

Young people's expectations to participate in legal and illegal activities to express their opinions. Findings from ICCS 2016.

Wolfram Schulz

Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER)

Paper prepared for the *European Conference for Education Research (ECER)*,

Hamburg 3 - 6 September 2019

Background and research questions

Recent years have witnessed signs of increasing political instability in many societies, amongst them even in long-established democracies (Diamond, 2014; Mair, 2002). More voters tend to turn their backs on established political parties and give preference to populist parties or candidates (Boogards, 2017), and in many countries there has been an increase in street protest movements like the so-called ‘yellow vests’ in France that further challenge many established political systems. Frequently, these developments have been linked to the increased alienation of citizens from civic institutions, in particular from traditional political parties, and also interpreted as a response to growing globalisation and migration (Hobolt, Anduiza, Carkoglu, Lutz & Sauger, 2016). In the context of civic and citizenship education, it is important to review the extent of tendencies toward alienation among young people, and whether education has the potential of promoting democratic principles to counteract alienation among young emerging citizens.

Evidence suggests that young people who intend to participate in political activities are more likely to actually participate at a later point in time (Eckstein, Noack, & Gniewosz, 2013; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). However, throughout most of their adolescence, young people are not yet old enough to have access to many forms of citizenship participation in society. Some researchers (for example, Pancer, 2015; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013) suggest that student participation in civic-related activities at school influences future citizenship engagement. If so, students’ current or past involvement in youth groups, school governance, or campaigns focused on civic issues may serve as a contextual factor in determining students’ civic-related learning outcomes.

With regard to political participation among adult citizens, scholars (see, for example, Kaase, 1990) tend to distinguish between “conventional” (such as voting or running for office) from “unconventional” (social movement) activities (grass-root campaigns, protest activities). Mindful of the rapid expansion of new types of political activities in recent years, van Deth (2014) proposed a classification of political participation that includes, in addition to conventional and unconventional types of engagement, problem-oriented or community-oriented forms of participation as well as individualized and creative modes of participation.

Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995) regarded three groups as factors as influencing political participation of individuals: (i) Resources enabling individuals to participate (time, knowledge); (ii) psychological engagement (interest, efficacy); and (iii) “recruitment networks,” which help to bring individuals into politics (these networks include social movements, church, groups, and political parties). Following this conceptualisation, this paper uses predictors that can be linked to these three types of factors. Furthermore, we will also include beliefs regarding the importance of different types of citizenship behaviours, which have shown to relate to expected participation in the future (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, Agrusti, & Friedman, 2018).

In reference to the theory of planned behaviour which links attitudes to action through intentions (Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen, & Fishbein, 2000), ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al., 2018) measured students’ intentions to engage in the future and developed items measuring students’ beliefs about their likelihood of civic engagement in the future. This paper focuses on young people’s expectations to participate in legal or illegal activities (as “unconventional” forms of engagements) to express their opinions.

This paper uses data from 14 European countries that participated in the recent IEA study ICCS 2016 to explore the following research questions:

1. *To which extent are students expecting to participate in legal or illegal protest activities?* It is expected that there are considerable differences across countries due to the variation in political cultures as well as patterns indicating that there are countries with high or low levels of expected participation for both types of engagement.
2. *Which effects do factors related to resource, recruitment networks and psychological engagement have on students' expected participation in legal and illegal activities?* It is expected that in particular psychological dispositions to engage in these activities, in particular lower levels of trust and negative perceptions of the future, as well as lower levels of civic knowledge are expected to be associated with dispositions to engage in illegal activities.
3. *Which are the associations between factors related to beliefs about the importance of citizenship behaviours (conventional, social movement related, or personally responsible citizenship) on students' expected participation in activities to express their opinions?* It is expected that in particular responsible citizenship would have negative effects on students' expectations to participate in illegal activities.

Data and methods

Data

In 2016, ICCS gathered data from more than 94,000 Grade 8 students in 3800 schools in 24 countries (Schulz et al., 2018). This paper will be based on data from 14 European countries participating in ICCS 2016 (Losito, Agrusti, Damiani, & Schulz, 2018), which were collected through a student test, international and regional student questionnaires (see Agrusti, Ainley, Losito, & Schulz 2018). ICCS employed two-stage cluster sampling procedures within countries. During the first stage, schools were sampled from a sampling frame with a probability proportional to their size. During the second stage, students were randomly sampled within schools (see technical details in Weber, 2018).

Measures

Responses to the student questionnaire were used to measure many of the constructs underpinning the scales and items in our paper. IRT (Item Response Theory) scaling was used to derive the scales. For these scales, 50 reflects the mean and 10 the standard deviation of all equally weighted countries that participated in ICCS 2016, or in ICCS 2009 where scales were based on identical item sets and had been equated (see details in Schulz & Friedman, 2018).

