

THE 'CIVIC POTENTIAL' OF STUDENTS: AN
INVESTIGATION OF STUDENTS' CIVIC
KNOWLEDGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF ACTIVE
CITIZENSHIP IN FIVE ASIAN SOCIETIES

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PhD

THE HONG KONG INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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STUDENTS' CIVIC KNOWLEDGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF ACTIVE
CITIZENSHIP IN FIVE ASIAN SOCIETIES

by

Kui Foon Chow

A Thesis Submitted to

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ABSTRACT

THE 'CIVIC POTENTIAL' OF STUDENTS: AN INVESTIGATION OF STUDENTS' CIVIC KNOWLEDGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN FIVE ASIAN SOCIETIES

by Kui Foon Chow

The Hong Kong Institute of Education

Abstract

Much of the research on students' conceptions of citizenship has relied on samples of students from Western societies influenced by liberal democracy. A key focus of this thesis, however, is on Asian students' conception of citizenship, and in particular 'active citizenship'. Do students in selected Asian societies have a shared understanding of 'active citizenship' and how is it related to their civic knowledge proficiency? These questions have guided this thesis and its investigations.

This thesis is concerned with two key issues: Asian students' "intention to participate" in civic activities in the future and their civic knowledge proficiency. This study has adopted the conceptual position that students' intention to participate and civic knowledge must be treated cautiously given that the student samples are early adolescents not yet 15 years of age. This thesis provides alternative approach to assessment of the 'civic competence' of such students.

This study uses secondary analysis to explore data from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) with a particular emphasis on data from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia and Thailand involving over

23,000 students. ICCS has reported scale scores representing average student results at the national level. This thesis uses a person-centered rather than a variable-centered approach to data analysis seeking to identify both heterogeneity and homogeneity in the data relating to students' intention to participate and their civic knowledge. It assumes that variability in student responses is an important indicator of student attitudes to and knowledge of civic responsibilities.

The results indicated that Asian students' conceptions of active citizenship are not unidimensional and their relationship to civic knowledge varies. Four distinct types of participators were identified:

- 1) *Active Participators*: students who are relatively most enthusiastic in participating in various kinds of civic activities with average levels of civic knowledge;
- 2) *Conventional Participators*: students who most favour voting and with high levels of civic knowledge although rejecting illegal protest;
- 3) *Radical Participators*: students who are generally not certain about any kinds of activities but hold possibilities about them and with the lowest level of civic knowledge; and
- 4) *Minimal Participators*: students who are relatively least motivated to participate across various activities with average levels of civic knowledge but are still positive about voting.

The proportion of types within each society varied across the five societies. The findings challenge the current literature on students' civic competence, the approach to measurement that underpins it and the theoretical framework that supports it. Rather, students' civic potential is highlighted, person-centered analysis is demonstrated to be a useful tool for analysis of data from large-scale assessments and important issues are raised about the nature and potential of the variety of civic activities that 14 year olds need to understand.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'When it comes to the future, there are three kinds of people: those who let it happen, those who make it happen, and those who wonder what happened.'

- John M. Richardson

'No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth. A society that cuts off from its youth severs its lifeline.'

- Kofi Annan



Introduction

This chapter outlines the main features of the study, highlights its significance in terms of addressing the gap in the citizenship education literature, and describes the organization of the thesis.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Section 1.1 highlights the focus of the study. Section 1.2 describes different approaches to citizenship education across five Asian societies. Section 1.3 presents the research gap in the literature. Section 1.4 discusses the value of the study. Section 1.5 describes organization of the thesis. Section 1.6 concludes this chapter.

1.1 Focus of the study

This study contributes to the understanding of citizenship education, students' conception of active citizenship and its association with their civic knowledge proficiency, and from a comparative perspective, discussing the effects of contexts of where citizenship education is carried out.



One of the most important purposes of citizenship education is that it teaches students about citizens' rights and duties. This aim is common across a number of educational systems; however, the content and approaches of citizenship education curricula are different across societies because their focus on rights and duties, the role of government, and direct participation by citizens and other areas may vary. In addition, although citizenship education is designed for all students, students may have their own orientation and progress in civic learning, resulting in different developmental pathways and conceptions of citizenship values, including active citizenship (Andolina, Jenkins, Keeter, & Zukin, 2002; Theiss-Morse, 1993).

Thus, all these variations provide room for debate and discussion about citizenship education from comparative perspectives, which may involve comparing students across societies or educational systems on a range of aspects, from values, educational achievements, and cultures, to curricula and places (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2007).



These theoretical debates often have implications for the quest for effective content and conduct of democratic civic education, especially when student performances across educational systems are compared (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). This aspect is one of the features in the growing field of comparative civic [citizenship] education as Hahn (2010, p. 5) summarized: “...as researchers from all parts of the globe are conducting empirical studies that use a wide variety of methods. Clearly, the field of comparative and international civic education has gone global.” Despite numerous empirical comparative studies conducted in Europe, the United States, and Africa, limited studies have been carried out in the Asian region, especially those on Asian students (Hahn, 2010).

In the current study, students’ civic knowledge and intention to participate are compared within and across five Asian societies, namely, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand. Moreover, this study contributes to the field using innovative methods for analyzing and interpreting students’ conceptions of citizenship, by highlighting their beliefs about the rights and duties of citizens within their specific cultural, social, and political contexts.

The following section briefly describes the similarities and differences in the approaches to citizenship education in the five Asian societies.

1.2 Different approaches to citizenship education across five Asian societies

The reasons for choosing these five societies are as follows.

1. Each of these societies is from the Asian region: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea are located in East Asia, whereas Indonesia and Thailand are located in South East Asia. Thus, these societies reflect geographic diversity.
2. Given that all these societies are located in the Asian region, drawing and comparing them may represent a unique Asian perspective on citizenship education. These reasons are further discussed in Chapter 2 when explaining how these societies may serve the purpose of this study.

The International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has carried out an international large-scale assessment project on citizenship education across 38 educational systems, called International Civic and

Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Based on analyzing the five participating societies in the ICCS, the IEA has published the ICCS Asian Report (Fraillon, Schulz, & Ainley, 2012), which highlighted several areas of focus for citizenship education across these five societies. Although they are all located in the Asian region, these five societies demonstrate both commonalities and differences in their approaches to citizenship education.



Table 1.1 Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curriculum for lower-secondary education in five Asian societies

Society	Specific subject (compulsory)	Name of curriculum subject	Integrated into several subjects	Cross-curricular special events	Assemblies	Extra-curricular activities	Classroom experience
Taiwan	*	Social Studies Learning (Civics)		*	*	*	*
Hong Kong		N/A		*	*	*	.
Korea	*	Moral Education, Social Studies, History	*	*	*	*	*
Indonesia	*	Civic Education					
Thailand		N/A	*		*	*	*.

*For all study programmes and school types

Source: Fraillon et al. (2012, p. 27)

Priority

Among the five Asian societies, the two South East Asian societies, Indonesia and Thailand, reported that civic and citizenship education as a curriculum is given a high priority in their respective educational policies. Meanwhile, in the three East Asian societies, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea, civic and citizenship education is only given a medium priority. While the priorities of citizenship education were discussed here, it should be noticed that this information was based on responses from one or two National Research Coordinators answering a questionnaire in each society, and there was therefore a lack of attempt to get multiple points of view on what was emphasized (Fraillon et al., 2012, p. 32).

Curricular approach

Fraillon et al., (2012, p. 32) reported that the curricular approach varies across the five societies. Civic and citizenship education is only taught as a specific, compulsory subject in Taiwan (Social Studies), Indonesia (Civic Education), and Korea (Moral Education, Social Studies, History), although the name of the subject varies. In Hong Kong and Thailand, civic and citizenship education is carried out with a cross-curricular special event. All societies except Indonesia

provide civic and citizenship education through school assemblies, special events, and extracurricular activities. Classroom experiences and ethos are included as approaches in civic-related teaching in Taiwan, Korea, and Thailand.

Time spent and assessment

Time spent and the assessment method of civic and citizenship education also vary among the five societies. In Taiwan, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand, the appropriate time that schools should spend on civic and citizenship education is specified. As previously mentioned, schools in Taiwan, Korea, and Indonesia have a specific, compulsory subject for civic and citizenship education, but the proportion of time spent on civic and citizenship education, with reference to the total classroom time, varies: 10% to 15% in Taiwan, roughly 10% in Indonesia, and 15% in Korea. In Thailand, since civic and citizenship education is implemented in a cross-curricular approach, quantifying the amount of time spent on it is more difficult. The four societies also assess student learning in civic and citizenship education through student presentations and responses in classrooms, written examinations, and essays. Hong Kong is the only society in which the amount of time spent and assessment is unspecified (Fraillon et al.,



2012, pp. 28–29).

Given the diversity of approaches to citizenship education across the five Asian societies, determining whether these influenced student conception of active citizenship would be interesting.

1.3 Research gap in the literature

Research gap in the literature is evident in three broad areas. The first area is that little empirical research has been conducted on Asian citizenship education.

The second area is that little work has been carried out using a person-centered approach to analyze citizenship education. The third area relates to the current literature of studies that conceptualized and measured students' civic competence.

Regarding the first research gap, the need for this study arises because the literature to date has inadequately addressed the question of how Asian students conceptualize active citizenship using evidence from students themselves.



Regarding the second research gap, growing consensus has emerged that person-centered analysis, as an alternative approach to variable-centered analysis, can yield meaningful results, especially when analyzing large-scale assessment data. Regarding the third research gap, developing an understanding of civic competence is a means to better understand students' civic learning, despite the availability of an alternative approach to understand their learning of active citizenship.

To address these research gaps, this study focuses on how students across five Asian societies interpret their intention to participate in a range of civic activities. The person-centered approach analysis is adopted to explore “clusters or groups of persons [i.e., students) who have similar patterns or profiles of attitudes” (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013b, p.98). These will be discussed in detail in the literature review in Chapter 2.

In examining student perspective and conceptualization of active citizenship across the five Asian societies, using a research approach that involves the students themselves is necessary. Moreover, the purpose of this study requires a



methodological approach that yields rich data on the conceptual and practical aspects of students' expected participation in the future.

In line with these requirements, this research adopts an approach to collect raw data from students themselves about how they think about various civic participation activities, active citizenship, as well as to assess how proficient they are in civic knowledge. In particular, a person-centered approach to analysis is adopted to address the research questions. The methodology and method issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.4 Value of the study

This study is valuable in five aspects. First, it highlights the concept of civic potential as a means to understand students' civic learning and their preparation to become active and informed citizens in the future. It is an alternative approach to conceptualize and measure civic competence of adolescents that is commonly found in the current literature. Second, the findings of the study are significant to the growing field of comparative citizenship education studies,



and especially to those in the Asian region. Third, the study highlights a number of implications for citizenship teaching and learning and suggests future research in these areas. Fourth, the study yields insights into how the student-centric assessment of citizenship outcomes can be promoted as a means to understand students' civic learning. Lastly, the study relates specifically to the comparative citizenship education studies; although ranges of "unit of analysis/comparison" in comparing citizenship education across societies are available in the literature (Bray et al., 2007), this study has offered an alternative "unit of analysis/comparison" for investigating comparative citizenship education studies in the future.

Exploring students' intention to be involved in five kinds of civic participation allows this study to identify multiple groups of students who show similar and/or different orientations of intention to participate within or between groups. These groups would become the unit of analysis for comparing students between societies. For example, if two distinctive groups of students are identified regarding their orientation to participation, a proportion of these two groups could be compared between societies. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.



1.5 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. This introductory chapter establishes the research focus of the study. It also provides the background of the study by highlighting the place of students' construction of active citizenship across five Asian societies. Lastly, it explains the choice of methodology as a person-centered approach to the analysis of student responses. The final section of the chapter describes the value of the study.

Chapter 2 provides the literature review on civic competence, student conception of active citizenship, and comparative citizenship education studies. It identifies a research gap by justifying the usefulness to investigate students' civic potential across Asian societies from a person-centered perspectives. It concludes with research questions for the study.

Chapter 3 describes the theoretical framework, the methodology and methods used to collect and analyze data to address the research questions.

Chapter 4 reports the results of data analyses as described in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings in the study. The significance of the findings to the growing research field of comparative citizenship education, especially in the Asian region, is also discussed.

Chapter 6 summarizes the main points and concludes the study with its implications and limitations. It also suggests areas of possible further research in citizenship teaching and learning, assessment of citizenship education, and comparative citizenship education studies.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the context of this study, the reasons why it is important, how it builds on the existing literature, its potential contribution to the field, and the organization of the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on



civic competence, student conception of active citizenship, and citizenship education studies from comparative perspectives.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the context of this study, the reasons why it is important, how it builds on the existing literature, and its potential contribution to the field. The organization of the thesis was also outlined.

This chapter is divided into seven sections. Section 2.1 highlights the common goal of citizenship education for active citizenship. Section 2.2 describes several common citizenship models. Section 2.3 describes the growing comparative perspective on citizenship education studies, particularly citizenship education in the Asian region. Section 2.4 reviews the literature on conceptualizing active citizenship. Section 2.5 reviews the literature on civic competence for active citizenship, its conceptualization, measurement, and limitations. Section 2.6 discusses the limitations in the current literature. Section 2.7 concludes this chapter with the research questions for this study.



2.1 Citizenship education: A common goal, different approaches

Transforming civic knowledge into civic action is the key aspect of citizenship education in every society (Dudley & Gitelson, 2002; Galston, 2001, 2003, 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 1998). Liberal democratic societies generally perceive that the ultimate goal of citizenship education is to prepare students for active citizenship in the future (Kennedy, 2006; Ross, 2007; Ross & Dooly, 2010; Sherrod, 2007; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). As students grow from adolescence to adulthood, their political socialization is expected to prepare them for active citizenship. As Peterson (2012, p. 200) stated, “If there is a common aim and purpose of citizenship education, it is that it should prepare students to be active within their communities.” In other words, one of the ultimate goals of citizenship education is active citizenship, which should be effective in and beneficial to society. Thus, citizenship education aims to provide opportunities that enable students to learn how to become active citizens.



Although active citizenship may be a common goal of citizenship education, the characteristics of citizenship education vary across nations. When citizenship education is implemented in the school curriculum and classroom pedagogies, it is usually influenced by a citizenship model embedded in the national curriculum and shaped by national characteristics. Regardless of whether the focus of the school curriculum is the acquisition of civic knowledge, development of particular civic values, acquiring civic skills, and so on, citizenship education can be typically traced to a broad manner of thinking about the nature and purpose of citizenship. The following section briefly describes several common models of citizenship that have guided a number of citizenship education curricula in different educational systems.

2.2 Models of citizenship

The literature identifies different models of citizenship, which exert a major influence on the nature and purpose of citizenship education. The three main citizenship models are reviewed as follows.

2.2.1 Liberal model of citizenship

The liberal model of citizenship emphasizes the freedom of citizens' choice of their involvement in public life (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). In an important sense, the liberal model focuses on the rights of citizens to choose whether they want to engage in civic participation. Sim (2011) argued that the liberal approach holds the idea of mandatory participation to be incompatible. Lister (1997, p. 23) asserted that this notion represents "an impoverished version of citizenship in which individual citizens are reduced to atomized, passive bearers of rights whose freedom consists in being able to pursue their individual interests." Under the liberal model of citizenship, voting is not an obligation for citizens, and citizenship education aims to prepare students to become autonomous citizens with the basic level of skills and political knowledge (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999).

Therefore, compared to other citizenship models, the liberal model poses the minimum requirement on citizens. Voting in elections is oftentimes the only expectation from the citizens, whereas other forms of political participation are not emphasized (Condor & Gibson, 2007; Fendrich, 1993; Rawls, 1993).



2.2.2 Civic republican model of citizenship

In the civic republican model, citizenship is seen as a political activity (Oldfield, 1990; Pettit, 1997). Having its roots in Greek and Roman philosophical thought, civic republicanism emphasizes the need for citizens to be actively engaged in a political community (Hoskins, Abs, Han, Kerr, & Veugelers, 2012). Oldfield (1990) described this tradition as one in which “the emphasis on practice gives rise to language of ‘duties’, whose discharge is necessary to establish individuals as citizens” (p. 178). In other words, “[n]ot to engage in the practice is in an important sense not to be a citizen” (Oldfield, 1990, p. 5). Based on this model, Haste (2004) argued that “civic responsibility” is an important quality in active citizens. Aside from the duty to participate, this model emphasizes that citizens should be active in collective actions, such as mass protest activities against unjust laws, for them to perform functions that will benefit society (Lovett, 2010).

Given the differences in their emphases on duties and rights, the liberal and

civic republican models of citizenship are often compared. In contrast to the liberal model, the civic republican model requires citizens to engage at a higher standard for maintaining the democratic institutions and processes (Lovett, 2010). Placing a greater value on obligation and political engagement in collective political decision making, the civic republican model emphasizes that all citizens need to acquire civic competence (Hoskins, Barber, Van Nijlen, & Villalba, 2011; Hoskins, Villalba, Van Nijlen, & Barber, 2008).

According to Honohan (2002, p. 147), civic competence has a number of attributes, including the values of solidarity and public spiritedness, and the responsibility to act for the common good; these attributes are often referred to as “civic virtues.” Putnam (1993) highlighted the need for citizens to have the ability to work together toward the common good of the community. Putnam (1993, p. 91) further argued that the ability to work together underpins the concept of civic competence.

2.2.3 Critical model of citizenship

In recent years, debates have been raised by several scholars regarding the importance of critical citizenship, particularly the use of critical pedagogy in the classroom as well as critical thinking skills in civic learning (Johnson & Morris, 2010, 2012). The critical citizenship model focuses on the active participation of critical and engaged citizens.

For example, in circumstances of war, loyalty to the country is promoted. While the critical model recognizes the concept of the common good, as it is in the civic republican traditions, the critical model also emphasizes the need to be aware of instances in which human rights are compromised when nationalistic values such as loyalty are used negatively by political leaders (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

Equal participation in democracy by all citizens is another emphasis of the critical model. For example, Westheimer and Kahne (2003) highlighted social justice among the three kinds of citizens, and Mouffe (1993) advocated achieving equal citizenship in terms of power relations. As such, in “critical democratic citizenship,” citizens should be actively involved in building a strong and dynamic democracy (Veugelers, 2007).

Although the emphases of the different models of citizenship vary, all these models regard active participation as an important attribute for citizens to exhibit to create the good in society, whether the individual or the common public good. Under the liberal model, active citizenship is mainly displayed on citizens' participation in voting in elections. Under the civic republican model, active citizenship entails participation in a wider range of civic and political activities; it is not only limited to voting in elections, but also extends to participating in other civic activities, such as being a candidate in election campaigns. Under the critical model, active participation emphasizes the citizens' engagement or rejection of civic and political activities based on justice and equality reasons, such as promoting human rights. In sum, each of these models highlights the need for active participation despite the differences in their focus and purpose.

Civic competence, therefore, has been recognized as an important civic learning outcome, especially from the perspective of the civic republican model of citizenship. This view of civic competence has been a popular objective of citizenship education across educational systems. For example, it was fully



reflected in the curriculum of civic education in England (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, 1999). In the United States, schools aim to educate all students about their roles as citizens in a democratic society. Similarly, civic competence is also emphasized in Australia, although not all students receive the same educational programs of civic education (Kennedy, Hahn, & Lee, 2008).

The differences in the philosophical perspectives on citizenship, national and local contexts, and personal citizenship goals provide an opportunity to compare citizenship education across societies. The emerging field of comparative citizenship education is briefly described as follows.

2.3 Comparative perspectives on citizenship education studies

As citizenship education and its investigation have grown internationally, a range of studies on citizenship education has been conducted locally, nationally, cross-nationally, and internationally (Hahn, 1998, 2006; Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Torney-Purta, & Amadeo, 2003), resulting in the development of what



Hahn (2010) referred to as “comparative civic [citizenship] education.” She argued that the field of comparative citizenship education has gone global (Hahn, 2010). This argument is also reflected by the prominence of international large-scale assessment studies on citizenship education, and the growing prominence of comparative perspectives about and developments in citizenship education. “Policy makers, practitioners, stakeholders and researchers have shown a keen appetite for learning more about what others are doing in citizenship education and using that learning to progress their own actions” (Kerr, 2012, p. 19).

Although citizenship education is implemented in different educational systems around the world with a variety of approaches and models as described above, citizenship education is primarily constructed on Western models of politics and the state. Alternative views of citizenship have rarely been considered, given that liberal democracy has been the dominant paradigm influencing the development of citizenship education. This case is evident in successive international civic education assessment projects (Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Torney, Oppenheim, & Farren, 1975).



Hahn (2010) recommended further research on the field of comparative citizenship education, specifically including indigenous research focused on local contexts and issues on citizenship education. Existing theoretical work has argued that Western models have a different perspective on citizenship compared to models based on the context of other regions, particularly that of Asia. Emerging literature has attempted to address issues specifically prevalent in Asia. In particular, literature on citizenship and citizenship education in Asia has been growing (Grossman, Lee, & Kennedy, 2008; Kennedy, Fairbrother, & Zhao, 2013; Kennedy, Lee, & Grossman, 2010; Lee, 2004a, 2004b, 2008, 2009, 2012; Lee, Kennedy, Grossman, & Fairbrother, 2004). These efforts have recognized the importance of tapping diverse views of citizenship in the Asian region and identifying other models of citizenship aside from those based on the Western context.

2.3.1 Citizenship in the Asian region

As previously highlighted, one aspect of the comparative citizenship education



advocated by Hahn (2010) is the growing literature on citizenship education issues in Asia (Grossman et al., 2008; Kennedy, 2010; Kennedy et al., 2010, 2013; Lee et al., 2004). Lee and Kennedy (2006) continued this conceptual work with a special edition of *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*. Further conceptual work involving the investigation on the learning theory in the Asian context has extended these theoretical explorations (Lee & Mok, 2008; Mok, Kennedy, & Moore, 2011; Mok, Kennedy, Moore, Shan, & Leung, 2008).

Research on citizenship education in the Asian region highlights a number of major issues emerging from the conceptual research. Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) provided several descriptions. First, multiple modernities in Asian countries provide fruitful contexts for the citizenship education development. Second, moral virtues and personal values have placed a greater influence than by civic and public values in shaping citizenship education in the Asian region. Third, civil society in both the West and Asia has a significant role. Finally, students' own construction should be taken into account.

The investigation of Asian citizenship education started with the consideration of conceptual and theoretical perspectives. Interest in empirically examining



these regional perspectives has also been demonstrated. Asian students' conceptions of citizenship have been one of the focal points of these studies, enabling comparisons among the views of students from different parts of the world as well as assessments of the distinctiveness or otherwise of the views of Asian students. Both theoretical and empirical studies on Asian citizenship education are expected to contribute to the discussion of regional emphasis of citizenship education beyond the Western liberal traditions. Several empirical studies have emphasized the distinctiveness of citizenship issues in the Asian region (Kennedy, Kuang, & Chow, 2013; Kennedy, Mok, & Wong, 2011). These studies focused on five Asian societies, namely, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia and Thailand. Kennedy et al. (2013) focused on the interplay of traditional values in Asia and western citizenship values and the influence on students' civic knowledge proficiency and their participation in schools, and compared their effects in Confucian tradition. Kennedy et al. (2011) reported the variety of roles of schools in developing students' political trust in different societies.

These empirical analyses also supported the notion that the Asian conception of citizenship can be understood from a perspective that deviates from the



traditional western perspective. In sum, these existing studies have provided a better understanding of Asian students' conception of citizenship by investigating their attitudes and assessing the implications for understanding the nature and purpose of citizenship education in the Asian contexts. Hence, Asian societies may be regarded as an independent entity in studying citizenship education in the region.

Whether in Western or Asian regions, is citizenship education inevitably embedded in the contexts where it is implemented? In general, students form their conception of citizenship values under the interplay of the broad context and citizenship education within that context. In particular, students from the five Asian societies –Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia and Thailand form their conception of active citizenship under these influences.

Taiwan

Civic and citizenship education in Taiwan has received much influence from the Confucian tradition, which emphasizes attributes such as humanity, filial piety, benevolence, and proper social relations. (Fraillon et al., 2012, p. 24).



According to the Educational Fundamental Act, “the aim of civic and citizenship education in Chinese Taipei is to empower modern citizens with a sense of national identity and international perspectives by fostering the development of a wholesome personality, democratic literacy, understanding of the rule of law, humanistic virtues, patriotism, environmental awareness, and information literacy” (Fraillon et al., 2012).

Hong Kong

After being a British colony for 150 years, Hong Kong was returned to China on 1st July 1997 in accordance with the Sino-British Agreement signed in 1985, by which China resumed the sovereignty over Hong Kong. To cope with the reality that Hong Kong’s capitalist system contrasted starkly with the socialist system upheld in Mainland China, the reunification was achieved under the principle of “One Country, Two Systems”.

According to Fraillon et al. (2012), the mentioning of the term “civic” is much more frequent than the term “citizenship” in public education documents, suggesting the “civic” might be more emphasized than “citizenship” in Hong Kong. There is a lack of mentioning explicitly the role of moral civic education



in formal documentation in Hong Kong. However, it is clear that moral and civic education was implemented across fragmented areas of the school curriculum that point to a list of values: perseverance, responsibility, respect for others, and national identity.

Korea

According to Fraillon et al. (2012, p. 26) Civic and citizenship education in Korea is influenced by the major events in history: Korea War, World War II, return to democracy in late 1980s, and Westernization, to name a few.

According to Fraillon et al. (2012, p.26), the concept of civic education in Korea is given by the Korean Fundamentals of Education Act and Lifelong Learning Law: the aim of civic education is “providing all people with the competencies that enable them to become democratic citizens. Besides, citizen participation is also included in the Lifelong Learning Law as an important component activity of lifelong learning.



Indonesia

The objective of civic education in Indonesia is to “develop students’ awareness and knowledge of their rights and obligations and thereby improve their sense of citizenship under the Indonesian constitution” (Fraillon et al., 2012).

Thailand

Civic and citizenship education in Thailand aims to raise students’ awareness of the political and democratic system under the constitutional monarchy by educating them to “engage in and contribute to the enhancement of morality, integrity, ethics, desirable values, and good characteristics of Thai society” (Fraillon et al., 2012, p. 27). It thus “embraces students’ learning process, acquisition of knowledge, moral development, and integration into society.”

Confucianism in East Asian societies

It is important to highlight that the Confucianism culture in the three East Asian societies – Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea – may produce civic values that are not simply collectivist but more relationalist, where the relationship between individualism and collectivism is highly regarded. This is consistent with the view by Lee (2004b, p. 27): “There is a wealth of meaning in relation to the



term ‘self’ in the East. Self-cultivation is a term most commonly used that refers to a continuous process of self-enrichment. This self-enrichment is referred to as a continuous self-improvement, self-advancement, self-actualization and self-perfection. These expressions are very closely linked to Western concepts of growth, actualization and realization. However, self-cultivation also contains a moral sense and a collective sense within it.”

Therefore, the Confucian traditional culture has highlighted in these three societies “self” rather than “collective” is emphasized in the first place. Another similar observation was made by Kim (2010, p. 438) who has argued that while Western notions of citizenship revolve around the tensions between ‘individuality and active political citizenship’. 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 realisation of humanity”. That is to say, active citizenship is not a traditional citizenship goal.

The following section reviews student conceptions of active citizenship as a key outcome of citizenship education.



2.4 Conceptualization of active citizenship

The term “active citizenship” has yielded a number of discussions and studies across multiple disciplines. According to Kennedy (2007), the notion of “active citizenship” does not have shared meaning in different contexts. The literature on citizenship education has shown different students themselves perceive their conceptions of “active citizenship” differently (e.g., Kennedy, 2007, 2010, 2012; Kennedy et al., 2008). Although students are generally capable of constructing their own conceptions of active citizenship, an extensive literature discusses the fundamental assumptions and conceptualizations of active citizenship.

Kennedy (2007) considered “active citizenship” in three perspectives. First, the “popular” approach is often adopted by governments as part of its policy prescriptions. Second, compared to the popular approach, conceptual approaches have a stronger theoretical foundation for the meaning of active citizenship to support various ideological positionings. Third, empirical approaches attempt to summarize what “active citizens” think and do with their attitudes, values, and behaviors within the actual community. One of the emphases of this approach is the use of empirical observation and data to



inform the very nature of active citizenship within and across contexts. Kennedy (2007) also emphasized that these approaches are compatible, and understanding one approach helps understand the others. The following review expands on each of the three approaches (i.e., the popular, conceptual, and empirical approaches) to further define the concept of “active citizenship.”

2.4.1 “Popular” approach

Marinetto (2003, p. 104) highlighted that “the idea of active citizenship has entered the political calculations and ideological calculations of governments on both sides of the political spectrum.” Different countries show distinctive characteristics of active citizenship reflected in their own policies (European Commission, 2005; Kerr, 1999; Kerr, Keating, & Ireland, 2009; Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, 1999). These policy considerations regarding “active citizenship” are oftentimes closely related to the political situations in a particular country at a given period. Using an example to illustrate this notion, Kennedy (2007) explained that the meaning of “active citizens” adopted by Singapore could be relatively different from that adopted by Canada. It is likely



that these government may have different understandings and accept differently protest activities and its relationship between “active citizenship”.

2.4.2 Conceptual approaches

“Active citizenship” has its roots in the civic republican conception of citizenship, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Traditionally, it is accepted that citizens should be active in the “polis.” This view of active citizenship is reflected in several national curricula for citizenship education, such as the curriculum of civic education for England (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, 1999). Across societies, citizens are often exhorted to do something in their role as citizens. As Oliver and Heater (1994, p. 6) suggested, “individuals are citizens when they practice civic virtue and good citizenship....”.

2.4.3 Empirical approaches

Empirical approaches focus on using empirical data from students or adult



citizens to shed light on the construction of “active citizenship.” The IEA Civic Education Study [CivEd] (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), for example, conceptualized “active citizenship” as “expected political action,” but only chose finally three items and created a scale labeled “conventional citizenship.” Numerous secondary analyses used this scale in investigating the outcomes and causes of active citizenship (Husfeldt, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2005; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, & Barber, 2008; Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012). In his secondary analysis, Schulz (2005) used both the items that were scaled and those that were not scaled in CivEd. Other studies augmented the original CivEd scale by incorporating additional items and creating other scales (Saha, Print, & Edwards, 2005) or including different items and other samples of different ages (Vujcic, 2003). Other studies have moved beyond the CivEd and to other large-scale assessment projects that include items on assessing active citizenship. For example, Hoskins and Mascherini (2009) used the European Social Survey to create the Active Citizenship Composite Indicator in the European context. Aside from quantitative analyses of surveys, qualitative methods using observations and interviews have also been employed to elicit student conceptions of active citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 1998, 2004).



