Title: **Exploring Asian students' citizenship values and their relationship to civic knowledge and school participation**

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Abstract

There has been considerable speculation concerning distinctive Asian conceptions of citizenship. Until recently there has been very little empirical justification for their existence. The International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS), however, included an Asian Regional Module (ARM) that provided empirical evidence of students' responses to traditional citizenship values. This paper draws on the ARM data. First, a theoretical analysis of the identified constructs contributes to their construct validity and complements their measurement. Second, summated scale scores for each construct indicated varying levels of student endorsement and ANOVA indicated that some of the differences were statistically significant, although effect sizes were generally weak or moderate. Third, the predictive validity of the constructs indicated that the variance accounted for by the latent constructs was moderate in relation to civic knowledge but negligible in relation school participation. The implications of these results for civic education and future research in the field are discussed.

Keywords

Citizenship, values, students, secondary analysis

Introduction

Cooper and Denner, (1998, p. 63) have argued that "bringing concepts of culture into psychological theories is an abstract, disputed, and inherently irresolvable process, yet that doing so is crucial to both social science and policy in multicultural societies, particularly democracies".   The importance of culture was reflected in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito,2010). In addition to a common test and a survey of attitudes designed for 140,000 student across thirty eight countries regional specific surveys for students in Latin America, Asia and Europe were also included. The rationale was that "regional contexts are important for civic and citizenship education because they shape how people undertake their roles as citizens" (Schulz and Gonzales, 2011). This was an important recognition that contexts, social, political and cultural, have the potential to influence civic learning (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011, p. 15).

Such an innovation in large scale international assessment was also an important advance in recognizing both the diversity and complexity of an area such as civic and citizenship education. Yet the approach to the regional surveys was not uniform.   The Asian Regional Module (ARM) was distinctive. It was developed around "notions of traditional Asian cultural values (Kodama, McEwen, Liang, & Lee, 2001; Montgomery, 1997) and concepts of Asian citizenship (W. O. Lee, 2003; W.O. Lee, 2004) …. (which)

distinguishes (it) from the ICCS European and Latin American regional modules which focus on content issues of particular import in those regions and implicitly assume a generally Western liberal democratic context from which to understand and interpret the issues" (Fraillon, Schulz & Ainley, 2011, p .2). With the ARM, culture was explicitly recognized as an important consideration in the context of large scale international assessments related to civic values and civic understanding.

The distinctiveness of the ARM, coupled with its underlying assumptions, makes it an important topic for further investigation. Preliminary analysis of the data yielded from 23,454 students in five Asian societies indicated for the first time a common latent structure of Asian students' traditional citizenship values (Schulz, et.al., 2011, pp 250-258). A subsequent secondary analysis of the item level data (Kennedy, 2011) using all the items rather than just those identified by Schulz, et. al., (2011, pp 250-258) showed the strength of students' endorsement of culturally oriented items as well as the differences between students in different societies. These preliminary analyses indicated the potential of the ARM data to assist in a better understanding of the way young people in selected societies in Asia have considered citizenship values.

An important reason for better understanding student responses to the ARM is that the survey was essentially about value beliefs and attitudes rather than knowledge or behavioral intentions (Kennedy, 2011). This is a very important distinction in light of

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the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985) that suggests attitudes, especially in the form of "normative beliefs" can influence both intentions and behavior. While this model has been used widely in health related research but only recently has it been applied to the field of civic and citizenship education in some promising work being undertaken by To (2012). He is exploring the usefulness of the theory of planned behavior in predicting the civic behavior of adolescents in Hong Kong. This focus is by no means new. In the IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et.al, 2001, p.), for example, 'Intention to vote' was the most significant dependent variable in the proposed model of civic learning. What is new in To's (2012) research is the attempt to understand the explicit relationship between normative beliefs and civic intentions and behaviors along with other key variables identified in the theory of planned behavior.

In most models of civic learning causal variables are more likely to be identified as either static demographic variables or behavioral variables leading to specific kinds of civic behavior (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 150). Yet if normative beliefs play a role in influencing civic action then it is important to have a good understanding of what those beliefs are and what kind of influence they might exert. As explained in the theory of planned behavior, these may not be the only influences on intention and behavior but as long as they have a role to play then more emphasis needs to be placed on understanding students' normative beliefs. It is because of this that the latent structures of Asian students' traditional citizenship values assumes such importance.

They may well hold the key to better predictive power for understanding what influences civic knowledge and civic action.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to investigate a selection of Asian students' traditional values relating to citizenship, their theoretical importance and their predictive power. For this purpose, secondary data analysis of student responses to the ARM will be undertaken.   The results will be evaluated in terms of their empirical adequacy and theoretical validity (Weinert, 2009). Finally, implications will be drawn for civic education and ongoing research in the area.