Criterion variables

- *Expected participation in legal activities to express opinions* was measured (average Cronbach's alpha: 0.85) by asking students about their likelihood (the response categories were "certainly," "probably," "probably not," and "certainly not") of participating at some future date in certain activities that would allow them to express their opinions about a social or political issue, using the following items: (a) talking to others about one's views on political or social issues (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expected to do this definitely or probably: 65%); (b) contacting an elected representative (40%); (c) taking part in a peaceful march or rally (51%); (d) collecting signatures for a petition (50%); (e) contributing to an online discussion forum about social or political issues (45%); (f) organizing an online group to take a

stance on a controversial political or social issue (37%); and (g) participating in an online campaign (46%).

- *Expected participation in illegal activities to express opinions* was measured (average Cronbach's alpha: 0.87) by asking students about their likelihood (the response categories were "certainly," "probably," "probably not," and "certainly not") of participating at some future date in certain activities that would allow them to express their opinions about a social or political issue, using the following items: (a) spray-painting protest slogans on walls (22%); (b) staging a protest by blocking traffic (19%); and (c) occupying public buildings as a sign of protest (18%).

Independent Variables

We used the following predictor variables for multiple regression analyses explaining variance in the two criterion variables:

- Resource-related variables
 - Students' *gender* (female = 1, male = 0).
 - *Socioeconomic background* using a composite indicator from parental occupation, education and the number of books at home, where scale scores were nationally standardized to having averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1 in each country.
 - *Parents' interest in political and social issues* is included as dichotomous variables with a value of 0 indicating no or little parental interest, and a value of 1 that students reported that at least one of their parents was quite or very interested.
 - *Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school* as reported by students and measured as a scale based on four items with satisfactory reliability across countries ($\alpha = 0.81$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages set to 0 and national standard deviations to 1.
 - *Civic knowledge* based on a test of 87 items, which included 42 items from ICCS 2009, (Fraillon, 2018). In the (preliminary) analyses underlying the results presented in this paper we used the first plausible value in a nationally standardised metric with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
- Recruitment-related variables:
 - *Students' civic participation at school* was measured based on six items reflecting past or current participation in civic activities at school and has on (marginally) satisfactory reliability across participating countries (Cronbach's alpha = 0.67) with higher scales scores indicating higher levels of participation (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1).
 - *Students' civic participation in community organizations and groups* was based on seven items reflecting past or current participation in community activities (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)
- Psychological engagement:
 - *Students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy* was based on seven items reflecting students' confidence in undertaking different civic engagement activities and had satisfactory reliability on average across countries ($\alpha = 0.84$). (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)

- *Students' interest in political and social issues* is included as dichotomous variables with a value of 0 indicating no or little interest, and a value of 1 that students were quite or very interested.
- *Student perceptions of their individual future* was measured as a scale based on five items with satisfactory reliability across participating (European) countries (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.80$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
- We used six items (national government, local government, national parliament, police, courts of justice, political parties) to derive a scale reflecting students' *trust in civic institutions*. This IRT scale had high reliability across countries ($\alpha = 0.85$). The response scale was: "completely," "quite a lot," "a little," or "not at all. (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)
- Citizenship beliefs:
 - *Students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship* was based on student ratings of the importance ("very important", "quite important", "not very important", or "not important at all") of the following citizenship behaviours: (a) "voting in every national election"; "joining a political party"; (b) "learning about the country's history"; (c) "following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet"; (d) "showing respect for government representatives"; (e) "engaging in political discussions" (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.72$). (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)
 - *Students' perceptions of the importance of social movement related citizenship* was based on student ratings of the importance ("very important", "quite important", "not very important", or "not important at all") of the following citizenship behaviours: (a) "participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust"; (b) "participating in activities to benefit people in the local community"; (c) "taking part in activities promoting human rights"; and (d) "taking part in activities to protect the environment" (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.75$) (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)
 - *Students' perceptions of the importance of personally responsible citizenship* was based on student ratings of the importance ("very important", "quite important", "not very important", or "not important at all") of the following citizenship behaviours: (a) "working hard"; (b) "always obeying the law"; (c) "ensuring the economic welfare of their families"; (d) "making personal efforts to protect natural resources (e.g. through saving water or recycling waste)"; (e) "respecting the rights of others to have their own opinions"; (f) "supporting people who are worse off than you"; and "engaging in activities to help people in less developed countries" (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.78$) (IRT scale, nationally standardized scores with averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1)

Analyses

The analyses will consist of two parts. Firstly, the paper will describe the extent of students' expected participation in legal and illegal activities to express their opinions. These results will be discussed in reference to differences across participating European countries. Secondly, the paper will include multivariate models that relate the two criterion variables (expected legal and illegal participation in activities) with each other as well as individual, home background, school context variables and perceptions of students' individual future and their trust in established institutions.