Based on the above discussion, different parties, including educational researchers, conceptualized the term “active citizenship” using varied items and dimensions (Kennedy, 2007). This analysis suggests the importance attached to understanding how students perceive their roles as active citizens in the society (Flanagan, 2003, 2009, 2013; Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Hess & Torney, 1967; Ross & Dooly, 2010). Moreover, the search for the meaning of active citizenship is a cross-national phenomenon in which different parties in various contexts are involved. Such variation highlights the complexity of active citizenship as a meaningful dimension.

Students’ conceptions of active citizenship are expected to be influenced by how citizenship education is implemented and how active citizenship is expressed, given that students have their own civic learning and construction of active citizenship (Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Hess & Torney, 1967). For example, students in the Western contexts and those in Asian contexts may hold different conceptions of active citizenship because they learn and live in different contexts. One of the approaches to tap these conceptions of active citizenship and their differences, if any, is by collecting empirical evidence of



how students across specific regions or contexts understand active citizenship, and interpreting the evidence from a comparative perspective. The comparative perspective in citizenship education and its empirical studies are further discussed in Chapter 3.

2.4.4 School systems and active citizenship

Based on the above discussion on active citizenship and the different school systems across the five Asian societies, it is possible to ask about the association, if any, between national objectives of citizenship education and active citizenship. An important question may be: To what extent do school systems promote these different forms of active citizenship? For example, are Indonesia students encouraged to be active in participation based on their citizenship education received?

In sum, given the importance of active citizenship, citizenship education, especially under the influence of the civic republican model of citizenship, aims to equip students with certain civic competence. Civic competence, as an important outcome of citizenship education, has been the topic of numerous



studies, specifically its conceptualization and measurement, which is discussed in the following section.

2.5 Civic competence for active citizenship

Civic competence is an important outcome of citizenship education (Haste, 2008) and active citizenship, especially under the civic republican model of citizenship, where equal participation in public spheres by citizens is emphasized. In this regard, a standard is set for students to achieve or master civic competence through civic learning to prepare them to become informed and active citizens in society in the future. Citizens should have certain qualities to maintain the effective operation of democracy and society (Audigier, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Putnam, 1993).

Citizens should demonstrate a certain degree of competence to function well in society (Galston, 2001, 2004; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Competences for informed and active civic engagement are therefore important for all adolescents in their civic learning because competent citizens are important for



democratic functioning. Hoskins et al. (2008) referred to a number of European policy documents, including the Lisbon Strategy (European Commission, 2008), European Framework on Key Competence, Council Conclusion on coherent framework indicators and benchmarks (Education Council, 2007), and Indicators on Active Citizenship (European Council, 2006). These documents largely converge to indicate that civic competence is one of the key learning outcomes of education (Deakin Crick, 2008; Hoskins & Deakin Crick, 2010). They highlighted the close relationship between active citizenship and civic competence by proposing a working model that links these two aspects (Hoskins et al., 2008, 2011). In the model, civic competence is conceptualized as an individual outcome, which serves as an important building block that facilitates the achievement of active citizenship as a key social outcome of schooling. They adopted a composite concept of competence as a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that enables a person to participate in active citizenship (Hoskins et al., 2008, 2011). Hoskins et al. (2008, p. 9) discussed the importance of civic competence, particularly in the contexts of Europe, and regarded it as a “part of a process to establish and monitor the learning outcomes needed to facilitate the development of active citizens.”



2.5.1 Conceptualization

Scholars in the past decades have attempted to conceptualize the idea of civic competence. However, researchers have attempted to conceptualize the term in different ways. Almond and Verba (1963), in their classic publication *Civic Culture*, mentioned the term “civic competence,” and referred to it as attitudes and norms that individuals need to acquire to be competent and active citizens in society. Among citizenship educators, Fratzak-Rudnicka and Torney-Purta (2003) argued that the requirement of good citizenship varies with the different political regimes, and discussed the notion of “civic competence” with competencies particularly necessary for “democratic citizenship.” Torney-Purta and Lopez (2006) identified “three strands” of civic competencies, namely, civic knowledge, cognitive and participative skills (and associated behavior), and core civic dispositions (motivations for behavior and values/attitudes). This conception is similar to that adopted by Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011), who categorized civic competence into four broad domains, namely, citizenship values, social justice values and attitudes, participatory attitudes, and cognition about democratic institutions. In sum, these studies generally conceptualize civic competence to include both cognitive and non-cognitive components,



which also highlights emerging research in addressing the importance of non-cognitive skills in education (Lipnevich & Roberts, 2012).

Hoskins and Mascherini (2009) emphasized the need for the assessment of “social capital.” They highlighted the shift from basic skills to the key competences, which also respond to the requirements in a society, in terms of both the cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes. Ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, and Ledoux (2011) attempted to create a performance indicator, which they called “citizenship competence” indicator, based on their earlier work on “social competence” (Ten Dam & Volman, 2003, 2007). Building on their work, further studies developed a more comprehensive measure of citizenship competence that included more indicators in four aspects, namely, acting democratically, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts, and dealing with differences (Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & ten Dam, 2012; Ten Dam et al., 2011). Haste (2009) identified four competences that are particularly relevant to civic education, namely, managing ambiguity and uncertainty, managing technological change, agency and responsibility, and finding and sustaining community.



Furthermore, several scholars argued that civic competences relate in a broader sense with student preparedness and competence in the future workplace. For example, Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) emphasized the overlapping areas between civic and citizenship outcomes and workplace performance. They outlined how various civic outcomes could be analyzed to inform the workplace competencies in the future. Aside from their analysis using the CivEd data (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), they linked the relevance of the civic and citizenship dimensions with the competencies that adolescents need as they move to the workplace as adults (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013a, 2013b; Torney-Purta & Wilkenfeld, 2009). A few international studies have been conducted to measure civic competences with the “21st Century Skills,” such as the *Assessment and Teaching of 21st Century Skills* in 2009 (Assessment and Teaching of 21st Century Skills, 2011), and the *Partnership for 21st Century Skills* (Partnership for 21st Century Skills Framework, 2009).

2.5.2 Measurement

“Civic competence” is an under-researched subject despite its growth in recent



years. Thus far, literature on civic competence is partly theoretical and partly concerned with measurement. A key challenge for further studies is to balance these two aspects to provide a valid, reliable, and theoretically sound outcome.

Hoskins et al.'s work (2008, 2011; see also Hoskins, Villalba, & Saisana, 2012) on civic competence is large-scale among the most recent to have conceptualized the idea of what it means to be "civically competent," and measured the constructs with regard to the concept using datasets from early adolescents. According to Hoskins and Deakin Crick (2010), civic competence, which is defined as "the complex mix of the sum of the different learning outcomes which are necessary for an individual to become an active citizen," is broader than knowledge and skills. Based on the data from CivEd (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011) attempted to measure adolescents' civic competence in the European context by developing "composite indicators" (Saltelli, 2007). Nardo et al. (2005) defined a composite indicator as a "mathematical combination of individual indicators that represent different dimensions of a concept whose description is the objective of the analysis" (p. 7). Such indicators are easily understood as a convenient means to represent with a single composite index a number of constructs and their



relationships. As mentioned earlier, Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011) measured civic competence in four components, namely, citizenship values, social justice values and attitudes, participatory attitudes, and cognitions about democratic institutions; each component equally contributes to the overall level of civic competence. Similarly, ten Dam et al. (2011) established a scale for measuring various components of “citizenship competence”, including knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection, for each of the four aspects mentioned above.

2.5.3 Limitations of the literature on civic competence

Civic competence, as identified in the literature mentioned above, is conceptualized as a blended measure of various components, including civic knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, attitudes, participation intentions, and actual participation. However, variations exist among researchers’ selection of measures of these components. Nevertheless, the conceptualization of the term and the attempt to measure it using empirical data, especially those obtained from adolescent or students’ responses, have several limitations. A few of these limitations are briefly described as follows.



Problematic notion of civic competence

First, despite the different attempts to define and measure civic competence, some researchers have argued that the notion of civic competence is problematic in a number of ways. Janmaat (2013) raised concerns on the diversity of qualities that civic competence refers to; for example, qualities such as trust and critical thinking hardly reconcile theoretically. He also argued that “it is unlikely that pedagogical approaches can be developed which benefit these competences all equally” (p.53). Conceptualizing the notion of civic competence, which appears to be a contested concept, is challenging for citizenship educators (Dahl, 1992; Haste, 2008, 2010; Janmaat, 2013; Torney-Purta & Lopez, 2006).

Not yet citizens

Second, starting with defining the term “civic competence” with adolescents may be problematic. It is recognized that by the notion of “here and now citizenship” that students are also citizens. The literature that used the United Nation Convention on the Rights the Child also stated that young people are already citizens and should have their voice heard in decision making (United



Nations, 1989). There are alternative views however, for example, Kennedy (2006, 2007) indicated that youth are actually preparing to become citizens. A number of researchers have also pointed out that in the legal sense, adolescents are yet to be considered as citizens because they are not allowed to exhibit voting behaviors, which are among the most fundamental participatory actions in active citizenship (e.g., Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011). However, in reality young adolescents, who are yet to become full citizens in society, may have begun to think about their own civic engagement. For example, although they are not allowed to vote until they reach the legal age for voting (which is commonly 18 years old), they may already have preference for certain candidates in the elections. Hence, discussing their level of “civic competence” before they reach adulthood may be inappropriate. Therefore, studies on conceptualizing and measuring civic competence should be considered as exploratory instead of definitive, given that their samples include adolescents and not adults.

Changing society

Third, although several studies focused on assessing the level of adolescents’ civic competence, they failed to consider the fact that as adolescents grow, the

social, economic, political contexts in which they live rapidly undergo changes (Bennett, 2007). As Higgins-D'Alessandro (2010) pointed out, “[the] concepts of citizenship, civic engagement, and civic responsibilities are multifaceted and they are understood differently by different generations.” Thus, when adolescents grow into adults, they would be living in a society that could have different social, economic, and political contexts compared to those they had in the past. Therefore, as the societal contexts change, the civic outcome and thus the desired civic competence are also expected to change. In the same analogy, a high level of civic competence exhibited by very civically competent young adolescents in a particular society may not necessarily be the same civic competence demonstrated at another place or at another time.

Absence of illegal protest

Fourth, although the current literature on conceptualizing and measuring civic competence emphasizes the notion of active participation (e.g., Ten Dam et al., 2011), these studies rarely considered illegal protest activities. Illegal protest activities in the present study refer to the protest activities that may carry legal consequences for the participating citizens. Examples of these activities are spray-painting protest slogans on walls, blocking traffic, and occupying public



buildings. Including these activities in the conceptualization of active citizenship, and in turn civic competence, would be useful because they are effective means of civil disobedience, as a form of explicit political participation (Lichterman, 1996). In the current study, students' intention to participate in illegal protest activities in the future as well as their intention to participate in other civic activities are included and analyzed. These aspects are described in detail in Chapter 3.

Use of additive measures

Fifth, in several studies such as those of Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011), cognitive outcomes (e.g., civic knowledge) and affective/ non-cognitive outcomes (e.g., expected participation), are often measured as additive in nature, although they are conceptualized in separate components. In other words, cognitive, non-cognitive, attitudinal, and other measures are regarded as contributing linearly to the concept of civic competence. For example, the four broad domains of civic competence in Hoskins et al.'s work (2008, 2011) carry equal weights. However, a number of studies have reported that these measures are sometimes not positively correlated (Aniley & Schulz, 2011) or do not exhibit a simple linear relationship (Hart & Gullan, 2010, p. 81). Furthermore, Janmaat



(2013) raised concerns about such approaches to the assessment of civic competence and provided some suggestions; however, his suggestions have not been reflected in further research. Nevertheless, alternative, plausible approaches for measuring civic competence should be considered.

2.6 Limitations in the current literature

The literature on civic competence has several limitations. First, it explicitly or implicitly excludes illegal protest activities as one form of activity of active citizenship. This limitation is relevant in studies on the conceptualization (e.g., Hoskins et al., 2011) and measurement (e.g., Ten Dam et al., 2011) of civic competence. Illegal protest is a common form of expression among certain citizens in society. Besides, there is in general a lack of study of protest and the fact that partisan political activities (such as those “formal” participation) also deserve more attention. It is argued that the absence of these activities in the conceptualization and measurement of civic competence may limit understanding of young people’s conception of active citizenship. In addition, the term “civic competence” may be problematic to conceptualize the



citizenship characteristics of adolescents who are still on the developmental path to becoming adult citizens, as mentioned above.

Second, in conceptualizing active citizenship, separate analyses were often conducted on multiple measures of participation. For example, both CivEd and ICCS reported separate linear regression analyses on the different scale scores of participation measures (Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In contrast, several studies reported pair-wise correlations between multiple participations to provide an average measure to represent the relationship between different participation measures within a sample. These studies, however, often failed to consider multiple measures of participation at a time. For example, a number of studies assume a linear relationship between civic knowledge proficiency and motivation for active citizenship and investigate their correlation. These approaches have neglected an individual's orientation toward participation in multiple activities, and the personal preference for participating in certain activities over the others (Torney-Purta, Barber, Wilkenfeld, & Homana, 2008).

Third, the current literature on civic competence focused on European or



Western countries. Studies centered on the Asian context are lacking. Non-western views of citizenship in key areas, such as students' civic knowledge and their attitudes toward active engagement in the society, should be further examined. A comprehensive understanding of how young people in the Asian context think and feel about citizenship can help raise awareness of the values and beliefs that guide citizenship and actions in the region. As previously mentioned, the body of literature on the unique features of citizenship education in the Asian region is growing, and philosophical analysis has been the main research tool used for these purposes. Hence, future studies should employ empirical evidence in investigating the different conceptions of citizenship. This approach will allow the philosophical analysis of Lee (2004a, 2004b, 2008, 2009, 2012) and the existing empirical analyses (e.g., Kennedy, 2007, 2010) to be tested with new data from Asian students themselves. More sophisticated analytical techniques are required to demonstrate how these variables relate to one another both within and across national and cultural boundaries. For example, the conception of citizenship of adolescents in the East Asian societies (i.e., Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea) and the contrasting differences with that of their peers in the South East Asian societies (i.e., Indonesia and Thailand) have been reported from the ICCS data (Fraillon et al.,



2012). However, such empirical evidence on the similarities and differences between the East Asian and South East Asian societies is limited in the literature. Furthermore, Kennedy et al. (2013) reported that Asian adolescents are influenced by traditional values in the Asian region and western citizenship conceptions. Thus, future studies can go beyond this evidence to further explore active citizenship among Asian adolescents.

Fourth, as mentioned above there are examples of works by Lee about conceptual approaches to Asian citizenship. Also mentioned above, currently there are some empirical work on Asian citizenship. However, there is a gap between Lee's view and the empirical work so that it does not seem that there is an overall 'Asian' conception of citizenship based on empirical studies. Alternatives may be there is a sub-regional view of citizenship given the diversity shown in the East Asian and South East Asian societies. But this thinking needs to be tested within and across individual societies but is rarely found in the current literature (Kennedy et al., 2011, 2013). Based on the above discussion on the regional influences, especially Confucianism, on the Asian students' conception of citizenship, it is hypothesized here that "students in East Asian societies (which share a Confucian tradition) have a lower intention to



participate in the future than their peers in South East Asian (which do not have a Confucian tradition).” This hypothesis will be examined from the results of the analysis and discussed further in Chapter 5.

A number of limitations in the current literature can be noted based on the above discussion on civic competence, active citizenship, and comparative citizenship education, especially in the Asian context. The following section concludes this chapter by proposing two research questions for the current study.

2.7 Conclusion

Traditionally, citizenship education has its roots in the West, and hence, its studies relied on Western perspectives. Alternative views of citizenship have been neglected until recently. The body of work in the Asian region on the notion of Asian citizenship education, whose unique characteristics have not been covered yet in traditional western discussions, is growing (e.g., Grossman et al., 2008; Kennedy et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2004).



The development of indicators for the competences of active and informed citizens, such as civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and behaviors, as well as what makes the development of these measures (e.g., Hoskins et al., 2008, 2011) is a direct result of strategically applying the advancement of analytical methodology in the field of comparative citizenship education. The literature on civic competence has several limitations, as previously discussed. Given the limitations in the current literature, a study of adolescents' intention to participate and civic knowledge in five Asian societies, namely, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand, using the secondary analysis of the ICCS data, is proposed. This study aims to address two research questions as follows.

Research Question 1:

How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?



Research Question 2:

How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?

In this regard, across these five societies, adolescents' "civic knowledge" proficiency and the multiple measures of "intention to participate" from the ICCS data are analyzed and discussed regarding these Asian adolescents' preparedness to become active (via intention to participate) and informed (via civic knowledge score) citizens in the future.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the methodology and methods used in this study to address the research questions.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on different approaches to citizenship, active citizenship, and civic competence, as well as the limitations of the current literature. The chapter also presented the two research questions for the current study.

This chapter describes the methodology and the methods for the current study in six sections. Section 3.1 explains secondary analysis of large-scale assessment data as the main methodological tool used in this thesis. Section 3.2 explores the benefits of secondary data analysis as well as its limitations. Section 3.3 describes the two main approaches to analyzing large-scale assessment data, including the variable-centered and person-centered approach. Section 3.4 describes the data collection procedures, whereas Section 3.5 describes the data analysis procedures for the current study. Section 3.6 presents the conclusion of this chapter.

3.1 Secondary analysis: CivEd experience

The International Report for CivEd (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) provides the main research findings for education systems that participated in the study as well as the media, which always find comparisons of student performance a reportable story. However, the International Report is only the first step in providing analyses based on responses from 90,000 students in 28 countries. Torney-Purta (2004) summarized the importance of secondary analysis for CivEd as well as the actual studies conducted at the time. Since then, a steady stream of work has explored various aspects of the original data, in fact, too much to refer to here. One particular area of interest to this thesis is the work drawing on Hong Kong student data (Kennedy, 2007, 2010; Kennedy et al., 2008; Kennedy & Chow, 2009; Kennedy, Huang, & Chow, 2012) Hong Kong was the only participating Asian society in CivEd. These secondary analyses have resulted in important findings not covered in the original International Report (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Thus, secondary analysis is an important



feature of the “final phase” of CivEd following the release of the International Report.

Secondary analysis allows ongoing data analysis that can be taken up by different researchers. A good example particularly relevant to analysis and conceptualization of active citizenship, as outlined in Chapter 2, is the analysis that comprised 12 items to assess the expected political participation of students (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 *The twelve items in Section M of student questionnaire of the CivEd*

Questions	<i>Listed below are several types of action that adults could take: when you are an adult, what do you expect you will do? (four-point scale: ‘I will certainly not do this’ – ‘I will certainly do this’)</i>
M1	Vote in national elections
M2	Get information about candidates before voting in an election
M3	Join a political party
M4	Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns
M5	Be a candidate for a local or city office
M6	Volunteer time to help [benefit] [poor or elderly] in the community
M7	Collect money for a social cause
M8	Collect signatures for a petition
M9	Participate in a non-violent [peaceful] protest march or rally
M10	Spray-paint protest slogans on walls
M11	Block traffic as a form of protest
M12	Occupy public buildings as a form of protest

Source: Torney-Purta et al. (2001, p.238).

The International Report (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) selected three items to form a scale called “Expected Political Activities” (M3-M5). These three items, as well as the remaining nine items, although not all scaled, provided researchers with empirical data for secondary analysis. Through secondary analyses of the 12 items, different researchers identified distinctive structures and even names (Husfeldt et al., 2005; Kennedy, 2007; Schulz, 2005) (see Table 3.2). Although little attention was paid to “protest activities” in the International Report (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), these were recognized as a factor in each of the four alternative factor models (Table 3.2) identified through secondary analysis. However, limited attention was given to this aspect in the International Report (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) despite it having been scaled in the Technical Report (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004).



Table 3.2 Factor structures in *CivEd Technical Report* (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004), *Husfeldt et al.'s* (2005), *Kennedy's* (2007) and *Schulz's* (2005) studies.

	CivEd Technical Report (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004)	Studies based on secondary analyses		
		Husfeldt et al. (2005)	Kennedy (2007)	Schulz (2005)
Questions				
M1	Political activities	Voting activities (1-2)	Political obligations (1-2)	Electoral behaviour (1-2)
M2	(1-8 except 6-7)			
M3		Community participation activities (3-5)	Political rights (3-5)	Political activities (3-5)
M4				
M5				
M6		Expected community-related activities (6-7)	Voluntary activities (6-8)	Social movement activities (6-8)
M7				
M8		<i>Not included in any factor</i>		
M9	<i>Not included in any factor</i>	Expected protest activities (9-12)	Protest (9-12)	<i>Not included in any factor</i>
M10	Protest activities (10-12)			Protest activities (10-12)
M11				
M12				

The above example of secondary analysis highlights two important issues: 1) The original findings reported in the International Report (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) or Technical Report (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004) represented only one way of analyzing the data; 2) Secondary analysis can open a range of new findings that can advance research beyond the scope of the original study, as different researchers may use different analytic techniques or even different theoretical understandings on the data itself.

Secondary analysis is thus useful practically in reporting new findings (Rutkowski, Gonzalez, Joncas, & von Davier, 2010). Thus, it is applicable to data of other large-scale assessments, such as the ICCS. Possibilities of further secondary analysis work on ICCS is also evident in the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010), where the research team expected a large number of secondary research studies will follow: “Subsequent analyses could investigate in greater detail not only the relationships between students’ civic knowledge and students’ attitudes to aspects of civics and citizenship but also the relationships between these outcomes and approaches to civic and citizenship education and characteristics of students and their societies. Interactions between the country contexts and within-country relationships

between context and outcomes will be of particular interest” (Schulz et al., 2010, p.19).

The use of secondary analysis with large-scale assessment data sets has not been confined to ICCS and CivEd. In other popular large-scale educational assessment projects, such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS; also organized by the IEA), PISA organized by the OECD, numerous studies on the secondary analysis of remaining data from these projects have been published. In particular, Robitaille and Beaton (2002) edited a book on a wide range of studies focusing on secondary analysis of TIMSS data. These works used TIMSS data to extend the original findings by including regional perspectives on learning in science and mathematics (Kovalyova & Naidenova, 2002; Nagasaki & Senuma, 2002), students’ attitudes (Kifer, 2002), and sophisticated gender issues (Mullis & Stemler, 2002), among others. These analyses have led to new ideas, and results have always shed new light on remaining issues as well as on the interpretation of TIMSS data.



For this reason, and based on the success of secondary analysis in general and previous successful results of secondary analysis on CivEd data in particular, the present study shall use secondary analysis with the ICCS data set to analyze the scores on five scales of “expected political participation,” including 1) expected participation in future legal protests, 2) expected participation in future illegal protests, 3) expected adult electoral participation, 4) expected adult participation in formal political activities, and 5) expected future informal political activities (Schulz et al., 2010). Students’ civic knowledge scores will also be analyzed. Another reason to focus on data from Asian students is that ICCS included five Asian societies compared with only one Asian society in CivEd, thus providing a source of data from multiple Asian societies. Before providing further details on the proposed study, Section 3.2 first discusses how secondary analysis is useful theoretically as a tool of analysis, followed by some of its limitations.



3.2 Issues on secondary analysis

3.2.1 Usefulness of secondary analysis

Secondary analysis of an existing database has a number of advantages. First, using secondary analysis offers the possibility of addressing additional research questions beyond the scope of the original study for which the data were collected. Kiecolt and Nathan (1985) commented that “secondary analysis is thus gaining a central role in contemporary social science research and methodological primers continue to appear” (Bulmer, Sturgis, & Allum, 2009; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Lucas, 2010). The enduring appeal of secondary analysis was summed up by Schutt (2007) as “the method of using preexisting data in a different way or to answer a different research question than that intended by those who collected the data.” In this connection, secondary analysis of survey data is thus a common methodological approach in the analysis of large-scale data assessment, as shown in Section 3.1. The common use of this approach is reflected by the numerous studies reported as results of secondary analysis of CivEd data, some of which were discussed earlier in this



chapter. This function of secondary analysis serves the current study well as later chapters will show how secondary analysis of existing ICCS data will address the research questions.

The second advantage of secondary analysis is that it does not require additional collection of data because the data were collected prior to the research project being undertaken for this thesis. This approach is especially useful when the amount of data for analysis is difficult or costly to obtain. For example, in large-scale assessments, such as the CivEd and ICCS, data were collected across more than 30 countries (across Asia, the Americas, Europe, and the Pacific), which would normally be difficult to achieve by individual researchers.

The third advantage of using secondary analysis is related to the technical aspects of large-scale assessments. As discussed above, ICCS data were collected from large national samples of students from schools identified through a stratified two-stage probability sampling design (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011, p.63); the sheer diversity of the samples enables the possibility for generalizations. Responses to chosen items in ICCS data were analyzed at the



international level with calibration samples of students from all participating countries to create scale scores calibrated with Rasch modeling (Rasch, 1960). For each participating country, scale scores are reported at the international level and compared cross-nationally (Schulz et al., 2010). This approach has a primary advantage in providing a common scale for all samples in the study and enabling comparisons with this common scale. The capability to compare leaves the opportunity for secondary analysis to rescale data with national samples, compare subsets of the international sample, and test new models with the data. Additional analyses may result in new discoveries. For instance, in the current study, the focus will be on analyzing multiple scales related to students' expected civic and political participation and students' civic knowledge score, which will be described further in detail in Section 3.5.

3.2.2 Limitations of secondary analysis

Secondary analysis has limitations. For example, ICCS developed its own primary aims and research questions to address issues in the original study. Thus, only a particular range of data is available for additional secondary



analysis work. For secondary analysis, new research questions must be generated for use with the existing data set, which could constrain the scope of secondary analysis. Therefore, research questions need to be chosen carefully. The following sections in this chapter shall explain in detail below how each of the two research questions will be addressed within the framework of the data collected for ICCS.

Section 3.2 above presented the three main issues on the usefulness of secondary analysis as well as its limitations to show the usefulness of secondary analysis theoretically. Section 3.3, will highlight the technical issues of secondary analysis by discussing related approaches.

3.3. Considerations for data analysis

The use of large-scale assessment data for secondary analysis raises the issue of which approach is appropriate for data analysis. Distinguishing between variable-centered and person-centered approaches is increasingly important. Of particular importance in this thesis is the latter, which includes different



analyses such as latent class clustering analysis (Pulkka & Niemivirta, 2013), latent class analysis (Blömeke, 2012), and cluster analysis (Beckstead, 2002), among others. As Swartout and Swartout (2012) pointed out: “Person-centered approaches offer ... researchers the opportunity to answer new questions, test theories and taxonomies for the first time, and develop more nuanced understandings of populations under study....”

However, the case is not to choose either person-centered or variable-centered approach to data analysis as both will need to be considered. The following section describes briefly the focus of the two approaches with some examples.

3.3.1 Traditional variable-centered approach in large-scale assessments

Traditionally, the focus of large-scale assessments, such as CivEd and ICCS, is often country-by-country comparisons. Participating countries in these studies are ranked in lists often referred to as “league tables” (Takayama, 2008) according to their performance on various citizenship outcomes. This



comparative approach emphasizes the uniformity of a single variable or multiple variables concerned both within a single country and across countries.

For example, in ICCS, participating countries were ranked in a “league table” according to the students’ average level of voting expectation in each country (Schulz et al., 2010, pp. 141-142). A country where students had high average voting expectation was ranked higher than a country where students showed on average a lower expectation. In other words, these traditional analyses produce scale scores to represent the average level of students’ voting expectation and thus make comparisons cross-nationally or internationally. Similar comparisons are done for other variables, such as expected protest and other civic participation.

In focusing on the differences in the means of various variables, this approach is thus best reflected in the notion of “variable-centered approach” to analysis, which ensures that different countries are compared using a common metric. In most large-scale assessment projects, variables are constructed from testing items to allow cross-national comparisons among participating countries (Rutkowski & Engel, 2010).



In addition to the large-scale assessment project itself, adopting a variable-centered approach is also common for secondary analyses of these data. For example, in the beginning of this chapter, secondary analysis studies reported students' aspiration for political participation by analyzing multiple items of participation while emphasizing "the same common factor model" behind students' aspiration, which is parallel to emphasizing "a common metric," as mentioned above.

These variable-centered approaches, such as structural equation modeling, regression, and factor analysis, emphasize the variables themselves, particularly on describing their relationships (Jung & Wickrama, 2008). These approaches often aim to identify significant relationship between independent and dependent variables (Jung & Wickrama, 2008). Despite the common use of variable-centered analysis that focuses on common metrics or common model of factors, an alternative approach to secondary analysis is the person-centered approach (Muthén & Muthén, 2000), which will be discussed further in Section 3.3.2.



3.3.2 Person-centered approach

In addition to the “variable-centered” approach, the “person-centered” approach has been suggested for re-analysis of large-scale assessment data (Torney-Purta, 2009; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011, 2013; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). According to Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2013), person-centered analysis has been adopted for years in developmental psychology research (Bergman & Magnusson, 1997; Bergman, Magnusson, & Khouri, 2003; Mahoney, Stattin, & Magnusson, 2001) and has been applied in recent years in a wide range of disciplines outside developmental psychology, such as alcohol and substance use (Hill, White, Chung, Hawkins, & Catalano, 2000; Muthén & Muthén, 2000), personality research (Furr & Funder, 2004; Smeekens, Riksen-Walraven, & van Bakel, 2008), students’ motivation for learning in schools (Marsh, Lüdtke, Trautwein, & Morin, 2009; Murdock & Mille, 2003; Roeser, Strobel, & Quihuis, 2002), academic performance (Feinstein & Peck, 2008; Hayde & Roeser, 2002; Lau & Roeser, 2008), achievement goal orientation (Stuntz & Weiss, 2009; Tuominen-Soini, Salmela-Aro, & Niemivirta, 2008), social competence (Mendez, Fantuzzo, & Cicchetti, 2002; Mendez, McDermott, & Fantuzzo, 2002), and computational biology (Do & Choi, 2008). Examples of



analytical methods in person-centered approaches include cluster analysis, latent class analysis, and mixture modeling (Jung & Wickrama, 2008).

In contrast with the variable-centered approach mentioned above, the person-centered approach focuses on “profiles” or how various measures are related within distinguishable (and relatively homogenous) groups of persons.

The approach aims to identify distinct groups of individuals based on response patterns of persons in the sample, resulting in persons with more similarities being classified under the same groups, whereas individuals with more differences are classified into different groups (Jung & Wickrama, 2008).

As reflected from their names, the person-centered approach differs from the variable-centered approach in that the former focuses on “persons” whereas the latter focuses on “variables.” Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2013b, p. 98) commented, “Instead of looking at mean differences on variables, in this approach, one looks for clusters or groups of persons who have similar patterns or profiles of attitudes.” Torney-Purta (2009) also suggested that person-centered analysis allows “attention to individuals and not only to variable-centered analysis of group differences.”