Preparing Students for Citizenship – Searching for Predictors of Civic Learning and Civic Action

The study to be reported here will focus on students' traditional citizenship values and their relationship to civic learning and civic action. This emphasis represents part of the field's broad concerns with these issues. For example, in a recent report on citizenship education in Europe the point was made that (Eurydice, 2005 p.3):

The development of responsible civic behaviour may be encouraged from a very early age. Citizenship education, which includes learning about the rights and duties of citizens, respect for democratic values and human rights, and the importance of solidarity, tolerance and participation in a democratic society, is

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seen as a means of preparing children and young people to become responsible

and active citizens.

The idea of preparing "responsible citizens" has a long history. It can be found in

literature from the earliest times in societies such as Ancient Greece and Rome as well

as China. Often it is accompanied by admonitions that equate civic engagement with

civic responsibility – attributes that are seen to characterize 'good' citizens. Researchers

continue to explore the characteristics of such citizens in modern democratic societies

(Kennedy, 2010). Yet there are no prescriptions for producing active and engaged

citizens and the lack of engagement, especially amongst young people, has been noted

as a characteristic of our time (Putnam, 1993).   In research terms, not enough is known

about the predictors of responsible civic behavior to understand why young people seem

less inclined to engage or what might be done to encourage them to appreciate the

importance of such engagement.   The importance of this issue cannot be

underestimated since political theorists continue to argue that civic engagement is

essential to the preservation of democratic societies.

In the current literature on civic learning, therefore, a key focus of research is on the

nature and purpose civic engagement and its predictors. Marzana, Marta and Pozzi

(2012) compared socially engaged and non-engaged young people on personal, family,

and social characteristics and showed that civic behavior can be predicted by personal

identity, family discussion of current events, membership experiences in socially-oriented groups, mediated by a sense of community. Kahne & Sporte (2008) showed that discussing civic and political issues with one's parents and extracurricular activities other than sports are positively associated with improvements in students' commitments to civic participation. Similar findings were reported in Shuler's (2010) tracing of US university students.

Duke et al. (2009) investigated the influence of environmental factors of family and community context on later civic engagement in young adulthood. They identified that a stronger connection in family and community contexts predicted greater likelihood of voting, community volunteer service and involvement in social action groups. Mason, Cremin, Warwick & Harrison (2011) found some young people's experiences living in areas of socio-economic disadvantage resulted in decisions to disengage civically. Some studies have pointed to the internet as a source of diverse experiences that are not available in real life but have some positive impacts on civic engagement. Experience of playing online video games has been shown to be associated with increased prosocial behavior and civic engagement in the real world (Kahne, Middaugh, & Evans, 2008; Freguson & Garza, 2011). Digital experience has been shown to build up a self-actualizing civic learning style (an alternative to the more conventional dutiful citizenship) and a new online civic identity online (Bennett, Wells & Rank, 2009).

In addition to these external influences on civic engagement, schools themselves have also been identified as important sites promoting civic engagement. Torne-Purta, et al.,(2001); Flanagan, Martínez, Cumsille, & Ngomane (2011); Younis, (2011) and Flanagan & Levine (2010) found students' engagement in extracurricular activities in high school and their feelings of social connectedness to community institutions predicted voting and other forms of civic engagement in young adults. Jahromi, Crocetti, & Buchanan (2012), in cross-national studies, compared community-oriented and political civic engagement activities and intentions among adolescents in Italy and the Unites States. The results suggested that civic experiences in both countries are meaningful to future civic engagement while peer and school contexts had a stronger impact on community-oriented than on political civic activity. Au (2012) analyzed the data from the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) and showed that perceptions of classroom climate have a positive impact on civic engagement for Hong Kong students. . The variables 'civic knowledge' and 'having learned about the importance of voting in school' were predictors of expected voting (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Other studies on schools suggested that traditional classroom-based civic education has a positive influence on political knowledge and political participation (Galston, 2001). In a longitudinal study on American high students, Kahne, Crow, & Lee (2011) showed that open discussion of social issues promoted engagement with political issues and elections whereas service learning opportunities increased social engagement.?? In the

IEA Civic Education Study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) showed that 'civic knowledge' and 'having learned about the importance of voting in school' were predictors of expected voting. School factors including perceptions of an open classroom climate, confidence in school participation, and the opportunity to learn in school to solve problems in the community also correlated with expectations of adult engagement