While two-level models with students nested within schools (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) were considered for the analyses of these data, preliminary results have shown rather low proportions of between school level variance in the dependent variables limit the usefulness of estimating this type of hierarchical models. Therefore, single-level multiple regression models were estimated with expected participation in legal and illegal activities as dependent variables. For all analyses jackknife repeated replication was used for the calculation of appropriate standard errors (see Schulz, 2018).

All estimates of the percentage of explained variance were obtained by multiplying R^2 by 100. The reporting tables include unstandardised regression coefficients which reflect net changes corresponding to one national standard deviation for predictors that are scales (e.g. civic knowledge) or the estimated net difference between comparison groups in case of dichotomous indicators (e.g. parental interest).

The regression modelling was first carried out using all variables in the model, and then separately without each one of the predictor blocks (i.e. resource-related variables, variables related to psychological engagement, and recruitment-related variables). Comparisons between these additional three models and the model with all predictors provide estimates how much of the explained variance is attributable uniquely to each of the predictors or blocks of predictors, and how much of the variance is explained by these predictors or blocks of predictors in combination.¹

Only cases with valid responses for all variables in the regression models were included in the analyses. On average, 93 percent of the samples were included in the analyses, ranging from 85 percent to 97 percent across European ICCS 2016 countries.

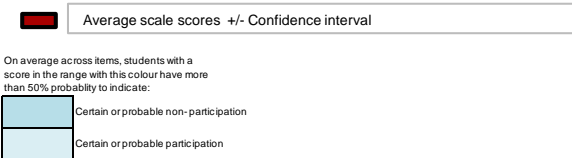
Results

When comparing the national average scale scores for expected participation in legal and illegal activities to express opinions (Table 1), there is considerable variation across participating European countries for both constructs. Scale score averages located in the darker shaded areas indicate that the average student would be expected to have probably or certainly expected non-participation across the activities used to derive each scale, while those in the lighter shaded areas would likely have indicated probably or certain participation. The graph shows that for expected legal participation in Bulgaria and Lithuania the average student was (across all items) likely to indicate potential involvement, while in all other countries this was not the case. For expected engagement in illegal activities, in all countries students had average scale scores located in the darker shaded area indicating that most of them were not expecting to become involved in this type of participation.



¹ The differences between each of the comparison models with the full model provide an estimate of the unique variance attributable to each block of variables. The difference between the sum of block variances and the explained variance by all predictors provides an estimate of the common variance attributable to more than one block of variables.

Table 1 Students' expectations to participate in legal and illegal activities to express their opinion

Country	Expected participation in legal activities						Expected participation in illegal activities						Correlation between scales					
	Average scale scores	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	Average scale scores	35	40	45		50	55	60	65	
Belgium (Flemish)	46 (0.3) ▾								47 (0.3) ▾									0.33
Bulgaria	52 (0.2) ▲								54 (0.3) ▲									0.43
Croatia	50 (0.2) △								48 (0.2) ▾									0.25
Denmark†	47 (0.2) ▾								46 (0.2) ▾									0.27
Estonia ¹	48 (0.2)								48 (0.2) ▾									0.31
Finland	46 (0.2) ▾								47 (0.2) ▾									0.29
Italy	49 (0.2) △								48 (0.2)									0.22
Latvia ¹	49 (0.2) △								48 (0.2) ▾									0.32
Lithuania	52 (0.2) ▲								51 (0.3) △									0.26
Malta	49 (0.2) △								50 (0.2) △									0.46
Netherlands†	44 (0.2) ▾								48 (0.2) ▾									0.41
Norway (9) ¹	46 (0.2) ▾								48 (0.1) ▾									0.40
Slovenia	48 (0.2)								50 (0.2) △									0.31
Sweden ¹	47 (0.2) ▾								47 (0.2) ▾									0.34
European ICCS 2016 average	48 (0.1)								49 (0.1)									0.33

National results for ICCS 2016 are: 

more than 3 score points above the European ICCS 2016 average ▲
 significantly above the European ICCS 2016 average △
 significantly below the European ICCS 2016 average ▾
 more than 3 score points below the European ICCS 2016 average ▾

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this colour have more than 50% probability to indicate:
 Certain or probable non-participation
 Certain or probable participation

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Within countries, there were positive (and significant) correlations with an average coefficient of 0.33 ranging from 0.22 in Italy to 0.46 in Malta. There is also a pattern across the two types of participation indicating that in countries where students had higher levels of expectation for one of the types of engagement, they were also higher for the other type. For example, students in Bulgaria and Lithuania had the relatively highest levels of expected participation for both legal and illegal activities, and scores for both scales were relatively low in Belgium (Flemish), Denmark, Finland and Sweden. Students in the Netherlands had the lowest level of expected participation in legal activities, while for illegal activities their national score was only slightly (albeit also significantly) below the European ICCS 2016 average. The country-level correlation was 0.74 confirming that countries tended to have either low or high average scores on both scales.