In a typical person-centered analysis, persons in a sample are divided into several groups; within each group, persons often show similar patterns in the variables of concern, whereas across groups, persons often show different patterns in the variables of concern. The benefit of a “person-centered” approach is that it can take on a comparative perspective within a sample to explore both commonality and difference in persons’ characteristics simultaneously. This advantage is “especially useful for large-scale studies where there are multidimensional outcomes” (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013b, p.98).

Therefore, person-centered analysis is an alternative tool for analyzing data of large-scale assessments, and is consistent with Torney-Purta’s (2009) advocacy for person-centered analysis that can produce findings that provide better understanding of samples under investigation.

3.3.3 Usefulness of person-centered analysis



As Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2013b, pp. 101-102) stated “[person-centered analysis] can identify different profiles that characterize individuals within and across countries aids in interpreting information gained from cross-national summary statistics” and thus is “more likely to understand the strengths and weaknesses found in patterns of civic engagement than when they are told only about averages and statistical trends.” They further added, “This person-centric cluster analyses along multiple dimensions allowed us to examine trends and patterns both within and across several countries.”

These claims are evident in some recent citizenship education studies. For example, Torney-Purta (2009) combined both the person-centered and variable-centered approaches by using cluster analysis with cross-national data from CivEd. In her study, Torney-Purta (2009) adopted the CivEd data into two cluster analyses, a method for person-centered analysis, separately in five Eastern European countries and five Western European countries, and showed that both samples can be summarized in five clusters, which she referred to as social justice, conventionally political, indifferent, disaffected, and alienated clusters. These different clusters showed distinctive profiles in their attitudes and values, and were distributed unevenly across each of the countries analyzed.



For example, according to her study, across Eastern European countries, 25% fell under the conventionally political cluster in Hungary but only 10% in Estonia. In another example, across the Western European countries, 25% of the participants from England fell under the social justice cluster but only 15% in Finland. In this person-centered analysis, the comparative issues of citizenship education were investigated in an alternative manner by combining both person-centered and variable-centered approaches.

Other examples of person-centered analyses can be found in several studies. For instance, Blömeke (2012) used latent class analysis (a person-centered approach to data analysis) to reveal that grouping around 8,000 future teachers (in Mathematics education program) from 15 countries into four classes (groups) could describe their opportunities to learn with respect to content delivered. Her study demonstrated the homogeneity and heterogeneity in data within and between countries with regard to Mathematics teacher education. The methodology of person-centered analysis itself was general, and applicability lay in large-scale assessment data, including language education and citizenship education. Besides, Pulkka and Niemivirta (2013) identified four groups of adult students with distinct achievement goal orientations using latent class



clustering analysis (LCCA; cf. Vermunt & Magidson, 2002). Their study demonstrated the use of a person-centered approach to understand the relationship between students' cognitive performance and achievement goal orientation.

Despite the large number of studies where a person-centered approach to analysis was applied, this method is rarely used in citizenship education studies but for a few main exceptions (Torney-Purta, 2009; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013b; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011).

3.3.4 Summary of issues in secondary analysis

The review above shows that through secondary analysis, researchers have demonstrated multiple and alternative investigations of large-scale assessment data. For example, researchers take two contrasting approaches: the variable-centered and the person-centered approach. The former is often the common approach in concluding findings in large-scale assessments of citizenship education and subsequent secondary analyses. Although in recent



years, studies adopting person-centered approach to secondary analysis (e.g., Torney-Purta, 2009) have also been conducted, person-centered approach to the analysis of civic and political participation measures remain much less prevalent.

3.3.5 Current debates in comparative citizenship education studies

In addition to providing additional research findings, secondary analyses of large-scale assessment data by various researchers have also implicitly created debates in citizenship education studies from comparative perspectives.

Kerr (2012, p. 26) raised issues on how comparative citizenship education studies could be conducted in more meaningful ways. He asked, “What is the most appropriate methodology to provide rich comparative and international perspectives on citizenship education?”, “Which is more suitable: large-scale, variable-centered, cross country studies or smaller-scale, person-centered, within country studies?”. He identified three key issues: perspective, measurement, and methodology.



Perspective issues are concerned with what the units of comparison for comparative education studies are by “whether the nation-state/national education systems remains the best unit of comparison and analysis, both within and across countries, or whether there are more appropriate units of comparison that take into account...increasing interconnectedness of the world” (Kerr, 2012, p.26).

The two important measurement related issues are as follows: first, the quality of measurement of outcome of citizenship education, such as civic knowledge and active citizenship; and second, the debate on how “active citizenship” can be measured in components whereby the impact of other factors, such as school factors, can be isolated.

Methodology issues are concerned with the most appropriate methodology to provide rich comparative and international perspectives on citizenship education studies. Debates on the best methodologies are usually related to “whether large-scale, across nation studies are more suitable than smaller-scale, within country studies.” Debates on whether the more appropriate step is to



undertake more person-oriented, bottom-up in-depth case studies of actual civic learning experience (such as focus groups interviews of individuals) when compared with the variable-oriented, top-down overviews of citizenship education outcomes (such as the large-scale assessment projects CivEd and ICCS) also exist.

These debates and corresponding arguments are expected to advance the field of comparative citizenship education studies, similar to the comments of Levi-Faur (2004) on comparative research, in general: “To celebrate comparative research is to look for new languages, new terms, new procedures, and new instruments of inference; it is, in short, to innovate and to move on with a critical view of the dominance of both case-studies and statistical approaches. It also implies an effort to bridge the divide between case- [person-] and variable-oriented research.”

The person-centered approach to analysis of scale scores from ICCS represents the possibility of expanding the scope of comparative studies. Thus, it will be adopted in the current study. Such a secondary analysis is expected to yield new



findings and guide new discussions in citizenship education studies from comparative perspectives.

In the above, the practical, theoretical, and technical usefulness of secondary analysis have been discussed. In the practical aspect, secondary analysis of CivEd data has generated new findings on “students’ constructions of active citizenship.” In the theoretical aspect, secondary analysis has its own advantages in providing new ideas and results that can shed new light on remaining issues as well as interpretation of the data. Technically, secondary analysis allows alternative approaches to analysis, such as person-centered or variable-centered, which can complement the main approach to analysis in the original study. Secondary, person-centered analysis of the ICCS data could help address the two research questions raised in chapter two. Section 3.4 describes the data collection process for the current study.



3.4 Data

3.4.1 Brief description of ICCS

The ICCS database will provide data for secondary analysis in the current study.

In addition to the brief introduction in Chapter 2, a more detailed description of ICCS that studied the ways in which countries prepare their young people to undertake their roles as citizens (Schulz et al., 2010) is provided below. In the following section, the sampling procedure and data collection process of the current study shall be briefly discussed, which are selected materials from various parts in the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010). Readers are encouraged to refer to the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010) to learn in detail. The following information provides background on data collection, samples, and approach to analysis that will be adopted in this thesis. Such information is important to mention in the methodology section of the current study because these procedures of data collection will enable legitimate cross-national comparisons to be reported.

ICCS gathered data from more than 130,000 Grade 8 (or equivalent) students in more than 5,000 schools from 38 education systems. Among these, six were from the Asia-Pacific region (five from Asia and one from New Zealand), 26 from Europe, and six from Latin America (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 3). The current study will analyze only data from the five Asian societies.

3.4.2 Sampling frame and sampling method

For quality assurance reasons, the ICCS followed guidelines for data collection. The samples were designed as two-stage probability samples (Schulz et al., 2011, p.63). In the first stage of sampling, a procedure of “probability proportional to size as measured by the number of students enrolled in a school” (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 19) was used to sample schools in each society. Each society was required to aim for a sample size of at least 150 schools at this stage.

After schools were sampled, a random selection process took place within each sampled and participating school to sample an intact class from the target grade

(i.e., Grade 8) randomly. Within each randomly selected sample, all students in that class were surveyed on the day the ICCS questionnaires were administered.

3.4.3 School exclusion criteria

The participation rates required for each society was 85%. This inclusion percentage was applied at both national and school levels. In the national level, the required participation rate was 85% of the selected schools. In the school-level, the required participation rate was 85% of the selected students within the participating schools. In some societies, this rate was taken as equivalent to a weighted overall participation rate of 75%.

Replacement schools were used when the selected school did not participate in the study. Appendix A shows annotations to identify societies that met the above participation rates only after bringing in replacement schools, as well as societies that did not meet the participation rates, even after replacement (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 263).



3.4.4 Age of the samples

The ICCS student population was students in Grade 8 with a minimum age of 13.5 years at the time of the assessment. On average, the students were around 14 years of age. The sample sizes across the five Asian societies analyzed in this study are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 *Number of Schools, Classes, and Male and Female Students in the five Asian societies.*

	All	*Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Taiwan	Thailand
School	667	76	142	150	150	149
Class	673	78	143	150	150	152
Gender:						
Male	11850	1414	2365	2968	2670	2433
(%)	(50.10%)	(48.73%)	(46.67%)	(56.49%)	(51.67%)	(46.23%)
Female	11587	1376	2650	2275	2474	2812
(%)	(48.99%)	(47.42%)	(52.29%)	(43.30%)	(47.88%)	(53.43%)
Missing	217	112	53	11	23	18
	(0.92%)	(3.86%)	(1.05%)	(0.21%)	(0.45%)	(0.34%)
TOTAL	23654	2902	5068	5254	5167	5263

Source: Schulz et al. (2010)

* Hong Kong did not meet the sampling requirement of at least 150 schools.

3.4.5 Five Asian societies

The samples analyzed in the current study are from the five Asian societies participating in the ICCS, i.e., Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand. Geographically, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea are in the East Asian region, whereas Indonesia and Thailand are in the South East Asian region.

3.4.6 Instruments

In ICCS, multiple test instruments or questionnaires were administered to students. In the current study, two selected parts are of focus and analyzed: international student cognitive test and international student questionnaire.

International student cognitive test

The cognitive test “consisted of 80 items measuring civic and citizenship knowledge, analysis, and reasoning. The assessment items were assigned to seven booklets (each of which contained three of a total seven item-clusters) according to a balanced rotated design” (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 33). Each student was given 45 minutes to complete one of the booklets. In short, the cognitive items normally appeared with background information that briefly

introduces to the students the content of the items. These items were designed by the IEA in accordance with the Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Loisto, & Kerr, 2008). Each student was assessed on his/her civic knowledge proficiency in this cognitive test. Please refer to the International Report (Schulz et al., 2010) for details of the cognitive test.

International student questionnaire

This instrument was designed to collect data on the students' attitudes, values, behavior, and behavioral intentions about citizenship issues. Students were given 40 minutes to complete the above information in a total of 121 Likert-styled items and some open-ended type of items. The students' expected civic participation were assessed in this student questionnaire. According to the assessment framework adopted in ICCS (Schulz et al., 2008, p.47), the testing instruments were designed to assess two broad domains: cognitive and affective-behavioural. Table 3.4 shows the distribution of test items across these domains. Please refer to the International Report (Schulz et al., 2010) for the student questionnaire.



Table 3.4 ICCS items in content, cognitive and affective-behavioural domains

	Content domains				Total
	Civic society and systems	Civic principles	Civic participation	Civic identities	
Cognitive domains					
Knowing	15	3	1	0	19
Analyzing and reasoning	17	22	17	5	61
TOTAL	32	25	18	5	80
Affective-behavioural domains					
Value beliefs	12	12	0	0	24
Attitudes	12	18	18	14	62
Behavioural intentions			21		21
Behaviour			14		14
TOTAL	24	30	53	14	121

Source: Schulz et al. (2008, p. 47)

3.5 Data analysis plan

3.5.1 International scales created by IEA based on analysis of the international sample

Civic knowledge proficiency scale

As shown in Table 3.4, proficiency of civic knowledge was assessed using 80

cognitive knowledge items. The students' cognitive performance is represented using their civic knowledge scores on the civic knowledge proficiency scale. For international comparisons within and between participating countries, each student's civic knowledge proficiency is represented by five plausible values (PVs), each based on the international mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100.

PVs are commonly used in international achievement tests. Constructed based on item response theory, PVs are created using multiple imputations of the unobservable variable representing the latent trait for achievement for each student (Wu, 2005, p. 114). These PVs represent the range of abilities that a student might possess through item responses. Typically, five sets of PVs (PV1, PV2, PV3, PV4, and PV5) are randomly drawn from a student's posterior distribution (Wu, 2005). The traditional approaches are point estimates, which are optimal for individual students, and produce group-level results with biased estimates (Von Davier, Gonzalez, & Mislevy, 2009). PVs are used to estimate population characteristics and are more accurate and objective than using point estimates of abilities. Wu (2005) explained that PVs can generate an unbiased population mean and an unbiased population variance for the concerned



variable within a given distribution. Von Davier et al. (2009) and Wu (2005) provided more details about PVs and their computation.

Scales for attitude, value beliefs, behavioral intentions, and behaviors

As shown in Table 3.4, the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008) defines four affective-behavioral domains: value beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behaviors, and mainly assessed them in Likert-type items. IEA selected some of these Likert-type items and created measurement scales, according to certain psychometric rules. The metric of these ICCS questionnaire scales was calibrated to have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted national samples from the 38 participating societies (Schulz et al., 2010, p.60).

In the current study, analyses were done on what ICCS called “behavioral intentions” variables: five measures of expected civic participation (See Table 3.4). These will be described in further detail in the section on the data analysis plan below.

Based on the scale of “expected political activities as an adult” in CivEd as mentioned above, ICCS expanded the concept of civic engagement and its measurement by expanding this scale into five different scales corresponding to a total of 20 civic-political activities (Table 3.5). These are, (i) expected participate in future legal protest (LEGPROT, six activities), (ii) expected participation in future illegal protest (ILLPROT, three activities), (iii) expected adult electoral participation (ELECPART, three activities) (iv) expected participation in formal political activities (POLPART, four activities), and (v) expected future informal political activities (INFPART, four activities). These five scale scores can thus be conceptualized as the students’ “intention to participate.” By focusing on expected active citizenship in the future, participating countries were ranked according to their relative performance in each of these scales in the international mean score.

Table 3.5 *Twenty items of civic activities*

Listed below are different actions that you could take in the future. What do you expect that you will do? (1=I will certainly not do this, 2=I will probably not do this, 3=I will probably do this, 4=I will certainly do this)

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Item</i>
Expected participation in future legal protest, LEGPROT (6 items)	Writing a letter to a newspaper Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion Contacting an <elected representative> Taking part in a peaceful march or rally Collecting signatures for a petition Choosing not to buy certain products
Expected participation in future illegal protest, ILLPROT (3 items)	Spray-painting protest slogans on walls Blocking traffic Occupying public buildings
Expected adult electoral participation, ELECPART (3 items)	Vote in <local elections> Vote in <national elections> Get information about candidates before voting in an election
Expected adult participation in formal political activities, POLPART (4 items)	Help a candidate or party during an election campaign Join a political party Join a trade union Stand as a candidate in <local elections>
Expected future informal political activities, INFPART (4 items)	Talk to others about your views on political and social issues Write to a newspaper about political and social issues Contribute to an online discussion forum about social and political issues Join an organization for a political or social cause

3.5.2 Quantitative analysis

The previous section has provided a brief description of the ICCS, its testing instruments, the samples, and how the students' responses are scored as various scales. In the following, the approach to data analysis in the current study is described. As the students' responses were collected and the scales created prior to the current study, data sets are already available for secondary analysis. IRT scale scores for "intention to participate" and PVs for the civic knowledge score will be the main data sources for the study. Analytic methods will be chosen as part of secondary data analysis to address the specific Research Questions of this study. In particular, cluster analysis supported by a stepwise discriminant function analysis will be used.

3.5.3 Data for analysis

Responses of 23,645 students from the five Asian societies (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand) to the 20 items regarding expected civic participation and their civic knowledge scores were analyzed. As the responses



to these items were calibrated into scales as mentioned above, the focus of the analyses is on two sets of variables. The first set is the five IRT scale scores of expected civic participation: 1) expected participation in future legal protest; 2) expected participation in future illegal protest; 3) expected adult electoral participation; 4) expected adult participation informal political activities; and 5) expected future informal political activities. These scales are conceptualized as the “intention to participate.” The second set is the “civic knowledge score of five PVs.”

Scales for intention to participate

Based on the 20 items in Table 3.5, students were asked to rate themselves on a four-point rating scale: “I will certainly not do this,” “I will probably not do this,” “I will probably do this,” or “I will certainly do this.” Rasch scale scores were derived from students’ responses to these (Schulz et. al, 2010) using weighted least square estimation (WLE; for the scaling procedures, please refer to **Jöreskog** 1990, 1994; Schulz et al., 2011).

As reflected from the rating scale, a higher scale score indicates greater certainty about the intention to participate in a particular set of activities in the

future. These WLE measures were interval-level scale scores, and were entered directly as continuous variables in the analysis. Person-centered analysis was adopted to study the diversity of the intention to participate in five sets of civic activities among the sample students. The students' orientations toward participation were thus analyzed.

3.5.4 Cluster analysis

Cluster analysis, as a person-centered approach to analysis, was used to examine the potential diversity in students' orientation toward participating in civic activities when they become adults. Cluster analysis is “a multivariate statistical procedure that starts with a data set containing information about sample entities and attempts to reorganize those entities into homogeneous groups” (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 7). The number of clusters and the corresponding properties of the members within each cluster are unknown prior to the analysis but need to be inferred from analysis of the data (Blömeke, 2012; McLachlan & Peel, 1997). Engelman and Hartigan (1969) pointed out that the advantage of cluster analysis over factor analysis is it focuses on individuals

rather than variables and can therefore highlight variability rather than uniformity in data. In this sense, factor analysis highlights the relationship among variables whereas cluster analysis focuses on the relationship among individuals. The latter is the focus of this thesis.

Cluster analysis, as a person-centered approach to data analysis, is now widely used, as reported above; better ways to ensure the reliability and validity of identified clusters have been sought (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984; Everitt, 1979; Sharma & Kumar, 2006). Drawing on existing literature, the following framework (Table 3.6) was used to develop both quantitative and qualitative measures to assess the statistical properties of the identified clusters.



Table 3.6 *A framework for developing clustering assessment measures*

Area	Description	Measure
Validity	External: Concerned with the behavior of the clusters in relation to an external variable not included in the cluster analysis	Outlier assessment Discriminant function analysis: Relationship between key external variable recognized as important in the field and the cluster groups Group centroids plot from discriminant function analysis Classification analysis for clusters
	Construct: An assessment of whether the clusters make sense theoretically	The clusters will only be interpretable if they have an adequate theoretical foundation. A qualitative analysis linked to the clusters can be conducted to determine this.

Outlier and missing value assessment

As recommended by Norman and Velicer (2003), cases with scores above or below four standard deviations in the five scales of students' expected civic participation were excluded from further analysis. Only cases with no missing values in the five scale scores of civic participation were retained and analyzed.

Multicollinearity and representativeness

Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998) suggested two preliminary analyses before running the cluster analysis of the data: first, a low level of multicollinearity, and second, representativeness of the sample. The level of multicollinearity was examined through the tolerance value and the correlation coefficients among the five scales of expected civic participation (Okazaki, 2006). This test ensured relatively low levels of collinearity among the variables, i.e., the five scales of students' expected civic participation. Highly correlated variables were replaced or eliminated.

The samples in the ICCS, as analyzed above, were adequately representative because the ICCS had adopted a “two-stage stratified sampling” method (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 63), as mentioned above. Thus, the results were of a high reference value from the samples analyzed to the population of concern.

Two-step clustering

Two-step cluster analysis (Chiu, Fang, Chen, Wang, & Jeris, 2001) was chosen for analyzing the ICCS data because it can effectively cope with very large data sets. This procedure can be performed using the statistical software SPSS 19.0.

It is a person-centered approach analysis method and is an analytical procedure



that can be applied in a wide range of areas of research, including the studies mentioned above. This analytical procedure was selected for the current study to explore the students' expected participation in the five sets of civic activities.

A typical two-step cluster analysis first categorizes cases into a series of “pre-clusters” and then runs a hierarchical cluster analysis on these pre-clusters (Norusis, 2012). According to Okazaki (2006), two-step clustering is accomplished based on the algorithm in a two-stage approach: the first step is assigning the cases into pre-clusters for later hierarchical clustering. Starting from the first case in the data set and moving on to next case, each successive case is added to form a new pre-cluster, according to similarity to existing pre-clusters. In this successive process, the likelihood distance measure will be used as similarity criterion. As a result, as a pre-cluster increases with more cases assigned within it, the log-likelihood function increases as well. The method enables data with various variables to be clustered by checking the change in distance measure, as reflected in the change of log-likelihood upon merging of cases (Everitt, Landau, & Leese, 2001).



3.5.5 Deciding the number of clusters

One of essential parts of cluster analysis is deciding the number of clusters to adopt to describe the data. The decision is informed by evaluating and comparing successive models that differ in number of clusters based on two selected indices: the Bayesian Information Criterion (Schwarz, 1978) and the log likelihood function. The former is a measure of the goodness of fit of a cluster model that considers the number of parameters and the number of responses. The latter is a function of the observed responses for each student and the model parameters (Blömeke, 2012). According to Okazaki (2006, p. 131), in the second step, “the pre-clusters are grouped using the standard agglomerative clustering algorithm, producing a range of solutions, which is then reduced to the best number of clusters on the basis of Bayesian inference criterion, which is known as one of the most useful and objective selection criteria, because it essentially avoids the arbitrariness in traditional clustering techniques.” Moreover, the change in distance measure, i.e., log-likelihood measure, was considered to determine suitable solutions among possible solutions identified from cluster analysis.

In addition to evaluating the model according to the two indices mentioned



above, Marsh, Hau, and Wen (2004) warned against using goodness-of-fit indices as the only rule for selecting the suitable model. Rather than depending on merely goodness-of-fit indices, such as the two mentioned above, any decision regarding the number of clusters needs to be based on the consideration of evidence from different perspectives, including not only statistical fit indices but also theoretical evidence and ease of interpretation. In the current study, the decision with regard to the number of clusters used to represent the profiles of students in the sample was based on this recommendation.

As a person-centered analysis, cluster analysis classified students in the samples of five Asian societies into several groups (clusters), according to their similarities and/or differences in their five sets of scale scores of expected civic participation. These cluster groups, if identified, were expected to show quantitative and/or qualitative differences and similarities. Once the number of clusters used to describe the students' orientation of participation was decided, cluster proportions were obtained, expressed in percentages, across five societies. These cluster proportions were then compared among the five societies. The similarities and/or differences of the cluster proportions among



the five societies helped indicate the diversity of the students' orientations toward the five sets of civic activities, i.e. the profiles of the students' "intention to participate."

External validity

Establishing a relationship among key external variables recognized as important in the field can help ascertain the external validity of the cluster results (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). A useful way to establish external validity of the results of a cluster analysis can be achieved by a discriminant function analysis. It was done in this study to check how the identified groups of students are different from each other in other important citizenship attributes. A stepwise discriminant function analysis was performed with 14 WLE scales of civic attitudes and values that were also assessed in the ICCS but not included in the cluster analysis. These scales were created and selected out of the items that were assessed as shown in Table 3.4: Discussion of political and social issues outside school (POLDISC), civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM), civic participation at school (PARTSCHL), interest in politics and social issues (INTPOL), sense of internal political efficacy (INPOLEF), trust in civic institutions (INTRUST), citizenship self-efficacy

(CITEFF), perceptions of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC), perceptions of influences on decisions about school (STUDINF), perceptions of student–teacher relations at school (STUTREL), perceptions of the value of participation at school (VALPARTS), support for democratic values (DEMVAL), perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON), and perception of the importance of social movement related citizenship (CITSOC). Please refer to Appendix B for the corresponding items in these scales. (For the scaling of these variables, please refer to Schulz et al., 2011).

According to Hancock and Mueller (2010), a discriminant function analysis involves the following:

1. Identification of significant and related variables that are not used in the cluster analysis and assessment of their relation to the clusters.
2. Identification of significant discriminant functions.
3. Plotting of cluster centroids on a discriminant functions plot.
4. Classification analysis of the clusters.

By identifying the number of clusters from students' expected participation in the five sets of civic activities, the above results will therefore address Research Question 1: *How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?* In particular, in identifying the diverse groups of students showing differing profiles of active citizenship, the intention to participate *within* the Asian societies can be compared. In comparing the cluster patterns across societies, the intention to participate among students can be compared *between* the Asian societies.

3.5.6 Relation between civic knowledge and intention to participate

This section describe the methods to address Research Question 2: *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?* The intention to participate in civic-political activities is important for students to become active citizens. Civic knowledge as described by Schulz et al. (2010) is crucial for students to become informed citizens. Apart from the

five scales of expected civic participation (conceptualized as intention to participate) as mentioned above, the relationship between civic knowledge and the “intention to participate” will be explored.

Based on the decided number of clusters of students with regard to differing orientations of intention to participate, the civic knowledge score was compared among clusters via statistical hypothesis testing methods, such as t-test or ANOVA. To obtain pure cluster effects, the country effect was first partialled out by estimating the deviance of each individual student’s civic knowledge proficiency from the country mean score (Blömeke & Kaiser, 2012).

In particular, either t-test or ANOVA would be used for such comparisons, depending on the number of clusters identified from the cluster analysis. To compare the average civic knowledge score among clusters, the t-test would be carried out if two clusters are identified. ANOVA would be carried out if more than two clusters are identified. If a multiple-cluster solution is supported, post-hoc comparison tests would also be carried out to reveal how the average civic knowledge score differs between pairs of clusters out of the number of

clusters identified. Effect sizes would also be calculated to describe the differences in average civic knowledge score among groups.

As each student's civic knowledge score was represented by five PVs, as mentioned above, all these five PVs were analyzed to compare the average civic knowledge score among clusters. The following procedure for analysis was strictly adopted:

1. The first set of PVs was used for the groups.
2. The groups on their first set of PVs (e.g., using t-test or ANOVA) were compared.
3. The results of the comparison in Step 2 were obtained, and the effect size was recorded.
4. The next set of PVs was obtained, and Steps 2 and 3 were repeated.
5. Steps 1 to 4 were repeated for the next set of PVs until all five sets of PVs were analyzed.
6. The effect sizes across the five sets of analyses were averaged.

Conclusions were based on the significance and effect sizes of the five sets of results.

The overall conclusions drawn from the five sets of analysis on five PVs informed the similarities and differences among average civic knowledge scores across identified clusters of students across the five societies. By providing empirical evidence, the analysis results therefore addressed Research Question 2: *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of the intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence??*

3.6 Conclusion

The current study used data collected in the ICCS. In particular, it analyzed data from five societies—Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand—with a particular focus on students’ intention to participate and their civic knowledge proficiency within and between these societies. Research Question 1 was addressed with consideration of the results of the cluster analysis of the students’ expected civic participation. Research Question 2 was



addressed by comparing average civic knowledge scores across identified clusters. The results of the above analyses will be presented in Chapter 4.



CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the data collection, rationales for analysis, and analysis plan for this study. This chapter presents the analysis results in relation to the two research questions.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section 4.1 outlines the result of the cluster analysis. Section 4.2 describes students' endorsement of the response options. Section 4.3 describes the variations of "intention to participate" of students among the five Asian societies with respect to Research Question 1 (i.e., *How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?*). Section 4.4 describes the variations of the civic knowledge proficiency of students across clusters with respect to Research Question 2 (i.e., *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of*



intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?). Section 4.5 concludes this chapter.

4.1 Results

Outlier deletion

As mentioned in Chapter Three, cases with scores above or below the four standard deviations on the five scales of the expected civic participation of students were excluded from further analysis (Norman & Velicer, 2003). Cases with missing values in the five scale scores of civic participation were retained and analyzed. Thus, 6 cases (or 0.025%) deviated with more than four standard deviations and 64 cases (or 2.7%) with missing values were excluded from the analysis.

Collinearity among variables

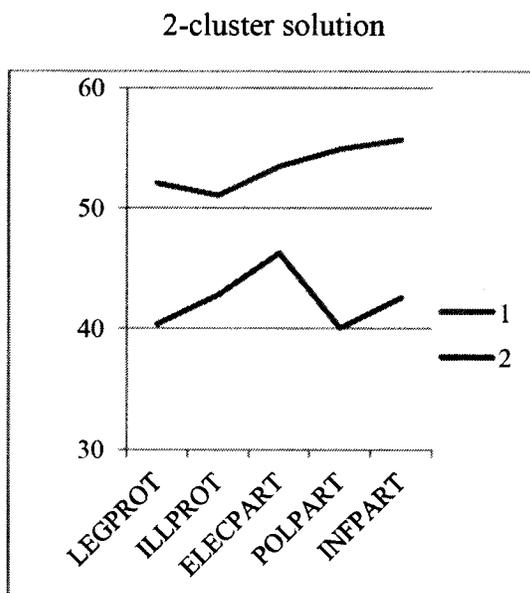
The tolerance values of the five variables were found to be within an acceptable range. All values range between 0.52 to 0.76, thus indicating relatively low collinearity among variables. No pairs of variables have correlation coefficients

greater than 0.70; thus, no highly correlated variables were eliminated or replaced.

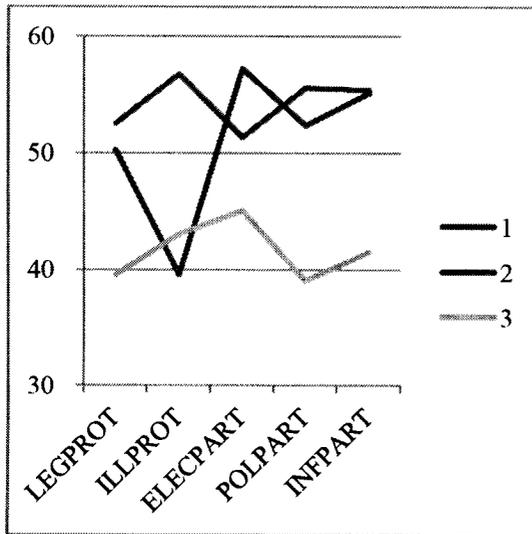
4.1.1 Determining the number of clusters

SPSS 19.0 produced six possible cluster solutions. The average scale score for each “intention to participate” scale can be seen graphically for each cluster solution in Figure 4.1. The tables showing these scale scores are included in Appendix C.

