined the three cycles of the IEA studies in civic and citizenship education—CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016. Currently, it is preparing its participation in ICCS 2022. In this chapter, we review how regular participation of Chile in the IEA civic studies has contributed to the academic and public debate in the country regarding civic and citizenship education (CCE), and consequently, educational policies related to CCE in schools. In order to do so, we first describe how CCE is implemented in the Chilean school system, and comment on the key social

3 TIMSS = Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study; CIVED = Civic Education Study; ICCS = International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.

4 PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment.

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and political factors that influenced it. Later on, we focus on the relation between the studies and the national curriculum, the CCE assessment in Chile, and relate the current organization of CCE in schools. Next, we describe the role of ICCS in shaping a community of researchers in the country. We conclude with some recommendations for future cycles of the study.

Civic and Citizenship Education in the Chilean School System

Since 2012, the school system in Chile is governed by the National Education Quality Assurance System. This is an institutional framework consisting of the Ministry of Education, the Educational Quality Agency, the Superintendent of Education, and the National Council of Education. These entities are responsible for defining the national curricular contents, standards of learning, and study programs for each grade. Based on these core guidelines, each school can add further contents and subjects to their study programs. The Ministry of Education is mainly responsible for the administration of the educational policies by providing funding and also official recognition and regulation of schools.

There are 13 years of compulsory schooling in Chile. Current curricular programs are divided into primary school (grade 1–6), lower secondary (grade 7–10), and upper secondary (grade 11–12). Although topics related to CCE have been present in the Chilean school system for more than a century, the subject has experienced many changes in its contents and form. In the last 20 years the evidence created by the participation of Chile in CIVED and ICCS can be mapped onto some of these changes.

As part of significant curricular reform, starting from the mid-1990s, the contents related to CCE were implemented in a cross-curricular way instead of an independent subject. CCE contents were included in the national curriculum in the form of vertical goals (contents related to specific subjects) and transversal goals (cross-curricular contents related to the general school experience). Vertical goals related to CCE can be found mainly in history, geography, and social sciences, although some elements are also present in language and communication, orientation, and philosophy.

The largest curricular reform experienced in Chile in the 1990s was led by the Curriculum and Assessment Division. At that time, both curriculum and evaluation professionals, although separated into different teams, were part of the same unit in the Ministry of Education. Therefore, professionals working on curriculum reforms were very much aware of national and international assessments. Specifically, the updates in the curriculum of civic education were formulated and evaluated by professionals who crucially also worked on the preparation and analysis of CIVED.

The rationale behind moving from a specific subject to a cross-curricular goal was to emphasize the importance of CCE, to recognize its cross-disciplinary nature, and to implement a learning approach based on the promotion of knowledge and also skills. However, the effectiveness of this approach has been seriously questioned in recent years for two reasons. First, there has been no evidence of improvements in the students' results across recurring cycles of CIVED and ICCS. Second, there are indications of low levels of interest in political participation and electoral turnout in recent years.

As a consequence of the cross-curricular approach, there are no specific CCE teachers in the Chilean school system. Those responsible are teachers of history, geography, and social sciences. Currently, the Ministry of Education influences initial teacher training through guiding standards. For teachers in primary education one standard states that teachers are expected to understand the fundamental concepts related to citizenship education, cultural identity, and economic organization. A second requires teachers to develop civic and democratic skills in the students (Ministerio de Educación 2012b). For secondary education, there is one relevant standard stating that teachers are expected to develop teaching strategies to promote civic knowledge, values, and behaviors (Ministerio de Educación 2012a).

These standards are not mandatory but only guidelines. Mardones (2015) argues that the lack of preparation in contents and didactics results in instructional practices that are heavily influenced by teachers' personal experiences with the topic. A qualitative study conducted by the Education Quality Assurance Agency showed that the level of teacher preparation varies widely. It is not rare to find teachers who are unfamiliar with the contents of CCE included in the curriculum in the subject of history, geography, and social sciences (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación 2016).

Moreover, Mardones (2015) states that there are insufficient regulations regarding teacher preparation; in the current scenario teachers are required to take on a responsibility for which they are not sufficiently prepared. The solution, the author argues, should give more relevance to concepts specific to political science, both in the curriculum and in teachers' initial preparation. This would help achieve a more balanced curriculum than the current one, in which CCE is mainly addressed from a historical point of view. The results from curricular analysis performed by Cox and García (2017) show that key concepts of democratic processes—voting, representation, deliberation, negotiation, and agreements and accountability—have been underrepresented in the Chilean curriculum.

Broad Social and Political Transformations in Chile (1989–2018)

Some key events that have taken place in the Chilean society during the last several years help to contextualize and better understand the current state of CCE. In this section we analyze a broad political and social panorama, starting from the time of return to democracy to the present, taking as an organizer the different cycles of the international study.[5]

Chile experienced a dictatorship from 1973 until 1989. During this military government, civic education became a curricular subject in 1981. Three years later, civic contents were included in grade 11, and economics in grade 12. On primary levels, the content related to civic education was addressed in history and social sciences. As part of the transition to democracy, a new curriculum framework was approved in 1996 for primary education, and in 1998 for secondary education. Their implementation processes were gradual, starting with the lowest level of primary in 1997, and the lowest level of secondary in 1999 (Ministerio de Educación 2004). Consequently, the students evaluated in CIVED 1999 were exposed to the pre-reform curriculum.

The political situation in Chile has been transformed during the last 15 to 20 years, with social media and new forms of communication having a central role. The year 2006 represents a milestone in Chile for the future of educational policies and social movements. Hundreds of thousands of secondary students took to the streets demanding a better quality of public education and the repeal of the Constitutional Organic Law of Education, passed during the dictatorial government. The massiveness of the student movement, which received high levels of citizen approval, exerted pressure on the political establishment. The president of the nation in July 2006 ordered the creation of the Presidential Advisory Council of Education. One of its main recommendations was to prepare a new legal framework, and in 2009 a new General Education Law was passed.

The 2006 student movement laid the foundations for a particular style of citizen participation among young people. Street protests and strikes in schools have been regular practices since then. The rise of these new forms of political participation has been accompanied by lower turnout rates and decreased interest in participation in traditional/institutional politics (Castillo et al. 2014; Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo [PNUD] 2009; Treviño et al. 2017). These phenomena are especially obvious among young people, although they are not

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5 This chapter was prepared during the first semester of 2019. Starting on October 18, 2019 strong civil protest took place all over the country. They were triggered by the increase in the price of the subway in Santiago but escalated rapidly demanding more equity and stronger social protection regarding pensions, health, and education, among others. Although these events are relevant to the topic here analyzed, their coverage is outside the scope of this chapter.

exclusive to this group. Several polls show that this disaffection toward political participation is concurrent with a general decrease in trust in institutions (PNUD 2009). Following the revelation of pedophile scandals and economic corruption, citizens' trust has declined in traditionally recognized institutions in Chile like the Catholic Church or the police. Particularly relevant in the political arena were several cases of corruption related to candidates funded by private companies.

The results from the IEA studies on CCE (CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016) have confirmed the existence of several challenges in the preparation of future citizens in Chile. These issues are shared by the other countries of the region that have participated in the study. This is especially evident regarding civic knowledge as the Latin American countries show significantly lower levels of civic knowledge than the international average in every cycle of these studies (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2018; Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

Regarding civic attitudes, in all three rounds of the civic studies there have been questions asking whether certain conditions are good or bad for democracy. For example, whether it is good or bad for democracy when political leaders give government jobs to their family members, or when one company owns all newspapers in a country. In 2009 Chilean students were less likely than the international average to understand that situations such as these pose a threat to democracy (Schulz et al. 2010). Similar patterns appear in 2016 where less than half of the students in the Latin American countries participating in ICCS answered that it was bad for democracy when political leaders give government jobs to their family members, or that one company or the government owns all newspapers in a country (Schulz et al. 2018).

The results of ICCS 2016 show that Chilean students have significantly lower expectations of future political participation than the international average. Moreover, this score for Chilean students in 2016 is significantly lower than in 2009. Interestingly, within every Latin American country participating in ICCS, the group of students reporting that they would certainly participate in national elections are characterized by significantly higher civic knowledge scores than those less likely to participate (Schulz et al. 2010, 2018; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). In summary, the evidence clearly shows that there is room for improvement in CCE in Chile. In the next section we briefly review the use of ICCS for educational policy related purposes.

ICCS's Influence on Chilean Educational Policy

CCE After the Return to Democracy

After 17 years of dictatorship, strong citizen motivation accompanied the process of recovering a democratic system. This began with a plebiscite in 1988 that motivated a high turnout. The electorate was clearly interested to vote on the continuity or end of the regime led by Augusto Pinochet. However, a decade later, the rate of young people registered to vote had decreased by half. The return to democracy, the decreasing commitment of young people to participate politically, and the imperative to improve the quality of the educational system were vital arguments that motivated Chile to join the first cycle of the IEA civic study, with preparation for the test and survey beginning in the mid-1990s.

As mentioned earlier, civic education had been included as a cross-curricular area in the educational reform of the 1990s. However, due to gradual implementation, the target population for CIVED had studied under the curriculum implemented during the military government. Consequently, the participation of Chile in this cycle of the study was recognized as a baseline about the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of students before civic education reform.[6] Better results were expected in the next cycle of the study.

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6   The interpretation of the results of CIVED as a baseline was presented in the Chilean national report published by the Ministry of Education in 2003.

In addition to interpreting CIVED results as a baseline to which future results could be compared, the generally poor performance could not be ignored by educational authorities. For both the lower and upper secondary student populations, Chile showed knowledge results significantly below the international average. The situation regarding grade 8 achievement was of particular concern. Among 28 participating educational systems Chile and Colombia obtained the lowest scores.

The Chilean results motivated specialists from the Curriculum and Assessment Division of the Ministry of Education to initiate a critical discussion of the pre-reform curriculum, and present some recommendations for improvement. In 2004, the minister of education called for a Commission on citizen education composed of experts on the subject including representatives of various opinions. The goal for this commission was to propose a well-founded vision of new requirements of education for democratic citizenship, as well as criteria and measures to improve the school experience. The final report prepared by the commission highlights the importance of the IEA international study in influencing the deliberation and proposals of its members (Ministerio de Educación 2005).

The international study was recommended as input and research support for modifications to the curriculum. Among the important issues highlighted by the student results was the poor knowledge of key concepts related to democracy. Neither the Declaration of Human Rights nor the functions of political parties or periodic elections were included in the curriculum between 1980 and 2000. In CIVED, only 16% of Chilean students answered correctly a question about the function of holding periodic elections; only 32% of Chilean students answered correctly a question about the duties performed by national legislatures; and, only 34% understood what violation of civil liberties meant (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004).

Based on the data, it was possible to compare the levels of knowledge of grade 8 and 12 students with other countries. CIVED design considered common items administered to both samples allowing for comparison of the results between them (Amadeo et.al. 2002). The size of the difference in the mean tests scores between the grade 8 and grade 12 students in Chile was similar to other countries.[7] Taking this into account, the recently reformed curriculum was reviewed for its sequence of objectives in civic education, to ensure a more consistent learning progress (Ministerio de Educación 2005). Along with a curriculum with more appropriate coverage of democratic contents and a transversal approach to civic education, pedagogical guidelines and programs were designed to promote opportunities to learn about citizenship in schools.

Contrary to expectations, the results of ICCS 2009 were not significantly better. Chile obtained the highest national average among countries from Latin America and the Caribbean. However, this score was still below the international average and statistically equivalent to the result in CIVED, even though the cohort of grade 8 students of 2004 was educated with the reformed curriculum throughout its entire schooling (Ministerio de Educación 2010).

CCE Assessment in the School System

During the first two decades after the reestablishment of democracy, IEA's civic and citizenship studies were the only evaluations of the preparation of future citizens in the Chilean schools. In 2012 a law consolidated the national assessment system. This law mandated the creation of Indicators of Educational Quality to supplement the academic national evaluation (named Simce) in building a comprehensive assessment of educational quality.

Eight non-academic indicators were created, four of them are questionnaire-based, administered together with the national academic assessment. These indicators are: academic self-esteem

7   Although the improvement in achievement between grade 8 and 12 can be attributed to teaching and cognitive development, Amadeo et al. (2002) warn that it may also be influenced by the attrition of early school-leavers.

and academic motivation; school climate; citizenship education and participation; and healthy lifestyle habits. This national policy of non-academic assessment focuses on the promotion of each of these constructs. They are measured annually in grade 4, 6, 8, and 10. According to the law, the results of each school in the academic tests as well as the non-academic indicators are publicly released every year. The assessment results are also considered in the calculation of a high-stakes classification. A repeated poor performance in this classification may imply revocation of official recognition for schools.

The indicator of citizenship education and participation comprises three dimensions: sense of belonging, participation, and democratic participation. It evaluates students' attitudes towards the school, students and parents' perception of how much the school promotes the identification and participation of the different actors of the school community, and students' perception regarding the extent to which the school promotes a democratic life. The assessment frameworks and evidence collected by CIVED and ICCS influenced the decision to include citizenship education and participation as an indicator of educational quality, as well as its definition and operationalization. The indicator has raised awareness of the importance of CCE as an expected outcome of the school system in Chile, and the role of the school in its promotion.

In 2017, a national evaluation of CCE was added to the previously mentioned forms of assessing the subject in the school system. Based on ICCS 2016, this evaluation measured civic knowledge, democratic attitudes and values, and dispositions to participation of grade 8 students. The results of this study show similar patterns to ICCS 2016. In civic knowledge, girls outperform boys and students with higher socioeconomic backgrounds show higher scores. Regarding democratic values and attitudes, students show high level of support for equal rights for minorities but one out of three grade 8 students show attitudes that do not contribute to peaceful resolution of conflicts. Regarding expected political participation, three out of four students mention they will probably vote in presidential elections when they become adults. Girls show higher expectations of political participation than boys.

The national study included a parents' questionnaire. Students whose parents voted in the last election have higher civic knowledge, higher expectations of future political participation, and higher level of support for democracy. A similar pattern is seen comparing students who talk weekly or daily about political and social topics with their parents compared to those that do this less often. These results do not imply that the school lacks relevance for CCE. The school climate, presence of democratic organizations in the school, and classes open to discussion appear as school related factors that are positively associated with civic knowledge as well as with democratic values and attitudes (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación 2018).

Recent Reforms and the Current State of CCE

In response to the emergence of corruption scandals, the former president Michelle Bachelet called in 2015 for a Presidential Advisory Board to deal with conflicts of interest, influence peddling, and corruption. Giving more relevance to CCE in the school system was one of the measures proposed by the board. More specifically, the creation of Citizenship Education Plans in every school and the inclusion of CCE as an independent subject in the national curriculum was suggested.

A new law mandating the development of more formal recognition of civic education in every school was passed in 2016. The results of ICCS 2009 were mentioned several times during its discussion. It stipulates that based on general guidelines given by the Ministry of Education, every school should design and implement a Citizenship Education Plan coherent with its particular context and oriented to all education levels. These plans consist of activities aiming to prepare students to be responsible citizens, according to the principles of democratic systems and social justice. The program led to a variety of initiatives in the schools: citizenship workshops with a

multicultural approach, a school municipality that replicates the governance structure of local authorities, or the "World Café," a methodology to discuss environmental challenges.[8]

The inclusion of CCE as an independent subject in the last two years of upper secondary education was approved by the National Council of Education in February 2018 but its implementation was deferred until 2020.

The Use of CIVED/ICCS in Research and Academic Discussions

ICCS data has been widely used in research, shaping academic discussions around CCE in Chile. ICCS stands out as the only source of quantitative data of students' results in CCE representative of a whole cohort of students in the Chilean school system. While educational researchers in other subjects use the national assessment (Simce) as the main source of information, in CCE this role is played by ICCS. This explains the wide attention that the studies have gained during the past two decades.

The first publication for each of the study cycles has been produced by the governmental institution coordinating the study. The national reports are mainly descriptive and summarize the most relevant results from a national perspective. Building on this evidence, researchers and academics have produced multiple additional publications based on CIVED and ICCS, both in Spanish and English. Most of this research is concentrated in two universities: Universidad Católica de Chile and Universidad Diego Portales. Three main topics can be distinguished in academic research and discussions motivated by CIVED and ICCS results. The first is related to the analysis of the content and format of the national curriculum in CCE; the second is examining to what extent the socioeconomic context is associated with the students' results in CCE; and the third explores school-related aspects that can influence these results. These are briefly discussed in this section.

CIVED and ICCS implementation in Chile have triggered curricular discussions about the most appropriate content, structure, and pedagogical methods for CCE. The assessment frameworks of the studies have influenced the organization of these analyses. The distinction between civic and civil dimensions in CCE is an example of how the assessment framework has contributed by providing a common language for different actors involved. These two concepts have been used in academic publications as well as being key for curricular organization (Bascopé et al. 2015; Cox and García 2017).

IEA's civic and citizenship studies provide empirical evidence which serves as a foundation in the discourse regarding CCE. Two features of the studies have been especially relevant in these discussions. First, the cycles of data collection over time have allowed the assessment of the changes implemented to the curriculum. In fact, ICCS puts into perspective changes in the national curriculum in CCE from the 1990s onwards. Cox and García (2017) analyzed the evolution of the Chilean curriculum in CCE since the return of democracy using three dimensions defined by the ICCS assessment framework. The authors underscore that designing a balance between the civil and civic components of CCE is key to achieving the expected levels of knowledge and civic attitude and values among students.

Second, cross-country comparability is key. Considering the challenges posed by the context of globalization, the country comparisons made possible by ICCS become especially valuable. The participation of several Latin American countries in the study has been particularly relevant for Chile and the region. An important project motivated by ICCS was the SREDECC,[9] an initiative of

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8   The initial implementation of the Citizenship Education Plan was observed through a study conducted by the UNDP and the Ministry of Education. A bank of good practices was built and made available at the website https://www. ciudadaniayescuela.cl/

9   SREDECC = Sistema Regional de Evaluación y Desarrollo de Competencias Ciudadanas (*Regional System for the Development and Evaluation of Citizenship Competencies*).

the six Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2009 that promoted further comparative analysis of the regional context, the CCE concepts, and national curriculum of the school systems involved (Cox 2010).

In the context of SREDECC, Cox et al. (2014) developed a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences in the curricular contents of Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, México, and Paraguay. The objective was to analyze the functionalities of curricular structures and contents for building democracies in these countries. The findings show that despite the expansion of CCE in themes, skills, and coverage across educational stages, some relevant aspects of political life were given little or no attention. The minimal coverage of concepts focused on citizens and participation were especially of concern; the analysis showed that voting was not explicitly included as part of the curriculum in any of the countries analyzed, except for Mexico. Similarly, participation in political activities was only covered in Guatemala. The authors underscored the low relevance put in the values of common good, social cohesion, and solidarity.

Bascopé et al. (2015) assessed the consistency between the curricular contents and students' attitudes and beliefs across Latin-American participating countries. Using ICCS and SREDECC data they found that curricular contents are associated with students' civic attitudes. Curricular emphasis and students' beliefs regarding five dimensions were contrasted: civic values and principles, citizens and democratic participation, institutions, regional and national identity, peaceful coexistence. The authors find that the Chilean curriculum has a higher emphasis on gender equality compared to the other countries analyzed, and consistently, Chilean students showed the highest level of agreement supporting gender equality in these countries. Based on this evidence, Bascopé et al. (2015) elaborated suggestions to improve national curriculums.

A second issue is the association between the socioeconomic context and students' results in civic knowledge, values, and attitudes. Studies consistently show significant associations between socioeconomic and civic knowledge, at both the individual and school levels (Collado et al. 2015; Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2011; Treviño et al. 2016, 2017). Diazgranados and Sandoval-Hernández (2017) based on ICCS 2009 results report the existence of civic socioeconomic gaps in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico which, according to the authors, threaten the legitimacy of democratic systems. Among the three countries analyzed, Chile showed the largest such gap.

Other analyses using ICCS results from Latin-American countries have shown that socioeconomic context is strongly associated with civic attitudes, for example attitudes towards diversity (Diazgranados and Sandoval-Hernández 2017; Treviño et al. 2016). On the other hand, regarding civic engagement, Treviño et al. (2016) find no significant association between expected participation of students and socioeconomic status, although other family characteristics such as parents' interest in political and social issues do predict expected participation. Castillo et al. (2014) report that different indicators of socioeconomic level, such as parent's level of education, number of books at home, and the socioeconomic composition of the school, are strong predictors of students expected political participation. Their analyses also show that the extent to which these family variables explain expected participation increased between 1999 and 2009.

Researchers have also paid special attention to how teachers and schools can influence the student results in CCE and, to some extent, lessen the socioeconomic gap. Research at the international level shows that open climate and classroom contexts can influence students' civic knowledge, values, and attitudes, as well as participation (Knowles et al. 2018). Likewise, it can be argued that teacher characteristics and instructional practices play an important role in promoting democratic environments in the school. Bascopé et al. (2015) underscore the relevance of pedagogical practices in CCE arguing that the ways in which the contents are approached in this subject are especially important. Further, Treviño et al. (2016) argue that this is especially important for Latin American countries due to the high levels of inequalities that characterize the region. This has an impact on egalitarian access to effective political participation.

Treviño et al. (2017) explored the inequalities in CCE results for Chile, Colombia, and Mexico based on ICCS 2009 results. They found high variance in the level of civic knowledge, civic attitudes, and expected participation within schools, which can be interpreted as evidence that the schools are not fully implementing effective efforts in preparing students for becoming citizens. Nonetheless, democratic environment and an open classroom for discussion are predictors of civic knowledge. Similarly, Castillo et al. (2014) argue that, even though there is space for schools to motivate students' expected political participation by shaping the conceptualization of a good citizen, evidence from CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 shows that the socioeconomic composition of the schools and the family characteristics remain powerful.

Conclusions

The participation of Chile in the IEA civic and citizenship studies has contributed to understanding relevant factors that surround the preparation of future citizens in the school system. Since the first iteration, it has been the primary source of evidence valued by academics and policymakers about CCE in the education system.

The most evident conclusion from the results of the studies is that, despite multiple efforts and a growing concern, there has been no measurable improvement in the general level of civic knowledge of grade 8 students in the Chilean school system across time. Regarding civic attitudes, the increase in the levels of support of equal rights for everyone is positive. Regarding political participation, Chilean students show lower expectations of participation in national elections than the international average. This presents an alarming scenario related to civic preparation that needs to be addressed by the educational system.

Is the school capable of achieving the goal of preparing students to be citizens? Or is this a process that occurs mainly at home? ICCS assessment framework states that the learning outcomes related to CCE occur in a variety of contexts: at home and in the peer environment, at school and in the classroom, and in the wider community. Among them, the school and classroom are recognized as a particularly favorable environment for influencing the acquisition of civic knowledge, attitudes, and values.

The analysis of ICCS data from Chile—as well as from other countries—confirms this. Family characteristics like socioeconomic context or sharing conversations about social and political topics predict civic knowledge. Also classroom and school factors such as an open climate for discussion are associated with higher levels of civic knowledge, and positive attitudes towards minorities. It can be inferred that schools have an important responsibility in shaping the civic knowledge, attitudes, and commitment of future citizens. In contexts of high levels of socioeconomic differentiation, like Chile and Latin America, the role of the school is especially relevant. Schooling presents a key opportunity to counteract the reproduction of social inequalities in access to political rights that characterize this region.

In this context, ICCS's contribution is to provide information on how to improve CCE at school. This information comes from empirical data collected from students, teachers, and schools, but is also derived from academic discussions that are stimulated by the studies. In Chile, this has become evident with the consolidation of clusters of researchers devoted to the analyses of ICCS results during the last years. These groups have made interesting use of the data gathered by IEA studies on CCEE by combining them with national and regional data.

This reflection on the relevance of ICCS for the Chilean school system also sheds light on possible future developments of the study. Bearing in mind the challenge in promoting civic knowledge and attitudes that previous cycles have depicted in Latin America, it would be especially helpful to disentangle the aspects of CCE implementation in schools that are related to students' results. This includes curricular and pedagogical approaches together with teacher characteristics and

practices. These are aspects that could be modified by educational policies and that have been relevant in other subjects. Exploring whether the same premises are applicable to CCE appears relevant. Are there specific aspects important in the implementation of this subject?

One possible development for the studies would be improving the collection of teacher data. In particular, we suggest to deepen the information collected from teachers regarding their preparation, qualifications, and job conditions on the one hand, and their civic values and attitudes on the other. Also, we believe it would be helpful to allow direct linkage between teachers and students. These modifications would permit greater understanding of the information that teachers provide to their students about citizenship.

A second possibility for development would be to deepen the description of individual and family characteristics of students. This would help in understanding which joint initiatives between the school, the family, and the broader community could be implemented to support CCE. An important question is what kind of support is suitable for the most vulnerable students.

The ICCS assessment framework has been useful constituting a baseline agreement on what different countries and educational systems consider relevant to be taught regarding CCE. An interesting feature of this framework is the balance between stability that allows for trend comparisons, and innovation that allows for the inclusion of new aspects of CCE that become relevant over time. For example, new forms of communication and social participation have been enabled by social media and other technologies; new forms of social tensions have risen due to migration; new forms of political participation and political leadership have appeared thanks to broader access to education; new challenges have been posed to societies by the climate crisis; new moral questions appear with automatization of labor and other spaces of daily life.

It is evident that the citizens of this century require complex skills and knowledge to address emerging challenges. Including these topics in the evaluation of students' learning processes is necessary to understand how school systems might deal with these issues. Using a computer-based assessment would contribute to assessing new aspects of CCE. Computer based assessments open the possibility of having items with interactive stimulus or emulating real-life situations in the context of social media or conducting social research. This format allows more comprehensive measurement of the abilities that this century's citizens need.

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CHAPTER 4:

Civic and Citizenship Education in Colombia: Challenges for Students and Teachers

Luis Felipe Dussán Zuluaga and Juan Camilo Ramírez Chaguendo

Abstract Civic and citizenship education in Colombia has changed over the last two decades. The socioeconomic context and internal armed conflict, among other issues, have influenced the way that students have been taught. Several studies have been carried out to assess teaching about these topics in the country. This chapter briefly discusses the contribution IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) has made to civic and citizenship education in Colombia and discusses the possible causes of the performance of the country in this study, as well as possible steps for its improvement. It also discusses how teachers' training, schools' autonomy, and limited resources for pedagogical improvement could be related to these results.

Introduction

Research on civic and citizenship education is crucial for understanding the contexts in which this topic is taught, and the competences students are developing. This chapter considers aspects that could affect the citizenship attitudes of young students, as well as the social and political behaviour of current and future generations. It, therefore, represents an opportunity to gather relevant data for the design of education policies to help achieve specific educational goals. Similarly, studies of civic and citizenship education provide information on how this subject is taught within schools. This is a key source to ascertain how political efforts (e.g., relevant educational reforms, laws, projects) are being implemented inside schools (Valencia 2019).

Colombia, as defined by its Constitution (1991, Article 1), is a democratic, participatory and pluralistic country, based on human dignity, joint interest, solidarity, and work. From this statement, it can be inferred that citizens should be educated through the lenses of human rights, peace, and democracy. In addition, Article 41 states that the study of the Constitution and civic instruction is mandatory in schools; thus, principles and values related to citizenship participation should be promoted within the school. This sets the ground rules for guidelines detailing what students should be taught in subjects related to civics and citizenship.

Currently, civic and citizenship education in Colombia is based on the Standards of Citizenship Competences designed by the Ministry of National Education in 2003: a set of cognitive and non-cognitive competences needed for the conscious and responsible exercise of citizenship in the social and political realms. These documents are intended to serve as one of the guidelines for teachers to build their curriculum.

However, it is often difficult for teachers to teach civic and citizenship education in the way that the constitution and the educational law requires and to promote the competences established in the Standards of Citizenship Competences. In addition to the lack of supportive material mentioned, the political, economic, and social contexts of the country have influenced the topics covered in this subject (Herrera 2008a). As the Ministry of Education (2011) recognizes, "in a country like ours, marked by a history of inequity, violence and exclusion, the challenge is not simply to train people to follow rules without question, instead we needed people to commit

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to society in a critical sense, to be individuals that participate actively and feel co-responsible in building a democratic community that assumes inclusion" (p.18). Further, teaching in civic and citizenship education is often related to ethics and peace-related content, which is taught as a requirement by law in Colombia. However, this does not always have a strong dimension of democracy and inclusion (González 2013). Because of a necessary focus on pervasive problems of conflict in some areas, other aspects of civic education sometimes get little attention.

To provide some context, at about the same time as the implementation of the Standards, in 2016 Colombia moved towards the end of 60 years of internal armed conflict with one of the guerrilla groups, the FARC.[1, 2] This began what is called the post-accord era. However, a serious challenge remains, which is related to socioeconomic inequity and poverty and to political conflicts (ideological intolerance and the limitations on equal opportunities for political participation) (Ramirez-Orozco 2014). It has been demonstrated that in countries that are in a post-agreement process, civic and citizenship education has a key role in the restoration of the social structure of the society. Teaching about these topics is crucial to enable new generations to understand the consequences of conflict and to contribute to the construction of a democracy that can deal with these social issues (Bickmore et al. 2017). This could be part of the reason why peace-building in Colombia is one of the main topics of civic and citizenship education. It is important to mention that since the signature of the peace agreement education has been seen as the most important tool to establish peace in the country. That is why citizenship education became one of the strategies in the country for recovering historical memories throughout forgiveness processes and reconciliations (Chaux et al. 2017). For this reason, the government established the Law 1732 of 2014: Cátedra de la Paz (*Peace Seminar*), to "promote the process of appropriation of knowledge and skills related to … culture, economic and social context and historical memory, with the purpose of rebuilding the social fabric, promoting general prosperity and the effectiveness of principles, rights and obligations enshrined in the Constitution" (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2014).

In this educational and social context, the Colombian Institute for Educational Assessment and Evaluation (Icfes) (*Instituto Colombiano para la Evaluación de la Educación*) has recognized the importance of civic and citizenship competences. It is one of the areas assessed in the National Standardized Tests, which includes instruments to measure citizenship attitudes, actions, and thinking, as well as socioemotional abilities. In addition, the Institute also administers and analyzes results of several international studies that assess civic and citizenship education like the IEA[3] ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study), the Global Competence component of the OECD[4] PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), and the OECD Study on Social and Emotional Skills (SSES).

In particular, ICCS 2016 showed that levels of students' civic knowledge were low in Latin American countries compared to other countries that participated in the study. However, when considering the previous cycle (ICCS 2009), Colombia exhibited an improvement and placed more students in the highest proficiency levels: 52.8% of students in ICCS 2016, as opposed to 42.7% in ICCS 2009. These results were high when compared to Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Dominican Republic.

This chapter briefly discusses the contributions IEA's ICCS, and the earlier Civic Education Study (CIVED), have made to civic and citizenship education in Colombia and debates some of the challenges and possible steps for improvement of education in this subject. The chapter was

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1   FARC = Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia).
2   It is important to mention that FARC it is just one of the guerilla groups in the country, peace processes involve more than what is said in this section of the document.
3   IEA = International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
4   OECD = Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

written based on a literature review, fieldwork, and consultation with experts.[5] It begins with a description of the historical background of civic and citizenship education in the country, followed by the presentation of data from both ICCS cycles (2009 and 2016) in which Colombia has participated, and the influence the study has had on both the Colombian National Standardized Test of Citizenship Competences and the Test of Citizen Actions and Attitudes. Also considered is the dissemination of national results of ICCS 2016 among teachers and principals around the country. Finally, it briefly examines the context and limitations of civic and citizenship education in Colombia and presents some policy recommendations.

The Context of Civic and Citizenship Education in Colombia and Teachers' Roles

Given the sociodemographic, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the country, Colombia's national education policy is based on schools' autonomy. This is grounded on the premise that each school has the capacity to develop and assess its own curriculum, as well as implement teaching practices (Patti and Espinosa 2007). This decentralized education system means that there is no official national curriculum that integrates civic and citizenship competences (Chaux et al. 2007). However, the Ministry of National Education, through its role as the policymaker in education, suggests general guidelines to schools, providing recommendations that are supported by its own programs or allied educational organizations (Congreso de la República de Colombia 1994a, 1994b; Chaux 2009).

The goal of the Colombian educational system is to prepare students to claim their rights, comply with their duties, recognize what is right from wrong in legal terms, and to build a fair and equitable society (Rodríguez et al. 2007). This perspective has taken greater relevance since the Constitution of 1991, which focused strongly on human rights and instituted a participative democracy that encourages the active involvement of citizens in the political structure, stimulating debate around moral and citizenship education (Jaramillo and Mesa 2009; Peláez and Márquez 2006).

Additionally, the 1994 General Law of Education promotes civic and citizenship education, supporting the consolidation of a democratic political culture and pursuing both political legitimation and social cohesion (Herrera et al. 2003; Herrera 2008b). This Act explicitly supports the autonomy of schools by eliminating the single curriculum: The State does not control the contents nor the teaching methodology within schools, and teachers do not have to follow a government-established curriculum (Salas 2019). This also applies to the field of civic and citizenship education. However, this autonomy is not only for the schools. One of the main purposes of Colombian 1991 Constitution is to consolidate the country as a decentralized unique republic. In this sense, local authorities have autonomy to administer public local services, which includes education resources and decisions. The purpose of the decentralization is to improve the wealth and life quality of people all over the country (Largo et al. 2014). The above shows that there is an additional aspect that should be considered when the Colombian educational system is analyzed.

However, the General Law of Education clarifies that reading, math, science, social sciences, arts, ethics, religion, history, geography, political constitution, and democracy, are mandatory and fundamental subjects (together, these should represent a minimum 80% of the curriculum). Similarly, the Ministry of Education has legislated to ensure an annual minimum of teaching hours to enable schools to cover the prescribed curriculum.

In response to different social, economic, and political issues that Colombia faces, for instance, socioeconomic discrimination, inequality, violence, drug traffic, among other problems (Pinilla and Torres 2006; Restrepo 2006; Jaramillo and Mesa 2009; Bickmore et al. 2017; Gonzáles-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernández 2016; Browse 2017), the Ministry of National Education elaborated an ambitious civic and citizenship program in 2003. This program sought to strengthen the role of education through a guide for educators that imparted knowledge about programs and practices that could help to develop important life skills in children and youth (Ministerio de Educación Nacional [MEN] 2004; Patti and Espinosa 2007; Jaramillo and Mesa 2009). Thus, this effort encouraged the design of practical pedagogical strategies, as opposed to more traditional methods (Chaux 2009; Chaux et al. 2012): for example, instead of asking the student to provide the definition of corruption, the teacher would present a situation and ask the students to give reasons why it would or would not be considered a case of corruption.

In order to do this, the Ministry brought together researchers and experts in civic and citizenship education to construct the Standards of Citizenship Competences, which would serve as a guide for what students should learn in school, in line with the emphasis on citizenship education in the Constitution of 1991. The general guidelines specify the civic and citizenship competences that students should acquire in their years of schooling and suggest paths of action and decision making in real-life settings (Peláez and Márquez 2006).

The standards were defined as a set of cognitive, emotional, integrative, and communicative competences needed for the conscious and responsible exercise of citizenship in the political field, respecting, spreading, defending, guaranteeing, and restoring their rights (MEN 2011). The aims include supporting peaceful coexistence, promoting democratic participation and civic responsibility, and promoting the equal dignity of human beings. With the creation of these standards, the government sent an explicit message about the importance of this subject in schools (Berkowitz and Bustamante 2013).

The standards defined cognitive, emotional, communication, and integrative skills (Icfes 2018):

- Cognitive skills—the knowledge necessary to participate democratically, build coexistence, and value pluralism;
- Emotional skills—those that allow people to recognize, understand, and appropriately regulate their own emotions and recognize those of others;
- Communication skills—those that allow the effective transmission and reception of ideas and opinions, and enable constructive dialogues; and
- Integrating skills—those that connect the previous ones in a coherent way to encourage the consolidation of citizen attitudes and the exercise of citizenship actions.

The notion of competences involves both knowing and practicing, which means that simple knowledge is not enough to guide "good" citizen actions. Chaux (2009) and Chaux et al. (2012) point out that it is also necessary to know how to take one's rights into action.

Based on this framework, the Ministry appointed Icfes to assess the improvement of civic and citizenship competences within the country. With reference to the Standards of Citizenship Competences, the national regulations, and the advice of experts in the field, Icfes designed and validated two instruments: the National Test of Citizenship Competences and the National Test of Citizen Actions and Attitudes (for grades 5 and 9). While the first assesses cognitive skills through multiple-choice questions with a single correct response, the second collects data on emotional and integrative competences through attitude scales asking about the frequency of behaviour for which there are no correct answers (Icfes 2018). These tests explore understandings, beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, and actions about aspects of citizenship and participation. Specifically, this includes those that involve putting into practice emotional and integrative competences in interpersonal relationships (coexistence and peace, plurality, identity, and assessment of

diversity), and the relationship one might have with the institutions (participation and democratic responsibility) (Icfes 2013). These are administered to students in grades 5 and 9. In contrast, the test that assesses cognitive competences is administered to students in grades 5, 9, and 11, as well as to students in universities.

Concurrently with assessing civic and citizenship competences within the country, there have been local and institutional initiatives related to peace education, human rights, conflict resolution, and youth leadership, some of them established by the Ministry of Education, others by private institutions, and some by both. For example, private programs like Hermes Program (Programa Hermes), Life Skills (Habilidades para la Vida), Peace Games (Juegos de Paz), Classrooms in Peace (Aulas en Paz), among others (MEN 2006a), and programs from the Ministry of Education that blend approaches like Learning Network (Red aprender). On the other hand, in addition to these programs and initiatives, the Peace Seminar (Cátedra de la Paz) was established by Law in all schools in 2015 (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2015). This program seeks to generate more peaceful environments by promoting emotional, cognitive, and communicative abilities or strategies as part of civic and citizenship education (Jaramillo and Mesa 2009).

Furthermore, when talking about Latin-American projects, it is important to mention the Regional System of Evaluation and Development of Citizenship Competences (Sistema Regional de Evaluación y Desarrollo de Competencias Ciudadanas) led by Colombia and funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, which aims to contribute to civic and citizenship competences construction in the region through the strengthening of education for the citizenship and democracy (Icfes 2018).

As mentioned, the General Law of Education of 1994 allowed schools to decide the specific content and pedagogical practices to teach each subject (school autonomy). Therefore, schools and teachers play a significant role in the development of civic and citizenship competences. In practice, schools traditionally delegate civic and citizenship education to social sciences teachers, de-emphasizing the idea of citizenship education as a transversal project (González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernández 2016). This is a critical issue because many argue that civic and citizenship instruction should not be limited to just one subject; on the contrary, it should be an overarching theme in all school subjects. At the same time schools and teachers' beliefs have often shaped the way that civic and citizenship competences are taught, which represents another challenge for the implementation of the Standards.

Finally, the Constitution gives autonomy to local authorities to guide and be responsible for education in their jurisdiction. However, some local authorities do not have the required resources to thoughtfully examine the teaching plans that are being followed in each school, and therefore they cannot give them the support they need. This limited information hinders the Ministry of National Education's knowledge about how civic and citizenship competences are being developed within the schools. This is a major concern, because of the belief that the whole educational institution system should be involved (Icfes 2018).

Colombia's Participation in ICCS and its Influence on Icfes' Assessments of Civic and Citizenship Competences

This section presents the main results of Colombia in ICCS 2016 compared to ICCS 2009 and describes the contribution of the study to the creation of both the National Standardized Test of Citizenship Competences and the Test of Citizen Actions and Attitudes, taking into account the ICCS aim related to investigating how young people (14-year-olds) are prepared to undertake their roles in different countries (Schulz et al. 2016). It also describes the dissemination of results among teachers across the country.

National Results

In ICCS 2016, 24 countries participated and five of those were Latin American: Chile, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Dominican Republic. These five countries showed the lowest performance among the 24 participants. Based on a knowledge scale defined by IEA, which had an average of 500 points and a standard deviation of 100 points, Colombia obtained an average score of 482 points, which was equal to the score achieved by Chile, and higher than the score received by Mexico (467 points), Peru (438 points), and Dominican Republic (381 points) (Icfes 2017). Compared to the level of performance achieved in 2009, Colombia showed a significant increase of 20 points, the largest increase among Latin-American countries and the seventh largest among all participating countries.

With regard to differences by gender, the results show that Colombian girls obtained a higher score than boys in the civic knowledge scale in 2016. Finally, the analysis of proficiency levels in Colombia revealed that the percentage of students at levels A and B (the highest levels in civic knowledge) increased by approximately 10 percentage points between 2009 and 2016. This was the largest increase among the Latin American countries and the fourth largest among the participating countries.

In order to provide information on the students' performance in some of the more relevant areas and compare with other participating countries, Icfes published a National Report of Colombian Results (Icfes 2017). This presented ICCS results, comparing the performance between 2009 and 2016 as well as the differences with other participating countries. The document was targeted towards teachers, school managers, researchers, public policy decision makers, and others interested in civic and citizenship education. The results of the study present valuable information for the design and implementation of educational policies that pursue the improvement of civic education.

Colombian Assessments Related to Civic and Citizenship Competences

As mentioned before, Colombia participated in CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016. These studies strengthened the understanding that support for our constitution requires quality standards for the development of young people's civic competences to prepare them to fully exercise their citizenship. It also made evident the importance of assessing how knowledge and skills were changing. To respond to this need, since 2002 Icfes has been assessing citizenship competences following what is established in the Standards, and in 2012 introduced the National Standardized Test of Citizenship Competences and the Citizen Actions and Attitudes Test (Icfes 2018). ICCS assesses knowledge and attitudes in civic and citizenship education; however, it does not evaluate competences like the handling of emotions or integrative competences, which are included in Colombia's national test.

The National Standardized Test of Citizenship Competences was administered in 2012 and most of the students were placed in the two lowest proficiency levels (61% for grade 5 and 45% in grade 9). In addition, better results were found for girls compared to boys, for private schools as compared to public schools, and for urban schools as compared to rural schools (Icfes 2013). Moreover, the Citizen Actions and Attitudes Test (2012–2015) showed, for example, that the proportions of students accepting diversity were higher in grade 9 (between 75% and 90% between 2012 to 2015) than in grade 5 (between 65% and 82% for the same time interval) (Icfes 2016b). However, between 34% and 65% of grade 9 students agreed with statements that accepted breaking the law and between 38% and 57% agreed with statements that justified acts of corruption (Icfes 2016c). These results show that a substantial proportion of students express attitudes that are not favourable for peaceful coexistence and democracy.

Such outcomes, along with ICCS results, should serve as a motivation for principals and local authorities to begin a process of deliberation about pedagogy to identify strengths and challenges in citizenship education, which could work toward improving students' skills (Icfes 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). As the Ministry of Education (2006b) recognized "it is important to contribute to the development of competences that can help children and young people to manage the complexity of life in society and to continue developing them—we must not forget that human beings are always developing these competences" (p. 154).

Additionally, besides Icfes assessments, other tests were conducted. In Bogotá, for seven years starting in 1997, the Basic Skills Assessment Project Tests (Proyecto de Evaluación de Competencias Básicas) were developed to assess students civic knowledge, as well as the degree of trust in political institutions or political actors (like the president, congressmen and congresswomen, the church, guerrilla groups). Moral and social development was also assessed (Torres and Díaz 2005; Jaramillo and Mesa 2009). Also, Los Andes University and the Secretariat of Education of Bogotá conducted the School Climate and Victimization Survey (Encuesta de Victimización y Clima Escolar) with grade 11 students and found large percentages of students reporting victimization by criminal acts like robbery (Chaux and Velásquez 2008).

Similarly, to ICCS results, these reports showed the need to address the issue of education for coexistence as an integral part of the educational process. It was clear that teachers lacked the necessary conceptual and methodological tools to work with these concepts (Restrepo 2006).

Icfes National Workshops

Since 2015, Icfes has offered workshops that provide guidelines and instruction to principals and teachers of public and private schools about the interpretation of results of the national standardized tests. The purpose is to improve the quality of education. The information given in these workshops is also offered in printed and digital media, for school staff who could not attend the session.

Between April and August of 2018, 126 workshops were held in 104 Colombian cities and approximately 10,000 principals and teachers attended, representing around 7000 schools. In that year, for the first time, the workshops included discussion about the results in ICCS 2016. The main purpose was to share with principals and teachers information about the test, the assessed competences, and the achievements and challenges that it implied for Colombia. It was important to point out how civic and citizenship education strengthens attitudes that favour democracy. Students with low levels of civic and citizenship knowledge are unaware of social and political problems in the country and tend to show favourable attitudes towards corruption and authoritarian governments as well as disobedience of the law (Icfes 2017).

To understand the utility of having included information about Colombia's ICCS 2016 results in the 2018 workshops, Icfes conducted a web survey (in November of 2018) with the participants, and more than 600 participants replied. This survey inquired about current strategies that schools have implemented regarding civic and citizenship education, and how these were improved by the information they received about ICCS 2016 in 2018. Most of the participants (89%) were interested in getting involved in related projects, and 60% of the participants reported sharing the results with the other members of their schools. It is important to mention that the survey was designed to inquire about the way teachers who attended the workshops were using the information. This was only for internal purposes and was not published. For this reason results must be read and interpreted carefully.

The survey also inquired about possible changes in their curriculum or classes' content related to civic and citizenship education. About half of the educational community who replied reported they had made changes in their school curriculum or their practices on this matter. These changes were mainly related to the issue of peace, and some of them emphasize the implementation of the

Peace Seminar and related seminars along with other factors. Furthermore, 19% had conducted an additional inquiry into civic and citizenship education, mostly related to peaceful coexistence and community knowledge. Finally, 89% said they would consider curricular improvements and activities with the community. More in-depth investigations should be pursued.

Brief Discussion of Civic and Citizenship Education in Colombia

Colombia's Educational System Challenges

As indicated previously, the Colombian Standards of Citizenship Competences offer a guide to civic and citizenship contents. These standards attempt to counteract recourse to violence by developing the civic and citizenship competences of students and teachers. The intention was to establish public and clear criteria, which would allow schools to establish basics levels of civic and citizenship education for children and young people. The standards are focused on three main components: peace and co-existence; democratic participation and responsibility; and, finally, valuing plurality and differences in identity. Cognitive, emotional, communicative, and integrative competences were identified (MEN 2011).

However, it is difficult to teach the relevant concepts in the way that the Standards of Citizenship Competences suggest. On the one hand, the standards state what competences are expected from students but do not explain how they might be developed by principals in the schools and teachers within the classrooms (Chaux 2009). Even with the efforts made by the Ministry of Education programs and private and local programs, it is not completely clear how schools can develop these competences. Additionally, the role given to schools by the local authorities usually emphasizes administrative and financial tasks, instead of focusing on their pedagogical and educative responsibilities (Pinilla and Torres 2016), which limits the clear development of civic and citizenship competences.

At the same time, given schools autonomy and the limitations of local authorities, the Ministry of National Education has limited control over the development of students' competences as the Standards of Citizenship Competences suggest. This lack of specificity and oversight by local authorities and government presents a challenge in translating the standards to practice and motivating local institutions to support their implementation (Berkowitz and Bustamante 2013). Based on these observations of civic and citizenship education in the country, Noonan (2010) cautioned that the standards' implementation is often neglected.

Icfes' preliminary survey results following the 2018 workshops showed that civic and citizenship education was mostly understood by teachers as related to life plans, peace, coexistence, ethics, and society. Many respondents did not mention key concepts such as democracy, citizen participation, responsibility for individual actions, and responsibility for the environment. Similarly, González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernandez (2016) conducted qualitative research using instruments like structured surveys, interviews, focus groups, and the observation of classes. One of their conclusions was that Colombian teachers' knowledge about civic and citizenship is characterized by very concrete beliefs that lack depth of understanding. For example, the authors highlight that some teachers argued that: "a citizen is that person who has the legal age and an identification document," and that "politics and government are synonymous." Also, some answers from the Icfes workshop survey showed that civic and citizenship education could have a role in the resolution of conflicts and respect for racial and cultural diversity.

Additionally, the principle of school autonomy has justified a wide range of curricular content or pedagogical practices as part of the subjects related to civic and citizenship education. For example, school curriculums are mostly focused on the areas that are assessed the most frequently—language and mathematics (Berkowitz and Bustamante 2013)—and leave aside civic and citizenship concepts and practices. Some argue that these concepts could be taught as

underlying all areas of teachers' training (Jaramillo and Cepeda 2004; Patti and Espinosa 2007; Chaux 2009; González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernández 2016). Further, design strategies to integrate civic and citizenship education into pedagogical practices should be developed. In this respect, Browes (2017) said that more concrete guidelines and greater support and training for schools' leaders and teachers are needed, as well as tools and materials to enhance currently available contents and pedagogy. This is especially important when schools have a high administrative and financial burden, which limits principals' time to focus on pedagogical and educative strategies about civic and citizenship education.

Another possible explanation for schools and teachers' gaps in civic and citizenship knowledge might be related to traditional teacher training, which tends to mask the social problems that the country experiences, and has traditionally been focused on social sciences like history and geography (González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernández 2016). In this context, Browes (2017) believes that traditional approaches, which include emphasis on religion, patriotism, and the family, have neglected important topics like justice, peace, democracy, and participation. Nowadays, there is a tendency to implement traditional civic education that responds to the idea of teaching the Constitution, but it is characterized by a lack of instruction in critical thinking or application to practice (González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernández 2016). Importantly, teaching civic and citizenship competences may be perceived as dangerous by teachers in areas where guerrillas or other illegal armed groups are present (Patti and Espinosa 2007).

Social and Contextual Challenges

There are several ways of framing these problems. On one hand, Noonan (2010) states that Colombia's armed conflict stands as a threat to the stability of democracy, as well as an obstacle for the development of peaceful, civically engaged citizens and community-mindedness. On the other, Pinilla and Torres (2006) argue that too little attention is paid to social inequalities and political exclusion as reasons for the social behaviour of Colombians. Similarly, Rodríguez et al. (2007), and Berkowitz and Bustamante (2013), attribute these difficulties to a deficiency in the social policies of the State during the 1990s; this situation may have contributed to negative perceptions from young people regarding government institutions. In sum, the challenges the country has faced and currently encounters, regarding the political, economic, and social realms, could be seen as both causes and consequences of deficiencies in the teaching of civic and citizenship.

In this context, teaching civic and citizenship concepts has been difficult in Colombia because violence seems to be so embedded in the country's history, so that many people seem to think that this is an appropriate way to solve problems (Jaramillo and Mesa 2009). This represents a threat to civil society. Inadequate civic and citizenship education may increase the likelihood that students internalize attitudes accepting undemocratic practices, disregarding how democratic institutions should work or how they have worked in Colombia and other countries. Besides, given the existence of poverty, inequality, and unemployment (as in most Latin American countries), those attitudes might continue to be understandable responses to such issues. In fact, Jaramillo and Mesa (2009) recognize that the poverty in which many young people live predispose them to distorted concepts of democracy.

It has been recently suggested that Colombia's education system needs to recognize that a space should be created for reflection and ways to increase motivation. This could happen through the analysis of the students' daily relationships inside and outside school settings (Rodríguez et al. 2017). Being a good citizen does not rely exclusively on knowledge of concepts; instead, it is widely associated with the skills that allow one to relate positively to others. This can be developed through practical activities and discussing reflections about students' actions in specific contexts including the school (Jaramillo and Cepeda 2004).

Summary and Concluding Thoughts

This chapter describes the context of civic and citizenship education in Colombia, as well as Colombia's participation in ICCS, its influence on the National Standardized Test of Citizenship Competences and the Citizen Actions and Attitudes Test, and how members of the school community who attended the Icfes 2018 workshops used the results from ICCS 2016. Finally, there is a discussion about barriers to teaching civic and citizenship education. Colombia has made several efforts to improve the civic and citizenship knowledge of students. For instance, the country has participated in international studies like ICCS and the earlier CIVED. The National Government has developed the Colombian Standards of Citizenship Competences and has implemented the national test of civic and citizenship education. Also, civic and citizenship education has changed in response to the new context of the country after the peace agreement, and the educational system as a whole has been involved in this process of adjustment. As part of this, Icfes has been making an additional effort through the assessment of civic and citizenship education, the preparation of workshops with the schools, and the dissemination of a diverse set of documents and reports. The purpose of these strategies is for teachers and principals to understand the results and use the information to design improvement plans that allow students to experience a more intensive development of these competences.

Furthermore, the existence of gaps in civic and citizenship education represents both a challenge and an opportunity to transform education systems and target civic issues in Latin America. These include corruption and civil disobedience. In this respect, the Colombian experience suggests how researchers and experts in civic and citizenship areas can join policymakers and other political groups to broadly influence the nature and effectiveness of educational efforts not only to promote academic achievement but also to promote the positive development of socioemotional and citizenship competences in the Colombian population (Berkowitz and Bustamante 2013).

At a local level, the lack of cohesion between government policies and local needs, practices, and expectations (Pinilla and Torres 2006), is one of the reasons why schools have minimal time and resources to focus on pedagogical and educational activities. Additionally, teachers' initial formation used to be focused on factual contents relevant for history and geography with less emphasis on didactic training oriented to teaching civic knowledge and developing social thinking (González-Valencia and Santisteban-Fernandez 2016). As a result, the existence of schools' and teachers' pedagogical weaknesses makes it necessary for civic and citizenship studies in the future to inquire about teachers' training and knowledge in this area, as well as perceptions of the implementation of the curriculum in the schools.

A first step could be the assessment of the knowledge, pedagogical practices, and perceptions of teachers who teach civic and citizenship subjects. It would be important to measure teachers' academic training in this matter and how schools are selecting them to work in civic and citizenship education. Also, it would be relevant to understand the guidance that schools are offering all teachers to teach this topic in a transversal way. This could shed light on why countries in Latin America consistently show low performance in the assessed areas in ICCS. With this information, Colombia and other countries could take actions to effectively implement different strategies and improve their practices in civics and citizenship education in the classroom.

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CHAPTER 5:

Civic and Citizenship Education in Denmark 1999–2019: Discourses of Progressive and Productive Education

Jens Bruun

Abstract This chapter addresses the participation of Denmark in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) 1999, International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, and ICCS 2016. The first sections present the Danish implementation of civic and citizenship education as a whole school approach and describes changes to this tradition during the period 1999–2019 in school policy and in teacher training. Examples of how the main national results of these IEA studies have been perceived and used are also discussed. The final sections of the chapter address how different education discourses have played an important role for public school debate, for school policymaking, and for educational research. Finally, it is discussed how general changes in school policy, without officially being labelled as changes to civic and citizenship education, have implications for the school as a place for civic and citizenship education.

Danish Participation in CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016

Since joining the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CIVED) late in 1998, Denmark has participated in the CIVED 1999 study (including testing upper secondary students in 2000) and International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and ICCS 2016. The current author (The Danish School of Education, Aarhus University) was a major researcher in both CIVED studies and national research coordinator (NRC) in both ICCS studies.

Description of Civic and Citizenship Education in Lower Secondary School

By tradition (and law), civic and citizenship education (CCE) in Denmark is based on a whole school approach, i.e., a combination of curricular, cross-curricular, and non-curricular components. In ICCS 2016, 93% of the Danish students attended a school whose principal reported that CCE is a matter for teachers teaching within the humanities/social science-related subjects. For 81% of the students CCE is a whole school approach, for 70% CCE is a separate subject, and for 68% CCE is a part of all subjects (Schulz et al. 2018a).

However, the way school principals implement CCE depends on how they value its different components. A Danish tradition for progressive education (especially from about 1975 to 1999) linked CCE to the German tradition of "Bildung" (education as a personal and cultural maturation in the process of human development). This dimension of school is often captured in the concept "democratic Bildung" ("demokratisk dannelse" in Danish) as the essence of the CCE whole school approach. It is a common perception that this ethos still plays a major role in Danish schools. However, in official curricula guidelines, CCE-related aspects tend to be introduced in a more academic sense (if mentioned at all). It is evident from ICCS 2016 that the majority of students attend a school where the principal tends to view knowledge as more important for CCE than the promotion of engagement, participation, and values (Schulz et al. 2018a, p. 34). This is probably to avoid the normative and moral dimensions of CCE (and the specter of political indoctrination).

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On the national level, the "Folkeskole" is the Danish name for the public municipal primary and lower secondary school; all these schools share standard requirements concerning the subjects to be taught[1] and the leadership and organization of the schools. The Education Act for the Folkeskole states that the school "must prepare the pupils for participation, joint responsibility, rights and duties in a society with freedom and democracy. Therefore, the functioning of the school must be marked by freedom of spirit, equal worth and democracy" (Retsinformation 2017, §1,3).

The law does not provide details about implementation, and CCE is not an explicit content domain in the curriculum guidelines in lower secondary school. To some degree, this is appropriate for the whole school approach since CCE is very much an implicit dimension across different subjects and the school in general.

In grades 8 and 9, students attend "Samfundsfag" (i.e., "society subject") or social science including sociology, political science, and economics. The Ministry of Education recommends that students in these grades receive two social science lessons (of 45 minutes) per week per school year. This subject used to be "Samtidsorientering" ("contemporary society"), introduced in the Public School Act in 1975 (Struwe 1977). In 1993, samtidsorientering became social science for grade 9 and was made mandatory for grades 8 and 9 in 2005 (Ministry of Education 2006). Social science covers many aspects outlined in the ICCS framework (Schulz et al. 2016), especially within the content domain about society and political systems. The purpose of social science is to develop students' competences to take an active part in democratic society and to promote critical thinking and core personal values. These content domains are mandatory (EMU 2017):

(1)   Politics: democracy, the political system, parties, ideologies, media and politics, the European Union and Denmark, international politics

(2)   Economy: private finance, consumer behavior, welfare states, the market economy, sustainability

(3)   Social life and culture: socialization, culture, social differentiation (equality and inequality)

(4)   Methods: communication, information gathering, statistics

The subject is intended as an introduction to social science as a set of scholarly disciplines with three dimensions: political, social, and cultural. There are no requirements prioritizing local, national, regional, or global dimensions. In 2006, the Ministry of Education decided that social science should not include the relationship between man and nature and that sustainability in social science should be introduced in the context of the topic of economic growth. This was a part of revisions where the Ministry gave the subject a more academic rather than normative profile (Kaare 2006).

Social science is one of six humanities/social science subjects that do not have compulsory tests. Instead, each school year after grade 9, one of these subjects is drawn by lottery for examination. If social science is drawn, students must prepare a product (for example, a movie, a poster, or an article) about a self-chosen problem to be examined in an oral examination (Ministry of Education 2018a). The most recent guidelines highlight two ways of teaching social science: the open school method and problem-oriented project work. These methods entail visits to and cooperation with relevant institutions and/or students investigating topics outside school (Ministry of Education 2018b).

The Ministry of Education guidelines for other subjects include very little explicit CCE-related information. The guidelines for the subject of Danish include some content objectives potentially

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1   In Denmark some schools are so-called "private schools" or "free schools." They must measure up to the same standards as public schools.

relevant to CCE, such as the promotion of personal and cultural identity and the students' aesthetical, ethical, and historical understanding. However, explicit political, civic, and democratic content dimensions are not included. Some historical, national, cultural, religious, or economic aspects of other subjects may be taught in ways relevant to CCE. Two examples from the history subject are the study of the Danish constitution of 1849 and women's right to vote (1915).

A number of topics and themes are defined as supplementary tasks. Some of these can be regarded as having CCE-related content, even though they are not officially defined as parts of CCE. There are three so called "mandatory topics," but with no mandatory number of lessons attached to them: traffic education; health, sex, and family knowledge; education and occupation. They must all be included in one or more of the existing mandatory subjects from grade 1 to grade 9. The school principal decides in which subjects they should be included. In addition, there are three so called "mandatory cross-subject themes": innovation and entrepreneurship; IT and media; development of language skills. These must be integrated into and across the existing mandatory subjects and are included in ministerial guidelines for the subjects (Ministry of Education 2018c, 2018d).

In 2015, 2017, and 2019 the Danish Ministry of Education and the National Parliament held mock parliamentary elections for grades 8 to 10 in cooperation with The Danish Youth Council (Ministry of Education 2017a). This is not mandatory, but many schools participated. The Ministry's archive of reports, guidelines, and recommendations from 1995–2018 reveals little about CC. An exception is a book called Learning Democracy (in English) containing examples of CCE-related school projects (Ministry of Education 2008).

There is a relatively long tradition in Denmark for student councils in Folkeskolen. Since 1986, students have had the right to form a Student Council at any school with five or more grade levels (Christensen and Olsen 2013). It is a common perception (and often a fact) that Student Councils have very limited real influence, yet this varies considerably, because local school authorities are relatively free to decide how student councils function and the extent of their influence (Retsinformation 2014).

Civic and Citizenship Education in Danish Teacher Education

CCE at school is mainly perceived as a whole school approach involving all teachers and all subjects. However, some teachers of social science may be seen as specialists: In the school year 2017/2018 almost 82% of the teachers teaching social science studied social science as part of their teacher training (Styrelsen for IT og Læring 2018).

There are no requirements with regard to CCE training for teachers in general. However, there is a compulsory subject in the teacher-training program called "Christianity, life-enlightenment and citizenship," which provides insight into religion and culture, the history of ethics, along with democracy and citizenship. This subject is part of basic subjects intended to provide teachers with general professional competences. It is mandatory for all teacher-training programs to offer this subject, which has eight knowledge goals. Three of these relate to Christianity/religion, two to ethics and philosophy, and three to human rights, citizenship, and democratic principles. In other words, the foundation of politics or democracy as a secular matter is not particularly strong. Ethical questions are posed within a complex context with religious perspectives on one side and political perspectives on the other. Democracy is dealt with as a part of a broad cultural heritage, including the (alleged) co-development of Christianity and democracy in Denmark. The subject appears to be implemented in somewhat different ways in different teacher-training institutions.

Changes to Democratic Aspects of the Folkeskole and Teacher Education (1999–2019)

Apart from the development of social science as a school subject, between 1999 and 2019, there have been no major curriculum changes for CCE in Danish lower secondary schools. However, some changes that affect the CCE whole school approach are worth considering even though they have remained largely unnoticed. In hindsight they seem to form a consistent policy that decreases the attention paid to the democratic influence of teachers and students. Claims about the Danish CCE whole school approach often refer to the Education Act, which states that the school must be "marked by" freedom of spirit, equal worth, and democracy. This statement has changed from previous versions of the Act (1975 and 1993), which in stronger terms claimed that the "teaching and *entire daily life* of the school must be *founded on* the freedom of spirit, equal worth and democracy" (emphasis added; Thejsen 2009).

Another remarkable change is a weakening of the democratic influence of teachers. This began with the 1990 abolition of the Teachers' Council (consisting of all teachers and the school leadership with a teacher chairman). It was replaced by a Pedagogical Council with less decision-making authority (Christensen and Olsen 2013a; Vestergaard 1996; Skovgaard-Petersen 2018). Also, in 1990 the School Committee (*skolenævn*) was abolished and replaced by a School Board (*skolebestyrelse*) strengthening the influence of the school principal and parents (Recommendations for the Folkeskole Act, columns 5174 and 5175, in Lovforslag nr. L 215, 1989). It is widely believed that the abolition of the Teachers' Council was an attempt to weaken teacher influence on school management (Madsen 2015). In the Folkeskole reform 2013, the mandatory Pedagogical Council was made voluntary with a similar intent (Christensen and Olsen 2013b).

In 2007 a law discontinued a mandatory subject in teacher education called "the school in society." The purpose of the subject was to enhance incoming teachers' understanding of the societal role of the school in a democracy from historical and contemporary perspectives (Simonsen 2004). According to Hedegaard et al. (2011), the subject was popular and received highly positive assessments from external examiners. At present there is no specific subject in teacher education that introduces the basic political/democratic dimension of the school as an institution in society.

In 2007, the solution was to replace "the school in society" with "citizenship" as a new third dimension of the then existing subject "Christianity and life-enlightenment" (Hedegaard et al. 2011; EVA 2003). However, in 2012/2013 "Christianity, life-enlightenment and citizenship" was in danger of being discontinued. For many educators the crux of this subject is the tradition of progressive education and "Bildung." So, the ministry's move stirred protests (by highly esteemed scholars and both left and right political parties). It survived in teacher education but in a somewhat less important role (Rømer 2018; Lund 2012; Kemp 2013). The subject is somewhat controversial because, in the view of its proponents, it represents important Danish values and traditions. However, in the view of critics, this is irrelevant. In an era with multicultural trends and an increasing emphasis on global dimensions of citizenship these national and cultural dimensions in teacher education have diminished relevance.

A Danish tradition, which for many years was considered of vital importance for the Folkeskole, is the so-called "class teacher." The concept refers to the practice that one teacher of a class has the responsibility for the social life and wellbeing of students, for coordinating activities, pedagogical issues, and teaching plans with other teachers, for planning meetings with parents, and for coordination with the school principal regarding matters related to the class. This class teacher would know all the individual students and their parents (and vice versa) from their very first day at school and be able to closely follow the development of each student throughout all years of schooling. This tradition was changed and partly abolished as part of a major Folkeskole

reform in 2013. In this reform, the class teacher is no longer necessarily a specific pivotal person with assigned responsibilities. On the contrary, the tasks and responsibilities of the class teacher are re-defined as so-called "functions" that the school principal may assign in different ways and in different school years to various teachers and/or other pedagogical staff.

Interestingly, the role of the class teacher was the sole topic of a 1996 book by the Ministry of Education (supported by eight educational experts), because the role of the class teacher had been strengthened by law in 1993. The very first sentence states: "In the Danish Folkeskole, the class teacher is still pivotal as the person creating the best possible conditions for the individual class and the individual student, both in academic and social matters" (Ministry of Education 1996, p.7). It is remarkable that this key role has been discontinued after numerous decades when it was a hallmark of Danish schooling practices (Bramming et al. 2009; Christiansen 2009).

Furthermore, for many years, the class teacher's tasks were linked to the so-called "class hour" (Skole og forældre n.d.), which secured specific extra time for social activities and discussions intended to promote social cohesion among classmates. The class hour was established in 1975. It was considered unique for the Folkeskole as a way of promoting democratic processes in class. For example, the class representative in the Student Council would have ample time to discuss issues and proposals without disturbing lessons. This could provide an opportunity to introduce praxis in deliberative democracy and strengthen student participation. This activity was also abolished as part of the Folkeskole reform 2013 (Christiansen 2017; Kristensen 2010).

Changing the role of the class teacher and abolishing the class hour are significant because both these phenomena were previously regarded as strong democratic features of the Folkeskole. Abolishing them seems to entail a change of mindset (Dall 2013). It is undoubtedly the case that the political intention was to dispense with allegedly ineffective activities perceived as closely linked to the values of progressive education introduced in legislation in the mid-1970s. In a famous (some might call it infamous) speech in the Danish Parliament (October, 2003) the then Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, claimed that there were far too many student discussions taking place in the Folkeskole in circles that were based on uninformed opinions. Since then, the word "circle-education" has been used as a depreciatory characterization of progressive education (Statsministeriet 2003).

This political statement and the changes mentioned earlier can be seen as symptoms of an education policy trend toward focusing on measurable school effectiveness and academic outcomes. In this perspective, the class is a learning community in need of a teacher performing professional class "leadership" or "management," rather than a social community where the teacher needs to be present as a person in ongoing discussions. In other words, the developments mentioned above can be viewed as changes to the scope of the school that indirectly also influence civic education (see some further discussion later in this chapter).

A Brief History of the Reception of the Results from Danish CIVED and ICCS

In 2000, before the CIVED 1999 results were announced, nobody expected Danish students to perform particularly well in an international comparative study. Previous results in other subject areas from TIMSS 1995 and PISA 2000 placed Danish students close to the international averages in mathematics and reading. In general, the results were interpreted as mediocre and below expectations.

In the CIVED 1999 study (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), the average scale score of the Danish students on the cognitive student test was very close to the international average. However, this was interpreted relatively positively, because most of the better-performing countries had tested grade 9 students, whereas Denmark had tested grade 8. The international variation was

rather complex. The two highest average test scores were from countries that had tested grade 8 students whereas the next five listed countries had tested grade 9 students. Foreseeing this grade issue, some countries (including Denmark) tested both grade 8 and an additional sample at grade 9. In Denmark, grade 9 students performed much better than grade 8 students in the cognitive test. The average score for grade 9 students was on par with the very best performing countries. It was important for Denmark to consider the grade issue, because, at the time, social science was a mandatory subject only in grade 9. Given this additional information about the CIVED cognitive test results, the overall interpretation of the Danish results was relatively positive and the introduction of the mandatory grade 9 social science course was put forward as a likely explanation for the substantial difference between grade 8 and grade 9.

In other areas of CIVED (concerning students' attitudes towards democracy and intentions to participate in political activities) results were similar for grades 8 and 9. This was illuminating, because, in theory, it would have been more advantageous to investigate grade 9 in ICCS, given that grade 9 is the last year of lower secondary school for the majority of students in Denmark. However, an interesting finding was that grade 9 students were significantly more positive than grade 8 students about the so-called "open classroom climate" (for discussion) in lessons that concern CCE. When answering these IEA questions, grade 9 students would be thinking of social science whereas grade 8 students would be thinking of lessons in history or Danish.

At the international level, the Danish results concerning students' attitudes and intentions to participate varied substantially across different content dimensions. For example, the Danish average support for gender equality was the highest of all countries, and the percentage of Danish students expecting to vote at national elections was among the highest in Europe (more than 90%). Other results were not as good. For example, the Danish students' endorsement of participation in less traditional forms of political activities and activism as well as support for various citizen actions was very low. In most cases, the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Danish results were quite similar to those of the other Nordic countries.

When first announced, the results of CIVED 1999 received widespread public attention (a press conference in the Ministry of Education and television, radio, and written press coverage). The broader context for the announcement was the (alleged) poor results from other international studies, so there was a feeling of relief when the CIVED 1999 results were released. The results were interpreted relatively positively but did not spark extensive debate.

In ICCS 2009, the average Danish student test score was significantly above the international average (Schulz et al. 2010). Another important finding was that the Danish boys had the highest average of boys from any country. The test result received some celebratory media attention, including some remarkable headlines about the Danish students as "World champions in democracy" (Ebdrup 2010). However, the public attention was lessened because the international findings were (pre)released during the summer holidays, and holding a press conference proved unrealistic. When the final full results were released in late 2010, the results were no longer "breaking news." Another problem was that the media's attention (and the attention of the Ministry of Education) was being drawn to the unexceptional results from PISA 2009, released the same month. Nevertheless, the celebratory media attention and headlines about civic education endured for a significant amount of time. Once more, the results about students' attitudes and intentions to participate in various activities revealed both relatively high and low Danish scores in the international comparisons. For example, of all countries the Danish students had the most positive perception about the open classroom climate for discussion, one of the highest averages regarding gender equality, and the highest percentage in Europe on a question about the intention to vote in national elections. However, results in other areas were much lower, especially for almost all other kinds of active political participation. For example, Denmark had the lowest average of all countries on a scale regarding "social movement related citizenship"

and one of the lowest averages on a scale measuring student' perceptions of influence at school (Bruun 2010a; 2010b; Bruun and Lieberkind 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014)

In ICCS 2016, the Danish average knowledge test result was once more at the top of the official country list. The release of the main results (November 2017) received fairly strong media coverage and considerable subsequent interest (Bruun et al. 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2018a; 2018b). In general, the reception of ICCS 2016 has been focused on the attitudinal dimensions of the study. This new focus is probably due to changes in the broader societal context where the importance of democratic principles and values increasingly is viewed as paramount due to phenomena such as left and rightwing populism, lack of trust in democratic institutions, internet surveillance, increasing inequity, the climate crisis, and migration issues. In this context, the relatively low average scores for various types of political participation among Danish youth have gained new attention as stronger citizen engagement and higher levels of political participation among youth are regarded as possible ways to mitigate a crisis in democracy.

Impact, Cooperation, Networks, and Activities

In the Danish context, a challenge is that much of the (potential) impact of ICCS is indirect. In general terms, users of ICCS reports and results may include students, teachers, parents, ordinary citizens, media specialists, school principals, non-governmental organizations, policymakers, educators, and researchers. These groups do not necessarily share the same interests or points of view about CCE and/or the results of ICCS. Therefore, Danish ICCS-reports are written in such a way that insights and results are kept open for different interpretations according to the interests of these different actors. Also, any policy impact needs to be seen in the context of education policy in general during the 20 year period from 1999 to 2019. Even when the "scientific evidence" of a specific ICCS-result meets the highest standard, its implications remain open for both pedagogical and political discussion.

From the very beginning of CIVED to ICCS 2016, our contacts and mutual interests with colleagues, especially from the other Nordic countries, have been essential. In CIVED, Ingrid Munck (Swedish International Steering Committee Member) organized meetings designed to establish a Nordic network for the national CIVED research teams. These meetings continued on a more or less regular basis in ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, especially in the Scandinavian countries. For example, the process of adapting and translating the instruments in ICCS 2009 included a close cooperation between the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish teams. This improved the comparability of data by finding mutual solutions to difficult adaptation or translation issues. Another area of cooperation has been the Scandinavian contribution to development of new content areas and/or items for national, Scandinavian, or general international use. Various initiatives have evolved in broader contexts from this network. An important event was a conference about the ICCS 2009 results in Oslo, Norway, in 2012. This was made possible thanks to Rolf Mikkelsen (NRC) and Dag Fjeldstad from the Norwegian ICCS 2009 team at Oslo University, cooperating with the Nordic Council of Ministers and the Norwegian Ministry of Education (see Fjeldstad and Mikkelsen 2013). Another event was the conference Nordic Education in a Democratically Troublesome Time at Örebro University, Sweden, in 2018. The conference was organized by Örebro University (Erik Amnå), the Nordic Council of Ministers, and the Swedish Ministry for Education and Research. Nordic contributions about ICCS were included in a seminar, chaired by Cecilia Arensmeier. A special reason for mentioning these two conferences is that both included teachers, teacher educators, and policy advisors in order to increase their awareness of results and potential impact.

In general, the periods in between study cycles have been important for research and other activities with potential impact. From a Danish point of view, this type of indirect impact by means of knowledge sharing is very important. However, it can be challenging to fully develop

these activities, both within and across countries; the several national ICCS teams do not always have the time and funding to participate.