The results of the multiple regression model for expected participation in legal activities to express opinions show that (female) gender had significant negative associations with the dependent variable in about half of the countries and positive ones in Denmark and Norway (Table 2). Students' socioeconomic background also was a negative predictor in six countries but there were no significant effects in the other countries. In eight of the European ICCS 2016 countries, having at least one parent quite or very interested in political and social issues was a positive predictor, on average the expected net increase was about one score point. Perceived positive student-teacher relations did not have significant associations in most countries, while civic knowledge tended to be not related to student expectations across countries.

Participation in community groups or organisation was a significant positive predictors in all countries, on average a change of one national standard deviation was associated with an increase of about one

score point. Participation in civic activities at school was a weak and significant positive predictor in about half of the countries.

Table 2 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation on legal activities to express opinions (resources and recruitment factors)

Country	Resource-related variables					Recruitment-related variables	
	Gender (female)	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Parental interest in political and social issues	Perceived positive student-teacher relations	Civic knowledge	Participation in community groups or organisations	Participation in civic activities at school
Belgium (Flemish)	0.0 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	1.0 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)
Bulgaria	-0.3 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	1.1 (0.5)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)	0.9 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)
Croatia	-1.1 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.7 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)
Denmark [†]	0.8 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	1.1 (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	0.9 (0.1)	0.3 (0.1)
Estonia ¹	-1.0 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.1)	0.5 (0.4)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)
Finland	-0.8 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	0.1 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	0.6 (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)
Italy	-0.1 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	1.2 (0.5)	0.0 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.0 (0.1)	0.3 (0.1)
Latvia ¹	-1.1 (0.3)	-0.6 (0.1)	1.2 (0.5)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)
Lithuania	-0.9 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)	0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)
Malta	-0.8 (0.3)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.7 (0.4)	-0.5 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)
Netherlands [†]	-0.4 (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	1.5 (0.5)	0.2 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	0.8 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	2.1 (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	-0.4 (0.2)	1.4 (0.1)	0.4 (0.1)
Slovenia	-0.4 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.2)	0.1 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Sweden ¹	0.4 (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	1.5 (0.5)	0.0 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	1.2 (0.1)	0.5 (0.2)
European ICCS 2016 average	-0.3 (0.1)	-0.3 (0.0)	0.9 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.9 (0.0)	0.3 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

Among factors related to psychological engagement, students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy was a consistently strong positive predictor of expectations to engage in legal activities, with an average effects of more than three score points per national standard deviation (Table 3). Students' interest in political and social issue was another consistent predictor with significant positive effects in all but one country and an average regression coefficient of 1.3 across European ICCS 2016 countries. In eight out of 14 countries, trust in civic institutions had relatively weak significant negative coefficients, and positive expectations about the students' individual future was another negative predictor in five of the 14 European ICCS countries.

Both students' perceived importance of conventional and social movement related citizenship behaviours were significant positive predictors of expected legal activities in all countries, for each factor one national standard deviation was (on average) associated with about one score point in the dependent variable. Students' perceptions of the importance of personally responsible citizenship was a negative predictor of expected participation in legal activities in ten out of 14 European countries; on average, a decrease of half a score point was associated with one national standard deviation. These findings show that citizenship beliefs are related to students' expectations to engage in this type of political participation.

Table 3 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation on legal activities to express opinions (psychological factors and value perceptions)