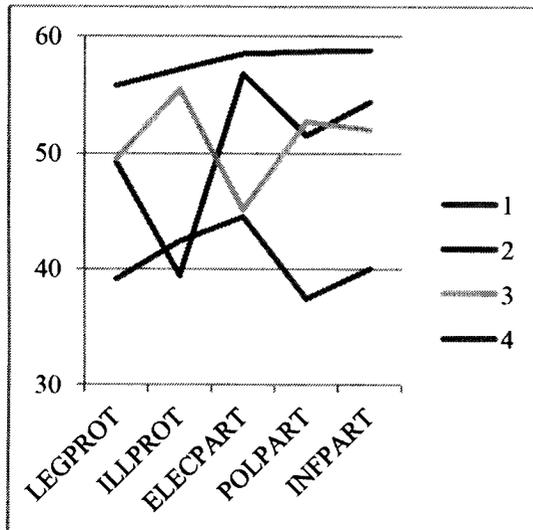
Figure 4.1 Scale scores across clusters for different cluster solutions



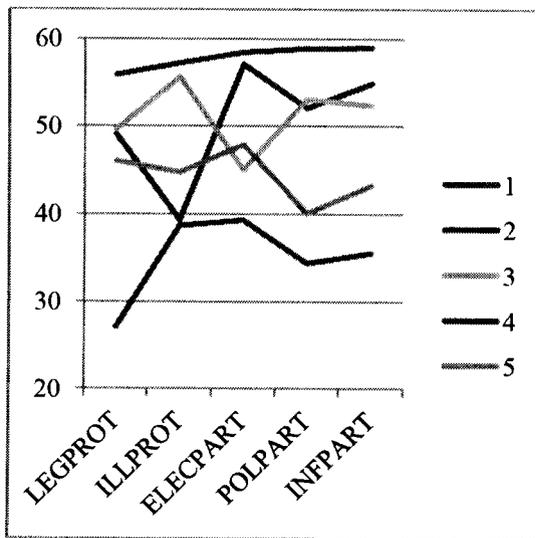
3-cluster solution



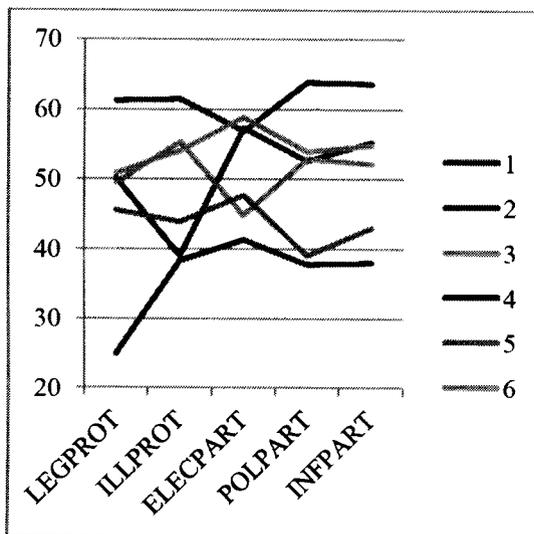
4-clstuter solution



5-cluster solution



6-cluster solution



The graphical output suggests that more than one cluster possibly exists in the data, thus indicating heterogeneity in regarding the “intention to participate” of students. However, the key issue for cluster analysis is identifying the optimal cluster solution. To evaluate the solutions provided, the Bayesian information

criterion (BIC) (Fraley & Raftery, 1998; Schwarz, 1978) and the log-likelihood distance measure (Chiu et al., 2001) were used as goodness-of-fit measures. Posada and Buckely (2004) explained that the BIC was developed as an approximation to the log marginal likelihood of a model; therefore, the difference between two BIC estimates may be a good approximation to the natural log of the Bayes factor (Kass & Wasserman, 1995). Given equal priors for all competing models, choosing the model with the smallest BIC is equivalent to selecting the model with the maximum posterior probability. Thus, the model with the smallest BIC indicates the best statistical solution to identify the appropriate number of clusters. As one of the distance measures provided by SPSS 19.0, the log-likelihood distance measure is a probabilistic measure that can be used with both continuous and categorical data to show the distance between clusters. In a two-step cluster analysis, a higher measure corresponds to a denser cluster and greater distance between clusters. In Table 4.1 shows the ratios of successive log-likelihood distance measures, and successive cluster solution should show diminishing ratios until the change almost vanishes.

Based on the evaluation of fit indices, the possible number of student groups can be between two and six. However, the BIC for two groups is still high and



may not be the best solution even though there is drop in distance measures. The difference between the two- and three-cluster solutions is relatively large for both indices, and the change in distance measure diminishes significantly after the four-cluster solution. Thus, based on these indices, a good fit solution will either be three clusters or four clusters. Movement from a three-cluster solution to a four-cluster solution shows a smaller BIC (i.e., more information) with still high ratio of distance measure. This result suggests that a four-cluster solution may best represent data heterogeneity. More will be discussed for the five-cluster and six-cluster solutions as follows.

Table 4.1 *Fit indices of different cluster solutions for “intention to participate”*

Number of Clusters	Schwarz's Bayesian Criterion (BIC)	BIC Change	Ratio of BIC Changes	Ratio of Distance Measures
1	602632.912			
2	585988.432	-16644.481	1.000	2.003
3	577729.510	-8258.921	0.496	1.509
4	572290.798	-5438.712	0.327	1.636
5	569004.465	-3286.333	0.197	1.143
6	566142.582	-2861.882	0.172	1.245

4.1.2 Additional criteria for considering the number of clusters

As mentioned in Chapter 3, statistical information should be considered when deciding the number of clusters. Furthermore, substantive considerations that are related to the theoretical basis of the clusters should be included (Blömeke, 2012; Marsh et al., 2004). A number of additional factors were also considered.

By plotting and comparing the average scores of the five scales across clusters (Figure 4.1 and Appendix C), it is observed that discerning the difference between some clusters becomes difficult as the number of clusters increases. This phenomenon is particularly observed in the five-cluster and six-cluster solutions.

Taking into consideration of the goodness-of-fit indices, it was decided to use the four-cluster solution by the information available and the need for parsimony in the final model (i.e., a solution for a small number of clusters).

This decision is also supported by literature on the “types of citizens,” where identifying three to four kinds of citizen types is common (e.g., Banks, 2008; Westheimer & Khane, 2004). The details for the four-cluster solution are

discussed in Section 4.1.3.

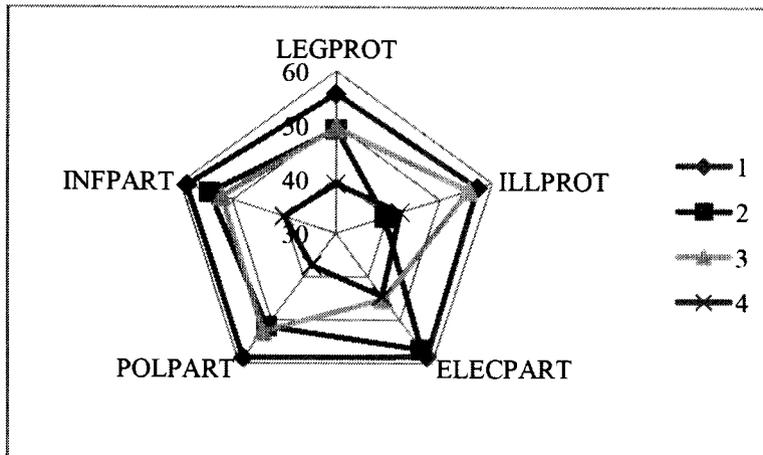
4.1.3 Characteristics of the four clusters

Scale scores in the five sets of participation

Given this distribution of students across the four clusters, describing the clusters in qualitative terms is possible. Figure 4.2 shows that students in Cluster 1 have the highest “intention to participate” since it has the highest scores across the five scales. Students in Cluster 4, which is on the bottom end of the plot, have the lowest “intention to participate” in all five sets of activities. Students in Cluster 2 have high “intention to vote” but have low “intention to protest illegally.” By contrast, students in Cluster 3 have lower “intention to vote” but higher “intention to protest illegally”. Despite these differences, Conventional and Radical Participators show comparable intentions in other activities, that is, legal protest and formal and informal political activities. A similar pattern of “intention to participate” across the four clusters is also observed in the other sample.



Figure 4.2 Scale scores of “intention to participate” across clusters



The naming of the clusters are exploratory while the cluster names should be taken relatively, and their meaning will be discussed further in Section 4.2 but these results here suggest: Active Participators would tend to take a very active approach to participate in society; Conventional Participators would emphasize voting behavior and are likely to reject illegal protest; Radical Participators would consider illegal protests and favor voting at a lesser extent than Active and Conventional Participators; and Minimal Participators have the least intention to engage in the five sets of civic activities. These similarities and differences across four clusters add qualitative and theoretical weight to the four-cluster solution and enhance the interpretability of the results, which is a key issue in cluster analysis (Marsh et al., 2004). Whether statistically significant differences exist between the “intention to vote” scale scores that

underpin these qualitative profiles remain untested. Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984) and Everitt (1979) argued strongly that procedures such as ANOVA cannot be applied to cluster analysis results despite the intuitive validation that ANOVA seems to provide for individual profiles.

Table 4.2 *Final cluster proportion for the 4-cluster solution*

Cluster	Proportion (%)
1	21.7
2	26.1
3	29.4
3	22.8

Distribution of students

The distribution of students across clusters is shown in Table 4.2. This distribution provides the proportion of students across the four clusters with each group having at least 20% of the sample. However, no group has more than 30% of the sample. This result also suggests that no single profile of “intention to participate” among the four clusters is dominant.

Cluster profiles

Given the distinctive types of future participation behaviors of students across the four clusters, the broad demographic characteristics of the students in each cluster should be understood. Table 4.3 shows these characteristics.

Table 4.3 *Composition of demographic profiles within Participator groups*

Characteristics	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Total
Gender					
Boy	55.4	42.6	56.0	47.3	50.3
Girl	44.6	57.4	44.0	52.7	49.7
Expected Education					
Below ISCED Level 2	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.6
ISED Level 2	6.0	2.7	5.9	3.1	4.4
ISED Level 3	16.4	7.3	18.5	13.2	13.8
ISED Level 4 OR 5B	13.1	12.3	16.8	16.2	14.6
ISED Level 5A OR 6	64.1	77.4	58.0	66.8	66.7
Mother's highest educational level					
Below ISED Level 1	5.5	3.6	4.2	2.1	3.9
ISED Level 1	28.7	18.2	18.8	11.0	19.3
ISED Level 2	18.5	17.0	18.5	15.1	17.4
ISED Level 3	28.6	34.0	39.2	45.1	36.5
ISED Level 4 or 5B	6.6	10.5	6.6	9.7	8.4
ISED Level 5A or 6	12.1	16.6	12.6	17.0	14.5
Father's highest educational level					
Below ISED Level 1	4.2	2.5	3.3	1.9	3.0

ISED Level 1	24.0	17.1	17.8	10.5	17.5
ISED Level 2	19.3	15.3	18.5	16.5	17.3
ISED Level 3	28.3	29.7	35.1	36.9	32.4
ISED Level 4 or 5B	8.1	11.9	8.3	11.1	9.8
ISED Level 5A or 6	16.2	23.5	17.0	23.2	19.9
Mother's interest in political and social issues					
Not interested at all	2.7	3.0	3.9	7.4	4.1
Not very interested	28.3	35.9	37.2	44.5	36.3
Quite interested	55.6	50.3	51.7	41.2	50.0
Very interested	13.5	10.8	7.2	6.8	9.6
Father's interest in political and social issues					
Not interested at all	2.3	2.4	3.3	5.8	3.3
Not very interested	17.9	22.2	27.1	33.1	24.9
Quite interested	50.3	50.8	52.3	44.3	49.8
Very interested	29.5	24.6	17.4	16.8	22.1
Numbers of books at home					
0-10 books	11.5	9.5	14.3	13.1	12.1
11-25 books	31.3	23.9	26.3	19.6	25.4
26-100 books	32.7	32.7	31.3	31.8	32.1
101-200 books	11.8	15.6	14.8	15.6	14.5
201-500 books	8.6	11.2	9.7	12.8	10.5
More than 500 books	4.1	7.0	3.7	7.1	5.4

Note: The numbers indicate percentages that vertically sum to 100%.

Both male and female students are quite equally distributed among the four clusters, with each gender representing more than 40% in each cluster (Table 4.3). Across clusters, a majority of students (>58%) expect to complete level

5A or 6 of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Clusters 2 and 3 show the highest and lowest percentages, respectively. Clusters 1 and 4 both show comparable percentages. Students whose mothers are highly educated (i.e., ISCED level 4 or above) are represented more in Clusters 2 and 4 (approximately 27%) than in Clusters 1 and 3 (approximately 19%). Highly educated fathers have slightly higher percentages in Clusters 2 and 4 (approximately 32%) than in Clusters 1 and 3 (approximately 27%). The percentages of fathers and mothers who show interest in political and social issues are highest in Cluster 1, lowest in Cluster 4, and comparable between Clusters 2 and 3. In terms of their literacy resources at home, students in Clusters 2 and 4 are more similar, whereas students in Clusters 1 and 3 are more similar.

4.1.4 Testing the external validity of the cluster solution

This section focuses on validating the cluster solution by discriminant function analysis (Hancock & Mueller, 2010), which involves the following, as mentioned in Chapter 3:

1. Identification of significant and related variables that are not used in the cluster analysis and assessment of their relation to the clusters;
2. Identification of significant discriminant functions;
3. Plotting of cluster centroids on a discriminant functions plot; and
4. Classification analysis of the clusters.

Cluster validation is an important aspect of the cluster development process after the number of clusters has been determined (Everitt, 1979; Okazaki, 2006; Norman & Velicer, 2003). Following Okazaki (2006) the stepwise discriminant function analysis was used for the validation process.

Relationship of external variables to the clusters

The relationship of the clusters to 14 WLE scales of civic attitudes and values were not employed in the cluster analysis. These scales included the following: discussion of political and social issues outside of school (POLDISC), civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM), civic participation at school (PARTSCHL), interest in politics and social issues (INTPOLIS), sense of internal political efficacy (INPOLEF), trust in civic institutions (INTRUST),



citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF), perceptions of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC), perceptions of influences on decisions about school (STUDINF), perceptions of student-teacher relations at school (STUTREL), perceptions of the value of participation at school (VALPARTS), support for democratic values (DEMVAL), perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON), perception of the importance of social movement related citizenship (CITSOC).

The tolerance values of the 14 predictor variables were found to be within an acceptable range. All value ranges between 0.64 to 0.82, thus indicating relatively low collinearity among these variables. Table 4.4 shows the results of the univariate F-tests of mean differences for each predictor scale. The size of the F-statistic shows the significance of the variables on the discriminant function. In this set of analyses, all predictor variables are significant ($p < .001$), thus indicating that differences exist among clusters. INTPOLS ($F(3, 22536) = 733.9$) and INPOLEF ($F(3, 22536) = 873.8$) have the largest F, thus indicating the significant influence of these two variables in discriminating clusters.

Table 4.4 *Univariate tests of the predictor variables*

Predictors	Wilk's Lambda	F(3, 22536)	Sig
POLDISC	0.93	296.7	***
PARTCOM	0.90	431.0	***
PARTSCHL	0.94	239.4	***
INTPOLS	0.84	733.9	***
INPOLEF	0.81	873.8	***
INTRUST	0.88	508.4	***
CITEFF	0.91	358.4	***
OPDISC	0.93	294.7	***
STUDINF	0.93	273.5	***
STUTREL	0.94	222.8	***
VALPARTS	0.91	360.3	***
DEMVAL	0.96	142.6	***
CITCON	0.88	531.0	***
CITSOC	0.92	310.0	***

Note: *** Significant at $p < 0.001$ level.

These findings are important because they help establish the external validity of the clusters. Furthermore, these findings are significant in identifying “student interests in politics” (INPOLS) and “internal political efficacy” (INPOLEF) as two variables that discriminate among clusters most significantly.

Identification of discriminant functions

Table 4.5 shows that three (the number of groups - 1) significant discriminant functions account for 100% of the variance. These discriminant functions indicate the number of dimensions wherein the groups differ significantly. The

first discriminant function provides the best separation and accounts for 78% of the variance. The second function (orthogonal to the first one) separated the groups by using relationships that are not used in the first discriminant function. Refer to Krzanowski and Krzanowski (2000) for more details on discriminant function analysis.

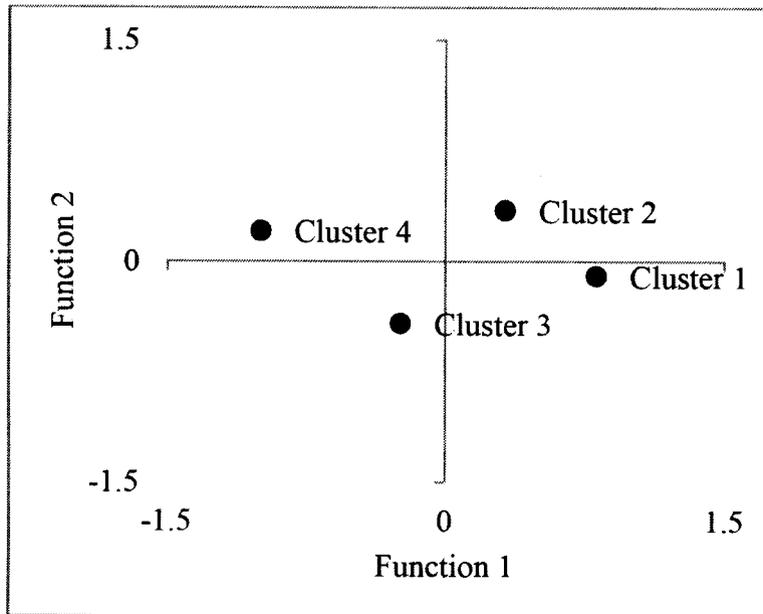
Table 4.5 *Discriminant function analysis*

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.399	78.0	0.534	0.641	4980.023	42	***
2	.095	18.6	0.295	0.897	1215.752	26	***
3	.018	3.5	0.132	0.982	197.989	12	***

*** Significant at $p < 0.001$ level.

According to the above discriminant functions, group centroids are generated for each cluster. In Figure 4.3, the group centroids of the four clusters are shown to be clearly separated on the canonical discriminant functions plot. This result provides further evidence on the separation of clusters.

Figure 4.3 *Group centroids plot from discriminant function analysis*



Classification analysis

The classification matrix is a measure of the accuracy of the model generated by the discriminant function analysis (Landau & Everitt, 2004). The matrix shown in Table 4.6 indicates that 47.8% of the cases are correctly classified into the four clusters. This value is substantially higher than the random chance rate (i.e., 25.5%) calculated based on the empirical percentages of the four groups (Table 4.2).

Table 4.6 *Classification analysis for clusters*

Actual cluster membership	Number of cases	Predicted cluster membership							
		Cluster 1		Cluster 2		Cluster 3		Cluster 4	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Cluster 1	4874	2138	43.9	1405	28.8	1098	22.5	233	4.8
Cluster 2	5828	1144	19.6	2556	43.9	1508	25.9	620	10.6
Cluster 3	6495	848	13.1	923	14.2	3505	54.0	1219	18.8
Cluster 4	5343	248	4.6	908	17.0	1613	30.2	2574	48.2
Ungrouped	238	91	38.2	53	22.3	74	31.1	20	8.4

Note: Percentage of correctly classified cases = 47.8%; random chance rate = 25.5%.

Considering the previous discussions, multiple analyses satisfactorily validate the four-cluster solution from the two-step clustering technique. Therefore, the discriminant function analyses support the external validity of the four groups of participants. Given the characteristics and their differences of the four groups, as mentioned in Section 4.1.3, Cluster 1 to 4 can be referred to as, namely, Active Participants, Conventional Participants, Radical Participants, and Minimal Participants, respectively. Compared with random chance rate, the two discriminant functions identified from the 14 predictor variables indicated better-than-random classification of the four groups (Table 4.6).

Section 4.2 reviews the results in relation to the students' actual endorsement of

the response options and the theoretical considerations from these endorsements.

4.2 Student endorsement of response options

Theoretical models of citizenship

Chapter 2 presented three common theoretical models of citizenship, namely, civic republican, liberal, and critical. Under the liberal model, participation is kept to a minimum; while voting is encouraged it is not an obligation for citizens. Under the civic republican model, citizens are expected to be actively engaged within a political community and will see such participation as voting as an obligation. Under the critical model, social justice and equal participation in democracy by all citizens is the emphasis, and active participation is justice-oriented. Thus, these models of citizenship represent theoretical understandings of active citizenship, although each has distinctive emphases.

Students' empirical conceptions of active citizenship

Chapter 2 likewise mentioned that despite these theoretical models of



citizenship, students themselves construct their meaning of active citizenship (Kennedy, 2007). They form their own conceptions of citizenship that highlight one or a number of characteristics of the models. Moreover, each student may also vary in their conceptions of active citizenship. Hence, different orientations towards civic participation occur, including their understanding of their rights and duties. Certain students, for example, endorse more the civic republican model than the liberal model whereas others advocate the critical model the most. Therefore, students construct their own meaning of active citizenship as reflected in their selection of response options on the survey. The following is an analysis of how each identified group responded to the options in the survey, thus indicating their conceptions of citizenship.

Students' endorsement in response options

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a higher scale score indicated a higher level of the latent construct of concern. In the scale “Expected adult electoral participation”, for example, a higher score indicated a higher expectation to vote in future elections.



At the level of the response options, moving from “I will certainly do this,” “I will probably not do this,” “I will probably do this,” to “I will certainly do this,” a positive endorsement (e.g., “I will certainly do this”) indicates the students’ higher level of the latent construct (expectation to vote in this case), compared with a negative endorsement (e.g., “I will probably not do this”). From the negative to positive responses, a continuum exists between the lower and the higher expectations.

If one could rely on students’ responding to nuances in the response options, it might be possible to infer that, in addition to numerical relation, the aforementioned response options also show distinct qualitative attributes. These distinct response options and their corresponding attributes may correspond to students’ belief and conception of active citizenship.

“I will certainly do this,” for example, may represent an obligation or duty. Therefore, it is likely to be endorsed more by the civic republican students who believe that participating in civic activities is their duty.

“I will certainly not do this” may imply that the option is unnecessary, and is, therefore, more likely to be endorsed by students who are reluctant to participate. Alternatively, this option may also represent “prohibition,” and is, therefore, more likely endorsed by conventional students who, for example, reject some radical civic participation, such as illegal protest activities.

Either of the options, “I will probably do this” or “I will probably not do this”, may represent a “choice depending on situation,” and is, therefore, more likely endorsed by liberal students who believe that choosing any civic participation is their own right.

Clusters of conception of active citizenship

To understand the meaning and implications of these four groups, a relevant question needs to be addressed: How may students in different Participator groups be represented across these four groups?

The aforementioned response options provide an opportunity to explore how students across the four groups may differ in their conception of active citizenship. Considering the percentages endorsement in the response options in

the Likert scale, the following sections explain how students' distinct conceptions of active citizenship are represented across the four groups.

4.2.1 Students' endorsement in response options

Based on the responses indicated at the 20 Likert-styled items, the students' aspiration for participation was discussed above. The analysis of the derived scales of the five measures of intention to participate extends to the following sections. It considers the four response options in the Likert scale, and the percentage of endorsement across options.

Before analyzing the percentage of students' endorsement of intended participation, the meaning of the response options that students use to make their endorsement should be considered. As previously mentioned, the 4-point response Likert scale was used for measuring the students' intended participation, with options, such as 1 = I will certainly not do this; 2 = I will probably not do this; 3 = I will probably do this; 4 = I will certainly do this.

Accordingly, these response options indicate the order of how likely the

respondents will participate in a series of civic activities. Alternatively, multiple means could be used to understand the meaning of these response options and interpret the students' intention to participate, including their conception behind. Apart from the level of likelihood, the difference between the students who indicated "I will certainly do this" and those who indicated "I will probably do this," although both are positive endorsements towards participation, may be explored. If a difference exists between these responses, its implication in the groups discussed may be probed deeper. The similarities or differences between the responses in the middle (i.e., "I will probably do this" and "I will probably not do this") and the conception of students who chose them may also be explored. Thus, the endorsement of response options can be understood individually, or in pairs, because each response option or each pair may reveal the students' conception of participation. As the meaning of the response options are explored, the possible substantive meaning of each response option, as well as the essence of students' particular endorsement, can be illustrated. This exploration will help understand the students' response and their conception of active citizenship. Moreover, it will address the meaning of the comparison of intention to participate within and between the five Asian societies, as presented by Research Question 1.

4.2.2 Endorsement of participation in the future

The 20 items from which the scale scores were created by IEA and analyzed in this study were assessed via a 4-point Likert scale. Students were asked to indicate their choices via four response options, namely, “I will certainly not do this,” “I will probably not do this,” “I will probably do this,” or “I will certainly do this.” The two response options, namely, “I will certainly do this” or “I will probably do this,” represent a positive outlook towards participation. On the one hand, by responding to either of these response options, students indicate a positive endorsement to the civic participation. On the other hand, two response options, namely, “I will certainly not do this” and “I will probably not do this” represent a rejection of participation. By responding in either of the two response options, students indicate a negative endorsement to civic participation.

To compare the positive endorsement across groups, the percentages of students responding positively to the items (either “I will certainly do this” or “I will

probably do this”) are compared across the four groups (Figure 4.4a). Varying across activities and groups from as low as almost 0% and as high as almost 100%, the percentages indicated different preferences towards each activity. The percentages also showed that none of the five sets of civic-political activities was considered positively by all the students surveyed, regardless of the cluster from which they belong. Informed voting behavior (32A to 32C) was the most supported activity. The results of close to 100% for students in Active and Conventional Participators and of approximately 60% to 80% for those who are Radical and Minimal Participators indicate that voting in elections may be one of the core civic learning outcomes of citizenship education in secondary schools. By contrast, illegal protest activities (31G to 31I) received the least support from students, that is, below 10% from Conventional, below 30% from Radical, and below 40% from Active Participators. Illegal protest activities may be relatively discouraged in civic education curriculum.

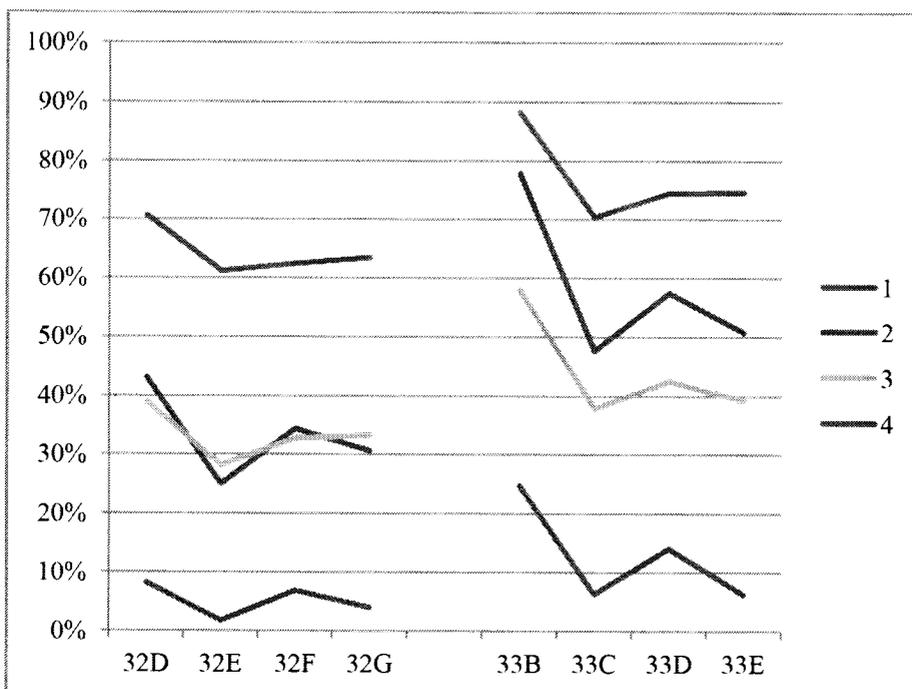
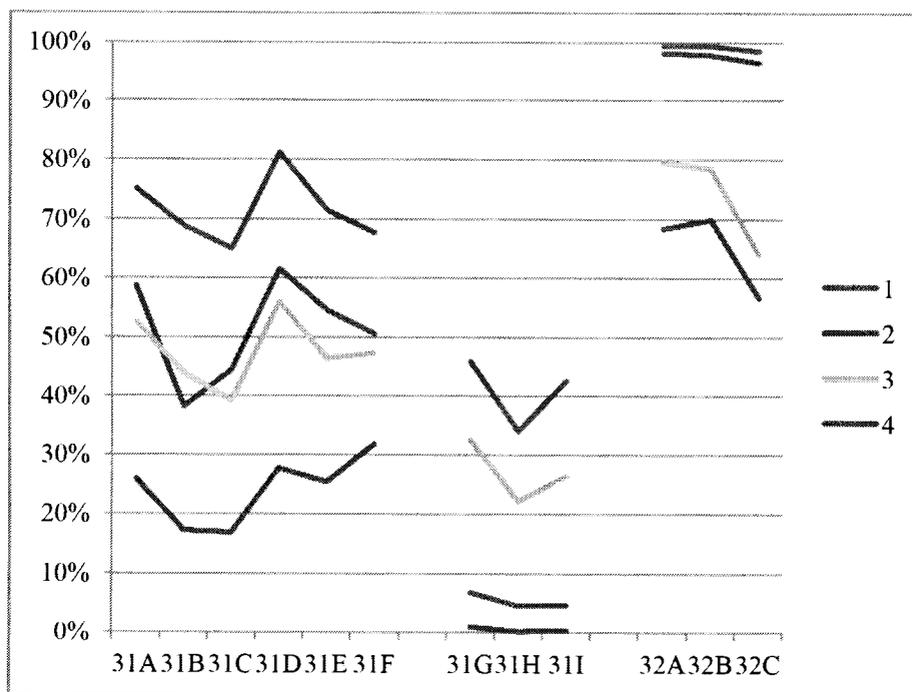
Overall, across the 20 activities, the Active Participators, compared with three other groups, render more support, whereas Minimal Participators render the least support (except for illegal protest activities, in which the Conventional

Participants incurred the lowest percentage). There is a relatively a lack of interest in partisan political activities (32D to 32G) across different Participant groups.

Conventional Participants showed that the majority (99%) of the students reported they would probably or certainly vote, but almost all (99%) of them indicated they would not protest illegally (either certainly not or probably not). By contrast, Radical Participants incurred a smaller proportion of students who will certainly or probably vote, but a higher percentage may consider protesting illegally. The Conventional and Radical Participants share very comparable support in terms of legal protest (31A to 31F) and formal political activities (32D to 32G). Conventional Participants showed slightly higher percentages (10% to 20%) than that of Radical Participants in terms of informal political activities (33B to 33E).



Figure 4.4 Percentages of positive endorsement across groups



1=Active Participants; 2=Conventional Participants; 3=Radical Participants;
4=Minimal Participants

4.2.3 Rights or duties

In addition to indicating the level of likelihood to participate (“certainly” is more likely than “probably”), each response option signifies a substantive meaning. The response, “I will certainly do this,” may indicate a conception that this activity is a citizen’s duty. On the contrary, the option, “I will certainly not do this,” may indicate a conception this activity is prohibitive and/ or unnecessary. The two responses in the middle, namely, “I will probably do this” and “I will probably not do this,” may indicate a conception that deciding whether to participate in this activity is one’s right.