CIVED/ICCS results are intended to reach diverse target groups, but public servants from various parts of the Ministry of Education are especially important readers of these results. Occasionally, we have had the opportunity to brief Ministry of Education staff. The extent of such briefings varies depending on the interest expressed by the ministry and the relevance of results. Results from ICCS are used by both national and international departments in the ministry and regularly included as documentation in reports. There are few examples of the CIVED/ICCS results having direct political impact. However, we have always believed that the difference between the Danish grade 8 and 9 test results in CIVED 1999 (discussed earlier) may have influenced the ministerial decision to introduce social science as a subject in grade 8. This, incidentally, may partly explain the improved Danish grade 8 test results in ICCS 2009.

ICCS results are becoming disseminated increasingly widely in Denmark in areas such as university courses, social science teacher training, youth networks, and associations working with CCE-related matters (human rights, global citizenship, minority groups, and so forth).

The Framing of CCE in Different Discourses

During the first decades of the 21st century, the most persistent and fierce educational debates in Denmark have dealt with the implementation of a range of political agendas and reforms other than directly CCE-related ones. This is in stark contrast to preceding years and decades where heated debates about democracy in schools and other aspects of civic education were very common. Nevertheless, some of the more general political initiatives and reforms, especially during the timespan of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, may be interpreted as having indirect implications for the school as a place for CCE. The main idea behind this section is to give some examples by focusing on conflicts between different educational ideologies and discourses. In 2004, the OECD conducted a review of the Danish school system where the final report included a long list of specific, and in many cases controversial, policy recommendations (OECD 2004) about schools' effectiveness, accountability, benchmarks, and national school monitoring systems. From 2005 to 2013 numerous political reforms were introduced, along the lines of the OECD recommendations. Noteworthy examples include: 1. Establishing a "Culture of Evaluation" (at student, teacher, and school levels); 2. Regular annual student tests by the Ministry of Education; 3. Strengthening school leadership; and, 4. Longer school days.

Policymakers found inspiration from New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and England in areas such as visible learning, evaluation tools, action plans for the individual student, strong school leadership, school effectiveness frameworks, and accountability systems (Christensen 2015; Kolff 1999; Olsen 2006; Liv i skolen 2015; Liv i skolen 2017).

In 2013, a fierce conflict broke out between Danish teachers and their employers (i.e., the Union of Municipalities, supported by the government[2]). An increase in teachers' working hours (one of the OECD recommendations) had been put into place by the government by abolishing the then collective agreement defining teachers' working hours and other working conditions. It was an open secret that the increase in working (teaching) hours was critical for financing other changes being made to the Folkeskole at the same time (Christensen 2013a, 2013b; Jensen and Jørgensen 2013).

In general, Danish educational policy from 1999 to 2018 was characterized by New Public Management (NPM) (Hultqvist et.al 2018; Krejsler 2013a, 2013b; Krejsler et al. 2018). This

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2   In Denmark, government interference in such matters is unusual and controversial. As a general rule, wages and working conditions are defined in collective agreements agreed upon by the trade unions and employers' organizations where the state plays no part. This is known as "The Danish Model'" (Lykketoft 2010).

can be viewed as a part of a general transformation of the welfare state into a competitive state and of the nation state into a global state (Pedersen 2011; Biesta 2011). As a part of this transformation, schools are expected to become effective and productive by competing. They must also be held accountable for their competitiveness. The NPM theoretical assumption is that the public sector (the school) will become more productive once it is forced to adapt to conditions that resemble those of private companies in competitive markets. Each school is expected to view itself as an actor in a quasi-school-market in which all schools, teachers and students comply with the same given standards (national tests and benchmarks), and make their results measurable and accountable (Bogetoft et al. 2014).

From a CCE point of view, it is interesting that NPM perceives the individual as a "user" or "customer" guided by self-interest in her or his relationship to the state and the school system. In other words, the role of the democratic citizen is transformed into something similar to consumer choice (Aberbach and Christensen 2005). This also implies that the task of the school in preparing students for their future life as citizens of society changes in scope. In NPM, the citizen is a rational economic individual driven by self-interests. Policymakers can rely on the fact that the citizens will strive to optimize their individual and personal gain by making rational choices.

This line of thinking is in opposition to the values behind the Danish tradition of progressive education inculcating civic virtue and treasuring shared values, and norms (i.e., in short, the citizen as a member of a community and a national culture). In the late 20th century, the Danish Public School was officially characterized in terms of a community, by an absence of competition and as relying on a sense of solidarity. Many of these ideas found their way to Denmark from abroad (for example, from the Dewey tradition). However, the ideology of progressive education has always also resonated well with a long Danish tradition of idealizing "the living word" (a famous expression in Denmark from N.F.S. Grundtvig, 1783–1872) (Larsen 2018).

For advocates of this progressive tradition, the true meaning of the school is a place where a sense of community is practiced and experienced, especially in the classroom as a place for common deliberation. Here students (ideally) have an equal voice in relationships based on reason, honesty, and mutual respect. As such, the main focus is on the citizen as a member of civil society in a given cultural and local context. This contrasts with NPM ideology, in which the productive and effective citizen is first of all characterized by an accumulation of individual self-interests and personal competencies in order to become competitive in the workplaces and marketplaces of a globalized economy.

From the point of view of advocates of the neo-liberal competitive state, the idealization of the deliberative and/or communitarian citizen is counter-productive and conservative (even nationalistic or populistic). From the neo-liberal point of view, the progressive ideal is a conservative ideology that fails to promote an up-to-date and adequate globally competitive citizenry.

This conflict permeates current educational discourse, educational practice, educational research, and educational political debate. In general, the Folkeskole in Denmark has become a veritable public discursive battlefield concerned with the classical conflict between civic education as academic achievement (for future work) and as civic/moral education (for future life). In general, the conflict is articulated as a conflict between productive and progressive education. Proponents on both sides present the conflict as insurmountable in political, ideological, and scientific discourses. By agreeing to disagree, each side of the conflict keeps itself alive by keeping the opposing view alive.

ICCS and the Future

The international study centers behind CIVED and ICCS have been commendable in their efforts to include the interests and perspectives of the national centers in the ongoing development of the study. Nevertheless, it might be worthwhile to consider further strengthening of international cooperation at the NRC level. This cooperation could take place during studies but also between study cycles in order to widen the cross national and regional exchange of ideas and the implementation of the use of data in secondary analysis and follow-up research and development. There are constraints of funding and time, but it would be appropriate for ICCS to initiate discussion in this area. With this in mind, study cycles could be implemented less frequently. This would address another problem, namely the difficulty of recruiting schools to participate. There are a vast number of studies, surveys, and tests taking place. From a broader point of view, it might be fruitful to lengthen the study cycle by one year so that the first year after the release of the international main results could remain an active year with study management and NRC meetings. This would give both the international and national centers more time for analyses and further cooperation.

Most likely, the issue of sustainable societies for a sustainable future will have a very strong and lasting effect on the perception and definition of civic and citizenship education in the decades to come. Looking forward to ICCS 2022, the initiative to cooperate with UNESCO on various aspects of global citizenship and education for sustainable development may become of special importance for the study going forward.

From a scientific point of view, the future of ICCS is bright. The continued accumulation of data over the decades of study cycles is unique and unrivalled in this area of research. The long-term insight to be gained from CIVED and the ICCS cycles is already beginning to be widely recognized and will no doubt prove to be extremely important. The founding mothers (and fathers) should be proud.

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CHAPTER 6:

Building Civic and Citizenship Education in the Dominican Republic

Ancell Scheker and Michelle Guzmán[1]

Abstract This chapter addresses the participation of the Dominican Republic in the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and 2016, and the challenges they reveal. Participation in these IEA civic studies contributed to educational discussions in the Dominican Republic through stimulating curricular reform in which the education approach recently changed from content-based to competency-based. As a result, one of the core competencies to be developed in all subjects and at every grade through a cross-curricular approach is related to ethics and citizenship; specific contents regarding citizenship are taught in social sciences. However, ICCS has shown a substantial gap between the intended (formal curriculum documents), the implemented (actual teaching process in the classroom), and the attained curriculum (student achievement), as well as the importance of context. ICCS serves as a reliable source of information for policymaking, research, and debates regarding civic education in the Dominican Republic.

Background

The Dominican Republic is implementing substantial changes in its education system. Since 2013, it has allocated four percent of GDP to education, doubling the budget of the Ministry of Education. Several measures were taken to improve quality: investing more in early childhood education, gradually increasing instructional time, extending the school day from four to eight hours, reforming the curriculum and teachers' education, among others.

Changes in civic and citizenship education have been part of a broader transition in the system from a content-based approach (1995) to competency-based education (2016). The current curricular design, developed from 2013 to 2018, has defined competency as the "capability to act as an autonomous individual in different contexts; transforming concepts, procedures, attitudes and values in an integrated manner" (Ministerio de Educación 2016a, p. 40). It establishes seven core competencies and specific competencies in each subject. One of the core competencies is named "ethics and citizenship." This competency aims to develop in the students the ability to relate to others with respect, justice and equity in all settings, to question violent practices and those that violate human rights, and to transform society based on the principles of democracy (Ministerio de Educación 2016a, p. 65). These changes in the curriculum focus and approach are the result of a complex process, and highlight the continuing importance that the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has for informing policy and debate in the country.

In 2010, a new constitution was enacted giving a more active role to citizens. Learning the Dominican Constitution is an important part of the new curriculum. Moreover, a National Pact for the Reform of Education in the Dominican Republic (2014–2030) was agreed upon

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among government, teachers' union, nongovernmental organizations, political parties, academic institutions, and social and economic sectors. This National Pact emphasizes the importance of equipping students with ethic and citizenship consciousness, in order to make them aware of their rights and duties (Consejo Económico y Social 2014). Some of these recent education reforms, however, were not in place at the time the ICCS studies were conducted.

The Dominican Republic participated in both 2009 and 2016 ICCS studies.[2] The results showed the Dominican Republic to be the Latin American country (of those participating in the study) with the most positive attitude towards authoritarian government when it brings economic benefits (Schulz et al. 2018b). The 2009 study also showed weaknesses of Dominican students in civic knowledge; most students performed on the lowest level of proficiency. In the second study, the results did not change; there was no statistically significant difference in the overall mean score between 2009 and 2016. However, there was a small increase in the percentage of students at the higher levels of performance, from 8.1% in 2009 to 12.2% in 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a).

ICCS 2009 and 2016 results showed poor performance on the civic knowledge and citizenship competencies. Dominican students have also shown low levels of performance in other subjects like reading, math, and science assessed in international studies such as TERCE 2013 (UNESCO 2015) and PISA 2015 (OECD 2018);[3] this indicates the general low quality of the education system, which is attributable to several factors. Dominican students are not familiar with standardized testing, and students' low reading ability is probably one factor associated with poor tests results and perhaps influences answers to attitudinal questions as well.

In addition to participating in the IEA ICCS project, the Dominican Republic started in 2018 to assess some competencies in citizenship and civics through its National Diagnostic Assessment. It assesses reading, mathematics, social studies, and science in grade 6 and 9. The social studies test includes some items assessing a limited number of civics indicators that were established in the national curriculum developed in 2016–2017. In May 2018, grade 6 students completed this national test for the first time and results show that only 16% of students achieved the level of performance intended in the curriculum (Ministerio de Educación 2019). The grade 9 test was administered in May 2019 and results show that only 10% of students achieved the satisfactory level of performance which is the one that meets curriculum aspirations (Ministerio de Educación 2020, in press). Thus, the information available on citizenship education for this chapter is mainly from the ICCS studies of 2009 and 2016; however, national assessments and international studies are consistent regarding low results in students' achievement.

For this chapter we consulted analyses utilizing the 2009 and 2016 data, and documented experiences. A review of the national curriculum and official documents provides context for civic and citizenship education. In addition, we interviewed four experts in the area of civics and citizenship education in the Dominican Republic.[4]

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2   The ICCS study of 2009 was coordinated by the Directorate of Evaluation of Quality of Education (Dirección de Evaluación de la Calidad) from the Ministry of Education. For the ICCS study of 2016, the coordination was shared with the Dominican Institute of Evaluation and Research on Educational Quality (Instituto Dominicano de Evaluación e Investigación de la Calidad Educativa [IDEICE]).

3   TERCE = Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study; PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment.

4   We appreciate the collaboration of the experts interviewed who kindly provided timely information on the advances and challenges regarding citizenship in the Dominican education system: Sara Guilamo, professor at the Pontificia Universidad Catolica Madre y Maestra and coordinator of the Civic Education Consortium; Dr Leonor Elmúdesi, member of the Civic Education Consortium and principal of Lux Mundi school that implements Project Citizen; Dr Raymundo González, professor at the Instituto de Formación Docente Salome Ureña and coordinator of Social Sciences at the Department of Curriculum in the Ministry of Education until 2017; and Dr Josefina Zaiter, professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo and collaborator in ICCS studies.

Civics and Citizenship in the Education System

In the late 1980s the Dominican education system was in a crisis of multiple dimensions, and all sectors agreed that reform was needed (Diaz 1996). As a result, and founded on the declaration of "Education for All" in the world conference held in Jomtien in 1990, a set of long-term reforms were developed, supported by all sectors related to education. The Ten-Year Plan (Plan Decenal 1992–2002), was one important milestone in education reforms and the evolving process of civic and citizenship education in the Dominican Republic.

In this section, we present the evolution of the curriculum related to civic and citizenship education. First, we review the curriculum of 1995 which is a product of the first Ten-Year Plan and then the most recent reform of 2016. However, it is important to remember that students' personal experiences in the social and political culture of the country have great influence on what they know and believe. For example, how can we expect that students will answer that a minister in government must pay a fine if he is speeding because we are all equal before the law (from an ICCS item; Schulz et al. 2018a) when in "real life" they know this does not happen. No policeman would stop someone from government, and he would not pay any fine. This contradiction between what the law states and what is observed in practice is experienced daily by individuals of all ages, students, and teachers. Perhaps the recognition of such contradictions is one reason why emphasis on applying knowledge in real situations was considered important in the curriculum reform of 2014–2018.

Looking back, the Dominican curriculum, published in 1995, established a cross-curricular approach for civic and citizenship education. Seven cross-curricular themes were defined, one of them being democracy and citizenship participation (Secretaría de Estado de Educación, Bellas Artes y Cultos 1994). The aim was for the school to become a place where democracy, participation, solidarity, justice, and equity were practiced. However, concerns arose because civics was no longer a specified subject matter. The individuals in favor of the cross-curricular approach affirmed that the previous designation of a specific subject had not helped to develop citizens who adopted democracy as their way of life (J. Zaiter, personal communication, November 12, 2018). On the other hand, the individuals in favor of civics being kept as a specific course believed that contents needed to have a specific place in the school schedule.

Four years later, the Education Act of 1999 established a specific program for *moral and civic education* (Secretaría de Estado de Educación, Bellas Artes y Cultos 1999) because the government and some sectors considered that the transversal approach proposed in the Ten-Year Plan 1992–2002 was insufficient. The Education Act of 1999, transformed the cross-curricular approach for civic and citizenship and it became a designated subject implemented one hour per week in basic and secondary education (Martínez et al. 2013). More emphasis was placed on the program in secondary education (grade 9 to 12).

The focus of the 1999 program was on concepts concerning the organization of the state, national symbols, civic values, citizens' rights and responsibilities, constitution and laws, and civic systems. The main contents of civic and citizenship education in the Dominican curriculum (1995–1999) were not necessarily the ones assessed in ICCS (Cox 2010). What was not included in the 1999 curricular program was participation in political actions (outside schools), strategies to solve conflicts, the judicial system, social cohesion, accountability, nationalism, and political participation (Cox 2010). The teaching strategies focused on learning definitions of the concepts and did not emphasize applying knowledge to specific situations or participating in projects to solve social problems.

In addition to the curriculum guidelines, students are also involved in school governance through the Student Council (*Consejo Estudiantil*). This Council was proposed in the Organic Regulation of Public Education Institutions, Act 4'99. The main function of the Student Council is to contribute

to identifying and analyzing the school's needs and issues (as well as those of the community), with the intention of proposing solutions and ways of implementing them (Secretaría de Estado de Educación, Bellas Artes y Cultos 1999). Moreover, this Council is intended to take actions that promote the wellbeing of students, school, and community, as well as ensuring the fulfillment of the objectives proposed for education in the Dominican Republic. Even though the Student Council until today presents an opportunity to exercise democracy, teachers do not often take this opportunity to discuss possible actions with students or connect them to democratic principles. Therefore, students are not making connections between concepts and practices.

A subsequent Ten-Year Plan (2008–2018) recognized the need to revise the curriculum and paid more attention to implementation. Furthermore, the National Pact for the Educational Reform of the Dominican Republic 2014–2030 promoted a shared vision of education. It supports the principle that building citizenship requires an education that makes people conscious of their rights and duties, and also promotes respect for constitutional values. It encourages people to be autonomous, ethical, and socially responsible, as well as committed to gender equity, protection of the environment, and sustainable natural resources (Consejo Económico y Social 2014, p. 7).

Education and curricular reforms were developed gradually starting in 2014 with the initial documents that were the bases for the revision of the curriculum. The revised curriculum adopted a new competencies approach; it brought back the cross-curricular approach for teaching civics and citizenship in all areas at every grade and incorporated specific contents in social sciences. In addition, a new overall structure was in place; the education system was organized in six years of primary education and six years of secondary education. The curriculum was implemented gradually.

The Basis for the Curricular Update and Review (*Bases de la Revisión y Actualización Curricular*), published in 2014 and later in 2016, promotes an integral education that contributes to the autonomous and effective exercise of a democratic and ethical citizenship in a participatory, responsible, and conscious way (Ministerio de Educación 2016a). It encourages students in the first cycle of secondary education (grades 7, 8, and 9) to develop reflective and critical thinking as members of a democratic society founded in solidarity, justice, equity, and freedom (Ministerio de Educación 2016b). The new curriculum for grade 8 was implemented in the school year 2016–2017, after ICCS was administered.

As stated before, the new curricular design adopted a competency approach and established seven core or fundamental competencies to be taught across subject matters:

- Ethics and citizenship
- Communication
- Logic, creative, and critical thinking
- Problem solving
- Science and technology
- Environment and health
- Personal and spiritual development

In this curriculum, *ethics and citizenship competency* is the first of the seven core competencies that are expected to be developed across all subjects in all grades, and especially within social studies. Additionally, the curriculum portrays four components for the ethics and citizenship competency; which are:

(1) Recognizing oneself as a person belonging to a nation and its culture, and a global human culture.

(2) Assessing social and institutional practices from a historical perspective and within present times.

(3) Contributing to the creation of fair, just, and democratic relationships that characterize harmonious living together.

(4) Acting with autonomy, responsibility, and assertiveness in relation to one's own rights and duties (Ministerio de Educación 2016a, p. 68).

The curriculum establishes that social studies be taught five hours per week, and citizenship education is a dimension within this subject area. Prior to the publication of the current curriculum in 2016, civics and citizenship education was focused on acquiring knowledge about national symbols, legal norms, and rights. Even though these elements are still present, "the main focus in the current curriculum is based on the exercise of citizenship and social problem solving," as stated by the former coordinator of social studies at the Department of Curriculum in the Ministry of Education of Dominican Republic (R. González, personal communication, November 13, 2018).

As this competency is cross-curricular, there is no specific textbook or other material. Its assessment is not specifically addressed but teachers can choose from the various strategies and tools for assessment described in the curriculum. It is based on mobilizing knowledge in particular situations where the students are expected to apply an understanding of the natural and social surroundings in solving problems, participate in debates or inquiry projects, and engage in teamwork. The curriculum suggests strategies that promote the participation of students. However, the implementation of the new curriculum is facing difficulties, not only in the area of civic and citizenship education (R. González, personal communication, November 13, 2018). Teachers need additional training and materials that give more specific guidance about how to deliver the curriculum and develop these competencies in the classroom.

As mentioned before, in the 2016 curriculum of lower-secondary education, ethics and citizenship does not have a specific time allocated in the daily schedule but is integrated within the subject area of social studies. Nevertheless, this competency also remains transversally related to other competencies in different subjects as well. For example, the main goal of the environmental and health competency is to offset the negative consequences generated by human actions in order to avoid future damages for our planet and to promote responsible citizenship based on the appreciation of the natural and social environment (Ministerio de Educación 2016a, p. 95). Therefore, this other competency is related to citizenship as well. Moreover, citizenship is also related to the competency of problem solving, and logical, critical, and creative thinking, among others, so connections must be made by the teacher and the students.

The way civics and citizenship are addressed in each classroom depends on the teacher. In the interviews held with experts for this chapter, concerns were voiced about the lack of focus on knowledge transmission in the process of civic education and the potential for subjectivity and teachers' beliefs to permeate activities and assessments. In addition, because the curriculum is very broad in its coverage, the effectiveness of teaching relies on teachers' skills. There are no materials or specific guidelines regarding how to present core competencies across subjects and how to assess them. In a country where teachers' education is, in general, of low quality, more specificity and more support are probably needed.

All experts interviewed raised concerns regarding civic and citizenship education teaching. Guilamo and Elmúdesi (personal communication, November 9 and November 14, 2018) expressed that some teachers think that having a specific space and time in the curriculum to teach civic and citizenship is necessary. Even if it were to remain as a cross-curricular competency, there should be a designated period in which civic knowledge could be transmitted and students could be made aware of the specific purpose of activities intended to promote citizenship. This concern is reinforced by the ICCS 2016 finding of lack of understanding of threats to democracy. Dominican students were the least likely of those in any of the countries that participated in the study to answer that it was bad for democracy when government officials gave jobs to their family

or when government officials influenced the courts (Schulz et al. 2018a). As stated earlier, they had the lowest civic knowledge scores in 2009 and 2016. Therefore, specific instructional time used for improving students' civic knowledge and understanding appears to be vitally important.

School is recognized as one of the most important places to foster civic and citizenship practices, together with the family and the community (L. Elmúdesi, personal comunication, November 14, 2018). The school must set an environment that provides adequate situations for students to gain and mobilize knowledge through lessons that confront social and political realities. According to the current curriculum, the school is the proper space for fostering participatory decision making, teamwork skills, reflective practice, problem solving skills, and awareness of rights and duties (Ministerio de Educación 2016a). But this needs to be based on a foundation of knowledge of how democratic governments function.

There are important challenges in implementing practices that lead to citizenship competencies. In that sense, it is central to consider that discussions about teacher training and teaching strategies related to citizenship education are hampered when the social and political culture of the country is contrary to building or practicing citizenship and democratic values.

Teachers of Civics and Citizenship

Teachers in the Dominican Republic need to have a four-year bachelor's degree in education (*licenciatura*) from a university or higher education institution. Civic and citizenship teachers in the Dominican Republic are not required to have specific training in the area; most of them have a bachelor's in social sciences education. Nevertheless, nongovernmental organizations are contributing to teachers' education in civics and citizenship. The Poveda Cultural Center (*Centro Cultural Poveda*) is conducting a training program that helps teachers to implement an inquiry-action strategy to promote learning, and through that strategy work on civic and citizenship education (Centro Cultural Poveda 2018). Moreover, the Organization of Iberoamerican States (*Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos*), likewise, has a teachers' training program in civic and citizenship education (Zaiter 2018). Both programs are implemented in specific communities and are not widespread.

In addition to those nongovernment programs, the Consortium for Civic Education (*Consorcio de Educación Cívica*) in the Dominican Republic has been training teachers in civic and citizenship education since 1997. This larger Consortium is composed of nongovernmental organizations and schools and coordinated by the Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra. In addition, this university developed a graduate program (*diplomado*) in civic education for in-service teachers, and hundreds have participated. However, training provided by the Consortium for Civic Education is a long way from permeating all schools in the Dominican Republic.

In 2001, with the support of the Center for Civic Education, United States, a model and mentors were provided for the development of the Citizenship Project, which was implemented in several schools. The resources for this program were a student manual and teacher guide adapted and translated by the Consortium and used for training of social studies teachers between 2001 and 2006 (Güílamo-Jiménez 2017). Therefore, there have been interesting formal experiences of teacher training in citizenship education but none of them has expanded and none continues to the present.

Presence of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in Education Discourse and Reforms

Curriculum

As mentioned, ICCS brought concerns about civic and citizenship education to the attention of several audiences in the Dominican Republic. In particular, this related to the low results, the non-democratic attitudes of many students, and perception of a lack of effective teaching.

The current curriculum gives significant importance to civic and citizenship education. Partly, this is supported by conclusions made about ICCS studies. Ethics and citizenship as a cross-curricular and core competency is intended to promote democratic involvement based on principles of participation, equity, intercultural aspects, justice, cooperation, and peace culture (Ministerio de Educación 2016a). It is hoped that teaching related to this competency will lead students to question, analyze, and criticize undemocratic and violent practices in their schools and communities. The document titled "Bases for the Curricular Update and Review" points out that through ethics and citizenship competencies, members of a society can create solutions to social problems (Ministerio de Educación 2016a). There is some evidence of increasing interest in educating citizens who value democracy, are critical about the current social reality, and are willing to become participatory members of the society (Zaiter 2018).

The results of the ICCS 2009 teachers' questionnaire showed that civic and citizenship education had only medium priority in comparison with the rest of the subject areas (Schulz et al. 2011). As a result, moral and civic education classes were frequently canceled for other activities or subjects (S. Güilamo-Jiménez, personal communication, November 9, 2018). In the current curriculum (2016), civic and citizenship as a core competency (ethics and citizenship) is expected to be present as part of all subjects, but the implementation has been difficult and there is no evidence of how this has been done. Our expert interviewees agreed that many people still believe that it is necessary to have a specific subject to teach civics and citizenship so the debate is not closed. However, there is a general agreement that practice is most important; if students have knowledge but do not have opportunities to put it in practice, it is not worth it. As stated earlier in this chapter, in the Dominican Republic laws may be written and known but many do not comply with them; hence, knowing is not enough.

The desire was to move beyond civic and citizenship education based only on memorizing norms and rights. Even though the current curriculum promotes positive practices of face-to-face interaction, the process has turned out to be a great challenge for teachers, for the school, and the community. This may be because of the prevalent culture of authoritarianism, due in part to the Dominican Republic's heritage and history of dictatorships (J. Zaiter, personal communication, November 12, 2018). Therefore, even though the current curriculum has a new approach and laudable goals, these are still far from being part of common classroom practices in Dominican schools.

In that regard, the Ministry of Education instituted national assessments starting in 2017 to have a baseline at the beginning of the curriculum implementation and continue monitoring curriculum development and achievement of students, taking into consideration the new curriculum learning indicators. Education Act 1-2016 establishes national assessments at the end of each cycle (grades 3, 6 and 9). In grade 6 and 9, civics and citizenship is included in the national test of social studies. This assessment does not have consequences for the promotion or grades of students, but each school receives a report of the results in each test. After analyzing their results, schools must develop a plan for improvement to be submitted to school districts. This is intended to allow school leaders to make decisions based on evidence to improve achievement. Therefore, ICCS studies have influenced, to a certain extent, the curriculum reform and the use of assessment to contribute to the improvement of the quality of education.

Pedagogy

The new curriculum suggests strategies to foster an environment that promotes civic education goals. One of these strategies is the Classroom Participatory Project (*Proyecto Participativo de Aula*) which is an inquiry-action strategy developed within the school with the collaboration of parents, teachers, and the school community. Students are the center of this strategy. They work together and dialogue with the purpose of identifying the needs of their community, as well as ways to make positive changes. Classroom Participatory Projects were proposed with the aim to articulate the core competencies through an inquiry-action method. Families and the school community play an essential role in this strategy; they also support the processes of identifying community or school needs in order to create actions to improve those situations (Ministerio de Educación 2016b, p. 90). Classroom Participatory Projects create an environment to foster civic and citizenship education as it arises from the social reality around the school and community. It encourages dialogue and finding solutions.

These pedagogical strategies suggested by the new curriculum are believed to be well aligned with the concept of an active citizenship in a democratic society and more related to the competencies that need to be developed and that are assessed in the ICCS study. However, our interviewees mentioned that creating these changes in all classrooms is a huge challenge for those who are implementing civic and citizenship education in the Dominican Republic. This is because teachers do not have the preparation and training to work in that way. There is considerable doubt about whether the strategies in place and available resources will allow these intentions to be substantially implemented, evaluated, and disseminated.

One strategy, mentioned earlier, which has been implemented in schools that are part of the Civic Education Consortium is called Project Citizen (*Proyecto Ciudadano*). After the partnership with the Center for Civic Education ended some schools continued developing Project Citizen in certain areas.   According to Güílamo-Jiménez (2017), this project intends to promote and strengthen citizenship education with the collaboration of the school community; it has the aim of creating a democratic and participatory society that allows the exercise of responsible citizenship. Tolerance, teamwork, effective communication, critical thinking, and problem solving, are some of the competencies promoted among students and members of the school community. There are concerns whether teachers and schools are prepared to incorporate these practices. Further there is uncertainty as to whether social and civic institutions are prepared for the participation of schools and students.

Recent Trends in Teachers' Preparation for Civic Education Instruction

Since civic and citizenship education has not been part of teachers' initial education programs, the needs of teacher education in this area are evident, especially given the poor results in ICCS 2009 and 2016.

In 2015 the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, created the Regulation for Quality Teacher Education in the Dominican Republic (Ministerio de Educación Superior, Ciencia y Tecnología 2015). This document describes the characteristics that programs for teachers' education should consider. This reform of teachers' education has the goal to enhance the quality of teaching, and all universities and institutions have to gradually transform their programs to a competency-based curriculum. Consequently, curriculum for teachers' education must focus on developing competencies that are aligned with the following dimensions:

- Professional and personal development dimension: draws attention to the ethical commitment that being a teacher implies, as well as to the professional development process.
- Sociocultural dimension: covers the competencies that teacher must have to according to 21st century skills and knowledge.

- Knowledge of the student dimension: covers competencies that a teacher must have concerning ways to foster physical, biological, cognitive, and socio-emotional growth of their students at different stages of their development process.
- Pedagogical dimension: describes competencies related to the comprehension and development of elements involved in teaching and the learning process of the student.
- Curricular dimension: encompasses competencies related to knowledge of topics in the current curriculum and implementation of instruction in the domain of the subjects to be taught.
- School management dimension: describes teachers' competencies to support school management and leadership (Ministerio de Educación Superior, Ciencia y Tecnología 2015).

Civic and citizenship education is implicit in the "sociocultural dimension." The sociocultural competency includes the need for teachers to master techniques that promote the exercise of a local and global citizenship founded in moral values (Ministerio de Educación Superior, Ciencia y Tecnología, 2015). The regulation does not mention civics and citizenship as a specific subject in teacher training programs, paralleling the cross-curricular approach for students.

In spite of the reform of teachers' education programs, not all universities have changed their curriculum or include civic and citizenship education as a main objective or course. However, there is an interesting experience at the Instituto Superior de Formación Docente Salomé Ureña (ISFODOSU). This Institute is promoting principles of democratic citizenship and includes civic and citizenship education in its program for initial teachers' education (ISFODOSU 2018). The ISFODOSU is the main public institution for pre-service teacher education and has the second highest enrollment of those preparing for teaching careers.

In addition to reforming initial teachers' education, it is also necessary to plan a long-term strategy for in-service teachers at a national level (R. González, personal communication, November 13, 2018). There must be follow-up programs for teachers in order to help them develop an adequate environment to teach civics and citizenship in their classrooms (J. Zaiter, personal communication, November 12, 2018).

Recognition of the School as a Community

The ICCS 2016 reports mentioned the attention paid in the Dominican Republic's educational system to school governance, student participation, parent and community involvement in school, and values and school culture (Schulz et al. 2018b). These topics are present in the previous and current curriculum. However, there are some challenges.

ICCS 2016 showed that the percentages of students in the Dominican Republic who support hitting as a justified punishment are higher than the international average. Under the framework of the ethic and citizenship competency, the current curriculum expects that the school community will foster respect and a culture of peace. Therefore, the Ministry of Education, with the support of United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), launched a campaign called Peace Culture (*Cultura de Paz*) for the 2018 school year. This campaign promoted a harmonious coexistence in schools. Its purpose is to identify and analyze issues that are affecting coexistence in the school and to help identify positive ways to solve conflicts (Diario Hispaniola 2018).

Additionally, data from ICCS 2016 as well as PISA 2015 show a high level of bullying among Dominican students (Schultz et al. 2018a; OECD 2018). During the school year 2017–2018, a prevention campaign against bullying was launched and implemented. This campaign is called "I back you up against bullying" ("*Yo te hago coro contra el bullying*"); its purpose is to strengthen the peace culture of school communities through strategies that promote harmonious coexistence and respectful relationships. The suggested activities are described in a guide created for the implementation of this campaign in schools. This campaign takes into account students, families, school, and community.

Moreover, as mentioned in the section before, some of the teaching strategies suggested by the curriculum such as classroom participatory projects are meant to integrate the community and promote learning of living together.

Research Interests or Training of Researchers

The results of ICCS 2009 were analyzed and a national report was published (Sistema Regional de Evaluación y Desarrollo de Competencias Ciudadanas 2010). Results were also discussed in a round table with specialists in civics and citizenship education in the Dominican Republic. From these conversations, a book titled *Civic and Citizenship Education in the Dominican Republic* was published in 2012 (Pepén Peguero 2012). This book had the support of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (*Facultad Lationamericana de Ciencias Sociales*) and the Program to Promote Educational Reform in Latin America (*Programa de Promoción de la Reforma Educativa en América Latina*). The intention of the publication was to disseminate the results, analyses, concepts, and implications of ICCS 2009 in regards to education and society (Pepén Peguero 2012).

At present, the Dominican Institute of Evaluation and Research of Educational Quality (Instituto Dominicano de Evaluación e Investigación de la Calidad Educativa [IDEICE]) is analyzing the existing civic datasets from ICCS 2016.

Additionally, in July 2018, the Ministry of Education and other organizations held a Forum for Global Citizenship Education, Challenges and Opportunities, in the Dominican Republic. Attended by experts in civic and citizenship education and teachers, its aim was analyzing and discussing the challenges and opportunities to educate global citizens with the needed competencies for the new millennium (Pérez 2018). Further, in October 2018, the Ministry of Education, with the support of the Interamerican Development Bank, organized a seminar with more than 400 participants to discuss findings of ICCS 2016.

Furthermore, recommendations for research arose in the interviews held with specialists (November, 2018) in civic and citizenship education. For instance, it was suggested to use ICCS data to strengthen teacher training in civic and citizenship education and to educate principals and organizations that work with families in this area. In addition, it was suggested these results could be used for debating and reviewing policies, programs and strengthening teacher education programs in universities.

Researchers should be encouraged to use the ICCS database to develop more in-depth knowledge about this topic. Currently, IDEICE has been promoting use of the data to professors, students, and researchers. However, this is difficult because of a lack of culture of research in this area and, relatedly, a lack of capacity for research analyzing this type of data in the country.

Perception of Civic and Citizenship Education in Society

The results of ICCS 2016 and the regional module were presented in newspapers and in TV news and reports. The headline in one of the major newspapers (*Periódico El Caribe*) was "Students show tolerance for corruption and dictatorships;" and "67% percent of students agree on doing justice by one's own hands if the authority does not work" (Morel 2018a, 2018b). These publications highlighted that only 1.2% of students in the Dominican Republic are reaching the highest level of civic knowledge (Morel 2018a).

One TV news program expressed the opinion that society has been distracted with other issues and little attention has been paid to the "alarming situation" revealed by the ICCS study. Concern was expressed that future citizens (our students) justified corruption and dictatorship and that substantial numbers indicated that they do not believe in the values of democracy.[5] The general

5   Opinion expressed by Ricardo Pérez Fernández, August 8, 2018. *Telenoticias*, Local news Channel 11.

perception is that the education system is not teaching the values and practices needed to have a democratic and sustainable society.

However, schools are social institutions. In a society with the prevailing belief that democracy is not working this can result in an ambivalent discourse driven by concern about a lack of moral values coupled with, at the same time, being accustomed to tolerating practices of corruption. We see, on the one hand, complaints when laws are violated but on the other hand, acceptance of a law violation if it "solves my problem." Social practices that the younger generations observe are more important than the schools' intentions (Valera 2012). Thus, students may be more influenced by what they see in society and the prevalent political culture than what they are taught in classrooms.

Conclusion

There is widespread concern regarding the perception that students in the Dominican Republic are not being educated to become good citizens. Although this concern is very clear in all discourses, relatively few actions are being taken. It is also necessary to understand that building citizenship is not only the responsibility of schools or the education system; it is necessary to involve other social and political institutions, as well as the media.

Participating in ICCS 2009 and 2016 made visible to educators and the public in the Dominican Republic the huge challenge of improving civic knowledge and citizenship competencies. It also revealed that between 2009 and 2016 little was done to improve these competencies and consequently there was no improvement in the results.

The education system tends to focus on other subjects that are easier to assess like reading or mathematics, and may expect that civic knowledge and values will be learned in other contexts. Certainly, civics and citizenship are competences that are not learned only in schools, but it should be recognized that the school has a fundamental role to play. If the educational community does not pay attention to results such as those in the ICCS studies and does not consider initiatives to promote learning in civic and citizenship education, our future as a democratic nation is uncertain.

ICCS results have influenced, to a certain extent, some of the actions that have been taken, such as curricular reform, and the incorporation of citizenship topics in national assessments. However, resources and programs that support specific aspects of the teaching of civics and citizenship have not been developed.

What happens in practice in the country—that laws and norms are established but not followed—is also observed with the curriculum. There is a substantial gap between the formal prescribed national curriculum, its implementation in the classrooms, and student achievement. Context, social, and cultural practices, and teachers' characteristics as well as students' beliefs, experiences, and knowledge mediate teaching and learning processes. There is still much to learn by analyzing the ICCS comparative data to inform policies and practices.

The Dominican Republic has decided to continue its participation in the forthcoming ICCS studies to monitor our progress (or lack of it) and the effects of policies that are in place like the new curriculum, as well as to continue the discussion within the country of best practices to promote citizenship. Significantly, the use of evidence to inspire a common effort to improve the quality and equity of education and change the political and social culture towards achieving a more just society has been recognized as important. In part this is a result of our participation in ICCS.

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CHAPTER 7:

Estonia: Civic and Citizenship Education in Turbulent Times

Anu Toots and Mare Oja

Abstract This chapter addresses Estonia's participation in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED), International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, and ICCS 2016. Participation in these IEA civic studies contributed to educational discourse in Estonia by transforming the state-centered subject into broader society-centered and age-relevant concepts of citizenship. Study findings affected curriculum and textbooks' content and external testing policy. Uniquely, in Estonia IEA civic studies had a breakthrough effect outside formal education by contributing to lowering the voting age to 16 in municipal elections. Finally, the chapter addresses the challenge and national experience of integrating Russian-speaking youth into society through civic and citizenship education.

General Background Information on the Period 1999–2016

Estonia has participated in all International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) civic and citizenship education studies since the mid-1990s. At that time the majority of policymakers began to realize the importance of comparing national educational outcomes internationally. This broad consensus facilitated the country's participation in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED), International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, and ICCS 2016. Estonia became an IEA member in 2003. Recently there is some survey fatigue, and every new study provokes intensive discussions about participation. Despite this, the decision to take part in ICCS 2022 has been confirmed.

The participation of Estonia in international civic and citizenship education (CCE) surveys is part of a broader picture of societal transformation. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Estonia restored its independence and launched rather radical reforms to transition from a totalitarian regime to a liberal democracy. In foreign affairs this meant joining all major international organizations—United Nations (1991), Council of Europe (1993), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (2004), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2010), and the European Union (EU) (2004). Domestically, two areas have special importance for CCE: first, democratization of formal education and second, integration of Russian speaking schools and students. During Soviet times about 15% of lower secondary schools had Russian as the language of instruction, decreasing to 7% by 2016 (Statistics Estonia 2020).

Although all schools in Estonia follow the national curriculum and use textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, curriculum and teaching practices in Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking schools differ. This made modernization of national curriculum even more urgent. In 25 years, there have been several curriculum reforms that changed the status and content of social studies substantially. The trend throughout the entire period was to move away from law-centered teaching of state and government topics to the concept of democratic citizenship, which encompasses democratic attitudes and participatory patterns as well as knowledge. Assessment of students' cognitive capacities has a long tradition in Estonian education. In CCE learning outcomes are assessed via national tests at the end of lower and upper secondary school. Due

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to the totalitarian past much less was known about youth social and political attitudes and their political participation. IEA civic and citizenship studies have become the main source of this information (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Amadeo et al. 2002; Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2018). CIVED and ICCS also stimulated interest among researchers in Estonia, which resulted in further comparative studies on CCE in Eastern and Western Europe (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz et al. 2018).

Some EU funded research projects, such as Memory, Youth, Political Legacy & Civic Engagement (MYPLACE), 2011–15, and Constructing AcTive, CitizensHip with European Youth (CATCH-EyoU), 2015–18, have also provided reliable insights about democratic attitudes and political participation among young people. MYPLACE studied linkages between the historical past and current civic attitudes and engagement of young people in various regions. The findings revealed that youth civic engagement is affected primarily by a student's political interest, parents' education, and socioeconomic status, and less by historic memories. MYPLACE confirmed the weak propensity of young people to participate through traditional institutional forms and their greater participation in non-conventional activities (Pilkington and Pollock 2015). CATCH-EyoU focused on young people's trust in EU institutions and their active engagement in Europe (Motti-Stefanidi and Cicognani 2018). Findings on youth media use indicated that trust in alternative media is related to negative attitudes towards the EU (Macek et al. 2018). However, both MYPLACE and CATCH-EyoU differ methodologically from the IEA civic studies by encompassing a larger age range of respondents and using multiple methods; these studies did not measure civic knowledge.

This chapter examines the role of IEA CCE studies in the modernization of social studies in Estonia and their broader impact on youth policy. The chapter authors have been active participants in these multifaceted developments. Anu Toots, a professor of Tallinn University served as the national research coordinator for CIVED, ICCS 2009, and 2016; she has been one of the key advisors in the lowering the voting age and an expert on curriculum development task forces. Mare Oja worked 1993–2011 in the Ministry of Education, the National Board of Education, and the National Qualification and Examination Centre as an expert in social sciences. She has been engaged in national curriculum reform in the area of history and social studies. She teaches in initial teacher training programs at Tallinn University.

Besides the authors' expert knowledge, the chapter relies on national legal acts and policy strategies, reports on national testing in CCE, higher education teacher training regulations, and school related mass media. Personal communication with experts and civil servants involved in curriculum development is also used.

Development of National Curriculum Policy

Democratization of the Estonian school system began at the end of the 1980s when liberalization reforms in the Soviet Union made open public debates possible. The Soviet-style civic education was replaced by the *history of philosophy*, regarded as a less politicized subject. In 1992–1993 when civic education programs were composed, they were not compulsory and were not accompanied by modern textbooks or study materials. Thus, the implementation of the CCE subject in classrooms depended on the professionalism and attitudes of the teachers. A turning point came in 1996, when the first national curriculum of the post-totalitarian period was enacted as a binding government decree. This document laid down the institutional and ideational foundations of the national educational policy that are still effective. All schools regardless of status and language of instruction had to follow the national curriculum. The national curriculum established a two-layered structure: a general part, which defined basic values of education and the grade structure of the school, and a second part, which included study programs for each compulsory subject. Despite huge changes in ideational approach, Estonia kept the traditional subject-based structures of teaching. This holds also for CCE defined as a compulsory separate subject in lower and upper secondary school.

Main Reforms in the Area of Civic and Citizenship Education Curriculum

The first national curriculum (1996) listed a broad range of topics to be taught in CCE—logic, constitution, principles of democracy, social structure, and economics. This reflects the educational policy trade-off in a transition period that tried to combine philosophy, law, economics, and civics in order to accommodate different visions of CCE. Precise guidelines on teaching practices were not provided. That left the implementation of curriculum largely dependent on teachers. Some of them liked the freedom to design the pedagogical approaches and content of classes while others expressed confusion and resistance to this novel situation. The first textbook based on the curriculum 1996 was published in 1997 to help teachers cope with the lack of teaching materials.

The revised curriculum (2002) attempted to advance the cross-curricular approach to CCE, emphasizing the importance of the democratic school. In reality, the main responsibility in teaching democracy remained with the subject teachers and the CCE classes. An intention to put more stress on imparting skills and participatory attitudes was stated, though no substantial change in this aspect has been achieved. Efforts to improve this participatory dimension were undermined by the low knowledge achievement of Estonian students in CIVED. Given the national educational tradition, poor cognitive competences were regarded as a bigger problem than the modest support for democratic values revealed by the same study.

In 2005–2006 there was another reform effort provoked by the dissatisfaction of various stakeholders. Parents, students, and teachers complained about overload on students, while experts and epistemic communities were concerned with lack of coherence and the detachment of teaching from "real-life." This criticism was targeted to CCE as well. However, most agree that the reform attempt did not bring about meaningful improvement. In the draft law, social studies subjects were rather mechanically combined with psychology and health education; some themes were dropped without adequate reasons. Due to such shortcomings the bill was never adopted by the government.

Curriculum reform in 2011 tried to solve the problem of study overload in a different way—by making clearer distinction between the lower and upper secondary schools. The underlying argument was that at lower secondary level CCE must be closely related to real social problems and prepare young people to take the role of active citizens. The next curriculum revision in 2014 strengthened this practical dimension further by replacing rather vague general social competences with social and citizenship competences. Descriptions of citizenship competences followed EU policy documents closely, such as *European key competences in education and training*. The nation state centric approach that had been dominant previously became less prominent while universal democratic and European values gained more visibility. Influenced by ICCS 2009, the subject name was changed from social studies to civic and citizenship education. Together with history and personal, social, and health education, CCE forms the subject field social studies in the national curriculum for lower secondary school, grades 6–9 (National curriculum 2011, Annex 5, 2014).

Textbook Policy and Digital Turn in Teaching Materials

In Estonia, national curriculum must be accompanied by teaching materials such as textbooks and workbooks. Therefore, every round of curriculum amendment is followed by the production of new textbooks or revision of existing textbooks. Textbook production is entirely within private for-profit companies who contract interested authors. As a result, there can be several textbooks for one particular subject simultaneously available, and schools choose among them. However, purchase of only those textbooks approved by the Ministry as conforming to the national curriculum is subsidized. This regulation gives both publishing houses and schools an interest in having textbooks that correspond to the national curriculum.

Beyond printed textbooks and workbooks, digital learning materials, such as e-textbooks, interactive exercises, open educational resources, teachers' guides, and web-based assessment tools are becoming widespread. This development is part of the Estonian Lifelong Learning Strategy 2020, which has the "Digital turn" as one of the five directions (Ministry of Education and Research 2010). In the process of implementing the Lifelong Learning Strategy, the Ministry of Education requested compilation of digital learning resources, which were made publicly available online (see e-koolikott.ee). This activity was financed by the European Social Fund and gives every teacher free and easy access to modern teaching materials.

National Exams and Change in Testing Policy

In parallel to establishing the values and subject content of national curriculum an increasing emphasis on measuring the effect of civic education emerged. This was partly because of the opportunity to learn from neighboring and successful Finnish education policy and partly because of critiques by the OECD. Peer reviews by the Finnish Board of Education and OECD criticized the vague description of key competencies in Estonian curriculum that did not allow efficient measurement of study outcomes. As a by-product of these debates, Estonia decided to introduce national matriculation exams to measure learning outcomes defined in the National Curriculum. Once again, Finland served as a model (Toots 2009). The tasks and questions of the final examinations of the basic school are prepared by National Foundation, Innove; examination papers are graded by the final examination committees of schools, whose memberships are confirmed by the Minister of Education and Research. Although the exam on civic education is optional, i.e., it is up to the individual student whether to choose it, it has become one of the most popular exams. In 2016, 1339 students chose it compared to the 357 examinees choosing history, in 2018 the same figures were even more skewed towards CCE being 1819 to 304 respectively (Innove 2018).

The national policy of external testing has been rather volatile in the 2000s. Initial strong commitment to external accountability-oriented evaluation is being replaced by a stronger focus on internal self-evaluation of schools. In line with this change, an optional final exam in social studies at the end of upper secondary school has been abolished. Final exams on the lower secondary level still exist although their future has been debated. Volatility in approaches to quality assurance may be one of the reasons why researchers struggle with defining factors that explain the recent high performance of Estonian students in ICCS civic knowledge (Toots and Lauri 2015).

Current Status and Characteristics of CCE in Curriculum

National curriculum for the basic school, amended in 2014, defines learning outcomes at three levels: general competences, area competences in social studies, and subject-specific competences in civics and citizenship education.

At the general level, social and citizenship competence is described as the learner's "ability to become self-actualized, to act as an informed and responsible citizen supporting democratic development of society; to know and follow social values and norms, respect rules of various social environments and social, religious and ethnic diversity; to cooperate with other people in various situations; to accept and account for interpersonal differences" (Government of Estonia 2014). In the field of social studies, the aim of teaching and learning is "to develop in students age-appropriate social competences, namely ability to understand the causes and effects of changes in society; knowledge of and respect for human rights and democracy; knowledge of civil rights and responsibilities and ability to behave accordingly; ability to recognize cultural diversity; ability to follow generally accepted rules of conduct; interest in the development of community, nation, state and the world; ability to form personal opinions and be an active and responsible citizen; knowledge of and ability to use simple research methods in social studies;

interest in the surrounding world" (Government of Estonia, 2014). In civics and citizenship education, by the end of their studies it is expected that students will "master social literacy: the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes necessary for fully acting in society and for making responsible decisions. The general aim of the subject is to create the preconditions for stronger cohesion between individual identity as a citizen and society" (ibid).

CCE is taught in grade 6, 35 hours per year and in grade 8 or 9, 70 hours per year. Most schools locate CCE in grade 9, where students are 15 to 16-year-olds. Grade 9 is also the end of compulsory schooling.

New Issues Incorporated into the Curriculum

Modernization of the CCE curriculum has been influenced not only by domestic developments but also by initiatives of international organizations. The impact has been twofold: first, on the conceptual approach to civics and citizenship education and second, on topical content. The Council of Europe (CoE) has played an important role in advancing teaching of human rights and democratic citizenship. The CoE Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture (2016) guided the 2019 revision of curriculum. Among learning outcomes, understanding multiculturalism and practicing intercultural dialogue are brought into focus. OECD's Learning Framework for 2030 serves as an important trend setter in national curriculum policy. In contrast to CoE, OECD takes a broader approach in terms of topics and emphasizes the future of education and skills (OECD 2018). Within this future-oriented framework environmental issues (such as climate change) receive attention. Ecological concerns were reflected to some extent in teaching previously, but now the "think globally, act locally" approach is more prominent. Structurally, environmental issues are divided between science and citizenship studies; additionally, they are reflected among general competences.

Teaching about universal human rights and environmental issues did not meet resistance from politicians or educational policy stakeholders. However, such social consensus was not typical for all issues recently introduced into curriculum. Topics that have their roots in history (such as nation building, ethnic identities, world powers, World War 2) often cause controversies between majority and minority school communities, and more widely. For example, the political decision to include the Holocaust in the formal learning program was met with resistance from a significant portion of teachers and the public. Including Holocaust education in the school program was made conditional by NATO in 2003 to accepting Estonian membership in the alliance (Stevick 2011). Since then, Holocaust Day is remembered in Estonian schools. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which Estonia has been a member of since 2007, provides materials to teach issues related to the Holocaust and antisemitism (Oja and Hiio 2007). Although today there is certainly more awareness about the topic, education on the Holocaust is not yet fully accepted as a responsibility of schools. The narrative of the Holocaust common in the West, which stressed individual responsibility and complicity of local actors in genocide, was perceived as incompatible with the Estonian national narrative which emphasized that Baltic nations were helpless victims of two totalitarian regimes (Stevick 2011).

Specific Characteristics of Civic and Citizenship Education in Lower-secondary Schools

Descriptions of compulsory subjects in Estonian national curriculum specify detailed educational objectives, subject's learning outcomes, and content for each major subject themes. Because IEA ICCS surveys 14-year-old students, the analysis below considers only this part of the curriculum, which is relevant to grades 8–9.

There are four broad topics included in the CCE curriculum: economy, civil society, state and governance, and social relations. The latter includes also themes of media and information in contemporary society such as media freedom, rights and responsibilities in communication,

cybersecurity, fake news, and skills for information mining and interpretation. Estonian governance is the most traditional topic and formerly meant learning of the national constitution. Today, this is complemented by topics on political parties, free elections, and voting behavior. Extension of these topics was triggered by politicians' plans to lower the voting age to 16. The curriculum reform had broader aims and was not explicitly related to discussions of the voting age. However, learning outcomes concerned with electoral campaigns, media communication, and voting behavior were first included into CCE curriculum for lower secondary schools at this time. This marked a change from "pure" knowledge toward formally defined learning outcomes. An example was young people being able to "formulate a reasoned position as a voter" (Government of Estonia 2014).

Civil society themes are action-oriented because students can gain knowledge and skills for organizing citizen initiatives, volunteer activities, grass-root movements, and youth-oriented projects. Economic issues are approached with a double focus. On the one hand students acquire understanding of fundamentals of market economy, including the labor market, and on the other, they learn about everyday interactions with the economy and responsible consumerism. In sum, some attempts have been made to conceptualize citizenship cognitive competences as a unified system of knowing and reasoning (as in the ICCS framework). However, the dominant phrasing of learning outcomes in the curriculum is still that the student "describes," "explains," and "has understanding" (Government of Estonia 2014).

Although the latest curriculum revisions tackled the content overload problem, it had little success. There are still many unrelated topics, and the dominant focus remains on providing cognitive information. Teaching values and especially practicing those values in real citizenship activities is not widespread in schools. This can be explained by the Estonian political past and also by the pedagogical tradition of providing marks for students in all subjects, including CCE. Because grading of value perceptions and participatory activism is perceived as inappropriate, there is considerably greater emphasis on assessing students' cognitive competences.

This was the context for Estonia's participation in ICCS 2016. The study became an important point of reference for judging the revised curriculum of 2014. The target population of ICCS is 14-year-old students in grade 8; in Estonia these students have not yet taken the main course on CCE in grade 9. Nevertheless, Estonian students ranked fifth among 24 participating countries on the cognitive test of civic knowledge. Within a seven-year period (2009–2016) the average national score improved substantially (Schulz et al. 2018). This impressive progress demonstrates the country's efforts in transforming the national curriculum towards a broader society-centered concept of citizenship and successfully equipping students with knowledge and interpretative skills. Support for democratic values, attitudes towards civic engagement, and expected participation did not progress to a similar extent. While support for gender equality and rights of national minorities increased, on the ICCS citizenship scales Estonia continued scoring significantly below the study averages (Schulz et al. 2018). Readiness of Estonian adolescents to engage in some types of civil or political activity stagnated or even declined compared to previous study cycles (Toots 2017; Kõiv 2018).

Teachers of Civics and Citizenship

Qualification Requirements for CCE Teachers in Lower-secondary Schools

All teachers in Estonia need to have a higher education diploma; for subject teachers a master's degree is obligatory. Since 2013, Estonia has applied the European Qualification Framework for defining occupational qualifications for the teaching profession. However, until recently, the demand exceeded the supply of teachers, and it was not always possible to require high professional standards. Today, the problem is not the lack of teachers, but the difficulty in providing teachers with a full-time workload. The problem lies in declining and ageing populations in rural

areas, resulting in small school sizes. In CCE the problem with workload is even more serious since there are few classes in the subject. CCE is typically taught by teachers of history, but other combinations are possible depending on the human resources available in each particular school. There are no subject-specific requirements to teach CCE.

General and Specific Training of CCE Teachers in Lower-secondary Schools

Teacher training in Estonia is provided by two public universities, University of Tartu and Tallinn University. These schools are responsible also for initial training in CCE. As there are limited possibilities to find a future job teaching CCE only, there is no dedicated teacher program in social studies. Instead, relevant competences can be gained through a minor in the study program of history teachers. Estonian universities enjoy substantial autonomy in designing study programs, and the structure and content of programs varies across higher education institutions. However, every study program in teacher training must comply with the National Framework of Teacher Training (2000) and is subject to a quality evaluation process. The framework stipulates that all future teachers must gain competences that allow them to understand plurality of opinions, to be tolerant, and to have democratic attitudes (Government of Estonia 2000). Secondary subject training (i.e., minor) must compose of at least 30 credits out of 200.

Opportunities for Professional Development of CCE Teachers

National policy concerning in-service training in Estonia is rather fragmented, and the Ministry of Education and Research plays a minor role. With the collapse of the Soviet regime, the former massive system of in-service training ceased to exist. In the 1990s several foreign donors were active in the field, such as Soros Foundation, some German foundations (Friedrich Naumann, Konrad Adenauer, Friedrich Ebert), and United States organizations (National Endowment for Democracy; Center for Civic Education). Some domestic actors (nongovernmental organizations, think-tanks, teacher unions) organized training seminars with invited speakers, including top level civil servants and policy experts. However, these seminars were organized as single events with project-based funding. Grant rules affected the number of participants and themes of training. For example, after Estonia became a member of the EU, funds from that organization were allocated to organize in-service teacher training on EU matters. A brief distance-learning course on the EU, financed by the EU Commission Representation in Estonia had 179 teachers participating in 2004, but a year later just 19. In the following years the participation numbers went up but did not reach initial levels (Tallinn University 2013).

Overall, EU guidelines and financial support implemented through domestic government agencies have become important in encouraging teacher training. However, this has not resulted in a stable in-service training system. Autonomous universities are not interested to become involved, nor does the Ministry of Education and its agencies have that capacity. This has resulted in fragmentation and poor coordination of professional development. Half of school headmasters claim that absence of one comprehensive database describing training courses is a major obstacle in efficient planning of in-service teacher training (Balti Uuringute Instituut [BUI] 2015). According to existing regulations, a teacher must take 160 hours of training within five years. This system is criticized by many parties including teachers themselves because this focus on hours of training does not meet actual needs for professional development (Roon 2014).

Presence of Civic and Citizenship Education in Education Discourses and their Influence

Influence of CIVED/ICCS on Curriculum Development and Textbooks

The first IEA study in CCE where Estonia participated (CIVED) had the biggest effect on curriculum. In these years Estonia was still in the process of transforming formal teaching from a totalitarian Soviet style to democratic civic education. Therefore, domestic expertise was scarce and the willingness to incorporate foreign practices high. The content of the CIVED survey instruments served as a solid argument to expand the content of curriculum from government studies to social issues and democratic values. Yet, education about democratic values did not find broad support in the educational community, and traditional provision of cognitive competence in civic-related topics has remained central. Within this context, the poor performance of Estonian students in CIVED was used as evidence for introducing external evaluation of schools in civic education in 2001/2002. In 2005/2006 an external test was replaced by the final exam at the end of lower secondary education. Compared to the learning outcomes in the national curriculum, this exam had stronger emphasis on assessing argumentation and critical thinking skills.

In the course of curriculum development, it has been recognized that teaching needs to become more age-relevant and closer to the everyday life experiences of young people. ICCS played an important role in extending the scope of the subject beyond the national boundaries and putting greater emphasis on the age-relevance of topics and learning outcomes. The task force that drafted the national curriculum 2011 consulted the ICCS 2009 assessment framework and survey instruments when selecting the topics to be included.

Close links between the curriculum and teaching materials facilitated use of ICCS findings in civic textbooks for grades 8–9. The survey statistics of Estonian respondents on attitudes towards gender equality and minority rights, trust towards institutions, and perception of characteristics of democracy, was used to compose study tasks for advancing data literacy and interpretation skills. The first time ICCS findings were presented was in the textbook of 2003 (CIVED data), then in 2007 and 2014 (ICCS 2009), and 2018 (ICCS 2016). This link between IEA studies and national textbooks has been facilitated by the fact that the Estonian national research coordinator for all CIVED/ICCS study cycles, Anu Toots, was also the author of civic textbooks.

Influences of the Studies on Identity Politics and Citizenship Policy

As mentioned in the introduction, Estonia inherited from the Soviet period a large Russian-speaking population that has had enormous effect on social processes and policies. CIVED/ICCS made positive contributions in tackling two policy-related issues: national citizenship and the bilingual education system.

When Estonia restored its independence as a sovereign republic in 1991, the citizenship regulations of the previous Republic (1920–1940) were also reinforced. As a result, large numbers of Soviet immigrants and their children were left without Estonian citizenship. Because of broader political turbulence caused by the Soviet Union's breakdown, the share of stateless persons in Estonia was as high as 23% in 1998 and the share of Estonian citizens only 65% of the total population (Ministry of Interior 1998). In order to obtain Estonian citizenship other than by birth, a person has to take an exam on Estonian language and on the national constitution. To facilitate the process, it was decided to combine the final exam on civic education with the Estonian citizenship exam. Those students in Russian speaking schools, who wanted to apply for citizenship, could answer an additional module on topics stipulated in the Citizenship Act. Extra time was afforded and it was assessed separately from the final exam scores. If the module was passed, then it counted for the state exam on the Constitution and Citizenship Act (Government of Estonia 2008).

This possibility to obtain Estonian citizenship through formal CCE drew the attention of education policymakers to the quality of CCE in schools with Russian as the language of instruction. Comparison of study results across the years show that important differences in attitudes and engagement patterns between Estonian and Russian speaking students have remained, and the achievement gap has even widened (Toots and Idnurm 2012; Toots 2017). Several national surveys (Vihalemm and Leppik 2017; Toomela and Kikas 2012) confirmed findings of IEA civic and citizenship studies on variation in democratic attitudes, behavioral patterns, and school climate between the language groups. Relevant CIVED and ICCS 2009 and 2016 findings were also mentioned in Estonian Human Development Reports (Toots 2008; Toots and Lauri 2013) and National Youth Monitor (Toots and Idnurm 2018). These efforts have informed policymakers outside the field of education about the challenges of minority schools and have also contextualized CCE issues within a broader set of problems. The dominant concern so far has been the transition of upper secondary schools to using the state language and improving the quality of state language teaching in lower secondary schools. As a consequence of revised national integration policy in 2008 and IEA study results, the questions of democratic attitudes and civic engagement gained more prominence. The Integration Monitor (Ministry of Culture 2011) made policy recommendations that state-centric subject of social studies should be transformed into value-centric citizenship education that would allow cultural "translation" of the meaning of democratic citizenship. The agreement between the Ministry of Education and Research and Tallinn University on implementing ICCS 2016 specifically requested separating findings for Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking schools. So, at policymaking level the problems of CCE quality in minority schools are reflected, but no practical measures, such as special teacher training or learning materials. is taken. There are several reasons. First, CCE as an educational area does not have a high profile in current domestic debates generally. Second, Russian-speaking students are not anti-democratic in their attitudes and therefore the problem was not perceived as urgent. Third, Estonia still lacks a nationally coordinated in-service training system. Compared to teachers in Estonian-speaking schools, teachers in Russian-speaking schools are less satisfied with the availability of professional training courses (BUI 2015). They could take part in courses provided by Western agencies but poor knowledge of English and of Estonian is a barrier for many Russian-speaking teachers. Some training courses specifically designed for Russian-speaking teachers of civic education, were organized by the nongovernmental organization Jaan Tõnisson Institute and by the Association of History and Civic Teachers, but these occasional events could not fundamentally improve the existing fragmented system (Oja 2014).

Role of ICCS Results in Enhancing Youth Civic and Political Participation

Beyond educational and youth policymakers and practitioners, interest in ICCS results has been developed in the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Justice. They have been interested primarily in democratic attitudes, and civic and political participation of adolescents. This contrasts with education policy actors whose main concern remains civic knowledge.

The most fundamental initiative where ICCS 2009 results provided evidence for policy change was lowering of the voting age to 16 in 2015. The strategic aim of lowering the voting age at municipal elections was to engage young people more actively in debating and deciding on local public affairs (Riigikogu 2014). Voting age is stipulated by the Estonian Constitution, which implies lengthy legal amendment procedures. Better preparations for parliamentary voting were also necessary. The broader public and some bigger political parties in parliament were skeptical about the idea. The dominant opinion was that young people are "not ready" and do not understand politics. In this situation, Ministry of Justice commenced analyses on practices of foreign countries on lowering the voting and an *ex ante* impact assessment of possible change in Estonia. The impact assessment was commissioned from the researchers of Tallinn University, who had been responsible for carrying out CIVED and ICCS 2009 in Estonia.

Findings of ICCS 2009 were extensively used in analyzing the possible effects of lowering the voting age. Moreover, comparison of national results with the ICCS 2009 findings of Austria, which lowered the voting age for all elections in 2005, demonstrated the feasibility of similar change in Estonia (Toots et al. 2014). First results of the impact assessment were announced at an open session of the Constitutional committee of the parliament, which was a trigger for parliamentary activities—four weeks later (July 2014) the bill to amend the Constitution was initiated and passed in May 2015.

Positive national findings of ICCS 2009 and an impact assessment report contributed significantly to countering the arguments against the lower voting age. As a result, parliamentary debates were transformed into discussions on the quality of CCE. During the period of parliamentary proceedings (2012–2015) problems and challenges of civic and citizenship education have been debated three times in open sessions of the Constitutional committee and Committee of Cultural Affairs. Various stakeholder organizations such as the Association of History and Civic Education Teachers, Association of Student Unions, Network of Estonian Nonprofit Organizations, Estonian Scout Association, and Youth Parliament of Narva City participated. However, the discussions ended without any real impact on education policy, such as amendment of national curriculum or revision of teacher training. The debate focused mainly on extracurricular activities and electoral campaign regulations in schools (Toots and Idnurm 2020).

Differing from intensive debates among politicians and some youth representatives, young people in general remained passive observers of the process. Adolescents' perceptions toward voting as a characteristic of a good citizen, and their personal voting intentions in adulthood remained unchanged in ICCS 2016 compared to 2009. By time of the 2016 survey Estonia had already lowered the voting age at municipal elections to 16, which suggests that legal amendment did not immediately affect attitudes of 14-year-olds towards electoral behavior.

Areas with Little Influence

Despite expectations, several important areas were affected very little by the IEA CCE studies. This is true for teacher training and broader public interest towards citizenship education in the mass media. The problem with teacher training is twofold. The existing fragmented training system without clear institutional responsibility does not support strategic development of training courses on the one hand. On the other, Estonian teacher training does not have a tradition of quantitative, measurement-oriented approaches. The problem with the low public interest may be interpreted via a famous saying by William K. McElvaney (1980), "good news is bad news is good news." In CIVED, Estonian students scored in the bottom quartile among the 28 participating countries in civic knowledge, in most democratic attitudes the national scores were below international average. These results caused several newspaper articles to voice concerns about the existing level of CCE. In ICCS Estonia performed much better in civic knowledge, whilst staying at average in democratic attitudes and behaviors; there was nothing extraordinary that could catch the eye of journalists.

Ironically, the impressive progress that Estonia has made in the 25 years since the collapse of the totalitarian Soviet system has been associated with a decline in interest about international large-scale assessment results. This argument holds not only for the IEA ICCS, but also for the OECD PISA. Two explanations can be suggested. Firstly, in the end of the 1990s the re-established democratic republic was eager to integrate to the West. All possibilities to compare Estonia with Western countries were seen as benchmarks and milestones in this process. The willingness to learn from the West was widespread among policymakers and educational practitioners as well (Toots 2009). Today, there is much more confidence in domestic capacities to design and implement education policies including setting national strategic goals and indicators. This has changed the focus of comparison. When in previous periods, the main interest was towards

cross-country comparison, now the comparison of schools within the country is the focus. Since IEA studies cannot be directly used for such purposes, a considerable number of national surveys has emerged on topics such as school climate and governance, students' satisfaction, and participatory attitudes. Secondly, at the time of CIVED the impact of international organizations such as OECD, or supranational actors such as the EU, was much smaller. Today, Estonia is a full member of OECD and the EU, and has to follow their policies and benchmarks. It also means obligation to participate in OECD PISA. In this situation, IEA needs to make well-founded efforts to persuade policy executives on the added value of TIMSS, PIRLS, ICILS,[1] and ICCS. It is worth noting that the EU Commission's support of ICCS 2016 and 2022 played a crucial role in the decision of the Ministry of Education and Research to participate in the studies.

Summary and Conclusions

Estonia has participated in all three IEA CCE studies since 1999. The fact that this is the only IEA study in which the country is participating (besides TIMSS 2003 and SITES 2006[2]) can be interpreted as evidence of the importance and quality of ICCS. Broadly speaking, two areas of impact of IEA's CCE studies can be highlighted: curriculum development and political participation of youth.

In the early 2000s when the country was transforming education from a totalitarian to a democratic system, the CIVED analytical framework and study findings played an important role in developing the democratic curriculum of citizenship education. However, the CIVED approach was mediated through the national pedagogical traditions. Notwithstanding the political regime change, providing students with civic knowledge was regarded as the most important mission of school. Therefore, CIVED civic knowledge rankings received the main attention of policymakers. As a result of the poor performance of Estonian students, a final exam for lower secondary school in civic education was introduced in 2005/2006 in order to increase the status of the subject and improve the achievement levels.

The next IEA study cycles in 2009 and 2016 contributed to curriculum reform by giving more legitimacy to the efforts to teach democratic values and citizenship skills. However, these efforts did not result in sound and widespread change in teaching practice, which remains in most schools a conventional textbook based activity. "I think, our citizenship education should be even more practical," the Minister of Education and Research said at the meeting of the Committee of Cultural Affairs of National Parliament (Reps 2018). This attention may create a momentum for improvement.

Practical, real-life skills of living democracy were tested with the amendment of the Estonian Constitution in 2015 lowering the voting age at municipal elections to 16. In preparing the parliamentary decision, ICCS 2009 findings were of crucial importance. Good performance of Estonian students and comparison with Austria, which also has the voting age at 16, helped to fight the argument that young people are not mature enough to make autonomous voting decisions.

Besides this particular case of lowering the voting age, ICCS 2009 and 2016 findings on youth participatory attitudes and civic engagement inside and outside school have been used in several policy reports to inform both young people and policymakers about the current situation and trends. Large volumes of policy analyses and reports that make use of international or domestic studies are an important feature of current evidence-based policymaking. However, an investigation by the National Audit Office revealed that there are several shortcomings in using studies commissioned by the state (National Audit Office 2015). In the majority of cases the purpose of studies is to obtain overviews of problems or sectors, and much more rarely

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1   TIMSS = Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study; PIRLS = Progress in International Reading Literacy Study; ICILS = International Computer and Information Literacy Study.
2   SITES = Second Information Technology in Education Study.

are studies used for decision-making. Furthermore, due to shortcomings in inter-ministerial communication, it is difficult to find out what studies different agencies are planning to commission in the near future, which may lead to underuse of results and even duplication of studies. This criticism is relevant generally to education policy, CCE included. Typically, studies are carried out by universities or state agencies. This may leave the ministry, who is the key policy designer, outside the information flows. As the National Audit Office report states, it is paramount to maintain good communication between the institution who commissioned the study and the actual performer of it (National Audit Office 2015). The more vital this link is the more efficient is the later use of study results. However, this kind of communication works best in stable institutional environments, especially in case of multi-cycle studies such as IEA's ICCS. In the process of organizational changes, know-how and study "memory" can be easily lost. In the case of fragmented and decentralized systems the use of study findings depends largely on bottom-up activity of end users. For example, recent Estonian experience suggests that relatively new nongovernmental organizations acting in the field of environmental and global issues are more enthusiastic about learning from ICCS results than are conventional teacher training institutions.

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CHAPTER 8:

IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study and the Teaching of Civic Education in Italy

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Abstract In this chapter, the results of Italy in the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS) are briefly presented, highlighting the marginal role that civic education plays in educational policies and school practices in the Italian educational context. In Italy, although there was no specific teaching related to civic and citizenship education until 2020, the ICCS results have consistently been above the international average. Different hypotheses are proposed to explain these positive student outcomes. Two Italian experts in this field were interviewed; they agreed on the gap between the results of international surveys and their interpretations. They are of the opinion that some changes in educational policies in Italy would be valuable. INVALSI, the Italian institution responsible for the organization of ICCS, made a great effort to disseminate the results of the international surveys. Studies based on secondary analyses conducted on ICCS 2009 and 2016 are also described.

Introduction

Italy has participated in all International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) subject studies and is one of the very few countries that has participated in all IEA civic and citizenship education (CCE) surveys since the Six Subject Survey (1971). Considering the results across IEA cycles, three important aspects emerge regarding Italy: first, Italy's consistent, above-average international position in civic knowledge; second, some changes over time in attitudes and behaviors, some of which are negative; and third, the significant geographical gaps in civic knowledge and attitudes between northern and southern areas.

The authors of this chapter have overseen the organization and national coordination of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) since 2013. They have also committed themselves to expand the relevance of the ICCS research theme by providing schools, teachers, and researchers with diversified ICCS materials, such as the theoretical framework and a national report of the Italian main results; by organizing national meetings (described in the following paragraphs in detail); and by conducting secondary analyses on the ICCS data.

This chapter is based on several sources: the data derived from ICCS 2009 and 2016, the ICCS 2016 international report (Schulz et al. 2018), the ICCS 2016 national report (Palmerio and Caponera 2018), interviews with experts in the field of CCE, national and international publications based on ICCS secondary analyses relevant to the Italian school system, and information retrieved from the Ministry of Education and other relevant national agencies. Below, the most significant results for Italy are presented (Table 1).

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Table 1: International and Italian mean scores in IEA's civic education studies

	Italy		International mean	
	Mean (s.e.)	Mean age	Mean (s.e.)	Mean age
Civic Education Survey (1971)	22.9	14.5	24.5	14.5
CIVED 1999	105 (0.8)	15.0	100 (0.2)	14.7
ICCS 2009	531 (3.3)	13.8	500 (0.0)	14.4
ICCS 2016	524 (2.4)	13.8	517 (0.7)	14.4

Regarding civic knowledge, apart from the 1971 survey, Italy has always achieved scores above the international average and this result is consistent across adjacent cycles: ICCS 2016 vs ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2009 vs CIVED 1999.