Country	Variables related to psychological engagement				Citizenship values		
	Citizenship self-efficacy	Interest in political and social issues	Trust in civic institutions	Positive expectations for individual future	Importance of conventional citizenship	Importance of social movement related citizenship	Importance of responsible citizenship
Belgium (Flemish)	2.9 (0.2)	1.9 (0.5)	0.6 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	1.0 (0.3)	1.3 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.2)
Bulgaria	3.5 (0.3)	1.6 (0.4)	0.4 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	1.4 (0.3)	1.0 (0.2)	0.0 (0.3)
Croatia	3.0 (0.3)	0.7 (0.3)	1.3 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	1.0 (0.3)	1.4 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.3)
Denmark†	2.4 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.1)	0.5 (0.2)	1.6 (0.1)	-0.4 (0.2)
Estonia ¹	2.8 (0.2)	0.9 (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)	1.2 (0.3)	1.2 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Finland	3.5 (0.3)	1.3 (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	1.9 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.2)
Italy	3.1 (0.2)	0.9 (0.3)	0.7 (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	1.0 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.2)
Latvia ¹	3.2 (0.2)	0.9 (0.4)	0.5 (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	0.7 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Lithuania	3.0 (0.2)	0.8 (0.3)	1.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Malta	4.8 (0.2)	1.3 (0.3)	0.7 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.1)	1.5 (0.3)	0.9 (0.2)	-1.1 (0.2)
Netherlands†	3.3 (0.3)	0.7 (0.4)	0.4 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.2)	1.5 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	-0.8 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	4.2 (0.2)	1.5 (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.9 (0.1)	0.9 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Slovenia	3.3 (0.2)	2.0 (0.4)	1.0 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	1.3 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Sweden ¹	3.2 (0.2)	1.8 (0.4)	0.3 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.9 (0.3)	1.2 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.2)
European ICCS 2016 average	3.3 (0.0)	1.3 (0.1)	0.6 (0.0)	-0.3 (0.0)	1.0 (0.0)	1.2 (0.0)	-0.5 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

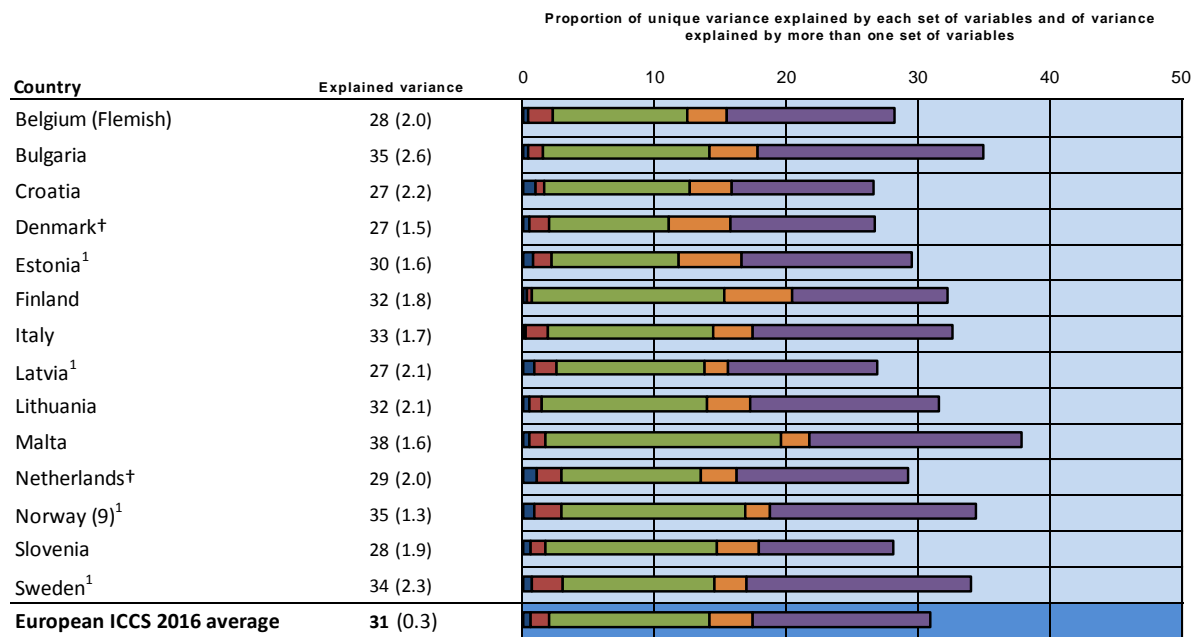
(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

On average, the model explained 31 percent of the variance in score reflecting expected participation in legal activities to express opinions, ranging from 27 percent in Croatia, Denmark and Latvia to 38 in Malta. The graph illustrates that factors related to psychological engagement had the largest proportion of uniquely attributable explained variance (on average about 12%), while citizenship beliefs uniquely explained about three percent on average. Only smaller proportions of the variance were uniquely explained by resource- and recruitment-related factors, while almost 14 percent on average was explained by more than one set of factors.

Table 4 Explained variance for students' expected participation in legal activities



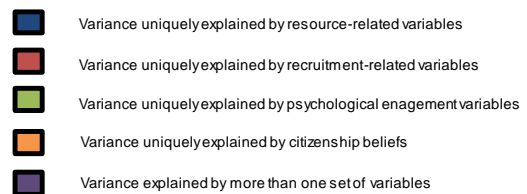
() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

² Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.