Considering the differentiation between “rights” and “duties,” the different meanings of the two extreme options, namely, “I will certainly do this” and “I will certainly not do this” should likewise be highlighted. These two options indicated a very high and a very low tendency of participation, respectively. The percentages of “I will certainly do this” and “I will certainly not do this” across the four groups were plotted in Figures 4.5 and 4.6, respectively.



Compared with other groups, the Active Participators comprise the highest percentage of highly politically active students who indicate they will certainly engage in series of civic activities (Figure 4.5a). Active Participators, who, on the average, show the highest intention to participate in all civic activities, similarly indicated the highest percentage of students endorsing “I will certainly do this.” This is likely due to the perception of students that such activities are desirable or necessary.

Compared with other groups, the Minimal Participators, however, show the highest percentage of highly civically inactive students who endorse that they will certainly not engage in such political activities (Figure 4.6a). They may think that these activities are not necessary for them (except that most of them remain positive about voting).

Active Participators are students who demonstrate civic-mindedness, whereas Minimal Participators display civic unawareness. Another conception that may highlight the difference between the groups of students is that the former is “thick” citizenship, whereas the latter is “thin” citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992).

This conceptualization is consistent with the differentiation in the literature

between active and passive citizens (see for example, Kennedy, 2006). A motto for students in the group of Active Participators may be “I am very keen on various civic activities; they are part of the citizens’ duties.” A motto for the Minimal Participators may be “I would vote in elections, as a fundamental civic duty. However, engaging in other civic activities is less important.”

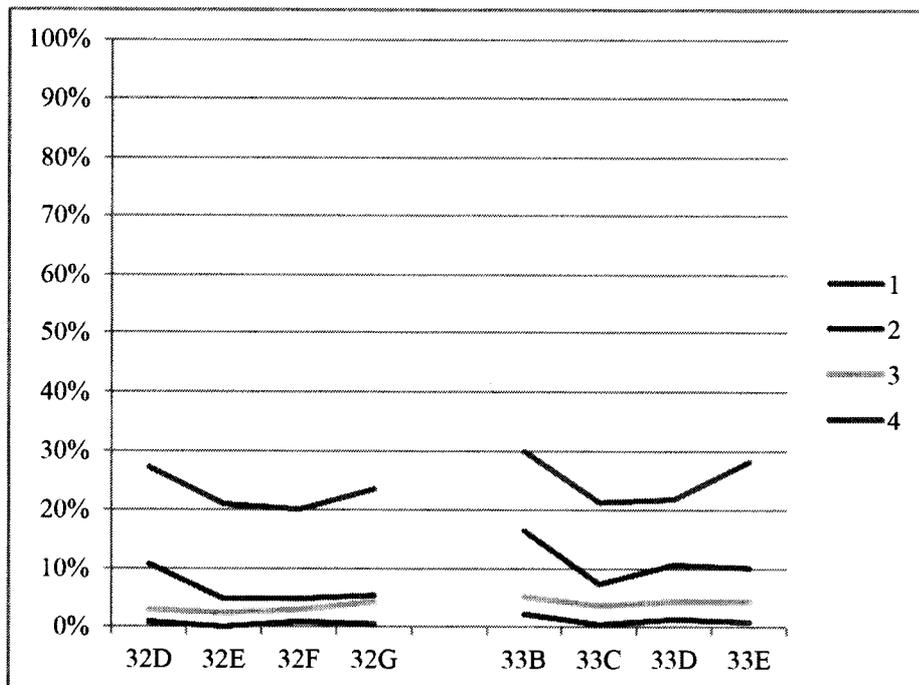
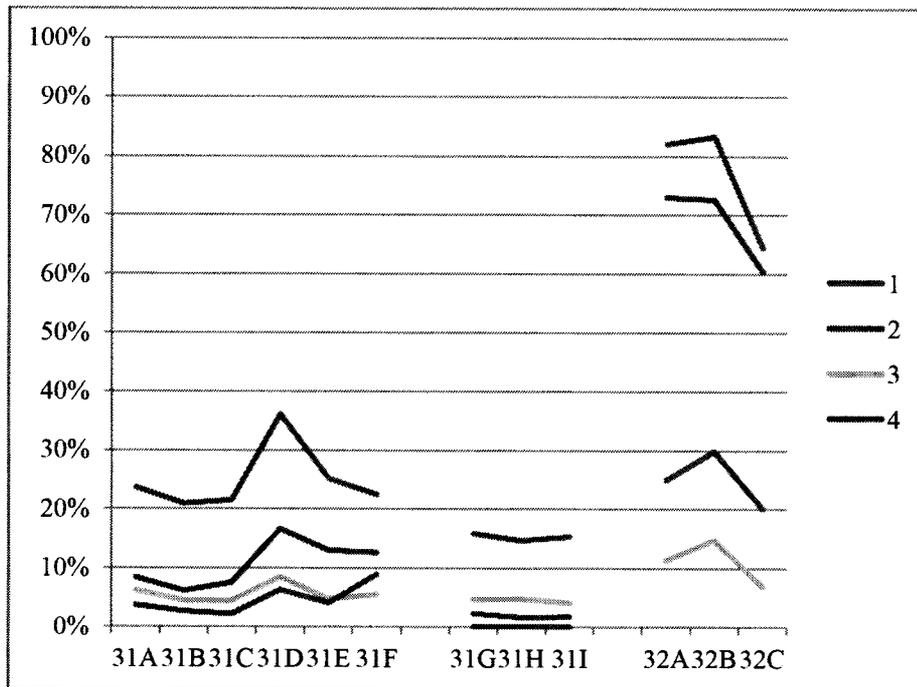
Recognizing the difference between right and duty would be helpful in interpreting the results, particularly concerning two activities—voting and illegal protest, in which Conventional and Radical Participators indicated considerable contrast. Based on Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6, most students in the group of Conventional Participators may consider voting activities (32A-32C) as a duty (more than 60% to 80%; Figure 4.5), whereas the majority considers illegal protest activities (31G-31I) as a prohibition (more than 80% to 90%; Figure 4.6). The motto for Conventional Participators would be “I would always vote in election but never protest illegally. However, whether or not to participate in other civic activities will depend on situations.”

On the contrary, a smaller proportion of students in the group of Radical Participators were certain with regard to voting as a “must” activity

(approximately 10%; Figure 4.5) and illegal protest activities as prohibited (approximately 10%; Figure 4.6). The majority of students may perceive voting and illegal protest as “possible” activities, that is, they decide whether to engage from situation to situation. The conception of “rights” by the Radical Participators is further discussed in the following section.

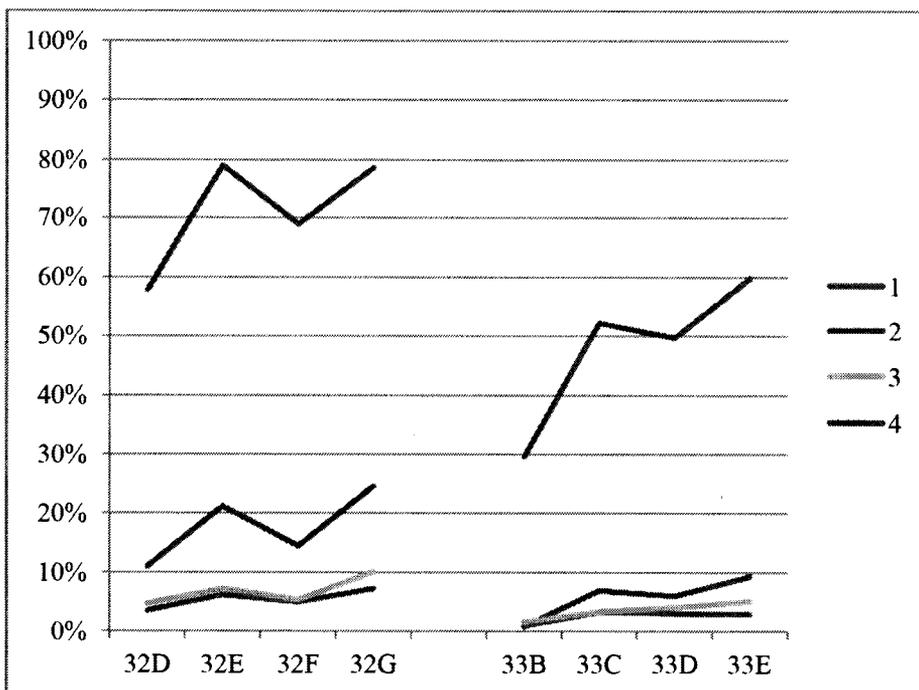
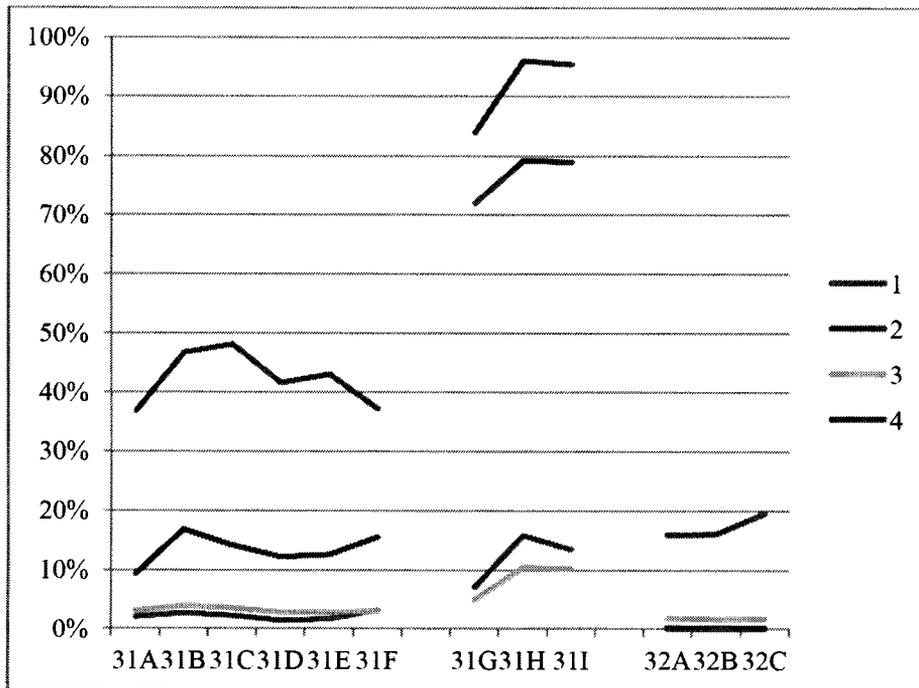


Figure 4.5 Percentages of "I will certainly do this" across groups



1=Active Participants; 2=Conventional Participants; 3=Radical Participants;
4=Minimal Participants

Figure 4.6 Percentages of “I will certainly not do this” across groups



1=Active Participators; 2=Conventional Participators; 3=Radical Participators;
4=Minimal Participators

4.2.4 Rights as situations-dependent

Based on the distinctions between rights and duties in the previous paragraph, the meaning of the two options in the middle of the Likert scale, namely, “I will probably do this” and “I will probably not do this,” should be highlighted. Contrary to the two extreme responses, namely, “I will certainly do this” and “I would not certainly do this,” the two middle options may represent that decision of whether or not to participate will depend on situations.

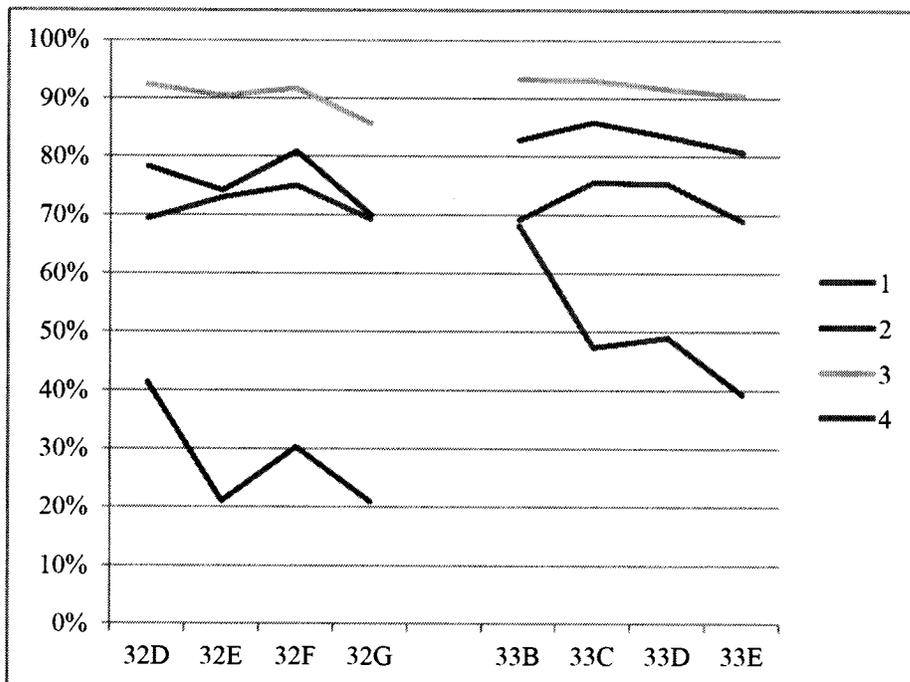
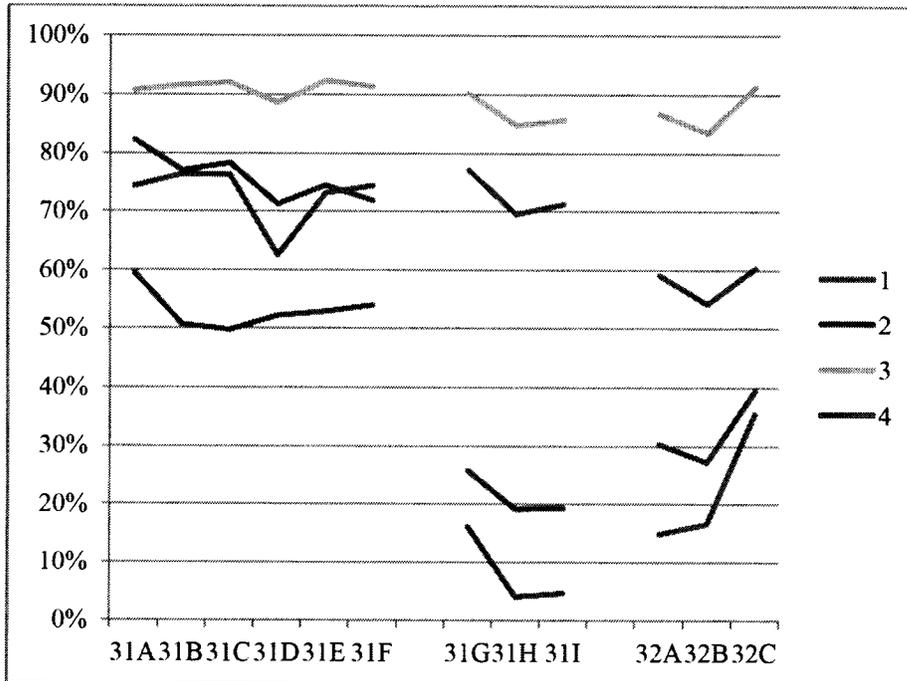
In reality, a citizen may or may not participate in those activities based on their evaluation of the situations. In this connection, students’ endorsements in these options may indicate that they do not discard the possibility of engaging or not in a particular civic activity. Although this is less certain than endorsing the other two options of “certainty” at the extreme, they are more open towards engaging in particular activities or not.

This tendency of considering participation as possibility or right is represented by Radical Participators (Figure 4.7). The majority of the students in the group of Radical Participators (approximately 90%) endorse either “I will probably

not do this” or “I will probably do this” across each item of the activities. However, the general preference of Radical Participators varies notably as indicated by the percentage of positive endorsement across 20 activities (Figure 4.4). A similarly high percentage of students choosing the middle response options (>70%) are observed in Conventional and Active Participators for certain activities, such as legal protest and formal political activities. However, Radical Participators consistently indicated high percentages (almost 90%) across 20 activities. The two other groups showed exception in certain activities, such as illegal protest in Conventional Participators (<20%) and voting in Active Participators (<40%).

Therefore, Radical Participators are different from the other groups with regard to the majority of students considering the possibility of participating in these activities. Exceptionally few students indicated they will certainly engage or will certainly not engage in these activities (i.e., endorsing response options “I will certainly do this” or “I will certainly not do this”). A motto for Radical Participators may be “I will never say “never”/”certainly”, and it all depends.”

Figure 4.7 Percentages of “I will probably do this” and “I will probably not do this” across groups



1=Active Participants; 2=Conventional Participants; 3=Radical Participants;
4=Minimal Participants

4.2.5 Conclusions on groups and response options

Based on the aforementioned discussion on response options, its meanings, and students' endorsement, it can be concluded that Active Participators are highly politically active students who, in general, positively perceive civic participation. The majority are committed to be personally involved in the activities. By contrast, Minimal Participators, despite their willingness to vote in future elections, are rather passive towards other civic activities, and are reluctant to engage personally. Radical Participators are characterized by their openness to possibilities towards civic activities. Few of them are unconditionally certain or are totally reluctant to participate in such activities. Conventional participators show similarities with Radical Participators with regard to the possibility of engaging in certain activities, but are very determined with voting in elections and presumably rejecting illegal protest.

Active Participators: Positive in participation

Figure 4.4 shows that, compared with the three other groups, Active Participators always incur the relatively highest percentages of positive support ('certainly do this' or 'probably do this'), regardless of the activity concerned.

Moreover, the percentages of endorsement are as high as approximately 40% (illegal protest) to approximately 95% (voting in elections) across 20 activities (Figure 4.4). When only the response option, “certainly do this” is considered, Active Participators continue to outperform other groups (Figure 4.5).

Conventional Participators: Combination of certainty and possibility

Conventional Participators are similar to Active Participators with regard to their orientation towards voting, specifically on voting-related concerns, such as voting in the national and local elections, and obtaining information regarding candidates prior to voting. More than 70% of students in this group mentioned that they will certainly do these activities. By contrast, illegal protest activities rarely belong to the list of expected participations in this group. Regarding other activities representing formal and informal political participation, variations are noted, thus suggesting a lower level of consensus. Activities, such as “write to a newspaper about a political and social issues” (33C), were considered by less than 20% claiming certain participation, whereas the percentage for “join a political party” (32E) was below 10%. Conventional Participators notably consider both certainty and possibility across various civic participations, such as protest activities. The majority (approximately 90%) are

certain they would not participate in illegal protest activities (Figure 4.6), whereas approximately 80% indicated that they would either probably or probably not engage in legal protest activities (Figure 4.7).

Radical Participators: Mainly possibility

Radical Participators showed a profile almost opposite with that of Conventional Participators. Their tendency to engage in voting in the local and the national elections and obtaining information regarding candidates before election, was lower than that of Conventional Participators. However, the reported percentages of expected participation in illegal protest activities, such as spray-painting protest slogans on walls, blocking traffic, and occupying public buildings, were higher. Similar in Conventional Participators, other civic participation activities received medium support from students in Radical Participators, with comparable average percentages from Conventional Participators.

Across 20 civic activities, the majority (approximately 90%) of Radical Participators chose either “I will probably do this” or “I will probably not do this” (Figure 4.7). Therefore, these students demonstrate a possibility of

participation across these activities. Most do not consider these activities as must, as prohibited and/ or as unnecessary. This is a special feature of Radical Participators, making it distinctive from the other groups.

Minimal Participators: Reluctance in participation

Contrary to the abovementioned profiles, a very low percentage of Minimal Participators demonstrated eagerness towards participation in civic activities. However, they still highly consider voting, that is, more than 70% will certainly or probably engage in voting-related activities. This concept of civic participation is labeled a “minimal citizenship” (McLaughlin, 1992). If 20 civic activities listed in the ICCS survey encompass typical measures of civic participation, direct and personal engagement in civic activities was minimal for this group. The percentages of the response option, except for informed voting behaviors, show that almost 40% or more of the Minimal Participators will certainly not participate in any of these activities (Figure 4.6).

The above results, in relation to theoretical considerations, indicate the students’ orientation towards active citizenship. With reference to the three models of citizenship mentioned in Chapter 2 and discussed earlier in this section, the

students' endorsement of responses across groups indicates that Active Participators are more likely to be civic republicans.

Compared with other groups, they incurred the highest proportion embodying positive attitudes towards civic activities. By contrast, Minimal Participators are likely to hold opposite aspirations towards active citizenship, having the highest percentages with liberal attitudes towards civic activities. Their citizenship is more likely oriented towards liberal values. Conventional Participators are somewhere in between civic republicans and liberals. The majority of students in the group of Conventional Participators regard voting as important, perhaps as their duty. On the average, they consider other civic activities, such as joining political parties, as their right or choice. Radical Participators are less certain with regard to participating in civic activities. They seem uncertain as to whether they will participate in these activities, and consider the possibility of participating regardless of confirmation or rejection. It is important to notice the above analysis and interpretation is exploratory, based on the possibility that one could rely on students' responding to nuances in the response options, as mentioned in the beginning of Section 4.2.

However, the discussion on the relation between the groups and the meaning of responses in relation to “intention to participate” will be a useful start for later discussion of Research Question 1. In Section 4.3, the variations of “intention to participate” within and between the five Asian societies are presented.

4.3 Variation of students’ intention to participate across the five Asian societies

The second step after the analysis is the comparison of cluster proportions across the five Asian societies (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 *Classification percentage of intention to participate by society*

Proportion (%)	Active Participators	Conventional Participators	Radical Participators	Minimal Participators
Taiwan	11.8	32.3	24.4	31.5
Hong Kong	8.6	34.5	23.1	33.8
Korea	10.6	14.9	39.2	35.3
Indonesia	43.5	15.3	33.2	8.0
Thailand	30.2	35.0	22.5	12.3

This clustering of students from the five Asian societies in relation to their “intention to participate” was not identified in the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010). The results presented in Table 4.6 originated from the secondary analysis of ICCS data in the current study.

Table 4.7 shows the cluster distribution within each society. Despite different educational levels, cultures, and socio-political contexts among the five societies, the results show that four clusters were adequate to describe the different profiles of students’ “intention to participation” across the five societies.

No specific cluster was classified with more than 50% across the five societies (Table 4.7). Cluster 1 in Indonesia had the highest proportion of students (44%). However, no cluster exhibited more than 44% of the national sample. In each society all groups are represented.

Three East Asian societies, namely, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea, share a certain degree of homogeneity in Participator group proportion. Similar proportions with regard to Active Participators were observed: Taiwan (12%),

Hong Kong (9%), and Korea (11%). Such similarity was also observed for Minimal Participators: Taiwan (32%), Hong Kong (34%), and Korea (35%). By contrast, two South East Asian societies do not follow the same pattern and share only a similar proportion of Minimal Participators: Indonesia (8%) and Thailand (12%).

Despite the above homogeneity in the group proportions of these East and South East Asian societies, identifying a central homogeneity within the sub-regions is difficult because only Hong Kong and Taiwan show similar grouping proportions in all four groups. Korea does not share this similarity in Radical Participators, which is as high as 40%. Indonesia and Thailand share even less commonality despite similar proportions in Minimal Participators. Indonesia and Thailand also have a gap between the other three clusters: a difference of proportion from 10% (Radical Participators), 14% Active Participators), to 20% (Conventional Participators).

The above results will address Research Question 1 and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

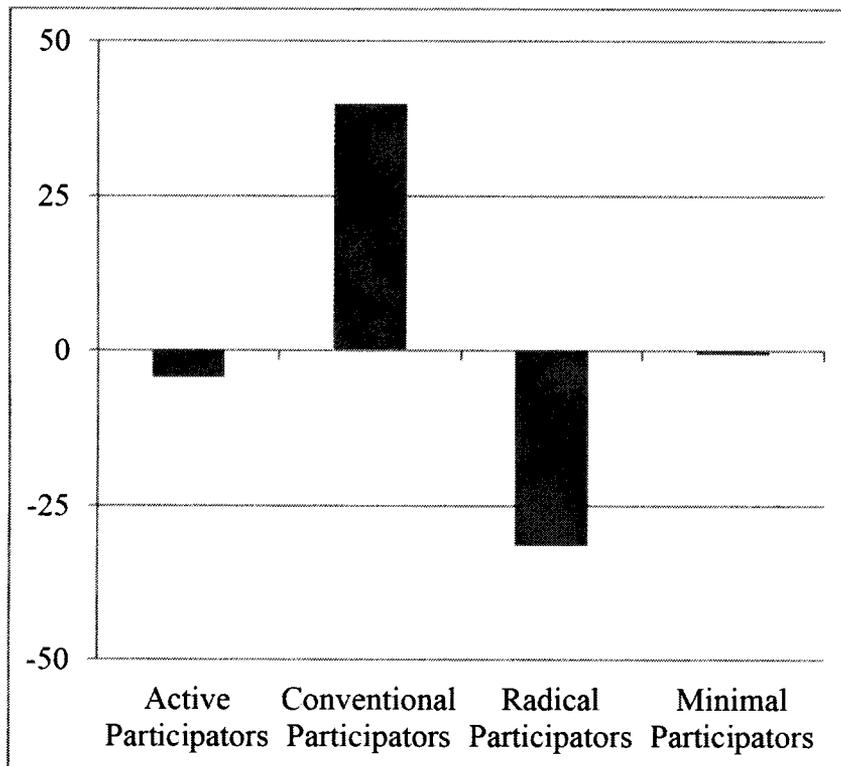
4.4 Variation of civic knowledge across four profiles

This section focuses on the results of analysis regarding Research Question 2.

Based on the above classification of students according to their “intention to participate,” the four profiles are compared to check the corresponding average civic knowledge score in each cluster. To obtain pure cluster (group) effects, the country effect is first removed by estimating the deviance of the individual civic knowledge score of students from the country mean score (Blömeke & Kaiser, 2012). This approach is consistent with centering the outcomes on the country means. Civic knowledge proficiency is represented in five plausible values for each student, and each value is considered in each pair-wise comparisons.



Figure 4.8 Civic knowledge proficiency across “intention to participate” profiles across five societies (PVI mean)



Based on analyzing the first PVs, Figure 4.8 illustrates the score patterns of civic knowledge proficiency across clusters. Conventional Participants and Radical Participants exhibit the highest and lowest scores across all five societies, respectively. Active Participants and Minimal Participants appear to have comparable scores in civic knowledge.

Table 4.8 shows the significance tests for the statistics and effect sizes of the five PVs in each pair-wise comparison. The results across five PVs are largely

consistent and show the same conclusion. Below is an overall conclusion based on the summary of the statistics of significance testing on the means and effect sizes from pair-wise comparisons.

Table 4.8 *Civic knowledge across Participator groups*

<i>Mean</i>	PV1	PV2	PV3	PV4	PV5	Average
Active Participators	-5.62	-4.88	-5.48	-5.30	-5.73	
Conventional Participators	39.85	39.98	40.04	39.55	40.08	
Radical Participators	-31.56	-31.38	-32.80	-31.26	-32.42	
Minimal Participators	-1.34	-0.67	-1.59	-1.60	-1.38	
<i>F statistic</i>	451.37	447.82	452.03	450.30	461.70	452.64
 <i>Cohen's d</i>						
Active Participators v. Conventional Participators	-0.58	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57
Active Participators v. Radical Participators	0.35	0.34	0.37	0.36	0.36	0.36
Active Participators v. Minimal Participators	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03
Conventional Participators v. Radical Participators	0.94	0.93	0.97	0.93	0.95	0.94
Conventional Participators v. Minimal Participators	0.51	0.50	0.52	0.52	0.52	0.51
Radical Participators v. Minimal Participators	-0.37	-0.37	-0.38	-0.36	-0.38	-0.37

Criterion validity

The results show that significant differences exist in the civic knowledge between the four clusters (Table 4.8; average $F = 452.64, p < .001$).

Post-hoc test shows that the pair-wise differences between Participant groups are all significant; however, the effects vary across pairs. The pair-comparisons are reported below.

Active Participants and Minimal Participants show small gaps in average knowledge proficiency (average effect sizes of -0.03). The effect size is smaller than 0.1, which is negligible (Cohen, 1988).

Conventional Participants performs better than Radical Participants in average civic knowledge proficiency (average effect size of 0.94). The effect size is above 0.8, which is considered a large effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Conventional Participants performs better than Active Participants in average civic knowledge proficiency (average effect size of -0.57). The effect size is around 0.5, which is considered a medium effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Conventional Participators performs better than Minimal Participators in average civic knowledge proficiency (average effect size of 0.51). The effect size is around 0.5, which is considered a medium effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Active Participators performs slightly better than Radical Participators in average civic knowledge proficiency (average effect size of 0.36). The effect size is below 0.5, which is considered a small effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Minimal Participators performs slightly better than Radical Participators in average civic knowledge (average effect size of -0.37). The effect size is below 0.5, which is considered a small effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Overall, Conventional Participators showed on average the highest civic knowledge proficiency and Radical Participators showed on average the lowest civic knowledge proficiency. The differences in civic knowledge proficiency between Conventional Participators and Radical Participators support the criterion validity as a measure of external validity. The comparable civic knowledge proficiency between Active Participators and Minimal Participators



may suggest some substantive differences between the two groups because of the large gap in their intention to participate. The above analysis results will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results of the analysis from Chapter 3. The results provide the diverse “intention to participate” of students to classify students into four clusters that show distinctive orientations toward expected active citizenship. The civic knowledge proficiency of students varies across four clusters and across the five Asian societies. Chapter 5 discusses the analysis results.



CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Chapter 4 presented the results of the study, which indicated that students from the five Asian societies could be classified into four distinct groups based on their scores on the “intention to participate” measures used in ICCS 2009. Each group showed a distinctive characteristic in its orientation to expected active citizenship. Each group comprised proportions of students from each Asian society; however, the proportions differed for each group. This implied that common active citizenship attributes were shared by students from different social, political, and cultural contexts. The relationship of these attributes to civic knowledge also differed. Conventional Participators had the highest average civic knowledge score, whereas Radical Participators had the lowest. Active Participators and Minimal Participators had comparable scores close to mid-way between Conventional Participators and Radical Participators. This result suggests that civic knowledge and the development of active citizenship

are related. However, this relationship is not necessarily linear or similar in all aspects of civic participation.

This chapter discusses the findings reported in Chapter 4. The discussion focuses on the two research questions and explores the issues under the following headings:

- Measurement
- Theory
- Practice

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section 5.1 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 1: *How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?* Section 5.2 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 2: *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?* Section 5.3 provides a brief discussion on the hypothesis regarding the intention to participate of students from the East Asian societies and South East Asian societies. Section



5.4 discusses other major implications that can be drawn from this study.

Section 5.5 presents the conclusion.