The important point to make about research to date is that civic behaviors are varied, they appear to call on different levels of motivation and commitment and they represent the extent to which young citizens, or potential citizens, actively take opportunities to be involved in social and political issues in their community. But what motivates such behavior? Chung & Probert, (2011) highlighted the importance of individual outcome expectations. Kanacri, Rosa, & Di Giunta, (2012) indicated the importance of psychological personality measures while Robeles-Fernandez, (2011) pointed to the importance of students' beliefs. Yet there is a lack of studies that seek to identify normative beliefs as an underlying mechanism that might account for both civic learning and consequently provide a predisposition for civic action. From the perspective of social psychology, Eyal, Sagristano, Yaacov, Trope, Liberman and Chaiken (2009, p. 35) suggested that "since perceptions of distant future situations highlight more abstract, high-level features than near future situations, they are more influenced by high-level constructs such as values. Consequently, people are more likely to use their values in construing and forming behavior intentions with respect to

distant future situations than near future situations". If this is the case, then understanding students' citizenship values now may well provide important understandings about their civic behavior. Zaff, Kawashima-Ginsberg and Lin's (2011) have called for a broader conceptualization of civic engagement beyond behavioral measures with consideration given to the relevance of cultural and political contexts . This would make it possible to see new directions for the study of civic learning beyond an exclusive concern with behavior to include better understanding of underlying mechanisms such as students' values and their impact on civic learning and civic action.

The purpose of this study, therefore, was to explore the citizenship values of samples of students from five geographic areas in Asia. By understanding these values it is hoped to provide greater insight into their civic learning and motivations as young citizens in a region of the world that is of growing importance. In addition, and following Eyal, Sagristano, Yaacov, Trope, Liberman, & Chaiken (2009), it may be that a focus on values can also provide a lens through which to view possible future citizenship actions.

The Study

Instrument

The ARM was a survey designed as part of ICCS 2009 (Schulz et al., 2010 (and hereafter referred to simply as 'ICCS 2009') for those students participating from Asian societies. The development process for the ARM has been reported in Schulz et al.,

(2010, p.48) and supplementary information was provided by Fraillon et al., (2011). The purpose of the ARM was to seek students' views on values and attitudes underlying citizenship issues. within their distinctive social and cultural contexts. There were eight questions in the survey and a total of fifty five items.

The assessment framework for the study was conceptualized in a 4 x 2 matrix with four broad content domains (Civic Society and Systems, Civic Principles, Civic Participation and Civic Identities) and two broad types of questions (Cognitive and Affective). The ARM survey used 8 affective questions (4 concerned with values/beliefs and 4 with attitudes) across the four content domains. As noted by Fraillon et al., (2011), the focus on the affective domain was a distinctive feature of the ARM.

The ARM survey was translated from English into local languages using the translation standards approved by the IEA (Schulz et al., 2011, pp 51-58). For all questions students were asked to indicate their level of agreement with four response categories from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree".

Sample

The sampling methodology followed in ICCS 2009 is described fully in Schulz et. al, 2010). The samples of students from Asian societies used in the International Study were also used for the ARM. All samples were drawn from Grade 8 students between

the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The average age of the sample was 14.3 years (SD=.56) with student ages ranging from 14.2 in Chinese Taipei to 14.7 in Korea. 49.9% of the sample were male and 50.1% were female. Sample sizes for each participating society are shown in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Data Analysis

The current study was a secondary analysis of ARM data stored in the ICCS 2009 data base. The original ARM analysis (Schulz et al., 2010, pp.250-259) used a pooled sample of 500 students drawn randomly from each society. In contrast, the current study analyzed each sample separately. The latent constructs identified as part of ICCS 2009 (Schulz et al., 2010, pp 250-259) were taken as the starting point for the current study. Initially, a theoretical analysis of these scales was conducted. The purpose was to enhance their construct validity based on the generally accepted view that "construct validation concerns the simultaneous process of measure and theory validation" (Strauss and Smith, 2009, p. 1). Using SPSS 16.0, summated scale scores were developed even though IRT scale scores were available in the ICCS data base. The reason for using summated scale scores was to develop an understanding of the weight of student endorsement on each construct and this is not possible with IRT scale scores (Schulz et al., 2011, p 163). In addition, Xu & Stone (2012) have shown that the use of either IRT or summated scale scores is acceptable when relationships between measures are being evaluated. ANOVA was used to test the differences between mean scores for each latent construct and η^2 was used as a measure of effect size of the differences between each

society. Since there were unequal variances between the results of the five societies Dunnett's T3 test was used as a post hoc test of pair wise comparisons. The predictive validity of the scales was investigated with a number multiple regression models. The ICCS 2009 country *Civic Knowledge* scores and *Students Participation in School* scores were used respectively as the dependent variables. The latent constructs were entered in a stepwise manner in each of the regression models.