For ICCS 2016, Italian students achieved a mean score of 524, which was above the international average (517). In 2009, Italy also performed better than the international mean (Italy 531 vs international mean 500). Even in the Civic Education Study (CIVED) 1999, Italian students performed above the international average (105 vs 100 as the international average). (Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

Female students outperformed their male counterparts in all the CIVED and ICCS cycles. Concerning the results related to students' attitudes, in 2016, Italian students reported that they talked with their parents about sociopolitical issues more frequently than in 2009, but their trust in institutions had decreased over time. Moreover, compared to the international average, Italian students reported less favorable attitudes towards the rights of ethnic/racial groups and immigrants.

The Italian results in 2016 also evidenced substantial differences between geographic areas: northern students achieved higher performance results for civic knowledge than their southern counterparts, which was a similar result to that in 2009. However, compared to the national average, students from northern and central areas of the country showed less favorable attitudes both towards the rights of ethnic/racial groups and towards immigrants than southern students.

With regard to the national relevance of the IEA CCE surveys, it is worth mentioning the CIVED project, which was carried out in 1999. Additionally, as a national adaptation, students who participated in this study answered some cognitive items regarding political-institutional knowledge specific to the Italian context, such as the voting age in Italy, the requirements to be an Italian citizen, and the organization of Parliament. Two representative samples of grade 8 and 9 students were involved. The results were very disappointing, with more than 50% of the participating students knowing little about the Italian political system.

ICCS has influenced other national surveys on CCE; for example, the ICCS framework was used in 2018 by Alma Diploma, a national association that offers secondary school assessment tools and orientation for graduates, to conduct a national survey profiling upper secondary school graduates. Through the analysis of a student questionnaire that was administered at the end of secondary school, the following information was collected to construct students' profiles: social origin, academic success, evaluation of the school experience, extracurricular activities, linguistic knowledge, computer skills, academic and occupational expectations, strengths, and career orientation. The survey analyzed the characteristics and performance of secondary school graduates. Schools' participation in the project was voluntary, and although the results could not be considered representative of the Italian population, more than 40,000 students attending 292 upper secondary schools were involved. For the first time, in the sixteenth edition of the study, the questionnaire included questions regarding the subject of citizenship and the constitution. This, as mentioned above, was based substantially on the ICCS framework. The vast majority

of graduates said their teachers had addressed citizenship and constitution topics during their lessons, namely, the Italian Constitution, European citizenship, human rights, intercultural dialogue, law-related education, and environmental education. Most students reported that human rights (83%) and law related education (80%) were useful, while environmental education and European citizenship were considered useful by 74% and 70% of students, respectively. These results largely confirm the cross-national analysis of the ICCS data collected about the aims of civic education from teachers in 2009 and reanalyzed by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019). They found that Italian teachers emphasized imparting knowledge (on topics similar to these) and to a somewhat lesser extent encouraging students' independent thinking.

Civic and Citizenship Education in the Italian School System

In Italy, discussions of the relevance of CCE in the national educational system have regularly returned to the forefront.

Civic education was introduced as a curricular subject in 1958 by Aldo Moro (then the Italian Prime Minister). Although it was considered a separate subject, it was taught for only two hours per month, involved no formal assessment, and was integrated into the history curriculum.

In the following decades, civic education was not considered a separate subject and played a marginal role in educational policies and school practices. In primary school programs in 1985, civic education was defined as "education for democratic coexistence" (*educazione alla convivenza democratica*) and was integrated into the social studies curriculum.

Following changes in Europe and internationally (e.g., the fall of the Soviet Bloc, globalization, the Maastricht treaties), in 1996 the ministry proposed to include a curriculum of civic education and constitutional culture that would be integrated into all subjects. This proposal has never been enforced because of the fall of the government (and subsequent governments did not support it).

Within the framework of the reform of the education system (the so-called "Moratti reform" from the name of the Minister of Education) in 2003, "education about the fundamental principles of civil coexistence" (*convivenza civile*) became one of the objectives of schools at all levels. In the national guidelines, the teaching of civil coexistence was then structured into six areas of education: citizenship education, road safety education, environmental education, food and nutrition education, health education, and affective education. The implementation of these guidelines, which have changed several times, has never been regulated; the guidelines were later superseded by new ones for the curriculum for the first cycle of education (for children aged 3 to 14-years-old, i.e., pre-primary, primary, and lower secondary students).In the annex to the Ministerial Decree of August 22, 2007, no. 139, ("Regulations containing rules on the fulfilment of the education obligation") , following the international and European debate on key competences, the Ministry indicated that "key competences of citizenship are to be acquired at the end of compulsory education."

In 2008, an educational bill proposed a new subject, *citizenship and constitution*, to be taught at all school levels, with a time allocation of 33 hours per year and with the aim of ensuring that students acquire "the knowledge and skills related to peaceful coexistence and citizenship" (MIUR 2008). The inclusion of this new subject in the curriculum was associated with the need to fight the increasingly widespread phenomena of bullying in schools, and combined with the introduction of a specific grade to be given for students' behavior. There was a reaction to a political context that was strongly critical of the general permissive culture in society (a legacy of the 1968 movement). This was thought to have a negative effect on students' knowledge and behaviors. Therefore, the introduction of the citizenship and constitution subject to the curriculum was viewed by some researchers as a restoration and a cultural process in line with the traditional ideas of the center-right party (Losito 2009).

However, in the subsequent law, generic projects and support for schools and teachers replaced the introduction of the new subject that was to be taught within the history/geography and society/history subject areas for all educational cycles during the 2009/2010 school year, and no reference to a specific time allocation (as initially proposed) was included. In 2009, the "Guidance document for the pilot of the teaching of 'Citizenship and Constitution'" ["*Documento d'indirizzo per la sperimentazione dell'insegnamento di 'Cittadinanza e Costituzione'*"] was published, aimed at identifying ways to implement this new curricular subject in schools and defining its objectives (Prot. 2079, March 4, 2009).

Nevertheless, the guidelines included in the document presented some contradictions between certain values and competences to be developed in students and did not resolve the thorny issue related to assessment. The document was mainly focused on transversal or cross-curricular competences but, at the same time, asked teachers of CCE-related subjects to implement traditional assessment practices. Finally, the document provided schools with the autonomy to recommend and trial the organizational solutions, teaching and assessment practices that would be most effective for the teaching of citizenship and constitution. However, this choice, together with the chronic lack of funding for the education sector in Italy, was one of the most important factors that led to the substantial failure of the trials (Losito, 2009).

In 2010, the idea of considering citizenship and constitution an independent subject was abandoned. The subject would have been characterized by two complementary approaches: an integrated approach (within the history/geography and history/society subject areas) and a cross-curricular approach (involving all the disciplines of the course of study). These two approaches were supplemented by a third approach, which concerned extracurricular projects.

The initial trial for the teaching of citizenship and constitution, promoted by the Ministry of Education in 2010, was therefore limited to the implementation of innovative projects related to the area of citizenship and constitution. The funding was assigned to projects related to "an effective and innovative way" of delving into the Constitution and its principles "with the priority need to design and implement active citizenship initiatives" (decree no. 114 of May 27, 2009). The bodies responsible for the support, monitoring, and evaluation of the educational projects were identified as the ANSAS (National Agency for School Autonomy Development) regional units and the Regional School Offices (with the collaboration of Istituto nazionale per la valutazione del sistema educativo di istruzione e di formazione [INVALSI]).

Another series of projects related to the subject of *citizenship, constitution, and security* was initiated in the 2011/2012 school year by the Ministry of Education, National Institute for Insurance against Injuries at Work (INAIL), and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies, in collaboration with ANSAS. Given the sources of funding, the objectives of the projects included thematic areas that ranged from citizenship education to avoiding accidents inside and outside the school community.

Since the school year 2015–2016, the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the Italian Parliament, has promoted projects to support the teaching of citizenship and constitution across all school levels. These projects encompass diverse cross-curricular activities such as the investigation of the meaning and application of selected principles of the constitution in the local community, meetings and trainings at the Italian Senate, analysis of the effects of laws and regulations to encourage civic engagement in everyday life, initiatives related to human rights education, and meetings with members of the Parliament.

Apart from these projects and initiatives related to citizenship and constitution organized by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Parliament or other state bodies (e.g., the Ministry of Defense), citizenship education has also been present in lower secondary education curricula as a cross-curricular area in all subjects (to develop social and civic competences) and as a subject integrated with history and geography (to provide a disciplinary foundation).

Social and civic competences are one of the eight key competences for lifelong learning that were identified in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of December 18, 2006, a document that provided a foundation for the national guidelines for the curriculum of the first cycle of education (students age 3–14) (European Parliament and the Council 2006).

The section on citizenship and constitution stated that citizenship education was to be promoted "through meaningful experiences that allow us to take care of ourselves, others and the environment and that encourage forms of cooperation and solidarity" (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca [MIUR] 2012, p. 25). The main objective was related to the knowledge of the Italian Constitution, with the general aim of fostering an ethic of responsibility and legality and of improving students' everyday life contexts, starting with the school.

Five years after the release of the national curricular guidelines, the document "Curricular guidelines and new scenarios" (MIUR 2018) stated that CCE should be the cornerstone for the promotion of all subjects across the curriculum in the first cycle of education, with a specific focus on global citizenship and sustainability. A draft law, passed in August 2019, referred to the teaching of civics and citizenship in the first and second cycles of education. It stipulated that civic education will be taught by teachers in the history/geography subject area in primary and lower secondary schools and by teachers in the economics/law area in upper secondary schools. The law states that there will be a civic education grade on students' report cards but no extra hours allotted to the subject at school. Therefore, each school and its board will have to allocate 33 hours per year to teach civic education, subtracting these hours from other subjects.

The civic education hours will cover the following topics: the Italian Constitution; the fundamental elements of law, especially in the field of labor law; the principles of the European Union and international law; digital citizenship education; eco-sustainable development and environmental education; preservation of Italian historical-artistic heritage; and, education about laws. As part of the teaching of civic education, in partnership with the local community, the following topics will also be addressed: road safety education, the right to health and well-being, and volunteering and active citizenship education.

In summary, from an educational policy perspective, on the one hand, educational authorities have often expressed support, identified a wide range of possible topics, carried out initiatives on CCE during the years, and continued to participate in international projects on the subject (i.e., the IEA surveys on CCE). On the other hand, however, they have never been committed to developing the organizational conditions (in terms of a coherent curriculum, assessments, teachers' training) that could actually make the declarations of principles feasible in practice. This is a limitation that characterizes the educational policies in Italy as a whole and not only about CCE.

Civic and Citizenship Education Teachers

As indicated in the Eurydice report *Citizenship Education at School in Europe* (2017), there are continuing professional development opportunities for teachers in the area of citizenship education. Nonetheless, in Italy, there are no specific requirements for teachers who teach courses related to civics and citizenship. In both primary and lower secondary schools, CCE is taught by Italian language, history, and geography teachers (in other words, teachers with a degree in the humanities), and in upper secondary schools, CCE is taught by the teachers qualified to teach legal and economic disciplines, when available.

Since the 2008–2009 school year, actions have been taken to raise awareness and implement teacher training in skills related to citizenship and constitution in the history/geography and history/society subject areas in primary, and lower and upper secondary education. For example, in

the 2009–2010 school year, the University of Padua and the Veneto Region promoted "advanced training courses in civic education, human rights, citizenship, and the Constitution" for teachers.[1]

Moreover, the Interdepartmental Centre for Research and Services on the Rights of the Individual and People of the University of Padua, in partnership with the Ministry of Education and the ANSAS, initiated the project Citizenship and Constitution: Learning the European Union at School (2012). The specific objective of the project was twofold: 1) to form a group of teacher-tutors from all Italian regions on the theme of human rights and active citizenship in the European Union and 2) to develop a training course for teaching about the European Union at school. These objectives were framed as an integral part of the teaching of citizenship and constitution. More specifically, the project aimed to organize two national training seminars for 40 teachers selected by each Regional Education Authority among teachers at all school grades who already had basic preparation in the process of European integration and human rights through national seminars or related initiatives promoted by the Ministry of Education.

This initiative is linked to diverse teacher training and professional development courses related to CCE that have been implemented over the years by different associations and organizations; some of them are recognized by the Ministry of Education, while some are not. Each teacher is free to choose whether and which one to attend. Since the courses are not compulsory, it is not possible to estimate the number of teachers that take them. Opportunities for in-service and preservice teacher training related to CCE at the regional and national levels are variable and are often considered insufficient. In 2014, an online public consultation. was held by the Minister of Education, in which more than 1,800,000 teachers, students, and families participated. Among the various results, the consultation showed that a significant proportion of people strongly suggested that the teaching and learning of civic and citizenship issues should be enhanced (especially in terms of active citizenship, environmental education, and emotional and sexual education).

Influences of ICCS on Political Debates and Education Research

Influences of ICCS on Political Debates

In Italy, there is a general weakness in the interconnections between research and policies in the fields of education or schooling and the consequent implementation of reforms at various levels; the implementation of reforms involves little or no consideration of research results, including those from large-scale surveys. Therefore, describing the impact of ICCS on policy debates and education research is not an easy task. For this reason, to explore the influence of ICCS on political debates in Italy, we interviewed two key figures in the field of CCE who have been involved in political initiatives at the national level and conducted extended research at the international level: Luciano Corradini and Bruno Losito.

Luciano Corradini, professor emeritus of Education at Roma Tre University, was president of the Regional Institute for Educational Research (IRRSAE) in the Lombardy Region for 11 years (1979–1990), vice president of the National Council of the Ministry of Education (1989–1997), and undersecretary of the Ministry of Education (1995–1996). During his year and a half as the undersecretary at the Ministry of Education, he was the chair of the civic education commission, whose aim was to develop a curriculum on civic education and constitutional culture.

Bruno Losito, full professor of Foundations of Educational Research and Research Methods at Roma Tre University, has been on the International Advisory Committee for the second IEA study on civic education (CIVED) since the 1990s, served as a national research coordinator for IEA CIVED 1999 and served as an associate research director for ICCS 2009 and 2016 as well

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1   https://unipd-centrodirittiumani.it/it/collaborazioni/Corsi-di-Alta-Formazione-per-esperti-in-Educazione-civica-diritti-umani-cittadinanza-costituzione/225

as for the upcoming 2022 study. At the national level, he was a member of a civic education commission of the Ministry of Education.

The interviewees have taken an active part in the academic debate on CCE at the national level, developing different approaches to the delivery of CCE in Italy. Corradini supports civic education being treated as a separate subject across Italian school curricula, with its own time schedule and assessment; Losito is in favor of an integrated and cross-curricular approach to CCE that designates teachers as responsible for the delivery of CCE at the school level.

In Corradini's view, the need to introduce a separate subject is intertwined with the need to guarantee a dedicated status for civic education, a relevance that otherwise cannot be recognized for this area in relation to other subjects in the curriculum. His approach is in line with the organization of schools in Italy, where often the elements of *civic education* are included in other subjects in the curriculum (e.g., within history and geography), while *citizenship education* is usually related to wider aspects of school life.

On the other hand, in the integrated and cross-curricular approach to CCE that Losito suggests, the teachers who are responsible for CCE (coordinators) play an important role in managing the particular contributions that every subject and the school as a whole can bring to CCE. This includes participation opportunities inside schools and the development of an open and respectful classroom and school climate, which all of the IEA civic education studies have identified to be important. The CCE coordinator also focuses on group work at the school level, which often requires a reconsideration of the usual educational organization in Italian schools, where teachers find it difficult to modify rigid schedules and organize the time for collective work. Both approaches present strengths and weaknesses that (still) need to be tested through extensive pilot programs and trials across the nation that could be implemented by educational authorities as well as by single schools.

Although Losito and Corradini have developed different conceptualizations of CCE that represent two possible approaches to deliver CCE within the Italian curricula and school system, they both agree on the existing gap between the findings of international surveys and the consideration of the implications for educational policies in Italy. Italian policymaking processes for education are generally characterized by a weak association between large-scale assessment and educational research more generally. This is especially true if we consider the studies promoted by IEA, which have gained attention mainly from academic researchers in Italy.

In contrast, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results have raised considerable interest among policymakers, given the interest that national and European governments often show to the relationship between students' competencies included in this survey and economic development (Pizmony-Levy and Torney-Purta 2018). Nevertheless, research has found no direct, clear influences of PISA on the school system in Italy and has highlighted only an indirect effect of these OECD surveys on policies in education. This indirect effect is related to educational initiatives carried out at local levels (especially in some areas of southern Italy, where many students have performed poorly on PISA) and in the improvement of the national system for student assessment (Hopkins et al. 2008; Breakspear 2012; Damiani 2016).

In agreeing about the low impact of ICCS, as well as other IEA large-scale assessments, on educational policies in Italy, the interviewees stressed the role that the study has nevertheless played in national debates, especially regarding the theoretical assumptions underpinning the conceptualizations of CCE. This role must be considered in close connection with the work of other international bodies that have addressed the topic (e.g., the Council of Europe and the European Union). While Corradini stressed the relevance of the Eurydice reports on CCE to the Italian debate, Losito highlighted the mutual connections among the initiatives of the Council

of Europe and the European Union and the results of the IEA surveys in developing the idea of CCE in terms of its characteristics, approaches, and delivery in schools.

In addition, according to Losito, another relevant contribution of ICCS at the national level is related to the measurement and assessment of students' outcomes in CCE. These studies provide theoretical frameworks along with data and indicators of the ways that schools prepare young people to become citizens. In fact, ICCS is the only study that offers international comparative data and indicators in this subject area. Thus, the influence of ICCS can also be recognized in the increased secondary analyses, which have contributed to the investigation of CCE in Italy (see next section).

The Role of INVALSI in Promoting ICCS and Influences on the Education Debate

INVALSI is responsible for the organization, management, and implementation of the Italian component of the main international surveys promoted by IEA and the OECD, thus ensuring Italy's participation in these studies. INVALSI has made substantial efforts to disseminate the results from international surveys by organizing public events, supporting schools and teachers, and conducting analyses on the surveys' data.

To reach a large number of researchers, teachers, and people in general who could be interested in the topic, the ICCS 2009 framework was translated into Italian, and it can be downloaded from the INVALSI website. In 2011, a public event was organized by INVALSI to present the Italian results of ICCS 2009, with the participation of many stakeholders at the school level (principals, teachers, educational researchers, etc.); unfortunately, no policymakers took part in the event. Again, in 2017, on the same day as the release of the international results, INVALSI organized a public seminar where the Italian results of ICCS 2016 were presented with international comparisons. The focus was on the ICCS 2016 main results, such as students' knowledge, participation, and attitudes, as well as on the ICCS European Student Questionnaire. For this seminar, INVALSI invited Italian experts to speak about current CCE issues and challenges and invited teachers and students from different grades to report on their school experiences and activities related to CCE. Moreover, an expert from the Laboratorio di Pedagogia Sperimentale (LPS) at Rome Tre University, which is part of the international consortium running ICCS, described the Italian results for the European Student Questionnaire. The press was invited to the seminar, and a summary of the results was shared with the media. The research findings were released in national newspapers, on some newscasts, and on some websites that focus on educational debates (e.g. De Gregorio, 2017; Imperato, 2017; Marcello, 2017; Moriggi, 2017).

In early 2018, the ICCS 2016 national report (Palmerio and Caponera 2018) was published on the institutional website. The report presented the results at the national level and compared them with the international results and with the results within Italy, showing significant differences between geographical areas.

All the schools that participated in the ICCS 2016 data collection received an email message with a link to the national report. Moreover, INVALSI provided each school with their specific results and a comparison of their results with the national and territorial benchmarks. The ICCS 2016 national report is also going to be uploaded to the National Statistical System (SISTAN) website.

INVALSI annually prepares a report for the Parliament based on the information from the international surveys as well as the national assessment: in 2018 a detailed report was prepared on the ICCS 2016 results, which were particularly relevant for the Italian school system.

In recent years, analyses conducted on the ICCS data, as well as analyses of other international surveys, have contributed to building a committed community of researchers in this area. These efforts have led to some relevant publications both at national and international levels based on secondary analyses conducted on the ICCS 2009 and 2016 data (reviewed by Knowles et al. 2018). Some of these are briefly mentioned below.

Alivernini and Manganelli (2011), using the Italian data from ICCS 2009, found that students' civic knowledge scores were significantly higher if their schools provided an open classroom climate for discussion. Manganelli et al. (2012) found a positive significant relationship between openness in classroom discussion and the valuing of students' participation (school level) with students' civic knowledge and political efficacy (student level), on the one hand, and students expected political participation, on the other hand.

In 2014, a case study was carried out in all of the eight lower secondary schools from the city of Foggia (a town in the region of Puglia in southern Italy). that participated in ICCS 2009. The author based the research design on the ICCS 2009 framework and administered the ICCS 2009 questionnaires to students, teachers, and school principals. She found a positive association between students' participation in civic activities and the frequency of their discussions on political and social topics with parents and friends (Zappatore 2016).

Paletta (2014) published an article on the effect of school autonomy, measured through the ICCS school questionnaire, on multiple measures of student achievement, combining the individual data of the students participating in the ICCS survey with their results on the national high-stakes standardized tests administered by INVALSI at the end of grade 8. In general, the results highlighted that autonomy was a prerequisite for implementing several institutional changes (outside schools) and organizational changes (internal to each school) that appeared to lead to some improvement in student achievement.

Azzolini (2016), using data from students who participated in both ICCS 2009 and the Italian national assessment and controlling for socioeconomic background and cognitive achievement test scores, did not find a migration-specific gap in civic development. Furthermore, perceptions of fairness in student-teacher interactions was found to improve students' civic development, confirming that the school climate plays a vital role in enhancing children's civic knowledge. For further reflection on this topic see Reichert et al. (2018).

In 2018, the book *Becoming European citizens. Ideas, tools and resources for a conscious education to Europe* (Corbucci and Freddano 2018) was published to advance the knowledge about education on European citizenship. The book is mainly addressed to those who work in schools, such as principals and teachers, and offers proposals for learning activities, especially for secondary school (from grade 6 to grade 13). The book also contains two chapters related to the ICCS 2009 results. These chapters consider the following topics:

- The Italian results in the European Module: This chapter is focused on cognitive test scores and the ICCS 2009 questions about attitudes towards Europe and compares them with those of the other European countries participating in the survey (Caponera and Palmerio 2018);
- Students' perceptions of multiple identities, their attitudes towards European institutions and their trust in national, European, and supranational entities: The results show that most students consider themselves to be Europeans and hold positive attitudes towards the European Union and international organizations (Damiani 2018).

An agreement has recently been signed between the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) and INVALSI under which INVALSI will provide ISTAT—one of the main points of reference for any researcher intending to do secondary analyses—with Italy's ICCS 2016 database, as well as the other international survey's databases. Recently, INVALSI made it possible to match the ICCS data—as well as those of other international surveys—with national assessment data (carried out every year in all schools, in several grades including grade 8). This will allow analyses of students' ICCS knowledge and questionnaire data in relation to other relevant variables, such as mathematics and language test results and other information derived from the context questionnaire administered during the national assessments. This is beginning to encourage researchers to use these data in their research.

Summary and Conclusions

- Italy is one of the very few countries participating in all the IEA CCE tests and surveys since the Six Subject Survey (1971).
- Across IEA cycles, no substantial differences were found regarding the civic knowledge levels of students; they performed slightly above the international mean in each study. However, shifts in civic attitudes and anticipated behaviors have occurred, some in a negative direction, such as trust in civic-related institutions.
- Geographic gaps persist: students from northern and central areas have less favorable attitudes towards the rights of ethnic/racial groups and immigrants than students from southern areas. Moreover, northern students outperform southern students in civic knowledge.
- Civic education has played a marginal role in directly influencing educational policies and school practices in the Italian educational context. However, recently, a draft law that proposed introducing CCE as a separate school subject was approved.
- Currently, in Italy, there are no specific requirements for teachers to teach courses related to CCE. CCE is taught by Italian language, history, and geography teachers with degrees in the humanities.
- Two experts in this field were interviewed (Luciano Corradini and Bruno Losito), and they both agreed on the existing gap between international survey findings and the implications and educational policies proposed in Italy.
- INVALSI is responsible for the organization, management, and implementation of the Italian component of international surveys, and it has been making a great effort to disseminate the results of international surveys. Among other initiatives, INVALSI organized a public seminar in which the Italian results of ICCS 2016 were presented, and a summary of the results was shared with the media. In early 2018, the ICCS 2016 national report was published on the institutional website.
- In recent years, analyses of the ICCS data, as well as those of other international surveys, have contributed to building a committed community of researchers. This has led to relevant publications at both the national and international levels based on the secondary analyses conducted on ICCS 2009 and 2016.

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CHAPTER 9:

Improving Civic and Citizenship Education in Latvia[1]

Ireta Čekse

Abstract The chapter characterizes citizenship education in Latvia within the national education system and on the level of public interest and involvement. The article particularly focuses on a large school education reform carried out in Latvia since 1991. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further research in the field of citizenship education in Latvia, as well as for policymakers. As regards possible policy changes, the author suggests raising civic competence, and replacing the sometime exaggerated manifestations of patriotism with awareness about security issues, individual and democratic values, and the sense of belonging at different levels. In addition, an aim should be to enhance the ability to critically assess political and economic developments.

Introduction: General Background Information

Latvia has participated in international comparative studies since the restoration of independence in 1991. This includes the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) studies such as IEA's TIMSS and PIRLS,[2] and OECD's TALIS and PISA.[3] Further, since 1999, Latvia has taken part in all of the IEA's civic and citizenship education studies: first, the Civic Education Study (CIVED) and then the International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS). In CIVED 1999, students' level of citizenship achievements was very low. Students' achievements in citizenship knowledge have improved somewhat over the last two ICCS surveys of 2009 and 2016. These results are considerable for a new democracy after 50 years of a completely different political system.

The author of this chapter, Ireta Čekse, has participated in the IEA ICCS studies since 2007, working as a data processing manager in ICCS 2009 and as the national research coordinator for ICCS 2016.

IEA ICCS is the largest study in Latvia covering local, national, and international levels of citizenship education. However, there are also specific studies in the area being carried out to measure knowledge levels and explain attitudes in particular domains of citizenship education. For instance, before launching the pilot project of a state defense subject in schools, the Center for Security and Strategic Research of the National Defence Academy of Latvia organized focus group interviews with students where they were asked about their attitudes towards patriotism. In this case patriotism was defined as a constructively critical and active engagement in political processes with the aim to promote the common good, the well-being of the state and the people, as well as growth (Bērziņa 2018, p. 9). The study showed that 10 to 15-year-old students were keener to be engaged in state matters and they were less critical of politics compared to adults. This implies a civic patriotism potential, which according to the researcher Ieva Bērziņa could be further fostered by offering advanced classes in politics and citizenship education. In 2014, a case study was conducted to analyze how well newcomers and children of re-immigrants

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are integrated in local schools in Riga (Bērziņa 2018). It was found that the nongovernmental organization (NGO) sector was more active in promoting global/development education topics than the policy or the academic sectors.

Issues of citizenship education are also examined in democracy audits and research in the field of politics. Particularly noteworthy are studies (with adult respondents) about integration (Izglītības attīstības centrs 2014; Vērse et al. 2013), national minorities in civic society (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences 2017, 2015; Muižnieks 2010) and identity (Rozenvalds and Zobena 2014).

Since 1991, Latvia has carried out significant school education reforms, which are expected to continue at least until 2021. The aim of the reforms is to "develop, test and successively implement general education curriculum and approaches to the teaching of 1.5[4] to 18-year-olds that will develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed for the challenges of the 21st century" (Latvijas Izglītības un zinātnes ministrija n.d.). The reforms also seek to introduce competency-based education which includes curriculum on social and civic matters at all levels. There are particular skills in understanding economics, politics, and social problems that students need to be taught at each level. For instance, in grades 1 through 6 students study social processes in their local surroundings and in Latvia; the emphasis is on developing initial skills in studying history. Meanwhile, in grades 7 through 9 students analyze both local and global communities, and seek to identify what factors drive the well-being of individuals and society as a whole (Valsts izglītības un satura eksaminācijas centrs 2018).

Civic and Citizenship Education in Latvia

Diverse aspects of citizenship education have been developed in Latvia at the school, society, and state levels. Both national and municipal efforts can be observed.

In Latvia the Ministry of Education and Science is responsible for citizenship education matters, but also involved are the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Defence; the NGO sector is also active in this area. The Ministry of Culture is in charge of drafting and implementing national identity, civic society, and integration in society policy plans (Latvijas Republikas Kultūras ministrija 2018a). The Ministry of Defence actively promotes patriotic sentiments in society, as well as seeking to raise awareness of national security issues. This includes fostering media literacy to avoid manipulation of public opinion. Meanwhile the Ministry of Education and Science is responsible for citizenship education in school curriculum and programs.

As part of the agenda dedicated to the Latvian centenary, a 2017–2021 framework program has been launched at state and municipal level. The program seeks to promote national cultural values, educate society about history, and strengthen the sense of national belonging (Latvijas Republikas Kultūras ministrija 2018b). One of the initiatives, called School Backpack (*Skolas soma*), is aimed at providing opportunities for students to attend cultural events such as theatre, opera, concerts, and exhibitions. School Backpack is supported by Latvia's government. Meanwhile the project Latvija 2018 seeks to highlight Latvian values and achievements. The conceptual framework of the project is based on four pillars: 1) promoting citizenship, sense of belonging to the state, and national identity, 2) improving quality of education for the 21st century, 3) raising cultural awareness. and 4) decreasing social inequalities. Project Latvija 2018 was to promote civic consciousness, strengthen the sense of national belonging and national identity, improve education, build cultural literacy, and reduce social inequality (Latvijas Republikas Kultūras ministrija 2018c).

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4   Formal education in Latvia starts from age 1.5, in preschool.

In 2005 and 2006, the Education Development Centre carried out a project within the framework of the International Civic Education Exchange program (CIVITAS). The aim of the project was to improve the quality of civic and citizenship education, to promote democracy, and to strengthen civil society in Latvia. During the project such programs as Project Citizen, Foundations of Democracy, and The Citizen and Constitution were implemented for different audiences. The Education Development Centre has established a support network which has helped teachers to implement teaching civic-related content. The Education Development Centre's method includes fostering the development of civic, intercultural inclusive education, education about international development and cooperation, encouragement of critical thinking for promoting diversity, participation in state policy development processes, and participation in developing education policy. The target groups are education specialists, employees of state and municipal institutions, specialists from different professional fields, representatives of NGOs, the active population of local communities, school youth, and socially marginalized groups (Izglitibas attistibas centrs 2006).

Two NGO sector organizations actively promote civic issues. The Centre for Public Policy, Providus, seeks to "promote evidence-based policy and the development of open society values" (Providus n.d.). Providus focuses on local and international projects related to good governance and participation, corruption, inclusive society, international politics, and elections. Providus researchers very often are opinion leaders who are asked for their opinions about political issues in the mass media. Meanwhile the Education Development Centre (EDC) seeks to stimulate development of democratic society and promote civic engagement and professional competitiveness (Education Development Centre 2017). The mission of the EDC is to promote further development of an educated, democratic society in Latvia by promoting the professional capacity, competitiveness, cooperation, and civic participation skills of each individual.

In the period from 2000 to 2017, citizenship education in Latvia basically was aimed at shaping the civic capacity of students, focusing on preparing students to make socially responsible decisions for individual needs and needs of society. The curricula consisted not only of theoretical, but also practical activities where students had to do projects and research. These activities primarily focused on practical engagement in local communities, like helping seniors, doing spring clean-ups, recycling, doing voluntary work, and participating in elections as observers.

Social science (*sociālās zinības*) is designed as an integrated subject for elementary school and lower-school level (grade 1 to 9) comprising ethical, civic, economic, and health education. Social science comprises topics covering politics and law, sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, and ethics. The subject is taught for 40 minutes (one lesson period) twice a week. At primary education level, the aim of the subject is to develop civic competence, and to study essential personal and social issues on individual, community, and state levels (Izglītības satura un eksaminācijas centrs 2014). Meanwhile, the Ministry of Defence has introduced state defence (*Valsts aizsardzības mācība*) classes in Latvian schools on secondary school level (grade 10 to 12). The aim of the subject has been adjusted and now seeks to promote civic consciousness where one of the objectives is to develop a sense of patriotism. State defence is an elective course which is mostly done by students who plan to pursue a military career. The curriculum includes theoretical and practical activities where students learn about state defence, service in the Latvian National Armed Forces, develop a sense of patriotism, civic consciousness, and work on their physical condition (Aizsardzības ministrija 2013).

In 2016, the Ministry of Education and Science launched a large school education reform which, as mentioned earlier, is expected to be finalized by 2021. The reform seeks to introduce competency-based curricula in schools. The reform also covers social science where the new curriculum would focus more on defining multi-skill competences. As regards citizenship education, one of

the objectives of the new curriculum is to promote national patriotism which, along with other objectives, is done through social and civic domains, cultural awareness, self-expression, natural sciences, math, technology studies, health studies, and physical activities.[5]

Social and civic competences are taught in social science, as well as in separate modules: social science and history, and Latvian and world history. The teacher guidelines recommend devoting to social and civic domains:

- Six hours per week, from age 6 to 9 (grade 1 to 3);
- Six hours per week from age 9 to 12 (grade 4 to 6); and
- Eleven hours per week from age 12 to 15 (grade 7 to 9) (Baunte et al. n.d.).

Guidelines allow teachers to use textbooks and other study materials such as internet resources, documents, and working papers in social science classes. These classes are aimed at advancing students' civic competences thus building their social responsibility at different levels. In this context social responsibility is understood as a willingness and ability to understand the consequences of one's choices and actions, and act in a way that respects other peoples' dignity and freedom (Valsts izglītības un satura eksaminācijas centrs 2018).

Schools offer civic activities where students can practice different aspects of democracy. Usually schools in Latvia have elected student councils. The councils seek to defend students' interests, organize different activities (spring clean-ups, sport and entertainment activities, charity events, activities during national holidays), consider whether students' rights are being observed, and improve school life by proposing specific initiatives.

Teachers of Civic and Citizenship Education

One of the following requirements needs to be met to qualify for a teaching position in Latvia:

- degree in pedagogy with teacher's qualification in the corresponding study subject;
- degree in the field of science or social science corresponding to the study subject and teacher's qualification;
- master's degree or PhD in education or pedagogy if the written dissertation is related to the corresponding study subject and didactics; and
- degree in the field of science corresponding to the study subject and professional experience in an educational institution, which does not exceed one year, under the supervision of a mentor (Ministru Kabinets 2018).

These requirements also apply to the qualification of social science teachers. A teacher can obtain the qualification of a social science teacher upon completing a 160-hour course in social science at the University of Latvia.

As mentioned above, since 2005, the content of civic and citizenship education has been integrated into social science curriculum. Four higher education institutions in Latvia offer programs that qualify candidates to teach this subject, including a four-year professional bachelor's program or a second-level professional study program following the completion of a Bachelor of Education. It is possible to obtain a qualification as a social science teacher together with a qualification of a teacher of history, history of culture, geography, or another civic-related subject (Augstakas izglitibas kvalitates novertesanas centrs 2005).

Standards for social science teachers are closely related to the duties and tasks required. There are also standards concerning the working environment and the requirements, skills, and knowledge that are necessary to undertake their professional work. The standards define that teachers need

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5   In the new curriculum the desired study results in each of the domains (social and civic domains, cultural awareness, self-expression, natural sciences, mathematics, technology studies, health studies, and physical activities) are split into three school levels starting from the age of 2 (primary school) up to grade 12 (age 18).

substantive knowledge in pedagogy, health education, ethics, civic education, and economics. Social science teachers (*sociālo zinību skolotājs*) should have a desire to participate in society, understand democracy, and demonstrate tolerance in order to succeed at their pedagogical work. The teacher's guidelines include the following specific teacher responsibilities:

- To include up-to-date information about civic society and political processes in the teaching and learning content;
- To integrate the achievement of different fields of social studies;
- To analyze social, economic, and political processes;
- To organize a health-promoting school environment; and
- To integrate the topics of economic, ethics, health, and civic education (Valsts izglītības un satura eksaminācijas centrs 2018; Augstakas izglitibas kvalitates novertesanas centrs 2005).

The requirements for obtaining teacher qualifications for social science and for professional development are the same as for teachers of other subjects.

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in Education Discourse, Their Influence

Three study cycles have allowed monitoring the growth dynamics of Latvian students from 1999 to 2016. In this period, there have been multiple changes in the content and methodology of citizenship education studies. Over the last two years, the study results have also been presented to the ministries (Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and Science, and Ministry of Culture) dealing with civic matters, citizenship education, national identity, and security issues.

Questions for the ICCS 2016 national survey were drafted together with the Latvian Ministry of Defence. The questions comprised sections on state security, integration and understanding of patriotism. The results of the national survey were considered when preparing the state defense curriculum which was then coordinated with the Latvian Ministry of Education and Science. National and international results of ICCS 2016 were also used by the Division for Social Integration and Development of Civic Society at the Latvian Ministry of Culture in drafting the National Development Plan. The Ministry of Education and Science also used the ICCS study results in preparing the school curricula reform, School 2020. The ICCS results regarding students' achievements and attitudes were taken into consideration when drafting the curriculum for citizenship education, particularly focusing on loyalty towards the state, civic involvement, and views about the political system in Latvia. The results were selected and presented taking into account the interests and specifics of each of the institutions. This included examining the results of students' achievements and attitudes in ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 compared to the democratic states of the Baltic Sea region.

For instance, the authors of the School 2020 reform (formulated in 2018) sought to include civic competencies, measured in ICCS, in the new curriculum of citizenship education. This was based on the results from the 1999 and 2009 IEA civic education studies (CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009) which were very consistent in showing the poor performance of Latvian students when compared internationally. Out of 28 countries participating in CIVED, the Latvian students' civic knowledge scores ranked 26th (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Ten years later the Latvian knowledge scores in ICCS 2009 remained very near the bottom of the ranking (Schultz et al. 2010). Similar findings were observed in these two studies for a number of attitudinal dimensions where Latvian students had scores at or near the bottom of the country ranking in *trust in government and positive attitudes toward the nation*. Going to a context closer to their everyday life, students also reported little sense of the value of participation at school and were unlikely to see their classrooms as places where respectful and open discussion took place. Whether or not these findings became an explicit part of the decision-making process in Latvia, they served

as background motivation. There was some influence of the study on the broader educational discourse and decision making about positive steps that could be taken (such as those detailed below). Additional insight can be obtained from a chapter in a book entitled *Young People and Active Citizenship in Post-Soviet Times* (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz et al. 2018). These authors point to economic challenges in Latvia which many students see as more important to overcome than political challenges.

Comparing to other democratic states of the Baltic Sea region, Latvian students had the lowest results in citizenship education in ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018). The percentage of A level competence in citizenship education was also low among Latvian students, only 19%. For instance, there were more than twice as many students with A level competence in Estonia (43%), and nearly three times as many in Sweden (58%) and Denmark (53%). Analyzing the ICCS 2016 survey results of social science teachers (Čekse et al. 2018), it can be concluded that students whose teachers failed to interact with other teachers or local communities demonstrated lower results in citizenship education. Also, students demonstrated lower results if their teachers used single-source study means, for instance, only textbooks.

These factors were taken into account when developing the new curricula. Also considered in this process were possible means that would allow improvement of students' results on the knowledge test and their civic competence, as well as students' civic attitudes and national survey results.

Latvia's accession to OECD in 2016 has also had an effect on the curricula. This has allowed improvement of the quality of instruction and the education system in general, as well as to promote more transparent principles of equality.

Since September 2005, civic and citizenship education at the level of basic education has been taught as part of social science classes, and consists of four parts: ethics, introduction to economics, health education, and civic studies. Given that the subject has only recently been introduced, it continues to attract special attention in teachers' professional development courses and in different projects related to education development and improvement. One example of such a project is known as *Let's add value to social science: promoting social integration in the process of acquiring social science*.

Some project results show that teachers do not think that they have opportunities to participate in education policy planning and development in their schools (Politika.lv 2005). Thus researchers, the Ministry of Education and Science, regional school boards, methodological associations, schools, parents, and teachers partnered to address this issue. The aim of the partnership was to improve the quality of teaching of social sciences. Among the group of indicators to assess the effectiveness were the ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 results. The study results showed that the curricula need to be improved. The curriculum for citizenship education is going to be upgraded within the framework of a new competence-based approach to teaching to be introduced in 2021.

Three approaches are used to teach civic and citizenship education in schools: direct teaching and learning in classes; out-of-class activities like engagement in school council and civic projects; and, through a common civic school culture. There are connections between these three different approaches. Direct teaching might be observed almost in any school subject, including political science, social science, history, literature, biology, and geography; or it may occur during interactions between teachers and students. Aspects of citizenship education are represented in school culture through making decisions and solving problems; through communication among the administration, students, teachers, parents, and the wider community; and as a set of values and priorities pertaining to a school community (Irbīte 2008).

As was noted before, in 2016 the Ministry of Education and Science launched the largest school education reform since the restoration of Latvia's independence, and it is expected to be finalized by 2021 and fully implemented by 2023. The aim of the reform is to introduce competency-based curricula in schools.

The new curricula cover aspects of citizenship education within seven domains: Social and civic domain, cultural awareness, self-expression, natural sciences, math, technology studies, health studies, and physical activities.

As of 2023, state tests are expected to be organized for students of grade 4, 7, 8, and 10. Meanwhile students finishing grade 9 (primary school) will need to take an inter-disciplinary test comprised of elements of social science, citizenship education, natural sciences, and technologies. At the end of secondary school, they will have an opportunity to demonstrate their civic competences in a course called *writing a research or creative paper*, where students are allowed to choose their topics freely.

Minority school[6] reform, which sought to gradually make the official state language the main language in the study process, has been relatively successful. Comparing ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2018), students' results categorized by language have equalized. In 2009, the knowledge test result of Latvian-speaking students was higher by nine percent. Nevertheless, Russian-speaking students also demonstrate lower results in democratic attitudes. The national survey conducted within the framework of ICCS 2016 highlighted national issues in terms of citizenship education. The survey results showed that students in Latvia are currently less concerned about migration issues.

After studying the international and national results of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, in 2018 the Ministry of Defence together with the Ministry of Education and Science launched a pilot project introducing state defense classes in 13 schools in Latvia. These classes are an optional career subject, whereas for students of grade 7 to 9 it is one of the topics for research works during special science weeks. The subject is held once per month for several hours. The aim of state defense classes is to prepare students for military careers in the future. Since 1997, state defense has been an optional subject in schools. Since 2011, state defense has been a vocational subject (Aizsardzības ministrija 2013) supplemented with training in the Youth Guard (*Jaunsardze*). In 2017, state defense classes were organized in 17 general schools and one vocational school in Latvia. State defense classes are part of the new competency-based education, seeking to promote civic consciousness and patriotism, as well as offering basic military skills (Mirbahs 2018).

Summary and Conclusions

In IEA's ICCS 2016, grade 8 students from Latvia scored the lowest in the citizenship education test among all democratic countries of the Baltic Sea region that took part in the survey. The results of ICCS 2016 suggested that students' civic competencies can be improved by diversifying the teaching methods, through more opportunities for cooperation between students and local municipalities in contributing to solving local problems, as well as through cooperation among teachers themselves. These ICCS 2016 results have been taken into account when improving the citizenship education curriculum in Latvia (Čekse 2018).

As regards the current situation with citizenship education in Latvia, the chapter mentions several aspects. For instance, project Latvija 100, planned for the period from 2017 to 2021, seeks to develop initiatives aimed at promoting national cultural values, knowledge in history, and sense of belonging among the people in Latvia. The chapter also describes the efforts of the NGO sector and several ministries in terms of citizenship education, as well as looking at national-level studies which are directly or indirectly linked to citizenship education.

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6 Minority school (*mazākumtautību skolas*) refers to a school with bilingual teaching in both the official state language and a minority language; 25.4% of the total population of Latvia are Russian and 27% of all schools has Russian as a language of instruction.

The teaching of citizenship education in Latvia can be described in three stages. Beginning during the decade starting in 1991, citizenship education was taught in schools as a separate subject. From 2000, citizenship education was taught as part of social science classes. However, as of 2021, when the competence-based approach to teaching is going to be introduced in schools in Latvia, the teaching of citizenship education is expected to be transformed once again. It is planned to be taught not only as a separate subject, but its elements are also expected to be integrated in other subjects as well.

Here it is also important to stress the introduction of state defense classes in general education schools in Latvia in 2018. Their aim is to boost patriotic sentiments towards the state, raise awareness about national security issues, and develop media literacy in terms of collective and individual security. This includes encouraging stronger critical thinking about information from different kinds of media, comparing information from East and West, and avoiding manipulation of public opinion. It is one approach to strengthening democratic values and democracy in society.

Further research in the field of citizenship education in Latvia should focus on several issues that hinder formation of democratic and functional society.

First, greater consideration should be given to studying the sense of security and togetherness in Latvian society. This would promote the ideas of civic responsibility and democracy among students and a wider public in order to form a society capable of critically assessing the political and economic situation in the country, identifying threats, and reacting in line with democratic principles. This issue should be addressed by researchers, as well as policymakers and practitioners (NGOs, school administration, teachers, parents, etc.).

Second, it is crucial to have a sense of regional affiliation and thus take systemic steps so that Latvia becomes internationally competitive and effectively integrated in the family of democratic states in the Baltic Sea region. It is equally vital to have the sense of belonging to the Euro-Atlantic community so that Latvia could successfully fulfil its role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union, and the OECD. Also, in regards to the state defense subject and the content of new curricula, there is an exaggerated emphasis on patriotism which should be reduced. Propaganda that might evolve into radical behavior should be addressed. Instead the effort should be put on building awareness of individual and national values, cultivating the sense of belonging at different levels, as well as promoting the ability to critically assess political and economic developments.

Third, to reach the first two goals, it is important to continue monitoring the curriculum and education system in general, and citizenship education in particular. It is also important to compare development dynamics and identify areas of improvement. Latvian students' low performance on IEA ICCS knowledge tests is still a problem in citizenship education. Results from monitoring the quality of the education system developed by the Ministry of Education and Science and IEA ICCS studies can provide evidence to justify future citizenship education policy.

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CHAPTER 10:

Contributions of the IEA's Civic and Citizenship Studies to Educational Discourse in Lithuania: The Past Three Decades

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Abstract Citizenship education in Lithuania was introduced after the restoration of independence in 1990. Through the implementation of civic education policies, Lithuanian educators emphasized this topic in general education programs (1994, 1997, 2004, and 2008). Lithuania participated in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 and International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) conducted in 2009 and 2016. Since 2007, Lithuania has been collecting data to construct a national Civic Empowerment Index. This chapter presents how participation in IEA's civic and citizenship education studies has assisted Lithuania in ensuring that civic education can help students to become citizens who understand their rights and responsibilities, are able to engage constructively in society, and improve society through local activities.

History of Civic and Citizenship Education in Lithuania

Citizenship education in Lithuania was introduced after the restoration of independence in 1990. Through the implementation of specific civic education policies, Lithuanian educators emphasized this topic in general education programs (1994, 1997, 2004, and 2008). Two early civic education programs included objectives like the formation of national consciousness, commitment to the country, and development of the skills needed to live in a democratic society. At that time after the collapse of Communism, the main themes of educational content related to the culture of Lithuania, and history of freedom of the nation remained important. Specifically, civic education in Lithuania after the restoration of independence attempted to help students understand the responsibilities of, and develop skills as, citizens in a free nation. In 2004, Lithuania prepared its application to become a member of the European Union. A new civic education program focused on the knowledge of the universal principles of democracy, tried to examine the subject of patriotism and re-examine the attention to national history and identity. Subsequently the main aim according to the Citizenship Education Program (2008) and the Integration Program of Citizenship (2008) was to encourage students to develop the characteristics necessary for active and responsible participation in the life of democratic Lithuania and its civic society.

International and National Studies on Civics and Citizenship

Lithuania participated in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) study on civic education, the Civic Education Study (CIVED), in 1999. IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) was conducted in 2009 and 2016, and Lithuania participated in both of these studies too.

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Since 2007, Lithuania has also been collecting data to construct a national Civic Empowerment Index for adults. This was initiated by the Civic Society Institute and data were collected by TNS Gallup (published in 2007). At the request of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, researchers were asked to survey two additional sub-groups, pupils and teachers, in 2016. The Civic Empowerment Index survey measured four dimensions: interest in current and future civic action, conception of civil society's influence, and perceptions of the risks of civic activity. Preferences for strong leaders were examined as well as the potential of democracy in the country. A study carried out in 2009 concluded that Lithuanian students and teachers had a somewhat higher sense of civic empowerment than other parts of society. In 2014 students' perceptions of their interest in public affairs were even higher than two years earlier.

In 2012, the Institute of Civic Society also conducted an interview study about the condition of civic education in Lithuanian schools (Žiliukaitė et al. 2012). It showed that many students did not understand the relevance of the information that they received from lessons about citizenship, they were more interested in the civic processes going on around them. However, teachers of the subject often reported not feeling competent to discuss political or economic issues. While they believed in schools' opportunities to develop citizenship, both through formal and informal activities, they also believed that the development of citizenship should be guided by a more coherent plan.

The 2016 Civic Empowerment Index focused on students' civic activity and attitudes. Although the average perception of influence index increased in all age groups, perceptions among the younger population increased even more than among older groups. Compared to the whole society, young people were more likely to perceive that they have potential civic influence, and they were also somewhat more willing to work to solve various social problems. It appears that the civic power of young people can be enhanced by their participation in public organizations and in civil activities, and these are not limited to school-related activities. Non-school-related activities can consist of, for example, active participation of young people in various youth organizations, voluntary activities, and non-formal education activities outside school (participation in discussions, debate and civic initiative clubs, local lore, ethno-cultural and other activities). For example, Kaunas Jesuit School planned to develop students' psychosocial skills and create conditions for gaining social experience through internships in various non-governmental and other non-profit institutions in Kaunas city.

Changes in the Country and Educational System that Could have Influenced Civic and Citizenship Education

The Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2015)[1] states that schools should help students to "be active members of the civic society," and "to develop the necessary values to become patriotic persons, to convey the fundamentals of national and ethnic culture, to provide conditions for a mature national self-consciousness, to guarantee the continuity of the nation and culture of the country, to acquire foundations of civic and political culture embodying democratic traditions, to develop abilities and experience necessary for a person as a competent citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, a member of the European and of the world community, and of a multicultural society." The child must realize that there are many cultures and ethnic groups living in the Lithuanian community, with whom they need to communicate. Referring to the historical context, remember that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1236–1795) was explicitly based on multilingual and multicultural principles, which meant that its citizens sought to understand and appreciate the identity and importance of the nation.

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1   Republic of Lithuania Law on Education, I-1489 https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/df672e20b93311e5b e9bf78e07ed6470?jfwid=4t02bsoca § Article 43. School activity. (2015-12-22).

This conceptualization also reflects recent influence from groups within Lithuania, from the Council of Europe and to some considerable extent from the framework and findings of IEA's civic education studies of 1999 and 2009. Citizenship education, as one of the most important goals for education, was also envisaged in the Lithuanian Progress Strategy, Lithuania 2030 (2012), and the 2016–2020 Intercultural Action Plan of Citizenship and National Education (2016).

Achieving General Goals of Civic and Citizenship Education

Since Lithuania regained its independence, civic education has been designed to educate citizens who are able to engage constructively in discussion and improve society through local activities. Schools' aim is to develop students' understanding of the history of the nation, its cultural identity, and commitment to the people of Lithuania and the state. Also important is to provide the knowledge and skills necessary for active and responsible participation by individuals in the life of the democratic state of Lithuania and in civil society. A number of citizenship education projects have been implemented to improve the direction of citizenship.

The General Program of Citizenship Education helps students develop their practical skills of responsible civic participation by actively engaging in the life of civic society. Participation in analyzing and addressing social problems in school and local communities is encouraged.

Students have the opportunity to participate in organizations, projects, and campaigns, as well as in school governance. Direct student self-government is implemented, for example: at the class level, students are given the opportunity to decide where to go during the tour, how to use the funds, etc.; at school level, activities take place such as organization of a referendum on school uniforms; and, finally, individual initiatives are also encouraged, such as students initiating a Christmas goodness campaign. All students of the school (class) have the right to decide/vote and initiate. By exercising the right of self-government, students can directly contribute to the improvement of their environment, school microclimate, problem solving, and the establishment of common rules and procedures.

These experiences also give them opportunities to develop a sense of unity. By actively participating in school self-government, students develop their social skills, learn how to work in a team, develop their ability to constructively solve problems, and develop skills as leaders. The Lithuanian Student Union is a national, democratic, and nongovernmental organization representing the interests of Lithuanian university students. The Union develops and implements projects aimed at improving the academic and social situation of students as well as organizing seminars (or other training activities) and forums. The Union is also an active member of the European Union of Students (ESU) and is a founder of the Baltic Association of Student Unions (BOM).

The general education curriculum for basic and secondary education provides for the following citizenship education opportunities:

The school is expected to combine formal education (history, geography, civic education classes, economy and entrepreneurship) with informal, practical school activities promoting civic engagement, developing the ability to make decisions and motivation to participate in school and local community activities. These activities should help students to use their theoretical knowledge in practice, e.g., when cooperating with children and youth organizations, as well as learning about adults' interest groups and government institutions. Activities of social caring also help students to develop respect and concern. Some of these social-civil activities are compulsory and are included in the curriculum from age 11.

In order to improve students' knowledge of their municipality and of Lithuania, it is recommended to organize part of history and geography in out-of-school environments (museums, historical places, local self-government institutions, protected areas), and also to use virtual learning

environments. Considering the processes of globalization and responsibility of the citizens of Lithuania in solving global problems, it is important to emphasize that the individual's nationality and citizenship exist in a society that recognizes cultural diversity, practices tolerance of national minorities, and preserves national identity in the context of cultural diversity.

Since 1999, the law-related education program, Street Law, developed in the United States to teach practical knowledge of the law by incorporating a range of instructors and modes of instruction in the schools, has been implemented. The project has included: preparation of materials for students and teachers; training of teachers who are able to teach the basics of law in schools; and, encouragement to individuals who are studying law in higher education institutions to teach the basics of law in schools. An engaging active teaching methodology is one of the key features of the Street Law program. It is not based on the dry presentation of theoretical or factual material but on using interactive teaching methods that provide the student opportunities for questioning and discussion. The Street Law program's leaders confirm that the project is based on research including IEA civic education findings about the value of open classroom discussion. That this project has been successful over this considerable period in Lithuania suggests the value of results from civic education studies in educational discourse.

Local Community Outside the School as a Locus for Practicing Citizenship

The Citizenship Education Framework (Janušauskas 2008) emphasizes that students need to develop practical, responsible civic participation capacities by participating in civil society. Socio-civic activities are compulsory for a student studying under a basic education program in Lithuanian schools in grades 5–10 (activities are allocated at least five hours (lessons) per school year) that may take place in cooperation with associations outside the school.

There was no strong evidence of Lithuanian students in ICCS 2009 or ICCS 2016 having especially high levels of involvement in these kinds of activities, although means are slightly higher than in some other countries on reports of belonging to youth organizations and voluntary groups. They do appear to participate in school elections at a higher rate than in some countries, at 89% (Schulz et al. 2018). According to ICCS 2016 results, only four countries were higher. Lithuanian students are relatively low on issue campaign participation, however. Overall intensions to engage in future social movement activities are not especially high in Lithuania either (a finding across the several studies). This will be discussed later.

Place of Civic Education in the Curriculum

Citizenship education is part of pre-primary, primary, and basic education curricula. It is taught in different ways in different contexts. In primary school, it is one integrated subject *Pasaulio pažinimas* (world knowledge). In lower secondary school there are more subjects: in grades 5–8 integrated into the content of the subjects of the moral education of history, geography, *Gamta ir žmogus* (Nature and human being); in grades 9–10 *Pilietiškumo pagrindai* (Basics of civic education); in grades 5–10 *Socialinė-pilietinė veikla* (Socio-civic activities). Citizenship education is one of the main subject not only in the General Programs for Basic Social Education, but also in the General Program for Lithuanian Language and Literature, in the General Program for Geography. Since 2018 pupils in grades 9–10 have had the option of choosing a National Security and Defence module.

General education providers can be state or private. Current types of general education providers are as follows: primary school (*pradinė mokykla*), pre-gymnasium (*progimnazija*), basic (lower secondary) school (*pagrindinė mokykla*), or gymnasium (*gimnazija*). Under the school reform, since September 1, 2017, secondary schools (*vidurinė mokykla*) which provided primary, basic

(lower) secondary, and upper secondary education programs, do not exist as a separate type of general education institution.

At secondary school, the development of citizenship, national identity, and promotion of social action includes all areas of formal and non-formal education. For example, we could see the development of citizenship in these various fields: in teaching of the citizenship subject in grades 9–10, in the integration of civic problems into the content of other subjects and community life, in social-civic activities, and in non-formal education activities. Compulsory social-civic activities are allocated at least 10 hours (lessons) per school year, but individual schools can allocate more time. Schools may devote sufficient time to research, problem solving, or other subjects to ensure full citizenship education. Students develop their research abilities by using their existing knowledge in the community. They learn how to initiate changes to solve problems that arise. In Lithuania, the Civic Empowerment Index has been carried out and it shows that students believe that they have more civic power than other members of society and that it is beneficial to the whole society.

The General Education curriculum in primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary education levels includes the following subjects: democratic state and civic society, democratic values and civic society, Lithuania as a state of laws, and Lithuanian identity in the context of the international community. The program highlights knowledge and understanding, social participation and collaboration, problem solving, and communication skills.

A strong Lithuanian national identity of an independent state willing to stand up to preserve its culture and language has long prevailed in the country. This emphasis is maintained throughout the educational process (and accounts, for example, for subjects such as the history of freedom fighters). This national emphasis has not been a focus in the IEA civic studies, and that may be one reason why the studies have not had more influence on the Lithuanian educational aims and activities. However, participation remains useful because we can locate ourselves in the context of participating countries and see the issues that are discussed elsewhere regarding citizenship education.

Conditions of Citizenship Education in Schools

A *Civil education implementation policy: objectives, instruments, results* study conducted in 2013 showed that textbooks, printed teaching materials, handouts, and video recordings are often used in teaching civic education (Švietimo aprūpinimo centras 2013).

An external evaluation by the National Agency for School Evaluation was conducted of the quality of school ethos, school self-governance, and the school's role in the local community, along with formal lessons on citizenship (Nacionalinė mokyklų vertinimo agentūra n.d.). According to external evaluation data from 2017 and 2018, citizenship lessons evaluation average is 2.46 in grades 9–10 (on a 4 point scale). The evaluation average of citizenship lessons is lower than the geography lessons (2.51) and higher than history (2.40) and economics (2.29). The average evaluation of the lessons of these subjects (physical culture—2.64, art-technological education—2.61, information technology—2.58, mathematics—2.55, nature sciences—2.55, Lithuanian language—2.53) are higher than citizenship lessons. Two educational paradigms prevail in civic education lessons: traditional teaching often lecturing or textbook based (45% of the lessons taught) and attempting to work in a less traditional way by activating the student's interest and effort in the subject and responsibility for learning (37% of the lessons).

In the national external evaluation of the quality of school activities, which takes place every seven years, each school is assessed in terms of citizenship activity. Membership in organizations and the community (73%), and the school staff culture of cooperation (58%) were rated at the top grade of 3 (good) when assessing the whole school's contribution to citizenship. These results are

based on relevant studies conducted by external school evaluation experts. Schools had lower ratings on school self-government; 51% of schools were evaluated at level 3 and 43 % of school assessed at level 2. Schools have democratically elected student groups that consider how to implement improvements and coordinate activities. The school council, which is compulsory by law, is the most important institution of school self-government, consisting of students, teachers, parents (guardians), and the local community representatives. Self-government in schools starts at the lower secondary level. The Lithuanian Students' Parliament also has functioned for a long time—a democratically elected institution of students' self-government, representing the interests of Lithuanian students.

Starting in grade 8 students move from a focus on school activities to neighbourhood activities and then more broadly. The focus is on responsible participation skills through in school government, and then various local community and youth organizations. In grades 9 to 10, students are intended to deepen their social activities in a variety of social contexts, develop social responsibility, and participate in campaigns for student council elections. There is considerable variation between schools in the extent to which this happens.

Each school makes decisions about methods of assessing student's achievements including student constructed portfolios. It is recommended that students accumulate evidence of their social-civic activities in their e.folders.[2] In 2013, there were tests to verify achievements in self-selected project work from social education subjects trying to better understand student's civic context in schools.

Recent Debates About Civic and Citizenship Education in Schools

Various issues of citizenship education have been raised for discussion among teachers, student representatives, teacher associations, nongovernmental organizations, and higher education representatives over the past five years. The topics include ineffective integration of citizenship education topics into other subjects and school life; poorly developed civic education guidelines for out of school practical work; students' lack of interest in participation in school and local communities as well as their limited ability to make responsible decisions. Further issues are the fact that theoretical knowledge of citizenship is often not related to practical activities or the issues facing Lithuania and the world. Too little attention is paid to the development of digital literacy; teachers lack competencies to ensure high-quality citizenship education, especially in the field of practical activities and political and media literacy.

Owing to the debate and the desire to improve, opportunities have been created to integrate into a range of activities that will not only expand our worldview but also allow us to understand the significance of global events for each individual. Environmental content is integrated into sciences and social education, ethics and other subjects' programs (natural resources, climate change, ecological problems). In addition, Lithuanian schools participate in national and international environmental projects, for example, the national project CODE-NEMUNAS. The aim of the project was to encourage students to participate in solving current problems of local communities; to develop students' social responsibility and citizenship; to develop cooperation between institutions, municipalities, and local communities at the national level; and publicize examples of good practice. Global issues are also integrated (military conflicts, protection of heritage, world poverty, and cultural diversity).

National teacher training has assisted in this integration. Teachers have been introduced to the importance, goals, and challenges of sustainable development, global education, and development cooperation and then helped to integrate these topics into their subjects. In 2013, Lithuania

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2   It is recommended that students collect evidence of their socio-civic activity themselves using e-mail folders, for
    example in the Open Information Counseling Guidance System (AIKOS).

joined the project Solidarity Schools in the Baltics implemented by Humana People to People Baltic. In 2014, the project entitled "The provisions of sustainable development and development cooperation strengthening in the country's general education schools" was implemented. Global Education in School Life was implemented in 2015–2016.

Teachers of Civics and Citizenship

Teachers who completed history, sociology, law, and/or political science degrees and teachers of geography or economics can teach the subject of citizenship without specific further training. However, teachers of citizenship fundamentals and teachers of social education subjects, who integrate citizenship education into their teaching, also have opportunities to participate in additional training. Between 2007 and 2017 specific programs were offered covering media and information literacy, national security, and the basics of citizenship (especially for schools where students speak Polish and Russian). There were opportunities for teachers to improve their qualifications. In Lithuania several hundred teachers have already participated.

Qualitative research using interviews on the status of citizenship education in 2012 revealed that some Lithuanian civic education teachers lack self-confidence in teaching about civics and citizenship. They are especially uncertain about serving as models of citizenship for young people. Teachers feel vulnerable to political circumstances. The Ministry of Education, Science and Sports is still trying to ensure that schools are not a political battleground, so in order to avoid this, they provide various consultations and trainings in order to be less affected by negative political decisions. The hope is to ensure political equality, in part by organizing civic events where representatives of all political positions are invited so that students are acquainted with politics and its diversity. Teachers feel that they do not have enough competency to discuss politics with students or help them understand the political life of their country (or other countries). This problem is made worse by the extent of economic and social problems in Lithuania.

Teachers noted that they feel there are discrepancies between ideals and reality. Often what is written in textbooks differs from what teachers know to be the real-life circumstances of the country and of students.

Presence of Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in Education Discourse: Their Influence

After publication of the results of each of the civic and citizenship studies (CIVED 1999, and ICCS 2009 and 2016), the conclusions and recommendations were disseminated to relevant groups and discussed. Efforts are being made to include recommendations in the Medium-Term Strategic Plans for Education. The curriculum was updated in 2008, and the update took into account recommendations and evaluations.

According to the conclusions of the CIVED (1999) study, the level of civic competence of Lithuanian adolescents was low, probably related to the ineffective implementation of new education strategies. This stimulated decisions at the national level to increase the number of hours devoted to civic education. Since 1999, two hours weekly have been devoted to civic education (an increase from one hour). This included the introduction of obligatory social-civic activities for the public. These are activities where students can act individually or in a group for the benefit of society. This may include organizing for the environment, volunteering in various civil organizations, and helping grandparents and engaging in other activities that benefit society.

After the release of the ICCS (2009) study results, which showed a lack of civic participation and political literacy, there was an increase in compulsory hours for social civic activities in grades 5–10. From 2015, social-civic activity was assigned for five hours during the school year and from 2017 no less than 10 hours. Social-civic activity is a pupil-selected activity that promotes

community and practical civic participation skills. Examples of socio-civic activities could be solving community problems, participating in school self-government, volunteer activities, or nongovernmental organizations.

However, the Citizenship Education Curriculum has essentially not changed since 2008 even though new projects have been implemented. At present there is considerable discussion about how civic education could be improved on the basis of the results of international and national research. Objectives remain the same, but themes such as media literacy (including digital), political literacy, and the diversity of students' forms of civic participation are relevant too. Also, there are ongoing discussions indicating that the implementation of efforts to increase knowledge should be supported by practical activities in schools. This is new since the Soviet occupation, because people have not been used to volunteer for the benefit of society. Plans are to focus more attention on approaches that go beyond imparting knowledge and consider how to develop practical skills. It is important to ensure that students, insofar as their opportunities and needs allow, can participate in solving problems of school and local communities, participate in social and civic activities, and consider the issues important in the Lithuanian society and the world that are interesting to them. The next section suggests that participating in the IEA civic studies with their emphasis on participation and attitudes as well as knowledge has reinforced some of these initiatives.

Role of Study Results, of Participating in the Study, and of Country Findings in Pedagogy

To achieve better results in civic education, the ICCS studies made several recommendations. In the national report, we provided insights and recommendations intended to reach school principals, teachers, parents, and other members of the community. These include promoting legal forms of active civic participation in social networks and local communities; paying more attention to the readiness of teachers and parents to take action against bullying; helping students learn how to use the internet responsibly; reducing wide disparities in civic knowledge within the country; forming more positive civic attitudes of pupils in schools in relation to the rights of gender or ethnic groups; developing pupils' citizenship in an inclusive way by enabling pupils to participate actively in civic and social activities; establishing basic democratic governance structures in schools; and encouraging students to engage in school-based civic initiatives.

The implementation conditions for many of the recommendations contained in the ICCS studies' national reports are described in the publication *The Good School Concept* (Geros mokyklos koncepcija 2015), which presents directions and guidelines for schools and anticipates long-term initiatives of improvement of various types of school. It was approved by the ministry and provides guidelines on the principles for developing a school. The concept of a good school emphasizes creating the preconditions for raising the level of educational quality in the country by suggesting guidelines for the conditions necessary to enable programs to operate effectively. The purpose is to provide a benchmark for the development of a modern school by indicating which school features are valuable and desirable in the country, encouraging the creativity of school communities and long-term school development initiatives. It is aimed at pupils, teachers, parents, school leaders, and institutions that implement the rights and obligations of education management and the public.

As the ICCS studies showed that many teachers were unaware of ways to improve civic education and resources that they might employ, several initiatives have been undertaken. These include the following features, some of which are derived from the CIVED and ICCS studies' results. The first is learning with and from others (through working with colleagues, sharing experience and created works, observing lessons of colleagues, studying various resources together, and learning from pupils). Another is combining efforts of teachers and other members of staff by forming groups

where they share responsibilities, and pursue common professional goals. Another is reflection within the school community on how to establish an open and respectful classroom climate, on self-assessment, and on planning. Finally, there is promotion of staff training incentives along with openness of the school organization to partnerships, joint projects, and using alumni networks.

The teachers' associations have been active. Since 2018, Pedagogical Centres have been established to improve staff qualifications. Beginning in 2016 teachers have had the opportunity to take civic education classes at the Centre for Civil Education, which interactive exhibitions seek to answer questions about how a democratic state and its institutions operate, how citizens can participate in governance, and how issues that are relevant to the whole society or local community can be solved. The set of educational material is composed of 16 lesson plans in citizenship, history, geography, Lithuanian language, ethics, religion, and primary education. The permanent exposition at the Centre is complemented by periodically updated thematic exhibitions introducing the most important symbols or events of statehood. The information presented at the Centre for Civil Education is being developed together with visitors: with modern technologies, everyone is invited to develop a personal relationship with the material provided and share views, turning the spaces of expositions into a discussion forum.

Role of the Studies for Recognition of School as a Community

Participation in civic and citizenship studies gave an impetus to thinking about projects to be developed. An important aspect is that civic education seeks to shape national identity so as to develop certain values and form a civic society. The emergence of self-governing organizations and the involvement of the community in Lithuanian schools started with the beginning of independence. In 1991, the Law on Education established the powers, rights, and duties of the education community. Competitions and also projects of ethnographies and cultural heritage contribute in order to get to know the environment around us better and to get to know our history better. These events, financially supported by the Lithuanian state budget and EU funds, remain popular among students and teachers.

Examples of civic education competitions:

"The strength of the past for the present" competition is organized by the Ministry of National Defence, Vilnius University, and the Association of History Teachers. Its aim is to develop the citizenship of young people and promote the knowledge of history; there is also a competition on history of the fights for freedom and loss of Lithuania.

"Clear Language is a Clear Head" competition is conducted by the Lithuanian Language Commission. The aim is to develop students' linguistic competences, responsibility for the Lithuanian language, and the desire to preserve it.

"European Union exam" is designed for citizens who are interested in the history of the EU, its institutions, culture, languages, etc.

Examples of civic campaigns:

"For Lithuania and me" is a campaign dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the restoration of Lithuania's Independence organized in 2015. The students, together with all the citizens of Lithuania, wove three-coloured (yellow, green, and red) friendship bracelets, also donating to each other's, and corded bracelets on Gediminas' sculpture (which was created specifically for this purpose).

"Darom (Let's do it)" is an international campaign dedicated to environmental issues, development of volunteering, and community. Lithuania was one of the first countries to join this movement in 2008. Lithuania has accumulated extensive experience in organizing massive environmental work. About 45 thousand volunteers (including students) participate every year.

"The Constitution is alive" is a campaign dedicated to the ratification of the Constitution with a purpose to develop young people's understanding of citizenship.

January 1 is celebrated as Lithuanian Flag Day. On this day, soldiers of the Lithuanian Army honour guard take down the national flag of Gediminas Castle Tower and lift a new one. The flag that was lowered is given to the most active school in the area of civic education. This tradition began in 2005. Schools that actively develop students' citizenship promote a better understanding of Lithuanian history, culture, and Lithuanian Armed Forces are honoured in this way.

Examples of civic projects:

The visions of being a member of society and being member of a nation are inseparable. In one case the public, social aspects are highlighted, and in the other case national and ethnic aspects. An important aspect of some projects is to promote national identity. CODE-NEMUNAS was implemented in 2018 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the restoration of the state of Lithuania and to help better understand the native land and its people. Summer courses have been held in Lithuanian regional and national parks.

"Understand the State" (implemented in 2017) aims to introduce students to various areas of public life in Lithuania, to discuss relevant national and regional problems, and to consider how to solve them. The national minority schools were involved in the "Understand the State" project. School teams visited various government institutions, met with public figures, politicians, and civil servants, discussed specific issues about the state, the city, or the community, and possible solutions to them. There are some examples of problems in local communities where progress toward solutions was made.

The project "Creating the Republic" (2012–2015) is one of the most prominent national civic education projects. Its aim was strengthening of the school community, developing civic competence, and mobilizing the civic potential of schools and local communities. Schools and local communities could be viewed as small republics—independent, democratically cooperative societies. Law, public policy, nongovernmental organizations, and other experts helped them identify important problems including local and national issues. During the project implementation, practical ways to solve them were discussed. During the project, 120 civic projects were implemented, and the three most successful ones were offered as national projects to all Lithuanian schools. The results of the project were evaluated by experts who prepared recommended methodologies for updating citizenship education.

An "Educational European Parliament" was implemented in 2005. The aim of the project is to provide Lithuanian young people knowledge about institutions of the European Union, policy and decision-making procedures, processes of European integration, and to develop young people's self-consciousness not only as citizens of Lithuania but as citizens of EU. Many of these results are synergistic.

"Open Code: CITIZEN" is a project implemented in 2011–2013 the aim of which is to provide educators with competence to develop active and participatory citizenship based on the principles of non-formal education, to develop the skills of young people in practical activities, and to increase their opportunities and motivation to initiate socially meaningful activities. It was designed to draw the attention of senior year students to their ability to improve the environments in which they and their relatives live, study, and work. This included a component for teacher preparation.

Every Lithuanian child who is going to start first grade in Lithuania or abroad receives a "first-class student passport," which contains symbols of the state of Lithuania, historical events, and the facts of the present that promote the pride of the state. This passport, as a sign that you are a citizen, a resident of the country, indicates that you have rights and duties.

"For clean land and clean water" was a project implemented in 2012–2014. The aim was to implement the Lithuanian sustainable development priorities, to actualize the use of natural resources, and to protect the landscape by examining scientific findings. A project website was created that contained thematic publications and educational tools. Regional seminars were held.

GLOBE (Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment) is an international environmental education project that encourages teachers, students, and researchers to explore environmental issues. Activities focus on the development of practical skills by young people and international cooperation by using the latest information technologies, which help to look at the environment from a scientific perspective. Teachers have the opportunity to consult with scientists and collaborate with teachers from around the world. Studies in the fields of the atmosphere, hydrology, and land cover are also carried out; 55 schools in Lithuania actively participate in the GLOBE program.

The Baltic Sea Project is part of UNESCO Associated Schools (and includes about 30 schools). The project is designed to unite the schools in the Baltic countries to find solutions for regional environmental problems. Students conduct observations with their teachers. The aim of the project also is to encourage interest in environmental issues in the region, to perceive the scientific, social, and cultural aspects of interdependence between humanity and the environment.

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CHAPTER 11:

The Role of IEA's Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in Mexico[1]

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Abstract This chapter addresses the participation of Mexico in IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and 2016 cycles. How participation in these IEA civic studies, its framework, and results contributed to educational discourse in Mexico is shown in three ways: as a reference for emerging global trends in civic education teacher training programs; as a resource for independent, state, and national research projects; and as an important source of information for Mexico's Public Education Secretariat which helped reshape and define the competencies for the basic compulsory citizenship education program reforms since 2010.