The regression results for expected participation in illegal activities to express opinions illustrate, that among the resource-related variables both (female) gender and civic knowledge have consistently negative effects on the dependent variable (Table 5). There was an average net effect of about two scale score points for gender, and one national standard deviation in civic knowledge was associated with (negative) change of more than two score points. Perceptions of positive student-teacher relations at school was also a consistent negative predictor, and on average one national standard deviation was associated with a (negative) change of about one scale score point in the dependent variable. For all other variables (SES, parental interest, community participation and school participation) there were no consistent significant associations with expected participation in illegal activities across countries.

Table 5 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation on illegal activities to express opinions (resources and recruitment factors)

Country	Resource-related variables					Recruitment-related variables	
	Gender (female)	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Parental interest in political and social issues	Perceived positive student-teacher relations	Civic knowledge	Participation in community groups or organisations	Participation in civic activities at school
Belgium (Flemish)	-2.2 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.4)	-1.0 (0.2)	-2.6 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)
Bulgaria	-1.8 (0.4)	-0.8 (0.2)	0.0 (0.4)	-1.3 (0.2)	-2.4 (0.3)	0.6 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Croatia	-2.9 (0.5)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.5)	-1.5 (0.2)	-2.3 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)
Denmark†	-1.5 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.4)	-0.8 (0.1)	-2.3 (0.1)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)
Estonia ¹	-2.1 (0.4)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.4)	-0.6 (0.2)	-1.6 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)
Finland	-2.6 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.8 (0.4)	-1.3 (0.2)	-2.1 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Italy	-0.6 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.5)	-1.2 (0.2)	-2.5 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)
Latvia ¹	-2.6 (0.5)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.4 (0.5)	-0.6 (0.2)	-2.2 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.8 (0.3)
Lithuania	-2.6 (0.4)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.6)	-1.3 (0.3)	-3.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)
Malta	-1.1 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)	-1.1 (0.2)	-3.3 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)
Netherlands†	-2.4 (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	0.8 (0.4)	-0.7 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	-0.9 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	0.6 (0.3)	-0.6 (0.1)	-2.5 (0.1)	0.3 (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)
Slovenia	-2.5 (0.4)	-0.5 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.5)	-1.6 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Sweden ¹	-2.0 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.5)	-1.1 (0.2)	-2.4 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)
European ICCS 2016 average	-2.0 (0.1)	-0.3 (0.0)	0.1 (0.1)	-1.1 (0.0)	-2.3 (0.0)	0.3 (0.0)	-0.2 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

As for expected legal participation, citizenship self-efficacy was a consistent positive predictor across countries and one national standard deviation was associated with about one and half score points in the dependent variable (Table 6). In nine out of 14 countries, trust in civic institutions had significant negative associations with preparedness to participate in illegal activities to express opinions, on average the regression coefficient reflected a (negative) change of about half a score point. In six out of 14 countries, there were negative net associations of positive expectations for the students' future and the criterion variable. Also interest in political and social issues had significant negative effects in six out of 14 countries.

Perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship had positive net effects on expectations of undertaking illegal activities in the future in six out of 14 countries, while support for the importance of social movement related citizenship behaviours was a significant positive predictor in all countries (with an average net effect of almost one scale score point). Students who endorsed the importance of personally responsible citizenship, tended to be less prepared to consider this type of political participation: In all but one country this variable was a negative predictor and one national standard deviation was on average associated with a (negative) change of more than one score point.

Table 6 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation on illegal activities to express opinions (psychological factors and value perceptions)

Country	Variables related to psychological engagement				Citizenship values		
	Citizenship self-efficacy	Interest in political and social issues	Trust in civic institutions	Positive expectations for individual future	Importance of conventional citizenship	Importance of social movement related citizenship	Importance of responsible citizenship
Belgium (Flemish)	0.9 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.3 (0.3)	1.0 (0.2)	-1.3 (0.2)
Bulgaria	2.6 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.5)	-1.0 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.6 (0.3)	1.1 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.3)
Croatia	1.1 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.4)	-0.6 (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	0.6 (0.3)	0.9 (0.3)	-1.7 (0.2)
Denmark†	1.2 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	1.1 (0.2)	-1.2 (0.2)
Estonia ¹	1.7 (0.2)	-0.8 (0.4)	-1.2 (0.2)	-0.8 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	1.1 (0.3)	-0.7 (0.2)
Finland	1.6 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.4)	-0.9 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.9 (0.2)	-1.3 (0.2)
Italy	1.3 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)	-0.8 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	-1.0 (0.2)
Latvia ¹	1.6 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.7 (0.2)	-0.9 (0.3)
Lithuania	1.5 (0.2)	-1.1 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)
Malta	2.3 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.4)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	0.7 (0.3)	-1.5 (0.2)
Netherlands†	1.7 (0.2)	-1.0 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.1)	0.7 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	-1.4 (0.2)
Norway (9) ¹	1.9 (0.2)	-1.2 (0.3)	-0.6 (0.1)	-0.6 (0.1)	0.4 (0.2)	0.6 (0.2)	-0.9 (0.2)
Slovenia	1.3 (0.2)	0.6 (0.5)	-0.8 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.2 (0.3)	0.8 (0.3)	-1.3 (0.3)
Sweden ¹	1.6 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)	-0.6 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.5 (0.2)	1.0 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.2)
European ICCS 2016 average	1.6 (0.0)	-0.6 (0.1)	-0.6 (0.0)	-0.3 (0.0)	0.4 (0.0)	0.8 (0.0)	-1.1 (0.0)

* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

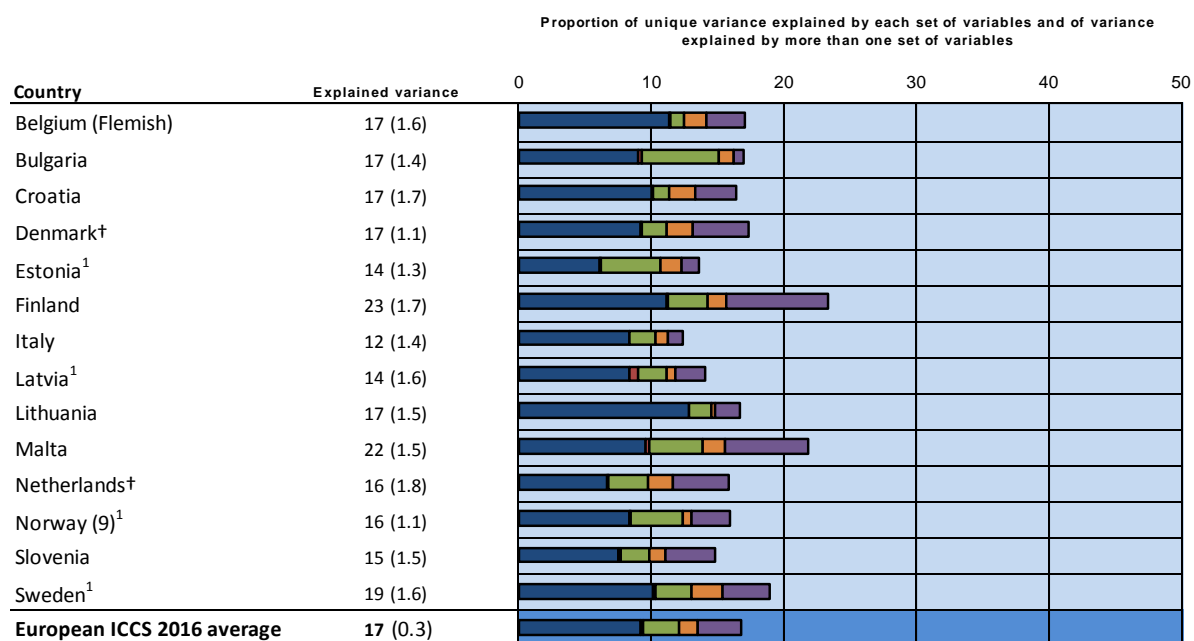
(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

The regression model explained on average 17 percent of the variance in scale scores reflecting students' expected participation in illegal activities to express their opinions, ranging from 12 percent in Italy to 23 percent in Finland (Table 7). Resource-related variables (as can be seen from the previous tables, in particular gender and civic knowledge) had the largest proportion of uniquely attributable explained variance (on average about 9%). About three percent of the variance were, on average, uniquely attributable to factors related to psychological engagement, while citizenship beliefs accounted uniquely for little more than one percent. Recruitment-related factors had hardly any uniquely attributable explained variance and about three percent (on average) were explained by more than one set of items.

Table 7 Explained variance for students' expected participation in illegal activities



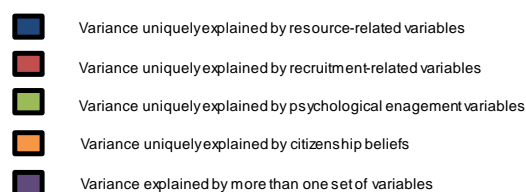
() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

¹ National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

² Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.



Conclusion

ICCS 2016 results show that students' expected participation in legal and illegal activities varied considerably across countries as well as the different forms of engagement. While more passive forms of engagement (such as conversations with other people) were expected by higher proportions, expectations of more active forms of participation (such as organising an online group) were less frequent. Only about every fifth lower-secondary student expected participation in illegal protest activities such as blocking traffic or spray-painting slogans. The findings confirm that at the individual level there are positive correlations between both types of political engagement, and that in countries where more students expect participation in legal activities there also higher proportions expecting to engage in illegal ones.