Results

Theoretical analysis

Based on the ARM results, nine scales were identified from 45 items (Schulz et al., 2011, pp 250-259). In addition, measurement models were also identified showing the relationships between different latent constructs. A summary is shown in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

The constructs in Table 2 depict a very different picture of citizenship values than might be found in countries characterized by Western notions of liberal democracy. These notions include respect for such values as for electoral democracy, the rule of law, human rights, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. These were not the values featured in the ARM questions as mentioned earlier in this paper and as pointed out by Fraillon et al., (2011). The questions in the ARM were deliberately framed to tap

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cultural values in the region. A key issue for consideration in developing the ARM was whether there are common citizenship values across the region and, if so, what is their effect, especially on the region's young people as future citizens? The following sections will provide an analysis of the constructs in Table 1 to show their theoretical properties and thus enhance their construct validity.

The first set of constructs in Table 2 indicates *Students' Perceptions of Government and Law*. The underpinning idea in this model is governance – the role of governments, the status of the legal system and the principle of social harmony.   Many governments in the region are considered as "strong" in the sense that they often act as though they know what is best for citizens – Singapore is a good example.   Tu (1996) refers to this as "Asian modernity" and Fukuyama (1995) refers to "soft authoritarianism" as a way of describing the peculiarities of many Asian democracies. Paternalism is another way of describing the meaning of this scale by which is meant that governments are often seen in a parental role and thus given more scope than they might be in the a Western democracy.   The role of the law in these democracies is interrogated in this model. Attitudes to the legal system can reveal students' attitudes to the rule of law that is another way of understanding this construct. The Confucian principle of social harmony (Tu, 1996) is shown in the construct, '*Students' attitude toward obedience to authority'*. But this construct probably is better understood as preserving balance in relationships rather than one concerned with blind obedience. Harmony can often led to obedience

but the principle is "balance" – not standing out, not arguing, keeping the peace, the promotion of the collective good over individuality.

The second set of constructs in Table 2 focus on '*Students' Perceptions of Identity, Culture and Citizenship'*. At the heart of this model is identity and how young Asian students see themselves in the twenty first century. All the Asians societies included in ICCS 2009 emerged from colonialism at different times in the second half of the twentieth century. Do young people in these societies see themselves as distinctively "Asian" and are they proud of their cultures? This was the underpinning idea behind many of the questions. At the same time questions were also asked about traditional values such as spirituality, self cultivation and morality as aspects of being a 'good citizen'. Kennedy & Fairbrother (2004) have pointed out that moral rather than civic values appeared to characterize much civic education in the region and thus questions of identity and traditional citizenship values were asked side by side.

The third set of constructs in Table 2 was concerned with '*Students' Perceptions of Public Service'*. An alternative way to view this model is to see it as being concerned with attitudes to political values – morality for politicians, corruption in government and private business and relationships in public service. The emphasis on morality in public life in this model mirrors the personal morality questions asked in the previously. It needs to be remembered that major religions such as Buddhism and Islam characterize

parts of Asia and Confucianism as a philosophy still influences much of East Asia. There are thus multiple exhortations for personal morality and Confucianism in particular has significant expectations about public morality. Yet the landscape of public life in Asia is often characterized more by corruption than morality (Lindsey and Dick, 2002). Concepts such as "guanzi", one of the underlying concepts in this model, and part of the cultural history of many parts of the region, still has its advocates in modern business practice (Chow and Ng, 2004). An important issue to investigate in the ARM was how far these cultural and social issues were part of the value system of young Asians.

Overall, the values identified in the constructs and measurement models were meant to reflect Asian historical and cultural values. Questions were designed to assess the extent to which twenty first century students in selected parts of Asia retained traditional values as part of their values relating to citizenship values. At the same time the impact of these values on students' civic knowledge and actions was also of considerable interest. These issues will be taken up in the following sections.

Asian Students' Attitudes to Traditional Citizenship Values

Summated scale scores were constructed for each of the latent constructs identified in Table 2 and the means for each scale in each participating society are shown in Table 3. These means indicate the level or weight of student endorsement of each scale. This

property makes them appropriate in this study rather than the IRT transformed scale scores reported by ICCS.

Insert Table 3 about here

Variations in endorsement of the constructs can be observed across the region. Examining the governance constructs *('Students' perceptions of government and law in Asia')* there were statistically significant differences across societies on (F(4, 23441)=2634.836, p<0.01, η2=0.31). Korean students registered the lowest level of endorsement on this construct but it was still moderately positive while Indonesian students endorsed the construct more positively than their peers in East Asia (Korea, Hong Kong and Taipei). The Dunnett's T3 test indicated the differences were statistically significant. A similar pattern can be seen in '*Student attitudes toward obedience to authority*'. Overall there were significant differences across the region (F (4, 23441) = 3339.241, p<0.01, $η^2$=0.36). Korea, Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong were moderate in their endorsement while Indonesia and Thailand endorsed the scales more strongly. For '*Students' perceptions of the integrity of the legal system*' there are overall differences across the region (F (4, 23444) = 964.095，p<0.01, η2=0.14). Again, Indonesia and Thailand endorsed this scale more positively than Korea, Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong with the latter registering the lowest level of endorsement. The effect sizes for the differences ranged from weak to moderate.