Citizenship Studies and Assessments in Mexico

There is a broad scope of materials relevant to understanding Mexico's participation in national and international studies related to the topic of citizenship. Various types of surveys, assessments, questionnaires, and other instruments have been used in assessments to gather a wide array of information from adults and young people. Mexico participates in two important international studies related to citizenship that focus on adults. The first is the World Value Survey (WVS), which has been administered during seven cycles, beginning in 1981 (World Values Survey Association 2018). The second study is Latinobarómetro (Latin barometer); it is an annual survey that involves 18 Latin American countries and monitors the development of democracies, economies, and societies using indicators of attitude and behavior (Latinobarómetro 2018). These studies are conducted with adults and ask only a few basic questions about their knowledge of political topics. At the national level, information about civic matters has been gathered from adults. These include the Country Report on The Quality of Citizenship in Mexico (Instituto Federal Electoral and Colegio de México 2015) and the National Survey on Political Culture and Citizenship Practices (conducted in 2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2012). These are coordinated by the Secretary of the Interior (Secretaría de Gobernación 2012). To broaden the information base, a sample of grade 8 students (second year of basic secondary school) participated in the last two cycles of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (2009 and 2016), which was coordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). From this, two national reports have been published (Sistema Regional de Evaluación y Desarrollo de Competencias Ciudadanas 2011; Conde et al. 2018).

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[1] The opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the authors. They do not purport to reflect the opinions or views of the SEP, Mexico's educational authorities, institutions or its members.

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Some previous research in Mexico has centered on students' views of citizenship. The most emblematic is *The Politicization of the Mexican Child*. It examined the political attitudes of Mexican students from grades 5 to 9 and opened a new research area on political socialization (Segovia 1975). Also important is the Children and Youth Survey, administered every three years since 2012 and coordinated by the National Electoral Institute (Instituto Nacional Electoral [INE] 2017). This institute places ballot boxes in different parts of the country so children and teenagers from age three to 17 years can draw or write down their perceptions and opinions of different topics related to citizenship. The last cycle, for instance, asked participants to express their ideas about topics such as trust, security, and justice (INE 2017). It is interesting that some results from the adult and children's studies are similar in identifying the issues of interpersonal and institutional mistrust (Conde et al. 2018).

Mexico did not participate in the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Torney-Purta et al. 2001), but its framework and results shaped subsequent national studies such as *Civic Knowledge in Mexico: A Comparative International Study* (Tirado and Guevara 2006; see also Caso et al. 2008; Meléndez 2011).

A national source of information about the quality and levels of civic knowledge of Mexican students has also been the national assessments for civics and ethics education, aligned with the national citizenship curriculum. It was not until 2009 and 2016 that Mexico participated in IEA studies in this area. The contributions of these two studies will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Civic and Citizenship Education in Mexico

History and Reforms of Civic and Citizenship Education

Citizenship education has been an area of formal education almost since Mexico's birth as an independent nation. Most of the training proposals have been a task of education ministries since 1821 and at present it is the responsibility of the Secretariat of Public Education. Citizenship education emerged in the nineteenth century and was aimed primarily at cultivating a sense of citizenship with a strong nationalist emphasis (Vázquez 2005; Luna 2014).

Over the last 100 years, Mexico has experienced important political and social changes that have influenced the direction of the country's educational system and made a direct impact on civic education. After Mexico's revolution in 1910, the idea of a new kind of nation accentuated the importance of having a compulsory civic education subject. Changes in the political system and social life also required the inclusion of ethics.

In 1993 two new subjects were introduced to the curriculum: *civic education* (primary school) and civics (secondary school). Both included some topics of international relevance such as the promotion of human rights, particularly those of children. As an initiative of the Ministry of Education, a significant change in secondary level civic and citizenship education took place in 1999 when the subject civics became *civics and ethics education* (CEE), introducing a cross-curricular focus, a more multicultural, cosmopolitan approach rather than a strictly nationalist one, and a comprehensive, integral, and constructivist approach (Levinson 2004; Levinson 2007; Meléndez 2011). The name change also implied that an educational dimension emphasizing ethically based decision-making was introduced with applications for adolescents' everyday life. Before this time, ethics had been absent from the curriculum of all the post-revolutionary governments because of its association with religion and the government's anticlerical orientation.

In 2000, the educational authorities of the state of Baja California implemented a new subject aimed at promoting a "culture of legality" (i.e., respect for rule of law). In 2009, this subject became an elective option in the national curriculum that individual states could adopt: Democratic

citizenship education for legal culture building (Levinson 2005; Meléndez 2011). Another change took place, in 2006, when the Public Education Secretariat (SEP) proposed a modified approach to CEE, organized around the development of civic and ethics competencies. It had four key components: a designated subject, a cross-curricular program of activities, a model for learning through the school environment, and an emphasis on relevance in students' daily life. These elements prevailed at least until 2011. Stimulated by the election of a new government in December 2018, a review of the 2017 curriculum is currently taking place.

Purposes and General Characteristics

The current citizenship curriculum is mandatory for all public and private schools in the country and the latest proposal was published in 2017, and it still includes the specific CEE subject with these purposes:

(1) To strengthen students' identities to encourage participation and self-development

(2) To exercise freedom and autonomy by employing dignity and human rights as the principal criteria in their actions

(3) To promote the development of critical judgment and help the consolidation of civic values, based on human rights

(4) To appreciate the ties of belonging that provide identity to social groups, for the promotion of solidarity, equity, interculturalism, diversity, and pluralism

(5) To promote a culture of peace by demonstrating ethical sensitivity and civic awareness in the face of unjust situations

(6) To appreciate their sense of belonging to a democratic State that guarantees justice through rules and institutions and respect for human rights

(7) To participate in decisions and actions aiming to change the school, community, and municipal setting in favor of the collective well-being and defense of human dignity

In the first grades of basic education, citizenship topics are integrated across areas; the subject CEE itself is taught in grades 4, 5, and 6 of primary school (one hour a week), and in the three grades that make up secondary education (two hours per week).

CEE in Secondary Education

In secondary education, cross-cutting issues are identified, and CEE shares them with other subjects in the curriculum:

• Native Language (typically Spanish). Social practices of language use for social participation.
• History. Construction of nation-states, laws, and institutions in Mexico, and processes related to globalization.
• Geography. Public wellbeing according to the Human Development Index (HDI), environmental problems, and sustainability.
• Natural Sciences. Health care, ecosystems, and biodiversity.
• Socio-emotional Education. Abilities oriented toward autonomy, empathy, and collaboration.

For the teaching of CEE in secondary school, there is an array of textbooks prepared by private publishers who follow the contents of the official national curriculum and pedagogical perspective formulated by the SEP. Textbooks are the most fundamental resource that teachers utilize (Quiroz 2000; Sandoval 2000; Landeros 2016). A review of the outcomes found an emphasis on the development of the cognitive or knowledge aspects of citizenship. This deemphasizes attitudes and abilities related to citizenship. This is in spite of the fact that the students are expected to engage in projects to promote inclusion, environmental care, a culture of peace, and attention to collective needs, all of which are recognized as part of a holistic citizenship education.

Between 2006 and 2014 two large-scale standardized assessments were developed: the National Evaluation of Student Achievement (ENLACE), and the Tests of Educational Quality and Achievement (EXCALE). These included a comprehensive assessment for the subject of CEE. In 2015 the National Plan for the Evaluation of Learning Outcomes (PLANEA) was launched in a coordinated manner, and it is still being used.

The Role of the School and Community Context

The current curricular approach to CEE encourages the actions aimed at "practical use (of human rights and democratic principles), both in situations of daily life and in relation to social problems: (SEP 2017, p. 440). Teachers are to encourage democratic deliberation in school to analyze aspects of daily life, as well as promoting work projects for the development of civic skills such as collaboration. The curriculum document urges consideration that both "the classroom and the school at large are spaces that foster learning, socialization, and the formation of students" (SEP 2017, p. 441). In Mexican Spanish, the term formacion (formation) signifies a broad, holistic development of the students' competencies and dispositions, much like the German term Bildung. This is somewhat different from the meaning of education in English, which is more limited to cognition. Furthermore, the topics designated for cross-curricular treatment deal with the conflict of values in various situations of social life. Cross-curricular or transversal work in Mexican schools often includes topics such as human rights, migration, and environmental sustainability.

The CEE program presents general guidelines to encourage the participation of students in the school context and daily community life outside the school. However, an important improvement would be to include specific references to opportunities for taking part in decisions about school life that affect students directly. Some space already exists for this purpose (e.g., wall newspaper or school assembly). The guidelines point out that CEE should contribute to a better school environment, but there should also be suggestions about activities in participatory bodies that already exist in schools such as Student Council, School Council, Community Council, or Parents' Association.

Some Debates: Specific Areas of Opportunity

In a critical analysis of the characteristics of citizenship education, authors such as Bolívar (2007) and Scheerens (2011) have raised the need to discuss various ways for this type of education to spread throughout the school experience. Likewise, recent analyses of the 2017 Educational Model (Chávez 2019; Conde et al. 2017; Conde et al. 2018) have offered valuable clues to identify areas of opportunity for citizenship education.

These are among the current debates about civic and citizenship education in the Mexican curriculum between teachers, policymakers, and parents:

- How to connect CEE to the real interests and everyday lives of students (among teachers and those who develop curriculum).
- How to integrate the interpersonal skills involved in the moral and political education of students in order to enhance socio-emotional learning (among curriculum makers).
- The loss of emphasis on some civic and ethical competences when they became part of "curricular axes that organize thematic contents" (among curriculum and policymakers).
- The inclusion of areas such as School Climate and Students' Daily Lives, which used to be formative spaces providing opportunities for participation and solidarity at school (among curriculum makers, teachers, etc.).

Curriculum is an essential device that ensures the systematic implementation of citizenship education in México, but for it to function properly and widen its reach and impact, different policymaking approaches are needed to work alongside it. These approaches include—but are not limited to—the use of important sources of information by decision-makers, such as student

learning outcomes on national assessments, Mexico's results on ICCS, and certainly addressing some of the country's specific needs that are known sources that help build a democratic citizenship (e.g., public safety, health and social welfare). In contrast with the past, Mexico's participation on the last two cycles of ICCS has provided an opportunity for the promotion of new research studies and evaluations in the field of citizenship.

Mexican Teachers' Pre-service and In-service Training in Civic and Citizenship Education

Civic Education Teachers' Pre-service Training

The most recent educational reform in Mexico in 2013 was intended to ensure that professional knowledge and aptitude requirements were met by establishing a comprehensive evaluation system for entrance into the teaching profession; this was also linked to tenure and promotion (e.g., to School Principal). However, due to a widespread misperception of the evaluation process as being part of labor legislation rather than educational legislation and that it would limit educators' possibilities to hold their current status, teachers protested the reform through nationally organized marches, closing of schools, and semi-permanent encampments near or outside of official buildings. These were covered in national and international media[3] (e.g., El Universal, El País, New York Times, Forbes, BBC News).

According to the 2013 reform, becoming a teacher also now required meeting a set of criteria established by the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEE)—an autonomous institution—and the General Law for the Professional Teaching Service, which includes the guidelines to carry out the evaluation process to access the Professional Teaching Service. The evaluation process consists of the administration of two standardized assessment instruments. The first test focuses on the assessment of pedagogical abilities and the level of content knowledge mastery of the applicant for the particular school subjects.

The second phase is an examination, which assesses the applicant's level of skills in communication, reflection, and potential for improvement of teaching practice. It also explores the applicant's attitudes toward professional practice, school management, community outreach, and legal and ethical responsibilities (SEP 2018). To become a secondary school teacher the person must study in one of the Federal or State (private or public) Teacher Training Colleges.

In 2018 a new teacher training program was introduced by the Public Education Secretariat: Bachelor's Program for the Teaching and Learning of Ethics and Citizenship Education in Secondary School (Diario Oficial de la Federación 2018). It includes subject matter and pedagogical principles, while considering emerging social, cultural, economic, and technological issues and changes.

Opportunities for Professional Development

Between 2008 and 2012, civic education teachers could choose to participate in annual courses and workshops (SEP 2007). However, this training program was judged to be insufficient in helping teachers acquire the skills needed. Some believed that this was because the training was mostly content and pedagogy-centered, and it did not have enough opportunity for dialogue and the recognition of the diversity of students' needs and of teaching approaches (Chávez 2009). In 2018, the SEP published the operating rules for the National System of In-Service Training, Knowledge Updating, and Professional Advancement for Basic Education Teachers that introduced a new subject called socio-emotional education. Currently a new catalogue of courses is being considered, which includes topics such as human rights, education for peace, peaceful school coexistence, and gender equality. There are 19 Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), including one for CEE teachers covering some of these areas.

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3   For more information of the published news articles, see Ahmed 2016; BBC News 2013; De Llano 2016; Expansión 2016; García et al. 2016; Parish 2013; Zabludovsky 2013.

Awareness and Use of ICCS in Mexico: Social and Educational Perspectives[4]

The Role of ICCS in Shaping the Curriculum[5]

Staff members of the Citizenship Education Team (CET) in the Curriculum Development Division are responsible for reviewing new developments and publications as well as the information that national assessments provide on this topic. This includes key documents derived from national and international research studies about civic education (Schulz et al. 2010; Martínez and González 2010; Schulz et al. 2018). The major conclusions from these reports were:

2009

- The average civic knowledge score (452) of Mexican students was significantly lower than the ICCS international average, which was set to 500 scale points and a standard deviation of 100 scale points (Schulz et al. 2018). The majority of students (61%) were at Level 1—the lowest proficiency level of civic knowledge—or below it, only 10% achieved level 3. The score achieved by females was significantly higher than that of males, with a 24 scale point difference.
- Mexican students support gender equality, equal rights and opportunities for ethnic groups and some basic democratic principles, and 40% did understand that media monopolies or nepotism among public officials had negative implications for democracy.

2016

- In general terms, students' average civic knowledge scores in most participating countries increased between 2009 and 2016, with differences ranging from 1–42 scale points. In Mexico there was a 15 score point increase with reference to the 2009 cycle, and the percentage of Mexican students at Level A, the highest proficiency level (equivalent to Level 3 in the ICCS 2009 classification), increased 3 percentage points; this appears to be related to better use of relevant information along with the ability to apply knowledge to understand civic engagement. Gender differences, although slightly lower (21 scale point difference), showed that female students continued to perform significantly higher than male students (Conde et al. 2018).
- An open discussion of political and social issues in the classroom is a predictor of civic knowledge. Mexican student's perception of the classroom as a space that offers them opportunities to have open discussions showed a significant difference of only one score point increase, with respect to 2009 results. This is relevant because it outlines the need for more comprehensive research into the type of discussion that is taking place inside of Mexico's classrooms.

The Use of ICCS 2009 Results

ICCS 2009 has been a reference point for Mexico since 2010. Members of the CET used the framework to identify key concepts in order to compare them to the ongoing civic education program of 2010, as well as to develop a new proposal for 2011. The CET found that some important contents that were assessed by the ICCS cognitive test were absent from the contents specified in the CEE program. This was discussed and a few actions have been taken to make improvements, such as including social cohesion and legality as specific contents in the secondary level curriculum. However, in 2011 a significant change took place and the new focus was now defining competencies. With this, the ICCS 2009 national report became an important reference for program development.

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5   Information obtained in an interview done with personnel of the General Management of Curriculum Development office of the Secretariat of Public Education.

The Use of ICCS 2016 Results

Time constraints prevented the use of the ICCS 2016 framework as input for the development of the new program that was going to be launched in 2017. Furthermore, the 2013 constitutional reforms changed the structure and responsibilities of the Secretariat of Public Education, which implied that it was no longer going to coordinate ICCS; rather, a newly created autonomous institution, the National Institute for Educational Evaluation, was appointed as the sole responsible organization. With these changes and the moment in which they occurred, use of ICCS 2016 framework as input for the 2017 curriculum was not possible.

After the 2017 program for civic education was developed and the ICCS 2016 results were published, the CET reviewed the framework. Matching elements were found, such as society and civic systems, and democratic values (i.e., equity, freedom, sense of justice, a sense of belonging, and civic participation) (SEP 2017).

A lack of a strong and contextualized official publicity campaign of the results presented an opportunity for the press to publish specific descriptive results, which were alarming due to the lack of context and meaning. For instance, information on how 43% of Mexican students stated that they would participate in illegal acts, such as blocking traffic with the purpose of expressing their opinion, was highlighted.[6] When the CET examined the 2016 study results, specifically from the questionnaire regarding students' opinions, they noticed some increase in their interest in participating in civic activities. More students were getting involved in school matters through the Student Council, and also identifying organizations outside of school with whom they could work. That probably reflected beneficial results of the 2011 curriculum which was stimulated by civic engagement results from ICCS 2009. The low civic knowledge scores and some trends in attitudinal responses were of continuing concern, however.

Some of the topics that were part of the CCE subject matter program appeared in a different curricular position in 2017 (e.g., the topic of emotions under socioemotional education and environment under geography).

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6   For more information of a sample of the published news articles, see Camacho 2017; Provencio 2017; Reporte Indigo 2017; WRadio 2017; Zócalo 2017.

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CHAPTER 12:

Inequality in Citizenship Competences. Citizenship Education and Policy in the Netherlands

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Abstract The Dutch school system is characterized by early educational tracking and high school autonomy. This chapter focuses on how this is related to citizenship competences among students. Results of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 study indicate that whereas by itself citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands seem reasonable, they lag behind those of their peers in comparable countries. Furthermore, relatively large differences in citizenship competences between students with different social backgrounds and between educational tracks are documented. These findings are discussed, with a critical reflection on how characteristics of the Dutch school system may have contributed to this, and suggestions to improve citizenship education in the Netherlands are made.

Introduction

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 conducted in the Netherlands provides a comprehensive overview of citizenship education and its outcomes. At first glance, the results seem satisfactory. The majority of Dutch students support democratic notions of citizenship; on average, they trust the institutions of the democratic constitutional state. If we compare Dutch results with those obtained in other countries, however, they appear less positive. Dutch schools pay less attention to citizenship education and students have fewer citizenship competences (i.e., knowledge, skills, and attitudes) than their peers in comparable countries. They are also less socially and politically involved and are less positive about values such as equal rights for different ethnic groups. Moreover, there are relatively large differences between Dutch students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and substantial differences in citizenship competences between students in the various educational tracks (Schulz et al. 2018).

This chapter's central theme is the inequality in citizenship competences among students. The Netherlands provides an interesting case to study this issue, given the allocation of students to different educational tracks at age 12 as well as the high level of school autonomy in citizenship education.

We start with the policy context. What citizenship task has the government assigned to the schools and what latitude and resources do schools have to carry it out? Next, we will describe citizenship education in Dutch secondary schools and the citizenship competences of their students, mainly based on ICCS 2016 results. These results will then be compared to those of other countries and over time. Next, we will discuss the options available to the Dutch government to strengthen citizenship education, and conclude by sketching future scenarios for Dutch citizenship education policy to foster equality in citizenship competences among students, and future research.

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Citizenship Education in the Netherlands

A strong and resilient democracy needs citizens who possess competences to participate in and contribute to society. Strengthening students' citizenship competences through education has recently become an important theme in politics, the public debate, and science (e.g., Haste 2010; Eurydice 2012, 2017). This arises from a desire to increase social cohesion (Oser and Veugelers 2008), that is, to harden the "social glue" that keeps society together and ensures that citizens feel committed to each other and are involved in society. In 2005/2006, the Dutch government laid down the promotion of citizenship in educational legislation and in the core objectives of primary and secondary education. The statutory citizenship obligation has been formulated in rather unspecified terms, and schools can determine its content, nature, and extent. However, it is specified that schools should promote "active citizenship and social integration." According to the Dutch Ministry of Education, "active citizenship" refers to "the willingness and ability to be part of a community and to make an active contribution to this community." "Social integration" refers to "participation of citizens in society (regardless of their ethnic or cultural background), in the form of civic participation, involvement in society and its institutions and familiarity with and commitment to manifestations of Dutch culture."[2]

The Netherlands was the last country in Europe to adopt citizenship education as a statutory obligation (Eurydice 2005). The reluctance of both the Dutch government and the school system to make citizenship part of the formal curriculum is no coincidence. A strong regulating factor, which affects the development of citizenship education and related policies, is the constitutional "freedom of education" (see Glenn and De Groof 2002; Dijkstra and Dronkers 2003). This principle allows organizations and groups to found schools and allows schools to design their curricula to shape teaching in line with a religious or philosophical orientation. The government makes no distinction between schools with regard to funding. School autonomy is deeply embedded in the history and culture of the Netherlands. The same article of the Constitution stipulates, however, that education is "of ongoing concern to the government." Thus, there is a balance between school autonomy and governmental controls aimed at achieving basic standards of schooling. Schools are free to design citizenship education as they see fit, as long as it respects the basic values of the democratic state and is based on an underlying vision aimed at active citizenship and social integration. How schools meet the citizenship obligation (e.g., teaching it as a separate subject, or through projects or embedded in other subjects), what content they teach and how much attention they pay to it is up to each school individually.[3]

It is therefore no surprise that the Dutch Inspectorate of Education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016) warned that schools differ greatly with respect to the content, organization, and quality of citizenship teaching. Promotion of citizenship competences is found in some curriculum elements but it is often unclear how various activities are related. The connection between regular school subjects and citizenship-specific projects is often missing, as is a link with the school climate. Only a few schools have formulated learning objectives and most schools do not measure the effects of their citizenship teaching. However, because the statutory obligation to invest in citizenship education has been formulated in very general terms, without defining minimum contents or results, the formal competence of the Inspectorate to impose procedures is limited (Dijkstra et al. 2014). It cannot criticize the content, methods or frequency of teaching citizenship, even if these are very minimal. Only if schools violate the basic values of the democratic constitutional state can they be said to fall short of the statutory obligation. The result of the interplay between limited central steering and school autonomy is the deeply engrained variety in citizenship teaching practices across schools.

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2   Active Citizenship and Social Integration Act, December 9, 2005, Dutch Ministry of Education and Science.
3   In addition to the statutory citizenship obligation, all senior students in secondary education (from age 15) are taught civic studies (*maatschappijleer*) as a separate subject.

Equal Opportunities and Citizenship Outcomes

In addition, the Dutch school system is characterized by early educational tracking. After the final year of primary school, a selection process determines what secondary school type the student will attend: pre-vocational education (*vmbo*), or one of the levels of general secondary education (*havo* or *vwo*) that prepare for higher education. The goal of early tracking is to suit instruction to the students' ability levels. However, this characteristic of the Dutch education system leads to students being assigned to a specific school type too early in their school career, and limits access to higher education (cf. OECD 2016). This reduces educational opportunities, especially for students from disadvantaged groups, and increases existing differences in cognitive performance.

Although the effects of early tracking on general academic achievement have been researched extensively, its effects on civic outcomes have not been studied. Do the negative effects of tracking also apply to citizenship competences? It could be that the effects are even more negative because of the relative homogeneous grouping of students within the tracks, in terms of social backgrounds. By this grouping, interaction with diverse individuals, an essential component of citizenship in a plural and multicultural society, is limited. The ICCS study conducted in the Netherlands illuminates the relation between tracking and citizenship outcomes, indicating that tracking may promote inequality in civic outcomes.

Citizenship Competences and Citizenship Education in the Netherlands

In this section, we focus on the most recent results of the ICCS 2016 study from different angles (Munniksma et al. 2017). First, we will present a general and descriptive picture of citizenship knowledge, attitudes, skills, and behaviours of the 14-year-old students involved. Next, to put this into perspective, we will compare the results with those from other countries with a focus on Belgium (Flanders) and the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden). These countries are comparable to the Netherlands on the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Programme. Thereafter, we will look at different periods, by comparing the citizenship competences from 2016 to those of seven years earlier (ICCS 2009). Next, we will look at differences between schools and between students, including a focus on students' background characteristics and their academic track. Finally, we will examine these findings in the light of recent educational policies in the Netherlands.

Citizenship Competences of Dutch Secondary School Students

ICCS 2016 shows that most Dutch students in the second year of secondary school support democratic principles. In general, they trust the institutions of the democratic constitutional state. Most students feel that respecting differences of opinion is the most important aspect of good citizenship, and most are in favour of equal rights for men and women and, to a lesser extent, for ethnic minorities. They have limited confidence in their own citizenship competences (such as their ability to follow a debate or defend a point of view). To keep up-to-date with social and political issues, most students watch television (63% at least once a week). Newspapers and the internet are used much less for this purpose (18% and 10% respectively). In addition, 71% of students intend to vote when eligible. Their civic knowledge—about the ways in which a democratic society "works," the underlying principles and their application—is middling.

If we compare the Dutch ICCS 2016 findings to those of Flanders, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, the most important conclusion is that Dutch students clearly have less citizenship knowledge than students in these other countries. The group of students with high scores is relatively small in the Netherlands, while students with low scores are relatively numerous.

The results of Dutch secondary school students also lag behind those of their peers in these comparable countries in other respects. This includes the importance students attach to conventional aspects of citizenship (e.g., voting in elections, learning the history of one's country)

and to aspects of social commitment (e.g., participating in peaceful protests and activities to help people in the local community). Generally, their trust in political parties and the national parliament is relatively low. Furthermore, Dutch students are comparatively less inclined to grant women the same rights as men. By comparison, support for equal rights for all ethnic groups in society is also less strong among students in the Netherlands. Moreover, Dutch students lag behind their peers in comparable countries with respect to social and political participation, both currently and in their expectations about future participation. In line with these findings, Dutch students are (with students in Finland and Latvia) among the students who feel less confident about their own citizenship competences (e.g., being able to follow a TV-debate or defend a point of view).

Inequalities

To shed light on differences in Dutch schools, we compared students with different background characteristics. The ICCS findings show that boys and girls do not differ much with respect to citizenship competences. Girls have slightly more citizenship knowledge and more strongly support equal rights for men and women and equal rights for ethnic groups in society. They also report more civic participation (e.g., voluntary work), than boys. There are no gender differences with respect to trust in societal institutions, confidence about one's citizenship competences, and expected voting behaviour. These gender differences are generally comparable to the differences found in other countries.

There are also differences between students with and without a migration background. The former are more often in favour of equal rights for all ethnic groups. These groups do not differ, however, with respect to their opinions about equal rights for men and women. Students with a migration background have less trust in societal institutions and think it is less likely that they will vote in the future. In addition, they have less citizenship knowledge than non-migrants. The two groups do not differ in civic participation. These results are in line with those in the comparison countries, with the differences in citizenship knowledge between migrant and non-migrant students being relatively small in the Netherlands.

Differences between students with lower and higher educated parents are much more substantial. This is particularly true for citizenship knowledge and for supporting equal rights for men and women and ethnic groups, where students with lower educated parents have substantially lower scores. In Finland and Norway, this difference in citizenship knowledge is smaller than in the Netherlands, while it is equally large in Flanders, Denmark, and Sweden. We also see that children of less educated parents in the Netherlands report less trust in societal institutions and appear less inclined to vote. The same pattern occurs in the comparison countries. By contrast, the difference between children of lower and higher educated parents with respect to confidence in their own citizenship competences is small, in both the Netherlands and the comparison countries. Civic participation does not differ between children of lower and higher educated parents in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland, while it does in Flanders, Denmark, and Norway.

In sum, there are considerable differences in citizenship competences between students from different social backgrounds. These differences are more or less similar to those in 2009 (Maslowski et al. 2012) and remained virtually unchanged in comparing students with and without a migration background. As in 2009, students from families with a higher level of education have more citizenship knowledge and more strongly support equal rights for groups in society. What is striking is that in 2016 girls have more citizenship knowledge than boys (whereas there was no gender difference in 2009, and boys had more citizenship knowledge in 1971; Maslowski et al. 2012; Torney et al. 1975).

Differences Between Educational Tracks

Since Dutch schools' practice early selection of students into different educational tracks, comparing these tracks is warranted. Earlier we explained that the Dutch education system is characterized by strong external differentiation through separate secondary school types: *vmbo* (prevocational education), and *havo* and *vwo/gymnasium*. This is reflected in the citizenship results. Students in the latter two school types have more citizenship knowledge and think it is more likely that they will vote later in life. They have more trust in societal institutions and are more in favour of equal rights for all ethnic groups. In contrast, there are only small differences between school types with respect to students' confidence in their own citizenship competences and civic participation. However, the differences in citizenship knowledge between school types are larger in 2016 than in 2009 (see Maslowski et al. 2012; Munniksma et al. 2017). The knowledge level of *vmbo* students in 2016 was about the same as in 2009, while students in the higher school types scored higher than in 2009.

Reasons for this relatively large inequality in the Netherlands could be the ways in which citizenship education is organized in the various school types or the student grouping into tracks. Other quantitative research shows that Dutch schools that prepare their students for higher education are convinced that critical citizenship and personal development are important, while vocational schools are more focused on adjustment-oriented citizenship and socially acceptable behaviour (Ten Dam and Volman 2003; Leenders et al. 2008). With respect to student grouping, longitudinal research in Germany and the United Kingdom shows that placement in different educational tracks is related to differences in citizenship outcomes between students in these tracks (Eckstein et al. 2012; Janmaat et al. 2014). The Dutch system's early tracking of students appears likely to contribute to the relatively large differences in citizenship competences found in the Netherlands. However, data to draw far-reaching conclusions about these differences and the underlying mechanisms are currently lacking.

Citizenship Teaching

What does the ICCS 2016 study tell us about the state of citizenship teaching in the Netherlands? The ICCS 2016 findings show that, compared to schools in other countries, Dutch schools invest less in several aspects of citizenship education. Dutch students, unlike their peers in the comparison countries, feel that the classroom climate is not especially conducive to discussion. They also paint a more negative picture of the relationships between students and teachers than their foreign peers (although they have become slightly more positive since 2009). Furthermore, a relatively small percentage of Dutch students participate in citizenship activities at school (e.g., having a say in how the school is run or standing for or voting in elections for class representatives, the school parliament, or the student council). In the Netherlands, students also have fewer opportunities to participate in school affairs than their peers in the comparison countries.

We also see differences in citizenship education between educational tracks. In higher tracks, students participate more in democratic activities and feel that this is important. Students in higher tracks also report a more open classroom climate for discussion and more positive student-teacher relations. In contrast, lower track students indicate to have learned more about topics related to citizenship at school, than higher track students. The same impression emerges from the results of the ICCS 2016 surveys among school managers and teachers. A large majority of school managers state that students (like their parents and their teachers) have little or no say in school affairs. Compared to other countries, Dutch students also show less interest in such participation. Teachers make relatively little use of available teaching aids but mainly use textbooks and workbooks. Overall, they indicate that they feel less competent to teach topics related to citizenship than their peers in other countries. This is true for topics such as elections, the constitution, and international organizations but less so for critical thinking or responsible internet use.

Overall, it is not surprising that the percentages of Dutch students who state that they have learned about various citizenship topics are lower than those in most comparison countries. It should be noted that most students only attend *maatschappijleer* (civic studies)[4] classes after their second year of secondary school. However, also next to teaching civic knowledge in the formal curriculum, there appears to be less space to practice citizenship in Dutch schools than in other countries.

Differences in Citizenship Knowledge Between and Within Schools

The ICCS 2009 results showed that, on average, 28% of the differences in student citizenship knowledge can be explained by school characteristics, while 72% can be attributed to individual student characteristics. To what extent are these results similar in the 2016 study?

The ICCS 2016 results show that the overall amount of variation in citizenship knowledge among students in the Netherlands is comparable to all ICCS countries. However, if we specifically take a look at the differences *between* schools versus the differences within schools, the Netherlands do stand out: of all ICCS countries, the percentage of the total variance (differences) between schools is the largest in the Netherlands (55%). In the comparison countries this ranged from 40% in Belgium (Flanders) to 6% in Norway and Finland. Put more simply, there are more high scoring schools and more low scoring schools in the Netherlands than elsewhere.

Similar to the 2009 findings, it also appears that a large percentage (74%) of the differences in citizenship knowledge between schools can be explained by the personal and social background characteristics of students enrolled in schools. Student characteristics such as socioeconomic status, the language spoken at home and the expectation that the student will go on to university are strongly related to the type of school attended by the student and also explains most of the differences in civic knowledge between schools. These characteristics explain the differences in civic knowledge within Dutch school to a far lesser degree. Furthermore, relatively little of the differences between schools can be explained by the extent of teaching about citizenship offered at school. In summary, results indicate that most of the differences between schools in students' citizenship knowledge can be attributed to differences in the backgrounds of the students who compose the school's student body.

The Citizenship Education Debate: Autonomy and Accountability

It is frequently observed that citizenship education in the Netherlands does not meet the expectations. As previously stated, the Dutch Inspectorate of Education has repeatedly reported that the development of citizenship education is stagnating (most recently, Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016). The Inspectorate attributes this to the quality of the teaching. Other studies also show that there is little specific attention to what students should learn about citizenship and how this should be taught. This applies to both primary and secondary education (Maslowski et al. 2012). One problem affecting the quality of citizenship teaching is a lack of reliable information about the existing citizenship competences of students. This means that schools are unable to adapt their teaching to what their students need (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016). At the system level there is at best a limited understanding of what is needed. Although some national studies are available (e.g., Geijsel et al. 2012; Dijkstra et al. 2015; Geboers et al. 2015), relatively little is known about the characteristics of citizenship education and its outcomes. These are not new questions, as publications by educational researchers have shown (e.g., Bron and Thijs 2011; Veugelers 2007).

The results of international comparative research also shed light on the current situation. The ICCS studies give rise to various questions about the quality of Dutch citizenship education and

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4   This course, maatschappijleer, is taught in all secondary schools by an accredited teacher for this subject, and covers topics related to civics.

inform the public debate about whether citizenship education satisfies society's expectations, and where improvement is necessary and feasible. The ICCS 2009 and 2016 studies show that the citizenship competences of Dutch secondary school students are less developed than those of their peers in neighbouring countries, and there has hardly been any improvement (Kerr et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2010; Maslowski et al. 2012; Munniksma et al. 2017). Moreover, the differences among Dutch students are relatively large. Nationally representative samples of schools such as those of IEA are essential to address questions related to within and between school variance associated with social background. The Netherlands will participate in the next ICCS cycle, in 2022, which will allow us to follow these developments over a longer period.

Meanwhile, the debate about the school's statutory obligation to teach citizenship continues. In the Netherlands, an important element is the issue of the so-far limited steering by the central government. Although the law stipulates that schools must pay attention to citizenship, they are free to choose the content, approach, and quantity. This freedom in education has led to great variation in the way in which citizenship is taught. It also allowed schools to teach in a way that is unfocused and ineffective and has led to stagnation in the development of citizenship education. Although the position of the Dutch government can partly be understood from its reluctance to prescribe particular values to be taught, the traditional importance attached to school autonomy plays an even greater role (Glenn and De Groof 2002; Dijkstra and Dronkers 2003). The result is a mix of factors—the statutory obligation which is defined in very general terms and the struggle of school managers and teachers to "give this theme flesh and bones." Until recently, the guiding principle of each school's autonomy limited many initiatives to develop citizenship education.

This situation makes empirical data on citizenship education and its outcomes especially important. The results of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, which show that there has been little improvement since the schools were obliged to invest in citizenship education, play an important role in the Dutch debate. The disappointing citizenship outcomes combined with existing concerns about social cohesion and polarization in society have led to a debate about the need for strengthening citizenship education. The findings of the ICCS studies provide documentation of the relatively modest outcomes in comparison to those in neighbouring countries and the relatively large differences between schools and between academic and vocational tracks.

The Dutch Education Council, an influential and independent advisory body of the Dutch government and parliament, has also taken up the gauntlet. In 2012, the Council advised that the government tightens control in the area of citizenship teaching. The Council advised that all schools should be offered legal guidelines stating specific expectations concerned with teaching students about the democratic constitutional state and how they could function in a democratic society (Onderwijsraad 2012). The Inspectorate of Education also advocated that schools should be given more guidance and resources for school development (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016). Finally, citizenship has been given a prominent place in current curriculum innovation initiatives for primary and secondary education. How this will be realized and what effect this will have on the content and organization of teaching cannot be determined yet. After the parliamentary debate, which is still to occur, it will in all likelihood take several years before concrete initiatives will reach the schools.

Nevertheless, some—as yet cautious—government efforts to strengthen citizenship teaching have become manifest. One initiative was a "performance agreement" to improve educational quality negotiated with the sector organization for secondary education (2014). This has the goal of increasing the average citizenship knowledge of Dutch secondary school students by 2020. Given the, although small, rise in absolute scores on citizenship knowledge, and despite growing inequalities, the results were evaluated positively by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (2017). As mentioned before, the ICCS citizenship knowledge measurement clearly

played a role in the arguments presented by the government. In 2017 and 2019, the government and the national sector organizations formulated two small scale projects involving 25 secondary schools to support strengthened citizenship teaching in secondary vocational and general education (with students between 12 and 18-years-old). The hesitant but growing attention paid to citizenship by the Dutch government has so far mainly taken the form of covenants with limited support. The question is whether this is enough to stop the observed stagnation in the development of citizenship education and its disappointing results.

Furthermore, as we have seen, there are large differences between and within Dutch schools with respect to the citizenship competences of their students. These differences are associated with socioeconomic backgrounds. An element of the state's responsibility for democracy is to show *all* young people not only that it is desirable to be a responsible citizen but also providing them with the necessary tools. This is not easy within the context of the Dutch education system, in which the government is obliged to respect widespread freedom in education. Schools are free to express their philosophical or religious identity and teach their students accordingly.

With respect to government action, Waslander et al. (2018) have developed a useful "steering trilogy" based on Foucault's governmentality concept. The authors state that to manage an educational theme (like citizenship education), three things are necessary: making the subject *thinkable*, *calculable*, and *practicable*.

With regard to the first factor, making the subject *thinkable*, a clear and common "language" is required. The more specifically the object of steering is described, the less latitude there is for personal interpretation. The current legislation obliging schools to teach citizenship is formulated in such general terms that it hardly provides any guidance. The same applies to the related core objectives. Qualitative research also shows that board members, school managers, and teachers often have different ideas about the substance of citizenship education—even when they are working at the same school (Waslander and Pater 2017). Research shows that schools, if they are to teach citizenship effectively, should explicitly formulate their citizenship goals, design a specific teaching program, and monitor the outcomes. In particular the differences between students in socioeconomic background should be taken into account. School can and should compensate for societal inequality. The problems associated with early tracking, however, cannot be solved by individual schools.

Once the aim of citizenship education has been made *thinkable*, it should be made *calculable*—conceptualizing how schools should assess, address, and evaluate these requirements. The consequences of poor results for schools and students should also be made calculable. At present, what results are required is unclear because the legislation does not specify what schools need to attain or commit to. Failing results do not have ramifications, which means that citizenship education is often not given sufficient attention, time, and resources in Dutch schools. Hence, the government should substantially increase both the monitoring of citizenship education and the development of measurement instruments.

After citizenship education has been made *thinkable* and *calculable*, the last step in steering should be taken: making it *practicable*. A call was made for additional support (e.g., covering effective methods, teacher training programs, and instruments for measuring outcomes) around the time that the statutory citizenship teaching obligation was introduced in 2005; only limited resources, however, were provided, for example, in the form of basic subject planning models.

Summary, Conclusions, and Suggestions for Further Research

The results of the Dutch ICCS study show that most young people support democratic values and that their citizenship competences can be considered to be "reasonable" on the whole. In absolute figures, the citizenship knowledge of secondary school students is slightly higher than it was in 2009. Nevertheless, when compared to other countries, this impression must be reassessed: citizenship outcomes are lower than in comparable countries; the differences between schools are relatively large and schools pay less attention to citizenship education. Moreover, there are relatively large differences between students of parents with different socioeconomic backgrounds and between students in vocational and general secondary school tracks. The differences in citizenship knowledge between the school tracks have even grown since 2009. These results add considerably to the knowledge about the quality of Dutch citizenship education. The Inspectorate of Education and the national government advisory body (the Education Council) have repeatedly argued that at both school and system level there is little understanding of students' civic outcomes. The ICCS studies are important in this respect.

Although there are reasons to improve citizenship education, we have shown how complicated that process is in the Dutch context. School autonomy as a dominant principle is illustrated, for example, by the government's reluctance to formulate the statutory citizenship obligation in specific terms, and limited ambition with respect to improving the outcomes. In addition, there is a need to support schools in their efforts to improve citizenship teaching. This has so far been implemented in a noncommittal fashion and has been based on the willingness of the sector organizations for primary and secondary education to take action. However, a revision of the statutory citizenship obligation, which will come into effect in 2021–2022, is being prepared. This might address one of the two main obstacles to the development of citizenship education (more clarity for schools on what is expected of them) but not the other (the lack of a supportive infrastructure for schools). Remarkably, the intended national curriculum revision, in which strengthening the societal task of schools is a major consideration, appears not to have had a stimulating effect. In keeping with the Dutch tradition, the education field, where the influence of both educational organizations and teachers is strong, has assumed an important role in this process. There are few safeguards for quality assurance or governmental steering in terms of content.

Further research, including international comparative studies such as ICCS, could make an important contribution to the future development of citizenship teaching and citizenship results. A positive factor is the decision of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science to participate in the ICCS 2022 cycle and also to organize a supplementary national study (in 2020). This new information, to be based on ICCS instruments, will not only contribute to our knowledge of the current situation that can be used as policy inputs, but could also lead to a better understanding of the relation between characteristics of citizenship education and its outcomes. This could lead to better insight into "what works." It may be worthwhile to assign this a more prominent place in future ICCS research. For example, it may be valuable to investigate how specific characteristics of citizenship education are related to outcomes and to think about ways to give the ICCS design a closer fit with what nations need to know in order to develop effective national educational policies. Of course, international comparisons would be retained.

The question of what the school's contribution might be leads to an important issue. It seems evident that not only the schools, but parental resources, peers, and media have a substantial effect on citizenship competences. This should reduce expectations that only investments in education are required to promote citizenship competences. The fact that the influence of schools appears to have been modest shows that it is important to provide adequate steering about where schools can make their influence felt. In this respect, an important role is played

by the potential ability of schools to compensate for background differences between students in relation to civic outcomes.

For both issues—what schools can do and how can this be steered—it is important to find out how citizenship results are influenced by the interplay of educational and societal factors. Relevant societal factors may be the socioeconomic and sociocultural opportunity structure (for example, social inequality), the extent to which different groups have trust in society and its institutions, and political representation for all groups. The international comparison inherent in ICCS offers excellent opportunities to gain a better understanding of these issues. This should include empirical research into the relationship between school practices and school policies aimed at developing citizenship teaching and their school-transcending determinants (e.g., steering at higher levels, statutory rules, and school supervision). It would also be valuable to thoroughly investigate how tracking (and the resulting increased segregation based on social backgrounds across schools) is related to citizenship education and its outcomes. This could contribute to a better understanding of which reforms are likely to succeed.

The Need for Improvement

The results of ICCS 2016 show better outcomes in many countries compared to 2009. This also applies to the Netherlands, where the citizenship knowledge of students increased and their attitudes in some respects, became slightly more positive. What has caused this improvement is unclear. The higher mean score on the knowledge test cannot hide the fact that a relatively large number of students have low scores. This also applies to the substantial differences between students attending schools at various levels. However, the fact that the results of Dutch students are lower than those of their peers in other countries not only means that the earlier gap still exists but that better results are possible. The previous edition of the ICCS study led to the same conclusion (Maslowski et al. 2012), as did the Education Council (2012) and the Inspectorate of Education (2016). The fact that the Netherlands has invested little in the quality of citizenship education suggests that there may be an as yet untapped potential for contributions from schools.

In sum, when we interpret the ICCS 2016 findings together with the available knowledge-base and the characteristics of the Dutch education system, we conclude that there is considerable room for improving citizenship education and civic outcomes. The fact that differences in citizenship outcomes between tracks and between schools are larger than in other countries raises serious questions and underscores the importance of specifying a minimum common core for citizenship education for all schools to reduce these differences. Ultimately, we want all students in the Netherlands to have the knowledge and competences required to take part in democratic society.

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CHAPTER 13:

Strengthening Connections Between Research, Policy, and Practice in Norwegian Civic and Citizenship Education

Heidi Biseth, Idunn Seland, and Lihong Huang

Abstract In this chapter, we introduce recent education reforms in civic and citizenship education in Norway. We conducted an extensive literature review of relevant Norwegian published studies since 2000, providing a broad overview of the variety of studies undertaken with the aim to strengthen the connections between research, policy, and practice in this field. This investigation of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in the Norwegian policy documents, confirms the impression of civic and citizenship education studies having a substantial influence on the educational agenda in Norway.

Introduction

The Norwegian education system is designed to promote democracy together with values such as equality, solidarity, and human rights. Students are expected to share responsibilities for decisions and have the right to participate according to the Norwegian Education Act (Kunnskapsdepartementet 1998). In this chapter, we discuss Norwegian civic and citizenship education including the most recent reforms. Then we describe how Norwegian teachers are prepared to teach civic and citizenship education. As we did not find any summary of Norwegian publications on civic and citizenship education, we conducted a review from 2000. The chapter also describes how International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS) are presented in education discourse and appear to be influencing Norwegian policy.

Heidi Biseth was a member of the National Advisory Group for the ICCS 2016 in Norway, she also conducts research using IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) and ICCS data. Lihong Huang was the national research coordinator for ICCS 2016, and senior researcher Idunn Seland was an NRC research team member.

Current Civic and Citizenship Education

The last reform in Norwegian education took place in 2006, so the ICCS 2009 partially captures some of these alterations. The aim of the reform was to increase the achievements among all students as described by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2020). Basic skills; orality, reading, writing, arithmetic, and digital skills, were introduced in all subjects and across all grades. Learning outcome-based education was introduced in addition to an increased local autonomy on how to organize the education. Two compulsory subjects are crucial in civic and citizenship education:

- Social studies (634 hours in total in grade 1–10, 168 hours in senior high school)
- Christianity, religion, philosophies of life, and ethics (580 hours in total in grade 1–10).

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In addition, most other subjects have some role in fulfilling the overall aims of civic or citizenship education, exemplified here by the described purpose of mathematics:

> "Active democracy requires citizens who are able to study, understand and critically assess quantitative information, statistical analyses and economic prognoses. Hence mathematical competence is required to understand and influence processes in society" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2006).

Mathematics is eloquently described as a subject contributing to developing core civic traits, and complementary to other subjects in civic and citizenship education. Furthermore, the school is required to facilitate students' experience with examples of democratic participation and influence in everyday life, in the classroom, in the school, and in formal bodies like student councils.

Mikkelsen and Fjeldstad (2013) provided a thorough overview of civic and citizenship education in the Norwegian school system in the ICCS 2009 encyclopedia. Up until 2016 when ICCS was conducted, not much changed. However, a new national curriculum (Kunnskapsløftet 2020 - LK20) is implemented from August 2020 in which *public health and life skills*, *democracy and citizenship*, and *sustainable development* are the three crosscutting core themes considered important for addressing societal challenges. Each subject plan clearly addresses one, two, or all three of the crosscutting themes in specific ways. Democracy and citizenship move from a relatively peripheral position in the Education Act and the core curriculum to a central place difficult for headmasters and teachers to overlook.

Teachers of Civic and Citizenship Education

In the contemporary Norwegian education system, certain subjects play a key role in civic and citizenship education. Teachers of *social studies* and *Christianity, religion, philosophies of life and ethics*, as well as all qualified teachers of junior high schools, are capable of teaching the content prescribed for civic and citizenship education. Two programs exist to become a qualified teacher:

(1) a four-year teacher education program in which the candidate specializes in three or four subjects

(2) a bachelor's or master's degree relevant for the subjects the candidate is to teach and a year of teacher education including pedagogical theory and practice.

In the first program, candidates choose between qualifying for teaching at grade 1 through 7 or grade 5 through 10. In the second program, the candidates qualify for teaching only grade 8 through grade 13. As of 2017, the first program became a full master's degree with first cohort graduating in 2022. The second program also changed in 2017, now requiring a master's degree for admission. This implies that all teachers graduating from 2022 onward will have a master's degree. The requirements also include more specialization in the subjects they expect to teach.

Professional development of current teachers is an ongoing process financed by the Ministry of Education and Research. Some initiatives are in-service education offered by teacher education institutions to advance the formal qualifications of current teachers to align with those of new teachers. However, local professional development projects are also funded. Municipalities decide what is needed in terms of competence development among their teachers. Then they link with a university or university college that can provide support. Currently, democracy and citizenship education are in increasing demand through such professional development projects as preparations for the new national curriculum from 2020.

Norwegian Studies on Civic and Citizenship Education

Norway participated in the IEA CIVED 1999, and in both ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016. The major results from the CIVED 1999 study were that Norwegian students achieved above the international mean score in civic knowledge, varied scores on the civic engagement, whereas

the country mean score was significantly higher than the international mean score on most dimensions of civic attitudes (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). The youth had some willingness to vote in future elections, but not to become active participants in representative democracy. Yet, they considered being active in other ways, engaging with issues of equal gender status, supportive of immigrants' rights, and trusting in political authorities and institutions (Mikkelsen et al. 2001; Mikkelsen et al. 2002; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). In ICCS 2009, similar results were reported (Mikkelsen et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2010). Of the 24 participating countries in ICCS 2016, Norwegian youth was ranked as number five on the knowledge test with an average score of 564, 47 points above the international average (Huang et al. 2017, p. 45). Interestingly, the difference in performance on the knowledge test between socioeconomic classes decreased from 47 points on ICCS 2009 to 35 points on ICCS 2016 (Huang et al. 2017, p. 67). The knowledge test showed a 9 point increasing gender difference favoring girls from ICCS 2009 to ICCS 2016 (Huang et al. 2017, p. 57). At the same time, a high level of trust existed toward political institutions but traditional media is weakened as a channel of political information (Huang et al. 2017; Schulz et al. 2018). The CIVED study and ICCS studies are, in a Norwegian context, complemented by several other studies on civic and citizenship education. A diversity of research objectives and approaches have been used, providing a more in-depth picture of practice in Norwegian civic and citizenship education.

Biseth has led a Norwegian team engaging in the independent Global Doing Democracy Research Project with the aim to develop a robust and critical democratic education curriculum and practice. The international project headed by Professor Paul Carr (Université du Québec en Outaouais, Canada) and Professor David Zyngier (Monash University, Australia) had an outreach to all continents. The questionnaire was adapted to each country and distributed in schools (e.g. Carr et al. 2012; Lund and Carr 2008). The Norwegian study was entitled *Democracy in everyday life*. The sample was recruited from teacher educators and student teachers as this is considered an under-investigated population with profound influence on practices of future teachers. The Norwegian team members, Wistrøm and Madsen (2018), published on a small portion of the sample of student teachers (n=18), all in the subject of science. They argued that skills and experiences in the school subjects of natural science and democratic skills share common characteristics including critical thinking, the role of inquiry and evidence, and the capability to engage with public discourse or debate. These are all characteristics expected to be developed through the Norwegian education system and needed by a democratic citizenry (Kunnskapsdepartementet 1998). The researchers explored whether student teachers could identify connections between the systematic and critical procedures in natural science and democratic practices, concluding that students did not make this connection, rather understanding democracy solely as a political system (Wistrøm and Madsen 2018, p. 18). Eriksen (2018), also part of the project *Democracy in everyday life*, investigated which teaching practices student teachers in social studies associate with democratic education (n=81). "Students' participation" was the most prominent and appears a core concept in their views of democratic education. This includes students having their voice heard through voting in the classroom or through organized or more informal discussions (Eriksen 2018). In an unrelated study, student teachers were asked about promoting civic engagement through their own teaching. Biseth et al. (2018) corroborate that many had a superficial understanding of democracy as limited to a political system. Although many student teachers highlighted rights and freedoms, usually as human rights, as part of how we live together in a democracy, this was not visible in how they designed their teaching and learning activities.

These results on student teachers align with another publication in the *Democracy in everyday life* study focusing on about 150 teacher educators' understandings and descriptions of their practices related to democracy and democratic education (Biseth and Lyden 2018). The overwhelming majority of respondents reported encouraging student teachers to take part

in formal participatory structures at the university level such as Students' Council; this meant promoting democratic engagement through formal political structures. Additionally, discussion was the predominant classroom activity used by teacher educators to prepare future teachers for democratic actions. The authors argue that several teacher educators in this study displayed an understanding of democracy that was more advanced than the weak understanding found in previous studies. However, it seemed as if teachers' understanding did not translate into their learning and teaching activities. For example, 95% of the respondents assess social justice as a core element of democracy, yet practices related to social justice was often considered to be beyond the mandate of a teacher educator. The few that addressed it limited this to create an inclusive community of learners across socioeconomic, racial, and gender lines. The absence of fighting for social justice issues such as gender equality, combating racism, or how to address sustainable development for all in the reported teaching practices, is interesting. If these self-reported practices carry reliability, teacher educators in this study seem to limit the tools future teachers have at their disposal for conducting democratic civic and citizenship education.

Beyond participation in international studies, Norwegian scholars have conducted research on democracy and citizenship education from several perspectives as will be clear in the following review. Many of these studies, especially from the early 2000s, are published only in Norwegian. IEA civic studies are mentioned in the literature review of several of these studies. Other studies are focused on schools from a policy perspective, and from teachers' and students' viewpoints. Some scholars have a political science orientation, investigating political organization, political socialization, or political participation as core democratic elements (e.g., Solhaug 2003; Børhaug 2007a, 2007b). Researchers with a background in teacher education have an approach focusing on civic and citizenship education within several school subjects.

Stray (2010) conducted a discourse analysis of Norwegian education policy and the national curriculum and compared this within-country discourse with international discourses on democracy and citizenship education. Stray argues that because of the 2006 education reform, democracy and citizenship were given less priority replaced by a focus on basic skills and core subjects. The fact that Norwegian students scored high on knowledge in the CIVED study may have given the impression that Norwegian schools are performing so well that little new attention is needed. This has provided an excuse for politicians and educators to move their focus away from democracy and civic education. In other words, democracy and democratic values may be seen as intrinsic to Norwegian schools, and, by extension, to the Norwegian population. Stray's conclusions are worrying, particularly when looking into data from other parts of CIVED showing, for example, that Norwegian students are considerably less likely than those in most of the other 27 countries to believe that it is important for adult citizens to engage in conventional political behavior such as voting or following political issues in the media (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, p. 82).

Using data from a national survey in 2002, which included more than 11,000 Norwegian youth aged 13–19, Lauglo and Øia (2008) reported on political socialization and political participation. This study was inspired by several factors, including an initiative of the OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) entitled Outcomes of Learning and using results from the IEA civic education studies from 1971, 1999, and 2000. They concluded that the single most important education predictor of civic engagement of Norwegian high school students is whether young people hope and plan to progress to higher education.

Some other researchers have found that the role of education has less pronounced effects on the promotion of civic competence and engagement. Solhaug (2003) investigated civic competence among students in six Norwegian senior high schools in two regions of the country. His quasi-experimental study with 1,735 participants found that parents' educational background, interest in politics, and social engagement had significant impact on the student's civic competence. The schools' efforts had varied impacts depending on teachers' level of engagement and on students'

enrollment in vocational or academic tracks. When the impact depends on individual teachers, development of civic competence can be vulnerable within the school system.

Embedded in the Norwegian Education Act (§ 11-2) is the belief that student councils are both a democratic hallmark of Norwegian education and a way of engaging Norwegian students in democratic political activities. The Act explicitly commits schools to democratic ways of planning, teaching, and organizing their activities. Børhaug (2007a, 2007b) investigated political education and asked the provocative question, "Are Norwegian student councils democratic?" (2007a, p. 27). In his empirical study of five junior high schools, he argues for two criteria to answer these questions: 1) student councils feeling free to engage in considering a broad range of issues they themselves see as important, and 2) student councils having an actual power base, not only the ability to simulate engagement in an imitation of democracy. Børhaug found that neither of these criteria were fulfilled, and what is labelled as democracy by the school does not really qualify as democratic activity. Biseth (2012) argues in the same vein, based on a study of democracy in multicultural school environments, claiming that students are socialized through what only appears to be a formal democracy. The students, rather, learn that their ability to act is strictly limited, their engagement unlikely to prove fruitful, and their achievements relate to minor issues allowed by the headmaster (usually related to social activities at school). One might ask whether the ambition of achieving democratic education through student councils accomplishes the intended aim in practice.

Furthermore, Solhaug and Osler (2018) argue that intercultural empathy constitutes a characteristic of an inclusively oriented citizen; they examined how 1,006 students across junior and senior high schools display this civic characteristic. There were substantial differences between boys' and girls' intercultural empathy (echoing a finding across the IEA civic education studies). Intercultural empathy was measured using expression of empathy, empathetic awareness, acceptance of cultural difference, and empathetic perspective taking. Students' understanding of cultural diversity predicted intercultural empathy. The school variables explored in this study to identify ways to support students' intercultural empathy showed limited associations with intercultural empathy outcomes. Yet, the authors suggest school practices supporting inclusive citizenship that promotes open dialogue and discussions. A comparative study conducted by Huang and Biseth (2016) concluded differently. Using Scandinavian student data from ICCS 2009 on the measures of open classroom climate (seven items that ask students how often they experience each of these seven teaching practices during regular lessons), the authors investigated how each practice contributed to increased students' civic knowledge achievement. Only students with high civic knowledge achievement were included in the analysis. The authors compared the strength of each of the classroom practices for its correlation with civic knowledge achievement by applying logistic regression (i.e., estimating the effect of each of these classroom practices on the probability of students becoming high achievers of civic knowledge). Practices such as "Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds" and "Students bring up current events" seem to increase the odds of high achievement of civic knowledge. The classroom practice where "Teachers encourage students to discuss the issue with people having different opinions," however, is the one teaching practice that appears to decrease students' odds of becoming high achievers in this Norwegian sample.

Several national studies on civic and citizenship education make suggestions on integrating these topics into several school subjects. Mathé (2016) focusing on social studies, investigated 16-year-old students' understanding of the concept of democracy (N=23). Students primarily expressed a liberal understanding of democracy, focusing on voting in elections as the main characteristic. Mathé argues that teacher educators in social studies should engage actively in discussing and defining core concepts with their student teachers and develop further opportunities for understanding modes of democratic participation.

Madsen and Biseth (2014b) edited a volume on democracy and citizenship education in school, illustrating how research on civic and citizenship education can be made hands on for teacher educators, student teachers, and teachers. Osler (2014) contributed a chapter on national and international perspectives on identity, democracy, and diversity, discussing the place of human rights and the role of the Council of Europe's Treaty on Human Rights Education and Citizenship Education. In the volume's section on general themes, Dahl (2014) provides a historical perspective on school democracy in Norway. He entitles this "a slow revolution" in democracy. Formative assessments at school can be used to enhance democracy, according to Bueie and Burner (2014). Stenshorne and Ballangrud (2014) argue that school management can use local professional development to promote democratic engagement by the school staff. Madsen and Biseth (2014a) report using social media in civic education. In the subject-specific section of the volume, researchers analyze various aspects of civic and citizenship education conducted within the subjects of Norwegian (Gjerstad 2014; Rustand 2014), social studies (Jenssen 2014; Sletvold 2014), mathematics (Madsen et al. 2014), religion (Valen-Sendstad 2014), science (Madsen and Strande 2014), and foreign language education (Heggernes 2014). There is a clear democratic mandate in the Norwegian Education Act intended to have ramifications for the teaching of every school subject. To be realistic, all the contributions above underline how civic education has *the potential* to be a significant component of practices in schools, but it depends on individual teachers and school leaders as to whether democracy and citizenship are included in curricula and school practices. To give one example of enhancing civic education school leaders have decided to work systematically for the prevention of racism, group-based hostility, and antidemocratic attitudes through the DEMBRA[1] project (www.dembra.no/en).

In addition to the national report from ICCS 2016 (Huang et al. 2017), several articles have been published using student data in a special issue in the *Norwegian Journal of Youth Research*. Hegna, Ødegård, and Seland (2018) discuss the significance of democratic knowledge and fundamental processes of socialization in developing an active citizenship among Norwegian youth. Ødegård and Svagård (2018) argue that democratic knowledge does not automatically lead to political participation and investigates which factors have the most significance for political mobilization of youth. Based on data from ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, Hegna (2018a) addresses the question as to whether students from higher socioeconomic classes are becoming substantially more politically engaged than students from other socioeconomic classes. Again, comparing data from 2009 and 2016, Hegna (2018b) investigates changes in youths' attitudes towards civic rights. Stray and Huang (2018) consider the relation between youths' democratic knowledge and their acceptance of religious authorities in society, basing their study on ICCS 2009 and 2016 data. Seland and Huang (2018) take as a point of departure the fact that youth scoring high in the ICCS 2016 knowledge test also have high grades in subjects such as social studies, Norwegian, mathematics, and English and invokes the concept of literacy. The purpose of the analysis is to increase the understanding of connections between what students are expected to learn about democracy in school and their results on the knowledge test. Huang et al. (2018) compare data from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to describe the trust Scandinavian youth have in institutions and interpersonal relationships, and their perspectives on future labor opportunities.

Furthermore, a special issue of the *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education* on ICCS 2016 data from teachers was published. Sætra and Stray (2019a) examined how social studies teachers' say they interpret and use different parts of the curriculum to teach for democracy. They also explored the kind of citizen that teachers hope to educate (Sætra and Stray 2019b). Hu and Huang (2019) conducted a comparative study of results from Norway, Sweden, South Korea, and Taiwan, examining teachers' professional development in terms of content

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1   DEMBRA = Demokratisk beredskap mot rasisme og antisemittisme (*Democratic preparedness against racism and anti-semitism*).

knowledge and teaching methods, their sense of preparedness in teaching practice of civic and citizenship education. They investigated how these variables were associated with students' experience of classroom climate. Eriksen and Huang (2019) did a comparative analysis of ICCS 2016 data from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden examining the association between the school administration's awareness of bullying among their pupils, student reports of bullying, and the measures in place at schools in each country. Cheah and Huang (2019) investigate how practices undertaken to implement environmental citizenship education in Nordic schools are associated with the behaviors and attitudes of students and their future intensions to address environmental issues.

These numerous academic publications provide evidence of substantial interest in the ICCS studies among Norwegian educational researchers. In addition, Norwegian researchers are preoccupied with a range of themes within civic and citizenship education, particularly on how this plays out in the education sector, ranging from policy level, through teacher education to implementation in schools and classrooms. The studies not based on the ICCS studies complement and nuance the picture by going into more details on other aspects than ICCS. However, despite the well-established democracy in Norway, an almost unison voice is raised among the researchers stressing the need of even further growth and development in civic and citizenship education throughout all education levels and across subjects.

Presence of ICCS Studies in Education Discourse, and their Influences in Norway

In this section, we examine policy documents at the state level between 1999 and 2019 to determine whether, and how, the IEA's civic and citizenship studies have impacted policy formation for primary schools, high schools, and teacher education in Norway during this period. The document search was conducted through the website of the Norwegian parliament, www. stortinget.no, and complemented by a search for public reports in the series *Norges offentlige utredninger* (NOU) via the website of the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research. NOUs are research, policy, and legal reviews prepared by public committees for subsequent government white papers or bills. We searched the websites for the abbreviations "CIVED"/"CIVIC"[2] and "ICCS," which resulted in a sample of 22 documents, including parliamentary committee reports and minutes from parliamentary debates. We then searched the parliament's website for the keyword "demokrati" (democracy), specified to documents tagged with the keyword "undervisning" (education), resulting in a sample of seven documents not included in the first search.

The majority of these 29 documents were either written by or commissioned for the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (*Kunnskapsdepartementet*), or by the parliamentary committee responsible for education i.e., the committee for Church, Education and Research (*kirke-, undervisnings- og forskingskomiteen*). However, our search also yielded two government white papers referencing the CIVED/ICCS studies written by the Ministry of Finance (*Finansdepartementet*) and the Ministry of Trade and Fisheries (*Nærings- og fiskeridepartementet*), respectively, and one NOU written to the Ministry of Children and Equality. The first white paper points to the decreasing social gap in Norwegian students' democratic knowledge as demonstrated in the ICCS 2016 (Finansdepartementet 2019). The second white paper briefly comments on how results from the ICCS 2009 were made relevant to the Nordic Council of Ministers during Norway's presidency, resulting in a Nordic teacher educators' conference on democratic values (Nærings- og fiskeridepartementet 2013). In NOU 2008: 6 (Barne- og familiedepartementet 2008), a public committee refers to Norwegian students' attitudes towards gender equality measured in the CIVED study from 1999. In all, we found references to four

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2   Our document search showed that IEA CIVED in 1999 has frequently been abbreviated "CIVIC" at Norwegian state level.

academic publications in the total document sample. These are Fjeldstad et al. (2011), Fjeldstad et al. (2010), Mikkelsen et al. (2002), and Mikkelsen et al. (2001).

In order to conduct a closer document analysis, we let the search engine highlight the actual keyword (CIVED; CIVICS; ICCS; demokrati; undervisning), then copied the entire paragraph containing the keyword(s) from the policy documents into a separate Word file. By reviewing these paragraphs in their chronological order, we first detected, then coded for different contexts when the documents mentioned the CIVED/ICCS studies.

As demonstrated by Stray (2010), a considerable number of references to the CIVED/ICCS studies are in documents referring to the development of the Norwegian national quality assessment system in education, starting with NOU 2002: 10 (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2002). The national system of quality assessment represents our first main category of contexts for mentioning of the CIVED/ICCS studies. Particularly in the documents following the educational reform of 2006, the CIVED/ICCS are listed along with other international studies such as OECD's PISA and IEA's TIMSS, PIRLS, and TEDS-M[3] that benchmark Norwegian students and engage Norwegian educational authorities in an ongoing debate on quality in education (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2003; Kunnskapsdepartementet 2004; Kunnskapsdepartementet 2008; Kunnskapsdepartementet 2009b; Kunnskapsdepartementet 2013). However, none of the Norwegian results from the IEA studies on civic and citizenship education sparked much discussion in the public discourse. Instead, the curriculum reform in 2006 was heavily influenced by the relatively low achievements of Norwegian students in PISA 2003 (OECD 2004). Consequently, educational policy and research shifted focus towards teaching and learning quality in reading, mathematics, and science, based on competence aims in the entire basic education system in Norway, and few civic teachers have systematic education in didactics on civic subjects (Hu and Huang 2019; Mikkelsen and Fjeldstad 2013). Nevertheless, the overarching focus on democratic citizenship in the national core curriculum has remained the same since 1997. Hence, civic education is considered a key element of Norwegian school, at least in public pronouncements (Biseth 2009). However, democratic citizenship is only articulated in the specific subjects to a limited degree in the 1997 and 2006 reforms.

We also find government documents from this period that underline the importance of democracy and what Mikkelsen and Fjeldstad (2013, p. 317) refer to as "a fundamental value of society and consequently the common ground of education." This constitutes our second context category in the document analysis, although documents mentioning these features of democratic education do so without referring to the CIVED/ICCS studies. In these documents, "democracy" more or less equals "human rights" and civic participation based on democratic citizenship, which is in line with the traditional rendering of the concept in Norwegian education (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2009c; Kunnskapsdepartementet 2017). Government white papers mentioning democracy and teacher education are found in this category (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2009b). The revision of the preamble to the Education Act in 2008 (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2007) also contains several occurrences of the word "democracy," but it places this concept within the framework of the pedagogical and philosophical tradition of *Bildung*.[4] This particular contextualization of "democracy" represents a sharp contrast to the way that "democracy" is used as a benchmark in documents referring to the IEA studies. This contrast further illustrates an ongoing debate in

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3   PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment, TIMSS = Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, PIRLS = Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, TEDS-M = Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics.

4   *Bildung* (German) is a concept deriving from continental and particularly German philosophy, meaning a creative process where a person shapes her own actions and cultural surroundings in order to attain a morally, ethically and aesthetically more advanced form of life (Siljander and Sutinen 2012, pp. 3–4). *Bildung* has no direct English equivalent, but the term "liberal education" is sometimes used to translate the same concept. However, the Swedish translation *bildning* and the Danish/Norwegian *dannelse* remain strong in Nordic pedagogy and educational discourse to this day.

Norway about how learning outcomes and competences should be measured by standardized tests (Mikkelsen and Fjeldstad 2013).

We see in the documents how a combination of "democracy" understood as *Bildung* and references to the impact of the CIVED/ICCS studies on Norwegian policy formation become more evident after ICCS 2009. The first example is a white paper on junior high school (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2011) concerning a minor curriculum revision of 2013 affecting student councils (also see Kunnskapsdepartementet 2013). In the latter document, committee members use benchmarks from ICCS to back their more normative *Bildung*-based deliberations on the general value of school as the main site for democratic learning. These two different conceptual strands of "democracy" in Norwegian policy documents for education seem to merge in the national curriculum reform, to be implemented from August 2020 (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2015). This curriculum reform prescribes democracy and citizenship as one of three crosscutting themes in education, jointly with public health and life skills and sustainable development. First, this implies that democracy and citizenship are considered core values of Norwegian education. Second, the new curriculum mentions developing democratic competence as an aim for students. The education system is expected also to ensure a school environment in which students have experiences with what active participation in a democratic community entail. Additionally, educators are expected to foster citizens who can contribute to further developing democracy, making it more robust and sustainable. In other words, it is no longer sufficient to socialize students into the current democratic system; they have to become agents for improving democracy (cf. Biesta 2011; Westheimer 2015).

What we see in policy documents from the 20 years that have passed since Norway joined the CIVED study in 1999 is that the idea of democracy and civic and citizenship education fall into two distinctive categories, which could be said to evolve as two strands. The first strand utilizes the IEA studies as benchmarks for educational quality, whereas the other strand continues the understanding of democracy as a core educational value that cannot be fully measured through standardized tests. After ICCS 2009, we detect in the documents an alignment of these two conceptualizations: new educational efforts for civic and citizenship education refer to both the IEA studies and to democratic Bildung, combining these as competence aims for democratic learning.

Conclusion

It is evident that the ICCS studies have begun to have an impact at the education policy level in Norway, although they have sparked little public debate and yet have had little direct influence on teacher education and school practices. We observe connections between nationally based research on democratic citizenship and international studies such as the ICCS, specifically those targeting the fields of teacher education and school practices. We regard these trends as welcome parts of a national effort to strengthen the connections between policy, research, and practices in the education system to encourage the development of active democratic citizens.

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CHAPTER 14:

The Role of IEA's Civic and Citizenship Education Studies in the Development of Civic and Citizenship Education in Slovenia

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Abstract The changes in civic and citizenship education in the period from the 1980s to 2019 in Slovenia exemplify the process of socialism's social and moral education evolution. It was characterized by transitions in ethics and society, as well as in citizenship education, and a renewed focus on patriotism. At the same time this is the period when the IEA's CIVED (Civic Education Study) and ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) were conceptualized and conducted globally. Therefore, we have tried to identify the "impacts" of CIVED/ICCS on Slovenian policymaking in education. This is seen especially in the development of the compulsory subject in the Slovenian grade 7 and 8. Those "impacts" are direct in some respects, but it is also important that indirect impacts can be identified. We conclude with recent discussions about civic and citizenship education in Slovenia, and the role of ICCS in them.

Introduction

Slovenia gained its independence from The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in June 1991. As stated in the White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia from 1995:

> "Far-reaching changes in Slovenia—especially the formation of the independent state, the implementation of a multi-party system and the adoption of the new constitution—mean that the education system should also be changed, in particular regarding the introduction of a European dimension. This process should be based on the common European heritage of political, cultural and moral values reflected in human rights, the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, tolerance, and solidarity" (Krek 1996, front page).

In 2011 the new White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia (Krek and Metljak 2011) was published, containing an explicit reference to the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) CIVED 1999 (Civic Education Study) and ICCS 2009 (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) results. All the international large-scale student assessments (ILSAs) that Slovenia participated in (including all IEA' comparative studies and their cycles, and OECD PISA[1]) were mentioned in this document.

In this chapter we first focus on how the educational system (and consequently citizenship education) changed from the 1980s onwards. Within federal Yugoslavia, the six republics had autonomous educational systems on every educational level, therefore the breakup of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s had only a minor impact on the functioning of schools (and universities, which had an even more autonomous status). However, there were obvious shifts in social science curricula and "Yugoslavian topics" fell almost completely out of focus. National perspectives

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1 OECD = Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment.

2 The historical overview of the development of civic and citizenship education in Slovenia is a part of monograph in Japanese language, which was prepared after a historian from Japan came to Slovenia to be informed about the development of history education and in this regard with the addition of civic and citizenship education. After the meeting held at Educational Research Institute, we were asked to prepare a text that in 2013 was published. In this chapter this refers to the publication Justin et al. (2013).

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about subjects such as history had primacy over the federal aspect (Justin et al. 2013).[2] Due to autonomy of the republics there were no limitations on putting national history including ethnic Slovenia in a prominent place in Slovenian curriculum or syllabi. Specific facts from history that led in the formation of Slovenian statehood were included (D. Štrajn, personal communication, August 8, 2019). There was a request to abolish the subject social and moral education. However, a group of researchers from Educational Research Institute (later responsible for CIVED/ICCS national coordination) and from National Education Institute Slovenia (responsible for syllabi for compulsory education) made efforts to ensure that the social science curriculum included civic and citizenship education (CCE) (D. Štrajn, personal communication, August 8, 2019). We can say that the changes brought about by political independence were relatively gradual in moving toward citizenship education suitable for an independent Slovenia. In fact, Slovenia participated in all cycles of the CIVED/ICCS study. Moreover, those coordinating CIVED or/and ICCS or using those datasets, have been actively involved in curricular reforms, in writing/editing syllabi and textbooks for compulsory subjects on CCE, in university lecturing, and in designing workshops for teachers. One researcher was even involved in the preparation of two coalition agreements between political parties that formed a government. This justifies our belief that CIVED/ICCS has had an impact on the development of CCE in Slovenia; the challenge is to define the nature of both the direct and indirect "impact." First, however, we examine the historical development of CCE in Slovenia focusing on the primary education level (compulsory nine years of schooling, referred to as the elementary education level) with a special focus on grade 7 and 8 students (grade 8 students being the CIVED/ICCS target population).