5.1 Discussion of Research Question 1

This section discusses the results in relation to Research Question 1: How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?

The adoption of a person-centered analysis for this study reflected certain dissatisfaction with variable-centered approaches and sought new ways of understanding how students both within a single society and across societies conceptualized their future civic participation. A cluster analysis of students' "intention to participate" was performed as described in Chapter 3 to address Research Question 1. As shown in Chapter 4, a four-cluster solution was selected to describe students' orientations of intention to participate. The cluster proportions showed variations among the five Asian societies and within each society. The following discussion explores the issues under the following



headings: Measurement (Section 5.1.1), Theory (Section 5.1.2), and Practice (Section 5.1.3).

5.1.1 Measurement

This section highlights the Asian students' attitudes toward future civic participation, which can be understood through an analysis of heterogeneity and homogeneity in the data. Variable-centered analysis highlights uniformity in a data set. This idea is reflected in a large-scale assessment using scale scores to summarize the achievement or characteristics of a national sample of students. Person-centered analysis highlights heterogeneity in data. Heterogeneity is not often observed when traditional variable-centered approaches to data analysis are used. Thus, the students in this study were grouped based on their attitudes toward future civic participation. This classification resulted in four distinct groups that cut across national boundaries. The representatives of these groups could be found in each Asian society, thus demonstrating considerable heterogeneity within societies. This pattern was repeated in each society; hence, considerable regional heterogeneity was also present. For example, national



samples do not comprise over 50% of any group. The largest group of the sample, around 43%, comprised Indonesian students who made up the Radical Participators group. The remaining approximately 57% of Indonesian students were present in the other three groups, namely, Active Participators, Conventional Participators, and Minimal Participators. Asian students cannot be regarded as a homogenous group and individual Asian societies cannot be regarded as homogenous when the students' intention concerning future civic participation is considered.

An important finding of this study is the ability of heterogeneity to characterize the Asian students' attitudes toward future civic participation. The naming of the cluster groups demonstrates the presence of conservatives, radicals, and in-betweens in terms of future participation. This finding have highlighted two points. First, "Asian" students cannot be considered a homogenous group underpinned by a common set of "Asian" values related to civic participation. Second, the Asian students' conceptions of civic engagement are complex, and explanations about conflicting conceptions within national groups cannot be done easily. However, person-centered analysis has the potential to provide nuanced and insightful representations of the conceptions of students and



explain their attitudes toward future civic participation.

As important is the identification of heterogeneity in Asian students' "intention to participate" is, it should not be allowed to obscure what are also important homogenous aspects of the data. For example, several civic activities contained in the scales were endorsed by all groups regardless of group orientation. Voting-related activities represent the area of participation with the highest percentage of engagement across all groups, from the conservative to the radical. Although voting may occur in different cultural contexts (e.g., different kinds of elections and age for voting might vary in different places), participating in voting has a long tradition as a citizenship responsibility in different societies. Voting requires the voter to possess knowledge about electoral processes and appreciate the importance of those processes. This importance is recognized by students in groups with different orientations to the point where it is endorsed more strongly than the other civic activities (>70% across four groups).

Homogeneity was identified in the context of a person-centered analysis.

Frailon et al. (2012) used variable-centered analysis and identified a degree of

homogeneity in the same data set when attention was drawn to the divide between the East Asian societies (Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) and the South East Asian societies (Thailand and Indonesia). This approach is another means of referring to homogeneity in the data from different societies in the region. The person-centered analysis conducted in this study appeared to support sub-regional homogeneity. Table 4.7 shows that the three East Asian societies share a certain degree of homogeneity. These societies have similar proportions of Active Participators (9% in Hong Kong, 12% in Taiwan, and 11% in Korea) and Minimal Participators (32% in Taiwan, 34% in Hong Kong, and 35% in Korea). The two South East Asian societies did not exhibit the same pattern, although they shared a similar proportion of Minimal Participators (Indonesia at 8% compared to Thailand at 12%).

However, a more detailed examination of the data does not fully support the sub-regional homogeneity hypothesis. Initially, only Hong Kong and Taiwan demonstrated a very similar grouping proportion in two groups, that is, Conventional Participators (35% in Hong Kong and 32% in Taiwan) and Radical Participators (23% in Hong Kong and 24% in Taiwan). In contrast, Korea did not share this similarity with around 40% of students in the Radical

Participators group. The South East Asian societies, Indonesia and Thailand, showed more heterogeneity; despite a similar proportion in Minimal Participators (8% in Indonesia and 12% in Thailand), they had a gap between the other three clusters: a difference of proportion from 10% (Radical Participators), 14% (Active Participators), to 20% (Conventional Participators), as shown in Table 4.7.

The subtleties revealed in the analysis are the result of person-centered analysis. This result challenges the contention of sub-regional homogeneity, although the three East Asian societies are more similar than the two South East Asian societies in terms of the scale scores of expected participation in the five sets of civic activities (see Appendix D). The results indicated that the attitudes of students within sub-regions were more complex than the regional divide suggested by the comparisons of scale scores. Further studies may investigate the reasons Korean students are different from their peers in East Asian societies, or the reasons Thailand and Indonesia exhibit more differences than might be expected from a sub-regional hypothesis. Additional data from more societies in Asia may help identify the factors that contribute to these phenomena. Below is a summary of the measurement issues discussed above.

Variation in civic activities

Cluster analysis identified heterogeneity and homogeneity in Asian students' "intention to participate." An activity supported by almost 100% of the students regardless of their group was not identified. Moreover, this study did not identify a dominant group profile with a student proportion of over 50% from any of the five societies. An agreement on the importance of voting as a future civic activity was found across societies despite this heterogeneity. Therefore, voting may be regarded as a form of homogeneity in the Asian students' attitudes toward future civic participation. This result is consistent with recent studies by Cohen and Chaffe (2013) and Torney-Purta et al. (2001), which used samples of Western students who believe voting is an important civic activity. However, the contribution of the current study suggests that voting should be considered with other measures of civic engagement to obtain a better picture of the extent of civic engagement consideration of young people in Asia.

Finally, data homogeneity was observed at the sub-regional level, based on the scale scores of students in the societies involved. However, a person-centered analysis using cluster analysis indicated considerable heterogeneity within these

sub-regions.

Variation in Asian students' orientations of participation

This study explores the heterogeneity of the “intention to participate” of students in five Asian societies. Five typical civic participation activities were chosen as the focus of the analysis, namely, voting, legal protest, illegal protest, formal political participation, and informal political participation. The analysis of the ICCS data set implies the lack of consensus on the attitudes toward expected civic participation across the five societies. The region is marked more by heterogeneity than homogeneity. The attitudes of Asian students toward future civic participation cannot be easily categorized, but they could be placed in four distinct groups. In this sense, heterogeneity is limited but bounded by a continuum of participatory activities that seem to attract supporters, regardless of geography and borders. This contributes by adding empirical evidence to the regional view of Asian citizenship education and its discussion, and this is valuable as Hahn (2010) states the importance of indigenous research.



5.1.2 Theory

The above findings have implications for comparative citizenship education studies based on the literature review in Chapter 2 (Hahn, 2006; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). The present study examines whether the nation-state or national educational system remains the best unit of comparison and analysis (Bray et al., 2007), or whether other useful units of comparison that consider the impact of globalization and increasing global inter-connectedness exist (Kerr, 2012, p. 26). The person-centered approach to analysis was employed in the current study.

This study performed a cluster analysis of the ICCS scale scores, and addressed the call of Levi-Faur (2004) for new innovative approaches to comparative studies through “...new languages, new terms, new procedures and new instruments of inference; it is, in short, to innovate and to move on with a critical view of the dominance of both case-studies and statistical approaches. It also implies an effort to bridge the divide between case-[person-] and variable-oriented research.” These theoretical issues are further discussed in the following sub-sections.

Methodology

This study strategically utilized the large-scale assessment data of ICCS to address methodology issues. The study applied a person-oriented approach in conducting exploratory, bottom-up analysis to multiple, top-down, variable-oriented measures of citizenship education outcomes (the intention to participate in five kinds of civic activities) that result in four groups of students with diverse concepts of active citizenship.

The main advantage of the person-centered analysis is the identification of heterogeneity in the data regarding students' attitudes toward expected future participation. However, this approach can also identify the forms of homogeneity. The results of cluster analysis can also be used to question the findings of previous research based on variable-centered approaches. Multiple methods are more robust in secondary data analysis and more capable of identifying underlying trends and issues compared to the single methods used in the analysis of data from large-scale assessments.



Expected participation among Asian students

The data collected on comparative citizenship education by researchers provide many opportunities for analysis within and among countries. A traditional variable-centered approach to analysis produced comparable scale scores for each society. Cluster analysis produced differences within societies, across societies, and within and across sub-regions, thus providing opportunities for multiple comparisons. These variations in student aspirations for civic participation can be best explained by further comparative studies, such as the reason Taiwan and Hong Kong exhibit high similarity in the structure of cluster groupings. Approximately 32-34% of students in both societies belonged to the Minimal Participators group, and roughly 9-12% were in the Active Participators group. Conventional Participators comprised another approximately 32-35% in each society. The remaining 23-24% comprised Radical Participators.

Korea provided a different example from the other societies. Korea had a larger proportion of Radical Participators (roughly 40%) in the national sample compared to Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, these three societies shared a similar proportion in Active Participators (9-12%) and Minimal Participators

(32-35%). In contrast, Korea had a smaller proportion of Conventional Participators (15%) than the other two East Asian societies.

Indonesia was probably the most extreme case among the societies in this study.

The country showed the highest proportion of Active Participators and Radical

Participators (77%). The high percentage of these two clusters indicated that a

majority of students in Indonesia are highly active in civic participation and

relatively open to illegal protest activities. Indonesia was less similar to its

regional peer, Thailand, in terms of the composition of different kinds of

Participator groups.

This study introduced an alternative approach to the analysis of comparative

citizenship education studies. These approaches and techniques can also be

applied in other areas and settings.



5.1.3 Practice

Classroom teaching

The results also have implications for classroom practice. Teaching must consider this factor because of the diversity of aspirations of students for civic participation. Classroom teaching may be re-considered to make it more student-centric. Teachers should recognize that students may have very different beliefs about the activities prior to attending the class (Banaji, 2008; Bhavnani, 1991; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Ross & Dooly, 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002a, 2002c). For example, the current study demonstrates that a majority of students are inclined to vote in elections in the future, but several students are relatively more negative toward voting. The Minimal Participators are the least inclined to civic participation in the future. Thus, teachers should consider the reasons behind this attitude and encourage them to be more responsible citizens (Wood, Larson, & Brown, 2009). Another example is the participation in protest activities. Students have diversified preferences for engaging in protest activities, as shown in the four cluster groups. However, teachers should allow students to reflect about their own reasons behind their orientations toward protest activities. Thus, the current study suggests the significance of teachers



in recognizing that students are not always a homogenous group in terms of their conceptions of active citizenship; therefore, all options for participation should be the basis for debate and discussion (Haste, 2004; Haste & Hogan, 2006).

Student-centric assessment

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a number of studies have assessed the outcomes of citizenship education, in general, and the notion of active citizenship and civic competence, in particular. The present study has raised several important implications for the assessment of citizenship education that relates to the citizenship knowledge, attitudes, and values of students. Citizenship education has been implemented in various societies, including the five Asian societies in this study. However, the literature does not provide a clear guidance on how to best assess students' civic learning outcomes. Harrison (2012) highlighted the difficulty of citizenship education assessment for schools, especially for classroom teachers.

The current study also has implications for the large-scale assessment of students' citizenship attitudes. The active citizenship conceptions of adolescents



can be assessed via a person-centered approach to data analysis from large-scale assessments. This approach uncovered diversity that may exist in the data, as shown in the four groups that were reported and discussed in Chapters 4. This approach raised additional questions in this study, including the following: Should the focus be on a particular group or everyone in the sample as a whole? Following Torney-Purta (2009), Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2011), and Torney-Purta and Barber (2011), the current study has demonstrated that a more student-centric assessment of citizenship education outcomes can be achieved, and an alternative assessment of civic attitudes can be developed. This study may be regarded as an initial step toward a more student-centric assessment of citizenship outcomes in the context of large-scale assessments (see also Kerr et al., 2009).

Assessment of students' citizenship learning often involves measures of attitudinal attributes. Different from cognitive measures, attitudinal measures are seldom assessed in a normative approach by including "correct answers." Students are asked to endorse individual values and preferences, or to indicate preferences for particular actions. Teachers should develop effective measures of citizenship attitudes to better monitor the learning progress and learning



needs of students and meet appropriate pedagogies. Person-centered analysis explains the assessment of citizenship learning of individual students. This approach has potential teaching benefits. For example, teachers and schools can easily show attentiveness and adapt the curricula and pedagogies if student rejection of civic participation is associated with particular demographic characteristics (Sim, 2012). This approach can better align these attitudes with the learning needs of particular groups of students. Thus, teachers should be more aware of the distribution of attitudes within the class instead of dealing with class averages on particular measures to enable them to cater for diversity rather than assuming uniformity.

This approach is related to the use of formative assessment, as mentioned in Chapter 2. For example, Black et al. (2003) argued that formative assessment benefits teaching because the information provided by formative assessment is useful for shaping teacher evaluation of teaching effectiveness and choice of pedagogies in class. Davies (2011, pp. 200–201) described an example concerning the assessment of student understanding of tolerance when he posed the following question: “What levels of details [of assessment] are needed? If for example, a student said, when reflecting on a riot in a northern English city

that ‘the police are rubbish’, we could not want to accept that statement without knowing a good deal more about the thinking that lay behind it.”

Therefore, teachers should ask students to justify their statements, views, and ideas. The present study indicated that student attitudes might be conservative or extreme for students in Asian contexts. Thus, the reason behind such attitudes should be examined during assessment. Teachers can expect extreme views and should be ready for them. Most importantly, teachers should consider pedagogies that ask students to reflect, discuss, and justify their views.

Placing emphasis on the student in the assessment instead of on the test or the expected conventional answers is consistent with the broader theoretical issues related to person-centered assessment. Thus, student-centric assessment of student outcomes of citizenship education does not only involve testing. Teachers should also select appropriate pedagogies to enable them to understand their students better, the reasons behind their thinking, and the experiences that they should acquire to become informed and active citizens.

This section discussed the findings in response to Research Question 1 and several implications for understanding civic engagement. The discussions were focused on three broad areas, namely, measurement, theory, and practice. For measurement issues, the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the variations in the five civic activities and variations in student orientation towards participation were discussed. For theoretical issues, understanding of the nature of civic engagement from the perspective of Asian students were discussed. For practice issues, implications for classroom teaching of citizenship education and student-centric assessment of citizenship outcomes were discussed. In previous three large-scale assessment projects by IEA on citizenship education as mentioned earlier, an open classroom climate has been found to be important in students' civic learning and relate to their citizenship attitudes.

Section 5.2 discusses the findings in Research Question 2 and their implications for understanding civic competence.

5.2 Discussion of Research Question 2

This section discusses the results in relation to Research Question 2: *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?* As mentioned in Chapter 3, each student's civic knowledge was determined by a set of five plausible values, which were used as the basis for international comparison. Students were assigned to one of the four Civic Knowledge Proficiency Levels (below Level 1, Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3) based on their civic knowledge scores. A huge gap in civic knowledge was found between East Asian and South East Asian societies. Approximately 79% to 86% of students in the former achieved proficiency Level 2 or Level 3, whereas only 25% to 37% of students in the latter achieved such proficiency levels (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 79; see Appendix E). Alternatively, the present study indicates the average civic knowledge proficiency for each of the four clusters. Below is a discussion of these results under the following headings: Measurement (Section 5.2.1), Theory (Section 5.2.2), and Practice (Section 5.2.3).

5.2.1 Measurement

Diversity

Conventional Participators who demonstrated a very high intention to vote and a very low intention to protest illegally possessed the highest average score for civic knowledge. These results are consistent with the finding in the literature that civic knowledge is positively associated with expected voting in elections (Ainley & Schulz, 2011; Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Conversely, Radical Participators had the lowest civic knowledge and remained open to illegal protest. This result is also consistent with the literature that civic knowledge is negatively associated with illegal protest (Ainley & Schulz, 2011). Overall, these findings suggest that higher civic knowledge does not necessarily support higher participation expectation, which is consistent with the literature (Haste, 2010).

Commonality

Active Participators and Minimal Participators appear to have comparable average civic knowledge score, which is close to the overall mean civic knowledge score (=0.00 in Figure 4.8). However, their attitudes toward

expected future participation are reversed. Active Participants are the most active, whereas Minimal Participants are the least active. These results strongly suggest the need to further examine the relationship between civic knowledge and future civic participation (Lopes, Benton, & Cleaver, 2009). Does civic knowledge play an equal and opposite role in shaping student attitudes? For Active Participants, does civic knowledge reinforce their intention to participate? However, does a comparable level of civic knowledge for Minimal Participants simply turn them, on average, cynical about participation? For a number of students, civic knowledge may not serve as a uniform push factor for expected future participation for all students. Conversely, this civic knowledge may manifest in different ways, depending on the students' orientations toward "intention to participate," which has significant implications for citizenship education. Some studies have reported the multiple facets of civic knowledge – content knowledge and civic skills – with secondary analyses of CIVED data (Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012). Other studies reported that civic knowledge may be serving a proxy for socio-economic status (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).



The result suggests the complexity of the relationship between civic knowledge and active citizenship when the latter is conceptualized as multi-dimensional. Much of the literature focuses on single measures of engagement such as voting. However, the scenario changes when different civic activities that are not necessarily related to “voting” are considered; other activities are not necessarily associated with high levels of civic knowledge (Hoskins, d’Hombres, & Campbell, 2008).

The results highlight the complexity of understanding of “civic competence.” Does it require less or more knowledge? Does it include only conventional modes of participation? Should it include more radical modes? These issues are important in relation to the literature on conceptualization and measurement of “civic competence,” mentioned in Chapter 2 by showing another approach to understanding with empirical data an alternative to the composite indicator by Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011). These differing approaches to understanding civic competence do not compete with each other since both approaches can be equally valid. It would be useful to raise here the term “civic potential”, as reflected by the above findings.



Difference between civic competence and civic potential

The initiation of the term “civic potential” is based on the analysis results that show the possible diverse relation of different civic outcomes, i.e., the intention to participate and civic knowledge. It is important to clarify that the use of civic potential is not an umbrella idea to conceptualize and explain the students’ performance of civic outcomes. However, it would be useful to highlight here some differences between civic competence and civic potential.

First, civic competence is more like a trait that is a measure of civic learning outcomes at some point of time. It may undergo changes – both ups and downs in the various concerning outcomes – over time. Civic potential, however, is more like an orientation which is a measure of some directional tendency. Second, Civic competence can be easily defined with a single population using a variable-centered approach whereas civic potential cannot be easily defined in a single population using a person-centered approach, as shown in the current study. Third, a single score is often used as an indicator of civic competence (e.g., Hoskins et al., 2011). Civic potential is suggested here to be represented



by multiple indicators so that it varies depending on the Participator group to which students belong.

5.2.2 Theory

Complexity of “civic potential”

It is important to understand in relation to Research Question 2 that civic knowledge scores in the current study were not analyzed in a decontextualised way as simply the ranking of the students in different country groups. Focus was instead given to civic knowledge in relation to the characteristics of students’ “intention to participate.”

As stated in Chapter 2, cognitive outcomes (e.g., civic knowledge) and affective outcomes (e.g., expected participation or “intention to participate”) are often regarded as additive in nature such as in the work of Hoskins et al. (2008, 2011). When regarded in this manner, such an additive outcome has been used as a single and an overall measure of “civic competence.” The results of the current study have shown that there may be a diverse relationship between civic knowledge and expected participation. Therefore, referring to the “civic



potential” of young adults as previously mentioned to describe expected future civic participation seems more appropriate.

In this connection, notion of civic potential and its discussion is based on this view of this relationship between civic knowledge and future civic action. In the above analysis, Radical Participators appear to have a propensity for action that is not matched with a high level of civic knowledge. Thus, their “competence” in terms of knowledge is low, but they are prepared to act radically. What weight should be given to these two components of “competence”? Put another way, Conventional Participators have high levels of civic knowledge and strong aspirations for contributing to the political system in terms of voting behaviors, but they seem not to think in terms of more radical action. What weight should be given to these different components of “competence”? These are difficult questions to answer, but one point seems clear: regarding them as having “civic potential” recognizes the need for a more balanced judgment of civic action and a more accurate representation of the complexity of student “profiles” (Torney-Purta et al., 2008) in terms of attitudes toward future civic action.



Regarding the use of the notion of civic potential, the issue of comparing students' civic potential in a qualitative sense arises. Variations in civic potential, such as those exhibited by the groups of students in this study, cause difficulty in the judgments about quality. To a very large extent, the quality of civic potential will depend on the outcomes that are considered to be important. Voting and conventional engagement in the political system would appear to be associated with high levels of civic knowledge. If such engagement is required, then the civic potential of these students would appear to be quite high. However, how might such students become more engaged in civil society and engage in other more radical civic actions because their profile suggests that this engagement is not the type they will consider? Similar arguments can be advanced for each group in which civic knowledge and civic actions need to be balanced, and no direct relationship apparently exists between them. More comprehensive indicators that tap diverse citizenship issues may be necessary for assessing students' civic potential and broadening the concepts of civic learning progress. For example, the use of social media by students has an important role in understanding the students' conception of active citizenship since it is related to things students already can do now every day.



One of the most significant problems raised by the current study is the possible tension between civic knowledge and active citizenship. Is simultaneously increasing civic knowledge and the potential for active citizenship possible? According to Janmaat (2013), “If some competences are unrelated to one another, or worse, mutually exclude each other, it is unlikely that pedagogical approaches can be developed which benefit these competences all equally,” and “...it is next to impossible to develop a teaching programme that benefits all civic competences equally.” The heterogeneity shown among the expected civic participation of Asian students therefore represents a considerable challenge if multiple competences ranging from civic knowledge to engagement in protests are to be developed. Janmaat (2013) highlighted the importance of considering local conditions when developing civic competences, which could be important. However, even more important will be the identification of strategies for developing multiple outcomes among students already inclined to some but not all and even resistant to some civic competences. These challenges are further discussed in the section on practical issues with particular reference to citizenship education.



5.2.3 Practice

The foregoing findings on the variation in civic knowledge scores across groups of students also have implications for teaching and learning citizenship knowledge, skills, and values. These implications include the non-deterministic nature of civic knowledge, the trade-off between teaching cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, assessment of both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, importance of critical thinking in citizenship education, and future-oriented citizenship education.

Non-deterministic nature of civic knowledge

This study identified four groups of students exhibiting different intentions to participate and thus possessing different conceptions of active citizenship. Students' civic knowledge scores varied across the four groups. For example, given a comparable civic knowledge scores but contrasting intentions to participate between Active Participators and Minimal Participators, it may suggest that the socializing effect of civic knowledge for civic participation may be non-deterministic because the above results suggested that higher average civic knowledge does not necessarily mean higher expectation for civic actions.



Thus, predicting students' civic knowledge proficiency and whether or how actively students will participate in future civic-political activities is difficult.

These findings have implications for conceptualizing the role of citizenship education and civic knowledge. Civic learning appears to be devoted to the reproduction of law-abiding citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992). However, some situations exist in which illegal protest activities may be effective in restoring social justice and even social order. In these circumstances, students who grow into adult citizens totally rejecting illegal protest may be unable to exercise the full range of civic activities available in a democratic society. Conversely, students growing into adult citizens holding beliefs such as those of the Radical Participants may be able to engage in protest activities to draw attention to important community issues, but these actions will not always be informed by civic knowledge (Manning, 2013). Does this premise imply that civic knowledge has a conservative role in shaping attitudes to civic participation? This important issue should be considered in future research.

Variations in civic knowledge and intention to participate for different groups raise questions about the focus of civic teaching and learning. Numerous studies

have investigated the factors contributing to high civic knowledge proficiency based on the assumption that civic knowledge should be the ultimate outcome of citizenship education (Isac, Maslowski, & van der Werf, 2011; Johnson, 2009). More civic knowledge is implicitly accepted to be always better than less civic knowledge. The current study indicated that several students with high levels of civic knowledge (e.g., Conventional Participators) are reluctant to participate in illegal protests. Illegal protests are sometimes a useful form of political participation (Janmaat, 2013), and unconditional rejection of such activities may become a limitation for civic participation in the future. There is literature discussing the different kinds of civic knowledge while Johnson (2009) particularly discussed “operative knowledge for civic action” and suggested that “operative knowledge for civic action lies at the heart of many political activities and should be assessed whenever researchers attempt to infer the knowledge individuals have of the process for participating in the political life of their society” (p. 52). In relation to the above findings, such knowledge may be useful in linking between civic knowledge and the active participatory actions that were discussed in this study.



The results of the current study have provided challenges for citizenship education in practice. Teachers should recognize that ensuring both active citizenship and civic knowledge is important for students to learn. This idea also raises the issues about what to include and teach in civic knowledge. These issues are addressed in the following sections.

Trade-off between teaching cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes

A significant aspect of this study is the relationship between different outcomes of citizenship education, in particular, the cognitive outcome (i.e., civic knowledge proficiency) and the non-cognitive outcome (i.e., expected active citizenship). Literature is consistent across countries from the ICCS findings that students' expectation to vote in elections has a positive relation with their civic knowledge proficiency. Conversely, students' expectation to protest illegally has a negative correlation with their civic knowledge proficiency (see, for example, Ainley & Schulz, 2011).

Van der Wal and Waslander (2007) have argued that a positive relation indicates a complementarity of outcomes, whereas a negative relation reveals a trade-off. Does this argument imply that citizenship education curriculum has to

be a trade-off between cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes? As previously mentioned, civic knowledge proficiency can be important, but it is not always important in promoting civic action. What seems clear is that a curriculum solely focused on civic knowledge is insufficient to support all forms of civic engagement, although it remains important in some contexts. The full range of civic actions available to citizens must also be part of the school curriculum. Such actions may themselves be in the form of “knowledge on civic action,” but they may also be in the form of providing students with different kinds of civic experiences. A complementarity should exist between civic knowledge proficiency and different kinds of civic actions as part of the school curriculum, rather than a trade-off. A “knowledge only” curriculum would be too limited, and a civic action or experience curriculum may not be based on knowledge and understanding. This study suggests the need for both kinds of curriculum.

Isac et al. (2013, p. 2) took a variable-centered approach to analyzing the ICCS data and suggested that “understanding the extent to which schools make a difference in students’ outcomes related to citizenship and if they are capable of fostering several types of citizenship outcomes simultaneously are issues of the utmost importance in the field of civic and citizenship education.”

This curriculum issue similarly has implications at the classroom level. One issue is concerned with the teaching content, and another with the manner of teaching. An argument had been posited earlier that a trade-off between cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes should not be made, but rather that citizenship education must deal with both outcomes. Based on the findings of this study, several students adopt civic actions while possessing varying levels of civic knowledge. Teachers, therefore, need to closely monitor not only the amount of civic knowledge to which students are exposed, but also the content. In terms of intention to participate, all options need to be explored in the citizenship education classroom, and teachers need to monitor the effects of this setting on students. This study has indicated that the effects are likely to be differential; hence, teachers need to be attuned to the diversity in their classrooms and develop different means of coping with this diversity. Catering for diversity has become an important education process, and the citizenship education classroom is no exception.



Assessment of both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes

Based on the foregoing curriculum discussion, the issues of assessment in citizenship education must also be addressed. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the assessment of educational outcomes has focused on cognitive outcomes, such as knowledge proficiency; however, the focus has recently shifted to non-cognitive outcomes as well (Lipnevich & Roberts, 2012). Can assessment be reoriented to focus on both cognitive and non-cognitive components, and take into account students' attainments in different outcomes? The findings discussed in previous chapters indicated diversity in the relation between the civic knowledge proficiency of students and their intention to participate. For instance, Active Participators, who relatively display the most enthusiasm for expected participation, share comparable average civic knowledge proficiency with Minimal Participators, who relatively exhibit the least active expected participation. Thus, on average a student with high achievement in cognitive outcome, (e.g., civic knowledge proficiency) does not necessarily possess a high level of non-cognitive outcomes (e.g., expected active participation in civic activities). Civic knowledge itself does not necessarily turn them into active citizens. Conversely, on average a student with a high level of non-cognitive outcomes (e.g., high intention to participate) does not necessarily



possess high cognitive outcomes (e.g., civic knowledge proficiency). These results likewise highlight the complexity of transforming civic knowledge into civic actions (Dudley & Gitelson, 2002; Galston, 2001, 2003, 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 1998). The following issue therefore arises: What kind of assessment practices is necessary to address these complexities?

Conventionally, cognitive outcomes (e.g., civic knowledge proficiency) have been of primary concern, particularly in a number of traditional variable-centered analyses. Civic knowledge was the outcome variable used to investigate the effects of other variables. In other kinds of national assessments in Australia and the United States, the focus was similarly on cognitive outcomes (Coley & Sum, 2012; Gebhardt, Fraillon, Wernert, & Schulz, 2011).

Assessing civic knowledge alone is inadequate to form a full understanding of the civic learning of students and their preparedness to become active citizens in society. Lipnevich and Roberts (2012) have argued the case for placing more emphasis on the assessment of non-cognitive outcomes, and this argument adequately fits the case for citizenship education. Civic knowledge will always be important, but it should now take its place alongside attitudinal measures

that provide insight into the manner in which young people appear to develop as citizens.

Importance of critical thinking in citizenship education

Given the varying aspirations that students have for future civic participation and their different levels of civic knowledge, the findings of this study suggest that critical thinking is an important learning component in citizenship education (Audigier, 2000; Garratt & Piper, 2012; Weinstein, 1991) and citizenship/social competence (Geijsel, et al., 2012; Ten Dam & Volman, 2004, 2007). Citizenship education promotes students to become active citizens; nevertheless, emphasizing the reasoned nature behind participation decisions is equally important. Considering critical thinking as an essential component of citizenship classrooms has been suggested by leading civics educators could be useful (De Lissovoy & McLaren, 2006; Giroux, 1994, 2003; Green, 1997; Hill, 2003; Johnson & Morris, 2010, 2012; Lipman, 2003). This view is consistent with the critical model of citizenship (as mentioned in Chapter 2) and the calls from citizenship education scholars for the inclusion of more “critical” elements, such as critical pedagogy, critical thinking, and critical democratic citizenship, in the citizenship education curriculum (see Johnson & Morris, 2010, 2011;

Kennedy, 2010; Veugelers, 2001, 2007). Below is an illustration of the importance of critical thinking in choosing whether to participate in a certain kind of political participation. Voting and illegal protests are two examples selected for discussion.