The Identity constructs ('*Students' perceptions of identity, citizenship and culture in Asia'*) tell a somewhat different story in the sense that overall there is a higher level of endorsement on all of the constructs across societies than in the set discussed above. For *'Students' Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture'* there were statistically significant differences across the region (F (4, 23445) = 910.67，p<0.01, η2=0.13) but for the Dunnett's TS tests indicated no statistically significant differences Korea and Chinese Taipei. Indonesian and Thai students endorsed these constructs most positively and from a comparative perspective Hong Kong students registered the lowest level of endorsement, although it is still strong. The *'Students' sense of Asian identity'* construct was endorsed strongly across the region but there were statistically significant differences across societies (F (4, 23445) = 26.182, p<0.01, η2=0.004). Yet the pattern of endorsement was somewhat different from that seen previously. Students from Chinese Taipei registered the strongest level of endorsement and these were statistically significantly different from those of students in other societies. Hong Kong and Indonesian students registered the lowest levels of endorsement and the difference between them was not statistically significant. For ' *Students' perceptions of good citizenship'* there were statistically significant differences across the region (F (4, 23442) = 295.409，p<0.01, η2=0.05) with Thailand registering the highest level of endorsement and Hong Kong the lowest. Dunnett's T3 test indicated there were no statistically significant differences between Hong Kong and Korea and between

Indonesia and Taipei. The effect sizes for each of the constructs were relatively week suggesting that the differences may not be substantial.

For the Political Values constructs ('*Students' perceptions of public service in Asia'*), there are statistically significant differences across the region ($F_{(4, 23442)} = 111.594$，$p<0.01$, $\eta_2=0.02$). For '*Students' Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians'* Thai students registered the highest level of endorsement while Hong Kong students registered the lowest level of endorsement, although it was still strong. Dunnett's T3 test indicated there were no statistically significant differences between Indonesia, Korea and Chinese Taipei. For 'Students' *Attitudes towards corruption in the public service'*, there are statistically differences across the region ($F_{(4,23444)} = 2040.794, p<0.01$, $\eta_2=0.26$). Hong Kong, Korea and Taipei endorsed the construct negatively and there were no statistically significant differences between them. Thai and Indonesian students endorsed the construct positively but moderately rather than strongly. 'Students' *attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office'* showed a similar pattern. There were statistically significant differences across the region ($F_{(4, 23443)} =1$ 772.355，$p<0.01$, $\eta_2=0.23$) with students from Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei endorsing the construct negatively. Thai students showed the highest level of endorsement although it was moderate as was that of Indonesian students. Dunnett's 3 test showed there were statistically significant differences between Thai and Indonesian students. The effect sizes for the differences range from weak to moderate.

An overall pattern of variation across the constructs and societies was that Thai and Indonesian students tended to endorse the constructs more strongly than did students from Korean, Hong Kong and Chinese Taipei although there were some exceptions. This pattern could be indicative of regional differences between South East Asian and East Asian students on these constructs.   Some caution needs to be exercised with such a generalization since the large sample sizes mean that the smallest changes will register as significant and effect sizes were weak to moderate. . Nevertheless, it is an outcome that will be considered further late in this paper.

Relationship between Students' Citizenship Values, Civic Knowledge and Participation

Using step wise regression, a number of regression models were estimated for each society. In the first model, the ICCS *Civic Knowledge* score was used as the dependent variable. In   the second regression model, the ICCS *Students' Participation at School* score was used as the dependent variable. In both cases the summated scale scores for each of the latent contructs as shown in Table 3 were used as the independent variables.

The latent constructs exerted a differential effect across the five societies and in relation

to each of the dependent variables. In relation to Civic Knowledge, the model was significant in each society. For Hong Kong, the model accounted for 12.8% of the variance in students' Civic Knowledge, the lowest R^2 of all the societies but the model was significant (F(4, 2674) = 99.3, p < .0001). βs ranged from 0.06 to 0.20 across the constructs with 'Attitudes towards corruption in the public service' showing the strongest relationship to Civic Knowledge (β=0.20). 'Attitudes toward obedience to authority', 'Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture', 'Perceptions of good citizenship' and 'Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians' showed no relationship with Civic Knowledge (p>05). For Thai students, F(8, 5252) = 392.21, p < .0001 and variance accounted for (R^2) by the latent constructs was 37.3%, the highest R^2 across all societies. βs ranged from -.026 to 0.17 with 'Acceptance of authoritarian government" showing the strongest positive relationship to Civic Knowledge (β=0.17) and 'Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office' showing the strongest negative relationship (β= -0.26). 'Attitudes toward obedience to authority' showed no relationship with Civic Knowledge (p>.05).