A Short Description of the Changes in Citizenship Education in Slovenia

"Citizenship Education" in Socialistic Slovenia

Citizenship education within a socialist state is a contradiction, as the one crucial socialist or communist idea is the abolition of the state itself (Justin et al. 2013). Class awareness is the crucial concept not citizenship, and the goal is not to build a socialist state but to build a communist society (Justin et al. 2013). It is no surprise that in socialist Slovenia, the subject that stood in place of citizenship education was social and moral education (Justin et al. 2013). It focused on society not the state. This is confirmed by reading the Slovenian primary school curriculum from 1983 (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport 1983). Words such as society, social community, country, land, or homeland, sometimes nationality were mentioned, but never the state; even foreign states were named lands or nations. The subject was covered in the final two grades (7 and 8) of elementary school in Slovenia, time allocated to the subject was one hour per week. Social and moral education included elements of political education in line with socialist ideology. However, it included broader topics such as psychological, religious, and economic aspects along with human values in a self-governing socialist society. It was more like a general social science and humanities subject than it was like political or citizenship education; only 25 periods out of 68 were dedicated to the domain of citizenship education (Justin et al. 2013).

The pupils received no numerical grades in social and moral education, which could indicate that the subject did not have the importance that one would expect from the contents of its curriculum. That includes especially the teaching of a socialist self-governing system and socialist morality as the ideological base of society. Assigning no grades could indicate that the transmission of values was more important than the transition of measurable knowledge. This diminished focus on political education in the curriculum itself was even more de-emphasized in educational practice (Justin et al. 2013). One reason certain topics in teaching social and moral education were avoided was political. At the end of 1980s socialism was in decline and democratization was in full swing therefore teachers simply stopped teaching the topics "that went out of currency and that were actually never a reality" (Zupančič 1990, p. 55).

Citizenship Education in Independent Slovenia

The gaining of the independence of Slovenia (1991) and the change from a socialist to a liberal democratic political system (through the first multi-party elections in 1990) brought reforms to the educational system. Elementary education was prolonged for one year (from 8 to 9 grades), teachers' autonomy gained importance, and curricular planning changed. A transition to a new education curriculum, more open (not only with strictly prescribed content) and goal oriented, was completed by 1999 (Justin et al. 2013). More importantly "education for and participation in democratic processes" was one of the eight basic principles of educational reform stated in the White paper (Krek 1996, pp. 47–48). An essential premise for participation in democracies is the development of a critical spirit, personal decision-making, and autonomous judgment (Krek 1996). These are processes where schools play an important role by developing capacities that allow individuals to participate in democratic processes (Krek 1996).

Before describing the new compulsory subject of CCE, it is important to mention that the reform introduced optional subjects in grades 7, 8, and 9. One was citizenship culture, taught in grade 9 (32 hours per a year), which deepened and expanded knowledge and skills found in the compulsory subjects. However, citizenship culture has not often been chosen by students. Other optional subjects are religion and ethics, philosophy for kids, media education, etc. All these subjects are now numerically graded.

In the first half of the 1990s, social and moral education was replaced with ethics and society—the new name implying both change and continuity (Justin et al. 2013). Changes in course content were made too. Marxism that was underlying previous social and moral education was replaced with pluralist psychological and sociological theories (Justin et al. 2013). There were also content changes. Instead of the socialist political system, basic principles and institutions of liberal democracy are taught; the notion of state becomes central with citizenship becoming a crucial political identity; human rights become one of the central topics (Justin et al. 2013). However, the principles of curriculum formation remain the same. Ethics and society retains the status of a general social sciences subject one hour per week. In August 1991, an experimental manual for pupils for the ethics and society subject was published (for grade 7 and 8) (Bezenšek et al. 1991). The chapters for example were: humans and their status in the biggest religions of the world; humanism; change of work and free time; cooperation and solidarity, humans and their conscience; principle of tolerance; new quality of life, etc. This illustrates thematic breadth that goes beyond political or citizenship education. In 1990s the question of who could teach the CCE subject was on the agenda too, the decision was that teachers who had the social sciences foundation. In practice this means teachers of the previous subject, social and moral education (D. Štrajn, personal communication, August 8, 2019).

The reformed curriculum of 1999 also introduced a subject named citizenship education and ethics with almost the same number of periods/hours (70 in two years) as the subject it replaced (ethics and society) (Justin et al. 2013). This subject was compulsory in grade 7 and 8, education was once again vzgoja in Slovenian (which could be translated as "upbringing"). Several elements of the subject social and moral education remained. Psychological topics on family, problems of puberty and adolescence, and career planning all remained, along with sociology of small groups and generational conflicts. Globalization remained a part of the subject as well as teaching about religion. More weight was put on the topic of public debate, and the role of public (mass) media gained importance (Justin et al. 2013). However, only one of the five compulsory topics in grade 7 was specifically civics—one that focused on basic understanding of community, nation, and state with an emphasis on the Slovenian nation getting independence and provided information on the unification of Europe. The latter was not intended to cover the main parts of the political system (Justin et al. 2013). That remained for grade 8 in the form of a compulsory topic, management

of common issues: the question of democracy. Subtopics included basic rules of democracy in contexts from the local to the national, the division of power within the state and human rights. Less than 20% of the subject was dedicated to core political knowledge (Justin et al. 2013).

In 2006 the Ministry of Education and Sport began revising the elementary school syllabi. In the case of CCE another ideological issue surfaced, namely the inclusion of patriotic education (in the sense of the acquisition of values or *vzgoja* called in Slovene language) (Justin et al. 2013). This happened when the right-wing Slovenian Democratic Party took power in 2004 from a coalition led by the left-wing Liberal Democratic Party (that held power from 1992). They proposed an amendment to the law changing citizenship education and ethics into citizenship and patriotic education and ethics (Justin et al. 2013). Therefore in 2008 a syllabus for this compulsory subject in the area of CCE was prepared, but was not approved by the minister, and not put into place officially. Some experts had warned that it included some errors (Šimenc et al. 2012, p. 104). In 2009, the minister responsible for education demanded redesign of several subjects. The citizenship and patriotic education and ethics syllabus was among those with controversial formulations. A preliminary analysis of the 2008 syllabus, carried out by the Educational Research Institute, indicated significant deficiencies. The syllabus in question was not only updated—adapted to new facts, such as Slovenia's accession to the European Union (EU)—but constituted a new syllabus with new conceptual bases evidenced, among other factors, by the modified subject name, as well as narrowing the content to that which should be taught in citizenship education and reducing the importance of personal development (Šimenc et al. 2012, p. 5, 105). Already a review of the titles of the topics in the 2008 syllabus reveals a number of conceptual "confusions" (pp. 105–106):

- The title of the chapter Human Rights and Responsibilities implies some reciprocity between human rights and human "responsibilities," which political theory does not acknowledge. Human rights are assumed to be universal; responsibilities are not.
- The title of Values, Beliefs and Ethics implies a concept that is at least tangible and can include ethical principles and personal preferences, which are put in the first place. Beliefs (having several aspects such as community, institutions, doctrine, etc.) are in second, and ethics are in third place. Such a classification can lead to conceptual confusion.
- The title of Patriotic and Citizenship Culture, implies implicit hierarchy. That means that patriotism or the homeland is most important.

In 2011, the syllabus for citizenship and patriotic education and ethics was redrafted. The syllabus content focused on key topics in citizenship education and political literacy (Šimenc et al. 2012, p. 112). The comparison of the 1999 and 2011 curricula reveals shifts of certain topics between grade 7 and 8 (p. 117). Especially important is the shift of understanding the basic concepts of political literacy to grade 7, while in grade 8 these terms are discussed in the context of specific state institutions of Slovenia and of the EU. Religious topics are in the new syllabus in grade 7 and issues of public debate and media in grade 8. The sections on communication and the media were shrunk and placed a grade later in the chapter on the functioning of the democratic system (Šimenc et al. 2012). In the school year 2013/2014, the name of the subject changed again, to patriotic and civic culture and ethics. The syllabus remained the same. The concept of patria and patriotism are explained, rather than suggesting attempts to instil those values into pupils (Justin et al. 2013). The subject remains a social science subject in many respects, and the majority of the syllabus focuses on citizenship education (Justin et al. 2013). As will be seen when we mention reactions to ICCS 2016 data, public discussions on patriotism show this area is still a vital concern.

Slovenia implemented CCE into the curriculum both via a compulsory subject and simultaneously with an approach which is "all-inclusive." As shown in Eurydice reports (2005, 2012, 2017) and in ICCS 2009 and 2016 reports (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2018) in Slovenia three approaches

are used in elementary (compulsory) education for the area of citizenship education and also in the ICCS target grade. It can be a separate subject. It can also be integrated into broader compulsory subjects or learning areas such as history, geography, and Slovene language. Or it may be a cross-curricular objective to be delivered by all teachers (Eurydice 2017, p. 11). Such approaches to CCE can be seen also at the upper secondary level.

Slovenian Participation in CIVED/ICCS and Some Results

CCE after the collapse of communism put considerable emphasis on democratic values and new rules of social behavior as well as changes in the public's sense of identity (Štrajn 1999, p. 546). It is also important to remember that the content covered within the curriculum starting as early as 1983 and even more in 1990s began to show those shifts in focuses. Therefore, it is no surprise that Slovenia was interested to join both phases of CIVED 1999. Due to later structural changes at the national, regional, and international levels, Slovenia continued its interest in being part of ICCS.

Before Slovenia joined the CIVED 1999 study, the implementation of the curriculum from 1983 (the syllabus for social and moral education) was monitored by studies performed at the Educational Research Institute (which also served later as the national research centre of CIVED/ICCS). In the early 1990s, Slovenia started participation in IEA studies. In CIVED 1999 (with two populations; a main target population, which were grade 8, as well as with grade 12—upper secondary level). Slovenia also participated in ICCS 2009, this time with the target population (grade 8), and also added an additional population of grade 9 students (to assess our reform). We participated as well in ICCS 2016 and are preparing for participation in ICCS 2022.

Results in CIVED 1999 revealed that pupils in Slovenia were slightly above the international average in civic knowledge; below average results were found in attitudes toward immigrants, trust in institutions related to authority, and in the open school climate for discussion (Šimenc 2011, p. 139; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). In particular, attitudes towards the rights of immigrants were less positive compared to other countries participating in the study with the exception only of Germany (Šimenc 2011, p. 139). This was true both for the grade 8 students in Slovenia and also for students four year older at the upper secondary level (Šimenc 2011).

From ICCS 2009, the most interesting results in the CCE area were those showing changes in the critical areas compared to CIVED 1999 (Šimenc 2011, p. 140). The results in areas of concern that emerged in the 1999 CIVED study were all improved—the proportion of pupils in Slovenia with positive attitudes towards rights of immigrants was more similar to the proportion of pupils in other countries; the confidence of Slovenian pupils in institutions related to authorities was slightly lower than the international average but significantly higher than in 1999; pupils' perceptions of the openness of discussions in the classroom were similar to the international average (Šimenc 2011). It must be remembered, of course, that the set of countries being compared differed between the two test administrations. However, when comparing trends among countries participating in two consecutive data collection, Slovenia was the only country in ICCS 2009 where statistically significant progress was made in civic knowledge in comparison to the prior data collection (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 83).[3] In the cognitive (knowledge) part of the European regional module, which was included in ICCS 2009, Slovenia ranked in some items above and in others below the European average (Kerr et al. 2010, pp. 52–56).

Proficiency levels in civic knowledge also shows interesting trends. In the 2009 cycle approximately 9% of pupils in Slovenia were below level 1 (the lowest proficiency level), which means achieved less than 395 score points, and majority of pupils achieved scores that placed

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3 Although pupils from Finland and Estonia made progress in civic knowledge, the difference was not statistically significant.

them within proficiency level 2. To be more precise, approximately 36% of pupils were at this level and approximately 30% at the highest level, level 3 (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 79). In 2016 approximately 4% of pupils achieved level D (which was previously named level 1) or below level D, and the proportion of students at levels A (the highest level) and B was approximately the same (37% and 38%) (Schulz et al. 2018, p. 60). This difference between 4% and 9% of students at the lowest proficiency level is statistically significant, which means that in 2016 Slovenia had less low achievers in civic knowledge than in 2009.

We looked at the content match between two syllabi (one from 1999 and another from 2011) with tasks/items included in the ICCS 2009 (Klemenčič and Štremfel 2011, pp. 114–115). The purpose was to gain insight into how our syllabus for the compulsory CCE course matches topics of ICCS (p. 115). In particular, when comparing percentages of correct and incorrect item responses in ICCS 2009 Slovenian students showed good performance on knowledge regarding human rights and responsibilities of authorities and the government. Content analysis also showed that there is good coverage of topics (in both syllabi corresponding to the ICCS 2009 cognitive test). However, the syllabus from 2011 had better coverage than the syllabus from 1999 (Klemenčič and Štremfel 2011). The results of ICCS 2016 for Slovenia shows not only trends between two cycles, but also the "success/efficiency" of the new syllabus that was introduced after ICCS 2009. Trends are positive in terms of civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2018, p. 62). Perception of open discussion in the classroom is still below the international average, and there was no statistically significant change from the 2009 cycle (p. 88).

The European regional module in 2009 tested European specific civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagements in European countries. In 2016 the module slightly changed—knowledge was not tested. Slovenia introduced EU/European related topics and made other changes in the syllabus for 2011. We cannot say that the only reason for adding EU topics to our syllabus was ICCS 2009. However, we can say that those topics appeared in the syllabus after ICCS was conducted and that the leader of the group revising the CCE syllabus and some other researchers included in this group were well aware of the topics being tested in ICCS. The results from the 2016 cycle show that the Slovenian national average for pupils' sense of European identity and pupils' endorsement of equal rights for immigrants are above the average of participating European educational systems. In 2016, however, the change was not statistically significant according to Losito et al. (2018, p. 11, 28).

In 2019 there were elections for the European parliament. The national percentages of pupils who reported that they would certainly or probably vote in elections changed significantly in Slovenia (between the two cycles). More pupils in 2016 expressed a high probability that they would participate in local and European elections (when they will have voting rights) (Losito et al. 2018, p. 45). However, the percentage of pupils expecting to vote in the European elections were the lowest in Estonia and Slovenia in comparison to other European countries (p. 44). This means that although percentages for pupils in Slovenia expressing expectation to vote in the European elections increased, they are still low.

The results of Slovenia's teacher's questionnaire are relevant. More than half of teachers reported that they did not have the opportunity to learn about voting and elections, neither during their in-service teacher training, nor in their continuous-professional development. About 40% reported that they did not have the opportunity to learn about the EU (Klemenčič et al. 2019, p. 54). Confidence in teaching about voting and elections and the EU was consequently low (p. 55). So, are our teachers satisfied with the existing syllabus after these many changes? The results of ICCS 2016 show that a relatively small percentage, a little over 10%, said that a new syllabus for the compulsory subject of patriotic and citizenship culture and ethics is needed, and that this was not the most needed improvement in the CCE (p. 114).

It's too early to talk about the "impact" of the 2016 cycle, but the study certainly has a great deal of data that can be used for understanding and designing both policies and practices. First, the "impacts" of ILSAs and CIVED/ICCS in particular should be discussed in terms of policy.

"Impact" of CIVED/ICCS on Educational Policymaking in Slovenia

It is challenging to distinguish direct from indirect impacts of ILSAs. Wagemaker (2013) provided a useful warning that different international organizations and different ILSAs, although they "share a common focus of measuring achievement outcomes, differ in their objectives and design … (with) significant implications for how they might potentially influence educational policy … and research community" (p. 13). The following measures of impact have been suggested: growth in ILSA participation and ILSA-related discourse as a measures of impact, changes in educational policy, curriculum, teaching, capacity building, and research endeavours, and global and donor responses as a measures of impact (pp. 16–32). In Slovenia we have traced those impacts, but the challenge is how to interpret the evidence. We do not have evidence to distinguish between the direct and indirect "impacts" of CIVED/ICCS on the development of CCE in Slovenia. However, we can show that preparing textbooks, training for teachers, and revised curriculum/syllabus design undertaken in the light of the results have been influential.

In 2010, the author of this chapter conducted a two stage qualitative study to investigate the "impacts" of ILSAs on national policymaking in education, including CIVED/ICCS. In the first phase, structured interviews with questions sent via emails were used, and in the second stage semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Respondents were national research coordinators, expert and advisory board members, and policymakers (including one former minister who had been responsible for education). The results showed that the impacts depend on the study's topic; they are different on different levels; they are especially visible after recent curricular reform; they are more systematic then at the beginning of Slovenian' participation in ILSAs (Klemenčič 2010, p. 254). The most clear-cut answers were for the question about why Slovenia is participating in those studies—the reason was the need for evidence-based policy and additional data especially for secondary analysis. Respondents were also quite similar in beliefs about which studies have the most media and expert interest in their results, "TIMSS and PISA seem to be of interest in the media, however ICCS is probably more important for experts dealing with (the subject matter of) citizenship education" (pp. 254–255). This is consistent with a conclusion of Pizmony-Levy and Torney-Purta (2018), who envision the impact of ICCS studies taking place through the establishment of a community of practice among researchers and educators. Slovenia appears to be developing such a community.

The periods in which CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 were conducted in Slovenia, when the results were published and when some national secondary analysis were done, and the revisions of syllabus for CCE, were the same. We will try to examine the "impact" of the two mentioned cycles of the IEA study on CCE taking into consideration some challenges. As we mentioned in the introduction, in 2011 the new White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia was published, this time with an explicit citation and reference to the CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 results—specifically rankings on civic knowledge (Krek and Metljak 2011, p. 111).

At first glance it seems that CIVED in Slovenia had a relatively small "impact" on national policymaking. However, results expressed a very high inclination toward everything that is connected with national identity and patria. Slovenia changed the name of the compulsory subject in 2008 (adding patriotic) (Klemenčič 2010; Šimenc 2011). However, it appears that ICCS 2009 seems to have had a slightly bigger "impact." Even if the name of the subject remained the same, expert arguments (from both CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009) have had the opportunity to influence the development of a new syllabus (Šimenc 2011, p. 140).

It appears that patriotism remains a contested terrain including the question as to whether it should be more fully covered in the curriculum. In the beginning of 2019, a parliamentary member

asked the Government of the Republic of Slovenia "a parliamentary question" about patriotic education of pupils and about how the integration of citizenship and patriotic education topics within different subjects should be accomplished (as well as how much patriotism is already included in the textbooks). IEA results were included in the Government's official (written) response (Government of the Republic of Slovenia 2019). Citing the results of the recent ICCS 2016 study about 90% of pupils agreed or strongly agreed with the statements that the Slovenian flag is important, that they feel great respect towards Slovenia, and that in Slovenia we should be proud of what we have achieved, around 80% of them agreed or strongly agreed that they are proud to live in Slovenia, and slightly less than 70% indicated that it is better to live in Slovenia than in most other countries (p. 3). This is of interest also because it shows that sometimes the results need to be stated in terms of relatively simple percentages and not item response theory scales (which are interpretable relative to other countries' responses but fail to communicate the actual opinions to policymakers or the general public).

In another indication of impact, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport adopted a National framework for identifying and assuring quality in education (2017), in which the monitoring of compulsory systemic indicators is envisaged and listed all existing IEA studies including ICCS.

For the purpose of this chapter, the titles of professional publications (monographs, articles, and national research reports) in the Slovene language that made an explicit reference to ICCS in the title (also for master's/bachelor's thesis in the key words) were identified from the national database Cobiss. We can assume that those publications could also have "impacts" on national policymaking or practices in teaching, due to the open source and publication in the national language (however, daily newspaper articles or conference presentations are not included in our analysis). From CIVED 1999, the scientific monograph which was published in 2003 in the Slovene language was not open sourced. This means we could expect less "impact" because other reports, scientific monographs and papers from ICCS 2009 were open sourced and free. Starting with ICCS 2016 reports/monographs are printed in addition to being open sourced. Reports/monographs are sent to all schools who participated in the ICCS 2016. Therefore, we can expect an even bigger "impact" on educational practices. In the database published for the period 2011–2018 (based on ICCS 2009 and 2016 results, with criteria mentioned above) several results were found: 3 scientific monographs, 1 special issue of a scientific journal, 4 research reports, 8 articles, 1 bachelor's thesis, and 1 master's thesis (Cobiss 2018), all of them in Slovene language.

However, there are several other possible "impacts" of the CIVED/ICCS study in Slovenia on national policymaking and practices. Just to name a few—members coordinating ICCS in Slovenia and other researchers from the Educational Research Institute who conduct ILSAs in Slovenia were invited as members of a Consultative Body of the Ministers for Civic and Social Competences (in 2017) and other consultancy bodies for the ministry responsible for education and science (for a longer period). It is also sometimes the case that the same researchers are part of ad hoc groups. Those associated with ICCS have also been authors/editors of compulsory subject textbooks for CCE, undertaken university teaching activities, provided professional teacher trainings and other workshops/seminars, been writers/editors of didactical materials and syllabi in the CCE field, and served as mass media writers about curricular reforms or other education relevant topics. In those activities, the "impacts" of ICCS cannot be separated from other "impacts". We can say, however, that all of those activities have contributed to the "impact" of CIVED/ICCS on national policymaking and practices (and to the educational discourse more generally).

At the beginning of 2019 one of the associations of parents submitted a petition signed by more than 20,000 calling for changes in the educational system in Slovenia. The petition warned that pupils and parents are overwhelmed with schoolwork and homework; they demanded an end to national testing, a shortening of syllabi, school/instruction with no numerical grades—this

time for all subjects. The Educational Research Institute responded by showing comparative data from different ILSAs, including the last ICCS cycle. The data used for this response from ICCS 2016 were pupils' perceptions of Europe's future, their perceptions of the EU, and their life in the future. It seems that the discussion of those demands was one of the turning points that led to plans for the preparation of a new White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia. Enumeration of the benefits of IEA assessments, including ICCS, is likely to be included.

Possible Future Contributions of ICCS to Educational Discourse

Patriotic and citizenship culture and ethics (a compulsory subject in our grade 7 and 8) retains a defining feature of its predecessor, namely being a generalist social science and humanities subject, with a focus on political literacy, critical thinking, and pupils' active participation in social and civic life. The role of optional (elective) social science subjects in civic knowledge and developing attitudes is rather marginal, due to the rarity with which pupils choose those optional subjects. However, CCE topics are included in Slovene education across the curriculum or are integrated into the entirety of schoolwork. In the last decade, changes to the compulsory syllabus in the area of CCE have been relatively minor compared to the transitional years from the early 1990s onwards. A fear is still present that some teachers will struggle with the adaptations made to CCE and also that pupils will have trouble understanding complex political topics that are far from their everyday experience.

Regardless of this, the results of two ILSAs on citizenship education, CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009, showed that Slovene pupils have improved their civic knowledge; this is important because the general trend in several other participating countries was one of declining civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2010). Additionally, some attitudes have improved (especially comparing them to those from the cycle in 1999). However, the 2016 cycle showed that our pupils also have a positive trend in civic knowledge in comparison to the 2009 cycle. We speculate that most of the improvements in Slovenian students' civic knowledge over the years are due to changes of the syllabi and to the greater resources put into the education of teachers of this subject. These are projects mainly funded by European Social Funds and other European funds—e.g., Lifelong Learning Programme (2007–2013) or Erasmus+ (2014–2020). A great emphasis was put on teacher training and we expect it would be the same in the future. This is perhaps also the case because the EU emphasizes this topic as important. The biggest area of improvement in the future may be in pupils' engagement in social and political life. But these are contested topics that were discussed after Slovenian independence in relation to the (public) education system and to the status of religious education (a debate peaking in the late 1990s) and of patriotism (a more recent debate). The ICCS results have helped to address some of those tensions.

In 2018, based on the syllabus, a new textbook for the compulsory subject patriotic and citizenship culture and ethics (Klemenčič 2018) was prepared and officially approved as one of the textbooks that schools can choose. For grade 8, the syllabus prescribes the thematic section "Slovenia, EU, world" and further more detailed learning on Slovenia as a member in different international organizations (namely UN, OECD, and NATO). In the textbook, IEA is also mentioned (in the Slovenian language). IEA is described as a non-profit, non-governmental organization, with more than 60 member countries, collecting data on knowledge, attitudes, and other data on education in different countries. All areas/fields are mentioned (mathematics, science, reading literacy, computer and information literacy, civic and citizenship education) (Klemenčič 2018, p. 53). We hope that this will stimulate further discussion about IEA and ICCS in the classrooms.

Where do we already see other possible future "impacts" of the ICCS study? Slovenia has been a member of the EU since 2004. Therefore, it is included in the open method of coordination at the EU level, as well as committed to monitor indicators in the field of education. The EU prepares new goals for EU countries every decade. Recently an EU expert group prepared "issue

papers" on topics, structured with key challenges, opportunities, and priority areas of action, as a base for the new Education and Training 2030 Programme (ET2030). One of the papers entitled "Inclusion and citizenship" (European Commission 2019) includes a reference and description of the main goal of the ICCS study. Therefore, we can expect that Slovenian policymakers will devote attention to this area. The minister responsible for education has made a preliminary announcement of the establishment of a new CCE subject in upper secondary school. It will be necessary to develop the syllabi based on what we know from ICCS and the performance, attitudes, and engagements of our pupils in grade 8. This has, in fact, already happened. In 2019 and at the beginning of 2020 when syllabi for upper secondary schools (namely active citizenship; for different educational programs) were in preparation, the argumentation about why this is needed used results from ICCS 2016.[4] Also, of course, ICCS collects questionnaires from teachers and heads of school, the results of which can be of great use. This knowledge was provided to inform the development and modernizations announced by minister for strengthening CCE in the upper secondary school level.

In this chapter we have primarily focused on the historical development of CCE in Slovenia in elementary school. However, due to the importance that ICCS is putting into investigating different perceptions on inequalities, it is worth saying something in this respect. The school system in Slovenia provides equal access to CCE, especially from the position of a compulsory subject in elementary school where all pupils need to attend lectures and need to be graded in the subject. (Other approaches used in our schools are not possible to investigate, because they are the responsibility of teachers and schools within their scope of autonomy). Indeed, based on the number of classes that schools have, they receive additional resources for extended programs. From this, each school decides how it will distribute so-called individual and group support (among gifted pupils and pupils with learning disabilities) as well as remedial and supplementary classes/instructions (for pupils in need of learning assistance and for pupils who exceed the prescribed knowledge standards). Another formal group are pupils with special needs included in regular school programs and with the National Institute of Education responsible for decision-making. Statistics do not exist (due to the over-complicated system, the possibilities for collecting statistics are limited) to check how often this support is devoted for CCE, but we can assume that it is not often. The system formally ensures equal opportunities to pupils in acquiring civic and citizenship knowledge and attitudes within compulsory and extended programs (as we just described). However, teachers from schools often comment informally that those schools that are geographically closer to the capital city where political institutions in Slovenia are based, have more opportunities to visit them in comparison to other schools distanced from the capital city, for which this presents a financial challenge. This is true in spite of the fact that the syllabus for the compulsory subject of CCE (for all schools in Slovenia) prescribes teaching about those institutions. Perhaps here the state could do more to really assure equal opportunities to gain this perspective. Another challenge is the same as in several other educational systems, as shown in international reports of ICCS. This is, how to raise civic knowledge among lower socioeconomic background pupils. ICCS for Slovenia (and many other participating systems) shows correlations between civic knowledge and home socioeconomic status/immigrant background/ language spoken at home. These differences favour higher civic knowledge for those from higher socioeconomic status families, pupils with no immigrant background, and those speaking the language of the test at home. Therefore, those are certainly challenges for the future, not only for CCE but for all areas of schooling.

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4   Later in 2020 the decision was made that active citizenship will not be a separate subject but have a descriptor »other form of educational work« (e.g., in gymnasiums this is upgrading some parts of so-called mandatory elective topics, so that it is mandatory for schools to offer them, but organization of when and how they are offered is up to the schools).

As we have shown in this chapter, CCE is important for our educational system in the process of change. There are also some indications of direct/indirect "impact" of CIVED/ICCS. We are sure that results of ICCS will remain important for different stakeholders (educators, scholars/researchers, and policymakers) in developing this area further.

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CHAPTER 15:

Reflections on the IEA Civic Education Study in the United States: Policies, People, and Research

Carole L. Hahn

Abstract In this chapter, the national research coordinator for the United States (US) in IEA's 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED) reflects on US participation in that study and its legacy, especially in light of the fact that the US did not participate in the later ICCS studies. She describes decisions related to the qualitative research methods used in Phase I of CIVED, as well as findings from it. The main findings from the quantitative Phase II of the study, which revealed US students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and experiences in 1999, are described. Policy documents, publications, and subsequent research in the US informed by findings from CIVED are discussed. There were extensive contributions to civic education research both nationally and internationally from scholars who participated in CIVED and by other scholars who have expanded research on themes identified in that study during the ensuing two decades.

Introduction

Preparing youth for their roles as citizens in a democracy has long been valued in the United States (US). From the early days of the Republic, through the growth of the nation, civic education was widely cited as a primary purpose of public schools. Civic education has been delivered through particular subjects, such as civics, history, and social studies, as well as across the curriculum through extra-curricular activities and school-wide practices, such as mock elections and patriotic celebrations. By the end of the 20th century, however, many stakeholders bemoaned declining attention to civic education (Carnegie Corporation of New York and Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement [CIRCLE] 2003). The opportunity to participate in the Civic Education Study (CIVED) of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) came at a time in the mid-1990s when increasing numbers of educational leaders advocated shining a light on the subject and what they saw as its diminished status.

The US participated in the first IEA civic education study (Torney et al. 1975) and since the 1970s researchers had conducted numerous national assessments of students' civics, history, and social studies knowledge. However, in the mid-1990s no recent information was available on US students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors in comparison to students in other countries. CIVED provided an opportunity to obtain such information and to involve US civic educators in an international network and discourse on civic education cross-nationally. This chapter describes the US portion of the study and some of its key findings before reflecting on the subsequent legacy of the study in the US. Policy documents and publications that were informed by CIVED findings and that influenced discussions about policies and practices are discussed. The subsequent work of scholars who participated in the study and have continued to make important contributions to the field of civic education is considered along with the enlarging research base on civic education attributable to a growing number of early career scholars. The chapter's conclusion reflects on the contributions of CIVED to the ongoing discourse about civic education in the US and cross-nationally.

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The Study and Key Findings

As the national project representative for Phase I and national research coordinator for Phase II of CIVED in the US, I chaired the National Expert Panel and supervised the collection and analyses of data for Phase I; this included a survey of literature, a textbook analysis, focus group interviews with teachers and students, and surveys of the 50 state coordinators of social studies and representatives of 100 organizations working in the area of civic education in the US (Hahn 1999). For Phase II, I chaired the US CIVED Steering Committee, which advised the American Institutes of Research staff (under contract with the National Center of Education Statistics) on conducting, analyzing, and reporting on the quantitative portion of the study in the US (US Department of Education 2001). It also involved working with a team of doctoral students at Emory University and representing the US at meetings of the international research teams.

As background to CIVED, I had taught secondary school social studies before joining the faculty at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. I had been president of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, the professional association of social studies educators). For a decade I had also been conducting comparative research on civic education in the US and in Denmark, England, Germany, and the Netherlands. That study was published as a book, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education* (Hahn 1998). The book reviewed research on political socialization since the 1960s, paying particular attention to the measurement of political interest, political trust, political efficacy, and political confidence, as well as classroom climate for discussion and political tolerance. Surveys were administered to adolescents in approximately 50 schools in five countries in 1985–1986 and 1992–1993. Observations were made of classes, and teachers and students were interviewed. As this was not a representative sample, it was important not to generalize beyond the sample in each country. Nevertheless, the quantitative data did suggest that youth in the study who came from the same country shared some similarities with respect to the nature of their political attitudes, gender differences, and classroom climates for discussion. Qualitative data from observations and interviews provided insights to facilitate understanding of those trends. Importantly, across and within countries, when students had opportunities to discuss controversial issues, they reported higher levels of political interest and efficacy than did students without such experience. Detailed descriptions of how teachers in each country used country-specific approaches to enable students to explore and discuss social, political, and economic issues were included. From these data, it was clear there was no single preferred way of doing civic education, even in democratic countries that were quite similar.

At the first meeting of the international CIVED research team in July 1995 in Enschede, the Netherlands, it became very evident that civic and political education varied considerably across national contexts. The national coordinators came to the project meeting with widely differing political experiences that shaped what they expected to learn from their country's participation in a cross-national study. Models originating in the US or Western Europe were viewed with skepticism by some attendees. The design that was finally approved included a qualitative Phase I set of case studies that collected information about the current aims of civic education in each country in part to address these concerns. This required a broader set of competencies on the part of research staff than would have been the case if the study had been limited to collecting data through a test and survey.

In order to carry out Phase I of the study in the US, a team of Emory University doctoral students drew on experiences with both qualitative and quantitative research methods, including those mentioned above. It was clear that certain features of US education should be captured in the Phase I case study. For example, because education policy in the US is decentralized (to an extent that is unlike many other countries), it was important to survey the 50 state-level social studies coordinators or their equivalents (identified in the directory of the NCSS Council of State Social Studies Supervisors) and to conduct focus groups with teachers and students in different

parts of the country. It was also important in selecting a sample of textbooks for analysis to take account of differing textbook adoption policies in different US states. Further, it was important to conduct a survey of the many organizations involved in US civic education nationally, regionally, or at the state level—a unique contextual factor.

The team presented our findings from Phase I to several US audiences of social studies specialists and wrote several publications, including the US case study for the international report (Hahn 1999). Students in the US tended to have similar experiences with the content of *what* they studied in civic education; however, these students had a variety of experiences with pedagogy (*how* civic education was taught). Most 14 to 15-year-old students learned about democracy, political institutions, and rights and responsibilities of citizens from lessons in US history and from civics courses in grade 8 or 9. The content and sequence of topics varied little across textbooks for US history (organized chronologically) and civics (organized according to branches of government following the US Constitution). Most 14 to 15-year-olds learned about national identity and social cohesion in US history lessons, extra-curricular activities, and the wider society around them. Students in focus groups used the terms "we" and "our" in referring to the nation's past, even when their ancestors had not been in the country at the time. Textbooks depicted the country as "a nation of immigrants" and students reported studying about the oppression of Native Americans, immigration, women's history, slavery, segregation, and the Civil Rights Movement. Textbooks and students were less likely to mention Latinx and Asians, except in states where many individuals from those groups resided. These and other findings from Phase I provided context for understanding the results for Phase II and they have since been explored by other researchers in the US. However, several themes could not be explored directly in Phase II because they were not cross-nationally meaningful.

If one compares the US chapter in the case study book (Hahn 1999) to the case studies from other countries, some findings are clearly similar. For example, students before age 14 acquired most of their civic knowledge from lessons in history and social studies rather than a specific course in civics or government (Hahn and Torney-Purta 1999). The US case study noted that although much of the professional literature recommended the exploration of issues and the use of reflective inquiry, there was not much evidence of either approach in the textbook analysis or the responses of educators in focus groups. Authors of many of the other national case studies made similar observations. Although there was a wide variation in the number of participatory civic activities that were offered to students in different schools, overall US schools tended to offer a substantial number of those activities. US students, like their peers in other countries, studied national history and they appeared to develop a sense of national identity (as indicated by the use of "our" and "we" as noted above when discussing historic events). US students learned about diverse racial and ethnic groups, immigrants, and women who had contributed to the nation's history. However, several scholars noted that more could be done in this area. Interestingly, after examining the Phase I case study volume, Hahn and Torney-Purta (1999) reflected that no chapter author claimed that their country had a fully successful multicultural education program.

In Phase II a nationally representative sample of 2,811 US grade 9 students were assessed in 1999 with the international instruments covering civic knowledge (including civic content and skills), concepts, attitudes, and experiences (US Department of Education 2001). An article published in the NCSS journal, *Social Education*, reported that the study yielded good and bad news (Hahn 2001). The good news was that overall, US students scored above the international mean on the test of civic knowledge—both content knowledge and skills. Further, students who reported studying social studies every day performed better on the civic knowledge test than their peers who studied social studies less frequently. The bad news was that students who attended schools with many students from low-income households, those with few literacy

resources at home, and those whose parents had fewer years of schooling performed less well on the knowledge test than peers from higher income, more literacy-resourced homes, and with more educated parents. Further, white and multi-racial students tended to perform better on the knowledge test than did black and Hispanic students on average.

Additionally, there was good news that US students tended to support women's rights and immigrants' rights and half of the students reported that they had participated in a voluntary group that helps the community. Bad news related to the minority of students who did not support women's and immigrants' rights and the finding that fewer US students than students in most other countries reported following television news, particularly international news.

The CIVED reports at the national level (US Department of Education 2001) and international level (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) contained many other interesting insights. Unfortunately, however, journalists' coverage of the findings in the US was minimal. When the national report was released at an educational press conference, the US Secretary of Education chose not to speak about the national or the international civic test survey results; instead he gave a speech focusing on the Bush administration's new policy called No Child Left Behind. Consequently, reporters focused on what was wrong with US education in terms of mathematics and reading achievement. There was far less interest in what was right with US education—the good news in the CIVED reports. Not surprisingly, when plans were being made for ICCS 2009, the US Department of Education declined to participate citing other priorities. There was insufficient interest in using federal dollars to fund US participation, and nongovernmental organizations were not able to garner the needed financial and institutional support for participation in either 2009 or 2016. As a result, there are no recent data available on US students' civic knowledge in comparison to students in other countries.

Further, there is little information about US students' civic attitudes from nationally representative samples. Until recently the National Assessments of Educational Progress (NAEP) only assessed knowledge and skills, with the 2018 civics assessment giving some attention to "civic dispositions." For the most part, researchers and policymakers use recent attitudinal information from small, sometimes non-representative, samples as a basis for their suggestions and policies. Nevertheless, a substantial number of those interested in improving civic education continue to consider CIVED results as valuable, particularly because the sampled students provide insights into the attitudes prevalent among the generation of citizens who are now in their mid-30s.

Contributions to Policy, Practice, and Discourse Available in Documents and Books

Although it is not possible to make causal claims directly connecting CIVED's findings to policy reforms in the US, it is clear that findings from the study became and remain an important feature of discourse among policymakers, researchers, and practitioners. Authors of policy papers and widely-read books cited the study, members of the CIVED research team have been featured on panels at civic education conferences, and were invited to write numerous articles and chapters for edited volumes (e.g., Hahn 2002, Torney-Purta 2005).

Soon after the publication of the international and national CIVED reports, the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), was established with funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This organization convened meetings of researchers and representatives of civic-focused organizations to develop a policy document calling for greater attention to civic education. Organizers and many of the participants in the meetings were familiar with the findings from CIVED and cited them in discussions. Statements referring to these findings can be found throughout the resulting report, *The Civic Mission of Schools* (Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE 2003). The initial report was reissued in a slightly edited version in 2011, with lessened emphasis on the research background, under

the title *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. These two reports were widely read and frequently cited as several states and school districts increased their requirements for courses in civics and/or government and some educators gave greater attention to discussions of current events in social studies classes.

Several other meetings culminated in the publication of further reports making recommendations for effective civic education. Experiences with and findings from CIVED contributed to the recommendations for policy and practice that were included in these reports (Anderson and Landman 2003; Banks et al. 2005; Malin et al. 2014; Torney-Purta and Richardson 2003).

In 2013, NCSS issued a new recommended framework for the social studies curriculum titled *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* (NCSS 2013). The C3 Framework, which is an aspirational and non-compulsory framework, addresses the four disciplines of civics, history, economics, and geography, emphasizing disciplinary concepts and use of inquiry. The outcome of student inquiry across disciplines is to be "communicating conclusions and taking informed action," thus highlighting the civic purpose of social studies. The framework, which has guided a great deal of social studies curriculum and instructional development in recent years, cites only one article from CIVED (Torney-Purta 2005). However, the framework incorporates a number of ideas gleaned from CIVED. The most prominent is the importance of classroom discussion and debate of current social problems to enhancing civic knowledge.

Further evidence of CIVED contributing to national discourse on civic education is found in several books. CIVED researchers identified two themes that subsequently became the focus of several studies. The first theme, inequality of civic opportunities and outcomes, was reinforced in research by Kahne and Middaugh (2008) and was the focus of the book *No Citizen Left Behind* by Levinson (2012). The second theme, the importance of controversial issues discussions and a "classroom climate" supportive of democratic discourse was reinforced and extended by Hess and McAvoy in two books, *Controversy in the Classroom* (Hess 2009) and *The Political Classroom* (Hess and McAvoy 2015). CIVED had provided important evidence from a nationally representative sample of students that students in schools with high poverty populations (often serving many students of color) tended to be at a disadvantage with respect to civic education and that a supportive classroom climate for discussion was associated with student knowledge and expectations of electoral engagement. The authors of these books added in depth qualitative evidence from US classrooms to show how teachers can overcome obstacles to provide high quality civic experiences for all students. These three books have been read by teachers and teacher-educators across the country and have done much to make these issues central in the discourse about social studies and civic education reform. In late 2019 the National Academy of Education obtained foundation funding to hold a meeting of researchers and prepare an extensive report on *Educating for Civic Discourse and Reasoning*. Several individuals who participated in CIVED or in secondary analysis of those data were part of that organizing group or prepared papers (Barber et al. 2021). The newest national report is *Educating for American Democracy* (2021).

Building a Sense of Community Among CIVED Scholars

Over the years in which CIVED national research coordinators (NRCs) met with the international planning committee to coordinate the study, the researchers learned much from one another about the diversity of civic education internationally, bonds were established, and friendships formed. NRCs exchanged information about research, publications, and issues and met informally at professional conferences, such as the American Educational Research Association, the Comparative and International Education Society, and CitizED (a network of scholars interested in civic education). When Australia launched a new civic education program, NRCs from the US, England, and Hong Kong were invited to speak at a conference in Canberra. Several NRCs

were also invited to write chapters for edited volumes on civic education, some of which used CIVED data while others discussed the varied national contexts (Arthur et al. 2008; Wilde 2005).

As a result of cooperation among the NRCs from Australia, Hong Kong, and the US, an article was published in the *Comparative Education Review*, based on secondary analysis of the CIVED data for students from Australia, Hong Kong, and the US (Kennedy et al. 2008). We were concerned that when researchers compare item response theory scale means, as they did in the international report, this masked important distinctions between student samples in different sociocultural contexts. For that reason, this article compared percentages of student responses on scales and individual items and drew on research literature about civic culture and civic education in specific societies to understand similarities and differences in responses.

The article sought to explain, interpret, and bring meaning to the initial analysis using both insider and outsider perspectives. In other words, each author reflected on his or her own society's culture and history at the same time raising questions about contrasts and similarities seen in the other two societies. The focus was on scales concerned with citizenship (the conventional citizenship, social-movement citizenship, and expected future participation scales) and with rights (the women's rights and immigrants' rights scales). There was agreement among students in the three societies about which behaviors they considered most important to being a good citizen (voting, followed by showing respect for leaders and knowing the country's history), as well as behaviors they considered least important (joining political parties and following and discussing political affairs). However, upon reflection it became clear there are different reasons in the three countries. Across societies students also tended to support social or community engagement, rather than political engagement. Further, although regardless of country students gave priority to the same behaviors, there was considerable variation across societies in students' level of endorsement of particular actions, with US and Hong Kong students for the most part indicating support for higher levels of engagement than students in Australia. Those differences could be attributed to differing histories, civic cultures, and school instruction. Across societies, most students were supportive of rights for women and immigrants, although with differing intensity of support, again reflecting local histories, cultures, and instruction. Both local and global forces appeared to be important to understanding youth civic orientations, and other researchers should be encouraged to explore findings from international studies at this level of detail and in light of particular sociocultural and historic contexts.

Working with Hong Kong and Australian colleagues was an introduction to the diversity of civic education in the Asia Pacific Region through participation in conferences and writing for publications. Synthesizing articles placed CIVED in the context of other comparative and international research in civic education (Hahn 2010a, 2010b, 2016).

Since 2009, I have been studying civic education in northern Europe in a comparative qualitative study of schools serving many students of immigrant backgrounds in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (Hahn 2015, 2017, 2020). This study builds on the earlier *Becoming Political* study (Hahn 1998), but focuses on migration and transnationalism, as over the past 20 years these countries have experienced increased migration and diversity as well as changes in civic education policies. These four countries participated in different IEA studies (CIVED, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 16), which assessed students' attitudes toward immigrants' rights and compared immigrant and non-immigrant students on a number of scales. However, those studies did not have parallel qualitative data, and this study was designed to investigate what civic education looks like in specific schools and how educators think about preparing citizens when their students' families come from many different countries. Distinct civic and pedagogical cultures, as well as differing histories of migration and diversity, influence civic education. The educators in this study identified many advantages and a few challenges in teaching citizenship to classes with many students of immigrant backgrounds. However, with a few exceptions,

they tended to take into account their students' transnational knowledge, experiences, and attachments in quite limited ways.

The more I have learned about civic education cross-nationally, from CIVED and other studies, the more I have come to appreciate the important differences that reflect differing historic and socio-cultural contexts. It is important not to generalize findings from one country to another and for researchers to provide as much information as they can about the historical and socio-cultural contexts of the countries from which their data are obtained. The formation of a network of comparative civic education scholars has resulted in researchers developing a deepened understanding of national and global citizenship.

However, National Research Coordinators are not the only CIVED scholars who have continued to extend civic education research. Several senior scholars were selected to be on the US National Expert Panel for Phase I and the US CIVED Steering Committee for Phase II because of their expertise in civic education, and several younger scholars began their careers as doctoral students working on the research team for the project. Both groups of individuals have continued to make contributions to civic education, social studies, and education broadly. Notably, Walter Parker, from the University of Washington, a member of the Expert Panel and Steering Committee, has extended his earlier work on diversity and democratic education, the importance of classroom discussion, and civic education curriculum development. In recent years he led a team to reform the curriculum for civics and government courses. His design-based research places simulations and experiential-based learning at the center of instruction (Parker 2018). Patricia Avery, from the University of Minnesota, was another senior scholar who brought considerable expertise to the US National Expert Panel and Steering Committee's work. Avery, and one of her doctoral students, Annette Simmons, conducted the textbook study for Phase I of CIVED in the US (Avery and Simmons 2001). Subsequently, Avery extended her earlier work on students' civic attitude development to a cross national study, supported by the Constitutional Rights Foundation that included nine central and eastern European countries (Levy et al. 2011).

Doctoral students on the Phase I team for CIVED in the US built on their work on the project for their dissertations. Extending her interest in the Phase I discussion of social cohesion and diversity, Paulette Dilworth conducted studies on multicultural citizenship education. In subsequent years, she wrote several publications on diversity and civic education (e.g., Dilworth 2008) and worked as a university administrator focusing on diversity issues. A second doctoral student, Trisha Sen, extended her work on the CIVED discussion of teaching that connects economic and political institutions to her dissertation study of such teaching in the US and India. She has continued to work on teacher development and educational reform in India.

Extending Research Beyond CIVED

In addition to the research conducted by the CIVED researchers cited above, the next generation of civic education scholars in the US has extended findings and methodologies from CIVED. Knowles et al. (2018) identified and summarized more than 100 studies that reported analyses of CIVED and ICCS 2009 data. In addition to re-examining the original data, numerous scholars have extended lines of inquiry established in the CIVED study. Theresa Alviar Martin, Ana Solano Campos, and Laura Quaynor used CIVED scales and concepts in their own studies examining civic attitudes in samples of immigrant and refugee students in Hong Kong, the US, and Costa Rica. In addition to Diana Hess' research described earlier, Li-Ching Ho, Thomas Misco, and Judith Pace have been researching controversial issues, discussions, and civic outcomes in different national contexts. Brett Levy (2019) has used multiple methods to improve the measurement of and explore the concepts of political efficacy, political interest, classroom climate, and school-level civic participation among US students.

As noted earlier, research by Kahne and Middaugh, and Levinson extended the CIVED findings related to inequality. In addition, in recent years, many researchers in the US have used qualitative methods to explore a theme that emerged in Phase I of CIVED in the US: the varying civic experiences among youth of color (Castro and Knowles 2017). Further, as the internet and social media have become central features of civic and youth life in the years since CIVED, researchers are now exploring questions related to digital citizenship (Kahne et al. 2016) and "action civics" that extend earlier conceptions of civic behavior and active citizenship (Blevins et al. 2016).

Two organizations have been instrumental in expanding the research on civic education. CIRCLE, now based at Tufts University (originally established at the University of Maryland) conducts and supports research by others on youth civic engagement, using many different samples. Finally, in the decade since the Spencer Foundation launched its "New Civics" Initiative in 2008, they have funded more than 100 studies of civic education in the US and internationally. A Spencer Foundation grant supported the establishment of a project called CivicLEADS, at the University of Michigan (CivicLEADS.org). That project has curated and made freely available more than 20 data sets (with accompanying instruments and publication lists); this includes three IEA data sets (CIVED, ICCS 2009, ICCS 2016).

Concluding Reflections

Although it is not possible to draw a direct causal link between CIVED and changes in civic education policy and practices, it appears that over time the study did have considerable impact on enhancing recognition of the importance of civic education in the US. It is true federal officials and the media gave little attention to the release of the CIVED national and international reports. These officials did not agree to support participation in the subsequent IEA civic education studies. However, individuals who worked on the CIVED study were respected (and persistent) members of the social studies/civic education community, which enabled them to bring attention to this area of schooling. Findings from this study along with advocacy from many individuals and groups convinced many policymakers of the importance of deliberate civic education. Many states and school districts have increased their requirements for students taking civics or government before they can graduate from secondary school. Thanks to CIVED and other researchers, today there is widespread agreement among civic educators that an open classroom climate for discussion and participatory school civic experiences are important for civic knowledge and engagement. Whereas CIVED identified inequality as an important issue that needed addressing, civic education researchers of today are exploring the nuances and complexity of diverse identities, civic experiences, and civic outcomes.

CIVED confirmed that there was no longer a gender difference in civic knowledge in the US as had existed previously and that finding was later confirmed in national assessments. However, CIVED revealed quite a few gender differences in civic attitudes that have been only partially explored (Hahn and Quaynor 2012; Kennedy et al. 2008).

Researchers in the US are currently exploring other lines of inquiry that have become salient in recent years. In particular, they are investigating the role of digital and social media in civic learning and also ways in which increased political polarization in the country impacts youth. Unfortunately, they are not able to gain insights from an internationally comparative view on these issues because the officials in the US who are responsible for organizing and funding the international studies did not agree to participate in IEA's civic education studies after 1999. Many of us hope that the public and their representatives will soon swing back from a period of what appears to be isolationism and a narrow concern for mathematics and science achievement to recognize the need for placing US students' civic experiences in a global context and again join the community of international civic education scholars in future studies.

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PART 2:

Regional Perspectives and the Discussion of Selected Issues

CHAPTER 16:

The Personal, the Professional, and the Political: An Intertwined Perspective on the IEA Civic Education Studies

Erik Amnå

Abstract This chapter describes a political scientist's progression from analyses of the development of Western democracies to a focused interest in young citizens' civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement in these democracies. The IEA CIVED data are an important but not fully utilized research resource. With some notable exceptions, political scientists often seem to disregard the 18 years of preparation of first-time voters. Fueled by the Swedish parliamentary democracy commission's pleas for civic education to build the democratic infrastructure of the country, his scope of concern widened into a fascination with the political socialization taking place during adolescence in everyday life contexts. The multi-disciplinary IEA studies were a major inspiration to create a research team collaborating with developmental psychologists and communication scientists. They longitudinally followed 13 to 30-year-old Swedes over six years in order to see how political views become shaped in adulthood as *alienated*, *passive*, *active*, or *standby* citizens. More than anyone expected even a decade ago, adolescents have entered as major political actors into international, national, and local political arenas throughout the world. Political scientists have become curious about what happens in school as well as in other contexts. Furthermore, the major threats many democracies are facing in terms of climate change denial along with populism can neither be properly understood nor solved without the engagement of this generation.

Introduction

When scholars in various disciplines consider schools and wonder what they actually mean in the process of shaping young citizens and democracies in various nations, they encounter publications reporting studies from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), sometimes unexpectedly. This organization and its four studies in the civic education content area generously offer researchers large and unique comparative data collected with rigorously prepared instruments and analyzed along the highest scientific standards from nationally representative samples. In addition, it provides them with transparently developed theories, concepts, and instruments, and with detailed reports and archives of data that are freely available (CivicLEADS.org). More and more the IEA data have been able to satisfy the needs of researchers from fields that are much broader than the founders of the organization, who were specialists in comparative education research, would have envisioned. Yet, there is more to do in making these data and findings relevant in arguing for the civic dimension and centrality of our schools. This is especially true in the democratically troublesome time that has recently become ours. Trust is decreasing. Even a high trusting country like Sweden is witnessing a small but worrisome loss of trust among its most vulnerable groups of citizens (Rothstein and Holmberg 2020). The democratic qualities of the political system of countries such as Turkey, Russia, Venezuela, and Nicaragua appear to be weakening. In many parts of Europe populist parties are strengthening and receiving increased voter support. What do we foresee about where this process will take us? In response, where do we want to take civic education? How can this issue about a decreased support in politics and democratic principles be addressed in the future by social scientists paying closer attention to understanding the attitudes of adolescents who are

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developing political opinions that remain with them into adulthood? I am a political scientist, but this chapter will reflect on these issues from personal and professional points of view as well.

Personal Perspectives

I came to learn about the value of IEA civic education studies several years after the 1975 publication of the first study but about the time of the publication of the second in 2001. So, it was nearly two decades ago that I discovered the existence of the IEA studies and their data. It was immediately after my finalization of the report by the Swedish Governmental Commission on Democracy. The Commission aimed to be a general evaluation of the sustainability of the Swedish democracy. More than one hundred scholars from about ten disciplines were engaged in a broad review. Special attention was paid to the development of globalization including our membership in the European Union, multi-level governance, citizen participation in political parties and civil society and the political implications of emerging information technologies. A core point of departure was that "a democratic government presupposes that a civic culture of mutual respect and trust is kept alive in families, working places, pre-schools and schools, civil society and of course also in politics" (Swedish Governmental Commission on Democracy [SGCD] 2000, p. 15). One of the main threats identified by the Commission was the marginalization of youth as a result of unemployment and simultaneous retrenchments of the welfare state. It saw frightening tendencies toward growing racism and Nazism (even though the proportion of immigrants in Sweden at this time still was relatively small). In this light we argued for a dialogue between marginalized youth groups and political institutions in order to regain the political trust the latter had lost: "Furthermore, if established politicians fail to listen to these groups there will be a risk that an important opportunity for engagement will be turned into an increased marginalization; an already existing marginalization will be developed into unreachable extremism … Youths constitute an important resource and their experiences cannot be ignored" (SGCD 2000, p. 227).

The parliamentarians of the commission unanimously argued for the centrality of the school in defending and shaping the qualities of the Swedish democracy. Its section describing the mission of citizen education said "[The school] need to foster a critical approach … It ought to foster basic knowledge that will create conditions for individuals to value the enormous resources of knowledge in the information society and put single episodes into their contexts as well as foster critical thinking" (SGCD 2000, p. 88). It has to develop knowledge about and insights into competing societal and historical views and their consequences—and itself should remain a democratic environment allowing disagreement. What makes a democracy a democracy is not that we agree but our rights to disagree (and even that we are encouraged to disagree). The educational system is a central meeting place for different cultures and viewpoints. There we can develop a capability for dialogue and a mutual respect around the issues binding us together: "How we shall live together, how the society shall be designed, and how we shall solve conflicts without violence or threats of violence. … However, the school's single mission may not be to *teach* knowledge about democracy, moral and critical thinking. It must also be a democratic arena; the students must be introduced to democracy in practice" (SGCD 2000, p. 242).

In the initial studies after the commission had launched its report, a group of post-doctoral scholars in political science together with me asked ourselves if the differences observed between the Swedish conclusions and the simultaneously ongoing democratic audits in Denmark and Norway could be traced back to attitudes, skills, and future expectations of the students in these three countries found in IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Amnå et al. 2007). At about the same time I was invited by the Swedish Parliament to make a contribution to a jubilee volume about the first 80 years of democracy in Sweden, 2008. We analyzed results from CIVED, carried out in Scandinavia in 1999, in order to predict the respondents' behavior as first-time voters in the general election of 2014. Moreover, when the election results were released in 2014 we were

pleased to find a striking predictability from our use of the CIVED data. These two studies were realized thanks to a fruitful and decade-long cooperation with Dr Ingrid Munck, a gifted statistician who also had been deeply involved in the first generation of IEA studies of citizenship and civic education. Note that she has remained active in analyzing IEA's data with a recent publication about the scale measuring support for immigrants' rights (Munck et al. 2018).

In the next step, my personal interest in young people's civic and political engagement was further energized. When given the privilege to drive Pippa Norris, an internationally known political scientist, from Oslo Airport to a doctoral course on the Swedish North-west coast, our conversation turned to the current state of political socialization research. In particular, we shared our worries about the lagging interest that our discipline was demonstrating in an area that had shown such theoretical and methodological strength a few decades before.

After this encounter I developed the ambition to develop a Swedish longitudinal study on the civic and political development of adolescents and young adults. Since then I have been deeply involved in a professionally fascinating and demanding cooperation exploring how political socialization evolves through activities in families, peer networks, schools, social media, and associational life. At the young Örebro University, founded in 1999, I found prominent colleagues in development psychology, pedagogics, and media and communication studies whose research interests showed a promising overlap with the challenges that had occupied me ever since my work for the Commission on Democracy. Ten years after our report was presented to the government I now am able to address some of these challenges with research data. When the incoming advisory board met for the first time, one of its members, Judith Torney-Purta made sure that the new research program was informed about the vast experiences from the IEA civic education studies theoretically as well as methodologically.

Professional Perspectives

The IEA data have contributed a great deal to my research. I have been involved in various analysis, workshops, seminars, conferences, and publications utilizing IEA's civic education data. In a recent conference in collaboration with the Nordic ministers of Education, I invited scholars, teachers, school policymakers, and student representatives to approach the mission of the Nordic school in democratically troubling times. In keynote speeches and seminar presentations, IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 played a significant role. Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz, who has been a leader in IEA's civic studies for more than 25 years, presented the Nordic students' results under the both encouraging and challenging metaphor of a lighthouse. She argued for approaching civic education as running for a target that is moving all the time while the contexts of the schools are changing over time (Carstens and Malak 2019, p. 19).

During the spring of 2019 I took part in the first Advisory Committee meeting preparing ICCS planned for 2022 (having been part of these deliberations since 2014). One of the topics I brought up for discussion is how we can bridge the traditional gap between the political scientists' focus on the interest and attitudes dimensions and the educationalists' interest in the knowledge dimensions. I will come back to this challenge later in this chapter.

My overall impression is that for too long the field of political science has unfortunately been neglecting the IEA civic education data and its findings. The first real attempt I made to wake up my colleagues was in a joint project with a junior political scientist. We were curious to compare youths from Northern and Southern Europe concerning their democratic attitudes and particularly their willingness to act politically. We aimed at matching the IEA CIVED data with data from the youngest respondents of the European Social Survey. It was a way to show how the data could illuminate vital research questions about the political and civic role of the school in democracies. We were surprised with the finding that young citizens in more established democracies seemed less activist oriented than those in the same generation living in less mature

democracies, while their parents showed an opposite pattern. Do the adults of the South leave the ambitious orientations they perhaps had during adolescence and give up these possibilities to gain political influence? Do the seemingly passive Nordic adolescents turn into activists as adults when they start to notice problems or a need for common efforts? What was the role of the school in these two different political contexts? In addition, the unique data were also suitable for those of us interested in comparative research about young people's civic engagement and political participation (Amnå and Zetterberg 2010). At that time, I could hardly imagine that these issues would become a recurring theme in my research on *standby citizens* (Ekman and Amnå 2012; Amnå and Ekman 2014). When the multi-disciplinary team I coordinated at the Political Socialisation Programme at Örebro University created the code book for the five waves of that panel study, we were in many respects inspired and helped by the many years of development that had been done by the IEA civic education experts (reflected in Amnå et al. 2009; Amnå 2012). In particular, we found the ways in which they had approached the concepts of civic knowledge and of the classroom climate, highly relevant.

In general, I would argue that the limited interest in IEA's civic education studies' data generally comes from a limited interest in youth and socialization research and particularly from lack of familiarity with comparative analysis. The few exceptions like the outstanding comparative socialization studies by Marc Hooghe at Leuven (often using IEA data) clearly lead to the same conclusion (see, for example, Hooghe et al. 2016). Some of it may come from complacency on the part of educators in Sweden or an over emphasis on letting students have freedom to develop and express their own attitudes. A recent article by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019) has highlighted the fact that a very large proportion of Swedish teachers surveyed in ICCS 2009 endorsed aims relating to fostering independent thinking; there was also somewhat more emphasis on fostering tolerance than in the other eleven countries. However, future political participation was not endorsed as an aim by substantial numbers of teachers. Moving beyond these findings to speculation, could this pattern of findings suggest unintended negative consequences? If independent thinking is by far the most important aim of Swedish teachers, does that mean they do not feel obliged to foster any value positions? Is it perhaps a problem for schools and society if students "independently" decide that they are apathetic about participation or that they want to discriminate against immigrants? Indeed, teachers' general positions and roles when dealing with attitudes toward controversial issues, including national identity, have recently been paid intensified professional and scholarly attention (Ljunggren 2014).

Currently, in 2019, I still see very few early career political science scholars using IEA data, with few exceptions (for example, Ekman and Zetterberg 2011; Arensmeier 2019). In contrast, I can see considerable curiosity among younger researchers in education, and developmental and social psychology, with whom I have had the privilege to cooperate in two large European programs: Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation (PIDOP) (Brunton-Smith and Barrett 2014); and, Constructing Active Citizenship with European Youth: Policies, Practices, Challenges and Solutions (Catch-EyoU) (Serek and Jugert 2018). Perhaps the richness of IEA civic education data is clearest in multi-disciplinary research, such as the collaboration we had between educationalists and political scientists using the ICCS 2009 Swedish data. One interesting finding concerns a compositional effect. In school environments where many highly educated parents' children can be found, contexts are apparently developed that are very favorable for students' acquisition of citizen competencies. This compositional effect is particularly important for student attitudes towards immigrants, trust for institutions, political self-efficacy, civic knowledge, and participation in school democratic activities as well as for their self-prognosticated social engagement, electoral participation, and political activism. These are all positive effects after controlling for individual factors such as length of parental education and social background (Amnå et al. 2010.)

Political Perspectives

One of my continuing questions over the years has been why there is such a discrepancy between a growing interest in IEA civic education data among scholars but ignorance on the part of politicians and policymakers. Even the civic knowledge test results regularly fail to get the politicians' attention (compared with the international rankings of students' skills in mathematics, language, and reading). The public and political discussions are increasingly shaped by the frames of reference inspired by concepts such as *the global knowledge society* and *the information society* rather than by humanistic concepts rooted in the values of sustainability, justice, solidarity, trust, and tolerance at the local or national levels. At best, democracy is being taken for granted. At worst, it is downplayed to become a subordinated dimension of students' development.

However, there has been a recent shift in this situation. Nowadays right and left extreme political parties in many countries are questioning basic democratic principles. At the same time the values of independent institutions are questioned throughout Europe. Taking all the national general elections into consideration, the populist parties are gaining support from about every fifth European voter. The social-democratic parties are gaining about the same number of voters (Timbro 2019). Even in the May 2019 European Parliamentary Election, the right-wing populist parties as well as the nationalist parties were among the victors.

So, rather suddenly not dictatorships but populism appears to constitute the major threat to our democracies. Could we have anticipated this deterioration if closer attention had been paid to the IEA citizenship and civic education data? I think so. Probably more in-depth analyses of the groups of students who neither share the democratic beliefs in rights for all nor trust the institutions of their governments might have been able to anticipate this hollowing out of the democratic values (Torney-Purta 2009; Torney-Purta and Barber 2010). Yet, we may have been too naïve when focusing on satisfaction that a considerable majority is strong defenders of vibrant liberal democracies. Like many politicians we may have been misled by the international competition among countries in knowledge scores or by the IEA methodology, which reports scale scores normed to the countries that participated (rather than scale scores that are meaningful in relating to the scale used for measurement). What might have happened if we had not chosen to ignore the fact that as many as 10–20% of the students actually scored considerably lower than their colleagues in their understanding of and respect for core democratic principles?

We should ask ourselves whether being caught unaware of the roots among adolescents of populism, we can recover and find clues in an intense analysis of the data sets with this in mind. Therefore, I would like to outline some possible avenues for making the IEA citizenship and civic studies even more politically and educationally significant by further improving their relevance inside the classrooms as well as in the school yards and beyond. I will argue that our joint urgent civic mission is to combat the current threats and in the long run prevent a backlash against democracy by critically assessing how civic competences are developed in the light of our normative theories about civic culture. We cannot do this without understanding more deeply the role of the school in very different national and local contexts of peers, politics, media, and families (Amnå 2012).

Future Perspectives

Looking ahead, the schools' capacities to promote a civic culture as a democratic infrastructure of the democracies seems to be a key part of human development in a time of dramatic challenges. Around the world, democratic regimes are far from being "the only game in town" that many have worked for globally. On the contrary, democracies are tested and challenged, not least by many youths on both the left and right who want changes and hope for a secure and sustainable future for themselves.

I therefore think we have to recognize that democracy is not something you have to fight for only once or until it is formally installed. Step by step we have become seriously aware how dependent its strength is on the citizens and leaders who are commissioned to design and govern its institutions. It became obvious early in the pandemic of Covid-19 in 2020 that established democracies are severely injured by their leaders' failure to lead them through various forms of crisis in ways that all parties accept as fair. In general, an increasing number of elected politicians now have the unpleasant task to compete with aggressive populist parties that are gaining widened citizen support through open denial of fundamental ethical and institutional democratic principles (Eatwell and Goodwin 2018).

The democratic dilemma is nowhere more visible than in handling the scientifically verified topic of climate change. It probably constitutes the most demanding political problem we have been forced to handle in peace time. This is because it has personal, economic, social, scientific, and political dimensions. We have to "save the earth" by mobilizing and developing some of the virtues many of the democracies now are lacking such as trust in political, scientific, and media institutions.

The youth who led huge climate demonstrations that have been taking place all over Europe seem to be in accordance with a greater voter support for the green parties in the European Parliament election of May 2019. However, European young adolescents' current initiating of school strikes in country after country are a desperate way of trying to wake up political leaders and get them to act. These citizens more than any other age group have to bear the burden of a largely ignorant adult generation. Their cry for change raises serious questions about what schools themselves are doing and could be doing confronted with their massive engagement as well as the simultaneous spread of disengagement and alienation among their school mates. From divergent points of view the engaged and the alienated seem to share some of the same deep frustration over current politics and politicians. They cannot connect current politics with satisfying answers to their urgent questions about global threats such as climate changes and migration processes. Neither do they trust politicians' willingness to listen to them. Populism is bridging these gaps by a somewhat surprising mix of denial of facts on the one hand and a merciless critique of a detached elite.

Inspired by the link between higher education and less sympathy for populism (Fitzgerald 2019) we may reflect on how our survey instruments can be further developed to deepen our understanding of both the engaged and the alienated student groups. Even if the research communities hitherto have paid far more attention to the former group, our theories are not yet fully developed to adequately understand the contrasting roots of political passivity: trust or distrust in political institutions. Concerning the alienated students we social scientists, like most of the mainstream political parties, for too long have seen their passivity as not changeable by the behavior of the political leaders or parties. We social scientists may have overlooked the dynamic and even participatory potential of these young people who are now becoming voting adults. Therefore, we had difficulties to fully understand the rapid rise of populist parties.

In the remainder of this chapter I consider three areas in need of theoretical development in order to be able to thoroughly map the nature of students' orientations to citizenship beyond the prevailing binary view of good and poor citizens.

Contested civic knowledge. Are there ways to conceptualize and measure young citizens as representing something more than negative deviations from our ideals? Can they be understood and given status as bearers of an alternative democratic ideal of deeply believing in the principle of majority rule without valuing political liberalism to balance independent institutions such as the media, courts, and the financial system? What would such an acknowledgement of a populist democratic ideal—majority rule in which the winner of the majority wins it all—imply for studies such as the IEA civic education studies? Have we misleadingly regarded only dictatorships

(lacking both majority rule and political liberalism) to be the main threat to our democracies? The ability to understand and defend democratic ideals has to be improved but also we need critical reflection on existing democracies from various perspectives. Some of those reflections may need to be accessible for students with diverse reading capabilities (Arensmeier 2015).

Fostering tolerance represents a second area in which liberal democracy is becoming contested globally. As I touched upon above, I can see at least two general causes. Migration processes constitute a continuous challenge for our societies. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has shown that in 2017 there were about 25.4 million refugees around the world. As few as 10 countries are hosting 60% of the refugees. In these countries and others with a great influx of immigrants, tensions due to diverse social habits and expressions of religious traditions and beliefs are evident.

Another tendency that may explain growing uncertainty has to do with the development of education and democracy itself. Increased socioeconomic level appears to generally be followed by changes in values that downplay loyalty, tradition, and stability while favoring self-expressing values of individuality and authenticity. This is true for social, religious, political, territorial, and sexual identities. This deep value change means an expanded room for negotiations about identities and finally an enlarged variety of differing identities. In many countries it leads to stringent challenges to tolerance towards diversity. For some countries, like the Nordic ones, it may be one of the first real tests of what is widely believed to be their world-leading high standards of tolerance. There is some evidence that males are less likely than females to practice such tolerance. All over Europe, political movements have gained great popularity among the citizens by exploiting and condemning diversity most notably by blaming the newly arrived refugees for most of the problems facing their states. More than we may have expected, schools not only can pave the way for independent thinking but have to recognize its mission to safeguard humanistic democratic principles. Teacher education needs to place more emphasis on personally encouraging and professionally arguing for upgrading their role as defenders of democracy.

Stimulating public interest in balancing the individualizing and self-actualizing forces of citizen norms in the process of common problem solving is crucial for the future development of our democracies. Political scientists continue to remind us about the powerfulness of political interest in all aspects of individuals' knowledge, attitudes, and activities in politics (Prior 2018). In this light we do not actually know much about "political" interest (Fitzgerald 2013) or about why it actually grows (Stattin et al. 2017). However, we know that people's concepts of politics correlate with gender, ideology, and nationality. We also know when this important but somewhat vague curiosity about politics develops (Prior 2018; Russo and Stattin 2017; Flanagan 2013). Political interest in particular seems to develop between the ages of 13 to 15, if it develops at all. Since we also know that political interest as well as civic knowledge correlates with (good or bad) feelings about politics, this should be recognized in classrooms. Hopes and worries regarding the climate currently seem to be a major factor explaining political interest and political participation. Emotions about politics seem to be tightly associated with political interest and civic knowledge. Furthermore, a seemingly robust disinterest can be turned into some level of political engagement though it may have a different focus from that recognized in older generations. In part, this is one thing we can learn from the seemingly rapid growth of electoral support for populist parties in European politics.

In the last analysis, civic education takes place in changing global contexts and conflicts concerning climate, economy, poverty, inequality, and politics. Moreover, the changes and conflicts require continuous open-minded reflections and experiments on the ways in which we deal with conflicts righteously and peacefully. Is there a more sustainable way to defend democracy?

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CHAPTER 17:

Joining an International Community of Practice: Reflections on the IEA Civic Education Studies

Carolyn Barber

Abstract This chapter presents reflections from an educational researcher who began her involvement with the project as an early career scholar soon after the release of the first IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) report nearly two decades ago. She describes the secondary analysis of these data that took place, especially in the ensuing decade, along with ways in which involvement with the IEA civic education studies shaped her own professional development and that of others. She describes joining the large and small communities of researchers (going back to the first IEA International Research Conference) and reflects on how the IEA civic education studies have shaped approaches to studying educational processes and the development of social attitudes in students. In particular, the nature of these data and emerging statistical methodologies allowed the exploration of the role of contextual factors in civic development. Second, cross-disciplinary collaborations with international specialists in the social and behavioral sciences (as well as educational researchers) provided perspectives that broadened the educational or developmental psychology approaches common in the United States. The benefits and challenges of work with large-scale data and with interdisciplinary and cross-national collaboration are highlighted. Links to the datasets and to lists of publications are described.

Introduction

The first International Research Conference (IRC) of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in Nicosia, Cyprus was an introduction for many to the opportunities for secondary analysis of data from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) and to the international communities of researchers undertaking this work. In the year leading up to this conference, I had been a doctoral research assistant at the University of Maryland, analyzing CIVED data on topics such as educational inequality, adolescents' sense of political trust, and democratic school participation. However, IEA IRC attendees represented a broader international community of researchers with a common interest in IEA's international studies across subject areas, including international leaders of the studies alongside researchers with both substantive and methodological expertise in working with the studies.

This was an intentional feature not only of the IEA and CIVED research community, but of the CIVED study itself, as illustrated in the conceptual framework created several years earlier to guide the study. Specifically, Torney-Purta et al. (2001) cited "communities of practice," a concept used by Lave (1991) to describe how individuals learn through shared interactions with members of a community with common goals. Individuals begin observing or taking on an apprentice role, and gradually move to more central roles in the group. This sociocultural perspective on learning, which was key to the CIVED steering committee's conceptualization of 14-year-olds' civic learning, has also been applied to doctoral and post-graduate education (Carretero et al. 2016; Shacham and Od-Cohen 2009). As a researcher beginning doctoral study just as the CIVED study data were being made available for secondary analysis, my communities of practice, like those of many early career scholars who have published based on these studies (e.g., Isac, this volume; Pizmony-Levy and Torney-Purta 2018; Sandoval Hernandez et al., this volume) were shaped by the scholarly approaches and values of the researchers working on this study.