With regard to voting, citizenship educators have focused on how likely students would vote when they become eligible to vote; nevertheless, they should likewise be concerned with the reasons for why students would vote. In reality, however, certain situations in which citizens may consider voting in an election to be inappropriate may arise. For instance, situations in which candidates in the election are undesirable or several problems with the current election process are suspected cast doubts on the benefits of the election and/ or its results on citizens and society. In these situations, citizens may consider expressing their dissatisfaction toward the candidates or the government by not voting in the election, which remains an effective means of political participation for expressing one's own voice in the community. Alternatively, they could still vote but choose to give a blank vote, indicating that they are against the voting system or the candidates available. Voting in elections is important for active citizenship and for a vibrant democracy, and it should

always be encouraged; however, voting in this example is no longer a “must-do” activity, but an autonomous activity as a result of critical thinking.

The results have indicated the need for citizenship educators to pay attention to adolescents’ view of illegal protests. The findings of the current study imply that although legal protest activities as a peaceful form of expression of youth voice might be encouraged, reservations about participation in violent and illegal protest activities often exist. Questioning the idea of active citizenship/participatory citizenship might be sensible. Hoskins et al. (2012) and Hoskins and Kerr (2012) defined active citizenship (or participatory citizenship) as “participation in civil society, community, and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy.”

Active participation should be non-violent; nevertheless, protesting illegally as a form of civil disobedience to bring the attention of society and government to severe anomalies in society is sometimes useful. Any protest activity should tend to be non-violent, but circumstances arise in which illegal protests could be constructive, for instance, the Arab Spring protests against undemocratic

regimes that were carried out in early 2011. In this connection, civic education should teach students critical thinking to enable them to discern both when and how to protest and the consequences of the protest activity.

Ho, Sim, and Alviar-Martin (2011, p. 272) reported a study of secondary school students in Singapore, one of whom mentioned the possibilities of civil disobedience by illegal protest: “I just read *Civil Disobedience* by Henry David Thoreau ... I think a real citizen is someone ... that remains true to their rights, and would engage in civil disobedience if necessary ... because what the government decides shouldn’t be the end. As a community we have to decide what is right for us as well. When we vote in the government, they represent what we want. So we have the right to disobey what they say because you, you cannot go against our morals. If not, what is the point of being a citizen?” The response of this student also highlights the usefulness of ensuring that the full range of participatory possibilities is presented in the form of civic activities (McLeod, 2012; Sherrod, 2008). This idea is particularly evident in this case of illegal protest because a large number of students, as shown in the above analysis, rejected this form of civic participation. The need for critical thinking in the citizenship education classroom is reinforced, thus allowing student



decisions to be grounded in reason and evidence rather than in emotion and possible outside pressure.

Future-oriented citizenship education

Literature on assessing the level of adolescents' civic competence has largely failed to consider the fact that as adolescents grow, the social, economic, political contexts including the government in which they live likewise rapidly undergo changes (Haste, 2001; Pring, 2012). The "civic potential" displayed by students at the age of 14 will thus be subject to changing social and economic conditions (Bennett, 2007; Malak-Minkiewicz, 2007). Scholars have highlighted the importance of citizenship education that considers the future society.

For example, Veugelers (2007, p. 109) mentioned, "The struggles surrounding citizenship education take place in an ever changing society." Other researchers have also pointed out the changing nature of society and its relation with citizenship education, particularly its role in preparing active citizens. Lee (2012b, p. 499) stated, "In a fast-changing world, all countries need to react continuously and responsively, and fast, in preparing the new generation for



change and communicating with the populace what the government expects from them as active citizens.” Lee (2012b, p. 509) also referred to the notion of “future-oriented citizenship” that “acknowledges the reality and necessity of change; it looks beyond the present and accepts uncertainty. It moves from being to becoming. It requires an open mind towards what is emerging, and ability in sense-making about what is emerging.”

Ongoing conceptual arguments on citizenship education and its role are expected to continue as “conceptual changes take place notwithstanding, most of these concepts are reflective of the times and contexts, and look forward, so we need a future-oriented perspective of citizenship” (Lee, 2012b, p. 512). In particular, Lee (2012b, p. 509) explained that “the conceptual change of citizenship reflects the changing socio-political conditions of the time, and people’s concept towards citizenship and human rights.”

In connection with the findings in the current study, while recognizing the changes anticipated in the future society, realizing that their conception of active citizenship in their early adolescence (e.g., at 14 years old in this case) is similarly subject to change is crucial for students. For example, several students

totally reject illegal protests, whereas others substantially support voting; to address or respond to the challenges, developments, and activities emerging in the future, teachers should encourage the students to be flexible and autonomous about engaging in these activities with critical and rational thinking, thus enabling them to effectively adapt to the changes and uncertainties they are faced with in the future (Veugelers, 2004). Their active citizenship should be based on reasoned choice in real situations rather than on certain strict and unchanged beliefs, rules, models, or traditions in mind.

Students should be guided in realizing that as a society changes over time, the economic and political conditions likewise change, and so too could their citizenship values. Living and adapting to change may be considered an important citizenship value in itself.

This section discussed the findings in response to Research Question 2 and several implications for understanding civic competence, and raised the concept of “civic potential.” The above discussions focused on three broad areas, namely, measurement, theory, and practice. For measurement issues, the commonality and diversity of civic knowledge scores among the four cluster

groups, as well as the problems associated with the notion of “civic competence” were discussed. For theoretical issues, the complexity of “civic potential” was discussed. For practice issues, the non-deterministic nature of civic knowledge, teaching and assessment of both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, importance of critical thinking, and future-oriented citizenship education were illustrated.

5.3 School systems, social norms and active citizenship

Based on the above discussion on active citizenship and the different school systems across the five Asian societies, it is possible to ask questions about the association, if any, between national objectives of citizenship education and active citizenship. An important question may be: To what extent do school systems promote these different forms of active citizenship? For example, are Indonesia students encouraged to be active in participation based on their national citizenship education curriculum? At the same time questions might also be asked about out-of-school impacts on students’ views concerning their future civic participation. To take the Indonesian example again, are there factors within Indonesian society related to history, culture or social norms that



might help to explain the results? Seeking such explanations might form a long term research agenda but it will be useful here to explore the results in light of possible explanations that can be advanced.

Association with the school systems and social norms

From the above results, the Active Participators showed a higher proportion in the South Asian societies (>30%) than in the East Asian societies (~10%). In particular, the Active Participators showed the largest proportion in Indonesia (44%). On the other hand, Minimal Participators showed a higher proportion in East Asian societies (>30%) than in the South East Asian societies (~10%). However, when Radical Participators, which are relatively more “active” in terms of illegal protest, showed a higher proportion in Korea (an East Asian society). There are a number of possible ways to try and account for these results as indicated by previous research such as the mode of delivery of civic education (Fairbrother & Kennedy, 2011), civic topics identified as important in each system (Schultz et al., 2010) and factors outside school (Lauglo, 2010). There is not scope in this thesis to provide an exhaustive explanation for the results, but these issues and their relevance will be explored below.

Mode of delivery of civic education

In relation to mode of delivery it is possible to identify such modes for each of the five societies, it can be referred to Table 1.1 in Chapter 1. Fairbrother and Kennedy (2011) have evaluated the impact of varying approaches to civic education curriculum and citizenship learning outcomes. Based on the sophisticated statistical analysis of empirical data from the IEA CivEd study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), their study has shown that the impact of curricular approaches is somewhat negligible: "...only a small percentage of variance in the dependent variables of civic knowledge, knowledge of democracy, and (to a lesser extent) patriotism is explained by curricula approaches, classroom learning, classroom practices and climates..." (p. 440). It might be assumed, therefore, that while modes of delivery differ across the region (single subject in Taiwan, Korea and Indonesia but more cross curricular in Hong Kong and Thailand) that this variation may not in itself be sufficient to account for the distribution of students' future civic participation. Nevertheless, this could be a useful area for future research. What may be more important is the actual content of citizenship education and this will be explored in the following section.



Civics topics identified as important in each system

The ICCS 2009 national contexts survey collected information regarding the emphasis given to topics in curriculum of civic and citizenship education for students of each of the participating societies. According to the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 51-52), the emphasis given to topics in the curriculum of civic and citizenship education for students in the five Asian societies under study can be summarized in Table 5.1.



Table 5.1 *Emphasis given to the curriculum of civic and citizenship education in the five Asian societies.*

Society	Topics								
	Human rights	Legal systems and courts	Understanding different cultural and ethnic groups	Parliamentary and governmental systems	Voting and elections	The economy and economics	Voluntary groups	Resolving conflict	Regional institutions and international organizations
Taiwan	▲	●	▲	●	●	▲	▲	▲	▲
Hong Kong	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Korea	●	●	●	●	●	●	▲	●	▲
Indonesia	●	●	●	●	●	▲	▲	▲	▲
Thailand	▲	●	●	●	●	●	▲	●	▲

Source: Schulz et al. (2010, p.51-52)

- Major emphasis
- ▲ Some emphasis
- No emphasis

Since civic and citizenship education is not carried in a specific or curriculum subject in grade 8 in Hong Kong schools, it appears there is no particular emphasis across these topics. The emphasis across topics varies between “major emphasis” and “some emphasis” among the remaining four societies. In particular, it is convergent across the four societies that “legal systems and courts”, “voting and elections” and “parliamentary and governmental systems” received major emphasis. However, it showed divergence among the four societies in emphasis given to the topic “human rights”, which received “major emphasis” in Indonesia and Korea and received “some emphasis” only in Thailand and Taiwan. It is interesting to note that such divide between these groups of societies is also seen in the percentage of Radical Participators in these four societies: >33% students in Indonesia and Korea while <25% students in Thailand and Taiwan belonged to the group of Radical Participators . Could it be that teaching about human rights has to potential to encourage radical participation in the future for young people? This is a finding that deserves further research since its implications are very significant.

Factors outside of school

Kennedy, Kuang and Chow (2013, p. 260) indicated:

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.

The current study expands on this point in the sense that it does not suggest students are both traditional and radical, as in the above quotation, but that they are either traditional or radical. It also suggests that civic knowledge plays a key role but not one previously considered. That is, lack of it may lead to greater radicalism and more of it to conservatism. That is, the same school curriculum, the same cultural influences and the same social norms produce civic different outcomes for individual students. This claim is also consistent with the observation by Fairbrother (2008) that students’ civic learning and the acquisition of certain conception of participation is taking place in both formal and informal environments outside schools, and may be related to other individual cognitive factors such as critical thinking. Perhaps it is all about individual? Individuals respond to their environment in different ways. There may be interaction effects between multiple factors: students’ commitment to traditional values, how they endorse a local protest culture, and how they choose to react to these different cultural forces. It is important to note that these multiple factors are all out of school factors and happen beyond the influences of the school systems.

The current study may reveal these protest cultures – the percentage of Radical Participators varied across the five Asian societies – 24% in Taiwan, 23% in Hong Kong, 39% in Korea, 33% in Indonesia, and 23% in Thailand. But the important point to note is that these influences affect only some students within each society and in Korea they affect more students than they do in other

societies. Although it may be hard to quantify the protest culture and its effect in each of these societies, it can be probably stated with some confidence that the influence of protest culture varies both within and between societies.

Besides, Kennedy et al. (2013) basically showed that traditional values exerted differential effects across the region in terms the effects on the students' civic knowledge as well as their participation in schools. With multiple levels of data—schools and individual students—multi level modeling has shown that for some societies these effects were at the classroom level and for others they were at the individual level. This is also evidence that is consistent with regarding the complexity of the results across the five Asian societies, as shown in the current study. There are across the five Asian societies multiple influences that operate both inside and outside schools. For the influences outside schools, the level and actual effects of those influences may also vary between societies, as in the way the protest cultures may have impacts on individual students in the above.

In Section 5.4, two important implications of this study beyond those previously discussed are expounded.

5.4 Other important implications

Two important implications emerge from the above findings, namely, further implications for “civic potential” and implications for civic potential in the five Asian societies.

The discussion on the findings with regard to Research Question 2 has highlighted the diversity of the students’ intention to participate and its relation with civic knowledge. In addition to the implications for understanding civic engagement (Section 5.1) and civic competence (Section 5.2), this study likewise raised the issue of how students’ potential to become active and informed citizens can be understood based on the above findings. In particular, the concept of “civic potential” was introduced to illustrate this point. In understanding “civic potential,” both students’ intention to participate and their civic knowledge are considered. While civic knowledge does not directly predict intention to participate, Section 5.4.1 discusses how civic knowledge is important in active citizenship despite having mixed relations with intention to participate. Section 5.4.2 discusses the implications of civic potential in the five Asian societies.



5.4.1 On “civic potential”

Importance of civic knowledge

In the previously discussed results, the role of civic knowledge at times appeared to be problematic, and intention to participate appeared to be the strongest motivator for civic participation (e.g., Active Participators are more likely to participate in civic activities than Minimal Participators). Thus, highlighting the fact that the quality and effectiveness of participation will largely depend on the level of civic knowledge proficiency of citizens is important. On the other hand, expected participation also depends on opportunities provided in the society. In understanding how civic knowledge may be crucial in active citizenship, highlighting two cases may be useful in which a contrast between levels of civic knowledge and intention to participate exists, namely, the case of low civic knowledge and high intention to participate, and the case of high civic knowledge and low intention to participate.

Low civic knowledge and high intention to participate

Section 5.2 stated that some students hold high intention to participate, but possess relatively little civic knowledge. These students are more represented in the two South East Asian societies than in the three East Asian societies. Various studies have reported that effective participation requires certain civic knowledge proficiency (Hoskins et al., 2011; Isac et al., 2011, 2013; Janmaat, 2013; Schulz et al., 2010). Students with poor civic knowledge yet high aspirations for participation and in reality take part in civic actions could pose risks. One possibility, for example, is that these students will not have mastered



the reasons and appropriate circumstances for protest activities as well as how to effectively achieve the intended outcomes. These students with weak civic knowledge may have an imagined outlook of society yet have no realistic picture. Another more problematic possibility is that when these students may not understand the interplay of the roles of society, government, and citizens, they may be misled by groups, such as political parties, to engage in participation that may have no point or no good to society. This situation is echoed with the issue raised by Hart and Gullan (2010) who suggested that those least knowledgeable about political institutions might be mobilized to engage in illegal protest activities in certain situations.

High civic knowledge and low intention to participate

Earlier in this chapter, students in the three East Asia societies were mentioned to show, on average, much higher civic knowledge proficiency than their peers in South East Asia (Appendix E). However, the high civic knowledge achievement of the former group does not directly translate into high intention to participate. For example, within these East Asian societies, several students (e.g., Minimal Participators) were relatively unlikely to participate in those civic activities (except voting behaviours) in the future. Thus, determining why civically knowledgeable students tend not to engage in political participation is an interesting topic. “Passive citizenship” may be one possible explanation. The case could be that some of them have little political interest or political efficacy to take part in activities that matter. Conversely, some of them could have political interest and efficacy, but they may not believe that those participation activities themselves will bring a real impact to the society, and thus they



appear relatively less motivated to engage in them. Another explanation may be standby citizens (Amnå, 2010; Amnå, & Zetterberg, 2010). Unless they participate in real society, these students may not produce better participation than students with lower civic knowledge. The underlying reason for the apparent inactive participation could be worth following up in further studies (Leung, 2006).

5.4.2 Implications of “civic potential” in the five Asian societies

Although the study reported the analyses of adolescents aged 13 to 14 years, patterns of intention to participate (e.g., Active Participators, Conventional Participators, Radical Participators, or Minimal Participators) among older adolescents or even adults can be anticipated to emerge; nevertheless, the patterns may differ for different cohorts. From this perspective, the reported findings on intention to participate or conception of active citizenship may have implications for all citizens, including adolescents, in a society.

Cultures of active citizenship and democracy are shaped by citizens in the society, in particular, their conception of active citizenship (Bennett, 2007; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Richardson & Torney-Purta, 2008; Teorell, 2006; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). In this sense, the civic culture of a society (Almond & Verba, 1963) is influenced by its citizens who may have a range of beliefs about active citizenship (Pattie, Seyd, & Whiteley, 2004). Adolescents



are believed to be able to shape and color existing civic culture in new ways because they will be the next generation of adult citizens in the coming years.

In the above analysis, groups of adolescents with different intentions toward civic participation were identified. The representation of these groups within the five societies varied. For instance, Active Participators comprised roughly 10% of the participants in the three East Asian societies, but comprised 30% or above in their South East Asian peers. Given the different status of democracy and development of civil society in these five societies, these groups could be anticipated to shape the process and direction from where the society will move toward building democracy and a flourishing civil society in the future.

In a society in which democracy is absent, such as in Hong Kong, Conventional Participators and Minimal Participators may not substantially help in moving the community society toward a more democratic society. The reason is that these two groups will probably maintain and reinforce the current status quo government in which democracy or political reforms toward democracy are relatively rare.

In a stable democracy, such as Taiwan, Conventional Participators may be able to keep the political system healthy and running through voting behavior and peaceful protest. Taiwan and Hong Kong exhibited a certain commonality in the proportions of groups within each society. Korea, in contrast, demonstrated several differences with a much higher proportion of Radical Participators. The same case is evident in Indonesia. Both Indonesia and Korea are characterized

by their Radical Participators as the highest proportion of all groups. Given that Radical Participators are more inclined toward illegal protests, suggesting that this particular orientation of active citizenship may shape the civic culture of these societies is reasonable. Alternatively, this premise may be explained by the greater acceptability of protest activities in the culture of Korea and Indonesia compared to other societies as evident in the various news reports on protest activities from these two societies, which include the anti-globalization protest among Korean peasants and anti-Chinese immigrants protest among native Indonesians. These socio-cultural forces and/or cultural traditions may be relatively more prevalent in these two societies than in other societies, and an interaction may exist between civic culture and the apparently more acceptable illegal protests in these two societies.

Compared with Indonesia, Thailand is characterized by a more even distribution of groups; thus, the dominant effect on civic culture may be more difficult to determine. The relatively more even distribution of groups may reflect the current context in Thailand where a constitutional monarchy appears to be a stabilizing force within the intense competition between different groups for political power. Ballot-box democracy has an important role in Thailand, but so too do street protests. A civic culture that is both conventional and radical depending on the situation may account for what some view as turbulence in Thai politics. If this case is true, then gaining a better understanding of these conflicting trends in political development and how they can be identified for the purpose of better citizenship education is important. Understanding these trends better is a recognition of the multidimensional nature of both citizenship

responsibilities and the actions citizens are prepared to take to support their views on democracy and how best to achieve its goals.

These plausible speculations above are based on the findings in this study; however, the actual effects of each group's impact on democratic development in a particular society need to be confirmed in follow-up investigations. The scenarios depicted above are tentative and speculative, but they highlight the issue that if a large proportion of citizens are inactive, society will likely have a passive and conventional civic culture that could have perhaps more Minimal and Conventional Participators rather than Active and Radical participators. This premise does not imply that a direct causal relation between the attitude of citizens and civic culture of a society exists; however, arguing that civic culture in a society is associated with the participation intention and action of citizens, and vice versa, is a reasonable assumption. In this connection, the findings of this study suggest a new perspective of inquiry in investigating the civic and political culture that highlights the dynamics between groups of citizens who hold similar and different conceptions of active citizenship.

5.5 Conclusion

The findings discussed above suggest the existence of both homogeneity and heterogeneity in terms of four groups within and between the five Asian societies in terms of students' intention to participate, as well as provide a fresh understanding of civic engagement. When intention to participate and civic



knowledge were both considered, data suggested the existence of a complex relationship between the two components across different groups. Civic competence as understood in literature is challenged, and “civic potential” has been introduced. The meaning of student response and its relationship with group membership, and the implications for understanding the students’ construction of active citizenship were discussed. In addition to civic knowledge, promoting critical thinking and a future-oriented citizenship are suggested to be important in citizenship teaching and learning. Civic culture could likewise be directly affected by the attitudes of future citizens toward participation, and a lack of intention to participate might result in a passive civic culture.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Chapter 5 discussed the results of the study and the implications for measurement, theory, and practice. In particular, the preceding sections focused on examining the implications of homogeneity and heterogeneity in the data relating to the students' intention to participate as well as their civic knowledge. The complexity of the results regarding the five Asian societies was highlighted. Furthermore, the implications of understanding the students' construction of active citizenship and notion of civic competence were discussed. The previous section suggests that considering the students' civic potential is more appropriate than focusing on their civic competence. Likewise, promoting critical thinking and future-oriented citizenship education will be important in the future.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section 6.1 summarizes the discussion in previous chapters. Section 6.2 describes the contributions of the thesis. Section 6.3 delineates the limitations of the study. Section 6.4 highlights the implications for future research. Section 6.5 presents the conclusion.



6.1 Summary of the thesis

Chapter 1 introduced the focus of the study, contexts of the research, research gap, values of the study, and organization of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on students' conceptions of active citizenship. Traditionally, citizenship education has its roots from the West, and so existing studies have relied on a Western perspective. Citizenship education studies, including empirical analyses, are often limited to Western countries (for instance, only one Asian society participated in the 1999 CivEd study, and none did in the 1971 study). Alternative views of citizenship, therefore, have been taken for granted until recently. At present, the Asian region has seen a growing body of work on the ideas underpinning Asian citizenship education and its unique characteristics (Grossman et al., 2008; Kennedy et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2004). Such ideas are rarely dealt with in traditional Western discussions.

Several researchers have developed competency indicators for active and informed citizens, such as civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and behaviors. Given the limitation of existing work on civic competence, "civic potential" has been proposed in this thesis as an alternative concept to describe specifically the civic development of early adolescents. Nevertheless, efforts in developing measures for civic competence have focused on the comparative perspectives in the field of citizenship education, where international large-scale assessment projects on citizenship education such as the ICCS play an important role.



Two research questions were proposed: *How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?*, and *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?*

Chapter 3 outlined the research methodology and the methods used in this study. In this study, the methodology chosen was secondary analysis of ICCS data from the five participating Asian societies: Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand. The analysis focused on the students' intention to participate, as well as on their civic knowledge proficiency both within and between these societies. The method chosen to conduct the analysis was a person-centered approach instead of the usual variable-centered approach. As such, cluster analysis was chosen for this purpose. In addition, ANOVA was used to test the differences between groups.

Chapter 4 presented the results of the analyses. Three major findings were presented. The first finding is related to Research Question 1, i.e. *How does students' intention to participate compare within and between five Asian societies, and what are the implications for understanding civic engagement?* The intention to participate of Asian students differed across the five Asian societies. Nonetheless, cluster analysis made it possible to identify four different groups based on the ICCS scale scores. These four groups are as follows:



1) Active Participators are those who demonstrate high intentions to participate across all kinds of civic activities.

2) Conventional Participators are those who exhibit high intention to vote in elections, although they have rather low intention to protest illegally and moderate intentions to participate in other civic activities.

3) Radical Participators are those who, unlike the previous two groups, show relatively lower intention to vote in elections, but have much higher intentions to protest illegally.

4) Minimal Participators are those who possess low intention to participate in all kinds of civic activities.

Second, the proportions of these four groups varied across the five Asian societies, showing both homogeneity and heterogeneity. The three East Asian societies—Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea—shared a certain degree of homogeneity with regard to group proportions, with similar proportions of Active and Minimal Participators. On the other hand, the two South East Asian societies—Indonesia and Thailand—did not follow a particular pattern, aside from sharing a similar proportion of Minimal Participators.

Despite the homogeneity in group proportions within the respective East Asian and South East Asian societies, identifying significant homogeneity within the sub-regions was quite difficult because, at first glance, only Hong Kong and Taiwan showed very similar grouping proportions in all four groups among the East Asian societies studied. In contrast, Korea showed an exceptionally higher percentage of Radical Participators, with 39%. The South East Asian societies

appeared to be more heterogeneous. Despite having similar proportions of Minimal Participators as mentioned previously, Indonesia and Thailand demonstrated a substantial gap in the other three groups: a difference of proportion from 10% (Radical Participators), 14% (Active Participators), to 20% (Conventional Participators).

The third finding involves the answer to Research Question 2: *How does civic knowledge proficiency compare across different orientations of intention to participate, and what are the implications for understanding civic competence?*

On average, across the five Asian societies, Conventional Participators showed the highest civic knowledge score, whereas Radical Participators showed the lowest. On the other hand, Active and Minimal Participators shared comparable midway levels of civic knowledge scores.

Chapter 5 discussed the findings of the study. The results provided the implications for understanding civic engagement and civic competence as a response to the two research questions.

First, homogeneity and heterogeneity exist within and between the five Asian societies with regard to the students' orientation of intention to participate. Diversity and commonality also exist in the civic knowledge scores of the students across the four groups.

Second, with regard to the expected civic engagement of the students, the students showed differing orientations in expected civic participation, as



reflected in the four identified groups. The meaning of the students' response to the items regarding their intention to participate, its relation with the cluster membership, and the implications for our understanding of adolescents' construction of active citizenship were discussed in detail.

Third, this study argued that describing the civic and political development of adolescents through civic competence may be problematic. As such, the study proposed a broader construct referred to earlier as "civic potential," which presents an accurate depiction of the multiple levels of civic knowledge among the youth and their expected future civic participation.

Section 6.2 will describe the contributions of the thesis.

6.2 Contributions of the thesis

This section highlights the contributions of the thesis, with emphasis on measurement, theory, and practice.

6.2.1 Measurement

Diversity of students' intention to participate

In the ICCS, adolescents from five Asian societies—Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand—responded to questions concerning their future civic participation. The participants were asked about their future

participation in five general kinds of civic activities: 1) legal protest, 2) illegal protest, 3) voting, 4) formal political activities, and 5) informal political activities. These civic activities are important activities through which adult citizens can exercise active citizenship within their society. Voting enables citizens to select the representatives they would like to represent them in political offices and in the government. Through legal protests, citizens can express their opinion by means of non-violent forms of rallies, demonstrations, and other activities. Illegal protest is another form of protest in which the activities involved are often more explicit and induce legal consequences, although such protests are not necessarily violent. Finally, formal political activities refer to the affiliations maintained with political parties or trade unions, whereas participation in informal political activities involves discussions and communication about political and social issues.

The five measures of civic activities provided students with the opportunity to indicate how they will participate in the future, and to what extent that participation will be. Through the students' responses to a list of 20 Likert-type items, the 14-year-old participants indicated how they want their civic life to be when they reach adulthood. Their answers are an indication of their aspirations, hopes, and desire to shift from an individual, private life to a public life in their adulthood (Beane, 2002; Bynner, 2005; Flanagan, 2013; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Sim & Low, 2012). The students who are ready to live actively in public life are likely to show intention or tendencies to participate in a range of activities. In contrast, those students who are not ready to participate are likely to show little intention to participate in public life.

The current study has shown the diversity of students' orientations regarding civic participation. The results and discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 showed that the data for the five Asian societies exhibited both homogeneity and heterogeneity as regards the orientation of students toward participation in the five types of civic activities. In the study, cluster analysis, which is a person-centered approach to analysis, showed that across the five societies, understanding the adolescents' conception of active citizenship can be categorized under four basic groups. The empirical data suggested four groups: 1) Active Participators are those who are highly active and enthusiastic to engage in civic activities; 2) Conventional Participators may be those who regard informed voting as a duty and obligation, and are totally reluctant to participate in illegal activities; 3) Radical Participators are those who have lower intention to participate in informed voting compared with Active and Conventional Participators, but are more open toward illegal protest activities; and 4) Minimal Participators are those who are very reluctant to participate in civic activities, although the majority are positive toward voting.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, this finding is largely consistent with literature that indicates the possibility of classifying citizens into three or four kinds according to their orientation toward active citizenship, which include responsible citizens, conventional citizens, and social-justice citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The finding also shows similarities with another proposal by Banks (2008) that there are four types of citizens in a hierarchy: legal, minimal, conventional, and transformative. The results likewise demonstrate several overlaps with

Veugelers' (2007) proposal of three kinds of citizens: adapting, individualistic, and critical-democratic. How these different types of citizens are related is already beyond the scope of the current study. However, such discussion may be a worthy direction for future investigation.

Comparative citizenship education studies

With regard to comparative citizenship education, this study demonstrated a new perspective from which the students' intention to participate and civic knowledge proficiency can be compared within and between the five Asian societies. Furthermore, a comparison of the scale scores of the five sets of civic activities provided by the ICCS International Report (Schulz et al., 2010) suggested that a general sub-regional divide exists between the South East Asian (i.e., Indonesia and Thailand) and East Asian (i.e., Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea) societies with regard to the intention to participate (See Appendix F). However, cluster analysis, a person-centered analytical method primarily adopted in the current study, showed a picture of further complexities within each sub-region, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The study showed that across the five societies in question, the adolescents can be divided into four groups, and the proportions of these groups in each society varied. Among the three East Asian societies, Taiwan and Hong Kong were similar in terms of the proportion of the four groups. On the other hand, Korea exceptionally showed a much larger proportion of Radical Participators. The two South East Asian societies, however, showed greater heterogeneity. Indonesia and Thailand demonstrated a gap in the other three groups, a



difference in proportion from 10% (Radical Participators), 14% (Active Participators), to 20% (Conventional Participators) (Refer to Chapter 4).

With regard to civic knowledge, Conventional Participators scored the highest across all five Asian societies in civic knowledge, whereas Radical Participators scored the lowest. Active and Minimal Participators had comparable midway scores between those in Conventional Participators and those in Radical Participators. This difference in civic knowledge raised many important issues about the relationship between civic action and knowledge.

6.2.2 Theory

From “civic competence” to “civic potential”

In contrast with the extant literature on conceptualizing and measuring “civic competence,” this study investigated how the civic outcomes of students can be alternatively assessed through their civic knowledge proficiency and intention to participate by means of a person-centered analysis. Instead of analyzing a single measure of participation (e.g., voting) as in traditional analyses, such as the regression analyses conducted in literature (see e.g., Ainley & Schulz, 2011), this person-centered analysis incorporated multiple measures of intention to participate: voting, legal protest, illegal protest, as well as formal and informal political activities.



Transforming civic knowledge into civic action is an essential part of citizenship education in every society. Thus, this study questions the transformation of civic knowledge into civic action, given that the study revealed adolescents who show the highest knowledge do not necessarily show the highest expectation for civic participation, and vice versa. This observation further complicated the nature of the relationship between civic knowledge and expected active participation. Moreover, while Radical Participators have the average lowest civic knowledge score, determining whether civic knowledge may limit illegal protest is relevant. Given that illegal protest activities may be important civic actions in some circumstances, participation in these civic actions should be based on rational decisions.

Therefore, the results of the study suggest that judging the civic competence of students can be difficult when based only on either the civic knowledge or their intention to participate. Comprehensive indicators that elicit diverse citizenship outcomes may be necessary to assess the students' civic learning progress. Such measure cannot be achieved by summing selected indicators of citizenship outcomes as some studies have performed (e.g., Hoskins et al., 208, 2011). Moreover, for these 14-year-old students, claiming they could be civically competent is rather difficult. Hence, this study suggested that using the term "civic potential" to guide the discussion of youth's civic learning outcomes in their transition to adulthood is more appropriate, given that their civic education is still ongoing. Using the concept of civic potential also highlights the possibility in the future.