For Korean students, while the model was significant (F(7, 5237) = 217.54, p < .0001) and accounted for 22.4 % of the variance (R^2) in Civic Knowledge scores, 'Perceptions of good citizenship' and 'Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture' showed no relationship with Civic Knowledge, five other constructs showed negative relationships, with βs ranging from -0.15 to -07, with 'Attitudes toward personal

morality of politicians' showed the strongest positive relationship (β=0.18) while 'Sense

of Asian identity' showed a weak positive relationship (β=0.08). For Indonesian students

the model was significant ($F_{(7, 5012)}$ = 225.98, $p < .0001$ accounting for 23.0% of the

variance (R^2) in Civic Knowledge scores. βs ranged from 0.19 ('Sense of Asian identity')

to -.09 ('Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office'). 'Perceptions of

good citizenship' showed no relation with Civic Knowledge ($p>.05$) with both

'Acceptance of authoritarian government' and 'Attitudes toward obedience to authority'

showing small negative relationships (βs = -0.10 and -0.08 respectively).

For students in Chinese Taipei the model was significant ($F_{(9, 5135)}$ = 223.81, p

$< .0001$) and accounted for 28.1% of the variance (R^2). There were negative

relationships for eight of the constructs ranging from β= -0.24 for 'Attitudes toward the

use of connections to hold public office' to -0.04 for 'Perceptions of the integrity of the

legal system' and 'Perceptions of good citizenship'. 'Sense of Asian identity' showed a

positive relationship with Civic Knowledge (β=0.23).

Overall, it can be seen that in each of the participating societies, students' citizenship

values influenced their civic knowledge although the influence was by no means

uniform. It seems that in societies such as Korea and Chinese Taipei the influences were

largely, although not exclusively, negative while in Indonesia and Thailand these values

tended to exert more positive influences. For students in Hong Kong, four of the constructs exerted no influence at all, three exerted a small but significant influence and two exerted moderate influences. These varying patterns of influence suggest that context may play an important role in determining how these values exert their effects in different cultures, social systems and political systems. This issue will be discussed later in this paper.

The second set of multiple regression models used the ICCS *Students' Participation at School* score as the dependent variable. The overall results showed that across the societies the variance accounted for (R^2) ranged from 0.005% in Chinese Taipei to 0.56% in Korea. While all the models were significant (probably on account of the large sample sizes), in societies such as Hong Kong seven of the constructs showed no relationship to *Participation at School n* at all ($p>.05$). This pattern of no relationship between the dependent and independent variables repeated itself in each society, although not to same extent as in Hong Kong.   In Korea, for example, there were three constructs showing no relationship with *Participation at School*, four in Chinese Taipei and five in Indonesia and Thailand. Where there were relationships, βs were usually small (<0.1) except for 'Sense of Asian identity' in Chinese Taipei (β = 0.16). The evidence strongly suggests that the students' values being studied here exert negligible effects on whether or not students participate actively in their schools.

Discussion

Inman, Rawls, Meza, & Brown (2002, p.157) have pointed out that "Asian adolescents living in Asia develop identities and behaviors that are embedded within their own cultural values and socially and developmentally desirable to their own cultures". Yet the young people in each of the participating Asian societies in this study have not been sheltered from the influences of globalization, technological advancement and Western forms of democracy as well as individual, family and peer influences that inevitably affect young adolescents. An important purpose of the study reported here has been to focus specifically on local and traditional values to see if amidst the multiple influences on adolescents, traditional values continue to be important.

The initial theoretical analysis of the latent constructs identified in this study showed that there is a wealth of literature attesting to the distinctiveness of traditional regional values. That is to say, there is a solid theory base that contributes to construct validity. An important task for ICCS 2009, therefore, was to develop measurements of the values identified. The success or otherwise of the measurement task can be judged from Tables 1 and 3. In Table 1, the attempt to build measurement models between set of constructs with common characteristics was not overly successful. The fit statistics in each case indicated that the proposed models were not well fitting. Thus these measurement models added little to our understanding of the individual latent contrsructs. Yet the nine individual constructs as shown in both Tables 1 and 3, all demonstrated appropriate

levels of internal consistency. In addition, Schulz et al., (2010) were able to develop unidimensional IRT scales that can be found in the ICCS data base. Thus the psychometric properties of the constructs together with their underlying theoretical bases have established the construct validity of the scales. Further work needs to be done on the relationship between the scales and whether there are viable measurement models.

Students from across the region responded to the constructs differentially as shown by the levels of endorsement of each construct. The identity constructs was strongly endorsed by all students: 'Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture', 'Sense of Asian identity', 'Perceptions of good citizenship", and 'Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians'. These constructs and their endorsement might be seen as a reflection of positive local values. Negatively perceived constructs, on the other hand, were not uniformly endorsed negatively. 'Attitudes towards corruption in the public service' and 'Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office' were negatively endorsed by students from Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei but moderately positively endorsed by students from Thailand and Indonesia suggesting that values discarded in one part of the region (East Asia) tend to persist in another (South East Asia).