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Background: Early Career Development and Introduction to IEA

Working with large-scale datasets had been part of my studies in sociology at Johns Hopkins University, where I analyzed data from the universe of public secondary schools in the United States (rather than samples of students). However, interest in the interplay between the contexts of schools and the lives of the students who attended them led me to pursue graduate study in human development at the University of Maryland (College Park), specializing in educational psychology. There, I joined the CIVED research team led by Judith Torney-Purta and Jo-Ann Amadeo, who had been with this project from its inception nearly 10 years earlier. The CIVED project's book of national case studies (Torney-Purta et al. 1999) and report on international comparisons of 14-year-olds in CIVED (Torney-Purta et al. 2001) were already available. The upper-secondary report had recently been published (Amadeo et al. 2002), and a few special issues of journals relating to the studies were being developed. Most project leaders at the international coordinating center at Humboldt University of Berlin were returning to other responsibilities. At the University of Maryland, a plan was underway to develop an infrastructure to encourage researchers to use these cross-national civics data in further analyses, and to present the results of in-depth secondary analysis to a wide range of international audiences interested in youth development generally and more specifically in civic education.

It was clear that developing the full potential of these data would require resources for secondary analysis, and a proposal to the W. T. Grant Foundation to support this work had been funded. Independently, William Galston and Peter Levine had recently established the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland (and later moved it to Tufts University in Massachusetts, where it remains influential). CIRCLE's leadership was interested in disseminating brief reports of empirical studies to scholarly, practitioner, and policymaker audiences interested in youth civic engagement. This provided a way to disseminate short user-friendly presentations of findings from CIVED secondary analyses on topics such as media usage (Amadeo et al. 2004) or patterns of civic knowledge (Torney-Purta and Barber 2004).

The team from the University of Maryland also obtained funding from CIRCLE to establish the Civic Education Data and Researcher Services Center (CEDARS), whose goal was to encourage the use of data from the IEA civics studies by providing technical support, short reports for interested researchers, and enhanced datasets including scores on scales not included in the international data files. A collaborator in this work on the expanded datasets was Vera Husfeldt, who visited Maryland in 2005 after her decade of work in the international coordinating center for CIVED at Humboldt University (Husfeldt et al. 2005). This report, available on the University of Maryland website, details eight additional attitudinal scales derived from the IEA CIVED data, including attitudes toward ethnic minority groups and protective attitudes toward one's nation to supplement the 12 scales available on the IEA data sets.[1]

During doctoral studies I co-authored a number of articles, technical reports, and research briefs communicating CIVED research results to policymakers and educators while also working as a consultant on statistical issues and on substantive issues pertaining to classroom and school climate. In 2007, I accepted a faculty position at an urban research university in the Midwestern United States, with the expectation of sustaining a coherent line of scholarship. Analysis of the civics studies (first CIVED, then later the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education

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1   For a considerable period of time the datasets were available only through the IEA organization's website. However, recently they were archived by the CivicLEADS Project, which manages a collection of datasets in this area at the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (Regents of the University of Michigan 2020). About one third of the researchers who download the IEA CIVED and ICCS datasets from CivicLEADS are from outside the United States. The CivicLEADS website also provides a list of publications reporting analyses of these data, which can serve as a resource to scholars interested in identifying understudied research issues and choosing a journal for the submission of an article.

Study [ICCS] of 2009) served as the core of this scholarly agenda. Taking a faculty position also meant expanding roles as a mentor. This resulted in a research team to encourage students' use of several large-scale datasets to answer questions of interest to counseling and educational psychologists (e.g., Barber and Ross 2018, 2020; Barber et al. 2015). The communities of practice idea served as a model when forming this team.

Arriving at the University of Maryland just as potential for secondary analyses of the CIVED data was being recognized created a unique experience for professional development. However, some aspects of this experience can be generalized to working with large-scale, cross-national survey data in a variety of settings. The remainder of this chapter highlights three specific examples of this. First is a discussion of how analyzing large-scale civics data supports substantive and methodological approaches to educational research and psychology. Second, is a description of the interdisciplinary community that began more than 10 years ago and continues to be important for conducting research with such data. Finally, there are comments about the value of international collaborations for this work more generally.

Preparing Educational Psychologists to use Large-Scale Civics Data

Educational psychologists are interested in understanding how young people develop within learning environments, including consideration of both the contextual features of the environment and their interactions with individual characteristics. The use of representative data sets, particularly from multiple countries, allows the exploration of development in varied cultural and political contexts; this is seldom a strong feature of research in this area of psychology given its focus on smaller and non-representative samples. The IEA civics data sets provide large enough samples and a broad enough range of variables to analyze contextual variation in a meaningful way.

Contextualized Approaches to the Study of Educational Psychology

Like other branches of the discipline, educational psychology has historically relied on studies from non-representative and local data sources (a fact that Duncan, 1991, documented and lamented in developmental psychology several decades ago). However, results from such studies have limited contextual variability and often fail to generalize meaningfully to broader groups. Enhanced external validity is a benefit of conducting secondary analyses on nationally-representative datasets. One key way in which work with the CIVED/ICCS studies can have an impact upon educational psychologists is by making them sensitive to issues of context and generalizability. Mueller and Hart (2008) noted that a benefit of large-scale surveys, above and beyond their generalizability, is the ability to understand which aspects of context are most relevant to psychological and educational processes and outcomes. It is usually the case that large and varied samples are required to ensure sufficient power and variability to look within and between groups of students in order to examine moderating effects of context and culture.

Professional socialization in the context of the IEA civics studies can provide interested scholars with the tools to consider such interactions between process and context. One approach, for example, is to conduct regression models in multiple countries in order to consider how similarities and differences in findings, as was done to illustrate varied developmental processes in the growth of trust across national contexts (Torney-Purta et al. 2004). A second approach, using more advanced statistical methodologies, is to examine country-level characteristics alongside and in interaction with individual predictors of youth outcomes (e.g., Barber et al. 2013; Sandoval-Hernandez et al. 2018; Torney-Purta et al. 2008). With large sample sizes it is also possible to conduct robust analyses comparing predictors of student outcomes by gender, ethnic identity, or immigrant status (Barber and Torney-Purta 2009; Barber et al. 2015; Torney-Purta et al. 2007). For example, within the broader community of psychologists, Diemer and Rapa (2016), and Godfrey and Grayman (2013) have used CIVED data from the United States to examine the experiences of members of minoritized racial groups using moderation or multi-group techniques.

Many benefits of working with large-scale databases for educational researchers apply regardless of content area; in other words, similar benefits would be gained from looking at large-scale studies of math, science, or literacy. However, there are some features of large-scale studies of civic education (and their secondary analyses) that are worth highlighting. For one, compared to large-scale studies in other subject areas, the CIVED/ICCS studies have paid particularly close attention to the development of strong measures for the assessment of social context and of processes (noted in the review of 100 articles of secondary analysis of these data by Knowles et al. 2018). Of particular importance are measures of classroom climate, opportunities for student voice in the school, and (beginning in the ICCS 2009 study) perceptions of student/teacher relationships. These variables have expanded the potential of these data sets for those interested in understanding educational contexts cross-nationally (e.g., Reichert et al. 2018) and secondary analyses incorporating these variables were featured prominently in an examination of learning environments as supports for civic reasoning and discourse sponsored by the United States-based National Academy of Education (Barber et al. 2021).

The focus on participatory intensions and on attitudes alongside civic knowledge as outcomes has expanded interest in studying how context may shape key aspects of development. An early product of the team at Maryland was a "28-country database" containing national indicators for countries participating in the CIVED study. While many of these variables can be studied in relation to knowledge (a classic outcome for educational psychologists regardless of subject area), indicators added to this data source have also been used to predict citizenship norms (including those pertaining to human rights), inclusive attitudes toward participation, and political self-efficacy (Barber et al. 2013; Barber and Torney-Purta 2009; Torney-Purta et al. 2008).

Methodological Expertise for Large-Scale Data Analyses

To ensure national representation, the CIVED and ICCS surveys employed a complex sampling design (clusters of students within a stratified random sample of schools), and it is vital to weight and account for design effects before making claims about a representative sample. In addition, there are data that can be taken into account from students, teachers, schools, and countries. As acknowledged in the previous section, training in statistical methodologies appropriate for nested data, such as multilevel modeling, allows researchers interested in working with CIVED and ICCS to take more complete advantage of these data. For example, an early secondary analysis by the team at Maryland used multilevel modeling techniques to link teachers' attitudes and training to students' outcomes in the subset of countries where direct linking of students to teachers could be supported (Torney-Purta et al. 2005). This remains one of the few attempts to link specific teachers with their classes.

To place the contributions of such work in perspective, it is important to note a conclusion in a handbook chapter describing the potential contribution of secondary data sources (such as CIVED and ICCS) to research in social studies education. Heafner et al. (2016) concluded that the lack of training to analyze data from complex surveys has been a barrier to many researchers who have substantive interests in research on social studies and civic engagement. While it is not necessary to receive a degree in statistics to work with large-scale data, developing methodological expertise is vital. While some challenges (such as appropriately utilizing sample weights) are characteristic of work with large-scale data across subject areas, working with civics datasets can be especially challenging due to the focus on attitudinal/behavioral data measured on rating scales rather than the right/wrong items found in assessments of knowledge. As outlined both in the technical reports for CIVED (Schulz and Sibberns 2004) and ICCS (Schulz et al. 2011), as well as several secondary data analyses (e.g., Husfeldt et al. 2005; Munck et al. 2018), polytomous items add another level of difficulty to the already complex measurement characteristic of large scale assessments.

In many cases, researchers working with CIVED/ICCS data expand their community of practice by networking with others interested in effectively using large-scale datasets, in order to remain aware of up-and-coming methodologies, analytic tools, and data sources. Special interest groups (SIGs) in the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the Comparative International Education Society (CIES) have been instrumental in developing and sustaining this network, and researchers working with the civics data have served in leadership roles within these groups. Such SIGs promote and highlight work with large-scale data by sponsoring conference sessions, featuring datasets and their secondary analysis in newsletters and other publications, and presenting awards to particularly exemplary pieces of scholarship.

Cross-disciplinary Collaborations

In these groups organized around methodology, membership is drawn from across disciplinary backgrounds. In fact, some of the most valuable discussion takes place when subject-area educators, educational policy scholars, and methodologists have the opportunity to communicate. This speaks to another feature of work on CIVED and ICCS: work with these datasets brings together researchers from multiple disciplines. Scholars such as Duncan (1991) and Friedman (2007) have long highlighted the potential for secondary analyses to support opportunities for interdisciplinary collaboration among scientists. Such opportunities are particularly prominent in the CIVED and ICCS studies, as the measures they included have been drawn from a wide range of areas and have received widespread interest from a range of social and behavioral scientists: political scientists, educational researchers (especially those interested in social studies), psychologists, sociologists, comparative education researchers, social policy specialists, and political psychologists (a feature noted in the literature review from Knowles et al. 2018). Although disciplines differ in their approaches, there has nevertheless been a sense of membership in a common research community shared by those working with these data.

My own professional identity as an educational psychologist has been enriched by interdisciplinary collaborations working on the civic data with statisticians (Munck et al. 2018), political scientists (Maurissen et al. 2018, 2020), public policy researchers (Barber et al. 2013), and educational researchers from social studies (Knowles et al. 2018). For example, research on country-level moderators of attitudes toward immigration was facilitated by the opportunity to collaborate with a social policy researcher with expertise on immigration (Barber et al. 2013). Similarly, work with a statistician was crucial in introducing cutting-edge methodologies to the study of measurement invariance across cohorts using CIVED and ICCS data (Munck et al. 2018). As a historical note, the senior author of that article began as an early career scholar associated with the IEA studies during the 1970s at Stockholm University. The range of disciplines represented by the chapter authors in this volume provide further evidence of the interdisciplinary nature of the civic education studies.

Projects conducted both with CIVED/ICCS and other data sources and methodologies show that interdisciplinary research ultimately benefits from taking multiple approaches to a problem. Work with researchers in fields such as social studies education and social/educational policy has been important in considering the practical application of civic education research findings. In a recent interdisciplinary and international collaboration using ICCS data with political scientists, reviewing the work of educational psychologists provided new insight on social aspects of schooling (Maurissen et al. 2018). Such approaches can also come to define work conducted by researchers even when not using CIVED or ICCS data.

International Collaborations

Researchers working with the data from the civics studies have come from multiple countries in addition to coming from multiple disciplines. It is important that members of this international community find opportunities to come together, to share themes from their work and identify avenues to collaborate jointly on future projects. IEA IRCs have a dedicated strand devoted to civic education, which tends to attract the same audience members for every session. CIVED (and later ICCS) strands at the first IEA IRC in Cyprus, and the subsequent seven conferences held across the world, have illustrated this point. Other national and international research conferences (e.g., American Political Science Association, Comparative and International Education Society and the International Society for Political Psychology), and internal seminars for policy groups and funders (e.g., the Joint Research Centre of the European Commission) have provided similar experiences. Even though opportunities for electronic communication have expanded, being at a conference in person gives researchers important opportunities to hear perspectives face-to-face, and to spend time together in discussions outside of formal meetings. While videoconferencing technologies have become increasingly valuable (even essential), the benefits of face-to-face time in collaboration should not be discounted.

International collaboration is also fostered by personal visits to universities. In 2011, I spent two weeks in Sweden, at Örebro University working with Erik Amnå, Håkan Stattin, and colleagues in their Youth and Society Centre. This included a workshop on cluster-analytic (person-centered) techniques in civic education research, drawing an audience from across the Nordic and Baltic region. Later, during a sabbatical in 2016, I spent three months as a visiting scholar with the Centre for Political Research at the University of Leuven, working with Ellen Claes and the ICCS 2016 team from Flanders and participating in departmental colloquia with them (as well as with Marc Hooghe and his research team). Such extended stays facilitated consultations with scholars at all levels that would not have been possible at a conference. They also allow one to witness how differences in cultural context and policy priorities shape the approaches to encouraging young people to develop as citizens (and the research questions to be pursued).

Such collaborations require both skills (e.g., in navigating cultural differences in work environments) and resources to provide opportunities to hone these skills. Senior researchers can provide support for travel and leverage their networks to identify arrange the necessary connections for collaboration—key resources for an early career researcher (Flanagan et al. 2015). Beyond individual supports and connections, the National Research Council's (2014) report on strengthening international research collaborations in the social sciences focused on multiple ways in which home institutions could support faculty's international collaborations (e.g., through travel grants to international conferences and support for research leaves). This aspect of collaboration extends back 50 years in the history of the IEA network, stemming back to when the six subject area survey was headquartered at Stockholm University. Funding from the Spencer Foundation supported early career post-doctoral fellows, including several from the United States as well as from Finland and Hungary, who worked closely with more senior scholars on several projects. Similarly, my own ability to participate in international research collaborations was supported both by senior scholars in the field (including but by no means limited to the editors of this book) and by financial support from both my university and external sources.

Conclusion

Mentors and colleagues met through work with CIVED and ICCS have provided an enriching, interdisciplinary, and international community of practice for my research. Many other scholars of this generation and earlier generations have benefited in similar ways. This work, and the community in which it resides, provides not only a data source for empirical research, but also increasingly, opportunities to mentor up-and-coming researchers through conducting new

secondary analyses and synthesizing existing work (e.g., Knowles et al. 2018; Maurissen et al. 2018b). Once again true to sociocultural approaches to understanding learning, it has been the experiences in these groups tied to CIVED/ICCS that has given scholars of my generation specific skills to conduct research and to become productive members of professional communities contributing to educational discourse internationally in the field of civic education. This generation is already establishing its leadership and carrying on this tradition.

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CHAPTER 18:

IEA Civic Education Studies in Latin America: Paths of Influence and Critique in Policy and Research[1]

Cristián Cox

Abstract For the last two decades the international civic education studies of IEA have included a small group of Latin American countries. The results, in terms of learning outcomes in civic knowledge of their 14-year-old students, as well as the patterns of their attitudes and dispositions regarding political participation and coexistence, have been compared to other regions of the world. Describing the contribution of this type of international large-scale assessment to citizenship education and its renewal in the region is the purpose of this chapter, which in its first part addresses the issue of country participation. A second section describes the genesis of a Latin American module for assessing region-specific civic knowledge and attitudes, used both in the 2009 and 2016 cycles of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). Its relevance and potential are discussed. Parts three and four describe the evolution of the influence of IEA civic studies upon both the policymaking and research fields of countries of the region using concepts from the policy transfer literature.

Introduction

Democracy in Latin America as elsewhere has been historically linked to education. Since the struggles for independence in the first third of the 19th century, the construction of national states in Latin America has been inseparable from the vision that the school was of key importance for "educating the sovereign." The prolonged 20th century's effort to attain universal schooling had to contend with democracies that were frequently interrupted, distorted, and threatened. However, few questioned the ideal, which included communicating to new generations about how to organize government and peaceful coexistence. Periods of democratization and de-democratization (Tilly 2010) characterize the political trajectories of individual countries and the region. At the same time the conflict between the democratic ideal and authoritarianism has in the last quarter century given way to new political developments variously characterized as populism, consumer citizenship, and illiberal democracies (Philip 2003; Smith 2005; Oxhorn 2011; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñan 2013; Rovira Kaltwasser and Van Hauwaert 2019).

Since 2000, major surveys of adults have consistently found that about half the population across all countries of the region sustain consistent democratic beliefs and preferences. A quarter is non-democratic and, varying between years and studies, another quarter or more sustain "delegative conceptions of democracy" (O'Donnell 1994). These adult respondents are prepared to justify authoritarian government on security or economic grounds (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo 2004; Valenzuela et al. 2008; Seligson et al. 2013; Cohen et al. 2017). The concept of delegative democracy was defined by O'Donnell to refer to countries where free and clean elections take place, but where the government and especially chief executives feel authorized to act without institutional restrictions. These findings are analogous to those produced by consecutive International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) studies of the young at school, showing that a majority reject most but not all authoritarian practices in government (Schulz et al. 2011, 2018). There are fundamental questions about the

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205

nature of the political socialization that the school experience typically produces in the region and how this replicates or interrupts larger institutional and cultural dynamics embedded in differing national political contexts.

For the last two decades a small group of Latin American countries has joined the international civic education studies of IEA. The learning outcomes in civic knowledge of their 14-year-old students, as well as patterns of their attitudes and dispositions regarding political participation and coexistence, have been compared to the larger canvas that contains other regions of the world. Rationales for this participation, and the nature of the influences these studies have had on the policy and research fields of participating countries are discussed here. Examining the contribution of this type of international large-scale assessment to citizenship education and its renewal in the region is the purpose of this chapter.

I shall first characterize Latin American countries' participation in the studies, identifying patterns in the political and institutional contexts that favor participation. This includes discussing why only four countries, Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, and Mexico (out of 19 in the region), have participated in two or more studies. In a second section I will describe the genesis of the Latin American module assessing region-specific civic knowledge and attitudes in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and ICCS 2016. Its development involved a process of inter-institutional as well as academic and expert cooperation that bridged the north/south divide. Then I will refer to features of the evolution of the influence of IEA civic studies upon the region's policymakers and researchers. In a concluding section, I will bring together the descriptive and analytical threads. In particular I will discuss the potential for future developments in the relationships between IEA studies and the enhancement of Latin American schools' contribution to democracy. As a cross-cutting theme I will put forward possibilities for the use of international large-scale assessment studies (ILSAs) by national policymakers and other stakeholders to do more than "scandalize" or "glorify" national performances (Steiner-Khamsi 2012).

The Latin American Region's Participation in Civic and Citizenship Studies

Latin American countries' participation in ILSAs started in the last third of the 1990s, when these studies became an option for policymakers, and when their countries' educational agendas initiated a turn from coverage and student enrollment to quality and equity challenges. Only two countries participated in CIVED 1999, Colombia and Chile, revealing an early interest that remained, as they participated in ICCS 2009 and 2016. Together with Mexico and Dominican Republic, which participated in both cycles of ICCS, these are the only countries of the region to have participated more than once in IEA's sequence of civic studies. Guatemala and Paraguay participated only in ICCS 2009, and Peru only in ICCS 2016, thus composing the seven national educational systems of the region whose participation will be discussed.

Average performance on the civic knowledge test across the countries that participated in ICCS 2009 ranged from 380 to 483 scale points (international average 500); with a significant improvement in the results of both Colombia and Mexico, practically the same range obtained in ICCS 2016 (380 to 482 scale points), whilst the international average increased to 517 (Table 1).

Latin American education does not fare well in test results from international studies. Results in civic knowledge have consistently been well below the international average, positioning the countries of the region at the bottom of the rankings.

This may be important in the politics of decision making about participation of Latin American countries. That is, the public nature of the results is a potential source of "embarrassment and humiliation" (Kamens and Benavot 2012). To this needs to be added the more contested nature of civic knowledge compared to language and mathematics. In many Latin America countries'

Table 1: Latin America country averages for civic knowledge in ICCS 2009 and 2016.

	Civic Knowledge		
	ICCS 2009	ICCS 2016	Differences 2016-2009
Chile	483	482	-1
Colombia	462	482	+ 20 (*)
Mexico	452	467	+15 (*)
Peru	—	438	-
Guatemala	435	—	-
Paraguay	424	—	-
Dominican Republic	380	380	0
Latin American ICCS average	439	450	+11
International ICCS average	500	517	+17

Sources Schulz et al. (2011), ICCS 2009 Latin American report, Table 3.8; Schulz et al. (2018), ICCS international report, Table 3.11.
Notes (*) Statistically significant at 0.05 level.

political and intellectual fields, the contrast is often between "liberal" and "communitarian" views of democracy (Fierro 2016; Magendzo and Arias 2015; Riquelme 2019). The perception may be that IEA studies represent "developed liberal democracies" that are somewhat distant from Latin America's poverty and marked socioeconomic inequalities, together with cultural features of communitarian traditions. These cultural and/or ideological features may help explain the lack of expansion in country participation across the years.

Considering stark differences in the political cultures, the levels of development and the educational and political systems of the participating countries across two decades, I see three factors as relevant for interpreting the issue of participation. First is the degree of development of national institutions for the evaluation of education. This is not a necessary condition. Some of the countries that participated do not have these robust institutions, but Colombia, Mexico, and Chile certainly do. The consistency of their participation may be associated with the accumulation of professional and institutional capacities in national evaluation institutions for education, ICFES, INEE, and SIMCE, respectively.[2]

Secondly, policy-options are framed in terms of power and identity in certain national educational policy arenas in Latin America. The concepts of citizenship and democracy underlying the ICCS instruments may differ from those emphasized by national curriculum and evaluation, explaining non-participation. Trust building among key players in IEA and in countries' ministries, cost considerations in some countries, and unpredictable political and policy circumstances may advance or hinder decisions to participate.

Inter-institutional cooperation has been a feature of the history of IEA civic studies in the region. Two multilateral institutions have had a crucial role: the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). The first was instrumental in asking Torney-Purta and Amadeo to prepare a secondary analysis of the results of Colombia and Chile in the Civic Education Study (CIVED) of 1999, comparing these two countries with the United States and Portugal. The OAS supported the analysis and preparation of a report entitled *Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education: An Empirical Analysis Highlighting the Views of Students and Teachers* (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004). Published in English and in Spanish I consider this report as being at the founding intersection between empirical research and policy in the citizenship education domain in the region.

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2   Instituto Colombiano para la Evaluación de la Educación (ICFES), of Colombia; Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa (INEE), of Mexico; and Sistema de Medición de la Calidad Educativa (SIMCE), of Chile.

The IADB, in its turn, contributed to the setting-up and development of a consortium of countries interested in evaluating citizenship education, the Sistema Regional de Evaluación de Competencias Ciudadanas (*Regional System for the Development and Evaluation of Citizenship Competencies*) (SREDECC), which was instrumental for the elaboration of the Latin American module of ICCS 2009. Further, the IADB helped fund the participation of some countries in this study. I shall return to this mediating role of multilateral institutions in the concluding section.

In some sense the various conditions referred in this section, can be thought of as constituting emergent properties that set the context and capacities for the countries' participation.

ICCS Latin American Module: Striving for Regional Relevance

It is a major difference with other ILSAs that IEA's civic studies include regional-specific instruments or modules. The Latin American module was generated through extensive and effective cooperation between ICCS's central team and academics (along with ministries' personnel) from participating countries of the region. This was in the framework of a larger initiative to enhance civic education in the region supported both by the IADB and the OAS. The opportunity to include region-specific topics and issues in the evaluation framework and instruments decisively increased the relevance as well as interest in and impact of the studies. The overall process is a clear case of an emergent result, where actors and contingencies converged upon something not planned or visualized in the initial definitions of participants (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2015; Pritchett 2015).

The threads of this emergent result involved individuals and institutions from north and south. In the early 2000s Fernando Reimers, a Harvard University professor from Venezuela, who had been publishing on the need to prioritize civic education in the region (Reimers 2004), became aware of the CIVED study and invited Judith Torney-Purta to make a presentation about Hispanic students' civic preparation in the United States. This was the starting point for a closer examination of results from Chile and Colombia, the only Latin American countries that had participated in CIVED. Reimers presented his view that schooling in this region was doing a poor job regarding civic education to sector leaders in education and development at the IADB. He argued that the IADB could make a significant contribution by funding a "regional public good" consisting of an observatory of effective programs of citizenship formation to facilitate exchange of best practices among countries. Individual country teams could request support from the IADB for such a "regional public good." The Bank in 2005 put this at the center of the agenda of the regional meeting of education ministers (Trinidad and Tobago, August 2005), supported by OAS. It provided them with a document that offered a conceptual framework and evidence that justified a regional project for citizenship education's enhancement (Cox et al. 2005). The initiative received almost unanimous support and Colombia and Mexico proposed the project. A center was set up in Bogota, Colombia: the SREDECC. Two years after its creation while debating its larger priorities, the center decided that member countries' participation in the upcoming ICCS 2009 was important. Concurrently, OAS supported a survey on curricular and teacher-related features of citizenship covering 25 Latin American countries (Amadeo and Zepeda 2008).

The SREDECC convoked a regional expert group, coordinated by Fernando Reimers and consisting of consultants from Colombia (Enrique Chaux), Chile (Cristián Cox), Dominican Republic (Josefina Zaiter), Guatemala (Otto Rivera), Mexico (Amelia Molina), and Paraguay (Lilian Soto), who agreed upon a framework relevant for the region. The ICCS team had as its international study director Wolfram Schulz, who is fluent in Spanish and had done socio-political research in Latin America. With the contribution of Eugenio Gonzalez from the Educational Testing Service (ETS), a test and questionnaire were developed that gathered data on region-specific aspects of civics and citizenship fitting within the framework of the international test and questionnaires.

An examination of conceptual relationships between the framework developed by the Latin American group and the ICCS 2009 framework revealed differences in concepts and emphases (Cox 2010; Schulz et al. 2011). These were embedded in Latin American countries' recent political history as well as resulting from deeper and longer-term cultural features of the region. An example of the first is the salience of issues related to the history of authoritarian governments and the transition from dictatorial regimes to democracy, and also a less active concept of citizen participation than the one at the core of the international framework. An example of the second, was the Latin American group's restricted conceptualization of civil society, which did not include the economy or business organizations (see Oxhorn 2011).

After refining the common material to be measured from the ICCS assessment framework, the main issues assessed by the regional instrument were students':

- sense of Latin American identity;
- knowledge about and attitudes toward authoritarian government and dictatorship;
- knowledge about and attitudes toward corrupt practices in government and/or public services;
- knowledge about discrimination and their attitudes toward diversity; and
- knowledge about and attitudes toward the presence of violence in society (Schulz et al. 2011, p. 15).

In ICCS 2016, the regional student questionnaire covered most of these region-specific aspects, except for the "sense of Latin American identity" (Schulz et al. 2018). I believe this inadvertently removed from the assessment module the only dimension which was positive rather than negative about politics and citizenship in the region. The module concentrated on fundamental democratic deficits—dictatorships, corruption, violence, law disobedience. In my view this needs to be complemented with bases for construction of a democratic culture through schooling. Comparative analysis of curricula reveals three relevant dimensions of this culture receive scant or no attention: political tolerance, the common good in unequal societies, and the centrality of elections and voting. (Cox et al. 2014). To this it should be added that dictatorships or the risk of their return are no longer the focal political issue in the region. Instead it is the complex mix of populism, weak institutions, and a crisis or malaise in representation (Oxhorn 2011; Joignant et al. 2017; Bargsted et al. 2017; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2013).

The Latin American regional module has made a key critical contribution up to this point. Now it needs to move toward including positive dimensions of educational renewal relevant for current political times and contexts.

Paths of Influence on Policymaking: How Context Rules

The general question about how CIVED and ICCS studies have influenced the education policy field of participating countries in Latin America may be fruitfully approached with categories from the policy transfer and knowledge utilization literatures (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Dolowitz 2007; Stone 2004). A driving notion in analyses of policy transfer from one national or international context to another, apart from cases "in which one sees a photocopy emerge from the process" (Dolowitz 2007, p. 41), is that knowledge mobilized from one context to another is equivalent to knowledge transformed. This takes place through processes of selection, filtering, mixing, and translation shaped by political, institutional, ideological, circumstantial, and personal factors. What is borrowed will generally undergo substantial modifications. How hybridization, adoption, and mutation occur is key.

There has been no systematic research on how the IEA studies—their conceptual frameworks, instruments, and results—have affected Latin American countries' policy-fields and their decision-making regarding curriculum, evaluation, and teacher policies. Thus, questions about knowledge transfer and re-contextualization processes cannot be answered systematically. Instead, I will

refer to key features of these processes for the Chilean case, where I have first-hand experience, and I will discuss some features of the Colombian and Mexican cases, attempting to identify aspects of the studies' impact on policymaking across these three national cases.

To start, let us examine early reaction to the gaps in curriculum revealed by the evaluative framework of CIVED 1999 and the poor results of Chile's students in specific items of the civic knowledge test (Torney-Purta et al. 2001 with details in Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004). This process illustrates a key principle regarding influence. That is, national context in education is decisive in what gets selected and for what purposes from international comparative evaluations. In this case, CIVED's evidence and categories were used by a politically plural high-profile national commission, the Comisión Formación Ciudadana, to diagnose and propose improvements to civic education. This commission was convened by the Government reacting to pressure from the Chilean Senate. The focal problem at the time was the decreasing participation of the young generation in elections.

The Commission analyzed the country's results in CIVED's student test of civic knowledge, identifying particularly poor results related to specific curriculum features: a weak presence of contents referring to the political system's institutions and processes, absence of contents which referred to risks to democracy, and a curricular focus on historical knowledge and civil competencies. By this was meant competencies for day-to-day living with proximate others, or *convivenci*a, rather than *citizenship* (Ministerio de Educación 2004). The Commission invited CIVED's study leader Judith Torney-Purta and her collaborator in the OAS-supported secondary analysis, Jo-Ann Amadeo, to present the comparative CIVED results of the three countries of the Americas (United States, Colombia, and Chile). They focused on how the responses to specific items (and the wrong answers frequently chosen) provides more insight into shortfalls in the curriculum than the averages of civic knowledge scores that make media headlines (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2015; Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004).

Later, in 2009, during a different government, the Commission's proposal to fill vacuums and redress imbalance was partially implemented, after working its way through the Ministry of Education. A major curriculum adjustment of 2009 defined civic and citizenship contents (within history and the social sciences) in terms close to the Commission's. These were significantly based upon the civic knowledge test evidence of CIVED and its secondary analysis. A relevant example of what this analysis revealed is that on items assessing "risks to democracy" in CIVED Chilean (as well as Colombian) students did particularly poorly. This was one factor prompting the curriculum adjustment of 2009.

Further, in 2012, again under a new government, a modified curriculum framework for grades 1 to 6 was issued that explicitly referred to both the 2004 Commission and CIVED as the basis of its concept of "citizenship formation" (Mineduc 2013). The same curriculum reform effort, for grades 7 to 10, cites ICCS 2009 in elaborating definitions for history and social sciences. The Ministry's official document clarifies that even more influential than this study was the benchmarking use of relevant curricula of countries with good results in ICCS 2009 (Mineduc 2013). Finally, the Agency for the Quality of Education, which is responsible for evaluation of students and schools, carried out the first national assessment of students' civic knowledge in 2016. The questionnaire on civic attitudes and values and test on civic knowledge were designed using the ICCS 2009 framework and instruments. In 2018 the same *Agencia*, issued a publication describing the ICCS 2009 released items, as a way to enhance teaching in the area (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación 2018).

In contrast with Chile, where curriculum is the policy domain that most clearly and consistently has been impacted by IEA's civic international studies, in Colombia, it has been the domain of evaluation. As mentioned, Colombia has a robust evaluation institution, ICFES, which was responsible for the country's participation in CIVED and ICCS studies. Since 2012, its SABER

assessments applied to the whole cohort of students of years 5 and 9, include a citizenship thinking (*pensamiento ciudadano*) test, and a civic actions and attitudes test. This distinction and its components is clearly derived from the ICCS 2009 evaluative framework. The influence of ICCS 2009 is especially visible in the citizenship thinking test. Its four dimensions—knowledge, argumentation, multi-perspectivism, systemic thinking—can be seen as elaborations of ICCS 2009's cognitive domains—knowing, and reasoning and analyzing (Schulz et al. 2008). In the actions and attitudes test the dimension of participation and democratic responsibility is mainly framed in terms that replicate the three issues that structure the Latin American regional module of ICCS 2009: not complying with the law, corruption, and support for authoritarian government. On the whole this picture gives credence to the notions of knowledge-borrowing and active re-contextualizing. This was conveyed by a judgment of an expert at ICFES: "In fact, our test of citizenship competences has similar components, at least in structure, to ICCS" (C. Lopera, personal communication, February 3, 2019).[3]

In the case of Mexico, an analysis produced for SREDECC examined the presence/absence of ICCS 2009 categories in the curricula of the six Latin American participating countries (Cox 2010); this prompted Secretaría de Educación Pública to recognize that critical issues (such as voting and the judiciary), were not receiving adequate attention in the civics and ethics subject of 2006, which led to its redefinition in the curriculum of 2011.[4] However, there are no traces of ICCS framework's influence on the new re-adjustment of the area decreed in 2016 for primary education and 2017 for secondary education (Secretaría de Educación Pública 2017), nor in the evaluative studies carried out after 2013. (S. Conde, personal communication, February 2, 2019).

Two other dimensions should be mentioned. First, there may be more direct and specific effects than this long-route of curriculum and assessment traced in Chile. There is an effect on the political level of policymaking in the public arena where government, legislatures, and media interact, particularly in relation to law-making processes (Kingdon 2003). President of Chile, Michelle Bachelet (in her second term in office, 2014–2018), used the poor civic knowledge results of Chilean students in ICCS 2009, to argue for a law requiring every school in the country to implement a plan for citizenship formation.[5] This was a clear case of direct political use of the information produced by ICCS. The law was passed in January 2016. Secondly, there is another type of influence of the international studies, which is indirectly related to the policymaking process. This is the capacity-building process (Grindle and Thomas 1991). For every study, there has been a national expert team in the ministries and associated agencies whose capacities have been enriched (Cox and Meckes 2016; Cariola et al. 2011).

The arc of policy influence of the IEA civic studies in different countries converges on the curriculum and assessment areas. It is clear that context determines what gets selected and reorganized for appropriation and integration into schooling in different countries. At the same time, every national context is, to some extent, modified by its exposure to the new knowledge from the studies.

Underlying the interrelations between national context and new knowledge there is, in my view, a fundamental outcome about what ILSAs in Latin America accomplishes. When a country's educational authorities agree to administer international instruments that make the national education system accountable, it establishes a new public view-point on that system. Policymakers and public must grapple with the evidence presented by the performances of other national systems and this allows discovering and discussing if and how their country is advancing or not.

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3   Carolina Lopera, ex-coordinator of the citizenship competences team, (responsible for the application of both SABER and ICCS tests) at ICFES.

4   Country overview. Report of Mexico to ICCS 2016.

5   President Bachelet message N° 312-363 to the President of the Chamber of Deputies, initiating a law mandating a plan for citizenship education in every school. Santiago, May 5, 2015.

I interpret this as an all-embracing but non-specific influence of the studies on policymaking in education in the participating countries. Indeed, a potentially clearer vision by all concerned parties about the country's education via international comparison may be seen as an increase in reflexivity of the policy-field. This takes place through dialogue and the raising of questions (Heyneman and Lee 2012; Reich 1988; Rosanvallon 2010).

Influences Upon Research: The Emergence of a Field

At the beginning, scholarly research on IEA's civic studies' data was conducted by the same teams that generated the studies; two decades after CIVED, there is a community of Latin American scholars doing high-level research on the conceptual frameworks and data from the studies. I shall briefly describe the landmarks in this evolution and refer the types of research and intergenerational features of this emergent field. Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2015) phrased it this way: "political socialization and civic education as a *field of research* in Latin America can be thought of as emerging over time as a complex system through a process of multiple influences in a variety of contexts" (p. 54).

Research specific to Latin American students' civic knowledge and attitudes may be said to have started with the secondary analysis of CIVED 1999 results carried out for the OAS by Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2004). As mentioned, their study reviewed results from Chile and Colombia and compared them with results from the United States and Portugal. The publication focused on similarities and differences in the civic-related views and knowledge of students, and on the views of teachers. A decade later, the participation of six countries from the Latin America region in ICCS 2009 (Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay) resulted in a wealth of evidence that could be examined in the emergent field of research on civic and citizenship education, decisively moving forward to examine questions, methodologies, and results. As the ICCS 2016 Latin American report summarizes:

> "Today, researchers in this area are increasingly conducting more sophisticated multilevel and/ or multivariate analyses. They are also investigating patterns of civic knowledge and attitudes in quite diverse national contexts (both regional and global) and exploring associations between these patterns and socioeconomic and home background variables as well as key features of countries' educational contexts, such as school resources, curricula, and pedagogical approaches" (Schulz et al. 2018, p.10).

Over thirty papers and two books based on ICCS 2009 results have been produced in the last five years by researchers from Chile, Mexico, and Colombia (see Sandoval-Hernandez and Miranda chapter). There are clearly identifiable groups and lines of research which are developing relevant knowledge in the three countries, with increasing cross-regional initiatives. Additionally, credit should be given to Latin American researchers who moved to Europe and, through work in international organizations (including IEA) became involved in secondary analysis of the international data sets. Sandoval-Hernandez's work, first at IEA Hamburg and now at the University of Bath, clearly stands out.

Two types of research are visible in this emergent field. One is characterized by multivariate, multi-level quantitative analyses aiming to discover factors and associations likely to produce new knowledge about the school experience of political socialization and its myriad component processes. In this domain I especially value findings on the weakness of schooling regarding attitude formation (Diazgranados and Sandoval-Hernández 2017; Treviño et al. 2017). These authors deeply question how teaching and learning in citizenship education is typically organized and provided in Latin America.

Another direction points to the potential of education in mitigating negative circumstances. Castillo et al. (2015) examined students' socioeconomic background in relation to expectations of political participation using the Chilean data of ICCS 2009. They acknowledge the contributions

of both students' civic knowledge and perceptions of an open classroom climate in fostering expected political participation. Using a series of multilevel models they found support for the influence of students' socioeconomic background on expected electoral participation. Furthermore, civic knowledge and classroom climate showed a positive and similar influence on students' expected participation. However, classroom climate appeared less affected by students' background than civic knowledge, opening a discussion about strategies that could be prioritized when aiming to mitigate political participation gaps.

A second type of research is qualitative and has the preparation of teachers as its prime object. The key points are conceptual: how does the framework of ICCS covering citizenship and democracy compare with the definitions in the curricula of Latin American countries and the contents of teacher education programs? Key findings are that the curricula of the six countries that participated in ICCS 2009 disproportionately emphasize peaceful coexistence or the civil dimension of "living with others," over the civic (political) one. Voting receives intriguingly scant attention (Cox et al. 2014; Riquelme 2019). This imbalance is replicated in teacher education programs, where the thematic categories most commonly omitted are those related to the political dimensions of citizenship (OREALC-UNESCO 2017). These characteristics of curricula have received little attention and have implications for policy.

At the basis of these broad lines of development of the "emergent field" of Latin American studies of citizenship education are capacity, networking, and cooperation-building processes that consistently cross the north/south classification in new ways. Research on Latin America is now mainly based in the region, and its volume and quality is consistently increasing. This would not have happened without the openness to cooperation and capacity-building initiatives of the civic studies' leadership and IEA's technical core groups. From this nucleus of cooperation, the features of the emergent field developed. It has increasingly rich synergies across countries and the north/south gap. There are three generations of researchers at work—senior, mid, and early-career. The resulting accumulation of knowledge and expertise has possibilities for projection in policy and to support practice. The importance of this last aspect cannot be overstated: the use-potential of any international study is crucially dependent on national capacities to interpret its conceptualizations and data and go deeper into their implications for practice. That there is now an international field of Latin American scholars and researchers in the area cognizant of the studies' generation, methods and results, strongly suggests that those capacities now exist and are further developing.

Concluding Remarks

What the countries' educational discourse and practices achieve by their participation in IEA's civic and citizenship studies varies according to national contexts. This applies equally to the policy and the research fields. The same instruments and information lead to a range of different broader outcomes that accord with national, political, and institutional factors. A generation of early career scholars are taking interest. But what is the essence of what gets transferred and re-contextualized in the processes? This question lies at the center of what defined CIVED and ICCS studies—their design and conceptual contents, their implementation, and how their results have been communicated.

I propose that what gets mobilized and exchanged is a conceptualization of democratic citizenship and its principles, institutions, and defining processes. A further issue is how these are known or not, and believed or not, by the new generation in stunningly diverse school settings. How has this conceptualization been arrived at? What is the value of examining the interplay between the knowledge and attitudes of the young in each country's policy and research fields? These are questions that connect with key distinctive features of the civic and citizenship studies of IEA and their potential influence.

What the studies measure can be seen as the distilled democratic tradition and its interpretation in post-modernity. This interpretation has initially been conceptualized and organized by the studies' leaders and the Project Advisory Committees (PAC). They are then adjusted and refined by exchanges with representatives from the participating countries. In my experience in two cycles of PAC, a major motivation has been to arrive at a construct that is as representative and balanced as possible. It is a difficult articulation process aiming to identify the common threads at the core of the democratic tradition. This effort looks back to the discourses about its core. It also looks to the present world of politics and its dynamism that contains many puzzling aspects. What should be selected and prioritized? Which trends should be recognized and included? Of course, the answers to these questions inevitably reflect the socio-cultural, institutional, and personal limits of those who participate in their construction. The study has a "democratic first-world" imprint inseparable from the studies' original conceptualization in the academic fields of the United States, Europe, and Australia. It also has features of a common, shared vision about the democratic ideal. In other words, it contains a core that nowadays is deemed crucial for schooling to communicate in our increasingly common as well as increasingly unequal world. I consider these features to be attributable to the international and intercultural nature of the civic studies' decision-making bodies along with their openness to the input of the participating countries. They have found ways to construct regional instruments that search for contextual relevance. I consider this of utmost importance and value, as the studies incarnate both horizontality and openness in the interpretation of the democratic tradition, which is a condition for their legitimacy.

Seen from the viewpoint of any single country, each study raises a mirror that reflects both the core of the democratic tradition in its contemporary international interpretation and how its young generation understands and appreciates it. Additionally, both the assessment framework and the results produced by each study's instruments, reflected in that mirror, have the potential to provide a rich basis for reflexivity in the policy, research, and practice fields. I see the studies offering the national policy and research arenas (and the schooling systems) the possibility of puzzling over and learning from comparative knowledge that is intrinsically empowering (Freeman 2008).

If the provision of a particularly rich and open-ended basis for reflexivity is at the core of the contribution of the civic studies, how could their influence be enhanced in Latin America? The following suggestions merit consideration.

The international public good that the studies offer could be an advantage to more countries in the region: the expansion of participation should be a serious goal. From this perspective the mediating role played in the past by multilateral agencies like OAS and the IADB, merit consideration. They could bridge over cultural and ideological factors hindering participation of some countries and provide political justification for participation by others.

The Latin American regional module of questions could play a role in the effort to expand country participation in the region. An effort could be made to update it by more fully incorporating researchers and educators from participating countries in the process of its development.

In the long run, probably the most secure basis for optimizing the studies in the countries of this region is the strengthening of internal research capacities. Policies would have a different basis if there were capacities among scholars across generations in more countries to utilize the reflexivity potential provided by the studies and their freely available data. Governments would feel less doubtful about embarking on the "international-comparison risks" if they could count on a research field able to provide explanations after results appears. Interest could be fostered in the concepts, the data and the public discussion potential of the comparative evidence. How to connect the studies' products and circuits of communication not only with governments and their ministries, but consistently with universities and their research leaders is worth pursuing.

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The Contribution of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies to Educational Research and Policy in Europe

Maria Magdalena Isac

Abstract The main objective of this chapter is to describe the contribution of the IEA civic and citizenship education studies—Civic Education Study (CIVED) and International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)—to educational research and policy in the European context during the last 20 years. To this end, the chapter begins by briefly introducing the major education research and policy priority areas regarding civic and citizenship education in Europe and provides a brief account of the participation of European countries in the IEA studies. Then, the contribution of IEA civic and citizenship education studies is illustrated by highlighting research themes, topics, and findings of specific prominence and relevance in Europe that were enabled by such data. Finally, there is a reflection on potential avenues for further research as well as for increasing the impact of the IEA studies in the European context.

Introduction

In 2007, I began my doctoral research in civic and citizenship education at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands as a researcher in the team responsible for coordinating the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009; I assisted in the preparation of the national reports. This endeavor introduced me to the world of the IEA international civic and citizenship education studies. Since then, I have been part of a vibrant international community of researchers working independently but enthusiastically on comparative research in civic and citizenship education making use of IEA data. Later I worked for the European Commission's Joint Research Centre, and I was involved in the coordination of the European Commission's participation in the ICCS 2016 study. Over these years, I have witnessed rapid development of the impact of the ICCS studies on the field of citizenship education in Europe and I am taking this opportunity to share my observations from my current vantage point on a university faculty.

In this chapter, I will illustrate how IEA civic and citizenship education studies (CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016) stimulated a great deal of research connected to topics of interest for European educational policy. To this end, I begin by briefly describing the context and the main education research and policy priority areas regarding civic and citizenship education in Europe and show how the participation of European countries in IEA civic and citizenship studies was intertwined with growing interest in civic and citizenship education in Europe. Then, drawing on extant research findings, I highlight the main research themes that could be addressed by secondary analysis of IEA studies' data leading to findings that are informative for scholarly research, as well as for policy and practice of civic and citizenship education in the European context. Lastly, I reflect on opportunities for further research as well as for increasing the impact of the IEA studies in the European context.

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The European Educational Policy Context and the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

At the level of European education policy, civic and citizenship education has been the subject of growing attention over the last three decades. This interest was largely motivated by the collapse of Communism, growing concerns about the consequences of globalization and increased immigration (unwelcome in many countries), as well as by concern about anti-democratic and xenophobic movements. The need arose to address both "unity and diversity" in European societies along with declines in civic and political engagement among youth (especially in Western Europe). This led to attempts to understand how to prepare youth for living under democratic rule and in accordance with European values (especially but not exclusively in the post-communist European countries) (Barrett and Zani 2015; Campbell 2019; Knowles et al. 2018; Osler and Starkey 2006).

Many policy actions were taken to address these challenges. European institutions such as the European Union (EU) and international organizations such as the Council of Europe (CoE) have launched initiatives to promote social cohesion and active citizenship since the late 1970s (see also Osler and Starkey 2006; Print et al. 2002). These efforts have led to one particularly significant achievement of the EU educational policy: the provision of a common policy framework for European Member States in the field of civic and citizenship education. First, in 2006 social and civic competences were among the eight key competences identified by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union as essential for European citizens of all ages. Second, in 2009, promoting equity, social cohesion, and active citizenship through school education was identified as one of the main objectives of the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020). These achievements provided European Member States with a common policy framework for coordinating their efforts in promoting and evaluating their policies in the field and opportunities for long-term planning. Indeed, these initiatives are currently being reinforced in the context of the new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training 2030 (Council of the European Union 2021; European Council 2015; European Education and Training Expert Panel 2019).

These policy initiatives have provided an important context and motivation for the participation of European countries in the IEA civic and citizenship education studies. Indeed, a large number of European countries have been a prominent part of these IEA studies (CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, ICCS 2016) from the start. For example, in CIVED 1999, there were 23 European educational systems out of the 28 participants (Torney-Purta et al. 2001); in ICCS 2009 the participating European educational systems were 26 out of a total of 38 (Schulz et al. 2010); and in ICCS 2016, there were 16 European out of 24 participants (Schulz et al. 2018) (see Figure 1). At the same time, as they were taking part in the international core of the ICCS study, the majority of participating European countries also administered the European questionnaires of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 (see Kerr et al. 2010; Losito et al. 2018).

Findings and data from all IEA civic and citizenship education studies including the European modules of ICCS 2009 and 2016 were informative and often a source for EU education policy publications. Indeed, recurring topics of particular interest for those concerned with European education policy were the development of citizenship competences in all young people and promoting democratic school practices. The IEA studies also provided information on aspects of citizenship education policy such as curriculum organization and content, teaching and learning strategies, student assessment, school organization, relations between school and out-of-school contexts, and professional development for teachers. See, for example, Eurydice reports on civic and citizenship education (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2017; Eurydice 2012). Moreover, data from the European modules provided a unique opportunity to focus on civic and citizenship education issues specific to Europe such as student knowledge about the European Union (EU) and its institutions, laws, and policies as well as student attitudes about issues such

Figure 1: European countries by frequency of participation to IEA civic and citizenship education studies: CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, ICCS 2016
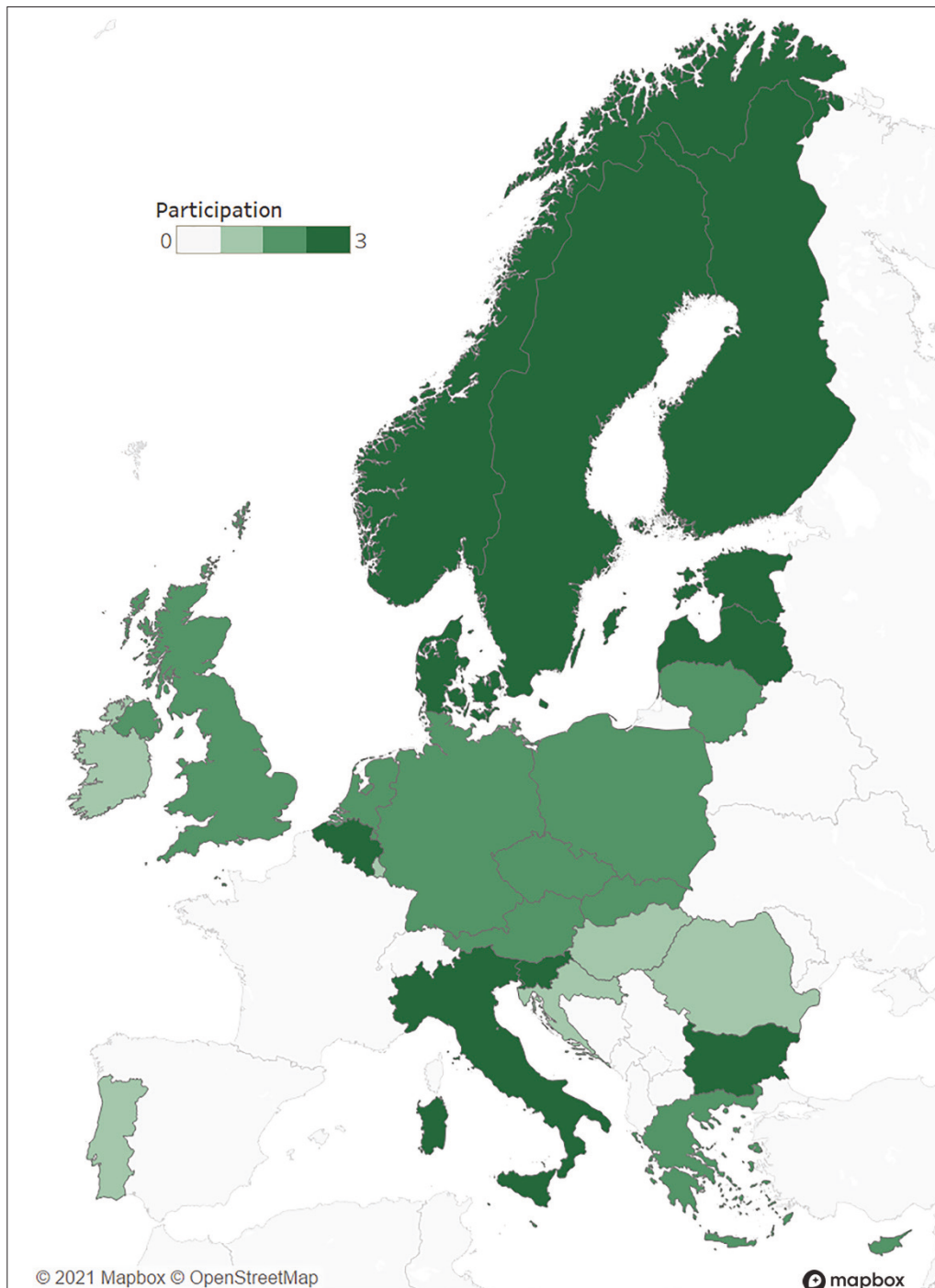
Source: Own elaboration based on participants in CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016. See: https://www.iea.nl/index.php/ studies; The map was created using Mapbox and OpenStreetMap and their data sources. See: https://www.mapbox.com/about/ maps/ and http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright

as European citizenship and identity, attitudes toward the free movement of citizens in Europe, attitudes toward the future of Europe, and the role of EU cooperation in addressing political and social problems.

In recent years, themes discussed in the new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training 2030, in a recent competency framework from the Council of Europe (Barrett et al. 2016), and in the research-based recommendations from the European Parliament (Veugelers et al. 2017) have highlighted several relevant topics. Secondary analysis of data collected by the IEA ICCS studies could be directed to these issues: developing media literacy and critical thinking, preventing radicalization in youth, preventing school violence, teaching common European values, promoting civic and intercultural competences, and encouraging practices of inclusion in schools (especially in this era of enhanced migration) (see also European Council 2015). A handbook chapter on civic education authored by three European researchers (Carretero et al. 2016) has provided suggestions about taking educational and social contexts into account in the examination of issues such as these.

Established and Recent Themes in the European Research Landscape Making Use of IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

The educational policy initiatives and priority areas were accompanied by prolific empirical research on civic and citizenship education making use of IEA data. Indeed, the body of comparative research including European countries and based on data from the IEA civic and citizenship education studies has been growing considerably, sometimes with implicit connections to European issues. For example, a recent summary of research (Knowles et al. 2018) identified over 100 published articles reporting secondary analysis of CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 data. A large proportion of these publications are international comparative analyses that included several European countries, but some also report analyses focused on individual European countries. Most use data from the international instruments, and a few use data from the European regional module. A partially overlapping list of publications with a few more recent entries can be found at the website of the CivicLEADS Project (Regents of the University of Michigan 2020). Within and across countries groups of collaborating researchers are coalescing around common interests in the dataset as a whole.

The contents of these publications to a large extent address policymakers' needs for comparative data on outcomes and processes of citizenship education: understanding what appears to be successful in European school systems for the promotion of civic and citizenship competences (i.e., enhancing the knowledge of democracy, trust in democratic institutions, citizenship efficacy, civic engagement, acceptance of those who come from diverse backgrounds). Indeed, existing research, recently enriched by empirical articles reporting secondary analyses of ICCS 2016 data, falls largely into two categories: a) comparative studies focused on citizenship competences in youth, and b) comparative and country-specific studies focused on structural and learning approaches to citizenship education and their potential impact on youth citizenship competences.

In what follows, I give a brief overview of topics approached within these two research themes that have been addressed by secondary data analysis of IEA studies. Then, I point out some recent conceptual and methodological developments, which I illustrate by a few (by no means exhaustive) examples of empirical studies.

Studies Focused on Citizenship Competences in Youth

To give an overview, several studies using data from the IEA civic and citizenship education studies were dedicated to defining and then comparing citizenship competences in European youth. Reflecting both societal concerns and policy initiatives, some projects created composite or summary measures of citizenship competences (Hoskins et al. 2011). Some other studies focused on comparing attitudinal measures such as young people's institutional trust, voting intentions, and their attitudes toward support for immigrants' rights and gender equality (Barber and Ross 2018; Isac et al. 2019; Malak-Minkiewicz 2007; Miranda and Castillo 2018; Mirazchiyski et al. 2014; Torney-Purta and Barber 2011). Moreover, other research addressed comparisons of

citizenship norms or perceptions of "good citizenship" behaviors among youth (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). There has also been discussion and analysis of European identity and cosmopolitan attitudes (Keating 2016; Toots and Lauri 2015; Verhaegen et al. 2013).

In recent years, these analyses have addressed a number of conceptual and methodological topics. One of these is the increased concern about investigating and documenting the cross-cultural comparability of instruments measuring young people's endorsement of equal rights for different groups in society and the comparison of these attitudes across countries. Indeed, a number of recent publications based on CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 and 2016 data have been dedicated to understanding inter-European and international differences in young people's attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants, a topic of particular interest in the European context (Isac et al. 2019; Miranda and Castillo 2018; Munck et al. 2017). These studies demonstrated that it is important to assess cross-cultural comparability (or measurement invariance) when comparing attitudinal measures across countries and over time. The IEA studies focus considerable attention on the validity and comparability of measurement instruments, but cultural, linguistic, and geographic differences do exist and should be the explicit focus of secondary analysis of ICCS data (He and Van de Vijver 2013; Rutkowski and Svetina 2017). Here it is important to note that their findings indicated that European young people tend to be, on average, supportive of immigrants' rights. However, these attitudes show high variability within countries. For example, in ICCS 2016 Swedish students have both the highest average scores in Europe and the widest gap between the average scores of the students in the 5th and 95th percentile (see Isac et al. 2019).

Moreover, attitudinal differences are associated with individual characteristics such as the student's civic knowledge, socioeconomic status, immigration background, and gender. In particular, students of lower socioeconomic status, native-born students, students with lower levels of civic knowledge, and boys are less likely to endorse immigrants' rights (Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2018).

In parallel, another topic and method of analysis has emerged in recent research. More specifically, in order to demonstrate the complexity of interconnections among attitudinal measures, some researchers have moved away from variable-centered analyses comparing group means to instead identify *profiles of young people's attitudes* using person-centered statistical approaches (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016; Reichert 2016; Reichert et al. 2018; Torney-Purta and Barber 2011). This approach applies in particular to the topic of young people's citizenship norms. For example, guided by Dalton's theoretical work and studies of adults on norms of civic duty (2008), researchers have used IEA data and employed latent class analysis to identify groups of students with different perceptions of "good citizenship" behaviors (Hooghe and Oser 2015; Hooghe et al. 2016). Consistent with Dalton's distinction, their results indicate that a large proportion of young people in a range of democracies (38 countries in ICCS 2009) express either "engaged citizenship" norms (highly endorsing the protection of human rights and community involvement, while downplaying the importance of traditional duty-based political participation) or "duty-based" citizenship norms (highly endorsing traditional political participation). Consistent with the findings of Hooghe et al. (2006), ongoing work with ICCS 2016 data (Treviño et al. 2021, in press) further confirms these findings by identifying five types or profiles of citizenship norms. These are comprehensive, socially engaged, duty-based, monitorial, and anomic. They find that across the European countries participating in ICCS 2016 large proportions of young people can be regarded as involved citizens who tend to hold holistic visions of good citizenship that are not limited to the fulfillment of duties but incorporate aspects of respect for the environment and human rights into their behaviors.

Studies Focused on the Role of Teaching and Learning Approaches and Structural School Characteristics in Citizenship Education

Teaching and learning approaches to citizenship education and their association with student citizenship competences have become a prevalent theme in country-specific and comparative studies involving European countries and using IEA data. This research has particularly emphasized the important role of school environments in which high quality dialogue and debate on political and social issues are encouraged, where inclusive and mutually respectful teacher-student and student-student relationships are fostered and, where students are given opportunities to participate actively in extracurricular activities (e.g., volunteering in the community) as well as participating in the school's democratic structures.

Open classroom climate and its links to students' citizenship competences is one of the most frequently studied topics. A set of items measuring an open classroom climate—that is a classroom where participation and respectful discussion is encouraged—was first introduced in the IEA's civic education studies in the 1970s (Torney et al. 1975). Extensive analyses have provided evidence for the positive contribution of such classroom experience. Over time and contexts, this teaching and learning approach has been found to be positively related to a variety of citizenship competences in the European context and internationally. A number of cross-country and single country studies analyzed the role of open, participatory, and respectful discussion climate in European countries. These studies found an association between such a climate and several aspects of citizenship competence such as civic knowledge (Alivernini and Manganelli 2011; Isac et al. 2011), support for the norms of conventional and social-movement citizenship (Isac et al. 2014; Knowles and McCafferty-Wright 2015), political efficacy and political participation (Ekman and Zetterberg 2011; Quintelier and Hooghe 2013), and endorsement of equal rights for immigrants, ethnic minorities, and women (Isac et al. 2012; Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2018). This line of work can be linked to a seminal study reporting the analysis of the CIVED data within a group of European countries (i.e., Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland) (Torney-Purta and Barber 2005). That study aimed to identify, by means of multiple regression analysis, school and teacher correlates of students' likelihood of voting as an adult and getting information about candidates before voting. The findings (largely confirmed by subsequent research with ICCS data) pointed to three aspects of schooling as relevant predictors in a majority of countries: students' reports of experiencing an open climate for classroom discussion, students' agreement that their participation makes a difference at their school, and students' membership on the student council.

Driven by interest in structural factors that could potentially be altered in order to provide more optimal conditions for civic and citizenship learning, some other studies focused specifically on the role of structural school characteristics such as average socioeconomic background of students, on the proportion of immigrants in the classroom/school, and on tracking in relation to student citizenship competences (Isac et al. 2012; Janmaat 2014; Kudrnáč and Lyons 2018; Sampermans 2019). These analyses have shown a consistently strong association between average (school) socioeconomic background and positive student outcomes such as civic knowledge, citizenship norms, political participation, and support for equal rights for immigrants, ethnic minorities, and women. They also indicated the importance of other contextual characteristics such as the proportion of immigrant students in the classroom. For example, Isac et al. (2012) showed that across a number of European countries participating in ICCS 2016, having a higher share of immigrant students in a classroom is positively related to native-born students' attitudes toward immigrants. Moreover, an analysis conducted by Sampermans (2019) also pointed to inequalities in citizenship competences within highly tracked educational systems such as the Netherlands or Flemish Belgium with students in the higher (general) educational tracks showing higher levels of civic knowledge in comparison to their peers enrolled in lower (vocational) tracks.

Recent Conceptual and Methodological Developments

Recently, research focused on teaching and learning approaches to citizenship education and on structural school characteristics is making notable conceptual and methodological advances, which open up new research opportunities.

First, there is an increased interest in integrating several conceptual frameworks to simultaneously study concurrent explanatory mechanisms situated at different levels of analysis such as the student, the classroom, the school, and the educational system levels. The importance of this approach was recognized in a review of political socialization and civic education research by Torney-Purta et al. (2010). This research direction has been facilitated by methodological advancements such as multilevel modeling and structural equation modeling, which facilitate theory testing with a focus on multiple explanatory mechanisms situated at different levels (student, classroom, school, country). In addition, these substantive and methodological approaches have been used to examine interactions between factors situated at different levels (e.g., interactions between student background characteristics such as gender or socioeconomic background and aspects of class or school climate). Furthermore researchers have focused on several explanatory variables that can vary in their impact depending on school or country contexts.

Sandoval-Hernández et al. (2018), for example, used a framework rooted in ecological systems theory and educational effectiveness research to examine factors and conditions that have the potential to promote positive attitudes toward the rights of immigrants, ethnic groups, and women. This book-length report of analysis commissioned by IEA used data from 38 countries participating in ICCS 2009 (of which 26 were European). They examined the impact of several student and school characteristics on student attitudes. In five interconnected empirical analyses that acknowledged the complex, hierarchical layers of explanatory mechanisms, the authors reported in-depth on a particular topic and level of analysis (e.g., student background characteristics, teaching and learning practices in schools). These findings showed that several explanatory mechanisms are required to understand the factors that relate to young people's tolerant attitudes. The results suggested the importance of taking into account the dimensional structure of constructs (e.g., the strong positive association between attitudes toward immigrants, toward ethnic minorities, and toward women). The findings also pointed to the prominent role of background variables—singling out boys, low socioeconomic status students, and students with low interest in political and social issues, as the most likely to hold intolerant attitudes across countries. Moreover, the results showed once more the important role of democratic school cultures and climates that nurture open discussion and encourage free dialogue or critical debate. They identified a need for teacher professional development regarding the fostering of a classroom climate supportive of the teaching of potentially controversial issues.

Second, recent research gives attention to the ways in which students' ratings of the school environment are shaped by contextual school characteristics as well as by student background characteristics such as gender, being a migrant, or socioeconomic status (Barber et al. 2015; Claes et al. 2017; Reichert et al. 2018). For example, Reichert et al. (2018) used latent class analysis applied to ICCS 2009 data to investigate profiles of students' perceptions of their classroom and school environment (i.e., whether students have voice in school decisions and whether an open classroom climate prevails) in Northern European countries. They identified five distinct groups of students (i.e., alienated, indifferent, activist, debater, and communitarian) and found that aspects of the school environment were linked with these styles of participation. They found, for example, that compared to indifferent students, debaters, activists, and communitarians were more likely to be found in schools where teachers acted as role models by engaging in school governance. Moreover, Claes et al. (2017) used deliberative democratic theory to frame an analysis of how individual student characteristics influence an open climate for discussions

in schools. Student gender as well as student socioeconomic status was found to be associated with students' perceptions of an open classroom climate for discussion. In particular, males and students who come from homes with a lower socioeconomic status appear to need additional encouragement to motivate them to actively participate in such learning environments.

Third, in addition to research focused on student perceptions, emerging research considers teachers' views of citizenship education, their beliefs, and their classroom practices (Reichert and Torney-Purta 2019; Reichert et al. 2020). This research makes use of the teacher data provided by the ICCS studies, which is collected from samples of teachers of all subjects. The data from the teachers is representative for each school and can be linked to school characteristics. However, due to the sampling design of ICCS studies, teacher data cannot be linked to individual students' data. Still, there is a long-standing interest in understanding the prevalence of certain teacher characteristics and practices, along with their contributions to positive citizenship outcomes for students. Therefore, even though studies using teacher data are rare and sometimes difficult to interpret, they make a contribution.

Specifically, Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019) applied latent class analysis to examine teachers' beliefs about the aims of civic and citizenship education in nine European countries (Eastern European, Nordic, and Western) and three Asian countries participating in the ICCS 2009 study. They found that a large majority of teachers prioritize learning aims that relate to the immediate learning context such as fostering students' participation in school settings and local communities as well as reducing everyday conflicts. Teachers across countries were unlikely to focus on encouraging students' future political participation. Instead, teachers in the Nordic countries and Slovenia believed it important to concentrate on promoting independent thinking and tolerance. The majority of teachers in England, Ireland, and Italy focused on transmitting civic knowledge and encouraging community participation. Teachers in Poland and the Czech Republic were more divided. A substantial group in each European country reported their goals as transmitting knowledge and encouraging community participation. Overall, however, within Europe there were substantial differences between countries in teachers' aims.

These findings highlight the challenges faced by teachers when organizing civic learning experiences. In particular, teachers appeared to avoid learning activities and goals that might require stating their own political views (which may be perceived as partisan). In addition to pointing out the importance of the impact that teachers' perception of their goals has on learning and teaching practices, this research also shows the influence of the national context in which civic and citizenship education takes place. More specifically, it appears that teachers in contexts in which democracy was seen to be under pressure at the time of testing (e.g., post-Communist countries) tended to focus on imparting civic knowledge and on participation in the local community. In contrast, teachers working in some long-standing democracies were likely to focus on independent thinking or inquiry-based approaches to promote social justice.

Fourth, a limited number of studies make use of the unique data from the European module of ICCS to focus on topics of special interest in the region such as opportunities for learning about Europe at school and their relevance for the development of European identity and cosmopolitan attitudes in young people (Keating 2016; Verhaegen et al. 2013). For example, Verhaegen et al. (2013) analyzed the data from 21 European Member States participating in the European Module of ICCS 2009 and used multilevel regression analysis to identify a positive association between cognitive and learning opportunities (i.e., acquiring information about social, political, and economic issues in other European countries; opportunities to interact with European peers) and young people's feelings of belonging to Europe and to the EU (i.e., European identity). They found a particularly strong association between cognitive learning opportunities (i.e., opportunities to learn about social, political, and economic issues in other European countries) and European identity. This finding was replicated and further enriched by the study of Keating

(2016) that made use of the same dataset (for 20 EU countries) and established a link not only between specific learning opportunities and young people's European identity but also between these opportunities and their endorsement of equal rights for other European citizens. Both studies pointed out that student attitudes fundamental for European citizenship can benefit from learning experiences designed to foster knowledge of European issues and opportunities for contact and exchange with other Europeans. Such a line of research is promising and could be used to better understand the data from the ICCS European modules, which capture topics of unique relevance within Europe and the EU.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has provided a short account of the contribution of the IEA civic and citizenship education studies (i.e., CIVED, ICCS) to educational research and policy in the European context. It began with a brief introduction to the main education policy priority areas regarding civic and citizenship education in Europe and provided a brief account of the participation of European countries in the IEA studies. Without aiming to be exhaustive, it highlighted some of the most common themes and topics that IEA data has allowed researchers to pursue with a focus on European educational systems. In this section, some suggestions for further research on civic and citizenship education in Europe are provided followed by a reflection on a series of potential actions that could increase the impact of the IEA studies in the European context.

Opportunities for Further Research on Civic and Citizenship Education Topics with IEA Data in Europe

The brief account of research findings from the analyses of CIVED and ICCS studies in this chapter demonstrates the importance of analyses of these data in the European context and the substantial advances that have been made in recent years suggesting topics that could be further addressed in future research.

First, the findings from a number of studies using CIVED and ICCS data from European countries show that considerable progress has been made in understanding the dimensions of citizenship competence. These include young people's institutional trust, voting intentions, and their attitudes toward support for immigrants' rights and gender equality. A considerable amount has been learned about teaching and learning approaches to citizenship education and their associations with students' competences. Advancements in these lines of research have been substantial and are characterized by an increased use of theory in an interdisciplinary fashion, methodological improvements (e.g., latent class analysis, multilevel analysis, structural equation modeling), a growing concern about contextual and individual differences in attitudes and in perceptions of learning environments (e.g., along the lines of school context, gender, immigration status, or socioeconomic status).

Prominent themes have been addressed in some research, such as the importance of open classroom climate and a sense of student empowerment at school. Investigations of these learning and teaching approaches in different contexts should be the subject of further investigation. Emerging themes such as individual student differences in perceptions of learning environments along the lines of gender, immigration status, and socioeconomic background are also important. They have the potential to provide information for tackling educational inequalities and designing learning environments tailored to students' needs. Moreover, additional insight into teachers' beliefs and classroom practices could be informative for teacher preparation in civic and citizenship education. Future studies, including ICCS 2022, could measure and gain deeper insight into how teachers view discussions of controversial issues in classrooms where there are diverse groups holding diverse opinions. It is also important to understand the beliefs that lie behind teachers' willingness or potential resistance in addressing such topics. European education policy and the preparation of teachers would benefit from such endeavors.

Second, tremendous opportunities remain for future analysis of data that has been collected in this region. As noted earlier in this chapter, several themes are emerging both in European education policy as well as research. These include the need for media literacy and critical thinking about messages (especially in the digital world), preventing school violence, promoting intercultural competences, promoting a sense of inclusion in schools, and improving the initial and in-service learning activities for teachers of civic and citizenship education. Although European countries are collecting some of this information through the European questionnaire modules of ICCS, these data have received little attention in scholarly publications. World health issues will certainly receive enhanced attention in future studies.

Recent frameworks and data[1] provided by the ICCS 2016 study offer opportunities with some new measurement instruments to explore these topics along with more established themes. Moreover, ICCS 2016 and especially the forthcoming ICCS 2022 studies are currently aligned with the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (and particularly with education target 4.7). This will provide an opportunity for insights into other topics of relevance, such as issues related to global dimensions of citizenship education and education to enhance students' commitment to sustainable development (see Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2019; Sandoval-Hernández and Miranda 2018).

Further Avenues for Increasing the Impact of the IEA Studies in the European Context

Over time, European countries have been a prominent part of the IEA civic and citizenship education studies. Over the years and in all studies (CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and 2016), the number of participating European educational systems was the largest of any region in the world included in the studies (e.g., Latin America, Asia), and the development of the ICCS European Module provided additional opportunities to focus on topics of regional relevance. Yet, participation rates dropped in ICCS 2016 with a significant underrepresentation of countries from Eastern Europe. Lower participation rates are most likely the result of prioritizing different educational goals (e.g., the promotion of labor-market outcomes rather than citizenship competences) in relation to the resources and economic capacity of each educational system. The overall political climate has also been changing with the growing popularity of right-wing parties in some areas.

Looking at the use of CIVED and ICCS data for secondary analysis in the European context, we note a large and fruitful body of published research. It is apparent that some European research networks have been especially active in this field, and country-specific studies are also more common for a subset of educational systems (mainly Western and Northern European). Furthermore, the current overview of research findings suggests that there are relatively few empirical analyses of data from the European modules of ICCS in the published literature. However, one finds basic information in IEA reports (Kerr et al. 2010; Losito et al. 2018). The rise of authoritarian regimes and also corruption have been addressed mainly using data from the Latin American modules. Increased analyses of these data as well as European coverage of topics of worldwide interest could provide valuable comparative information regarding current challenges faced by many countries (and of successes as well). However, opportunities to collect new data may be challenged by increased polarization in Europe as well as by the pandemic.

More systematic efforts could be made to increase the impact of the ICCS studies in the European context. These initiatives might involve better connection between research with ICCS data and policy agendas and initiatives at international, European, and national levels. The need for

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1   The IEA data, software, and training to analyze large-scale assessment data from Europe are freely available to researchers interested in conducting further analysis through the IEA archive (https://www.iea.nl/studies/iea/iccs), and the ILSA-Gateway (https://ilsa-gateway.org/). Another repository of these data and a list of existing publications using the data can be found in the archives of the University of Michigan's ICPSR in a project entitled CivicLEADS (https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/civicleads/series/202/data).

enhanced preparation of teachers both prior to service and in service are widely recognized across countries. This an area where cross-European collaboration could be encouraged.