The results of the multiple regression analysis explaining students' expectations to engage in legal activities to express opinions, showed that sense of citizenship self-efficacy and interest in political and social issues were positive predictors across countries, and that past or current involvement in community groups or organisations also had positive net associations with this dependent variable. Beliefs in the importance of both conventional and social movement related citizenship behaviours were further positive predictors, while beliefs in the importance of personally responsible citizenship tended to have negative associations in some countries. Student background and civic knowledge generally did not show consistent relationships with expectations of getting involved in this type of political participation.

Students' with higher levels of civic knowledge, beliefs supporting personally responsible citizenship behaviours, and females were less likely to consider forms of illegal protest activities. As expected, in many countries, trust in civic institutions also had negative associations with this variable, however, in a number of countries there were no significant relationships. It is interesting to note that perceived positive teacher-student relations were also negative predictors of expected illegal participation, which suggest that a positive school climate makes students less likely to consider more radical forms of protest. Positive expectations of the individual future of students could have been expected to be a negative predictor of this type of expected engagement, however, there were only weak negative associations in about half of the European ICCS 2016 countries.

Engagement in civic activities at school had only relatively weak positive associations with expectations to become engaged in legal activities in half of the countries and civic knowledge did not have any consistent relationship with this type of political participation. However, the level of civic knowledge was clearly negatively associated with expectations of participating in illegal protest activities, and also perceptions of good relations with teachers at school were related to refraining from considering this type of engagement in the future. These findings suggest that civic learning at school as well as school climate may have an influence on lower-secondary students' considerations of more radical types of political participation in the future.

References

- Agrusti, G., Ainley, J., Losito, B., & Schulz, W. (2018). ICCS questionnaire development. In W. Schulz, R. Carstens, B. Losito, & J. Fraillon (Eds.). *ICCS 2016 technical report* (pp. 21-32). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (2000). Attitudes and the attitude-behavior relation: Reasoned and automatic processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 11(1), 1–33.
- Ajzen, I. (2001). Nature and operation of attitudes. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 27-58.
- Boogards, M. (2017). Lessons from Brexit and Trump: populism is what happens when political parties lose control. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, 11:4, 513–518.
- Diamond, L. (2015). Facing up to democratic recession. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 141–155.
- Eckstein, K., Noack, P., & Gniewosz, B. (2013). Predictors of intentions to participate in politics and actual political behaviors in young adulthood. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 37(5), 428–435.
- Hobolt, S., Anduiza, E., Carkoglu, A., Lutz, G., & Sauger, N. (2016). *Democracy Divided? People, Politicians and the Politics of Populism*. CSES Planning Committee Final Report. Retrieved at: http://www.cses.org/plancom/module5/CSES5_ContentSubcommittee_FinalReport.pdf.
- Kaase, M. (1990). Mass participation. In M. K. Jennings, J. W. van Deth, S. H. Barnes, D. Fuchs, F. J. Heunks, R. F. Inglehart, M. Kasses, ... J. J. A. Thomassen (Eds.), *Continuities in political action: A longitudinal study of political orientations in three western democracies* (pp. 23–67). Berlin, Germany/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Losito, B., Agrusti, G., Damiani, V., & Schulz, W. (2018). *Young People's Perceptions of Europe in a Time of Change. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 European Report*. Amsterdam: IEA.

- Mair P. (2002) Populist Democracy vs Party Democracy. In: Mény Y., Surel Y. (Eds.) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge* (pp 81-98). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pancer, S. M. (2015). *The psychology of citizenship and civic engagement*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Quintelier, E. & Hooghe, M. (2013). The relationship between political participation intentions of adolescents and a participatory democratic climate at school in 35 countries. *Oxford Review of Education*, 39(5), 567-589.
- Raudenbush, S. W., & Bryk, A. S. (2002). *Hierarchical linear models: Applications and data analysis methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Schulz, W. (2018). The reporting of ICCS 2016 results. In W. Schulz, R. Carstens, B. Losito, & J. Fraillon (Eds.). *ICCS 2016 technical report* (245-256). Amsterdam: IEA.
- Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Losito, B., Agrusti, G., & Friedman, T. (2018). *Becoming citizens in a changing world. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 International Report*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Schulz, W. & Friedman, T. (2018). Scaling procedures for ICCS 2016 questionnaire items. In W. Schulz, R. Carstens, B. Losito, & J. Fraillon (Eds.). *ICCS 2016 technical report* (139-243). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- van Deth, J. W. (2014). A conceptual map of political participation. *Acta Politica*, 49, 349–367.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Weber, S. (2018). Sampling design and implementation. In W. Schulz, R. Carstens, B. Losito, & J. Fraillon (Eds.). *ICCS 2016 technical report* (pp. 43–51). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).