This regional split can be seen less dramatically in other constructs. For 'Attitudes

toward obedience to authority' and 'Perceptions of the integrity of the legal system', students from Indonesia endorsed strongly but for those from Hong Kong, Korea and Chinese Taipei the level of positive endorsement was moderate. In other constructs such as 'Acceptance of authoritarian government', there is no regional split with all students endorsing the item moderately positively although Thai and Indonesian students were more positive in their endorsement than the others.   These kinds of endorsements raise the question of sub-regional influences on students' values and question the idea of monolithic values influencing students across the region. It also suggests that as cultures change in response to external influences so too will attitudes and values. Anthropologists have for a long time asserted that cultures are not static (Shelton, 1965). What has been shown in this study is that while cultural values still impact on young people in the region this impact varies by geography, political system and probably the agency of individuals. Students from Easr Asia are likely to reject negative values but they do not reject all traditional values and overall, they have a strong sense of regional identity. Students from South East Asia tend to be overall positive in their endorsement of traditional values, even negative values, and they too have a strong sense of regional identity. What seems to be common is this sense of identity, but this identity does not lead to the endorsement of traditional values in the same way by students from East and South East Asia.   The results of individual societies need to be examined carefully to discern effects within each society and the effect sizes of the differences as shown previously need to be taken into consideration.

Such an examination would also reveal that in terms of predictive power, these constructs exert differential effects, depending on the context. The most obvious difference was that they did account for variance in *Civic Knowledge* scores ranging from 12.8% (Hong Kong) to 37.3% (Thailand) but accounted for only negligible amounts of variance in *Participation in School* scores. This does not mean that values in general do not exert an effect on civic engagement but it does mean that such a relationship does not hold for these particular values.   It also needs to be recognized, however,   that this is a neglected area of research. Most citizenship education studies have focused on the development of values rather than the impact of values. Yet as has been shown here values can be important, even though somewhat unpredictable and differential in their impact.

The results of the multiple regression with *Participation in School* as the dependent variable sends an important message about the latent constructs identified here. While they have been identified as "citizenship values", they represent a very distinctive view of citizenship. Kim (2010, p.438) has argued that while Western notions of citizenship revolve around the tensions between "individuality and active political citizenship" that Confucians " do not hold the Republican conception of citizenship in which active participation in political life in *itself* is thought to bring about the most authentic realization of humanity". That is to say, active citizenship is not a traditional citizenship

goal. Rather, as can be seen from the latent constructs, the focus is on authority, obedience, harmony, morality, tradition and identity etc. This does not prevent a majority of students in the region being opposed to corruption or the influence of relationships, but it does mean that such values will lead to action. If these were the only values held by students, their civic participation may well be at risk.

It also needs to be recognized that the values discussed here are not equally influential. The regression models discussed were significant and, in relation to *Civic Knowledge* at least, could account for variance in the dependable variable. Yet the individual constructs exerted differential influences. In all societies there was a single construct that accounted for the bulk of the variance. In Hong Kong and Indonesia it was 'Attitudes towards corruption in the public service' with R^2 = 10.4% and 12.1% respectively. In Thailand it was 'Sense of Asian identity' with R^2 = 21.5%. In Chinese Taipei it was 'Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office' with R^2 =23%. In Korea it was 'Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office' with R^2 = 21.5%. Thus the constructs cannot be considered equally important in terms of their impact on *Civic Knowledge* since they exert different influences in different contexts. This reinforces the point that diversity rather than uniformity characterizes the impact of these values. Each society must be examined to ascertain the impact in a particular context. The results of this study suggest that generalizations about the latent constructs are not easy to make.

Yet the impact of these values should not be underestimated. Inglehart & Baker (2000, p. 49) have argued that values from traditional societies are more likely to stay in place even where new sets of values through processes such as globalization and Westernization enter those societies. Their empirical results were clear, "evidence from 65 societies indicate that values can and do change but also that they continue to reflect a society's cultural heritage". Thus it maybe that even for a younger generation of Asian students those traditional values are in tact, held at different levels in different places but nevertheless a part of students' values repertoire. Yet given the transformations of each of the participating societies in the second half of the twentieth century the values reported here will not be the only values these students exhibit. Future research in citizenship education needs to focus on how traditional and recent values are integrated and how this integration of values works to influence both civic learning and civic action. This study ahs provided the staring point for such research.