Furthermore, UNESCO's 2030 agenda for sustainable development and global citizenship education as well as the new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training 2030 agenda in the field of inclusion and citizenship education could promote relevant research training and other opportunities. This is especially important in contexts in which there has been a drop in participation (e.g., Eastern European countries). Examining the chapters in the first part of this book that describe the meaning and utilization of findings in a number of European countries could provide suggestions for collaboration across the region. One might also focus on developing networks and partnerships that include researchers across disciplines together with those interested in enhancing teacher preparation. Although it is challenging in the current political climate, attention could be paid to making the findings relevant for a wider range of European countries and further consideration given to mechanisms for translating research findings into implications for policy and practice at the national and the regional levels.

While all these initiatives aim at better exploring the existing data, an alternative and potentially fruitful avenue would entail opening a dialogue with IEA project leaders about enriching the data collection process to oversample some populations that are currently underrepresented. Such an approach would be especially beneficial if it could provide data allowing responses to relevant policy issues. For example, the situation of migrant students is becoming an increasing concern in many European countries. At the moment the ICCS studies can offer only limited insights on such topics given the small proportion of migrant students in most countries' samples. The existence of a policy need for more information could trigger modifications that would allow oversampling these groups of students.

In summary, a large number of European educational systems have taken part in international studies of civic and citizenship education such as CIVED 1999, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016. Over two decades these studies as well as secondary analysis of their data have provided insightful and relevant findings for European citizenship education policy initiatives and practices. This chapter has highlighted some of the most relevant themes addressed in secondary analyses of these data and pointed out topics that could be further explored in future research.

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CHAPTER 20:

Asian Students' Citizenship Values: Exploring Theory by Reviewing Secondary Data Analysis

Kerry J. Kennedy

Abstract It has been argued that "Asian values" in general and Asian citizenship values in particular are distinctive to the region. A range of theoretical literature has advanced this view. Scholars have referred to an "Asian modernity," reflecting regional citizenship values across time and borders. This departs from the largely Western idea of a set of universal democratic values that are characteristic across countries and has important implications for citizenship education. This chapter summarizes empirical analyses that have used IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 data to explore "Asian" citizenship values, their extent, and their meaning. The results suggest that diversity rather than uniformity characterizes students' citizenship values in five Asian societies. Within and across these societies there are varying levels of endorsement of citizenship values (including traditional values), and support for civic engagement. This chapter highlights several ways of thinking about Asian citizenship values and suggests an ongoing research agenda to address the diversity that characterizes the region.

Introduction

Secondary analysis of data is a powerful tool for informing theoretical perspectives (Smith 2008; Hakim 2013). Yet, as Bauer (2009) pointed out, if data is to be linked to theory it is important to specify the type of theory. He identifies three types of theory that are broadly sociological in nature: "social theory" that is concerned with core concepts that explain how society works; "middle range theories" that focus on specific themes that characterize some aspect of society; and "theories of society" that try to encapsulate some general aspect of an entire society (p. 10). Citizenship values reflect this society-wide view since they are often portrayed almost as a world view. The idea of "liberal democratic values," for example, reflects a set of citizenship values that are expected to characterize a wide range of democratic societies.

As helpful as this categorization is, it can break down when applied to a region. For example, using a term such as "Asian values" implies that within multiple societies there is a commonality in world views and perspectives that can be considered distinctive. Searching for "Asian values" across societies assumes that there are "grand" theories of society that transcend geographies, histories, and cultures. As appealing as this idea might be, there is considerable skepticism about "grand theory" in social science research (Lyotard 1984).

Chen (2005) has proposed, however, that research focused on "Asia as method" can overcome this problem (p. 141). Such research "ceases to look at Asia as object of analysis" (Chen 2005, p.141) but rather as a point of reference, and importantly as a means of "inter-referencing." Koh (2018) urges scholars studying Asia to take an "inter-referencing perspective" where Western values are not the reference point for understanding Asian contexts. Rather, as Chen (2005) explained:

> "... mediating through the horizon of 'Asia' as an imaginary anchoring point, societies in Asia could begin to mutually see the existence of one another and become one another's reference points" (p. 140).

Inter-referencing is the approach taken here to look comparatively at Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Thailand—participating countries in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 (Fraillon et al. 2012). The first sections below summarize research studies examining the extent to which young people endorsed a set of common "Asian values."

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The chapter then explores the associations between those values and specific forms of civic action. Finally, there is an examination of theoretical implications and suggestions for future research directions.

What follows acknowledges multiple sources that influence Asian adolescents' citizenship values. Indigenous understandings of citizenship are identified as well as the influence of "foreign" or external values. These two sources inevitably interact in the increasingly globalized world of Asia's young people.

Indigenous Views of Citizenship Values—An Asian Journey

A distinction between the so called "Asian values debate" and genuine attempts to discern common values across Asian societies is helpful. The former was motivated by regional politicians such as Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad to shield their respective societies from the onslaught of globalization, and from foreign interference. Hard work, collectivism, and respect for authority were heralded as the values that drove economic expansion in much of Asia in the 1990s and these were often posed against what were seen as more permissive values of many Western nations (Kennedy 2004).

 In addition to the politicians' public debate referred to above, another debate took place out of the glare of media headlines. It was largely a debate from a neo-Confucian perspective, but often with an eye on the political debate concerning "Asian values" (Tu 1996; Shin 2012). Lee (2004 a, b) took up these issues and applied them to citizenship education. While his analyses focused on what might be called Confucian values, these values also had resonance in Islamic and Buddhist societies. Lee's (2004a) summary contrasts Western with local regional citizenship values:

> "With this background in mind, it has become easy to understand several features of citizenship education in the East. First, rather than talking about politics, citizenship education in the East talks about morality. 'Civics' always goes with 'morals' in the East; thus, civic and moral education is a term more common than civics education or citizenship education in Asian countries. Second, many Asian countries tend to focus on the development of individuality (as far as the self is concerned) and relations (as far as society is concerned) in citizenship education" (p.32).

The "individuality" referred to is not coincident with Western notions of individualism. Individuality, in a Confucian context, is more about the importance of self-cultivation—being the best person you can be. The rationale for self-cultivation is not self-aggrandizement (as in Western versions of individualism), it is about relationships—serving family, society, and the nation. This led Lee (2004a) to observe somewhat provocatively, "to Asian citizens, it does not matter who rules and in what way the country is ruled, as far as they are in a situation where they can live their lives, maintain their relationships, and pursue their individuality... then they will live with whoever the ruler is, unless the situation becomes intolerable" (p.31).

This summary does not do justice to the rich discourse concerning values in the Asian region, but it does suggest its contours. This discussion assumed central importance, however, when the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) decided to include an Asian student questionnaire (ASQ) in addition to the main student questionnaire in ICCS 2009, Fraillon et al. (2011) commented that:

> "The ICCS Asian regional module was a unique attempt to capture data using a perspective on civics and citizenship that was different to that of the core ICCS international instruments. This perspective, which places an emphasis on personal morality and character as integral to citizenship, was agreed to be relevant across the five ICCS Asian countries despite their cultural and educational diversity" (p. 5).

This statement legitimized conceptions of citizenship that differed in some respects from those supported in liberal democracies. This distinctiveness can be taken further. The notion of "citizen,"

for example, is a construct derived from the Western experience. There is, for example, no simple Chinese translation for "citizen" (Guo 2014) and the possibilities are laden with political implications. Thus, the term, "citizenship education" is rarely used in China because of the multiple meanings it can convey (Li 2015). Local contexts, therefore, are important sources for constructing meaning around terms and concepts imported from Western citizenship discourse. Given the range of Asian societies participating in ICCS 2009—Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Thailand—the significance of local contexts needs to be appreciated.

The appreciation of context is the starting point for this chapter. Asian citizenship values represent historical, cultural, social, and political constructions from diverse societies within a single geographical region. These traditional values represent regional traditions that continue to influence young people along with the liberal democratic values that were reflected in the ICCS main survey (Schulz et al. 2010). Yet to some extent traditional values are independent, representing regional traditions that continue to influence young people. An important issue is how such values were identified and defined.

For ICCS 2009, traditional values were identified during several meetings that included researchers from the participating Asian societies and ICCS 2009 managers. Specific items to reflect the values were agreed upon and formed scales for the ASQ. Lin and Liu (2011) describe this process, Kennedy (2011) provided an initial analysis and discussion, and Fraillon et al. (2012) reported the results.

Traditional Values, Conceptions of "the Good Citizen," and Civic Action: What Can be Learned About Asian Students' Conceptions of Citizenship Responsibilities?

The following questions will be explored with respect to the traditional values referred to above:

- How did students from different societies within the region respond to questions and how can their responses be interpreted?
- Are traditional values related to the way Asian students understand what it means to be "a good citizen?" How much agreement is there about what "a good citizen" means?
- Is there an association between students holding traditional values and their preferred forms of civic action?

Student Responses and Some Interpretations

First, there was significant agreement on values. A "sense of Asian identity," "the need to preserve traditional culture," "the need for politicians to demonstrate a strong sense of morality," and "a shared understanding of the qualities of 'good citizens'" received relatively high levels of endorsement, suggesting these were important shared values. There were other values that were endorsed more moderately. These were supportive of social conventions such as "respect for authority," the "need to maintain social harmony," and "authoritarian or paternalistic forms of government." In addition, there was moderate to strong support for the integrity of each country's legal system.

Second, differences between countries were also found in attitudes "to corruption in the public service," "the use of 'connections' to gain political office," "acceptance of undemocratic government," and "obedience towards authority." Students from Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong gave these values generally negative endorsements. Students from Indonesia and Thailand were moderately positive. What do these patterns of endorsement on the ASQ scales mean?

The overall picture is of young people who are quite conservative in their values, with some groups of students more conservative than others. They tend to subscribe to values related to obedience, authority, morality, harmony, tradition, and a sense of Asian identity. Westheimer

and Kahne's (2004, p. 242) typology of citizenships does not fit this data: these young Asian students are certainly not "justice-oriented citizens" and they cannot accurately be referred to as "personally responsible citizens" since their commitments are more broadly social than personal. As Tu Weiming, the Confucian scholar, has pointed out "in the Western and the non-Western worlds, the projected transition from tradition to modernity never occurred. Traditions continue in modernity" (Tu 2000, p. 198). Thus, we see substantial numbers of "tradition-oriented citizens" embedded in modern nations but anchored to social and cultural traditions from which these nations have emerged. What is more, specific national contexts are associated with the extent to which students endorsed particular values.

These conclusions, drawn from the analysis of descriptive statistics, are a starting point for understanding Asian student's citizenship values. Yet these students are in modern nations subject to intensive processes of globalization and interactions with alternative value systems.   Inglehart and Baker (2000, p. 49) argue that values from traditional societies may be retained even when new sets of values enter society. These multiple influences contribute to the development of their citizenship values. The following section will consider how these multiple influences are reflected in Asian students' conceptions of "the good citizen."

To What Extent is There Agreement on Traditional Values and Conceptions of the "Good Citizen"?

All societies, democratic and authoritarian, Western and Eastern, old and new, are interested in nurturing "good citizens" to provide the basis for a society's legitimacy and priorities. In the ASQ, students were asked the extent to which they would endorse statements such as "a person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen," "one can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person," and "having good morality is more important than having good knowledge for one to be a good citizen." Some items were strongly endorsed by students from across the region. Kuang and Kennedy (2014) tested the association between traditional values, such as those described above, and liberal democratic values. This involved exploring the association between students' perceptions of the moral qualities of a "good citizen," their democratic values along with their attitudes to traditional culture and to the behaviors of "good citizens" in both conventional and social-movement terms.

The results suggested that students' endorsement of "attitudes to the moral quality of citizens" was a weak predictor of both "attitudes to conventional citizenship" as well as "attitudes toward social movement citizenship" as defined internationally. This suggested that these traditional values had something in common with Western citizenship values. In addition, "attitudes to traditional culture" had a moderate association (except in Indonesia) with "attitudes to conventional citizenship" and with "attitudes to social movement citizenship."

What do these results mean? Context seems to influence the extent to which these traditional values are adopted. At the same time, traditional values do not appear to be antithetical to liberal democratic values and behaviors—students with strong views about preserving traditional culture are likely to be supportive of engaging in both conventional citizenship (like voting) and social movement citizenship (such as participation in the community). This suggests the possibility of new frameworks for understanding citizenship values and their expression in Asian contexts. Other researchers have advanced similar ideas.

Knowles (2015), for example, using the Korean sample of students from ICCS 2009, explored traditional and democratic values. He developed two scales from the ASQ data. The first scale, *Asian Civic Values*, included these items: "Government should take care of its people," "Political leaders should be role models of morality," "A person who obeys the law but is not a moral person is not a good citizen," "One can only be a good citizen if one is a moral person," and "Classmates should not argue with each other to maintain social harmony." The second scale was *Obedience to*

Authority and included: "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions," "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of the people with the highest status position when making important decisions," "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers," "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents." The results of Knowles' analysis provided insights into the way Korean students conceptualized traditional values and key influences on these values.

Having identified that traditional values had two dimensions, Knowles (2015) sought to establish their statistical associations with several aspects of democratic citizenship as defined for the ICCS cross national samples as a whole (including individual measures such as civic knowledge, democratic values, civic efficacy). He found that *Asian Civic Values* was positively correlated to *Democratic Citizenship* while *Obedience to Authority* was negatively correlated. He suggested that it was no longer reasonable to talk about traditional Asian values as a single construct. There were also important group differences. Males and lower SES (socioeconomic status) students endorsed "Support for undemocratic government" more strongly than females and higher SES students.

These results highlighted not only the multidimensional nature of traditional values but also the nature of those values. One interpretation of *Asian Civic Values* is that they represent passive characteristics with a distinct moral dimension. These characteristics, however, appear to be consistent with holding democratic values concerning respect for individuals and tolerance for difference. The other key finding from Knowles' analysis was the suggestion that Korean students hold traditional values and the democratic values associated with European mindsets in some kind of balance. This supported the views of Tu (2000) and Inglehart and Baker (2000) referred to earlier and the empirical results of Kennedy et al. (2013).

Other studies have used samples from ICCS 2009 students in several societies. One study focussed on what were called "alienated and disaffected students" in Europe, Asia, and South America and their citizenship values (Kuang 2016). She investigated civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes and their association with traditional values. For the Asian component she drew on ASQ samples from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand.

Using latent profile analysis (LPA) and a range of citizenship variables, she identified three profile groups of students within the region. The first she labelled "Outsiders" because on most variables such as civic beliefs, participation experiences, holding norms supporting conventional citizenship and social movement citizenship, and sense of efficacy, their scores were uniformly low. These students made up 12% of the sample across the region. The second group she named the "Moderates" because their scores on these variables were mostly average. These students made up 86% of the regional sample. The third group was named "Active Participators" because their scores were mostly above the mean for all variables. They made up 2% of the sample across the region. Thus, this person-centred methodology highlighted the diversity of citizenship values across the region, although the largest group by far showed moderate engagement.

There were also differences within each of the societies. In Korea, Outsiders made up 24% of the national cohort while the percentages were 14% in Hong Kong, 10% in Taiwan, 9% in Thailand, and 4% Indonesia. The existence of students who could be classified as Outsiders in every society points to some commonality across societies irrespective of culture and political system. They are largely neglected in citizenship research and citizenship education. Outsiders were not represented to the same extent in all societies but were more prevalent in democracies such as Korea than Indonesia.

Kuang (2016) also found that boys were more likely to be Outsiders than girls and that students with lower expectations for further education and fewer books in the home were more likely to be Outsiders. These results were consistent with Knowles' (2015) findings in Korea. In addition,

the more highly students scored on values and behaviors such as "interest in politics," "attitudes towards the nation," "discussion of politics," "community participation," "valuing of school participation" and the "perceived openness of classroom climate," the less likely they were to be Outsiders and the more likely they were to be Active Participators. These results add weight to the idea that Asian students display a diversity of civic values. A small proportion appears to have confidence in civic values (the Active Participators) while others show much less confidence (the Outsiders). Those in the majority (the Moderates), however, were positive, having endorsed all values at an average level.

When considering citizenship values and civic participation, researchers often focus on traditional forms of engagement (voting, volunteering activities, responding to environmental problems, legal protests). Kuang (2016), however, found that the Outsiders were more likely than the other groups to see themselves in the future engaging in illegal protest. Students' endorsement of illegal protest was also associated with their endorsement of what were called negative traditional values (for example, "attitudes condoning corruption in the public service" and "the use of 'connections' to gain political office"). On the other hand, endorsement of positive traditional values predicted support for conventional civic engagement. The issue of civic action is discussed in the next section, especially in relation to illegal protest.

Asian Students' Civic Action—To Protest or Not to Protest?

Extreme forms of civic action have characterized a number of Asian societies in the 2000s: The Red Shirts in Thailand, the anti-Park forces in Korea, the religious protestors in Indonesia, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan. Some research on these groups has recently appeared (Chan et al. 2017). Little is known, however, about how this student radicalism emerged, especially given the extent to which the generation of students tested in ICCS 2009 demonstrated commitments to traditional values.

Asian students, like many elsewhere, navigate between traditional and more radical citizenship values. Zhu et al. (2018), for example, were interested in the associations between out of school participation experiences, political interest, internal political efficacy (confidence that you know enough to participate in politics), and citizenship self-efficacy (a belief that by being involved in specific political activities you make a difference) with Asian students' future intentions to participate in legal protest.

"Community participation," as part of school civic education, was the only civic experience to be associated directly with "expected participation in legal protest" in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand. The statistical effects, while significant, were weak. On the other hand, the associations of student self-efficacy with "expected participation in legal protest" were moderate and significant across all these societies. There was some evidence that civic experience has different effects for students who hold different patterns of attitudes. For example, Zhu et al. (2018) showed that students with high levels of political interest seemed more likely to benefit from political discussion than students who displayed less interest. What do these results mean for our understanding of Asian students' citizenship values?

These results raise a number of issues. Perhaps most importantly, the study showed that legal protest, as a form of future civic engagement was not rejected by Asian adolescents in 2009. For many students a moderate endorsement of expected participation in legal protest coexisted with holding traditional values. This reinforces the argument that democratic and traditional values are not necessarily antithetical. The connection with expected participation in legal protest, however, is not the same across the region. The extent to which a student from South East Asia (Thailand and Indonesia) was likely to be influenced by experiences of political discussion and by possessing political interest and internal political efficacy was modest. They differed from their peers from East Asia where these associations seemed to be stronger. Thus, while

the possibility of protest action is common across the region, the reasons for taking such action may be associated with different factors in the different contexts.

On several characteristics Korean students stood out perhaps because they seemed to be the least traditional and most committed to democratic values. As Zhu et al. (2018, p. 13) pointed out: "geographic and cultural differences should be considered when understanding expected participation in legal protest. Moreover, these diversities need to be further explored." Political differences could also be included as part of these broad social contexts. This is a topic for qualitative research paying close attention to the cultural, political, and social contexts in which students live and develop citizenship values.

Another topic of interest was illegal protest, especially given the student movements in Hong Kong and Taiwan beginning in 2014. Chow's (2013) study, using ICCS 2009 data, found that illegal protest was considered a future civic engagement option by a relatively small proportion of adolescents across the region. Similarly, Wang (2019), using a survey based on ICCS 2009, found with samples of students from Mainland China that around 10% endorsed illegal protest positively as a future option for themselves.

Kuang and Kennedy (2018) explored reasons for adolescents to consider illegal protests as a potential form of future civic engagement. They focused on Hong Kong students and their attitudes to future engagement in both legal and illegal protest activities as measured by ICCS 2009. Using a person-centred approach, they identified two groups. The "Rationals," who scored above the mean on civic knowledge, had, on average, high scores on self-efficacy, showed positive attitudes to equality, and made up around 65% of the sample. The "Radicals," on the other hand, had "lower civic knowledge, lower civic efficacy, and a more negative attitude toward traditional citizenship values such as personal morality, social cohesion, and traditional culture" (p.10). Yet there were also significant differences in the two groups' endorsement of the three items that made up the illegal protest scale. The Rationals in Hong Kong were much less likely to endorse illegal protest items than the Radicals, suggesting this was unlikely to be a civic activity in which they would engage. The Radicals, were less likely than the Rationals to endorse the legal protest items, but their level of endorsement suggested it was an expected form of civic engagement they would consider.

As always with this type of research, an important issue is whether the profile groups identified in the person-centred analysis are valid. Can they be associated with other citizenship values in addition to illegal protest? A clear result was that the two groups differed significantly in what might be called their "civic capacity" or "civic resources:" the Radicals had lower civic knowledge scores, less positive attitudes to equality (gender, ethnic, and immigrant), traditional culture and conventional and social movement citizenship, and more positive attitudes toward exploiting familial connections in elections. What this suggested was that opting for illegal protest as a form of civic engagement might reflect a lack of civic capacity or resources.

As for the composition of these groups, males were more likely to be Radicals, as were students from low SES backgrounds as well as students whose parents showed little interest in discussing social and political issues. Positive citizenship values were associated with lower likelihood of membership in the Radicals while support for negative traditional values (for example, "condoning corruption") was associated with higher likelihood of membership of the Radicals. These results showed that even within a single Asian society there was considerable diversity of attitudes towards future civic engagement. But how generalizable are these findings to other contexts?

A follow up analysis (Li et al. 2016) comparing Hong Kong and Taiwanese students' attitudes to illegal protest found similar results. For example, those students supporting illegal protest had lower knowledge scores. Future radical civic action was part of the thinking of a minority of Hong Kong and Taiwanese students. There is no way of knowing whether these 14-year-olds in

2009 became involved in the local student movements in these two societies beginning in 2014. More attention is needed to the trajectories of young people's thinking and action associated with various forms civic engagement and protest. While the quantitative studies reviewed above have been helpful, more qualitative data on the citizenship values of radical students is needed. How qualitative and quantitative methods contribute to understanding of civic engagement will be discussed in the next section.

Conclusions and Future Directions

De-emphasize Concern About Distinctive "Asian Citizenship Values"

Most Asian students' citizenship values are multidimensional. They include so-called traditional values as assessed in the ASQ, but also a variety of other democratic values related to political institutions, equality, and different forms of civic engagement. For some students, democratic values and traditional values can be held in balance. Yet across the region there is variation in the average endorsement of these values, and there is variation within societies as well as across societies. Citizenship values in Asian societies, therefore, appear to reflect not so much a single set of regional specific values as what Stasiulis (2004), in a European context, referred to as a "hybrid citizenship." She saw such hybridity resulting from increased mobility and migration under the influence of globalization. In Asian contexts, however, hybrid forms of citizenship appear to have emerged when new forms of governance encountered older cultural systems. It may be more accurate to discuss hybrid identities, since many Asian young people balance their traditional with democratic orientations (or traditional with undemocratic orientations). They are anchored to an older set of cultural assumptions and practices, but this does not prevent many of them from embracing democratic values.

It is debatable whether Lee (2004a) was accurate in declaring that many Asians do not care as much about the form of governance as whether leaders maintain a positive approach to citizen welfare and values. Demonstrations in Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan from 2014 onwards, for example, have shown that substantial numbers of their citizens care very much about democratic values to the point where they openly question and protest against leaders. In these cases, citizens may be protesting what they see as poor leadership for which there is warrant from both traditional and democratic values.

Another important conclusion is that democratic values, while important for the Asian students surveyed in ICCS 2009, compete with other value systems. Liberal democratic governments may be in place in Korea, Taiwan, and Indonesia. It appears that substantial numbers of students in several of these countries have democratic aspirations. Democratic values, however, compete with Confucian values in East Asian societies, Islamic values in Indonesia, and Buddhist values in Thailand. The everyday experiences of many Asian students are steeped in religious and cultural values as well as secular values resulting from globalization together with democratic values. It is interesting to reflect on what daily life must be like for these young people as they negotiate these multiple value systems and whether similar contexts challenge young people in other societies.

In addition, for students in Hong Kong and Thailand, the actions of authoritarian governments are never far from public observation. Yet based on the results discussed here, democracy is clearly important for these students. Democracy represents, however, but one value system in a region characterized by diverse values and a history of domination by successive conquerors bringing new values. It is this mélange and its potential to shape the region's citizens that needs to be understood. It is hybridity that helps to explain Asian students' citizenship values, a hybridity that operates differently in different contexts and that seems to be associated with demographic characteristics such as gender and socioeconomic position within specific countries.

While it is possible to describe how many Asian students select and act on their citizenship values, it is more difficult to understand their specific motivations. Civic knowledge is a strong predictor of positive citizenship values. It appears that many students with negative traditional values also have negative attitudes to democratic values such as voting, equality, and participation. Yet the mechanisms are unclear. Political efficacy needs to be better understood in Asian contexts, especially its links with Western individualism. The interplay between Asian value systems and other systems, and how together these influence students' civic decision making are important areas for research.

Examine "Active Citizenship" Asian Style

Participation is a value for many Asian students and conventional participation is the preferred mode. At the same time some individuals are prepared to engage in illegal as well as legal forms of protest. In an important sense, the use of protest runs counter to traditional values concerned with obedience, harmony, and respect. Yet it is quite clear, given the "red" and "yellow" shirts in Thailand, the pro-Islamic protests in Indonesia, the "Umbrella" and "Sunflower" student movements in Hong Kong and Taiwan respectively, and the anti-Park protests in Korea, that some issues in these societies have the potential to prompt protest. For adults, at least, protest appears to be the only way to show a diminution of trust in the benevolence of political leaders. An important question: at what point, in a developmental sense, do most young people consider practicing these less conventional forms of civic engagement? It is clear from the studies discussed here that these less conventional forms of action are already part of potential civic repertoires for some adolescents. Yet what motivates actual civic action for young people is an important issue for future research.

The majority of studies discussed above were conducted with samples of students who experienced, in one way or another, a democratic political environment (or at least a substantial amount of democratic discourse, for example, in Hong Kong). Wang's (2019) study included students from Mainland China, governed by a single party regime with no commitment to liberal democratic values. The students in her study endorsed participatory activity, but primarily as a regime supporting activity. This is in contrast to the democratic view that allows for and supports regime challenging activities. The way participation is both encouraged and enacted in authoritarian societies, the kind of incentives that exist, and what citizens hope to achieve need further study.

Another important issue is the role of civic education. Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019), among others, have found that Asian teachers when asked about the goals of civic and citizenship education are especially likely to focus on conflict reduction and activities within the school itself. How students become oriented toward political and civic participation is an important area for further study.

Be Aware of Strengths and Weaknesses of Methodologies

A methodology used in many of the studies cited above was person-centered analysis: two stage cluster analysis (Chow 2013; Wang 2019), latent profile analysis (Kuang 2016) and mixture Rasch modelling (Kuang and Kennedy 2018). The question remains as to whether similar results will be yielded by different methods. This is not only an issue for the regional studies reviewed here. Person-centered analysis of civic and citizenship data has a short history (Torney-Purta 2009) but is enjoying increasing popularity (Reichert 2016; Reichert 2017; Reichert and Torney-Purta 2019). Given the methodology's potential for revealing patterns of heterogeneity in data sets, more work is needed comparing different statistical approaches.

Missing from the ICCS studies discussed above is the use of mixed methods involving both quantitative and qualitative methods. Many studies include a suggestion that qualitative or

mixed method studies are needed. Some attempts have been made to include a qualitative component using students of the same age as those who were surveyed within the region, usually in interviews about specific issues (Au 2013; Cheung 2016). This is a promising way to explore issues in depth to see if those raised by one sample of students resonate with another sample.

Qualitative research in these regional studies raises key issues for civic and citizenship education—the salience of specific contexts that encourage or discourage particular attitudes and provide access to particular knowledge. A common survey provides insights into shared knowledge and attitudes and highlights differences. But explanations of differences within and across societies requires qualitative research such as interviews and focus groups. Torney-Purta et al. (2010) argued a decade ago for multi-methods approaches to research on civic engagement. Researchers should take up this challenge. A qualitative research methodology together with secondary data analysis could provide insights in this area.

Explore Inter-referencing in Comparative Research Within Regions

This chapter focused on inter-referencing as suggested by Koh (2018), dealing almost exclusively with comparisons within the region. Inter-referencing can establish what is of priority within a bounded area and in an ideological sense can preserve the integrity and independence of the area. The studies above have established the relevance and importance of citizenship research within the Asian area, highlighted commonalities and differences both within societies and across the region, and raised issues for future research. It now seems important to look beyond the region to develop a broader comparative perspective.

Some work has begun on this broader comparative agenda. As mentioned, Kuang (2016) developed a model to compare civic engagement among students in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019) compared teacher profiles in societies from Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea) and Europe (the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, England, Ireland, and Italy). Interpreting the results involves deep understanding of multiple societies. Optimally, such research is probably conducted by multi-national teams that have the resources to understand the distinctive contexts. As cultural psychologists have shown, these comparisons are complex because of deep seated cultural assumptions. Nevertheless, these comparisons are important and secondary analysis of ICCS data provides unique opportunities.

Be Innovative in Future Regional Analyses

As mentioned above, Wang (2019) drew her sample from two Chinese Mainland cities and used a modified form of ICCS 2009. This is promising, but the data were not gathered with the rigorous procedures used by ICCS. She went to considerable lengths to ensure that the scales used were comparable in a statistical sense and valid in a content sense since she was dealing with students in a political system that had little or no commitment to liberal democracy. Nevertheless, this is a good example of making excellent use of what ICCS has to offer.

There are also informative analyses focused on Asian data in the main survey. For example, Zhu et al. (2019) have compared native born Hong Kong students and immigrant students (born in Mainland China but going to school in Hong Kong) to understand better why immigrant students often seem to have higher civic knowledge scores than the native born. As mentioned earlier, Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019) have developed profiles of Asian teachers based on their responses to the teacher questionnaire and compared them with those of teachers in several parts of Europe. Thus, data collected from Asian students and teachers can continue to be used in useful ways comparatively. Other researchers may find it valuable to focus on inter-referencing using the Asian societies that participated in ICCS 2016 and also by examining change from ICCS 2009 to 2016.

Finally, this chapter has raised numerous issues. The studies have shown that values can be identified that seem especially appropriate in Asian contexts. It has established that there is diversity in the endorsement of these values across the region. The results challenge the idea that "Asian" values are uniformly adopted. Specific contexts appear to influence students to endorse values differently. Many questions remain and provide a challenge for future researchers using both traditional secondary analysis of survey data and qualitative research.

The studies have shown that there are traditional values held by Asian adolescents and sometimes these are consistent with liberal democratic values (as generally defined), and sometimes they are not. An important issue is how young people balance these in their daily lives and interactions. Since 2014 we have seen radical forms of civic engagement in Asian contexts, but we do not know how such actions become reconciled with traditional values. When cultural pressures focus on obedience and harmony while societies pursue policies that are unfair and unjust, how do young people make decisions to protest the injustice? How does public discourse about radical civic action influence young adolescents whose political socialization is in process? These are important social questions, as well as significant research questions. They are questions that can be addressed by secondary data analysis to yield understanding that can benefit not only academic discourse, but the world in which we live. This presents an exciting research agenda for the future.

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CHAPTER 21:

Understanding School and Classroom Contexts for Civic and Citizenship Education: The Importance of Teacher Data in the IEA Studies

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Abstract IEA surveys traditionally include a teacher questionnaire among the contextual questionnaires aiming at collecting data on school factors that could be associated with students' cognitive outcomes. This chapter discusses how data collected from teachers has played a role in IEA studies on civic and citizenship education from the Six Subjects Survey to the Civic Education Study (CIVED) 1999 and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 and 2016. Elements of continuity and discontinuity are identified over time in relation to the content and the structure of the teacher questionnaires adopted in each survey, looking at the conceptions of civic and citizenship education that informed the instruments' development and at the changes that occurred over time in the delivering of civic and citizenship education at school. The use of data collected through the teacher questionnaire in IEA international reports as well as in secondary analyses is presented. A substantial increase in informative secondary analyses using teacher data has been registered in the last years, confirming the importance of the teacher questionnaire despite the difficulties in finding direct strong associations between teacher data and students' outcomes. Civic and citizenship education is one of the school education areas most characterized by gaps between principles and official regulations, between intended and implemented curricula, and between theory (or ideals) and practices. The information gathered through the teacher questionnaire is of great relevance for a better understanding of the characteristics of the schools as learning environments and provides policymakers and researchers with data from the perspective of teachers on the democratic experience students actually have at school.

Introduction

Our intent is to present some reflections on the characteristics of the teacher questionnaire adopted in International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) surveys on civic and citizenship education and on the use of resulting teacher data in studying this aspect of schooling. Our reflections begin with a discussion of how data collected from teachers has played a role in IEA studies from their beginning 50 years ago. Then we focus on our team's participation in these studies since the mid-1990s when the Civic Education Study (CIVED) was planned. We had direct involvement in the development of the teacher questionnaire and in the preparation of the international reports of CIVED, International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009, and ICCS 2016. Thus, our perspective is that of insiders.

We identify elements of continuity and discontinuity over time in relation to the specific teacher questionnaires adopted in each survey, looking at the several conceptions of civic and citizenship education that informed the instruments' development, and at the changes that occurred over time in the delivering of civic and citizenship education at school. These changes relate to the curriculum content, to the increasing importance attributed to the school as a "democratic learning environment," to the role of teachers, and to the opportunities provided to students

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for participating in school life. We also present a brief review of the contributions (international reports, articles, and papers) that used data collected from teachers. In the conclusions, we examine issues and challenges related to the use of the teacher questionnaire in future IEA studies in this field.

Contextual Questionnaires in the IEA Surveys

Since the 1960s, the IEA international comparative studies have included background questionnaires with the aim of collecting data on contextual factors that could be associated with students' cognitive outcomes and that could help in predicting students' achievement (Postlethwaite 1967; Peaker 1975; Walker 1976). The data collected through these questionnaires from students, teachers, and principals are central to the interpretation of results and focus on a range of student, school, and classroom characteristics. Traditionally, the school-level variables included in the school and teacher questionnaires are related to school context (e.g., urban/rural, resources available in the local community), school characteristics (e.g., school type, school size, and instructional time), school resources and management (e.g., teaching materials, funding, decision-making processes), school activities in the field of interest for each survey, and teachers' characteristics and self-reported teaching practices (Postlethwaite and Ross 1992).

As shown by the international reports of various IEA studies, the school variables that are associated with student achievement are those related to school context, school characteristics including resources, and characteristics of students in the class (Walker 1976; Postlethwaite and Ross 1992; Schulz et al. 2010; Mullis et al. 2012a; Mullis et al. 2012b).

In all the IEA civic and citizenship education studies since 1971, a measure of open classroom climate for discussion (based on students' responses to the questionnaire) has been a positive predictor of student civic knowledge in the large majority of countries (Torney et al. 1975). The scale includes items related to student-teacher relations such as "teachers encourage students to make up their own minds," "teachers encourage students to express their opinions," and "students bring up current political events for discussion in class" (Schulz et al. 2010; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). At the same time, because these are one-time surveys, it has not been possible to draw causal inferences about the relations between school variables and students' civic achievement. Wide differences across countries and within countries are usually reported, which has been noted since civic education was part of the Six Subjects Survey (Torney et al. 1975).

Attempts have also been made to investigate the associations between general school characteristics and students' reports of their attitudes, and their likelihood of participation using ICCS 2009 results. After controlling for student and school average SES (socioeconomic status), the impact of specific school variables was negligible (Caponera and Losito 2011; Caponera et al. 2012). This is not surprising given that the role of parents and, more generally, students' socioeconomic background have major influences on students' attitudes and participation. For example, in ICCS 2016, parental interest in civic issues was one of the strongest predictors of expected civic engagement, while students' characteristics and social background were also important predictors of their civic knowledge (Schulz et al. 2018).

When one looks at the associations between teacher-related factors and student achievement using data collected in international comparative studies, the findings are not consistent. Several analyses have identified associations between those factors and student achievement in mathematics (e.g., Rivkin et al. 2005; Akiba 2007; Akyüz and Berberoglu 2010). On the other hand, some studies found limited evidence of this impact in both mathematics (Luschei and Chudgar 2011; Sturman and Lin 2011; Dodeen and Hilhal 2012) and reading literacy (e.g., Van Daal et al. 2006). This is probably because teacher-related factors can influence students' achievement in different ways depending on the specific features of a given school context. This is one reason why research has not been able to clearly identify a set of teacher characteristics and classroom

practices that consistently improve students' learning across countries. In addition, one should consider that in a single survey it is not possible to measure the cumulative influence of all past teachers on the sampled students.

To get a clearer picture we would need more in-depth questions, and this would be likely to further reduce teachers' and schools' willingness to participate in the study.

The Teacher Questionnaire in Civic and Citizenship Education Studies: From the Six Subject Survey to ICCS 2016

The analysis of the teacher questionnaires developed for the different IEA international surveys on civic and citizenship education provides an overview of the variables deemed relevant to include in the instruments and of different strategies adopted for teachers' sampling. At the same time, it allows us to reflect both on the specific nature of civic and citizenship education within school curricula (in comparison with other areas) and on the changes that occurred over time in the conceptualizations of civic and citizenship education underpinning the IEA surveys. This mirrors the changes occurring in societies and in the role attributed to education and experience in the school context over the last 50 years.

The first IEA survey on civic education, which was carried out between 1967 and 1971 within the Six Subject Survey, addressed some of the recurrent issues in this field of study—the importance of measuring not only cognitive aspects, but also attitudes related to civic participation and social justice, the focus on processes that occur inside and outside schools, and the status of civic education in school curricula.

The analysis of the documents provided by the countries participating in the survey showed that there were different definitions of this subject area, different names given to it, and different ways of delivering it (Torney et al. 1975). These differences were reflected in the procedures for teacher sampling. For the 14-year-olds and pre-university populations teachers who taught civic education or subjects such as history, political science, geography, sociology, or economics were sampled. However, students and their teachers were not linked in the analysis. Teachers' answers were meant to represent educational processes related to civic learning in the school overall, together with data collected through the principals' questionnaire (Torney et al. 1975).

The teacher questionnaire of the Six Subject Survey included questions similar to those administered to teachers in other IEA subject areas (such as teaching methods, student assessment, and years of training) together with other variables more related to civic education such as "amount of social science study; perception of the appropriateness of discussing controversial issues in the classroom; membership in subject matter associations; conception of the 'good citizen,' and the importance of teaching about topics such as democracy, political history, social problems, international problems, local and national government, and political parties" (Torney et al. 1975, p. 43).

The huge political changes that occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s triggered the organization of the second IEA study on civic education, CIVED, which was conducted in 1999. In investigating the ways young people were prepared to become citizens in democratic societies, the survey focused on school-based learning and on the influences and opportunities for civic participation outside school.

The theoretical model developed for the study, called the Octagon, reflects the twofold focus of CIVED. In the model, schools (teachers, implemented curriculum, and participation opportunities) as well as peer groups, the family, and neighbors are viewed as "a 'nested' context for young people's thinking and action in the social and political environment," and as "communities of discourse and practice" in which the individual student is at the center (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, p. 20). Based on these assumptions, teachers were identified sources of information about two

of CIVED's policy and research issues—the influence of different types of classroom practices and how teachers are prepared to deal with civic-related topics.

Differences in the delivering of civic and citizenship education across countries identified in the survey of the early 1970s, made it important but difficult to select comparable samples of teachers across countries. For these reasons, in CIVED a set of strategies were put in place to enhance comparability. National research coordinators (NRCs) were asked to fill out a "subject allocation grid" listing the topics from which the items included in the student test were drawn in order to identify which teachers were teaching them and their subject matter. Following the instructions from NRCs, in each sampled school the teacher questionnaire was administered to three teachers of civic-education related subjects who were teaching the tested class of students. However, in most of the participating countries it was not possible to select three teachers of the tested class. In those cases, countries were asked to administer the questionnaire to teachers of civic education-related subjects of a parallel, previous, or following grade in the sampled school. In CIVED, data were therefore collected from teachers both "linked" and "not linked" to the tested class; only findings related to linked teachers were included in the international report. As teachers sampled in CIVED represented the teachers of the representative samples of students, the unit of analysis for results was the student and not the teacher, and teacher results were weighted with the number of students they taught (Losito and Mintrop 2001).

The CIVED's teacher questionnaire was divided into nine sections: five sections were aimed at gathering information about the individual teachers (age, gender, the subject taught, work experience, education, and specific preparation for civic education such as professional development activities and degree held). The sixth section was related to teachers' views on civic education in the curriculum (i.e., how civic education should be taught, what is important to learn in civic education, the general importance conferred on civic education, which topics and skills are emphasized in civic education, and what students learn at school). The seventh section was focused on teachers' concept of citizenship and asked teachers what students should learn to become good citizens. The eighth section aimed at gathering information on their civic education-related activities and lessons. Two questions were included in this last section: first, on the sources used by teachers for planning their civic education related activities and a second set on teachers' rating of the importance to teach civic and citizenship education (CCE) related topics, their confidence in teaching them, and the opportunities their students have to actually learn them. The last section focused on instruction (e.g., activities used in civic related education, suggested improvements about civic education, and student assessments).

The changes that occurred in governance, international relations, migration, and globalization of societies since CIVED informed the third IEA CCE-focused study, ICCS 2009. This study also considered changes in the conceptualizations and practices related to civic education that occurred in that period. In order to highlight those developments, the study adopted the term, focused on "knowledge and understanding and on opportunities for participation and engagement in both civic and civil society" and was concerned with "the wider range of ways that citizens use to interact with and shape their communities (including schools) and societies" (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 22).

The broadening of the concept of civic education is reflected in the instruments' development and implied a different emphasis on data collected from teachers (and schools). While in CIVED the focus was mainly on teaching practices and teaching preparation in civic education, ICCS presented an additional focus on the role of teachers and schools in enhancing students' participation at school. One research question underpinning the study looked not only at teachers' reports on instructional practices, but also examined students' opportunities for participation at schools and their involvement in decision-making. Teachers were asked to report on students'

behavior at school and their perception of school climate (Schulz et al. 2010, pp.169–174). These data have unrealized potential.

The shift from conceptualizing civic education as mainly conducted in a specific set of classes to CCE that included broader school opportunities also resulted in a particular sampling design for teachers. In ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, the teacher questionnaire was administered to up to 15 teachers of all subjects sampled from all teachers who were teaching at the target grade (grade 8) during the testing period (if they had been employed at the sampled school at least since the beginning of the school year). In ICCS, the approach underpinning this sampling design was to survey teachers from civic-related and non-civic-related subjects without linking the teachers to the students who took the test.

To summarize the contrast, CIVED surveyed teachers who taught subjects mainly related to humanities and social sciences, while in ICCS the teacher questionnaire was administered to a sample of teachers of all subjects at the target grade. The aim was to take school contexts and characteristics into account, as they constitute the general culture and climate in which civic and citizenship education is developed (Schulz et al. 2008, p. 36).

The possibility to use teachers as source of information without focusing exclusively on history and social studies related subjects corresponds to two assumptions: i) that CCE is a cross-curricular theme that can be implemented including all subjects as well as in specific classes; ii) that civic-related learning outcomes can be influenced by the characteristics of the school environment as a whole (whole-school approach). The findings were discussed in the international reports and in secondary analyses, as reported in the next section.

The teacher questionnaire in ICCS 2009 comprised 29 questions divided into four sections: general information, the school context, CCE at school, and the teaching of CCE. The last section was part of the international option addressed only to individuals within the teachers' sample in each school who were teaching CCE-related subjects. The ICCS 2009 teacher questionnaire encompassed four questions that were similar to the ones included in the teacher questionnaire in CIVED. Those questions were about the sources used for planning civic and citizenship education, on how teachers assess their students in CCE, on teachers' confidence about teaching specific topics related to CCE, and on teachers' ideas about the improvements needed in this area.

ICCS 2016 shares the research design and sampling procedures of the 2009 survey. One of the research questions of the study investigates the extent to which schools have participatory processes in place that facilitate civic engagement, the extent to which schools and communities interact to foster students' civic engagement and learning and, finally, the ways schools and teachers perceive the role of civic and citizenship education (Schulz et al. 2016).

The general structure of the ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire follows the one adopted in 2009—first, teachers' general information, second, the school, and third, CCE at school. It was addressed to teachers teaching regular school subjects to students in the target grade, questions and items related to the new areas included in the student survey (environmental sustainability, social interaction at school, and the use of new social media) were also included in the teacher questionnaire. Eleven questions were modified from the 2009 version, six were unchanged, and five questions were inserted related to the new focus areas of the study. A fourth section on the teaching of CCE was an international option for teachers of civic-related subjects. Thirty-five out of 38 countries participated in this option.

Several aspects of continuity as well as differences can be identified across the four surveys. These aspects reflect changes that occurred in the conceptualization of civic and citizenship education and to its delivery at a school level over time. In our view, the following are the major aspects of continuity:

i.   the inclusion of students' civic-related attitudes and dispositions in the "learning outcomes" of civic and citizenship education; and

ii.   the existence of a diverse set of approaches for the delivery of civic and citizenship education at the classroom and school levels.

The most important developments are related to:

i.   the recognition of the importance of informal learning for students' knowledge and attitudes. Acquiring civic knowledge and attitudes is not only the result of formal classroom practices, but is also influenced by the experiences students have in various contexts (i.e., schools and classrooms, home and peer environment) and by their interactions with others in the communities where they are living;

ii.   the increased relevance of the school environment as a "democratic learning environment" and of the quality of experiences students have at school for developing their knowledge and attitudes; and

iii. the inclusion of new contents in the CCE curricula in relation to perceptions of changes occurring in societies.

These new developments are reflected in the teacher questionnaires in ICCS 2009 and 2016. As mentioned, new questions were included in the instruments, mainly related to the investigation of teachers' perceptions of the school environment, of its relations with the local community, and of social relations at school. In ICCS 2009 and 2016, those questions asked teachers about their perceptions of classroom climate (e.g., how many target grade students get on well with their classmates and are well integrated in the class), students' behaviors at school (e.g., how many students have a good relationship with teachers and staff and are well behaved during breaks), social problems at school (such as vandalism, ethnic intolerance, religious intolerance, bullying), and students' participation in civic related activities in the local community (such as activities related to environmental sustainability and human rights projects). In ICCS 2016, to match the new areas of assessment included in the student questionnaire, issues related to bullying were explored in greater depth with a specific question asking teachers about their perceptions and/or direct experience with students being bullied at school. Additional questions inquired about the role teachers play in shaping the school environment and explored teachers' participation in the running of the school, their willingness to accept responsibilities beyond their teaching assignment, and their collaboration with other teachers in planning educational activities inside the school.

The aforementioned questions were asked to teachers of all subjects and not only to teachers of subjects more directly related to CCE. The description of school contexts for CCE largely benefited from the different sampling procedures adopted for teachers in ICCS 2009 and 2016. There was extensive material about teachers' perceptions of the school environment in the ICCS international reports (2009 and 2016) as well as in most of the national reports of the participating countries.

At the same time, this choice had consequences for teachers' completing the questionnaires in some countries. In both ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, difficulties in obtaining the required level of participation of teachers was registered in several countries; 8 out of 38 countries in ICCS 2009 were unable to meet the sample requirements for the teacher survey, as well as 5 out of 22 countries in ICCS 2016. In ICCS 2016 two other countries were excluded from the analysis of teacher data because they did not meet the sample requirements for students either. Aside from more general problems related to teacher reluctance to participate in assessments in several countries, this low participation might be related to the subjects taught by sampled teachers. As reported by several NRCs, teachers of mathematics and science were unlikely to recognize

their role in students' civic and citizenship education, although this highly depends on how CCE is conceptualized and delivered in individual school systems and on responsibilities assigned to teachers at the school level in addition to their teaching.

Increased attention paid to the school context did not imply less attention to specific aspects of the teaching of CCE in a more specialized sense. In ICCS we included an international option in the questionnaire for teachers whom the national centers identified as teachers of civic-related subjects. In ICCS 2009 35 out of 38 countries participated in this option, while in ICCS 2016, all countries participated in it. In both surveys most teachers of civic-related subjects reported that they felt very well prepared or quite prepared to teach almost all the topics and issues listed in the question. The highest percentages were recorded for human rights, citizens' rights and responsibilities, and equal opportunities for men and women (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2018).

In concluding this overview of the characteristics of the teacher questionnaires across the different IEA studies on CCE, it is important to highlight some developments that, in our view, should be taken into consideration in relation to the instrument for collecting teachers' data in future surveys on CCE.

It is not easy to identify which aspects of teacher activities at the school level contribute to students' outcomes in CCE across countries. In selecting the constructs and variables to be included in the teacher questionnaire, one needs to examine not only the results in ICCS (at both international and national levels), but also studies on teachers carried out in individual countries. This could suggest more in-depth ways to investigate this area in the future, also through qualitative studies, aimed at looking more in depth at the results of international surveys (see, for example, Toots and Lauri 2015) and at gathering data on country-specific issues that are not included in IEA surveys (such as, for instance, the role of non-teaching staff). These kinds of studies, even if they do not allow for cross-country comparisons, can provide insights from a different perspective that could benefit from both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches. In CIVED, during the Phase 1 of the project, NRCs wrote national case studies that also allowed to better identify constructs and variables to be included in the teacher questionnaire (as well as in the other CIVED contextual questionnaires) (Mintrop 2002).

More generally, there is a need to update the content of the teacher questionnaire in each new cycle to reflect the changes that have been introduced over time in school curricula, and in the delivering of CCE. Changes introduced in the student test and questionnaire might suggest the inclusion of new topics for the teacher questionnaire, as it was done in ICCS 2016 in relation to environmental sustainability, and as it is proposed for ICCS 2022 in relation to global citizenship education.

There is one more aspect that is important to mention. In the Six Subject Survey report (Torney et al. 1975), the authors pointed out the importance of using different sources of information (school, teacher, and student) "to characterize the educational inputs in different countries permitting us to gain a better understanding of the patterns of achievement" (p. 66). In ICCS 2009 and 2016, several questions were included in the school and teacher questionnaires that were similar to the questions administered in the student questionnaire (e.g., perceptions of bullying at school, students' participation at school, and perceptions of students' and teachers' relations). This allowed a comparison between teachers' and students' perceptions. For example, when analyzing students' and teachers' answers to the questions on bullying, it emerged that teachers appear to underestimate the phenomenon (also in comparison with principals' reports) (Schulz et al. 2018). So, it is important to maintain "parallel" questions across the instruments.

The Use of Data Collected Through the Teacher Questionnaire: International Reports and Secondary Analyses

In order to investigate how the information gathered through the teacher questionnaire in the IEA studies were used, we looked at how findings were described in the international reports of the four surveys and identified the main strands that have emerged in the academic research, and in other publications that used teacher data for secondary analyses.

Teacher Data in the International Reports

Starting from the common elements among the reports, we identified the topics/areas whose findings were reported in more than one survey report, from the Six Subject Survey to ICCS 2016. If we compare the international reports of the four IEA surveys on CCE, there are six areas of commonalities across the studies. Some topics seem to be of recurrent interest for understanding the delivery of CCE in the classroom (i.e., teachers' reports on the activities in the classroom, teachers' report of assessment methods) and teachers' confidence in tackling CCE-related issues and training. However, it has to be taken into consideration that in ICCS 2009 and 2016, those questions were included as international options and thus were not answered by all sampled teachers, but only by teachers identified by national centers as teachers of CCE-related subjects. Other topics, such as teachers' reports on CCE aims and teachers' perception of students' activities in the community, highlight changes in the conception of CCE that occurred from the Six Subject Survey to CIVED to the two ICCS studies.

The number of questions from the teacher questionnaire that were examined in the international reports varies: eight questions in the Six Subject Survey, seventeen in CIVED, six in ICCS 2009, and seven in ICCS 2016.

In all of the international reports and in most of the national ones (often following the same structure as the international reports, highlighted in an online consultation with NRCs carried out by the study's consortium for ICCS 2016), data collected through the teacher questionnaires allowed an informative description of the school and the classroom contexts and illustrations of what actually happens at the school and classroom level in the delivery of CCE, and in relation to students' outcomes. For example, the chapter on schools in the report of ICCS 2009 reported that in several European countries teachers' perceptions of open climate were associated with higher overall student knowledge achievement (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 173). This kind of informative description is of particular interest in CCE because several studies carried out by the Council of Europe have shown this area to be characterized by gaps (e.g., between official curricula and school activities or between theory and practice). One of the most relevant gaps shown by these studies is related to the lack of suggestions for implementation by national authorities that could provide support to schools and teachers in pursuing CCE educational aims more effectively (Birzea et al. 2004).

Secondary Analyses of Teacher Questionnaire Data

In the last 20 years, a number of secondary analyses were carried out using CIVED and ICCS teacher questionnaire data. Two recent reviews of the research conducted across different disciplines published in English have highlighted the multifaceted nature of the studies that used datasets from the IEA large-scale international surveys on civic and citizenship education (Knowles et al. 2018; Knowles and Di Stefano 2015). The 2015 piece was preliminary to the extensive search for secondary analysis published in 2018, which found and summarized 100 articles using CIVED and ICCS 2009 data.

In relation to the studies using the teacher questionnaire data, we have identified two main strands of academic research in these reviews. The first strand focused on teachers' beliefs and

teachers' confidence in teaching CCE-related topics, and the second aimed at understanding the associations between specific teachers' characteristics or practices and students' civic knowledge.

The first strand comprises studies such as the one by Alviar-Martin et al. (2008), who used CIVED data from four countries (Germany, Italy, Hong Kong, and the United States) and aimed at examining teachers' perceived confidence in teaching about civic-oriented topics. They highlighted that most teachers believed that they were poorly prepared to deliver an issue-centered curriculum. This strand also includes the study by Ljunggren and Unemar Ost (2011), which used ICCS data to investigate the teaching of controversial issues in Sweden and compared the responses of Swedish teachers with those of other countries participating in the study. The research identified four different roles played by teachers in classroom debates on controversial issues ("debate leader," "tutor," "mediator," and "rejector").

This category of research also includes the analysis by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019), which examined teachers' beliefs about the aims of citizenship education in 12 countries using a person-centered analysis with ICCS 2009 teacher data; the question had asked teachers to choose the three most important aims of CCE. Some differences between regions were found. For example, teachers in the Asian region emphasized citizenship as it would be practiced at school (especially conflict resolution) rather than taking a broader societal perspective. For teachers in the other regions the goals of civic education more frequently encompassed activities that were situated globally, nationally, or in the local community.

Placing these findings into the context of all 38 participating countries, the international report shows that the percentage of teachers who thought that civic education should prepare students for future political participation averaged only seven percent across these countries (see Schulz et al. 2010, p. 182). Reducing xenophobia was also rarely endorsed as an aim of civic education. An average of only 10% of teachers across countries answered that this was one of the three most important objectives. On the other hand, promoting students' knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities and students' critical and independent thinking were frequently chosen by teachers as of among the three most important aims (with an average across countries of 60 and 52% respectively).

In the second strand, we included studies based on a CIVED dataset such as the article by Chin and Barber (2010), which examined the relation between teachers' beliefs and their organization of classes and student learning in Australia, England, and the United States, and also the contribution of Torney-Purta et al. (2005), which analyzed in some detail the associations between teachers' confidence in their knowledge about various topics and their students' civic knowledge. This second strand also includes two analyses conducted by Gainous and Martens (2012, 2013), who focused on United States data and explored the associations between teachers' beliefs, the implementation of an open classroom climate, and students' civic knowledge and the relation between teaching approaches (identified in the study) and open classroom climate. Finally, the study by Treviño et al. (2017), using ICCS data, investigated the association between teachers' practices and school characteristics with students' civic knowledge, civic attitudes, and future participation in three Latin American countries (namely Chile, Colombia, and Mexico). The study highlighted how teacher practices and attitudes are related to civic knowledge and that the schools' democratic environment is relevant for encouraging students' expected participation and their attitudes toward diversity.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies, which focused on teachers in CIVED and ICCS, several secondary analyses included teachers' variables to investigate associations with the variables from one of the other instruments (administered at school and/or student levels). We cannot conduct a detailed review here. However, it is relevant to refer to some studies that provide evidence about the different use of teachers' data gathered in the IEA civic and citizenship surveys. For instance, data on teachers have been used to estimate models to further

understanding of the associations between school factors and students' future electoral and political participation (Sampermans et al. 2018; Quintelier and Hooghe 2013) and to explore the relationship between school factors and students' civic development (Torney-Purta et al. 2007). Zhang et al. (2012) examined the association between teachers' approaches and students' successful performance on different types of knowledge items in the United States. They found that concept-oriented teaching was especially valuable in helping students correctly answer the more complex civic skills items that were part of the CIVED test.

Discussion

This review has identified several issues that are relevant for reflecting on the teacher questionnaire's structure and content across the IEA studies on civic and citizenship education.

The most general issue is to some extent provocative: do we actually need a teacher questionnaire, given the difficulties in finding strong associations between teacher data and students' outcomes and the difficulties countries encounter in assuring that a substantial proportion of teachers participate? Despite the difficulties and the problems, our answer is positive. Further reflections are probably needed on the current sampling procedures adopted for students (one intact class) and teachers who are not necessarily linked.

A second issue is whether there are specific research questions that suggest specific changes or additions to the questions asked to teachers. These could include questions of specific interest at the country level (where the teacher data is especially likely to be examined).

First, our review of the studies that used teacher data found that there has been a steady interest in them, and there are possibilities of identifying associations between teacher and student variables (although this has usually been limited to single-country studies). There is a need to continuously refine the constructs that guide the questionnaire development and to identify new constructs that current research shows as associated with students' outcomes (assuming reliable cross-national measures can be developed). The purpose is to better reflect global trends in the content of the questions asked to teachers, and to reflect changes in the school curricula and in the way civic and citizenship education is delivered. There is also a need to balance old and new topics not only to ensure some comparability across time, but also to limit the burden of the questionnaire in terms of length and time needed for its completion (as often requested by the national centers).

Secondly, several examinations of the current situation including those published by the Council of Europe conclude that CCE is one of the areas most characterized by gaps between principles and official regulations or between intended and implemented curricula, or between theory (or ideals) and practices (Birzea et al. 2004; Eurydice 2012; Eurydice 2017). These results were also confirmed by ICCS (e.g., in relation to the approaches adopted in delivering CCE or in teacher preparation and training) (Schulz et al. 2018). In this view, it is of importance to gather information on teaching that is independent from what is reported by the official national documents or other sources. This is useful not only for suggesting interpretations of international comparisons but also for understanding teachers' and principals' perceptions. Collecting such information could be a starting point for case studies or other in-depth investigations.

Another issue is related to the lack of questions in the teacher questionnaire about teachers' opinions related to civic and political issues and their participation in civic and political related activities. These kinds of questions would be of great interest in understanding teachers' perspectives on students' CCE. However, many of the participating countries would probably not consider it acceptable to ask teachers about their personal political opinions (and this is why it has not been done).

In ICCS 2009, a question on teachers' personal participation in civic-related activities outside the school was included (i.e., participation in political parties and organizations, in trade unions, in groups promoting the welfare of ethnic minorities). The idea was that it could be important to explore whether teachers' opinions on CCE were related to their out-of-school experiences with social and political participation. An analysis of this data from twelve countries indicates that teachers' participation in organizations outside the classroom is associated with some of their decisions about pedagogy (Reichert et al. 2020). Being active in out-of-school political, social, and community activities appears to enable teachers to connect abstract civic principles with real life examples relevant to their students. However, this question was not included in the ICCS 2016 questionnaire.

Some countries decided to include relevant questions in the teacher questionnaire as a national option. For example, the Belgium Flemish included a question on teachers' perception of the importance of different forms of social and political action for being a good citizen (using items from a similar question on the student questionnaire). The possibility of including such questions in the teacher questionnaire in the future should be explored.

Another issue that should be addressed more comprehensively in the teacher questionnaire relates to students' participation at school. Including questions on this topic could provide researchers with data from the perspective of teachers on the democratic environment students experience at schools and on which aspects of school life they are involved in (from school management to lesson and extra-curricular activities planning).

In conclusion, teachers' views about their schools and students in the area of CCE remain an important part of these studies. In our view, future research in this area could use the results of large-scale assessment as a starting point for small-scale studies aimed at understanding specific CCE teaching and learning contexts. More specifically this could include analyses of the teaching and learning processes that occur at the classroom and the school levels. Integrating large-scale and small-scale studies could help researchers shed light on issues that need to be further investigated, and that constitute relevant aspects of CCE across educational systems.

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CHAPTER 22:

The Landscape and Recent Developments of Civic and Citizenship Education Across the Latin American Region

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Abstract This chapter was invited to provide a description of the landscape of the international dimension of IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) within the Latin American region. These authors possess extensive experience in analyzing and publishing from these datasets. The chapter begins by describing their professional, academic, and personal involvement with IEA's civic education studies. This is followed by an analytical review of peer-reviewed articles, books, as well as research projects that included ICCS data as part of their empirical evidence. It also describes the people, institutions, and research teams that have been involved in these projects. The result of this review is divided into two sections: a characterization of the topics that have proven relevant for the region, and mapping of the specific overlaps between these topics and the contents of the ICCS datasets. Finally, there are specific suggestions that could contribute to raising the profile of ICCS as a key resource for the discourse on civic education in Latin America.

Introduction

Twenty years ago, there was relatively modest interest among Latin American educational researchers in the topic of civic education viewed internationally or regionally. In the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CIVED), testing in 1999 and 2000, only Chile and Colombia participated (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Amadeo et al. 2002). Ten years later, in the first cycle of the IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz et al. 2009) there was additional participation with a total of six countries (Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, and Paraguay). As important, there was a module of questions specific to the region and a report was published of these regional results (Schulz et al. 2011). In ICCS 2016 four of these countries participated again (Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and the Dominican Republic) and Peru joined for the first time (Schulz et al. 2018). The participation of these countries in the IEA studies has meant that, instead of isolated countries providing snapshots of this region, over the past two decades a landscape of countries where civic opportunities and civic education vary greatly can be examined in a comparative fashion.

This growing interest in civic and citizenship education in the region has been coupled with the emergence of a network of researchers across Latin American countries. Currently, this network involves more than 15 institutions and about 30 individuals in the region but also extends to other institutions outside Latin America, such as Harvard University in the United States, the University of Deusto in Spain, and the University of Bath in the United Kingdom where collaborating researchers have been located.

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The involvement of Andres Sandoval-Hernandez (one of the co-authors of this chapter) with ICCS began in 2010 when he started working at the Research and Analysis Unit of IEA's Data Processing Centre (DPC), in Hamburg, Germany. The activities at this unit consisted of carrying out analysis on IEA datasets across subject areas and offering training focused on secondary analyses of IEA's data. At that time, the data from ICCS 2009 was freshly released and many of the training activities focused on this study. These activities created opportunities for several individuals who are now part of the network of researchers on ICCS across Latin American countries. For example, Ernesto Treviño, Juan Carlos Castillo, Diego Carrasco, Silvia Diazgranados, and Daniel Miranda (the co-author of this chapter), participated in one or more of the workshops organized by IEA and currently participate or have participated in one or more of the multi-year research projects based on analyses of ICCS data.

Other good examples of the impact of IEA activities on the development of research networks and products are the multi-year and multi-institution research projects based on ICCS data that have been funded by national governments (i.e., Chile and Mexico) and by international institutions (i.e., the Inter-American Development Bank). The projects funded by the Chilean National Commission for Science and Technology and the Mexican National Council for Science and Technology, consisted of a series of activities including reciprocal visits among the researchers working at different institutions. These projects culminated in the publication of a book (Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2018) and more than 10 academic chapters and articles focused on civic and citizenship education in Latin America (e.g., Castillo et al. 2014a; García-Cabrero et al. 2016; García-Cabrero et al. 2017; Miranda et al. 2015). The project entitled Regional System for the Evaluation and Development of Citizenship Competences (SREDECC) was founded in 2005 with the economic aid of the Inter-American Development Bank. The SREDECC was operationally supported by the Regional Center for the Promotion of Books in Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLALC). One of the main outcomes of this project was the development of a Latin American module of questions for ICCS 2009 and the publication of nine reports associated with its results (several in Spanish): a report summarizing citizenship curricula in the region, a regional report about civic knowledge of the students in the region, six national reports (Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic) and a regional report in Spanish about successful practices in citizenship education (Reimers and Villegas-Reimers 2011).

It can be said that some of the main achievements of ICCS in Latin America have been the development of technical expertise for the evaluation of civic and citizenship education, impact on the policy and practice of the countries that have participated in the IEA studies, and the establishment of a community of researchers (many at universities) who are interested in the development of in-depth studies based on secondary analyses of ICCS data. In this chapter, we focus on the academic products of this community of researchers, a characterization of the topics that have particular relevance for the region and a mapping of the specific overlaps between these topics and the contents of the ICCS datasets. In the remainder of this chapter, we outline a landscape of the research outputs of ICCS in Latin America, as well as some specific suggestions to raise the profile of ICCS as a key resource for enhancing future discussions on civic education in the region.

A Landscape of Research Outputs Based on the ICCS in Latin America

The next section describes a set of scholarly products that have investigated issues relevant to the region using ICCS data. We identified a total of more than 30 books, book chapters, and peer-reviewed papers since 2004. Before 2013, four publications were produced: one book, one book chapter, and two articles in peer-reviewed journals. From this period, it is important to highlight the book analyzing CIVED data by Torney-Purta et al. which was published by the Organization of American States (OAS) in English (2004b) and Spanish (2004a) through its Unit

for Social Development and Education and also the paper by Reimers (2007). These publications are valuable not only for their results relatively early in this 12-year period, but also because they constituted a reference point for setting the research agenda for scholars. For example, Reimers highlighted the limited impact that the IEA CIVED was having on teaching practice and school culture (Reimers 2007). Torney-Purta et al. (2004b) highlighted the potential of examining civic knowledge on a detailed item by item basis. This was possible because one test was administered to all CIVED respondents, and matrix sampling of items was instituted only in ICCS 2009. Young people's responses to CIVED items and scales measuring attitudes, values, and willingness to participate in the political and civic process also received major attention in the OAS report.

Since 2014 the numbers of publications have increased. Two books, six book chapters (see Table 1), and 18 papers (see Table 2) have been produced during this second period.

Table 1: Books and book chapters

Author	Year	Title and publisher	Language	Type
Torney-Purta, J., Amadeo, J.-A., & Pilotti, F.	2004	*Strengthening democracy in the Americas through civic education: An empirical analysis highlighting the views of students and teachers*. Washington, DC: Organization of American States.	English/Spanish	Book
Cox, C., & Castillo, J. C.	2015	Aprendizaje de la ciudadanía: Contextos, experiencias y resultados [*Citizenship learning: Contexts, experiences and results*]. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones UC.	Spanish	Book
Miranda, D., Castillo, J. C., & Sandoval-Hernandez, A.	2015	Desigualdad y conocimiento cívico: Chile en comparación internacional [*Inequality and civic knowledge: Chile in international comparison*]. In C. Cox, & J.C. Castillo (Eds.), Aprendizaje de la Ciudadanía. Contextos, Experiencias y Resultados [*Citizenship learning contexts, experiences and results*]. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones UC.	Spanish	Book chapter
García-Cabrero, B., Sandoval-Hernández, A., Treviño, E., Diazgranados-Ferrans, S., & Martínez, G.	2017	*Civics and citizenship: Theoretical models and experiences in Latin America*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Sense Publishers.	English	Book
Treviño, E., Béjares C., Villalobos C., & Naranjo E.	2017	Building citizenship in the schools of Chile, Colombia and Mexico. In B., García-Cabrero, A. Sandoval-Hernández, E. Treviño-Villareal, S.D. Ferráns, M.G.P. Martínez (Eds.), *Civics and citizenship*. Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sense Publishers.	English	Book chapter
García-Cabrero, B., Sandoval-Hernández, A., & Martínez, M. G. P.	2017	Affective and cognitive processes as determinants of civic participation in Latin American countries. In B., García-Cabrero, A. Sandoval-Hernández, E. Treviño-Villareal, S.D. Ferráns, M.G.P. Martínez (Eds.), *Civics and citizenship* (pp. 127–153). Rotterdam: Sense.	English	Book chapter
Diazgranados-Ferráns, S. D., & Sandoval-Hernández, A.	2017	The civic competence gaps in Chile, Colombia and Mexico and the factors that account for the civic knowledge gap: Evidence from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). In B., García-Cabrero, A. Sandoval-Hernández, E. Treviño-Villareal, S.D. Ferráns, M.G.P. Martínez (Eds.), *Civics and citizenship* (pp. 155–192). Rotterdam: Sense.	English	Book chapter

Table 1: Books and book chapters (contd.)

Author	Year	Title and publisher	Language	Type
Treviño, E., Sandoval-Hernández. A., Miranda, D., Rutkowski, D., & Matta, T.	2019	Invarianza de las escalas de nivel socioeconómico en estudios internacionales. In J. Manzi, M. R. García, & S. Taut (Eds.), *Validez de evaluaciones educacionales en Chile y Latinoamérica* (pp. 301–328). Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile.	Spanish	Book chapter
Castillo, J. C., Miranda, D., & Bonilla, A.	2019	Medición de actitudes hacia la igualdad de derechos entre géneros en pruebas internacionales: Implicacias respecto a su validez. In J. Manzi, M. R. García, & S. Taut (Eds.), *Validez de evaluaciones educacionales en Chile y Latinoamérica* (pp. 329–356). Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile.	Spanish	Book chapter

Table 2: Peer-reviewed articles

Author	Year	Title and publisher	Language	Type
Reimers, F.	2007	Civic education when democracy is in flux: The impact of empirical research on policy and practice in Latin America. *Citizenship and Teacher Education*, *3*(2), 5–21.	English	paper
Caro, D. H., & Schulz, W.	2012	Ten hypotheses about tolerance toward minorities among Latin American adolescents. *Citizenship, Social and Economic Education*, *11*(3), 213–234.	English	paper
Castillo, J.C, Miranda, D., Bonhomme, M., Cox, C., & Bascopé, M..	2014a	Social inequality and changes in students' expected political participation in Chile. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *9*(2), 140–156.	English	paper
Valencia Serna, A., & Vivas Pacheco, H.	2014	La apertura a la discusión en la sala de clases y su relación con la educación para la ciudadanía [The open classroom for discussion and its relation with citizenship education]. *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, *66*, 223–242.	Spanish	paper
Collado, D., Lomos, C., & Nicaise, I.	2015	The effects of classroom socio-economic composition on student's civic knowledge in Chile. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, *26*(3), 415–440.	English	paper
Castillo, J.C, Miranda, D., Bonhomme, M., Cox, C., & Bascopé, M.	2015	Mitigating the political participation gap from the school: the roles of civic knowledge and classroom climate. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *18*(1), 16–35.	English	paper
Bascopé, M., Bonhomme, M., Cox, C., Castillo, J.C., & Miranda, D.	2015	Curricular guidelines and citizenship attitudes in Latin American students: a comparative analysis. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, *13*(2), 1169–1190.	English	paper
Ortiz, I	2016	Actitudes de los estudiantes en escuelas segregadas y en escuelas inclusivas, hacia la tolerancia social y la convivencia entre pares [*Attitudes of students in segregated schools and in inclusive schools, towards social tolerance and peer coexistence*]. *Calidad en la educación*, (44), 68–97.	Spanish	paper

Table 2: Peer-reviewed articles (contd.)

Author	Year	Title and publisher	Language	Type
García-Cabrero, B., Pérez-Martínez, M. G., Sandoval-Hernández, A., Caso-Niebla, J., & Díaz, C.	2016	Assessing two theoretical frameworks of civic engagement. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 38–52.	English	paper
Chaux, E., & León, M.	2016	Homophobic attitudes and associated factors among adolescents: A comparison of six Latin American countries. *Journal of homosexuality*, *63*(9), 1253–1276.	English	paper
Treviño, E., Béjares, C., Villalobos, C., & Naranjo, E.	2017	Influence of teachers and schools on students' civic outcomes in Latin America. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 110(6), 604–618.	English	paper
Miranda, D., Castillo, J.C., & Sandoval-Hernández, A.	2017	Young citizens participation: Empirical testing of a conceptual model. *Youth & Society*, *52*(2), 251–271.	English	paper
Treviño, E., Béjares, C., Villalobos, C., & Naranjo, E.	2018	Forms of youth political participation and educational system: The role of the school for 8th grade students in Chile. *Young, 27*(3), 279–303.	English	paper
Webster, N., Sausner, E., Alobaibi, B., & Patterson, A.	2018	The intersection of civic engagement and civic attiudes among Latino youth through a factor analysis. *Journal of Social Change*, *10*(1), 159–168.	English	paper
Sandoval-Hernádez, A., Rutkowski, D., Matta, T., & Miranda, D.	2019	Pensémoslo de nuevo: ¿podemos comparar las escalas de antecedentes socioeconómicos? [*Back to the drawing board: Can we compare socio-economic background scales?*]. *Revista de Educacion*, (383), 37–61.	Spanish/English	paper
Snow, K., & Kennedy, K.	2019	Alienated and disaffected students: Exploring the civic capacity of 'Outsiders' in Latin America. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197919886877	Spanish/English	paper
Carrasco, D., Banerjee, R., Treviño, E., & Villalobos, C.	2019	Civic knowledge and open classroom discussion: explaining tolerance of corruption among 8th-grade students in Latin America. *Educational Psychology*, 40(2), 186–206.	Spanish/English	paper
Martinez, L., Cumsille, P., Loyola, I., & Castillo, J.C.	2020	Patterns of civic and political commitment in early adolescence. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 40(1), 5–27.	English	paper

Furthermore, several masters and doctoral theses were developed between 2013 and 2019. Table 3 lists these documents. Most of the theses came from departments of sociology, psychology, and education, which can be considered a good representation of the several disciplinary perspectives that are covered in ICCS questions. The edited book published in 2017 introduced interpretations using Robert Selman's theory about informed social reflection, which provides a valuable new perspective on civic education generally (not only in Latin America).