The current study showed the complexity between civic knowledge and active citizenship. With the argument that enhancing civic knowledge and active citizenship simultaneously may be easier thought than done, Janmaat (2013, p. 53) stated, “If some competences are unrelated to one another, or worse, mutually exclude each other, it is unlikely that pedagogical approaches can be developed which benefit these competences all equally.” Furthermore, he said “...it is next to impossible to develop a teaching programme that benefits all civic competences equally” (p. 55). Given that both active citizenship and civic knowledge demonstrated homogeneity and heterogeneity among the five societies, citizenship education should be tailored to meet local needs (Kennedy, 1997, 2012; Lee, 2010; Mascherini, Vidoni, & Manca, 2011). With the varying contexts of students’ needs, “such a program needs to take local conditions impinging on efforts to foster civic competences into account” (Janmaat, 2013, p. 60).

6.2.3 Practice

Civic teaching and learning

The results have several implications for the classroom. Given the diversity of the students’ aspirations for civic participation, as discussed in Chapter 5, teaching must take the students’ different orientations toward active participation and corresponding learning needs into account. Moreover, if several characteristics of the students are associated with the students’ orientation of how to participate, the teachers may find it useful to recognize

these characteristics for classroom teaching and pedagogies. For example, while Minimal Participators may be least inclined toward civic participation in the future, teachers may find it useful to learn the reasons behind such a disposition and to seek ways to encourage these students to be more responsible citizens (Wood, Larson, & Brown, 2009), as studies have shown that future expectation may affect present learning (Haste & Hogan, 2012).

Assessment of citizenship outcomes

This study has shown that adolescent conception of active citizenship can be assessed by means of a person-centered approach that analyzes data from large-scale assessments of citizenship education. Instead of summarizing the measure of a variable for a whole group, such as students in a classroom, person-centered analysis assesses the profiles of citizenship attitudes in multiple groups of students. Thus, the commonality and diversity among the learning outcomes of students can be represented. Attention can be also given to the use of formative assessment at the classroom level (see Black et al., 2003) as a means of providing feedback to individual students. Such efforts would lead to their better understanding of the progress of their civic learning. Likewise, teachers can learn from formative assessment regarding their teaching and whether they would need to make any changes to facilitate learning.

Trade-off of teaching cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes

As discussed in Chapter 5, this study may suggest both complementarity and trade-off between the cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes of citizenship (Van der Wal & Waslander, 2007). Similarly in Ainley and Schulz (2011), in this



study, civic knowledge proficiency appears to be positively associated with expected voting behavior and negatively associated with expected illegal protest behaviors. Thus, the results suggest both complementarity and trade-off between the outcomes of citizenship education, which has implications for citizenship education. For example, would it be possible to teach as effectively for two citizenship outcomes that may express a negative relationship (Banaji, 2008; Hess, 2004)? What are the best practices in civic education with regard to the changes in students' civic outcomes (Syvertsen, Flanagan, & Stout, 2007)? What knowledge is most valuable (Johnson, 2009; Uljens, 2007)? In line with the outcomes of this study, Isac et al. (2013) suggested, "Understanding the extent to which schools make a difference in students' outcomes related to citizenship and if they are capable of fostering several types of citizenship outcomes simultaneously are issues of the utmost importance in the field of civic and citizenship education."

Critical thinking in citizenship education

This study emphasized that tension may sometimes exist between civic knowledge proficiency and intention to participate (at least for some students such as Conventional Participators). This proposal is consistent with the critical model of citizenship discussed in Chapter 2 and with the calls from citizenship education scholars to include "critical" elements such as critical pedagogy, critical thinking, and critical democratic citizenship in the citizenship education curriculum (see Johnson & Morris, 2010, 2011; Kennedy, 2010; Veugelers, 2001, 2007). As such, citizenship educators may find it useful to highlight the importance of critical thinking in active citizenship, where civic knowledge

serves as the basic element. Nevertheless, students can make their own choice of participation guided by critical thinking. The findings in this study proposed considering critical thinking as an essential component of citizenship classes, as supported in literature (e.g., Barnett, 1997; Hill, 2003; Johnson & Morris, 2010, 2012; Lipman, 2003).

Future-oriented citizenship

The emphasis of future-oriented citizenship in highlighting changes in society has the potential to prepare students who can adapt effectively to the changes and uncertainty they will face in the future (Kennedy, 2003; Lee, 2012; Veugelers, 2004). As mentioned in previous chapters, students should understand the changing society and the need for changing citizenship values to adapt to the changing society (Fussell, 2002). Students should be encouraged to be flexible and autonomous when engaging in these activities, thus enabling them to adapt effectively to future changes and uncertainties (Veugelers, 2004). The students' active citizenship should be based on reasoned choices in the future, instead of focusing on strict and unchanging beliefs, rules, models, or traditions learned in the past.

Section 6.3 below will discuss several limitations of the study.

6.3 Limitations

This section summarizes the limitations of the present study.

6.3.1 Limitation regarding the questionnaire respondents

Data were collected from Grade 8 students, whose average age is 14 years, as respondents to the ICCS questionnaire. At this age, the majority of the participants may not fully understand what the government and civil society are, as well as their rights and duties as citizens in their societies (Peterson, 2009). The scales for intention to participate are also based on the students' subjective reports on anticipated future participation. As such, the reports could be biased by social desirability (Ten Dam, Geijsel, Guuske Ledoux, & Joost Meijer, 2013). However, the ICCS data did not include social desirability measures to control such biases.

Another limitation with regard to the respondents is the selection of students in participating schools. As mentioned in Chapter 3, based on the sampling procedures in ICCS, one intact class of Grade 8 students in each participating school was selected. Therefore, in every school, only one class was chosen as sample. As such, the structure of the data set precludes any assessment of classroom effects within schools, as well as the possibility of separating these effects from the school-level effects.

6.3.2 Limitation of ICCS questionnaire as data source

The 20 items are typical examples of civic participation. In reality, other possible examples of civic and political activities exist, and the contextual

relevance of activities differs from society to society. Given the international and inclusive nature of ICCS, only common participation activities were included in the questionnaire.

The participation of citizens in society is not limited to political participation. Researchers suggested that attention should be paid to other facets of participation that are relevant to the community (e.g., Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). However, this study mainly covered civic activities and focused on adolescents' expectation in relation to their civic participation in the future when they become older or reach adulthood.

The 20 items on intention to participate focused on individual civic participation; items that focused on collaborative participation in society were not included. The activities in the questionnaires were based on individual participation (except the protest activities) rather than collaborative participation activities seen in reality. Moreover, the 20 items on participation were related to typical civic activities. Other civic participation activities such as community service and volunteer work in the community were not covered. Nevertheless, these 20 items focused on the political life the students would like to take part in the future. The questionnaire also made no reference to the use of social media in civic engagement, as demonstrated in the recent Arab Spring movement.

In addition, the items in the ICCS questionnaire were not intended to assess the quality or effectiveness of the participation of adolescents, even though they



indicated they would participate in various kinds of participation activities in the future. Knowledge related to participation will determine a number of aspects of participation that will define the effectiveness of participation. These aspects include deciding which type of participation is the best option, how the implementation of participation should be done, prepared, or grouped, and what resources are required for participation. These are particular skills and techniques that citizens may need to acquire to attain effective and deliberative participation (Gastil & Levine, 2005). The ICCS assessed cognitive ability with proficiency of civic knowledge, but it did not assess “learning by doing” and “citizenship-as-practice” practical skills required for effective participation (Lawy & Biesta, 2006).

The ICCS also has a cross-sectional design; thus, the test-retest (i.e., expected participation now versus actual participation in the future) is unknown. However, other studies have found future participation expectation measures to be good predictors of actual participation (Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008). Campbell (2007) reported that 84% of high school students who reported they expect to vote in elections realized the expectation 10 years later.

6.3.3 Limitation of person-centered approach/ cluster analysis

It should be acknowledged there are limitations of the person-centered approach used given the secondary analyses were done on the existing ICCS datasets.

The scales used are built from western research and surveys. An alternative way,



to conduct a person-centered or bottom-up approach to empirical research would begin from qualitative accounts given by young adolescents from different societies in Asia about their conceptions of citizenship and to then build new items and scales for international surveys. In this study, the person-centered approach to data analysis is quantitative in nature and shows one way of reflecting young Asian people's conceptions of citizenship. In particular, despite the usefulness of cluster analysis demonstrated above, limitations were observed. First, cluster analysis is an exploratory method of analysis. At present, the kind of confirmatory cluster analysis where membership assignment can be evaluated against some standard of model fit has not been formulated. Second, cluster analysis is generally sample-dependent; its cluster effects are based on detecting similarities and differences in the patterns of responses or scores within the sample in a given analysis. However, this has limited effect on the quality of analysis results of the ICCS data because the samples we analyzed were acceptably representative of the territory. Third, the clustering method used in this study, that is, two-step clustering, requires a fixed assignment of students into specific groups, instead of a measure of probability of cluster membership used in latent class modeling (Jung & Wickrama, 2008).

6.4 Implications for future studies

This study identified several questions that researchers interested in a deeper understanding of students' civic participation and citizenship education in the

Asia region can investigate further. Future studies basically fall into two broad areas: 1) comparative citizenship education studies, and 2) civic teaching and learning.

6.4.1 Comparative citizenship education studies

Input of more Asian and/or non-Asian societies

By making use of a person-centered approach to analysis, the current study opened up an alternative to the analysis of students' intention to participate. The above analysis focused on five societies in the Asian region. Thus, for future studies, inclusion of more societies in the region and in regions outside of Asia has become possible. From the comparative citizenship education perspective, comparing a group of Asian societies with a group of Western societies with regard to students' intention to participate becomes meaningful. This selection of societies across region is consistent with the thrust of previous studies that adopted person-centered analysis. In these studies, five Western countries were compared with five Eastern countries Torney-Purta (2009), and emerging differences between the East and the other regions were observed (Mirazchiyski, Caro & Sandoval-Hernández, 2013).

The current study identified four distinct groups of participators in five Asian societies. It would be useful to test whether these groups can emerge from samples of students from other Asian countries and from countries with different cultural contexts such as Europe, North America, and Latin America.

That is, how generalizable are these groups, and how robust is cluster analysis or other person-centered analyses in identifying them?

Once the groups of students are identified, the factors that predict group membership and whether the predictive factors are common across different contexts could be identified. Our results showed that when students can be grouped into four groups, civic knowledge appears unlikely to predict the intention to participate because of the mixed relation between these two civic outcomes. In future studies, determining plausible variables that may be predictive of the students' membership in any particular cluster is useful. Plausible correlates of active citizenship include, for example, family background, socioeconomic status, and past participation experience because these variables are significant predictors of future participation (Schulz et al., 2012).

Assessment of civic learning in longitudinal settings

In this study, students were classified into different clusters according to their particular orientations. Owing to this, their conception of active citizenship would be invariant and no assumption on this aspect could be made. In future studies, assessment of civic learning may be performed in a longitudinal, repeated-measure manner to capture the change of students' intention to participate. An example would be defining how politically inactive students become active students, or how students who were reluctant to take part in illegal protests may turn to be open to it later. These issues are concerned with

the development of political understanding (Amná, 2012), and can be investigated via longitudinal assessment of students' citizenship values and participation intention. Technical issues of longitudinal measurement by advanced statistical modeling such as multi-group mixture modeling, which is a variation of person-centered analysis (Pulkka & Niemivirta, 2013) and structural equation modeling (Yeung, Passmore, & Packer, 2012), are already well addressed in educational measurement literature. Longitudinal data collection and analysis have the potential to bring new insights to the development of political understanding of adolescents (Keating, Benton, & Kerr, 2011).

6.4.2 Civic teaching and learning

Change from intention to real action

The focus in the current study on students' intention to participation politically necessitated an inquiry on the extent to which these intentions may turn into actual behaviors of actual political participation in the future (Ross & Dooly, 2010). In a recent study, Quintelier and Hooghe (2012) investigated the bi-directional effect of attitudes and participation based on longitudinal studies of adolescents. Their study contributes to the debate on political socialization and/or self-selection processes through which adolescents choose to undergo in relation to their participation. However, no conclusion was drawn on how students or citizens turn their intention to participate into real engagement in



civic activities. Thus, the factors that encourage or block them to participate should be addressed in further studies.

Between certainty and possibility

Further studies should investigate the change of students' participation from certainty to possibility. Based on the students' responses to the intention to participate items, some students may think specific civic activities are as important as their duties, such that they would "certainly do this" in the future (See Section 4.2; Selbourne, 1994; Wellman, 2005). However, some students are reluctant to take part in particular civic activities, such as illegal protests. They may show their perception that these are prohibitive by responding "certainly not do this." Some adolescents can suggest that participating or not participating in activities, such as writing to newspapers, is their right or choice in the future by choosing "probably do this" or "probably not do this" (Condor & Gibson, 2007). A continuum from duties to rights and from rights to prohibition is evident. Investigating how students have taken up and stayed with their choice of civic participation along this continuum and how the political socializing forces may influence their decision would be interesting. This future direction echoes the suggestion of Kennedy (2007, pp. 320–321) to explore the reasons behind citizens' aspiration toward participation: "An interesting question for future research is at what point citizens start to envisage these more radical options and how do they make the decision to engage in these options?" The so-called Arab Spring indicates the adoption of radical options in the face of authoritarian barriers. Furthermore, the "Occupy" movement in various Western democracies is another signal of the turn to radicalism rather than the



reliance on institutional democracy. These are important issues that should be investigated through additional research.

Formation of individual style of participation

In reality, adolescents are learning about themselves and constructing themselves as citizens (Haste, 2004; Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002; Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009). They are not only subjects of political socialization by education and other experiences in the society (Menezes, 2003), but people who have autonomous decision-making skills with regard to the choice to join, support, or withdraw from political participation based on their knowledge, preference, and interpretation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013a, 2013b). The current study suggested that students have individual preferences for different types of civic participation. For example, they can either be Conventional Participators or Radical Participators who engage in voting or illegal protest. This observation suggests that some students may choose a particular participation style (Ten Dam, Volman, & Wardekker, 2004). How students choose a particular participation style is worthy of further research. Quintelier and Hooghe (2012) showed that the political socialization thesis remains relevant to the development of adolescents. However, in what ways it is relevant and how it differs in the specific contexts of early and late adolescence remain open questions.

How students become inactive/ active

Minimal Participators across society are inactive in participation. Nevertheless, a majority reported that they would vote in elections when they become adults,



and a minority demonstrated no intention to vote or to participate in other civic activities. Researchers must investigate further why these adolescents do not participate actively in civic life (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Furthermore, citizenship educators should identify the reasons these adolescents are inactive and look for ways to integrate these adolescents in voting, the basic political involvement expected of a citizen in a society. Educators can also discover inclination toward other civic and political activities that were not included in the ICCS questionnaire. Studies have shown that some adolescents who are apparently “inactive” are not actually inactive at all; rather, they are “stand by-citizens” (Amnå, 2010, 2012; Amnå & Zetterberg, 2010; Ekman & Amnå, 2012) who critically assess what the government does and express their voice and opinion in ways that are outside the scope of the civic activities assessed in the ICCS questionnaire. The following research questions are relevant: What is the process of political socialization that can make some adolescents appear less active in future participation compared with others? Would it be safe to assume that these apparently passive adolescents actively engage in some non-conventional civic and political activities?

The results of this thesis showed that some adolescents, specifically those classified as Minimal Participators, have low intention toward civic participation. Although a majority expressed they would probably or certainly vote when they become adults, some expressed they would probably not or certainly not vote in the future. Given that voting in elections is a political right, choosing not to vote means giving up the right. In the long run, the students or citizens who choose not to vote are giving up their political rights to elect their

representatives in the government or democratic system. Consequently, they may feel alienated from the civic and political space. By giving up the right to vote, they are also giving up the right to have their voices heard and the right to be represented via the representative political system. Essentially, they are detaching themselves from the communities of practice (Hoskins, Janmaat, & Villalba, 2012; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). They will be giving up the part of the civil society that belongs to them (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001; Chareka & Sears, 2005). The effect of the tendency not to participate in the future remains unknown. Future research may investigate how the refusal to participate affects the identity and efficacy of citizens. There may be qualitative differences in the characteristics between adolescents with lower intention to participate and those with high intention.

On the other hand, students classified as Active Participators appeared to be active and committed to participating in various kinds of civic activities. Thus, investigating the factors beyond civic knowledge proficiency that influence students to become active will be useful. The results of the current study showed that, generally, these students did not possess the highest civic knowledge proficiency, so what is it that motivates them?

6.5 Conclusion

In this study, the extent to which students showed their potential to become informed and active citizens in the future was our concern. Intention to

participate and civic knowledge proficiency were analyzed based on the ICCS empirical data from five participating Asian societies, namely, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand.

Preparation of students toward becoming informed citizens and their civic knowledge proficiency were analyzed. The potential to become active citizens and their intentions to take part in civic participation in the future, as measured by 20 attitudinal Likert-styled items, were analyzed. Analysis was performed through scale scores of five sets of civic participation activities, namely, voting, legal protest, illegal protest, formal political participation, and informal political participation.

The analysis identified four distinct groups of students based on intention to participate in the future. These groups showed different attitudes toward participation in terms of manner and extent of participation. These groups were not distributed evenly within and between societies. The study highlighted heterogeneity within the data and identified kinds of homogeneity. Person-centered analysis revealed this complexity in a way that variable-centered analysis would not have been able to.

While students learn about duties and responsibilities via citizenship education, they must acknowledge that their autonomous, critical thinking is as important as their obligation. Thus, what is taught in citizenship education should not set boundaries for them. Rather, citizenship education should provide the knowledge and skills that will allow the students to formulate their individual

beliefs in relation to active citizenship and to transform these beliefs into real civic actions. Students should be accorded the venue where they can prepare toward becoming informed and active citizens who can make logical choices with regard to participation and effective adaptation to changes in the future. Guidance is necessary as they connect with the society in preparation for a productive public life (Beane, 2002; Bynner, 2005; Flanagan, 2013; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Sim & Low, 2012; Touraine, 1997).

At the beginning of Chapter 1, two quotes were presented. First, “When it comes to the future, there are three kinds of people: those who let it happen, those who make it happen, and those who wonder what happened” by John M. Richardson. Second, “No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth. A society that cuts off from its youth severs its lifeline” by Kofi Annan.

Students who showed enthusiasm over participation in the future are likely to be “those who make it happen”; students who showed reluctance are likely to be “those who let it happen”; and students who were weak in civic knowledge are likely to be “those who wonder what happened.” Despite the diversity in intentions to participate and in civic knowledge, how these adolescents have prepared to become informed and active citizens as well as how they as citizens will actually engage in the society will be crucial to shaping democracy and society in the future (Benedicto, in press; Buck, & Geissel, 2009; Dalton, 2008;

Janmaat, 2006; van Deth, 2007). Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2013, p. 109) concluded in their review of international citizenship education studies: "... if democracies are to survive and thrive, all citizens need to reach a minimum threshold of knowledge and participation in each succeeding generation." and "Efforts to prepare citizens begin in middle childhood, should involve every young person....".

Citizenship education must allow students to recognize their own choices and possibilities, as well as the truths and consequences of different choices and decisions they make. Citizenship education needs to teach students the way through which they can connect to society and how they can enjoy their public life while participating in various kinds of activities. Citizenship education should prepare students as future citizens to participate adaptively in the society, despite differences in socio-cultural traditions, systems of government, and political cultures (Anheier, 2004; Howell & Pearce, 2002). Students should also learn from citizenship textbooks and other learning experiences their civic duties and rights. However, they must also learn to think critically, debate democratically, and choose reasonably and autonomously their own civic orientations based on their civic knowledge and interpretation of what is good for society and fellow citizens as a whole. Citizenship education must go beyond teaching students to stay unconditionally with a fixed, rigid, and limited list of citizen duties and rights. Citizenship education needs to prepare students to become citizens who will critically assess changing situations they will be living in, and responsibly adapt to new circumstances while holding informed and reasoned citizenship values as well as active civic and political participation.



Only through this manner can civic knowledge and civic actions, as outcomes of citizenship education, contribute to the democratic development of society.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Replacement schools across the five Asian societies

Society	School participation rate (%)			Student participation rate (weighted)	Total number of students assessed	Overall participation rate (%)	
	Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)	After replacement (unweighted)			Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)
Taiwan	98.6	100.0	100.0	99.0	5167.0	97.6	99.0
*Hong Kong	42.1	50.7	50.7	97.0	2902.0	40.8	49.2
Korea	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.6	5254.0	98.6	98.6
Indonesia	98.8	100.0	100.0	97.4	5068.0	96.2	97.4
#Thailand	75.2	100.0	100.0	98.1	5263.0	73.8	98.1

* Hong Kong did not meet the sampling requirement of at least 150 schools.

Thailand met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Source: Schulz et al. (2010, p.263)

Appendix B

The 14 WLE scales and the corresponding items

Students' discussion of political and social issues outside of school (POLDISC)	<p><i>How often are you involved in each of the following activities outside of school?</i> (1=Never or hardly ever, 2=Monthly (at least once a month), 3=Weekly (at least once a week), 4=Daily or almost daily)</p> <p>Talking with your parent(s) about political or social issues</p> <p>Talking with friends about political and social issues</p> <p>Talking with your parent(s) about what is happening in other countries</p> <p>Talking with friends about what is happening in other countries</p>
Students' civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM)	<p><i>Have you ever been involved in activities of any of the following organisations, clubs or groups?</i> (1=No, I have never done this, 2=Yes, I have done this but more than a year ago, 3=Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months)</p> <p>Youth organisation affiliated with a political party or union</p> <p>Environmental organisation</p> <p>Human Rights organisation</p> <p>A voluntary group doing something to help the community</p> <p>An organisation collecting money for a social cause</p> <p>A cultural organisation based on ethnicity</p> <p>A group of young people campaigning for an issue</p>
Students' civic participation at school (PARTSCHL)	<p><i>At school, have you ever done any of the following activities?</i> (1=No, I have never done this, 2=Yes, I have done this but more than a year ago, 3=Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months)</p> <p>Voluntary participation in school-based music or drama activities outside of regular lessons</p> <p>Active participation in a debate</p> <p>Voting for <class representative> or <school parliament></p> <p>Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run</p> <p>Taking part in discussions at a <student assembly></p> <p>Becoming a candidate for <class representative> or</p>

<school parliament>

Students' Interest in politics and social issues (INTPOLS)

How interested are you in the following issues?

How much are you interested in the following issues? (1=Not interested at all, 2=Not very interested, 3=Quite interested, 4=Very interested)
Political issues within your <local community>

Political issues in your country
Social issues in your country
Politics in other countries
International politics

Students' sense of internal political efficacy (INPOLEF)

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about you and politics? (1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, 4=Strongly agree)
I know more about politics than most people my age
When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say
I am able to understand most political issues easily
I have political opinions worth listening to
As an adult I will be able to take part in politics
I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country

Students' trust in civic institutions (INTRUST)

How much do you trust each of the following institutions? (1=Not at all, 2=A little, 3=Quite a lot, 4=Completely)
The <national government>
The <local government> of your town or city
Courts of justice
The police
Political parties
<National Parliament>

Students' citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF)

How well do you think you would do the following activities? (1=Not at all, 2=Not very well, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well)
Discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries
Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue
Stand as a candidate in a <school election>
Organise a group of students in order to achieve changes at school



Follow a television debate about a controversial issue
Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue
Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue

Student perceptions of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC)

When discussing political and social issues during regular lessons, how often do the following things happen? (1=Never, 2=rarely, 3=Sometimes, 4=Often)

Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds

Teachers encourage students to express their opinions

Students bring up current political events for discussion in class

Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students

Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions

Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class

Student perceptions of influence on decisions about school (STUDINF)

In this school, how much is your opinion taken into account when decisions are made about the following issues? (1=Not at all, 2=To a small extent, 3=To a moderate extent, 4=To a large extent)

The way classes are taught

What is taught in classes

Teaching and learning materials

The timetable

Classroom rules

School rules

Student perceptions of student-teacher relations at school (STUTREL)

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about you and your school? (1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3, Agree, 4=Strongly agree)

Most of my teachers treat me fairly

Students get along well with most teachers

Most teachers are interested in students' well-being

Most of my teachers really listen to what I have to say



If I need extra help, I will receive it from my teachers

Students' perceptions of the value of participation at school (VALPARTS)

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about student participation at school? (1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3,Agree, 4=Strongly agree)

Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better

Lots of positive changes can happen in schools when students work together

Organising groups of students to express their opinions could help solve problems in schools

All schools should have a <school parliament>

Students can have more influence on what happens in schools if they act together rather than alone

Students' support for democratic values (DEMVAL)

There are different views about what a society should be like. We are interested in your views on this. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3,Agree, 4=Strongly agree)

Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely

All people should have their social and political rights respected

People should always be free to criticise the government publicly

All citizens should have the right to elect their leaders freely

People should be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair

Student perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON)

How important are the following behaviours for being a good adult citizen? (1=Not important at all, 2=Not very important, 3=Quite important, 4=Very important)

Voting in every national election

Joining a political party

Learning about the country's history

Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet

Showing respect for government representatives

Engaging in political discussions

Student perceptions of the importance of social

How important are the following behaviours for being a good adult citizen? (1=Not important at



movement related
citizenship (CITSOC)

all, 2=Not very important, 3=Quite important,
4=Very important)

Participating in peaceful protests against laws
believed to be unjust

Participating in activities to benefit people in the
<local community>

Taking part in activities promoting human rights

Taking part in activities to protect the environment



Appendix C

Average scale scores for each generated cluster

Two-cluster solution

Cluster	LEGPROT		ILLPROT		ELECPART		POLPART		INFPART	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1	51.7	7.3	50.8	9.4	53.3	7.9	54.6	7.2	55.3	6.9
2	40.0	11.0	42.5	7.6	45.5	10.7	39.0	8.1	41.6	8.7

Three-cluster solution

Cluster	LEGPROT		ILLPROT		ELECPART		POLPART		INFPART	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1	52.5	7.1	56.7	5.3	51.2	7.9	55.6	7.1	55.2	7.2
2	49.5	7.9	39.6	3.5	56.8	6.5	51.8	7.7	54.7	6.6
3	39.5	11.3	43.1	7.7	44.2	10.4	38.2	8.0	40.5	8.6

Four-cluster solution

Cluster	LEGPROT		ILLPROT		ELECPART		POLPART		INFPART	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1	55.8	8.0	57.2	6.5	58.5	4.8	58.7	8.0	58.8	7.3
2	49.2	7.7	39.4	3.3	56.8	6.4	51.5	7.5	54.4	6.5
3	49.5	5.1	55.5	4.6	45.1	4.8	52.7	5.3	52.0	5.8
4	39.1	11.6	42.4	7.5	44.5	10.6	37.4	7.7	40.0	8.8

Five-cluster solution

Cluster	LEGPROT		ILLPROT		ELECPART		POLPART		INFPART	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1	55.9	8.0	57.2	6.5	58.4	4.8	58.9	7.8	59.0	7.1
2	49.6	5.1	55.7	4.5	45.0	4.7	53.1	5.0	52.3	5.7
3	49.0	8.2	39.3	3.2	57.1	6.3	52.0	7.2	54.9	6.4
4	27.1	8.9	38.6	3.8	39.3	11.8	34.4	7.2	35.5	8.7
5	46.0	6.2	44.7	8.1	47.9	8.5	40.0	7.5	43.2	7.5

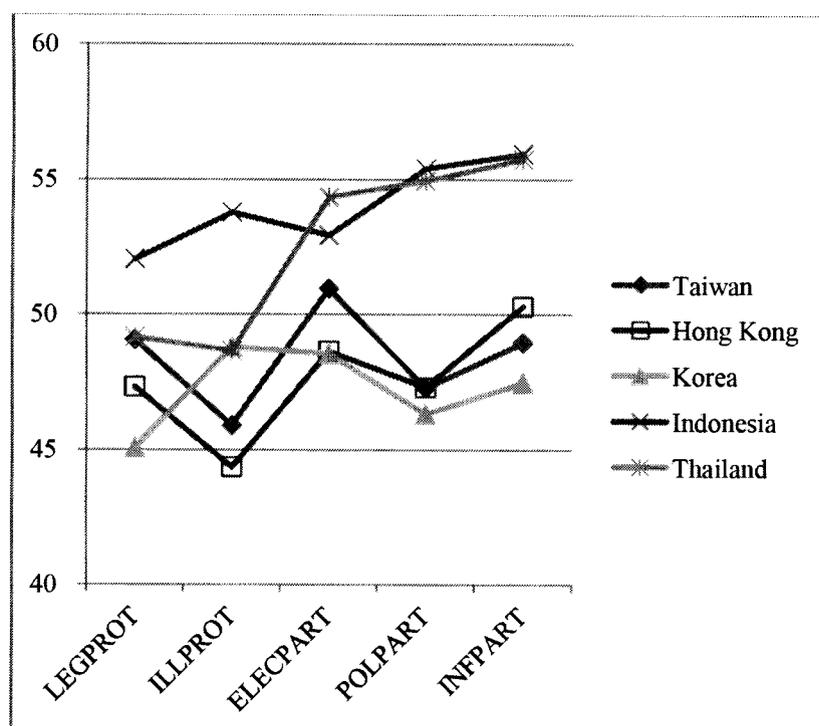
Six-cluster solution

Cluster	LEGPROT		ILLPROT		ELECPART		POLPART		INFPART	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1	61.2	7.6	61.4	7.2	56.9	5.8	63.8	6.5	63.5	6.1
2	50.1	8.3	39.0	2.8	57.3	6.3	52.6	7.2	55.3	6.4
3	49.5	5.2	55.3	4.5	44.8	4.5	52.9	5.0	52.2	5.6
4	25.0	6.3	38.3	4.1	41.4	8.5	37.8	7.5	38.0	7.5
5	45.5	8.9	43.9	3.8	47.7	11.8	39.1	7.2	43.0	8.7
6	50.9	5.6	54.1	4.0	58.8	4.1	54.0	5.8	54.8	6.0

Appendix D

Scale scores of the expected participation in the five sets of civic activities across the five Asian societies in table and graphical display

Scale scores	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Korea	Indonesia	Thailand
LEGPROT	49	47	45	52	49
ILLPROT	46	44	49	54	49
ELECPART	51	49	49	53	54
POLPART	47	47	46	55	55
INFPART	49	50	47	56	56



Appendix E

Proportion of students at each civic knowledge proficiency level

Proportion (%)	Below Level 1	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Taiwan	5	15	29	50
Hong Kong	7	14	30	50
Korea	3	12	32	54
Indonesia	30	44	22	3
Thailand	25	38	29	8

Source: Schulz et al., (2010, p. 79)