Conclusion

Civic education can learn from this study. Young people in the participating societies hold traditional values associated with a conception of citizenship that is passive rather than active. Yet the societies in which these young people live cannot be regarded as passive. In all of these societies, for example, there are strong protest cultures whether stimulated by trade unions in Korea, Republic of China supporters in Chinese

Taipei, democracy supporters in Hong Kong, "red shirts" in Thailand or *reformasi* supporters in Indonesia. Thus young people in these emerging democracies live with both tradition and change and civic education needs to build this into school and community programmes. Too much reliance on traditional values will lead to passive citizens, too much emphasis on active citizenship will alientate young people form their roots. A balance needs to be found to promote balanced civic learning.

The survey nature of this research also means that much remains to be explored within each participating society and probably in a qualitative manner. Au (2012) for example, has shown how qualitative interviews can extend understanding of students' survey responses on civic issues and such understanding is needed here. How, for example, is a strong sense of Asian identity related to civic learning and why is there such a difference, for example, between students from Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong on this issue? Is the democratic identity of Chinese Taipei's students so strong that it enables civic learning whereas Hong Kong's struggle for democracy makes identity a more contested area and therefore it can exert little effect on civic learning? These are speculative questions that require different forms of research to answer if they are to be understood properly within the contexts that influence them.

Finally, this study has shown that the samples of Asian students selected here do appear to have distinctive citizenship values and these operate in different ways within and

across participating societies. Yet we cannot tell whether such values only influence Asian students since other groups have not been surveyed. Because we focused only on these distinctive values in this study we cannot tell how other citizenship values perhaps more Western in nature might also influence Asian students citizenship values. Schulz et al., (2010), however, have shown Asian students' performance on a range of Western oriented citizenship constructs but this has not taken into consideration that such students also hold traditional values. Thus the issue for the future is to see how students balance these different and often conflicting sets of values. This is a challenging research agenda that has the potential to unravel the ways in which young people in Asia manage their multiple citizenship identities. Whether and how those identities impact on students' future citizenship responsibilities and actions is an issue of interest to both academics and policy makers and hopefully this study has provided an important step towards addressing those issues.

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Table 1

Sample Sizes for the Participating Societies in the ARM

	Chinese Taipei	Hong Kong SAR	Indonesia	Republic of Korea	Thailand
Sample	2576	1368	2524	2626	2631

Table 2

Latent Constructs and Measurement Models Identified from ARM Items in ICCS 2009

Constructs	Measurement Models			
	Name	RMSEA	NNFI	CFI
1. Acceptance of authoritarian government 2. Attitudes toward obedience to authority 3. Perceptions of the integrity of the legal system	'Students' Perceptions of Government and the Law'	0.075	0.87	0.88
4. Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture 5. Sense of Asian identity 6. Perceptions of good citizenship	'Students' Perceptions of Identity, Citizenship, and Culture in Asia'	0.043	0.83	0.89
7. Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians 8. Attitudes towards corruption in the public service 9. Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office	'Students' Perceptions of Public Service'	0.050	0.88	0.94

Data Source: Schulz et al., (2011, pp 250-256)

Table 3

Average scale score for students' attitudes to selected "Asian" citizenship values

Values	Hong Kong (n=2737)			Indonesia (n=5042)			Korea (n=5252)			Thailand (n=5263)			Chinese Taipei (n=5263)		
	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	M	SD	α
Acceptance of authoritarian government	2.38	0.50	0.71	2.90	0.44	0.65	2.14	0.47	0.70	2.84	0.45	0.62	2.33	0.48	0.67
Attitudes toward obedience to authority	2.60	0.48	0.73	3.04	0.48	0.75	2.31	0.48	0.76	3.22	0.39	0.66	2.53	0.51	0.74
Perceptions of the integrity of the legal system	2.85	0.52	0.72	3.07	0.47	0.53	2.58	0.62	0.74	3.00	0.45	0.54	2.56	0.60	0.75
Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture	3.11	0.53	0.78	3.45	0.47	0.72	3.00	0.53	0.71	3.50	0.42	0.69	3.21	0.58	0.80
Sense of Asian identity	2.98	0.42	0.85	3.01	0.47	0.84	3.02	0.43	0.85	3.04	0.37	0.76	3.08	0.46	0.87
Perceptions of good citizenship	3.03	0.52	0.84	3.12	0.48	0.76	3.04	0.43	0.77	3.32	0.45	0.76	3.10	0.49	0.81
Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians	3.10	0.51	0.74	3.19	0.48	0.69	3.17	0.52	0.75	3.31	0.46	0.69	3.16	0.53	0.72
Attitudes towards corruption in the public service	1.74	0.63	0.71	2.24	0.68	0.61	1.71	0.53	0.63	2.55	0.68	0.61	1.62	0.62	0.70
Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office	1.85	0.63	0.87	2.48	0.64	0.79	1.84	0.60	0.83	2.61	0.65	0.80	1.85	0.65	0.87