Additionally and importantly, since 2007, seven multi-year, externally funded, research projects were carried out. Five of them were funded by the National Commission of Science and Technology of Chile (CONICYT), one by the Inter-American Development Bank (BID), and one by the Mexican National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT) (see Table 4). All these projects focused on the historical and current context of the civic culture of Latin American countries. They consider aspects such as dictatorships in the region in recent decades, political

Table 3: Doctoral and masters theses

Author	Year	Title and publisher	Status	Type
Angélica Valencia	2013	La educación para la ciudadanía en Colombia: un análisis a partir de las pruebas internacionales sobre educación cívica de la IEA. School of Sociology, Universidad del Valle.	Finished	Thesis
Silvia Diazgranados	2016	The civic knowledge gaps in Chile, Colombia and Mexico: An application of the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method using data from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). Ed.D. in Human Development and Education, Harvard University.	Finished	Thesis
Alex Guerrero	2016	Perfiles de escuela en formación ciudadana. Master in Sociology, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Amgelica Bonilla	2016	Tolerancia a la diversidad social de los estudiantes chilenos según determinantes socioeconómicos y de género: Reevaluando los efectos de la composición social de las escuelas. Master in Sociology, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Francisco Carreño	2016	Predictores de la confianza institucional: el caso de Chile. Master in Sociology, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Daniel Miranda	2018	Inequality and citizenship: an intergenerational approach. Ph.D. Program, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Carolina García	2018 n	Interpretaciones y paradojas de la educación ciudadana en Chile: una aproximación comprensiva desde las significaciones ciudadanas y pedagógicas de los profesores de historia. Educational science program, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Loreto Muñoz	2019	Actitudes hacia la igualdad de género en adolescentes chilenos: ¿cómo influyen los padres en sus hijos? Master in Sociology, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis
Carolina Miranda	2019	Expected political participation and attitudes toward equality: the role of gender. Master in Sociology, Sociology Institute, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.	Finished	Thesis

disaffection of citizens observed in decreasing levels of institutional trust and/or voter turnout, and, finally, academic and public policy concerns about poor results in international evaluations of citizenship education. These projects have been oriented to understand civic education and potential outcomes in Latin American countries using CIVED and ICCS data. Some researchers have collected further qualitative and quantitative data (cross-sectional and longitudinal), which is a potential source for new analysis and publications by scholars. These are among the best examples of the future use of findings from the ICCS studies and how they impact the improvement of civic education.

Table 4: Externally funded research projects using civic and citizenship education data

Author	Period	Project title
• Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo	2007 to 2011	Sistema Regional de Desarrollo y Evaluación de Competencias Ciudadanas (SREDECC). Funded by BID
• Cristian Cox, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Juan Carlos Castillo, Measurement Center MIDE UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Daniel Miranda, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Martín Bascopé, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	2012 to 2014	Socialización política y experiencia escolar: Chile en contexto internacional. Funded by CONICYT
• Benilde García-Cabrero, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico • Andrés Sandoval-Hernández, University of Bath, United Kingdom • Ernesto Treviño-Villareal, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Chile • Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns, Harvard Graduate School of Education, USA • María Guadalupe Pérez Martínez, CONACYT – Autonomous University of Aguascalientes, Mexico	2014 to 2016	The Civic Participation of High School Students in Mexico, Chile and Colombia: A Comparative Analysis. Funded by CONACYT
• Rodrigo Mardones, School of Political Science, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Alejandra Marinovic, Universidad Adolfo Ibañez	2017 to 2019	Citizenship education as a Public Policy. Funded by CONICYT
• Ernesto Treviño, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Diego Carrasco, Measurement Center MIDE UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Cristobal Villalobos, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	2018 to 2020	Sistema escolar chileno y el desarrollo de resultados cívicos. Formas de implementación, mecanismos de recontextualización de la política educativa e influencia de la escuela en el conocimiento, actitudes y participación cívica de los jóvenes. Funded by CONICYT
• Cristian Cox, Faculty of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Juan Carlos Castillo, School of Sociology, Universidad de Chile • Daniel Miranda, Measurement Center MIDE UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile • Camila Jara, Faculty of Education, Universidad Diego Portales	2018 to 2021	Socialización política y educación para la ciudadanía: el rol de la familia y de la escuela. Funded by CONICYT
• Daniel Miranda, Measurement Center MIDE UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	2019 to 2022	Participación Ciudadana Juvenil: entre la reproducción social y la socialización política.

These projects have consisted of in-depth investigations concerned with different levels or aspects of education and different agents involved in the process of citizenship education. At the individual level, the research teams have examined the role of family characteristics (such as socioeconomic background, socialization practices, and attitudinal patterns) and its association with civic outcomes, particularly civic knowledge and citizenship participation. At the school level, these projects have examined the influence of school characteristics and processes on civic outcomes. For example, they investigate teaching practices and approaches designed to produce a more in-depth understanding of this dimension of the school experience than in previous projects and publications. Finally, at the public policy level, they are producing information about changes and stabilities of policies and what this means for the future.

Topics Addressed in the Latin American Publications

A review of these scholarly products allows us to map the ICCS analyses and results onto the topics that are considered especially relevant for the region. Examining the dependent variables found in the publications and projects described above, we conclude that scholars of the region, besides civic knowledge, have been mainly interested in two topics: citizenship participation and students' attitudes toward equality and tolerance.

Even though civic knowledge is one of the main aspects of all IEA studies including ICCS, not many publications using Latin American data have focused on it, only three articles and two book chapters (in addition to the IEA national and international reports). As in other international large-scale assessments (ILSA), the countries of the region obtain low achievement scores compared to the international averages. For those countries that have participated in ICCS 2009 and 2016, an increase in the average levels of civic knowledge was observed with the exception of Chile, where results showed no significant change between the two time points. In the same vein, as in other regions of the world, the individual factors that have a consistent association with civic knowledge are students' home literacy resources, gender (with females obtaining higher scores in almost all countries), expected years of education and perception of openness for discussion in classroom (Castillo et al. 2015; Collado et al. 2015; Torney-Purta et al. 2004; Treviño et al. 2017; Valencia Serna and Vivas Pacheco 2014). Regarding the contextual school-level factors, the socioeconomic composition of the school and open classroom for discussion are both strongly and consistently associated with students' levels of civic knowledge (Castillo et al. 2015; Collado et al. 2015; Miranda et al. 2015).

As mentioned before, citizens' participation has also been a topic studied by Latin American scholars. On the one hand, there are some efforts oriented to its conceptualization (Miranda 2018; Miranda et al. 2017). On the other hand, efforts have also been oriented to explaining different types of participation. For instance, authors have shown that family socioeconomic measures are closely related to differences in expected formal participation among students (Castillo et al. 2014b; Castillo et al. 2015). Additionally, the same authors have found that some school practices, such as the openness of classrooms for discussion, could help to ameliorate intergenerational inequalities related to low civic and political participation. In the case of participation in protests or demonstrations, some authors have shown that the discussion of political and social issues with family and peers is one of the main factors associated with this type of participation (Treviño et al. 2017; Treviño et al. 2018). And in the case of community or social participation, several analyses have pointed out that political discussion and the perception of the openness of classrooms for discussion have a positive association with this type of participation, while civic knowledge has a negative one (Martínez et al. 2019; Valencia Serna and Vivas Pacheco 2014). Although several authors in the region have addressed the topic of participation, further analyses are needed in order to understand some unexpected results (e.g., the negative association between community participation and civic knowledge) and changes across time, just to mention two issues (Miranda 2018).

Tolerance and attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants or ethnic minorities is another topic that has received considerable attention in the region. A number of peer-reviewed papers (Caro and Schulz 2012; Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2018), as well as several master's theses (see Table 3) have addressed this topic. This increasing interest is consistent with the changing societal patterns of migration and demands for equality from socially disadvantaged groups. For this reason, research on this topic has considerable potential to produce relevant information to inform policy development in the future Latin American context. Some of the results of the papers that investigate this topic indicate that socio-economic position and gender play relevant roles in explaining different levels of support for equal rights for minority groups.

Another interesting pattern is that a large proportion of the research publications with ICCS data have been focused on three Latin American countries: Mexico, Chile, and Colombia. The other Latin American countries that have participated in ICCS, such as Guatemala, Dominican Republic, and Paraguay in 2009, and Guatemala and Peru in 2016, have received less attention. This could be, at least in part, due to the availability of research grants in Mexico, Colombia, and Chile, and the availability of skilled personnel in well-developed evaluation centers. Although the BID launched a first Regional System for the Evaluation and Development of Citizenship Competences (SREDECC) that originally included Chile, Colombia, México, Guatemala, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic, it appears that only the first three countries implemented a sustainable strategy to follow-up on the actions initiated by SREDECC (Reimers and Villegas-Reimers 2011).

An analysis of the set of scholarly publications covered here suggests that the Latin American Module of ICCS (Schulz et al. 2011) has received relatively little attention. Many of the politically sensitive scales included in the Latin American Module remain practically unexplored (e.g., tolerance to corruption, authoritarian attitudes, disobedience to law, and peaceful co-existence). Of even more interest, in the ICCS 2009, a set of sixteen items measuring civic knowledge with a focus on Latin American issues was administered. Regardless of the analytical possibilities of this scale, it has not received attention from scholars.

We know that at least one of the current research projects mentioned above is oriented to deepen understanding of topics such as tolerance for corruption or authoritarian attitudes (see *Socialización política y educación para la ciudadanía* in Table 4). The results of such analyses are anticipated with interest by practitioners and policymakers, as was made clear by Carlos Montes, President of the Chilean Senate during the Seminar Youth and Learning of Democratic Citizenship organized by the Center for the Study of Conflict and Social Cohesion (COES)[2] in Santiago, Chile in August 2018.

Additional Important Topics for the Latin American Research Agenda

As described above, the research carried out with ICCS data can be characterized as coming from several disciplines. Building on these diverse perspectives, this section proposes three research topics whose investigation could either fill gaps found during our mapping exercise, or represent topics with untapped potential to address relevant issues in the current context of Latin America.

Promote the use of information available in ICCS that has been minimally used in the past but is especially relevant for the region.

Some examples would be secondary analysis covering topics such as authoritarianism, corruption in government, and attitudes toward equality of rights for disadvantaged groups (e.g., indigenous people, immigrants, as well as geographical inequalities). A review written in English of secondary analyses that had been published in Spanish would be valuable (e.g., those in the tables). That could parallel the recent review of such articles in English (Knowles et al. 2018). Another example is further investigation of the role of schools in the development of civic knowledge and in

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2   More information about this multidisciplinary research center can be found in https://coes.cl/

particular the participatory opportunities that they provide. Even though there are some papers on these topics (see Table 2), it is clear that more research, from different disciplines, theoretical perspectives and analytical approaches is needed to more fully understand the role of schools along with their actors and processes in ensuring that young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens. This is generally important internationally, but especially in Latin America where there is often little space in the curriculum, and or where the democracy is at a crossroad in several countries of the regions questioned mainly by younger generations.

Continue deepening our understanding of the role played by gender in relation to different civic outcomes.

Results of research carried out in the region and elsewhere, indicate that the gender of the students plays a relevant role in relation to several civic outcomes. For example, in every country and in every cycle of ICCS, females tend to be more tolerant, empathic, and to participate more than males (Sandoval-Hernández et al. 2018). This is probably one of the best-established patterns in the body of research using ICCS data, however, we still need to understand the social/pedagogical mechanisms that explain how and why this is the case. Research on these topics could produce valuable evidence to inform the design of policies and interventions aimed at constructing a more egalitarian society when these young people become adults. On the one hand, understanding how attitudes toward equality are developed in boys and girls; while on the other, evaluating the different ways in which genders participate in the demand for equal rights through conventional activities or using alternative channels.

Continue deepening the understanding of how education systems continue to reproduce political inequalities.

Similar to gender, students' socioeconomic status is known to be one of the factors consistently associated with several civic outcomes. For example, it is a well-established pattern that students from more affluent or educated families tend to report higher levels of interest in conventional and social movement participation. Despite the fact that there are several studies focusing on or including this topic, we still need to understand this association, and more importantly, if and how we can contribute to changing the role of education from reproducing to compensating for political and civic inequalities. In this regard, some promising approaches are those that take advantage of the possibility of monitoring trends with ICCS data to focus on the intergenerational transmission of these types of inequalities.

Conclusion and Discussion

The main objective of this chapter is to describe and explore the landscape of the research results from using ICCS data within the Latin American region. We did so based on our personal and professional involvement in the field. Andres Sandoval-Hernandez had experience working at the research unit of IEA, moving to the University of Bath, where he has kept civic and citizenship education and particularly ICCS at the heart of his research interests. Daniel Miranda has a trajectory that started with his participation in grants about the topic and his PhD studies in Sociology at the Pontificia Universidad Católica of Chile, and continued with his professional involvement in two research institutes within that university: Center of Measurement MIDE UC and the Center for the Study of Conflict and Social Cohesion. He has been co- and principal-investigator in a number of multi-year research projects that make extensive use of ICCS data.

Our experience working with IEA data and the mapping exercise included in this chapter allowed us to identify what we believe are the most important successes and also the barriers to increasing the impact of ICCS in the policy and practice discussions of the region; as well as providing some recommendations that could help to address them. The barriers include the following:

A limited number of researchers who possess the expertise to analyze and interpret data from large-scale assessment data.

As was said before, one of the positive outcomes of the participation of Latin American countries in ICCS was the emergence of a network of researchers in the region. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done. We identified only 36 peer-reviewed scholarly articles, chapters, and books for inclusion in our landscape, and those works were co-authored by about 30 individuals. This is a thriving community of researchers committed to the improvement of civic and citizenship education in Latin America, but much more could be done in terms of building capacity that extends across the region. As Torney-Purta et al. (2010) recognize, the interdisciplinary nature of civic and citizenship education tends to create a fragmentary picture of the field. As mentioned before, researchers using ICCS data work in diverse fields including political science, educational psychology, sociology, and social studies education. This interdisciplinarity represents a strength, but it also means that many of the people interested in the topic lack the technical training that would allow them to analyze and interpret the results of large-scale assessments like ICCS.

Lack of technical documentation and a limited number of training events available in Spanish

The communications team at IEA does a great job at disseminating their studies and results, and the Research and Analysis Unit does an excellent job at offering options to build capacity in secondary analysis techniques of their datasets. Good examples of this are the offering of a very comprehensive Training Portfolio, the video tutorials available on the web, and the IERI Academies in collaboration with the Educational Testing Service (ETS).[3] All these efforts, however, use English as the main language of instruction. This is a major barrier for many researchers in Latin America since English is not widely spoken in the region. According to the English Proficiency Index (Education First 2018), Latin America is the weakest of all regions in the world, with an average English proficiency score barely surpassing the low proficiency cut-off. That is, the average person in Latin America cannot read a newspaper or understand a TV show in English. A still smaller percentage would be able to understand statistical training about analyzing data with a complex sample and assessment design.

The following are recommendations that we believe could contribute to overcoming the barriers described above:

Develop open-access software to analyze large-scale assessment data

Similar to the technical documentation and training events, the IEA has been doing a very good job at making tools for analyzing large-scale assessments data freely available. The IEA's IDB (International Database) Analyzer, Data Visualizer, and the NCES (National Center for Education Statistics) Data Explorer are good examples of this. The Data Visualizer, however, can be used to produce only very basic visualizations of descriptive statistics; the NCES Data Explorer can only be used with a limited number of studies (i.e., PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, PIAAC, and TALIS). The IDB Analyzer offers greater flexibility and the possibility of running slightly more complex analyses (e.g., linear and logistic regressions). The main limitation of the IDB Analyzer is, however, that it uses either SPSS (e.g., IBM 2013) or SAS (e.g., SAS 2012) as its statistical engine. Both software packages fall in the category of commercial software with expensive licenses. As can be expected, many individuals and institutions in the region cannot afford to purchase access to tools like the IDB Analyzer.

Establish partnerships among national governments, international organizations, and academic institutions in Latin America.

We believe that these kind of partnerships can be the vehicle to develop solutions to several of the issues described above. For example, some of the IEA materials are already being translated into Spanish by organizations in Latin America. This practice could be conducted in a systematic

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3   More information about the IEA's training activities can be found here: https://www.iea.nl/research-services/training

fashion through agreements between the IEA and its partner institutions in Latin American countries (e.g., the Colombian Institute for Educational Evaluation or the Chilean Agency for the Quality of Education), or with other international organizations with a strong presence in Latin America (e.g., OREALC/UNESCO, the Organization of Ibero-American States, or the Inter-American Development Bank). The translations of these documents could then be disseminated via the IEA's institutional channels or through other institutions dedicated to providing centralized repositories of research data, like the initiative housed at the University of Michigan, Civic Learning, Engagement, and Action Data Sharing (CivicLEADS).[4]

These partnerships could also constitute a platform for the establishment of a capacity-building strategy in the region. IEA has developed a sound structure for the delivery of training on the analysis of secondary data from large-scale assessments. The structure developed by IEA could be combined with the expertise existing in the region (especially the network of researchers working with ICCS data). There are also mechanisms developed by other international organizations like OREALC/UNESCO (i.e., the capacity building strategy developed for the Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study [ERCE]). These or similar partnerships could provide the conditions necessary to offer high-quality training in Spanish and in locations more accessible to those interested in the region.

Another promising partnership could include the agencies in charge of developing teacher training programs. In a recent review of the initial teacher education programs in citizenship in Latin America carried out by UNESCO (2017), it was concluded that one of the greatest challenges in preparing teachers for citizenship education is overcoming the predominantly theoretical approach in order to promote didactic and practical training of future teachers. This is especially true because of differences between countries in whether there are subjects designated for civic education, or whether this is a transversal or cross-curricular topic. ICCS is in a privileged position to provide the empirical evidence needed to address this challenge since it collects extensive information on teaching practices associated with knowledge about, and attitudes toward, civics and citizenship (Schulz et al. 2016). Examples of studies focusing on the identification of successful teaching practices in this area based on analyses of ICCS can be found in, for example, Treviño et al. (2017) and Carrasco and Irribarra (2018).

Finally, these collaborations could also focus on the development of regional research projects to strengthen capacity. The projects could have a component of secondary analysis of ICCS data, but could also include a component of collecting primary data either quantitative or qualitative. This methodological design would expand the range of questions that can be answered only with secondary analysis. For example, an initial secondary analysis of ICCS data could be used to identify interesting patterns (e.g., students who perform better than expected according to their socioeconomic conditions, or a school reporting low-levels of violence despite being in violent social environments). Then, qualitative case studies could be used to identify the causal mechanisms underlying these patterns. Furthermore, these projects could be configured in a way that partner well-established institutions with less experienced ones in order to take advantage of existing critical expertise and, at the same time, to build capacity in other countries/institutions in the region.

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4   More information about this project can be found here: https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/content/civicleads/index.html

5   During the publication process of this volume, a new piece of software has been released. This software is open-source, has a user-friendly interface, and has been specifically designed to analyze ILSA data. More information can be found here: http://ralsa.ineri.org/

Develop user-friendly, open-source software to analyze large-scale assessment data[5]

The development of a training strategy for the Latin American region could be coupled with the development of open-source, user-friendly software alternatives for the analysis of data. It is important that open-source software be free. The adoption of open-source software would contribute to eliminating the economic and technical barriers that currently affect an important proportion of researchers in the region; the software alternatives currently available for analyzing international large-scale assessment data require the user to buy expensive licenses of proprietary software. Open-source software is not only free to use, but also free to distribute and modify. The fact that this source code is accessible and is continuously being employed by a large community of users results in the code being secure and stable. Furthermore, because it uses open standards accessible to everyone, it does not have the problem of incompatible formats, or platforms that exist in proprietary software. That means that it can be used in Windows, Mac, or Linux computers. The main disadvantage of open-source software, however, is that it is not straightforward to use. Open-source operating systems like Linux and software packages like R require considerable effort to master them. So, for this recommendation to work in an efficient manner, it would be advisable to develop a user-friendly interface to facilitate the use of open-source software. Specifically, R could be used for the analysis; a user-friendly interface, similar to the IDB Analyzer, should be developed to make it possible to use it without having programming knowledge.

Include concepts that have proved to be relevant for Latin America in subsequent international instruments of ICCS

Examples of this are the items and scales about authoritarianism and tolerance toward ethnic minorities. As Bonikowski (2017) points out, scholarly and journalistic accounts of the recent successes of radical-right politics in Europe and the United States, including the Brexit referendum and the Trump campaign, tend to conflate three phenomena: populism, ethno-nationalism, and authoritarianism. Additionally, changes in political participation disengaging from traditional channels and using alternatives even violent channels in several Latin American countries, and in other regions of the world, bring several questions about the future of democracy. Bringing more tailored attitudinal measures into the studies would provide invaluable information to address issues that are relevant across regions of the world, while taking advantage of the knowledge already developed in these areas by Latin American researchers.

Summary

In summary, in describing the landscape of the research that has built on the ICCS data collected in Latin America, we have identified a small but thriving community of researchers committed to the improvement of civic and citizenship education in the region. We have identified what we consider to be the main barriers to increasing the impact of ICCS in the policy and practice discussions of the region. These include the limited number of researchers with the expertise to analyze and interpret large-scale assessment data, the disconnection between the teacher training programs and the empirical evidence provided by studies like ICCS, as well as the lack of technical documentation and the limited number of training events available in Spanish. There is also the lack of an open-access, user-friendly software to analyze large-scale assessment data.

While this list of barriers appeared quite daunting, we have also identified some possible strategies to overcome them. These strategies depend heavily on the community of researchers that has been developed as a result of the participation of Latin American countries in CIVED and the two cycles of ICCS. This community includes not only academics from a variety of disciplines, but also policymakers and practitioners. Current and new partnerships between national governments, international organizations, and academic institutions could constitute a platform for the establishment of a capacity-building strategy in the region. This initiative would

include the development of open-source, user-friendly software to analyze data from large-scale assessments, along with the training of new experts in the field. The new experts in the field would include those who are content experts, but lack the technical expertise to analyze ICCS data; but also those who have the statistical expertise, but lack the knowledge in the field of civic and citizenship education, or they lack the experience in communicating to non-specialist audiences. Finally, long-term partnerships could also allow further collaboration between the agencies in charge of initial teacher education programs, and the researchers working on the identification of successful teaching practices.

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CHAPTER 23:

Reflections on the Development of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

Wolfram Schulz

Abstract This chapter discusses the content, design, and methods of the three IEA studies of civic and citizenship education. It focuses on the changes made between each of these studies and the contexts for this learning area. The IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 was developed soon after the transition to democracy in many participating countries; threats to civil society in the early 2000s such as terrorism influenced the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) in 2009. The design of ICCS in 2016 responded to the increasing importance of social media in civic engagement, the growth in awareness of global and environmental issues, as well as the recognition of school as a context for social interaction. Starting in 2009 ICCS studies have implemented regional modules including questions covering topics of specific interest in Asia, Europe, and Latin America. Changes were made in the design, which make it difficult to compare results across time. Examples are the introduction of rotated booklets for the civic knowledge test or the change in the sampling strategy for the teachers. The selection of item material in each study followed an exhaustive process of reviews and discussions among IEA country representatives (as well as experts and international committee members).

Introduction

IEA has an impressive history of studies of civic and citizenship education and remains the only organization conducting regular studies dedicated to this learning area. The first IEA civic education study was part of the organization's six-subject study and collected data from ten countries in 1971 (Torney et al. 1975). It was nearly 30 years before the organization mounted another comparative study of this learning area, the second IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) implemented in 1999. It collected data from 14-year-olds in 28 countries (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). CIVED also collected data from upper-secondary students in 16 countries (Amadeo et al. 2002). In 2009, IEA conducted the first in a cycle of IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS) (Schulz et al. 2010), which after a second implementation in 2016 (Schulz et al. 2018a) is currently in its third study cycle with data collection scheduled for 2022.

The changes following the fall of communism in Europe prompted IEA to begin the development process for CIVED. Starting in 1994 the study's Steering Committee developed a civic knowledge and skills test and a questionnaire measuring civic and political attitudes and perceptions. Background information questions were included as well as items measuring open classroom climate (which originated with the 1970s study). Most previous IEA studies (such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study [TIMSS]) had a primary focus on the measurement of knowledge and skills, and attitudes were measured as part of the contextual data collection. An international center at the Humboldt University of Berlin and IEA's central organization provided technical assistance. While funding was limited, pre-testing was essential due to the newness of this subject area in IEA's range of assessments at that time.

The CIVED study defined a largely new subject for educational research, responded to considerable policymaker interest in the field (especially in Eastern Europe), and provided countries a basis for developing education programs that addressed civic knowledge, civic attitudes, and civic participation (as discussed in other chapters). It served as the basis on which cyclical studies would later be built.

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ICCS 2009 was designed as a new baseline study. It contained a range of similar questionnaire items, a modified test design with rotated booklets to increase the coverage of content, and it included linkage items to CIVED. A major purpose of the subsequent ICCS cycles has been measuring changes in cognitive civic performance over time. Therefore, ICCS has (a) maintained a similar conceptual framework for the test/assessment, (b) used comparable population definitions and design features, and (c) included items/scales that can be compared across time. However, since the nature of civic and citizenship education changes with alterations in contexts and challenges, new aspects appear in each cycle and some are replaced. While more substantial changes to instruments and design may lead to incomparability across cycles, it is important to include updated content.

This chapter focuses on the types of changes implemented between the three IEA studies of civic and citizenship education from the late 1990s to 2020. *Content-related changes* concern the conceptual framework and the specific topics covered. *Design-related changes* concern the definitions of populations assessed (students and teachers), and the specific instruments administered. *Method-related changes* concern the way data were collected, scaled, and analyzed.

There were more substantial changes between CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 than between the two cycles of ICCS. IEA decided to create a baseline study starting with ICCS 2009 and to monitor changes over time using comparable instruments. However, many of the attitudinal constructs originally developed for CIVED remain represented in the ICCS instruments (e.g., attitudes toward immigrants' rights, attitudes toward women's rights renamed gender equality, support for norms of conventional and social movement citizenship action).

This chapter first outlines changes between CIVED and ICCS, and then reviews changes between the two first cycles of ICCS. Furthermore, the chapter considers expected changes for the next cycle of ICCS in 2022. This includes a transition to computer-based delivery, which is a challenge for all international studies (that started with paper-based data collection). Finally, there is discussion of the tension between comparability across studies and the need for innovation.

From CIVED 1999 to ICCS 2009

The development of ICCS in its first cycle had many similarities to the CIVED 1999 study but was conceptualized as beginning a cycle for the future. Therefore, ICCS 2009 introduced new elements in content, design, and methodology. This limits the possibilities for direct comparisons of results between CIVED and ICCS. Some changes were adaptations that had already been successfully implemented in other studies, but not previously applied in CIVED due to budget restrictions. There were also many similarities across the studies in purpose, conceptualization, and implementation.

Content-related Changes

At the outset of planning for ICCS 2009 the conceptual framework of CIVED was broadened to:
- Strengthen aspects related to participation;
- Include a wider range of content in the cognitive test; and
- Place greater emphasis on reasoning and applying when assessing students' civic knowledge.

The ICCS 2009 framework (Schulz et al. 2008) included explicit references to the conceptual framework for CIVED 1999. For example, students' acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, and dispositions for engagement were seen as influenced by connections with their civic communities, in accord with ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 2004; Neal and Neal 2013) and theories of situated cognition (Anderson et al. 2000). This is reflected in the ICCS contextual framework (Schulz et al. 2008; Schulz et al. 2016), which sees civic-related learning outcomes

as influenced by characteristics of individual students, their home and peer contexts, school and classroom contexts, and also wider community contexts.

CIVED 1999 (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schulz and Sibberns 2004) conceptualized the content of relevant outcome variables based on a collection of case studies from 24 participating countries (Torney-Purta et al. 1999) and through a consultation process with country representatives during the mid-1990s. The study developed the following content categories:

- Democracy/Citizenship (subdomains: democracy and its defining characteristics; institutions and practices in democracy; and citizenship—rights and duties)
- National Identity, Regional and International Relationships (subdomains: national identity and international/regional relationships)
- Social Cohesion/Diversity.

The ICCS framework (Schulz et al. 2008) defines civic and citizenship content as related to the following content domains:

- Civic society and systems (subdomains: citizens; state institutions; and civil institutions)
- Civic principles (subdomains: equity; freedom; sense of community; and, since ICCS 2016, rule of law)
- Civic participation (subdomains: decision-making; influencing; and community participation)
- Civic identities (subdomains: self-image and connectedness).

Many content aspects of the CIVED domain of *democracy/citizenship* can be mapped to the ICCS domain *civic society and systems*. Likewise, aspects related to the second CIVED domain of *national identity/international relations* can be regarded as part of the fourth ICCS domain, *civic identities*; the third CIVED domain of *social cohesion/diversity* has commonality with the second ICCS content domain, *civic principles*. ICCS emphasized the importance of civic participation by assigning a specific content domain.

The rationale for emphasis on participation resulted from concerns about low levels of engagement among young people, changes in patterns of citizenship participation, and the observation that civic curricula were increasingly including content related to active forms of citizenship in addition to those related to learning civic knowledge. This broadening of scope is also reflected in the studies' names. The current IEA study is described as a *civic* **and** *citizenship education* study, while the two prior studies were referred to as *civic education* studies. However, the distinction between correct answer keyed cognitive items in a test and attitudinal/participation items without correct answers in a questionnaire has been maintained across the studies.

In CIVED 1999 cognitive test items measured either *content knowledge* or *skills in interpreting civic-related information* such as a mock election leaflet or political cartoon. Two sub-scales and a total scale were reported. The broadening of the ICCS civics and citizenship framework to include cognitive processes of applying knowledge to reach conclusions defined two cognitive domains—*knowing* and *reasoning and applying*. These resemble Anderson and Krathwohl's (2001) distinction between remembering or recalling information and processing content in applying it to new situations. These two sub-dimensions were highly inter-correlated and we decided not to reported sub-scales of civic knowledge in ICCS. However, it remains an important distinction in cognitive processing of civic-related information (Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018a; Schulz et al. 2013).

With regard to outcomes measured by the student questionnaire, CIVED 1999 distinguished between *concepts*, *attitudes*, and *actions*. For ICCS 2009, there was an explicit distinction between *values*, *attitudes*, *behavioral intentions*, and *behaviors*. The distinction between values and attitudes was between more enduring and deeply-rooted beliefs and those more focused on specific issues and potentially changeable (Schulz et al. 2008). The second distinction was made

between behavioral intentions and actual behaviors (distinguishing past or current behavior from expected future behavior). For ICCS 2016, there was one domain called *attitudes*, and a second domain called *engagement*, including both actual or intended behavior and dispositions towards engagement such as a sense of self-efficacy as a citizen (Schulz et al. 2016). The measures themselves did not change, only their classifications.

Substantial commonalities between CIVED and ICCS were preserved. To measure changes in students' civic knowledge between CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009, 16 secure test items were included in the assessment instrument. All these cognitive link items could be mapped onto the newly developed ICCS content and cognitive domains. Many affective-behavioral aspects included in the ICCS student questionnaire were conceptually equivalent to constructs measured in CIVED 1999, albeit with format changes that limited comparability (see below).

Table 1 lists item sets measuring affective-behavioral aspects that were included across the last three studies of civic and citizenship education. Those developed for CIVED 1999 were

Table 1: Common student questionnaire content aspects for CIVED, ICCS 2009, and ICCS 2016

Content	CIVED 1999	ICCS 2009	ICCS 2016
Reports on discussions of civic issues	A	B	B
Students' interest in civic issues	A	B	
Reports on civic participation in the community	A	B	C
Reports on civic participation at school	A	B	C
Perceptions of open classroom climate	A	B	B
Perceptions of students' influence at school		B	
Perceptions of civic learning at school	A		C
Perceptions of student-teacher relations at school		B	B
Experiences of verbal and physical abuse at school			C
Perceptions of student interactions at school			C
Valuing student participation at school	A	B	B
Attitudes toward the role of government	A		
Perceptions of democracy	A	B	C
Perceptions of good citizenship	A	B	B
Endorsement of gender equity	A	B	B
Endorsement of equal rights for ethnic/racial groups	A	B	B
Attitudes toward rights of anti-democratic groups	A		
Endorsement of immigrant rights	A	B	B[1]
Attitudes toward country	A	B	C
Trust in civic institutions and groups	A	B	B
Internal political efficacy	A	B	
External political efficacy	A		
Support for political parties		B	
Citizenship self-efficacy		B	B
Expected participation: Legal activities (protest)	A	B	C
Expected participation: Illegal activities (protest)	A	B	C
Expected electoral participation	A	B	B
Expected active political participation	A	B	B
Endorsement of religious influence in society (optional)		B	B

Notes: A = Version developed for CIVED 1999; B = version developed for ICCS 2009; C = version developed for ICCS 2016.
[1] Only included in the European regional questionnaire.

denoted with "A," those for ICCS 2009 with "B," and those for ICCS 2016 with "C." In cases where item sets are entirely comparable, the corresponding pairs of cells are marked in grey. However, as ICCS changed the questionnaire format, direct comparisons between CIVED and ICCS are not recommended. ICCS 2009 was established as a new baseline study, and ICCS 2016 has directly comparable items and included some IRT scales that were equated across cycles to allow comparisons at the scale level.

Measuring region-specific aspects of civic and citizenship education was a new content-related feature of ICCS. Regional student instruments gathered data of particular relevance in the corresponding geographical region for the European countries (Kerr et al. 2010), for Latin America (Schulz et al. 2011), and for Asia (Fraillon et al. 2012). The European and Latin American instruments for ICCS 2009 included short sets of cognitive test items specific to the region. The European and Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2016 administered additional student questionnaires (Losito et al. 2018; Schulz et al. 2018c). There were too few participating countries in the Asian region in 2016 to sustain a regional component.

The cognitive test portions of regional instruments were difficult to develop, both from a conceptual and a measurement perspective. The European cognitive test was devised as an instrument to measure "knowledge about Europe and its institutions" and was limited to very basic factual knowledge. The resulting test showed poor psychometric quality and results were only reported at the item level (Kerr et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2011). The Latin American cognitive test had better psychometric quality. However, its content was conceptually very similar to the international civic knowledge test. Therefore, these items were used to supplement the international test results with region-specific content but not to derive a region-specific civic knowledge scale (Schulz et al. 2011). For ICCS 2016, the regional student instruments only included questionnaire-type item material. Some Latin American knowledge items were adapted and moved into the international cognitive assessment.

Design-related Changes

Given the conceptualization of ICCS 2009 as a new baseline study, there were design-related changes from CIVED. These included changes to the population of students, the test design, and the introduction of additional instruments and delivery modes.

For CIVED 1999, the target population was defined as students enrolled in the grade that had the highest proportion of 14-year-olds. As this population definition was different from other IEA studies, for ICCS the student population was defined as students in the grade representing eight years of schooling, provided that the national average age at the time of the survey was at least 13.5 years. In a number of countries participating in both CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 the target grade changed; some participants opted for an additional survey in the upper adjacent grade, which allowed comparisons for content knowledge based on the set of CIVED link items included in the ICCS 2009 test (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2011). However, the basic (cluster) sampling design with schools selected proportional by size and intact classrooms within schools remained unchanged across studies (Schulz and Sibberns 2004; Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b).

CIVED 1999 included a classroom-based survey of teachers of civic-related subjects. National centers identified up to three subjects where content of the CIVED test of civic knowledge was taught and were requested to survey the teachers of these subjects (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schulz and Sibberns 2004). The resulting samples of teachers were not necessarily representative of the overall teacher populations due to varying procedures used to identify the civic-related subjects. This concern was among the reasons for changing the ICCS teacher survey design. Even more important was the perspective that civic and citizenship education is likely to be influenced by the entire school context and that all teachers contribute to the civic learning of

young people regardless of their subject area. Consequently, the ICCS teacher questionnaire was administered to a sample of all teachers teaching at the target grade at each of the selected schools. Teacher data could also be analyzed by aggregating them as school-level indicators.

In order not to neglect data about the teaching of civic-related content, ICCS offers an option (so far selected by all countries) to add a section to the teacher questionnaire following a filter question asking whether the respondent was currently teaching such a subject at the target grade. Similar to experiences in other studies, in some countries it has been more difficult to achieve sufficiently high participation rates for the teacher surveys than for the student assessments (Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b).

Another change concerns the delivery mode for teacher and school questionnaires. ICCS 2009 and 2016 offered countries the option of administering both instruments using an online platform with a paper-based alternative for school principals or teachers who preferred it. While in ICCS 2009 only six out of 38 participating countries opted for online delivery (see Schulz et al. 2011), in ICCS 2016 this option was chosen by 16 out of 24 participating countries or entities (see Schulz et al. 2018b). Analyses undertaken as part of ICCS 2009 showed no strong mode effects on item responses.

A key change between CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 related to the design for the test of students' civic knowledge. CIVED 1999 administered all test questions in one single booklet, imposing limits on the number of items. ICCS opted for a balanced rotated booklet design, where seven or eight booklets were combined and administered. Each student received three clusters of test items and in the booklet design each cluster appeared once in a different position. First, this design enabled a broader coverage of item material than using a single booklet, and second, it allowed a control for position effects, given that response to items administered toward the end of testing may be influenced by fatigue. Item response theory (IRT) (Rasch 1960; Hambleton and Swaminathan 1985) was used to derive student scales scores that are comparable across the different item combinations.

The format of the student questionnaire also differed. In CIVED 1999, all student questionnaire/survey items measuring affective-behavioral indicators had a "don't know" option in addition to the response categories indicating agreement or disagreement. However, for some questions this category appeared to be somewhat inappropriate. To bring the questionnaire format in line with other IEA studies we omitted the "don't know" option and reversed the order of the response categories for appropriate items. Secondary analysts should be cautious when comparing survey data from IEA civic and citizenship education studies between 1999 and 2009 because of these format changes (Barber and Torney-Purta 2012).

In CIVED 1999, there was a qualitatively oriented first phase that collected studies about the background of civic and citizenship education in participating countries (Torney-Purta et al. 1999), and no survey collected national contextual data. A design-related change in ICCS was introducing an online survey for country-level data. National center staff provided information about characteristics of their education system as well as curricular policies and practices in the learning area not available from comparable published sources. However, completing the ICCS 2009 national contexts survey proved difficult for country level experts who did not always use parallel sources across countries (Schulz et al. 2011). The national contexts survey for ICCS 2016 was restricted to factual aspects, and respondents were requested to provide information about the reference documents that were used (Schulz et al. 2018b). In addition to this contextual information IEA also published an encyclopedia summarizing results from 2009 by country and containing additional details about civic and citizenship education (Ainley et al. 2013).

Method-related Changes

Due to resource restrictions, CIVED 1999 could not implement a number of IEA's measures for quality assurance internationally. However, field operation manuals encouraged countries to implement quality assurance measures such as phone calls (or visits) to schools, and national centers were requested to complete a survey documenting compliance with operational procedures (Schulz and Sibberns 2004). Translations for the main survey were undertaken by national centers and then submitted for verification by independent language experts.

In ICCS 2009 and 2016, when appropriate funding was available, IEA organized an international quality monitoring where independent observers visited 10% of sampled schools to monitor the appropriate data collection procedures (Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b). Translation verification was implemented prior to both the field trial and main survey, using professional agencies, and final instruments underwent thorough layout verification checks. Results from this review were discussed with national centers to improve the quality of the survey instruments (Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b).

While CIVED 1999 limited its data collection instruments to closed item formats, ICCS introduced open-ended questions where students had to write answers that were coded by national centers. To improve the measurement of socioeconomic background, students were asked to provide a short title for the jobs of their parents or guardians followed by a short description. Answers were coded using the international ISCO-08[1] classification (International Labour Organisation 2007) and converted into scores following the ISEI[2] scheme (Ganzeboom et al. 1992). The resulting indicators contribute substantially to the measurement of parental socioeconomic background, which is related to learning outcomes in civic and citizenship education (Brese and Mirazchiyski 2013).

The cognitive assessment developed for CIVED 1999 included only items with multiple-choice formats, which do not require complex scoring rules. For ICCS we also developed open-ended formats to gather data about complex cognitive reasoning, which is harder to capture with pre-defined answer formats. Therefore, ICCS includes open-ended items constituting about 10% of the test items, for which written answers were coded according to international scoring guides. These items were well suited to measure cognitive reasoning and applying knowledge; furthermore, they substantially contributed to the measurement and description of higher levels of civic knowledge. While challenging to develop and consistently score across participating countries, the open-ended items showed good psychometric characteristics (with acceptable levels of cross-national measurement invariance) and satisfactory inter-scorer reliability (Schulz et al. 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b).

For the scaling of CIVED 1999 data, IRT-based modelling using the Rasch (one-parameter) model was applied to derive the civic knowledge scale and the two sub-scales reflecting content knowledge and skills in interpreting political communication. Given resource limitations in CIVED, maximum likelihood estimates (MLE) were used as cognitive scale scores (Schulz and Sibberns 2004). For ICCS, we had the resources to apply plausible value methodology (von Davier et al. 2009)—an approach also used in other IEA studies such as TIMSS or PIRLS.

CIVED 1999 was the first international study where IRT-based modelling, here using the Rasch Partial Credit model (Masters and Wright 1997), was applied to the scaling of questionnaire items. This approach had the advantage of a better handling of missing responses to the attitudinal questions and provided a way of describing scale scores by relating scale scores to expected

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1   ISCO = International Standard Classification of Occupations.
2   ISEI = International Socio-Economic Index.

responses to individual items (Schulz and Sibberns 2004). With some modifications,[3] this approach was also applied in ICCS. An IRT score in one study can only be compared to a score in another study if the scale scores have been equated based on sets of unmodified items. For ICCS 2016, some of the student questionnaire scales were reported on the same scale metric and may be compared across the two cycles. ICCS routinely implements extensive in-depth reviews of cross-national validity and measurement invariance during the development stages (Schulz 2009; Schulz and Fraillon 2011; Schulz et al. 2018b).

From ICCS 2009 to ICCS 2016

ICCS 2009 was designed as a baseline study for future ICCS cycles. One primary goal of ICCS is to monitor trends in civic learning outcomes over time for countries that participate in more than one cycle. In ICCS 2016, 19 of the 24 countries or sub-entities participating had participated in ICCS 2009. To allow measurement of changes, about half of the ICCS 2016 test items were secure item material from the previous cycle. Furthermore, many items in the student questionnaire were kept with identical wording in ICCS 2009. There are 13 equated international, two European, and four Latin American questionnaire scales available for comparisons between ICCS 2009 and 2016.

While it was possible to accommodate a wide range of comparable material in the ICCS 2016 instruments, there was also a need to refine the framework and update the instruments to encompass new developments. At the outset of the second ICCS cycle, we defined three focus areas for new items:

- **Environmental sustainability in civic and citizenship education:** In many societies, the potential impact of human activity on the environment (in particular the global climate) and environmental sustainability had become key issues. Responsible citizenship was increasingly viewed as including regard for environmental protection, a requisite for future sustainable development (Dobson and Bell 2006; Hayward 2006).
- **Social interaction at school:** Reviews of civic and citizenship education curricula across countries provide evidence that at the outset of the 21st century a large number of countries place emphasis on non-formal aspects of civic learning through participation and engagement or social interaction at school, and research had increasingly recognized the importance of relationships within the school community. Some of these were positive and others related to conflict and bullying (Dijkstra and de la Motte 2014; Scheerens 2011).
- **The use of new social media for civic engagement:** There was growing evidence about the importance of new social media and this has been found to have a profound effect on civic engagement among young people (Anduiza et al. 2012; Banaji and Buckingham 2013).

Two further areas were identified that had been included in previous IEA surveys as deserving more explicit acknowledgement in the ICCS 2016 assessment framework:

- **Economic awareness as an aspect of citizenship:** Some believe that students' economic awareness can be conceptualized as a broad awareness of the ways in which economic issues influence citizenship without referring to financial or economic literacy (Citizenship Foundation 2013).
- **The role of morality in civic and citizenship education:** Concepts of morality and character are often invoked in relation to outcomes of civic and citizenship education programs, the assessment framework provides scope for this in the ICCS 2016 instruments (Oser and Veugelers 2008).

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3 ICCS used weighted likelihood estimates (WLE) (Warm 1989) instead of maximum likelihood estimates (MLE), used a different reporting metric, and also used a slightly different method for describing questionnaire scale scores in order to (1) make the questionnaire scale metric consistent with the one for the cognitive scale (in CIVED: 10/2 corresponding to 100/20, in ICCS: 50/10 corresponding to 500/100), and (2) to provide a more robust way of mapping scale scores to item responses.

There were only minor changes to the overall structure of the framework as a result of this conceptual refinement. However, there was some more explicit recognition of terms and key concepts important to these new areas (see Schulz et al. 2016). New material was developed covering the focus areas to capture relevant aspects.

A challenge was to balance the preservation of material to measure changes over time with the development of new material. While rotated booklet design for the cognitive assessment facilitated this, there were limitations in the length of the student questionnaire covering contextual information, attitudes and engagement. The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire was of 40 minutes duration, administered after the 45-minutes test of civic knowledge. In countries in Europe and Latin America it was followed by the 15-minute regional questionnaires.

In 2016 question sets gathered data in three new focus areas: students' use of internet and social media for engagement, perceptions of social interactions at school, and perceptions of threats to the world's future. Some ICCS 2009 student questionnaire items were deleted: support for political parties, internal political efficacy, perceptions of students' influence at school, and students' interest in different areas.

The item set measuring students' endorsement of immigrant rights was included in the European questionnaire but no longer in the international questionnaire. However, during the time of the ICCS 2016 administration, there was a dramatic increase in migration, resulting from violent conflict in African and Middle-Eastern countries as well as in Latin America (due to the political, economic, and social crisis in Venezuela and some Central American countries) and in ICCS 2022 this scale will be reinstated in the international instrument.

Changes were also made to the ICCS 2016 student questionnaire. The question gauging students' perceptions of democracy was revised by developing an item set asking students about good, bad, or neither good nor bad situations for democracy in a country. These items were concentrated on what are widely assumed to be "threats," such as "one company owning all the newspapers." New items asked about students' willingness to consider participating in civic activities at school in the future.

Material was added to the teacher and school questionnaires about aspects of social interaction, use of social media or the internet at school, and school activities related to environmental sustainability. The national contexts survey was also amended to ask about these topics.

Looking Ahead: Going into ICCS 2022

As the development of the next cycle of ICCS with a data collection scheduled for 2022 has commenced, it is timely to reflect on the challenges for this fifth IEA study of civic and citizenship education. As for ICCS 2016, in collaboration with national centers and experts, the international research team developed new focus areas and conducted a thorough review of existing item material. Once again, it will be important to balance material relevant to current challenges with the requirement for measuring changes, for which the same measures across cycles are required.

ICCS 2022 will include material to assess aspects related to sustainable development, students' use of digital technologies for engagement, students' perceptions of diversity, and students' views of the political system. Furthermore, the study will put greater emphasis on issues related to global citizenship, an area which had already been part of earlier IEA studies of civic and citizenship education. All these themes respond to recent developments and continuing challenges (such as growing concerns about global sustainability, globalization, increasingly diverse societies, changes in how citizens obtain information and engage, or their alienation from democracy). In view of more recent changes that occurred during the development of the study cycle in 2020, ICCS 2022 will also address civic-related aspects related to the COVID-19 pandemic such as students' perceptions of the appropriateness of restrictions imposed by governments in a national emergency.

The introduction of computer-based delivery is an optional method-related change in this new cycle, which has been taken up by two thirds of participating countries. While studies such as TIMSS and PIRLS were already transitioning to this new delivery form, ICCS 2016 administered its student instruments on paper, although teacher and school questionnaires were offered online as an optional delivery mode.

Apart from having practical advantages for the implementation of ICCS and adapting this newer standard of assessment methodology, there are a number of other benefits. Given the increasing importance of the internet and social media for communication about civic-related issues, computer-based assessment provides opportunities for measuring student's cognitions in a more authentic environment (e.g., in relation to interpreting web-based information on environmental issues). Furthermore, there is also evidence that respondents tend to be more open to expressing attitudes and beliefs in a computer-based environment (Feigelson and Dwight 2000).

A major challenge with such a transition is the comparability of data across two delivery modes, both for trend measurement (from previous cycles) and within the same study (i.e., computer-based vs. paper-based). Therefore, the upcoming ICCS cycle will include procedures to review potential mode effects. While there is a potential for observing such effects, results show that there is considerable consistency regarding the measurement of constructs (Fishbein et al. 2018).

Conclusions

International studies of civic and citizenship education investigate a learning area that is influenced by changes in societies. Each of the first three civic-related studies was developed in response to recent events. For CIVED 1999 the recent transition from communism to democracy in Eastern Europe was an important contextual factor that influenced interest in and development of this study. The broadening notions of civics and citizenship with a greater emphasis on active engagement and the situation in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks were influential when building ICCS in 2009. The further growth of digital technologies and their implications for communication and engagement as well as the changing notions of citizenship (i.e., national vs. supranational or global citizenship) had an impact on the second cycle of ICCS in 2016 and will continue to be important for 2022.

Experience with the last three IEA studies of civic and citizenship education demonstrates that certain flexibility is required to reflect changes in topics, which are determined at the beginning of each study by the international research teams in collaboration with experts and country representatives. Changes to design and methods are less desirable in studies intended to monitor trends, and have been minor since ICCS 2009.

However, the upcoming third ICCS cycle faces the challenge of transitioning to a computer-based assessment. This corresponds both to the general trend toward digital data collections and the potential represented by the new features offered by this assessment mode. ICCS will continue to aim at reporting of changes over time, both for cognitive and affective-behavioral measures, and will incorporate procedures that examine mode effects and allow any necessary adjustments.

One invaluable benefit of IEA studies is their provision of databases for secondary analyses. For example, the datasets from IEA studies of civic and citizenship education are also available at CivicLEADS.org and have been widely used. A recent review found about 100 articles reporting secondary analysis of CIVED and ICCS 2009 data (Knowles et al. 2018). Across the first ICCS cycles some measures were based on exactly the same question stem, item wording, and response category format. However, comparisons between CIVED 1999 and later administrations should be undertaken with caution (except for the content knowledge subscale for which equated scales score were provided in the ICCS 2009 database).

The development of the IEA studies on civic and citizenship education since 1999 shows that there is a need to adapt study content to new developments, as well as occasionally to update design features and methodological aspects. Changes are essential in order to capture relevant information about a learning area that is strongly influenced by societal and contextual changes over time. The challenge for these studies is to achieve an appropriate balance between monitoring changes over time and at the same time providing data that are informative and timely with respect to current issues and recent developments.

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A Moral Perspective on Citizenship Education and on IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

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Abstract Citizenship education can be conceptualized within different frameworks or perspectives about the meaning of citizenship. These differences become more important when the focus is on educational policy and practice. The chapter first discusses a national concept of citizenship and then the concept of global citizenship. This chapter conceptualizes three different types of national citizenship: adapted, individualized, and critical-democratic. Research into global citizenship also shows three types: an open global citizenship with an emphasis on cultural openness; a moral global citizenship focusing on the well-being of humanity; and a social-political global citizenship aimed at greater social justice. These distinctions emphasize the influence of globalization on the articulation of civic and citizenship education. Global citizenship focuses on human rights principles as moral guidelines for improving the world; national citizenship focuses on strengthening national culture. This chapter demonstrates the relevance of moral values for civic and citizenship education. It also presents suggestions for including moral values in the conceptual framework of the IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). To that end, it concludes by suggesting a new definition of education for citizenship.

Introduction

The concept of citizenship appears in policy, in research, and in social practice and has become central in contemporary policy discussion. Traditionally citizenship was only linked to the political domain of one's country (Isin and Turner 2002); in recent decades the concept has been "broadened" and "deepened" (Veugelers 2011a). It is "broadened" because the concept is no longer linked only to the nation state, but also to regional identities such as the European Union and even to the world as a whole. By "deepened" we mean that the concept of citizenship pertains not only to the political level of society but also in the social and cultural domain. This deepening makes citizenship a normative and therefore a contested concept. In this process of deepening, the concept of citizenship becomes linked to moral development. The concepts of citizenship and of citizenship education, when viewed in their global perspectives, have diverse meanings (Veugelers 2011b; Oxley and Morris 2013; Goren and Yemini 2017). This is partly because they express the different underlying moral values that characterize different societies.

The deepened concept of citizenship defines the kind of person society desires not only at the political level but also on the social and cultural levels. It is a paradox that this spread in the concept of citizenship and attempts to strengthen citizenship education policy is taking place in a period when there is a focus on a small and restrained government that leaves many activities to market forces. However, there is a belief within contemporary pluralist societies that ideological institutions have lost much of their impact, and citizenship policy cannot be left to the market. Citizenship should have a robust and powerful presence in education. Many countries are reconsidering their policies on citizenship education and extending it into the social and cultural domain (Banks 2017; Schulz et al. 2018; Veugelers et al. 2017; Garcia et al. 2017; Kennedy et al. 2018). Likewise, the number of countries participating in the cycles of International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) citizenship studies gives evidence of the extent of interest in comparisons among countries with respect to policies, results, and potential reforms of citizenship education.

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A Perspective on Citizenship Education from Research and Theory

Citizenship education has become an important topic in the policy of many countries, and many researchers have started empirical projects. As research on citizenship education is becoming a solid academic field it is interesting to analyze the disciplines from which these researchers come and the conceptual frameworks for their work.

We present a short "genealogy" of the academic field of citizenship education over the past five decades. Traditionally, the academic field of citizenship studies was part of the discipline of political science studying political socialization. In the post-war period, Marshall (1964) shaped modern thinking about political systems and institutions along with rights and duties. Sociologists like Isin and Turner (2002) and Bourdieu (1984) entered the field, making the connection between the political arena and civil society stronger. At that period the focus in the sociology of education was on the extent to which the political socialization process resulted in the reproduction of social and political power relations and positions. Critical pedagogy added a transformative perspective and was based on the educational work of Freire (1985, reviewed by Veugelers 2017a). It was extended by Giroux (1989) into a more comprehensive theory of building democracy through education. This made citizenship more dynamic and transformative. Political psychologists like Torney-Purta (2002) and Haste (2004) drew attention to empirical studies of the cognitive and affective processes involved in youngsters' social and political development. Philosophers, McLaughlin (1992), Nussbaum (1997), and Crick (1999), entered the debate about what citizenship, democracy, and participation mean, and how education can contribute to citizenship development. This was followed by the political philosophy of Mouffe (2005) discussing contradictions in citizenship and in democracy.

Citizenship education also became more central to policy and practice, and other disciplines joined the debate. Social studies researchers focused on curriculum content (Kerr 1999), on classroom activities like deliberation (Parker 2003), and on teaching about controversial issues (Hess 2009). Multicultural educators (Banks 2004) argued for attention to diversity. At the same time, human rights scholars (Osler and Starkey 2010) focused attention on individual rights and common values. Within the field of educational studies and pedagogy, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) investigated service learning taking place during civic education experiences and Biesta (2011) explored "subjectification," becoming a subject, in relationship to citizenship education and emphasized personal signification instead of socialization.

School effectiveness research was one contributor to the initiation of the first IEA civic education study (Torney et al. 1975) and then to the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) conducted in 1999 (reported in Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Of even more importance in initiating that study was the desire by the Eastern European countries that had recently become independent of the Soviet Union to better understand processes of civic education in democracy. The questionnaires measuring students' attitudes and participation were formulated by cross-national and cross-disciplinary groups of scholars and were repeated and extended in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schultz et al. 2010; 2017). Understanding the impact of these three large-scale international assessments of civic education is the primary subject of the chapters in this volume and frames this chapter as well.

At about the same time these studies were being published, an interdisciplinary group of scholars was working in the realm of moral education. These included Haste (2004), Althof and Berkowitz (2008), and Oser and Veugelers (2008), who were linking morality with society and the political domain. They emphasized that moral values are not abstract notions but embedded in societal contexts and political power relations. Post-colonial studies (Andreotti 2011; Torres 2017) went beyond a Western perspective on the conceptualization of citizenship and of citizenship education and joined the attempts of many scholars to emphasize social justice. A specific Asian perspective

has been examined by scholars like Kennedy et al. (2010) and Sim (2011). They argued that an Asian perspective places more emphasis on attachment to local and regional traditions. The concern for sustainability has also become part of citizenship: the citizen and their surroundings should become not only democratic but also sustainable into the future (Gaudelli 2016). All these researchers, focusing on a particular knowledge base and their own epistemological perspective, have contributed to citizenship education studies. It is now a dynamic field framed by several, sometimes diverging, social, moral, cultural, and political perspectives.

This overview demonstrates that as citizenship education became the subject of policy and research some distinctions were made in the underlying conceptualization. We first will demonstrate this for more national aspects of citizenship and then for aspects of global citizenship. National citizenship is more inward-directed and global citizenship more outward-directed. However, examining practice informed by research identifies further complexity.

Three Orientations Toward the Goals of Citizenship Education

In our empirical research in the Netherlands among teachers, students, and parents, we found three orientations to citizenship that give special attention to moral values. In several research projects (with both quantitative and qualitative instruments), we asked teachers, students, and parents about which educational goals relating to moral values and society they found important. Most of the research was in secondary schools, but also some in primary schools. We conducted a representative survey among Dutch secondary school teachers. We also performed case studies in schools using surveys, interviews, panels, and observations to collect data from teachers, students, and parents. Statistical analyses of the survey among teachers showed three clusters of teachers supporting specific but different educational goals: discipline, autonomy, and social involvement (Leenders et al. 2008a; 2008b; 2012). More conceptual explorations of these clusters are found in Veugelers (2007; 2017b).

(1) *Discipline and Norms*: teachers in this cluster emphasize goals promoted by the educational movement called "character education" (Lickona 1991). This approach to moral education promotes students following norms of good behaviour. Educators teach students how they should behave.

(2) *Autonomy*: teachers in this cluster refer to personal empowerment and students formulating their own opinions. These goals are central in the moral development tradition of Kohlberg (Power et al. 1989) but also in the structural sociology of Giddens (1990), which emphasizes "agency." Autonomy can be defined as making free choices that give meaning to life.

(3) *Social Involvement*: teachers in this cluster support a broad spectrum of social goals, from empathy as social psychologists define it, to a social justice-based solidarity and commitment to combat inequality in society. Looking at this in a broader context, different orientations exist within social involvement: the justice approach of Rawls (1971) and Kohlberg, the concept of care of Noddings (2002), and the sense of empowerment expressed by the Brazilian pedagogue Freire (1985). Social involvement can vary greatly in its political orientation and in the articulation of the moral values involved.

Note that these results are similar to the three teacher profiles based on civic education aims that were identified by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019) using ICCS 2009 data from 12 countries, not including the Netherlands.

Three Profiles in the Goals and Aims of Nationally Based Citizenship

Further analyzing our data (with person-centred factor analyses), we were also able to construct three profiles of citizenship, expressing different orientations in teachers' goals and educational practice (we have called them types) (Leenders et al. 2008a).

(1) The first type is adaptive citizenship. Discipline and some types of social involvement are important to individuals who fall into this profile. This is a moral commitment to others in one's school, family, and community. There is considerable transmission of adaptive values and attention to standards and norms as part of education. Some attempts to inculcate moral values are direct and others are embedded in assumptions that some refer to as part of an implicit or hidden curriculum.

(2) The second type is individualized citizenship. Autonomy is very important and discipline fairly important. There is a focus on personal development and freedom as expressions of moral values such as autonomy. Less importance is placed on social involvement. The social context and issues with moral dimensions outside the school receive little attention. Educators try to develop students' sense of independence and critical thinking ability. Moral values are viewed as a matter of personal choice and of less concern to the school.

(3) The third type is critical-democratic citizenship. There is a belief that social involvement and autonomy are very important and discipline less important. The focus is on critical analysis of issues and engagement with the common good. This can lead to encouraging action against inequality, for example. This perspective tries to balance the moral values of autonomy with social concern. In education there is a focus on appreciating diversity and living in harmony but also on active student participation in dialogues with those who have different backgrounds or opinions. Cooperative and inquiry-oriented learning is often an approach. Attention is given to critical reflection on social values.

We have defined the types of citizenship and corresponding practical classroom interpretations found in our empirical studies of teachers and our review of the literature as ideal-types. In people's views and in educational practice we find many hybrid forms combining these types of citizenship and types of citizenship education. In their educational philosophy and in their practice most people strike a balance between broader orientations like autonomy and social involvement. This typology demonstrates that different orientations to the moral and political nature of citizenship and citizenship education exist. One does not need to label one as superior to others, they each are linked to broader philosophical and political ideas. As important, it also shows that school leaders and teachers make choices in their educational goals and in their educational practice. Different aspects of citizenship will be important in specific countries and under specific circumstances. These are among the reasons for national differences in the civic education studies' results. Our empirical studies in the Netherlands show that many teachers like critical-democratic citizenship education, but it is less frequently seen in practice than a more adaptive citizenship. Individualized citizenship education is not very popular among teachers but it is strongly embedded in schools through systems of individual assessment, comparison, selection, and tracking of students. The educational guidance given by teachers is strongly directed at the school career and well-being of the individual student. This school practice reinforces an individualized citizenship (Veugelers 2017b).

Three Profiles in the Goals and Aims of Global Citizenship

The concept of citizenship has been broadened from the national to the global level in recent decades. The process of globalization is influencing civic and citizenship education. Most definitions of globalization emphasize the links between different parts of the world. The content of globalization is ideologically charged and differs in different world regions and within countries (Roderik 2011). In parallel with national citizenship we also studied how teachers

and researchers are defining and using the concept of global citizenship. We explored different meanings and practices that instantiate concepts of global citizenship in education (Veugelers 2011b). We analyzed literature and conducted interviews with secondary school teachers about their concepts and practices. Based on the literature review and the interviews we identified three types of global citizenship. These are still under development without empirical support to the extent of that in previous section.

(1)   An *open global citizenship* education focuses on knowledge about and openness to other cultures. Many people refer to an open global citizenship as a neo-liberal mix of cultural diversity and market economy. It is a quite popular notion, however it is difficult to find scholars who clearly express such a liberal view on global citizenship.

(2)   A *moral global citizenship* education has three pillars:

   a)   Creating possibilities for each human being to develop his or her capabilities (Nussbaum 1997).

   b)   A concern for the planet and all its inhabitants. This includes a focus on environmental sustainability; it challenges each human being to take moral responsibility and to contribute through concrete actions (Gaudelli 2016).

   c)   Open communication in which everyone can participate. This is often called "cosmopolitanism" and refers to the Greek idea of the polis (Appiah 2005; Hansen 2011). This dimension of global citizenship is especially linked with attention to human rights as a moral force.

(3)   A *social-political global citizenship* addresses unequal power relations and is devoted to social justice and a corresponding political change. Proponents of this view criticize moral global citizenship as not taking political power relations into account. Social-political global citizenship is committed to combatting inequality and creating a more just society. This position can be found in the work of critical pedagogy, in particular Paulo Freire (1985), in political philosophy (Mouffe 2005; 2017), and in post-colonialist thinking (Andreotti 2011).

There is a sense of hierarchy in this typology. Moral global citizenship adds a concern for each human being, humanity, and the planet to open global citizenship. The social-political global citizenship approach not only challenges individuals to become moral as global citizens, but also pushes for political change, empowerment, equality, and social justice to realize such a moral world for all.

As in the typology for national citizenship, these different types of global citizenship are linked with educational practices. In our research, many Dutch teachers said that they focus on a moral global citizenship. They encourage students to engage in dialogues, to support human rights, and to commit to building a better world. However, teachers try to avoid overt politics. Addressing injustice and transformation of power relations is not their approach to citizenship education. Their argument is that they should be neutral. They don't really address social problems or put these in a political framework (Veugelers 2011b).

Many recent publications focus on what we have called a "moral global citizenship." For example, Hansen (2011) argues for a cosmopolitan education that includes a space in which each person has the opportunity to become part of a dialogue. A typical example of a moral global citizenship education perspective is the book by Gaudelli, *Global Citizenship Education: Everyday transcendence*. He acknowledges that there are concerns about the rapid integration of the world (hyper-globalization), particularly regarding economic and environmental consequences. He also formulates the following as a long-term educational goal: "An aspirational sense of being human as a universal condition coupled with openness to the plurality of people and their environs" (Gaudelli 2016, p. 6).

We find a political view on global citizenship in the work by Andreotti (2011) and Torres (2017) that is more transformational than authors who promote moral global citizenship. Political power relationships and criticism of a neo-liberal market mode of globalization are included. Taking an empowerment perspective, Torres (2017) emphasizes solidarity. Referring to UNESCO-policy, he argues for human rights as part of global citizenship and further criticises the neo-liberal economic market orientation in globalization.

The political-philosopher Mouffe (2017) proposes that the world should be considered as multipolar, posing a challenge to Western domination. This raises the question about how to create a more multipolar world order and a corresponding moral philosophy. Such a balance could be sought through a stronger connection of human rights and democracy with economic equality, social justice, equal power relations, and respect for different cultures. This emphasis on social-political global citizenship, in which the personal and the social, cultural, moral, and political aspects are connected, is a challenging goal for future academic, policy, and action-oriented work. Similar points could be made about nationally oriented citizenship.

Although national and global types of citizenship are certainly connected, it can be argued that domestically oriented civic education orients the student to institutions like the nation state and to rights contained in national documents such as constitutions. Global citizenship has a broader scope and refers to international documents (such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and to organizations that cross national borders. A crucial difference between a national and a global citizenship is that national citizenship focuses on a specific community and a global citizenship on the whole planet (the world community). In both national and global citizenship frameworks issues of morality and politics should be crucial.

For studying citizenship education different academic disciplines are necessary: political sciences and sociology for ideas and practices of citizenship; ethics for analyzing normative positions; pedagogy for formulating educational goals; educational studies for analyzing school systems, teachers' actions, school climate, and student outcomes; and psychology to study the developmental processes of emerging moral orientations in students and their interactions with each other, the teachers, and the moral values embedded in their education. A moral education perspective on citizenship can integrate these different scientific domains.

A Moral Education Perspective on International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies

Based on this overview of different articulations of citizenship and global citizenship education we now analyze what a moral perspective on citizenship studies such as ICCS reveals and address four issues:

1. The importance of attitudes in citizenship

People can have knowledge about democracy, and they can have democratic skills, but it is crucial for them to have attitudes supportive of rights for others and principles of participatory democracy if they are to act in a democratic way. Intentions and concrete behaviour are essential elements of citizenship in practice. Of course, it is important for citizens to have the relevant knowledge and to master the skills, but the attitude component makes a real difference. Psychological concepts like sense of involvement (Oser and Veugelers 2008) and engagement (De Groot et al. 2014) are also part of citizenship. Moral values are expressed in such attitudes (Haste 2004). The IEA studies of civic education (starting in the 1970s) have paid substantial attention to attitudes. In all these studies citizenship attitudes formed a substantial part of the conceptual framework and were operationalized in the measurement instruments. A recent review by Knowles et al. (2018) examined 100 articles reporting secondary analysis of IEA's civic education data published since 2000 and found that a very large majority focused on the

attitudinal and participatory data (not the civic knowledge scores). In particular, many authors from Belgium (Flemish), Italy, and Sweden were represented. The potential value of the findings of these studies for illuminating moral education issues should be explored as it is often implicit rather than explicit.

2. Subjectification as an issue

Dialogue plays a vital role in a social-constructivist perspective on learning as students explore meaning in the social world and develop attitudes and moral values (Veugelers 2019a). Biesta (2011) speaks of subjectification, which is not sufficiently captured by the term socialization. What is missing is the personal articulation: the individual student interprets concepts in a subjective fashion based on their own experience and through dialogue with others. Paying attention to subjectification in education is according to Joris and Agirdag (2019) at odds with a strong focus on goals and prescribed learning outcomes. They criticize the ICCS research from this perspective. Joris and Agirdag (2019, p. 287) conclude: "Our analysis shows that the qualification and socialization functions are dominantly validated in all aspects of the study, whilst there is only marginal attention to subjectification. This implies that ICCS misses an important potential to document and/or promote pupils becoming autonomous and critical democratic citizens, whilst this is often considered a central aim of citizenship education by policymakers, practitioners and teachers."

The arguments made by Joris and Agirdag make us aware of the relevance of individuals' construction of meaning. This suggests conducting research to show how students develop personal narratives relating themselves to citizenship (see, for example, De Groot et al. 2014). We recognize that quantitative research methods that are dominant in the IEA civic education studies cannot catch the concrete personal meanings of concepts and actions for each student. The IEA civic education studies' leaders are aware of this and have encouraged follow-up research projects incorporating more qualitative as well as quantitative approaches. The country chapters in this book present some of those studies.

3. The meaning of democratic citizenship

All nations recognize citizenship qualifications and have a more or less explicit citizenship policy related to a more or less formal curriculum of citizenship education. Nations have political regimes, ranging from authoritarian to democratic, and within democracy there are different articulations. So all nations have an idea of citizenship and have a practice of citizenship education. From an academic perspective it would be interesting to be able to inquire in all nations about different concepts of political regimes and citizenship in order to have a broad perspective for understanding different kinds of citizenship. Now ICCS focuses on aspects of democracy like elections, freedom of speech, and political representation. It is understandable that only regimes that have the kind of democracy based on these principles join the ICCS studies. Of course, it would be very difficult to do research on citizenship in non-democratic countries. In reality ICCS is a study not of citizenship but of democratic citizenship.

In the Latin America study that is part of ICCS there are some questions about dictatorship. When asked if people would like to have a dictatorship most people say no, however when asked about a dictatorship that has brought economic prosperity, many people have fewer problems with it. It would be interesting to include questions that challenge the notion of democracy in the general ICCS-questionnaire. It might be helpful to enhance the set of questions about what is good and bad for democracy (currently in the general ICCS questionnaires) in order to focus on a wider range of threats to democracy. Presently included are questions about whether one company owning all the newspapers is good or bad for democracy and a similar question about leaders appointing members of their own families to government positions. It is important to realize that democracy is a moral concept. It includes ideas about the way to organize society.

One of the good things about democracy is that it supports research about the political system and citizens' opinions. Joining ICCS studies can be thought of as a kind of support for democratic openness. This point is also made in some country chapters in this volume.

4. Social and cultural dimensions of citizenship

The beginning of this chapter spoke about deepening the concept of citizenship. Not only is the political domain relevant, but also the social and cultural. It is about how people live together. It focuses at the same time on dealing with social and cultural differences and on what bonds people: on what keeps society together, on common moral values, and on norms and traditions. This bonding is in fact specific for each country. Each country has its own history and culture, and its own specific articulations of moral values. Countries can differ in how much they stress their own cultural tradition, expect individuals today to adapt to an "older" national culture and emphasize the homogeneity of it.

Countries can also show how their histories adapt to a mixture of traditions and some have a fluid social-cultural citizenship that is open to new influences. Inquiring about specific national articulations of citizenship is difficult in a comparative study. A study like ICCS looks for commonalities and compares countries on these specific variables. Countries also have opportunities to interpret and, in some cases, to add material in national questionnaires or other studies (as some country chapters in this volume discuss). This is not in any way an argument against comparative studies like ICCS but a suggestion to countries to give attention to the national context and to topics such as the moral education dimension when interpreting findings about commonalities and differences.

The Moral Dimension in the Conceptual Framework of ICCS

We now will analyze the assessment framework of the ICCS 2016 study referring to specific pages in Schulz et al. (2016). The authors speak of recent developments and persisting challenges (p. 3) and of broadening the scope of ICCS (p. 5). Recent developments mentioned are the financial crisis and environment; persisting challenges are the concepts of democracy and globalization. Broadening the scope of ICCS 2016 meant inclusion of three areas (p. 5): environmental sustainability, social interaction in school, and the use of new social media for civic engagement. We earlier mentioned the deepening of the concept of citizenship at the social and cultural level. Here even the environmental level is included. The second area, social interaction at school, can be seen as citizenship lived in the daily life of youngsters. School is a place where children can practice living together, hopefully in a democratic way. The third area, social media, extends political dialogues outside the traditional institutions and formal political dialogues, and includes informal ways of participation as part of civic life. This can be digital. These interactions between citizens are more informal and more related to students' daily lives. Other areas were identified that could be explored for future assessments including economic awareness and the role of morality in civic and citizenship education (p.6): "Concepts of morality and character are often involved in relation to outcomes of civic and citizenship education programmes ... many countries have moral education programmes."

There is some coverage of the moral perspective in the research questions for ICCS 2016 (pp. 7–8). The first research question is about educational programs; the second about outcomes of civic knowledge; the third is about engagement in society; the fourth about beliefs concerning civic issues such as democracy, citizenship, and society and about sense of identity; and, the fifth is about the organization of the school. The moral is embedded in research question four about students' beliefs and attitudes and to some extent in all the others: in particular the engagement in society (three) and the interactions in school (five).

Chapter 2 of the assessment framework focuses on the civic and citizenship framework. Four content areas are distinguished: civic society and systems; civic principles; civic participation; and, civic identities (p.12). The student questionnaire includes affective-behavioural variables that reflect attitudes and engagement. The content domain of civic principles has the most explicit moral content. It consists of four sub-domains: equity, freedom, sense of community, and rule of law. In particular, the first three are moral values that are considered as important values in a democratic society. The fourth, rule of law, also includes relevant moral dimensions.

Conclusions

We can conclude that moral values play an important role in ICCS. They include different orientations of citizenship that were mentioned earlier: adaptive, individualized, and critical-democratic approaches. They are incorporated in concepts like justice, democracy, and freedom. Citizenship in a global and sustainable context stresses moral dimensions even more.

A moral values perspective makes clear that besides knowledge and skills, attitudes and concrete behaviour are important and that they express moral values. Moral values have always been embedded in ICCS, but during recent years they have been getting more explicit attention. This reflects developments in many countries that show that societies are searching for meaning and direction in terms of moral values. Should they return to a more adaptive orientation, celebrate an individual orientation, or take up a democratic orientation to social justice? The question is whether an appropriate balance between these three orientations can be found along with appropriate linkage between moral and political perspectives (Veugelers 2019a; 2019b).

In conclusion, we present an overarching definition that includes central concepts and attempts a synthesis of the moral and civic dimensions of the IEA's civic education studies. This definition defines the domain within a democratic framework but gives people the chance to make their own articulation.

> Education for citizenship is about acquiring the abilities and attitudes necessary to participate in political and civic life (on local, national, and global levels); about relating to others, in particular people with different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds; and about concern for the sustainability of humanity, of the planet, and of democracy.

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In the original version of the book, the following belated corrections have been incorporated: The author name "Eva Klemenčič, Mirazchiyski" has been changed to "Eva, Klemenčič Mirazchiyski" in online platforms.

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